SYNTACTIC VARIATION
IN NIGERIAN ENGLISH.

By

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A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL, AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH, FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES, AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA.

JUNE, 1996

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis was written by me, and that it is a product of my own research.

It has never been presented in any previous application for a higher degree.

All quotations are clearly indicated while sources of information have been acknowledged by means of references.

Onwudili E. Ofuokwu

June, 1996.

CERTIFICATION

This thesis entitled:

SYNTACTIC VARIATION IN NIGERIAN ENGLISH

by Onwudili Emmanuel Ofuokwu meets the requirements for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

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DEDICATION

To every member of the Ofuokwu family,

living and dead

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ABSTRACT

This study is descriptive; it examines the spectrum of Englishes covered by the term **Nigerian English (NigE)**, from a syntactic perspective.

In Nigeria, we are faced with a linguistic continuum ranging from pidgin through Broken/Non-standard English varieties to the standard. Nigerian speakers generally and actively control a wide range of this continuum which manifests itself in considerable linguistic variability. The important question then, is 'how do we account for and systematically describe this continuum or variability?'
This work is therefore a useful addition to studies in 'Varieties of English Around the World'.

The introductory chapter presents a summary of the development of Local Forms of English (LFEs) in the new nation states, and highlights the call by the Hawaii Conference that 'English' should also mean 'the English of non-native speakers treated in its own right and accepted on a footing of equality'.

Chapter Two deals with the theoretical framework, the review of literature in variation studies and relates these to the study of the LFEs. We see a similarity between Derek Bickerton's basilect-mesolect-acrolect schema (without their implicational relations) and three varieties of Nigerian English and opt for a modified linear scalogram.

The field techniques adopted in the study are highlighted in Chapter Three. These are participant-observation in four different social contexts [Soccer Adventure, (SA); Campaign Train, (CT); Presidential Debate, (PD) and the Story Group (SG], and Written Essays (WE). Altogether, eighty.four 100 and 200 Level students from six faculties in Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria served as respondents.

Chapter Four is devoted to the analysis of the data, and aims at determining the relationship between sex, context and usage. The outputs of the subjects had earlier been subjected to both Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) and Scheffe Group Tests.

A summary of the findings is presented in Chapter Five. It is observed that while NigE shares most of the features of other LFEs especially the West African sub-type, no significant relationship exists between sex, context and usage, particularly with the standard variety. We also note that the use of the features increases as one moves from less to more formal contexts.

It is suggested that SNigE should be the medium of instruction and that a pedagogical grammar of the sub-set should be developed.

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 ENGLISH IN THE WORLD

Before 1600, English was spoken by less than seven million inhabitants in England. Today, it is the language of approximately 2 billion people spread all over the world (see Crystal, 1985). Strevens (1987:56) notes that the most important aspect of this figure is the ratio of native speakers (NS) to non-native speakers (NNS) which according to him, presents a 'paradox' because 'while English is used by more people than any other language on earth, its mother-tongue speakers make up only a quarter or a fifth of the total.'

The factors that led to the spread of English are well documented. They include exploration, commerce, evangelisation and colonisation (see Kachru, 1969; Spencer, 1971,etc). Despite these, Strevens feels that there is 'an element of historical luck', because Portuguese and Spanish were also languages of exploration, trade, etc (p.57).

The advent of colonial rule was one very important factor that helped in the spread of English. English became the language of administration and was therefore regarded as the gateway to advancement, survival and government. The attainment of independence by the colonies did not drastically alter the situation as the new nation-states soon realised

that the British had left one great legacy - English Language.

Linguistic and cultural pluralism in these states facilitated the entrenchment of English but it was to perform what Sada in his keynote address to the Modern Languages Association of Nigeria Conference held at the University of Benin in 1980 has technically called 'separatist functions'. Strevens (1987:56-58) captures the stages of this development. According to him, between 1750 and 1900, three major developments took place in the history of the language. The first came with the increase in the number of British overseas colonies with the native speakers attempting to forge 'a sense of separate identity'.

Later, however, the colonies (beginning with America and Australia) gained their independence from Britain and this greatly reinforced the degree of 'linguistic differences'.

Non-native speakers soon found that it was important to acquire the language to enable them to secure jobs with the government and even to socialize and consequently the role and function of English changed from being 'an instrument of subservience to other, quite different ends....' It became the language of interethnic communication.

As in all language contact situations, (see Weinreich, 1964) the kinds of English that developed in the new states (India, Australia, New Zealand, Singapore, Ghana, Sierra-Leone, Nigeria, South Africa, East Africa, Malaysia, Philippine, Canada, etc) were found to be different from that

spoken in England but adequate to meet the sociolinguistic needs of their new homes. This is how Chinua Achebe (1965:222) sums up the situation:

> I feel that the English Language will be able to carry the weight of my African experience. But it will have to be a new English, still in communion with its ancestral home but altered to suit its new African surroundings.

Beyond intranational communication, English has come to be used in a number of international bodies - UNO, UNICEF, WHO, OAU, ECOWAS, etc and even in the media. The implication is that English has now come to be spoken by vast numbers of people of non-English nationality, some of whom are not historically related.

The attitudes of native speakers to these 'local forms of English' (LFEs, in Strevens' term) have been mixed, ranging from tolerance or accommodation to disgust and rejection of the 'linguistic flights... which jar upon the ear of the native Englishman' (Whitworth, 1907:6, quoted in Kachru, 1981:15).

Similar views have been expressed on what is known today as American English (AmE) - one of 'the two main standard varieties' of English (Trudgill and Hannah, 1985:1). Baugh (1976:451) reports that English purists regarded AmE as corrupt, vulgar and therefore rejected most of the words. It is however known today that AmE has enormously enriched the English Language.

Clifford Prator known for his firm rejection of the LFEs,

is of the view that recognising and using these new varieties for educational purposes will invariably lead to loss of intelligibility as they are undeniably inferior and debased. According to him, it will amount to an educational heresy to adopt a 'permissive' view of the non-native forms of English. He calls it 'The British heresy in TESL' (Prator, 1968).

Similar views have been expressed by others. Macmillan (1971:135-143) for instance, not only sees English as 'the new internationalese, the Esperanglish', but also as:

> the language of international unintelligibility, rushing headlong to total disconmunication.

For *Newsweek (Special Report*, 15 November, 1982), a major consequence of 'English English Everywhere' is that it is gradually breaking up into unitelligible varieties' (p.47).

Quirk (1972:47-52) has a different opinion. He acknowledges that varieties of English in Africa and Asia are 'certainly different from our own' but feels that there is no threat to the language by overseas' learners. This is because within each variety a range from pidgin to standard international English, exists and since it is not likely that 'Pidgin will supersede English... we can calm our fears for the future of English standards in these countries' (pp.51.-52). Quirk (1981:153) therefore declares that:

> the insightful researches of such specialised observers as Braj Kachru leave me convinced that it is not a matter of heresy but of accepting plain facts.

For details of the famous debate between the moralists

and the purists, see Williams (1984).

We agree with Strevens (1980:92) that Prator's stand is 'exclusively nativist' and puritanical, and with Kachru (1981:34) that it must be due to ethnocentrism and the 'native speaker's fear of seeing his language disintegrate in the hands of (or shall we say, on the lips of) non-native users.' Rejecting the consolation that differences in the goals of English Language teaching in America and Britain may be responsible for the more tolerant view of the British, Kachru accuses both groups of 'seven attitudinal sins'. For details, see Kachru (1981:34-5).

In a milder assessment of the situation, Strevens (1987:60) opines that the cause of the speakers' attitude is

> ignorance - a total lack of awareness of the existence of flourishing, effective, functional, sometimes elegant and literary non-native varieties of English. Most NS, including teachers of EFL/ESL, have not experienced NNS varieties of English in the circumstances of their origins, e.g in India, Singapore, West Africa, etc...

The Hawaii Conference of 1978 organised by the Culture Learning Institute marked a turning point in the study of, not only the LFEs but also of English as an International Language. (For details, see Strevens, 1980; Smith, 1981; R. Bailey, 1985 etc).It recognised that it would be inadequate to continue to see English as the 'English of native speakers; it should also mean the English of non-native speakers treated in its own right and accepted on a footing of equality' (Smith, 1981). This means that English must now be

accepted 'not simply or solely the cultural possession' of English people but a great majority of others for whom it is a foreign or second language. Based on the foregoing, the conference called for a change of attitude towards these new varieties. There is little wonder therefore that:

> Today the trend in referring to different forms and varieties is to accept differentiation within English and even to employ a new plural, **Englishes** (Strevens, 1987:56)

This may still not have gone down well with some purists. For instance, Pringle (1988:119ff) while commenting on the differences between SBrE and SAmE argues that 'despite the fact that we share a common language, a common heritage and in large measure common goals, our words can still fail to connect us'. He further laments the loss of English as the exclusive cultural possession of the English and avows that:

> In fact, once one adimits that the English is no longer exclusively the language of the English, it is remarkably hard to determine exactly what English really is (p.121)

Despite these reservations, the recommendations of the Hawaii conference have come to stay and LFEs are becoming more recognised and accepted.

Nigerian English (NigE d'apres Gorlach, 1982) certainly is one of these localized varieties, for which various terms have been used: 'transported or twice born English', (Mukherjee, 1971:111); 'English transported', (Turner, 1972:1); 'interference varieties' (Quirk, 1972:26); 'non-

native varieties' (Kachru, 1981:32) and should be seen in the same light: a distinct variety, 'considered to be at par, with say, Standard American, British Standard, Australian, Indian, etc' (Odumuh, 1984, 1987). It is our view therefore that Nigerians have 'effectively appropriated or successfully colonised English' (Tamuno, 1979).

It is also noteworthy that despite the fear expressed by *Newsweek (Special Report)* on the question of intelligibility, it admits that English Language may never be the same again, especially in the new nation-states, because:

> Invading languages, like invading armies, may seem to be sweeping all before them while in fact, over the long term, they themselves are being captured (p.47).

Thus, it is even inappropriate, considering the history of the language in Nigeria, at this point in time to look at English as a second language. As Banjo (1989:6) has rightly pointed out:

> Not only in Nigeria but in other sociolinguistically comparable parts of the world, the classification of English as a second language is fast losing precision beyond a revival level.

Banjo suggests that what we have in Nigerian is 'an amalgam of ESL and EFL situations. This is similar to the call by the Hawaii Conference for a re-assessment of the terms, ESL and EFL which, though pedagogically essential, are not adequate in accounting for the various functions of English and reflecting the actual sociolinguistic situation in the non-native countries. It was therefore recommended that

English should be seen as a world Language serving or performing intra and inter-national functions in some countries and only the latter in others. It has therefore been variously tagged: 'English as a world language' or 'World Language English': and 'English as an international Language' or 'Intranational English'. The choice of English as an international and intranational Language (EIIL) or English as a world language (EWL) is significant because more than ESL/EFL 'it provides a broader perspective within which we can view the dynamics of the language situation in a wide range of countries' (Kachru and Quirk, 1981:viii).

1.2 VARIETIES DIFFERENTIATION IN NIGERIA: AN OVERVIEW.

Brosnahan, (1958) is the first notable attempt at identifying typologies of Nigerian English. He equates the varieties of English in Nigeria with extent of education and identifies four levels. The first (Level I) is spoken by people who have had no formal education and may have acquired English 'as a result of exigencies of daily life' (p.100). This variety which is very much like pidgin is unintelligible to the R.P speaker.

Level II is used by those who have had some primary education while Level III is identified with secondary school-leavers. The difference between levels II and III is seen in 'increased fluency and grammatical correctness, wider vocabulary, and conscious avoidance of usages held to be

characteristics of Level I' (p.101). It is also more comprehensible to the R.P speaker.

Nigerians who have been exposed to university education use Level IV. These speakers would have had direct contact with native speakers of English as tutors either at home or abroad.

Brosnahan is of the view that Levels II and III represent standard Nigerian English defined as 'educated Nigerian English', and that though the study centred on southern Nigeria, the findings can be said to be valid for the other parts of the country because similar situations prevail 'along the West Coast of Africa'- an indication of a sub-regional variety of English (cf Trudgill and Hannah, 1985).

Brosnahan's is a pioneering effort. The work has therefore raised some questions. If at the time he wrote, educational attainment could be equated with level of performance (see also Bamgbose, 1972:37), experience has shown that these days, it has limited usefulness (cf Banjo,1971; Adesanoye, 1973; Odumuh; 1981; Eka, 1985 for similar positions). This is because Nigerians whose parents are partly English and are brought up in native English-speaking countries are likely to use near-native accent (Banjo's Level IV below). It is noteworthy that, contrary to Ayodele (1981:120), Brosnahan recognises that among other things 'opportunities for its (English) use, innate ability and intelligence, and perseverance with schemes of private

studies...' (p.99) can reduce the differences brought about by formal education.

Banjo (1971a:171) describes Brosnahan's classification as 'somewhat too simplistic' acknowledging that even in southern Nigeria, levels vary; and that it is possible to find products of some secondary schools being more proficient in English than university graduates.

He uses 'social acceptability' and 'international intelligibility based on the degree of L1 phonological interference to arrive at four varieties of spoken English in Nigeria. His first variety, which he suggests should be 'clearly differentiated from Pidgin', is characterised by 'wholesale' transfer of the phonological, syntactic and lexical features of Kwa or Niger-Congo to English' (p.169). For the speakers of this variety, English is a foreign rather than a second language. The variety is neither socially acceptable nor internationally intelligible.

The second variety is spoken by a majority of Nigerians and is highly socially acceptable but not equally internationally intelligible. According to Banjo, the syntax is 'fairly close to British English (BrE) but with usually 'strongly marked' phonological and lexical features.

The third variety, which is both socially acceptable and internationally intelligible, approximates to the R.P in syntax, semantics and phonology. Nevertheless, speakers of this variety can still be identified as Nigerians.

Very few Nigerians use the fourth variety. These are Nigerians born or brought up in England. This variety is internationally intelligible but its speakers are derided, stigmatized for using an 'affected accent'.

Banjo recommends the third variety for use as 'standard Nigerian spoken English' because its speakers 'never sound as foreign to the users of the other varieties' (p.170). He agrees with Brosnahan that secondary school-leavers should be considered the speakers of Standard Nigerian English. In his view, 'the level of spoken English is largely fixed at the end of their secondary school career...', adding that 'university education affects written more profoundly than... spoken English' (p.171).

The views expressed by Banjo are very popular and highly respected. But, because the study is not empirically based, he sees it as a proposal; and requests that 'if the arguments presented... are found acceptable', Nigerians should undertake to describe the third variety - i.e. start a process of standardization: reification, codification of lexicon and grammars, and institutionalization (see Le Page, 1985 for these stages in macro-sociolingustics). This is what some scholars (e.g Adesanoye, 1973; Odumuh, 1981 etc) have done.

Bamgbose (1982) has also questioned the relevance of the fourth variety. This is because the sociolinguistic environment in which the variety is generally employed is different. Banjo (1995:209) however explains that the variety

was included 'only for completeness of analysis' and argues that although this variety is free from mother tongue transfer, in some cases, there is indeed no mother tongue from which to transfer. It is therefore not recommended as an endonormative model.

Adesanoye (1973) looks at the grammatical and lexical 'deviations' in the written English of Nigerians. The corpus for the study came from applications from junior workers, law court proceedings and articles from Nigerian newspapers. He identifies three varieties. The first variety is associated with holders of the First School Leaving Certificate and Modern III; the second with secondary school-leavers and sixth formers.

Exponents of the third variety include final year university students, professionals such as lawyers, editors, university lecturers, etc. He notes that syntactic and lexical deviations tend to reduce with the level of education.

Adesanoye's study has been criticised on various grounds. Odumuh (1981:55) not only disagrees with his assertion that the third variety is indistinguishable from 'the educated written English in other English-speaking countries', but has provided ample evidence to substantiate his position.

Eka (1985:20) observes that 'the line between the exponents of the first and second varieties is not clear' and attributes this to the author's inconsistent use of qualification and/or experience in identifying the varieties.

Jibril (1982:7) notes that the data limited to the south, especially the Yoruba-speaking part of the country and cannot be said to represent the actual situation in Nigeria. He also wonders how 'reasonable' it is to compare letters from junior workers with texts of high court judgement and declares that 'there are issues of stylistic comparability which Adesanoye did not address himself to.'

Mobolaji Adekunle, in 'Non-random Variation in the Nigerian English' attempts to account for the relationship between English and the Nigerian languages in terms of three analytic criteria. These are the 'Complementary Distribution' in which the linguistic systems are kept as separate as possible, the 'Intersecting/Overlapping Distribution' which allows both languages to 'mutually influence each other' without violating the rules of any of the systems and 'Semi-Distributional Inclusion' in which one of the systems does not only fail to observe the rules of the other but also influences it.

On the basis of these principles, he recognises three varieties of English in Nigeria. The Near-native Variety associated with the first situation, is possible if English is a foreign language and taught by Nigerians who have lived in native English-speaking countries for a few years. According to him, if this variety is accepted as Standard Nigerian English, it will obviously create the problem of maintenance.

The Intersecting/Overlapping Distribution Type allows for

the effects of the sociolinguistic setting on English and consequently, interference at different levels, especially at the semantic. He also sees variation in language use in Nigeria as 'non-random' and regards the typology associated with the overlapping situation as the 'Local Colour Variety' characterised by the fact that 'in spite of the borrowings, adaptations and translations, the basic structures of English remain intact' (1979:38).

Unlike the 'Local Colour Variety', in the Incipient Bilingual, there are instances of faulty choice of synonyms, prepositions and articles resulting from inadequate mastery of the system of English. All, but the Local Colour', have their spoken and written equivalents.

Adekunle sees the varieties as a continuum 'not class variants' and suggests that attention should be given to them since it is most likely that what will be accepted in the end as Standard Nigerian English 'will be made up of the main characteristics of these varieties' (p.41).

Individuals will be expected therefore to switch from one variety to another to meet the demands of the speech situation.

As attractive as this study is, it is our view that care should be taken not to over-estimate the ability of Nigerians to switch with equal ease from one variety to the other especially as the first variety lends itself to some kind of 'class' brought about by birth, education and possibly,

experience.

Banjo's 'Beyond Intelligibility: A Presidential Address' to the 9th Annual Conference of the Nigerian English Studies Association in 1978 seems to have turned the pendulum of research in Nigerian English to a different direction. Banjo calls for a distinction between regional and situational varieties and stated that no geographical or social dialect is **'intrinsically** superior to any other, since there are conceivable situations in which each is the most appropriate form of behaviour' (p.8).

He notes that the existence of many geographical varieties in Nigeria (which linguists are called upon to accommodate) raises the question of intranational and international intelligibility. Of significance, however, is the fact that some of these regional varieties are 'ephemeral' (the speakers 'outgrow' them) and at the same time 'enduring', because they can be observed. The actual sociolinguistic situation, he opines, is one in which there are varying degrees of competence ranging from the 'beginner's at one extreme to the 'true bilingual's competence' at the other. Banjo says:

> Speakers of English may be seen as moving up this scale, each one reaching a plateau or a steady state at different points on the scale. Each point is occupied by a new group as soon as it is vacated, or the number of people on that point is simply swelled by the new arrivals (p.9).

He therefore calls for a definition of 'what constitutes a

viable steady state of communicative competence' in Nigeria after which linguists should 'promote the situation in which all Nigerians achieve that point on the scale' (p.10).

Jibril (1979) and especially Jibril (1982) look at regional variation in spoken English in Nigeria. The earlier work is essentially devoted to a comparison of the Southern and Northern varieties of spoken English . Jibril uses both diachronic and sociolinguistic factors to account for these divergences which nevertheless, do not impede intelligibility.

He shares the views of earlier writers (Tiffen, 1974; Banjo, 1970 and Adeniran, 1976) that the Northern variety is more internationally intelligible than the Southern. He however foresees a submergence of the Northern by Southern accent (1979:50).

The author admits that the study 'suffers from inexcusable methodological deficiencies as no tape-recorders were used to record the speeches of the respondents' (p.48). No group also served as Control.

Aware of these deficiencies, Jibril (1982) sets out to take care of the inadequacies. A 'multi-dimensional' study, it took into account developments in L_2 acquisition, contrastive linguistics and interference theory on the one hand and 'recent theoretical insights' in sociolinguistics, on the other. The study aims at providing answers to, among other questions, the following:

1. 'What varieties of English are spoken in Nigeria and what features do they share with one another; and

2. How are these differentiated from one another and from R.P' (p.14)?

The data for the study was made up of a two-hour tape recording of NTA Network Programmes. One hundred and seven informants participated in the survey. These were stratified according to occupation, education and mother-tongue. It devoted a lot of attention to a contrastive review of Yoruba, Hausa and Igbo phonetic features in relation to English. Questionnaires were also administered to the subjects.

Comparing the vowel system of 'Sophisticated Southern and Sophisticated Northern (Hausa) English (which are close to R.P), he sees the possibility of one vowel system evolving for both varieties. There will however be modifications in the usual vowel system of each of the varieties such that each moves a little further from the R.P.

Jibril sees NigE as 'a three-point pyramid-shaped continuum' (p.171) with R.P at the top. He is of the opinion that since the historical and sociolinguistic differences (for instance, the existence of R.P teachers in the north) which brought about these divergences no longer exist, 'Northern English is now on its way to a merger with Southern English' (p.172). It is expected that the accent that will finally evolve as 'General Nigerian' will be a reflection of this gradual submergence and the highly rated accent of Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) Network announcers (c.f the communique at the end of the workshop organised for media practitioners by the Ministry of Information in December,

1991, at Otta. It was aimed at making the pronunciation of NTA anouncers more acceptable to Nigerians).

Jibril's (1982) study is systematic, extensive and thorough and unlike the earlier one, he employs modern sociolinguistic methods in analysing his data. He has certainly gone beyond the usual 'pre-analytical hunches' (p.6) which have characterised studies on Nigerian English (NigE).

Odumuh (1984) attempts to provide clues to the problems of national acceptability and international intelligibility. According to him, researchers have been more concerned with 'arguing that NE (NigE) has emerged and stabilized' (p.25) with little attention paid to the problem of acceptability which is a vital issue in standardization.

The study highlights the lack of consensus among Nigerian linguists on who should be regarded as a speaker of Standard Nigerian English. He disagrees with Banjo's proposition that the secondary school graduate should be regarded as the speaker of Standard Nigerian English because 'he has not been sufficiently exposed' (p.27) and argues that 'going by the Inter-language Theory' the second year university undergraduate qualifies for such a position. He is however cautious to see this as 'a model, an ideal (exhibited by the average Nigerian learner)'.

Odumuh considers Banjo's call for research into the national acceptability and international intelligibility as a good beginning towards standardizing NigE, but warns that

while he believes in the existence of national varieties of English, it will be ridiculous not to distinguish between 'deviances' and 'deviations' which should be seen as a reflection of the sociocultural setting English has found itself in. He therefore calls for a dictionary of Standard Nigerian English as a way of making known Nigerianisms to the non-Nigerian speakers of English. He also recommends that teaching materials should be selected on the basis of acceptability rather than grammaticality.

Odumuh (1984 and 1986) argues that there are social dialects in Nigeria, though not in the same sense as class dialects in Europe. To Akere's theoretical platforms of competence and appropriateness in varieties differentiation in Nigerian English, he adds 'Registeral variation' and defines Nigerian English as 'the English spoken in Nigeria which is neither pidgin nor British Standard' (1984:5).

Rather than differentiating between spoken and written varieties as most earlier writers have done, he is concerned with 'USAGE - an umbrella term which encompasses both spoken and written media' (p.6). He identifies three varieties: Pidgin, Non-standard and Standard Nigerian English. Elsewhere, (Odumuh and Gomwalk, 1986:7) details are given of these varieties.

Pidgin is linked with low class users (petty-traders, labourers, etc) and restricted to transient speech situations while the Non-Standard covers 'those English forms

characterised by both substantial mother-tongue interference and grammatical errors'. This is the kind of variety one notices in Amos Tutuola's novels and the Onitsha Market pamphlets.

Standard Nigerian English on the other hand, is a highly respected variety associated with high-level educational attainment.

In 'A Typology of English Usage in Nigeria', Odumuh provides excerpts from various sources to illustrate the semantic and syntactic features of these typologies. He uses the following parameters: grammatical co-ordination, unorthodox spellings..., handling of the verbal group and deixis, to identify these features, compares them with World Standard English and declares that 'they are distinct enough'.

Odumuh and Gomwalk (1986) pursue the question of methodology a little further. They suggest two possible non-mutually exclusive ways of looking at varieties of NigE: one based on 'mode' as earlier proposed by Adekunle (1979) and the other, levels of educational attainment. Using the former, they distinguish between literate (written) and oral (spoken). They still identified the same three varieties as in Odumuh (1984) as typologies discernible using levels of educational attainment as a matrix.

Applying the existing frameworks of analysis of language variation, the writers are of the view that Bicketon's Linear Scalogram 'cannot account for the complexity of the variation

in Nigerian English' because it assumes that the speaker 'drops' from one variety of the language as he learns another. (Banjo, 1979 also shares Bickerton's views here). They agree that though this is possible, what actually exists in Nigeria is a situation where a speaker switches from one variety to another as the communicative events call for. Speech behaviour is therefore correlatable with sociolinguistic domains, they contend.

Odumuh and Gomwalk acknowledge the values of Labov's social stratification model, which focuses on sociolects and idiolects (Banjo's 1979, 'diatypes') in accounting for features of variation in certain social contexts. However, they are mindful of Le Page's caution that it is 'illusory' to suppose that all instances of variation can be accounted for by variable rules. They also query the assumption of 'an underlying system' from which variation in language must be seen and consider this 'an echo' of Chomsky's preference for competence as opposed to performance. This, in their view, will invariably lead to an overemphasis on the intuitive rather than the 'objective' aspects of variation (which Le Page refers to as the ontological status of language behaviour).

The authors opt for Le Page's multidimensional model 'mainly because it appears to be a more wholistic framework - offers a socio-psychological explanation of why and how language varies' (p.12) and 'presupposes the existence in a

multicultural setting like Nigeria of a multi-faceted network or relationships which is in a constant state of flux' (p.14).

The impression one gets from Odumuh and Gomwalk (1986) is that the authors have left the work unfinished. Indeed, the authors confess that this was an interim report of something in progress.

In a related study, Odumuh (1987) focuses on the creative use of English in Nigeria. Only written works were examined. These include pidgin through the Onitsha Market pamphlets to the popular T.V. soap operas.

He disagrees with Tomkin's (1979) distinction between pidgin, standard and non-standard Nigerian English and Banjo's four varieties, describing them as 'discrete' and sees the relationship between the quality of language in Okara's *The Voice*, *The Onitsha Market Literature* and Amos Tutuola's works as 'shades (that) represent... the range or scale in the continuous Englishes of Nigerians... which 'has defied the application of currently available frameworks of analysis' (p.7).

Using the following examples, among others,

(i) I laik to dans hailaif tu much

(ii) he like for dance highlife very much

(iii) he likes to dance highlife very much

(quoted in Agheyisi, 1977),

he illustrates the inadequacy of Bickerton's Linear Scalogram, which does not take care of the continuum from pidgin to

standard usage. He argues, as in earlier studies that, depending on the user's level of education, he could be competent in standard, non-standard and pidgin.

He recognises the usefulness of Le Page's multi dimensional approach but adds that Nigeria offers a 'more complex sociolinguistic situation than the Caribbean communities' that Le page studied.

He does not wish to be involved in the argument on the medium to be used by African creative writers. It is his opinion that to do so will amount to 'prescriptivism'. Since all varieties have a right to exist, he contends, the responsibility of the linguist is to describe them.

Odumuh's contribution to the existence and status of NigE is as 'retrospective' as it is 'prospective' but we are interested in the latter because as he said:

> The battle-ground has shifted: from a struggle for recognition and independence to one of justifying their (LFE's) legitimacy. We have to muster every effort in order to standardize these varied national subsets. The greatest task is methodology (1984:31).

It is therefore our view that a good beginning is to embark on a systematic identification and description of the varieties or sub-sets within our national variety. This is in line with the call by earlier and even later writers.

Bickerton (1973:195) for instance, suggests that the study of language variation should do more than a general classification of the typologies. In his view, what the

creolist needs is 'a metatheory as vigorous as the structuralist or generative ones but with a wholly different concept of language'. Such a metatheory, relevant as it is to the Nigerian situation, has been noticeably lacking. Bamgbose (1982) also laments that 'the major problem I have had working on Nigerian English has been one of methodology'.

Ubahakwe (1979:2) does not see any cause for celebration because 'although a Nigerian English may have been with us already, its varieties and functions are still very much indeterminate'. His assertion is based on the 'tentative tones of the papers' in *Varieties and Functions of English in Nigeria*, which he edited.

The paucity of empirical studies on NigE has also been described by Munzali Jibril (1982:6). In his words:

> As a field, Nigerian English is very long on 'reflections' and pre-analytical hunches but very short on systematic data-based studies.

Banjo's paradigm calls for research into English as a World Language is as challenging as it is inviting:

> A new growth point in English studies in EWL, or English as a World Language, which is both analytical and comparative. It is a vast, exciting, and as yet, little explored territory, and one in which it is **desirable** for Nigerian scholars to make their own contribution (1989:6, emphasis mine).

The issues involved are varied: methodology, varieties identification, differentiation and description, the effects of extralinguistic factors and possible contribution to the growth of knowledge on English as World Language etc. Also we

need to embark on studies into the current status and functions of English in Nigeria. Are these functions 'separatist'? (See Ubahakwe, 1979; Odumuh 1989 in Jibril, et al; and Sada 1980 for such calls).

A few other works on NigE deserve some mention in this study. These include Kujore (1985), Elugbe and Ommamor (1991), Jowitt (1991), Okwudishu (1990) etc.

Kujore's contribution to the study of English in Nigeria is best seen in Banjo's, assessment of the work. According to Banjo, by noting Nigerian variations along-side the standard British equivalents, Kujore's 'vade-mecum' offers the general reader 'an opportunity to see the growing divergence between Nigerian usage and standard British usage' (p.vii). Individuals are therefore expected to settle their personal doubts on matters of usage.

The work is divided into two sections: the first discusses stress patterns of standard Nigerian and British Englishes while the other deals with lexical usage in both varieties. These are adequately illustrated.

The work provides a large body of data on Nigerian usage which could be analysed in various other ways. But Kujore, a classical scholar, does not take any look at the sociolinguistic perspectives of these variations. He therefore could not determine other varieties of Nigerian usage and invariably fails to answer basic questions of who speaks what, why and in what contexts. He however provides a clue to how

the language is spoken and written.

Another possible criticism of Kujore is that our concern in this study is with variation within NigE as opposed to between NigE and BrE - which he does attempt.

Elugbe and Omamor (1991) has been described as 'the most exhaustive study to date in Nigerian Pidgin'(Banjo, 1991). The work covers the beginnings of Nigerian Pidgin, theories about the origins of pidgins and creoles and the scope of Nigerian Pidgin. Other areas dealt with include the problem of orthography of pidgin, the structure and prospects of Nigerian Pidgin.

The authors were motivated into writing the book 'by the discovery that the Nigerian public was grossly misinformed about what Nigerian Pidgin (English) really is' and the desire to make a clear distinction between 'bad English which one might call broken English and Nigerian Pidgin'.

They are also dismayed that even linguists who should know better base their analysis of pidgin on data which could not be wholly accepted as pidgin' (p.vii).

Perhaps, nowhere in the text is their position more succintly and tacitly put than in an answer to the question: 'Is NP (NigP) a substandard form of English' (p.61), to which they respond:

> We stand on a much firmer ground
> when we say in reply 'definitely not'.

Their argument is based on the now-too-familiar belief

that a consideration of the grammatical structure of NigP demonstrates that the structural patterns of English cannot be used to describe pidgin, and that the phonological system of pidgin is sufficiently different from that of English. Therefore, all things considered, they argue, 'we are faced with two separate systems' (p.61).

The authors also present a description of the phonological and grammatical systems of pidgin. Further evidence is provided by comparing NigP and the language of *The Masquerade* and *Wakabout* in much the same way as Omamor (1990) does in 'Pidgins and Pseudo Pidgins'. These comparisons are aimed at solving the problem of misrepresentation of the status of pidgin which should be recognised by all including linguists,

> for what it is - a full fledged language that is capable of coping with any idea, just as would English, Hausa or any language, for that matter (p.145)

According to them, it is the failure to acknowledge this that has led to broken forms of English being mistaken for Pidgin and 'false data presented as the basis of papers on NP (NigP)'.

Nigerian Pidgin: Background and Prospects can be said to be a celebration of pidgin. The defence of pidgin as a language is quite appealing and perhaps, convincingly forceful and, as Banjo says, 'cogent and vigorous'. There is no doubt that both scholars have put in place a vital document for the

study of NigP.

There are however, a few reservations. The authors' treatment of pidgin as static, discrete and therefore unaffected by any form of influence or change is, perhaps the greatest weakness of the book. We do not want to believe that the authors are unaware of the sociolinguistic contexts in which it is used and the processes of creolization and decreolization or depidginization, or even the recent trends in the study of pidgins.

In their desire to present NigP as an independent language, they did not acknowledge that substrate and superstrate languages influence each other to the point that it becomes difficult to state where one begins and the other ends.

This is more disturbing because the authors admit (p.110) that:

> Decreolization or depidginization refers to the development of a pidgin to the extent that a certain convergence between it and the base language becomes observable. Hence, it is sometimes **claimed** that between the base language (on which a pidgin is based) and the most rudimentary form of the pidgin is **a continuum** (see for example, Todd,1974) Emphasis mine.

If in 1974, Todd acknowledged that the post-creole continuum consists of 'a wide range of varieties of English, some nearer the creole end of the spectrum, some nearer the standard end (p.53), Elugbe and Omamor in 1991 (seventeen years later) should have applied the concept of the continuum

or, at least, admitted or given an indication that it could apply to NigP. Such an attempt will not only provide the readers with an alternative view, but will enrich their knowledge of NigP.

It is quite understandable why the issue of decreolization is not applied to NigP: such a step will destroy their defence of pidgin as 'full-fledged language'.

Unfortunately, such a static view of NigP fails to account for the continued influence of English on pidgin or vice versa and the heavy dependence of pidgin on English vocabulary. It is also incapable of explaining the relationship between NigP and the language of 'The *Masquerade*', *'Ikebe Super' and 'Wakabout'* which the authors say are written in 'bad English'. It is our view that these varieties should not been written off as 'bad English' but should be seen as part of the mesolectal continuum - a continuum of varieties between pidgin and SNigE.

Perhaps too, it is important to state that it is not altogether true that identical grammatical structure signifies sameness of language. Examples abound of Nigerian languages, for instance, which share similar grammatical structures but which are still described and treated as different languages, and they remain so. Indeed, some grammatical patterns of NigP are identical with those of our local languages, yet Elugbe and Omamor see pidgin as a different language. There is therefore, a contradiction, somewhere!

To continue to defend and celebrate an idealized, independent and invariable NigP in a sociolinguistic island is not only utopian but fails to reckon with the sociolinguistic realities of pidgin in Nigeria.

Jibril (1995:232) has also commented on Elugbe and Omamor (1991). He sees the work as 'the best linguistic account of NP to date' but states that:

> However **uncharacteristically** for trained linguists, the authors adopt a possessive defensive, emotional and puristic attitude to NP (emphasis mine).

He argues that with the changing role of Nigerian Pidgin, the variety now 'trespasses **freely** into English syntax to borrow structures which are clearly non-pidgin'.

Using examples of inflection of verbs for the progressive, the introduction of auxiliaries, Jibril suggests that NigP appears to be depidginizing at the same time as it is creolizing.

A more profitable way to look at the phenomenon therefore, Jibril says, is to see NigP in a two dimensional continuum with the regional varieties at the horizontal axis while at the vertical axis are sociolects of NigP which are 'marked with increasing proximity to English'. A thin dividing line separates the top of the axis of the continuum, which according to him, is pyramid-shaped with the axes not mutually exclusive.

We acknowledge that 'varieties' and 'continua' are

linguisitic and sociolinguistic entities respectively, and admit that, in principle, the structure of core NigP (or any other pidgin/creole for that matter) is different from that of standard English. In its present day use, however, it is becoming increasingly difficult to know where to draw a neat line between them because as Wardhaugh (1986:78) points out, when there is decreolization.

> that is, when a society has two languages, a creolized x and standard x and that standard exerts considerable **influence** on the raleigh, People start to 'improve' their creole using the standard language as their model, and a whole range of varieties, which form a continuum, is created.

Strangely enough, Omamor (1990:54) implicitly admits that at least two such influences have been observed in NigP. She says that she 'has recently noticed that some young secondary school users of NP (NigP) in **Sapele'** add **s** to nouns to make them plural and also use the pronoun **she** instead of **i**. Yet, she is not sure if these can be deemed instances of 'decreolization at work'.

The same doubt is expressed by Gani-Ikilama (1991) who identifies three varieties of NigP, viz: 'Regional', 'Minimal' and 'Academic' and provides examples (especially of the third variety) to show, from our own point of view, that depidginization/decreolization is taking place in NigP. Some of her examples are presented below.

(i) 'I don write **it**' instead of

(ii) 'I don write **am**'

I have written ***it***.

(iii) 'My **children** de for house' instead of

My **pikin dem** de for house

My ***children*** *are at home*.

Despite these evidence, she is not sure if they can be described as depidginization. '**Decreolization?**', she queries!

The fact that these developments are so recognizable that they have been accorded the status of a sub-variety should be of great concern to sociolinguists. It is therefore interesting to note that Gani-Ikilama 'accepts' at the end of her work that "this (decreolization) is probably what is responsible for the 'academic' variety which sounds 'impure' to a speaker of pidgin 'proper'" (p.8).

It is however fascinating to note that a number of scholars in other nations with similar historical and sociolinguistic experiences with Nigeria, have applied the concept to their situations. The question therefore is, if it applies to Cameroon, New Zealand, the Phillipines etc why can it not apply to Nigeria?

It is our view therefore that the situation described by Wardhauagh is quite relevant to the Nigerian context and that only an approach that takes into consideration the existence of a 'mesolectal continuum' can adequately account for the varieties of pidgin or other non-standard forms of NigE. A static view of pidgin or any of the other sub-sets has,

therefore, a limited value in the present study.

If Elugbe and Omamor failed to incorporate recent developments in the study of pidgins and creoles in their work, Jowitt (1991) demonstrates an awareness of them and relates NigE to the growing trend in the study of Englishes around the world. He presents a summary of Decamp (1971) and Bickerton and a good overview of studies in variety differentiation in NigE from the time of Brosnahan to Banjo and Adesanoye. The work also highlights three parameters that have generally been employed by scholars, in identifying varieties of NigE, viz: ethnolinguistic consideration, education and the extent of deviation from standard English.

The study also examines other aspects of Nigerian English, viz: phonology, morphology and provides an extensive glossary of current lexical usage in Nigeria.

On the question of varieties of NigE, Jowitt acknowledges that Banjo's (1971) classification spells out a continuum and therefore segmentation can only be arbitrary.

He notes however, that 'the linguistic specifications of Banjo's Variety 2 - 'syntax close to that of SBE, and strongly marked phonological and lexical peculiarities' - cannot be clearly distinguished from Variety 3, with its syntax also close to that of SBrE.

Using six phonological, syntactic and lexical features of NigE and comparing them with their SBrE equivalents, he predicts that given a choice, 'a wide sample of Nigerians

would display almost every possible combination of these features in their speech or writing or both' (p.43).

Jowitt queries Adesanoye's tripartite classification and argues that 'he does not provide empirical evidence to support the theory of three varieties', but admits contradictorily that arbitrariness is inevitable in such exercises and that a tripartite schema has 'a strong special appeal'. This according to him is because all of us go through primary, secondary and university education. Still, he wonders whether 'a tripartite schema corresponds to the sociolinguistic realities'? (p.41).

Using the degree of deviation from SBrE, the level of education and to some extent, occupational types, Jowitt advances that English usage in Nigeria can be arranged as a continuum with two polarities: 'the greatest deviation' and 'standard' respectively. Not comfortable with the term 'non-standard', because it gives an impression of something 'abhorrent', Jowitt refers to all non-standard forms (both errors and deviants) as 'Popular Nigerian English' (PNE). According to him, these forms constitute a unit which is found in every sub-variety and are 'the indexical features' of Nigerian English. In his view,

> the usage of **every** Nigerian user is a mixture of standard forms and popular Nigerian English forms, which are in turn composed of errors and variants (p.47) (**emphasis mine**)

See Fig. 1.1. for details.

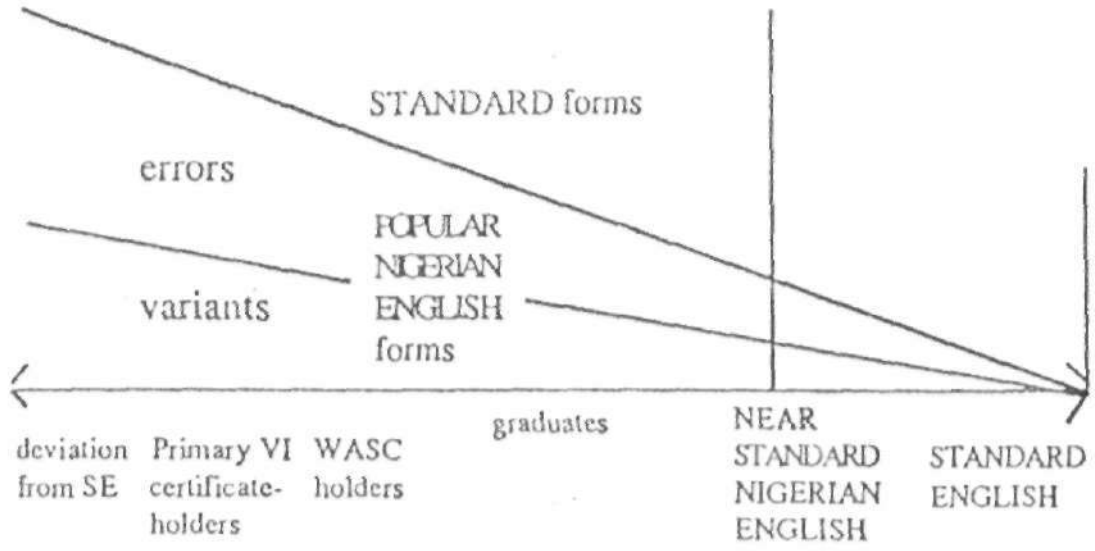


Fig 1.1 Varieties of Nigerian English
(from Jowitt, 1991:47)

From the above figure, the frequency of 'errors' tends to diminish as one moves from left to right. This seems to suggest that PNE is not only a basilectal but also a mosolectal sub-set.

It is our view that 'Popular Nigerian English' which covers the usage of illiterates, primary and secondary school leavers and some university graduates (i.e. virtually all Nigerian users of English) is so broad that it fails to

capture the complex socioliguistic realities in which the varieties of NigE are employed as he has advocated.

It seems therefore that Jowitt also fails to apply DeCamp's and Bickerton's post-creole continuum, after acknowledging that 'the extremely deviant end of the continuum is a variety that corresponds very closely to creole...' (p.3). Consequently, the baseilect is left out.

We are however convinced that the basilect equivalent in NigE is NigP, which in some contexts, for instance the delta area of Delta and Rivers States, has acquired a creole status.

Jowitt's treatment of NigP can at best be described as shallow. This is easy to explain; he does not see it as a variety of NigE. He does, however, make a few claims:

> (i) Unlike Broken English whose syntax is idiosyncratic, Pidgin has a standardized syntax.
>
> (ii) Unlike PNE and standard varieties of English, Pidgin and English are fairly **discontinuous**.
>
> (iii) The learning of Pidgin **usually** precedes the learning of English... (**emphasis mine**).

While we accept (as we have stated earlier) that in principle, the pidgin spoken in Delta and Rivers States **had** and perhaps, may still have a standardized syntax, we are also aware that the variety is not by any standard homogeneous. Jowitt's argument that Pidgin and English are discontinuous entities is therefore as contentious as it is self-defeating because he also accepts (p.54) that

> some structures and lexical items of pidgin **frequently** find their way into

> PNE, particularly at the lower learning levels (**emphasis mine**).

It is also not altogether true that the learning of pidgin '**usually**' precedes that of English - it may be true in areas where pidgin is the mother-tongue. In other situations, the reverse is the case, or both are learnt simultaneously. Under such conditions, it is the transfer of structures from the non-standard (Jowitt's PNE) or even standard sub-set that is evident. The result of such inter-variety and sometimes bi-directional transfer is a pidgin continuum which naturally stretches into NSNigE and in some cases, SNigE. This has been responsible for the development of various forms of pidgins.

Bamgbose (1995) seems to agree with Jowitt on the status of NigP. The work takes a retrospective look at English usage in Nigeria and identifies three strands that have contributed in shaping NigE as it is today. These are 'Contact English' (CE), which comprises Nigerian Pidgin (NP) and Broken English (BE); Victorian English (VE) and School English (SE).

Bamgbose illustrates the CE variety with excerpts from the famous entries in Antera Duke's diary of the events in Calabar between 1785 and 1788. According to him, of the two contact sub-varieties, Broken English is less popular but it is continuously used in soap operas. Unlike the earlier types of Broken English, the modern use of this sub-set is to depict an unorganised and disorderly society.

He opines that the continued use of Nigerian Pidgin in Nigerian English raises the question of its linguistic and sociolinguistic status. Bamgbose agrees with Elugbe, Omamor and Gani-Ikilama etc that Nigerian Pidgin is not a variety of NigE. According to him,

> While a consideration of Nigerian Pidgin as a variety of English may be unacceptable, it is difficult to quarrel with the conclusion that, in its use, particularly in literature, it is still closely tied to Nigerian English.

It is not however, clear what Bamgbose means by being 'closely tied to Nigerian English'.

The Victorian strand of NigE is associated with the 'cosmopolitan 19th century negro of Lagos' - made up of lawyers, doctors, missionaries etc returning from Brazil, America, Sierra Leone and Liberia. These returnees had a common historical and racial identity with the Negroes of Black America but with the culture of 'a non-native upper class'. Bamgbose quotes from *Veronica My Daughter* (p.12) to illustrate this variety.

> As I was decending (sic!) from declivity yesterday, with such an excessive velocity, I suddenly lost the centre of my gravity and was precipitated on macamadized (sic!) thoroughfare (sic!).

Victorian English, in Bamgbose's view, is the prototype of bookish Nigerian English with its bombast. This strand 'has continued to some extent in Nigerian English, although it has now been shorn of its classical pretensions' (p.17).

The third strand, School English (SE) is 'the English of the school primer, of the sermon....' This is a simplified off-shoot of the learned Victorian style which is also susceptible to nativization. Bamgbose sees this variety as the direct predecessor of today's Nigerian English.

Ayo Bamgbose's classification raises a few questions, 'retrospective' though it is. One such question is the status and 'continued' influence of Victorian English on English usage in Nigeria in the 20th century. If 'it was routine in the writer's (Bamgbose's) schooldays to exhibit learning through the use of grandiloquent expressions' (p.17), we do not see any such routine today. Indeed, there are many Nigerian users of English who do not write or speak Victorian. A large number too, (including the present writer) have had no contact at all with Latin which, to a great extent, had a remarkable input into Victorian usage.

How many Nigerians would say for instance,'This is the domiciliary edifice erected by Jack' for just a message as simple as '*This is the house that Jack built*'? It is obvious from this that the effect of VE is minimal, if it still has any on English usage in Nigeria.

It is also our view that since Nigerian Pidgin and Broken English which result from 'contact' with Europeans form a strand, the same should apply to Victorian English (VE) and School English both of which are the products of 'learning'.

Indeed, we see VE as some form of SE, associated with the

'older' generation but which has now been transformed and submerged into the current simplified usage of most Nigerians.

Bamgbose's use of BE as both Broken English and British English is also unclear! In his discussion, he sees BE (Broken English) as the cousin of Nigerian Pidgin.

In his illustration (see Fig 1.2) however he labels BE (now British English) as a sub-variety of Contact English.

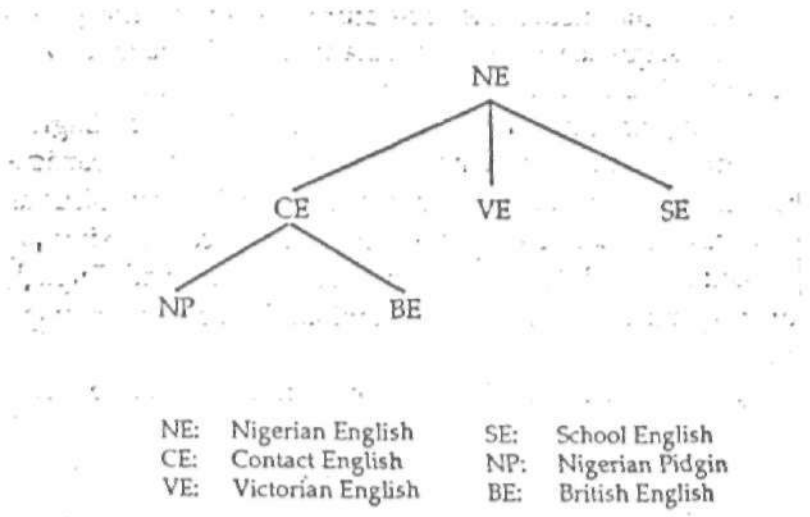


Fig. 1.2 Types of Nigerian English (from Bamgbose, 1995:12)

Readers are forced to ask:

(i) Is BE (British English) a variety of NigE? We do not believe.

(ii) Is British English closer to NigP than it is to Victorian/School English? Perhaps, not.

(iii) Could this be the printer's devil? Perhaps so, but only Bamgbose can confirm.

One major problem with studies in NigE is that they have failed to see it as a distinct variety just as BrE or AmE; and it should be treated on a footing of equality. Banjo (1995:225) painfully notes that:

> As we have seen, **all** the studies (in NigE) have been carried out on the basis of comparison with British standard usage, in the case of lexis and syntax, and largely with RP, in the case of phonology (emphasis mine).

He therefore contends that 'scholarship in Nigerian English has not really outgrown its error analysis origins'. His fear that:

> Nigerian usage may still be regarded not as legitimate and inevitable deviations, but as deviance from a universally accepted norm is therefore appreciated.

Yet, Banjo sees nothing intrinsically wrong in describing one variety of language in contrast to another. In the case of studies in Nigerian English (so far), it is to describe NigE 'in contrast to a variety that is widely known, and is also generally known to have been the original historical and formal input'.

He suggests a way out of this dilemma. According to him, while it is usual to consider any departure from the L_1 usage in the output of the foreign learner as an error, 'errors in L_2 situation have to be established against an endonormative,

rather than an exonormative standard...' (p.227).

In Braj Kachru's (1995:iii) view, the debate on NigE has introduced a fascinating dimension of Nigerian English - the distinctiveness of West African English writers. In his opinion, this distinctiveness manifests itself 'in bold experimentation in language, in creating distinct Nigerian discourse in English, and in stylistic and thematic innovations, as seen in the works of Achebe, Soyinka, etc.

Kachru agrees in *New Englishes: A West African Perspective* that the study of English in Nigeria is not new in a chronological sense, but notes, that the newness may be seen in terms of "recognition of the African canon in linguistic and literary creativity by the 'Inner Circle' ", in self-recognition by Nigerian scholars, educators and language policy makers and in 'terms of confidence in creativity and innovations'.

Of importance to this study is that this 'newness' can be interpreted within the socioloinguistic and literary contexts and the call for altered attitudes and identities'. The result of this Kachru posits, is that:

> West African English has become an important part of world Englishes - a window of access to Africa and Africa's window to the rest of the world.

He cites Achebe and Rao, scholars whose views on the problems of a bilingual creative writer are similar. Quoting

from Rao's credo that:

> We cannot write like the English. We should not. We can write only as Indians. We have grown to look at the large world as part of us. Our method of expression therefore has to be a dialect which will someday prove to be distinctive and colorful as the Irish or the American. Time alone will justify (p.iv),

he sees in 'these insightful and provocative observations about creativity in English... a vision for world Englishes'.

For us, Rao's dream that time will justify his vision is already vindicated. The time is **now** and we are set here to describe the Nigerian variety of world Englishes. As Kachru (1985:30) says:

> What we need now are new paradigms and perspectives for linguistic and pedagogical research and for understanding the linguistic creativity in multilingual situations and across cultures.

It is also our wish to demonstrate that scholarship in NigE is **beginning** to outgrow its error analysis orgins and that NigE can indeed be described in her own terms.

Okwudishu (1990) is one study that relates NigP to the current developments in pidgins and creoles. The study, 'Acrolectal features of Sheltered Nigerian Pidgin English' reviews the historical and social conditions that gave birth to NigP and argues that while it was possible for NigP to enjoy a separate existence in its basilectal form, with increase in social mobility, the number of people being educated and urban drift, it is becoming increasingly

difficult to keep the two (i.e. English and Pidgin) apart.

> Consequently, as more and more varieties of Nigerian Pidgin English spring up everyday, it is possible to place them on a continuum between basilectal and acrolectal norms (p.21).

The study also discusses regional and social varieties of NigP. Okwudishu shares the view of Faraclas, et al that, of the four regional varieties (Warri, Rivers, Lagos and Jos), Rivers State Pidgin English (RPE) is distinct. According to them, while RPE maintains many standard English words with final consonant clusters, other regional varieties reduce such clusters to single final consonants. Judging also by the way words are used by the speakers of these varieties, they argue that there is a considerable variation in the substrate lexicon.

On social varieties, Okwudishu observes that the form of pidgin used by urban children differs from that spoken by adults. She cites the example of University of Jos Staff School children who have been overheard making such sentences as 'mek you higher di radio' as an analogy of 'please lower the volume of your radio'.

She also points out that Nigerian musicians and writers have used NigP in their own different ways to create social effect.

Of importance to our study is her acknowledgement that NigP is depidginizing. According to her, examples of the trend are numerous and they apply to all linguistic levels -

phonology, graphology, morphology, lexicon and syntax. She notes however, that, it is at the lexical level that the violation of pidgin requirements are most noticeable as 'more and more words from the traditional pidgin lexicon are giving way to more standard English words' (p.16). She illustrates with 'children' and 'babies' which are now used in place of traditional 'pikin'. Other items include:

please	a beg
sit	sidon
go out	komot
trouble	palava/wahala etc.

At the syntactic level, verbs serialization rule and the use of invariant forms of /e/, /in/ or /im/ for the third person singular pronoun are gradually being violated.

At the morphological level, she opines that there are a few cases of inflection for tense and aspect 'which signal that this is a trend that should also be watched very closely' (p.16).

Though the work does not provide scientific evidence for the changes nor statistical analysis to back up the data, it remains commendable. For one, her acknowledgement that NigP is depidginizing is firm. The introduction of some features of standard English into NigP implies that the movement to NSNigE has begun and the distinction between them even more blurred.

For another, Okwudishu makes bold to identify three sub-types based on lects- basilectal, mesolectal and acrolectal

pidgins. She however laments that important questions relating to the subsequent development of these sub-types have not received adequate attention. Her call, therefore, that

> the time is ripe for a move away from the conservative'heavy' basilectal pidgin to the rapidly restructuring and light' acrolectal one of the accultrating urban communities (p.21),

is as timely and relevant as Rao's, Achebe's, Kachru's and indeed, Banjo's earlier invitation to Nigerian scholars to probe into 'the vast, exciting, and as yet little explored territory' of English as a World Language. We also recall Gillian Sankoff's (1973) proposition that variation studies should go beyond phonology and the suggestion that linguists should take the new wave into syntax (Rickford, 1973). We heed these calls which provide enough justification for this study.

1.3 Statement of the Research Problem

This study hopes to contribute to the existing literature on both Nigerian English and English as a World Language and seeks to provide answers to the following questions:

1. What are the varieties of English used in Nigeria; how can they be differentiated? Are these discrete typologies or a continuum dovetailing into one another?

2. Are the varieties identified by earlier writers 'distinct enough'?

3. What is the most objective metatheory that can be used in the identification and systematic description of syntactic variation in NigE?

4. How far are extraliguistic features correlatable with variability?

5. What is the relationship between the identified varieties and other LFEs and with world language English?

1.4 Limitations.

One expectation of a study such as this is that the data base should cover the entire or at least, most parts of the country. For obvious reasons - time, cost and data management - the study is limited to Ahmadu Bello University (Samaru Campus) Zaria.

This does not imply that only indigenes of Zaria or even Kaduna State participated in the study. Rather, the subjects were drawn from all the states of the federation and the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja.

As a federal institution, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria naturally attracts students from all parts of the country who generally are bound to display the linguistic traits usually associated with members of their language group irrespective of their new abode. (see 3.3, p. 142 for Stratification of Sample).

The decision to use students is deliberate. Perhaps, a more heterogeneous corpus could be more revealing but our objective in this study is to obtain enough materials from a target group - educated users of NigE.

Most of the 100 Level students and a number of the 200 Level students were not only fresh to the university but also

new to Zaria. They were therefore not very likely to have been influenced very much by the linguistic situation on the campus, at least within the first few months of their arrival. It is our assumption therefore that the findings of this study can apply to most other similar contexts in Nigeria.

We are however aware that if the corpus had been collected from other universities, especially in the southern part of the country, this assumption may be confirmed.

Arguable as our position is, we acknowledge that our inability to collect data from students in other universities, presents a major shortcoming. We however hope that the differences, if any, will not be so significant to invalidate our generalisations.

Ours is a syntactic study. We have, however, touched on some sociolinguistic issues, such as sex, contextual styles etc. As we will show in Chapter Three, there are no significant differences either in the ages of the subjects or the occupations of their parents. It was therefore not considered worthwhile to investigate the effects of these two factors on English usage in Nigeria.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Preamble.

Inquiries into speech varieties and the relationship between language and social contexts have been of interest to both the traditional dialectologist and sociolinguist who have looked at variation in language from different view points. In this chapter, we take a look at some of the existing frameworks employed by linguists and sociolinguists in variation studies, and propose a model for the description of NigE.

2.2 Labov's Variability Model

Labov's first major study 'The Social Motivation of a Sound Change' (1963) was carried out in the small Island of Martha's Vineyard in Massachusetts. In the said study, Labov examines the frequency and distribution of the central forms of /ai/ and /au/ diphthongs in several regions, age levels, occupational and ethnic groups and hopes 'to isolate the social factors which bear directly upon the linguistic process' (p.273).

The study found that high centralization of /ai/ and /au/ is very common with those who have 'positive orientation towards Martha's Vineyard' (p.306) i.e. those who are proud to be Vineyarders, for example, 'older' subjects who feel that their way of life is being threatened by visitors.

Centralization therefore provides a subtle pattern of stratification as those who use the centralised form unconsciously wish to establish the fact that they are the natives to whom the island rightfully belongs.

The study shows that variation is associated with different social groups within a community and has provided evidence on the social motivation of sound change.

Attracted by the increasing use of the postvocalic /r/ in New York City, Labov in *The Social Stratification of English in New York City* (1966), attempts 'to discover in the apparently irregular fluctuations in the speech of New Yorkers, a coherent linguistic structure' (p.207).

In the pilot study, 'The Social Stratification of /r/ in New York Department Stores', Labov uses three department stores: Saks Fifth Avenue, Macy's and S.Klein, presented here in descending order of prestige based on their location, quality of customers, advertising and price policies, physical plant and staff welfare.

The methodology was simple: Labov asked various staff the direction of a section which he knew was located on the **fourth floor**. After the initial response, he pretended not to have heard properly. This necessitated another reply, now in careful speech style. Thus, he had /r/ in four different occurrences - two positions each for casual and careful speech forms.

The results are quite interesting. The level of /r/ usage

reflects the assumed status of the stores: 62% in Saks, 51% in Macy's and 20% in Kleins. More /r/ forms were also used in 'floor' (fine position) than in 'fourth' (preconsonantal). Labov also found that more /r/ varieties were employed in emphatic than in casual speech.

Factors such as race, occupation, age, etc were used to explain the regular pattern of /r/ usage. Generally, blacks used less /r/ than whites - there were more black employees in the Klein sample than in Macy's and more in Macy's than in Saks. The same pattern of stratification was observed with occupations: floorworkers, sales people and stock boys used less /r/ in that order.

Labov acknowledges that the results of the survey are 'promising' and applied them to wider context. He turns to the Lower East Side of New York City (LESNY), an area known for its mixed population.

Labov was fortunate to have access to population enumeration records and a sociological survey carried out in 1961 by unit of 'Mobilization for Youth' (MFY), an agency established to help curb juvenile delinquency and improve the opportunity structure of the young people in the area. He was therefore able to eliminate the groups not needed in the study.

He started with 70 exploratory interviews which examined the range of phonological variation of many speakers. Five variables were seen 'to exhibit regular variation in different

styles and contexts'. These include (r) as in **beard, bare, fire, fired, flower, flowered**, etc; (eh) representing the vowel in **back, bad, bag** etc; (oh) as in **dog, for, nor** and the dental consonants in **thing, think, three** (th); **then, with** etc (dh).

Labov designed the interview to elicit a range of styles from casual to careful speech to show how language is used naturally. The oral interview presented instances of careful speech.

For spontaneous speech to emerge, Labov allowed the informants to digress from the subject-matter. He also introduced topics which produced more emotional responses - subjects were asked to describe a situation in which they were in serious danger of being killed.

Apart from these, 'channel cues', modulations of the voice production which affect speech as a whole' were used to indicate style shifts from careful to spontaneous speech. These included tempo, pitch, volume, rate of breathing and, even laughter.

Labov wanted a sample that is representative of all the main ethnic and religious groups, socio-economic classes etc in New York with the exception of foreigners. New Yorkers who were born in foreign countries were also excluded unless they had come to the Lower East Side before age of eight. Americans who had come to New York City after the age of eight were classified as 'out-of-towners'; their speech was only used for

comparative purposes with the main data.

From an initial list of 988 people from MFY, Labov, through a complex method of elimination, and a rigorous random sampling arrived at 122. These were personally interviewed.

For the socio-economic class (SEC), three equally weighted indicators of occupation, education and income were used. Five social classes were identified; Lower class (LC), Working class (WC), Lower Middle Class (LMC), Upper Middle Class (UMC) and Upper Class (UC).

Among other things, the study established that there is correlation between some variables and both social class and style. For example, (r) presented clear stratification and therefore quite useful in differentiating the class continuum. Generally, the lower class uses less (r) in casual speech but as formality increases the difference between UMC and others decreases, Fig 2.1. gives further details.

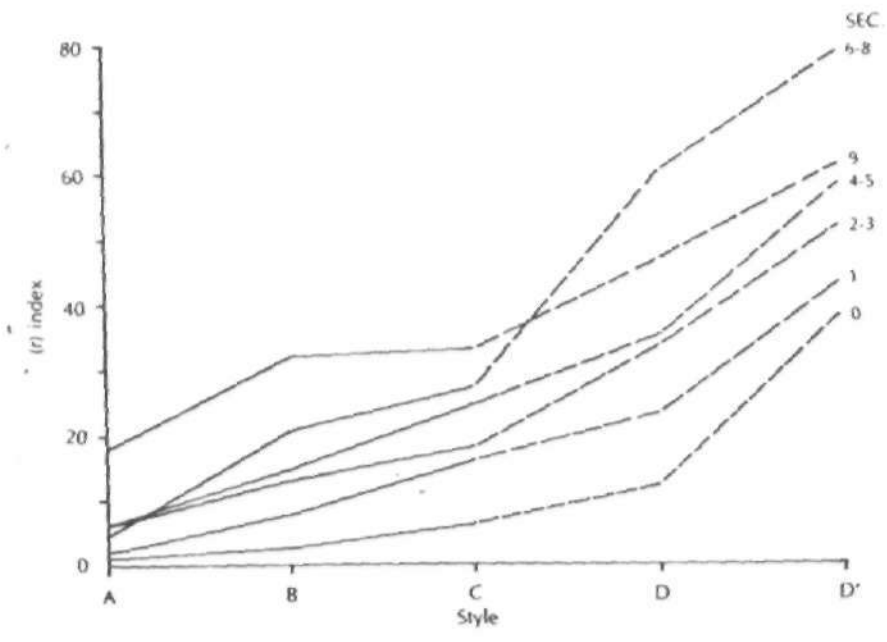


Fig. 2.1 Class stratification of [r] from Labov (1972:114)

SEC:

0-1	LC	A. Casual speech
2-4	WC	B. Careful speech
5-6, 7-8	LMC	C. Reading style
9	UMC	D. Word list
		D' Minimal pairs

As can be seen, the lowest group does not even use (r) at all in casual speech, the others only little. One nevertheless notes that there is a cross-over - the sudden upward movement of LMC which even goes beyond the UMC. Labov calls this 'the hypercorrection of the Lower Middle Class' and sees it as a factor of linguistic change. It is the LMC that shows the most extreme style shifting - a mark of linguistic insecurity.

While in all contexts members of each of SEC can be identified by their use of (th), the pattern to a very large extent, remains the same - all groups reduce the use of stops and affricates in formal types. See Fig 2.2 for details.

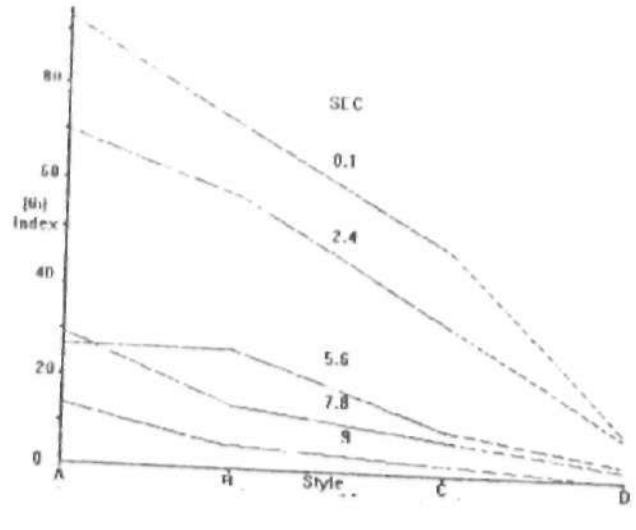


Fig. 2.2 Class stratificaion of [th] from Labov (1972:125)

However, the study found that for (th) and (dh), the use of the stop consonant in initial position for **think, thing** is a more common feature of the LC than the WC. Both classes use stops and affricates in words as **then, the** (dh) in unstressed position. It can also be seen from the figure that the fricative form of (th) is the prestige form in New York City.

It also noted that in careful speech, women use fewer stigmatised forms than men and are more sensitive to the prestige forms especially in formal situations. This pattern is more pronounced in LMC women who show 'more concentration in the extreme values especially for (oh)' (p.312).

It can therefore be said that the socio-economic groups are neatly stratified in their use of non-standard variants. The highest class uses these non-standard forms in very limited cases in informal interactions. New Yorkers also recognise that a prestige variety (that used by UC) exists and generally attempt to use it as much as possible.

Labov's insightful treatment of linguistic variation in New York City which has generally been acknowledged as very scholarly, has provided the framework for other studies (See Shuy, Wolfram and Riley, 1968, Trudgill, 1972 and 1974a; Jibril 1986 etc). The views of the various writers are summed up by Glenn (1969:469) who considers it 'a magnuan upus'.

Glenn believes that Labov's department stores studies are among 'the most novel interviewing techniques'. He praises Labov's ability to obtain socially stratified linguistic data

in a highly impersonal environment without the informants being aware of their being interviewed. According to him, Labov has attacked one of the most complicated situations in the United States and has succeeded in 'unraveling currents and counter currents of stigmatization, prestige and ethnic group identification which previous investigators did not know how to treat' (P.273)

The introduction of sociolinguistic variables by Labov is also noteworthy. These variables enable the linguist to identify not only the factors that affect language change but also the social motivation of linguistic variation. A complex combination of the sociolinguistic and an array of stylistic variables provide an excellent result: a clear picture of the varying effects of the sociolinguistic variables in different stylistic contexts emerges.

The statistical data employed by Labov and other proponents of variable rules are not 'mere displaying devices' as Bickerton (1973:28) claims. They help in reaching conclusions which may not be obvious from the raw data. Indeed, Glenn sees Labov's charts as 'visually similar to topographical linguistic data displays' and can even be called a map of sociolinguistic variation. To him, it is a kind of socioliguistic atlas with social characteristics of the populace replacing geographical coordinates (p.473). These, as Anshen (1975:8) puts it, facilitate explanations.

Bickerton also claims that with variable rules, the human

mind is forced to do very unlikely things. He says that a speaker must know the rules, their various interpretations and uses - and do so in conformity with social norms. For instance, he must be constantly aware of what the other members of the group to which he belongs are doing so as to relate to the group average. Bickerton holds that this would lead to an unusual situation in which a speaker will continue to check his speech in all contexts (1971:460); and argues that it is not likely that a real person will be able to do all these all the time. He will have to have a supernatural power to know what the others far away from him are doing.

Gillian Sankoff (1974:34), rejects this argument and states that there is no evidence to prove that the human mind can only work in 'all-or-nothing terms' and that in view of the abundant evidence in Labov (1965 and 1966), it appears that human beings can indeed process and deal with this kind of variation.

Frank Ashen in 'Varied Objections to Various Variable Rules', (1975:7) and Robert Berdan in 'The Necessity of Variable Rules', (1975:19) hold a slightly different view. They agree with Bickerton that real people do not possess these capacities but are quick to point out that they (the capacities) are not necessary for variable rules as they will be taken care of by probability statements which are indispensable in accounting for the uniformity of patterns of variation across generations and social groups.

Gillian Sankoff also refutes Bickerton's criticism of the early work on variable rules that statistical tendencies for the community are an ad hoc mixture of the grammar of different speakers. Citing evidence from the 'Montreal que', she opines that such statistical tendencies at the community level are reflections of the tendencies of the individual.

It is our submission that, though group behaviour may not always be a direct reflection of that of the individual, in most cases, it is the application of a rule rather than its absence or the presence of another rule that is observed if the behaviour of the group is compared with that of the individual. (See Ashen,1972; Wolfram,1973).

Labov's 'interest' in competence has also come under attack. Bickerton (1971), DeCamp (1969, 1971) believe that variable rules distort the fundamental distinction between competence and performance and that this is bound to affect the general theory of grammar. Odumuh and Gomwalk (1986) see the emphasis on competence as a reflection of Chomsky's preference over performance and envisage a danger in this preference -"the relegation of 'performance-related' aspects of variation to the periphery' and the consequent marginalization of the more objective aspects of variation for the subjective and intuitive ones.

Labov however does not agree that a distinction between competence and performance can be of much value. He agrees that while no one should see performance as a dumping site for

all 'convenient data' in variation, terms such as 'free variation', 'dialect mixture' can be used to account for change and that since variable rules relate to grammatical categories in a highly complex way, 'it is hard to see what can be gained by extracting a grain of performance from this complex system' (1960:759). He therefore sees Chomsky's (1965) definition of competence and performance as narrow and inadequate.

Labov described the phonological structure of the group rather than that of the individual because

> the speech of most individuals did not form a coherent and rational system, but was marked by numerous oscillations, contradictions and alterations which were inexplicable in terms of a single idiolect. (Labov 1972:124).

Bickerton has however argued that dependence on the group rather than the individual conceals considerable variation between individual idiolects. According to him, (1971:488):

> One can always produce discrete figures by drawing non-linguistic boundaries, averaging performance within those boundaries, and then comparing the averages; if one takes individuals irrespective of group or class membership and ranks them along a continuum, one gets a different picture.

Labov's model assumes the existence of a society, hierarchically structured along socio-economic lines with 'stable sociolinguistic markers', but as Jibril (1982) and Odumuh and Gomwalk (1986) have noted, such crystallization has not taken place in African societies. Evidence from this study also shows that there are no sociolinguistic markers

associated with any category or group of speakers. Individuals switch from one variety to another in response to the sociolinguistic demands of the situation.

It is also significant to note that despite the contributions made by Labov to sociolinguistics, his variable rule theory 'has had little or no influence in the writing of grammars' (Hudson, 1980:184). This may be because variation studies as we have seen concentrated on phonological variables. Besides, we note more importantly that Jibril (1986) applied the Labovian framework to phonological variation in Nigerian English and found the model inadequate on grounds which include differences in the ordering of stylistic levels and contexts. Contrary to Labovian expectation, Jibril found that the subjects used 'proportionately more of the non-RP variants in reading style than in the discussion style'. Details are presented in Table 2.1

Table 2.1 The effect of reading style on variables [ð], [ʌ] and [ɔ] in two speakers (from Jibril, 1986:71).

		Variable (ð)			Variable (ʌ)		Variable (ə)	
Speaker	Style	[d̪]	[d]	[ð]	[ɔ]	[ʌ]	[ɔ	[ə]
45	Discussion	43	0	14	18	7	11	7
	Reading	36	0	7	59	4	22	10
66	Discussion	45	17	15	56	6	20	14
	Reading	22	0	0	33	6	6	0

Another reason advanced by Jibril for the inadequacy of the Labovian framework is the 'confusion' and 'ambivalence' which surround the prestige norm in a second language situation - an ambivalence more noticed in speech where the acceptability of a native-like accent depends on the context and the naturalness of the speaker.

If the Labovian model is inadequate even in the study of phonological variation in NigE, it can hardly be a valid tool for analysis in syntactic variation - an area that it has been known to have far less influence.

Cheshire (1978 and 1982) provides further proof that given different socio-cultural and socioloinguistic settings, Labov's variable theory may either fail to apply or do so only to some degree. In *Variation in an English Dialect* and 'Present tense verbs in Reading English', she employs the Labovian model with limited success. The differences are attributed to the social characteristics of the American and British societies. According to her, the Reading boys formed a more cohesive group while the Harlem boys in Labov's study had names such as 'The Jets', 'The Cobras' and had "a distinctly hierarchical structure with leaders and other 'officials'" (1982:90) which qualify the collection for a 'gang' rather than 'group' particularly when compared with the Reading boys who were less 'authoritarian' and had less rigid structure - characteristics which she says are typical of street boys in Britain.

Cheshire acknowledges that while there is a positive correlation between the use of non-standard features and peer group status, it is not true for all linguistic variables. The correlation cannot also be said to be either as systematic or regular as presented by Labov. See Table 2.2 for details.

Table 2.2 Adherence to vernacular culture and frequency indices for non-standard features.

Feature	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4
Class A				
nonstandard **-s**	77.36	54.03	36.57	21.21
nonstandard **has**	66.67	50.00	41.65	(33.33)
nonstandard **was**	90.32	89.74	83.33	75.00
negative concord	100.00	85.71	83.33	71.43
Class B				
nonstandard **never**	64.71	41.67	45.45	37.50
nonstandard **what**	92.31	7.69	33.33	0.00
Class C				
nonstandard **do**	58.33	37.50	83.33	-
nonstandard **come**	100.00	100.00	100.00	(100.00)
ain't= auxiliary **HAVE**	78.26	64.52	80.00	(100.00)
ain't= copula **BE**	100.00	76.19	56.52	75.00
ain't= auxiliary **BE**	58.82	72.22	80.00	(100.00)

Cheshire's analysis of the use of non-standard forms by the different groups studied only 'appeared' to confirm Labovian classification of socioloinguistic variables as markers and indicators of social class. The variables also have different kinds of social significance. For instance, while for the boys, the use of non-standard 'has', 'was', 'never' and negative concord signifies an identity with the vernacular culture, it does not have the same value for all

the girls. Again, while the past tense form of 'come' remains invariant for the boys and therefore of no social value, it is a symbol of cultural identity for the girls.

She also questions (as Jibril did) the Labovian concept of style, which claims that the proportion of nonstandard features is directly related to the amount of attention speakers give to their speech, and considers it rather 'over-simplistic'. According to her, in most cases, paying attention to speech results in the use of more non-standard forms. She therefore suggests that a more realistic approach is to see style as 'the individual's response to the social occasion' (p.131).

Of importance is the fact that the sociolinguistic context in which Cheshire conducted her study can be said to be more similar to that of Labov than to the Nigerian context, at least in terms of social class system. That she found these discrepancies should therefore worry any user of the model, moreso in an entirely non-native (English) setting such as Nigeria.

In his own criticism, Le Page recalls Labov's recognition of the problem posed by the inability of linguistic theory to account for the variable performance of a speaker and his motivation for linguistic change. Discussing the behaviour of Black American speakers of creole, Labov (1971) agrees that 'there is no regular rule to predict which of the various forms will be selected or distinguished'. Le Page (1975:148)

notes Labov's feelings:

> It is illusory... to believe that all cases of variation can be resolved into invariant rules, dialect mixture or free variation.

Gilbert Glenn (1969:473) has also commented on Labov's division of the continuum of style into discrete levels. In doing this, he says Labov is introducing some artificiality into the analysis. He however admits that the use of discrete stylistic levels in ascertaining the possibility of occurrence of certain phonological variables cannot be disputed.

Equally undisputable is the contribution made by Labov to 'sociolinguistics' - a term that he has resisted for many years. The use of sociolinguistic variables will enable this investigator to identify and analyse 'the major systematic linguistic features' associated with the different varieties of NigE, (Odumuh and Gomwalk 1986:10). Some aspects of his data collection techniques have therefore been employed in this study. (See Chapter Three)

2.3 Bickerton's Linear Scalogram

In 'Inherent Variability and Variable Rules' (1971), Derek Bickerton uses the Charles-James N Bailey Wave Model to describe the 'random distribution' of 'fu-tu' complimentizers in Guyanese creole which he says can be accounted for by a rule change that began in a limited area, early in the century. As a result of the gradual weakening of the socio-

economic barriers between the whites and non-whites, the rule change filtered into some environments while it had scarcely begun in others. This is because the area in which the rule first applied has to be saturated before the change begins in the next area.

One thing that is however common with Guyanese creole speakers according to him, is the tendency to marginally internalise their grammar by inducing rules from the utterances of the speakers of the target variety. This leads to the development of 'mesolectal' forms- 'approximations' of English rules through 'selections of genuine parts of the actual target rule'. The result is a continuum situation where there is a great deal of difference between and within individuals who nevertheless can be said to represent an ordered process and can be implicationally ranked.

Bickerton (1973) calls for a new matatheory which should see variations as the centre rather than the periphery of language. A functional application of the matatheory breaks down the dichotomy between the synchronic and diachronic studies. Language, he contends, must be seen as 'a dynamic process evolving through space and time', and the problems of 'leaky' grammars and conflicting native-speaker intuitions must be seen in the light of change.

Bickerton takes as his starting point, the individual speaker and the term **'lect'** has now come to be used for

'individual variety of language'. He actually doubts the appropriateness in the use of 'dialects' or 'languages' which he sees as misleading and suggests that a more appropriate term to work with is **isolect** defined as 'any possible set of rules such as it will differ from adjacent sets of rule on a panlectal (implicational) grid by only a single rule-conflict or resolution of such conflict'. He also defines **panlectal grid** as 'the totality of possible sets of rules for an (arbitrarily limited) area in space and/or time which in turn constitutes a selection from the totality of possible sets of rules for human language', (p.643).

Bickerton however notes that both the isolect and the panlectal grid are purely abstract and that a given isolect may be realised by more than one speaker. He uses these to study the Guyanese copula and pronominal systems.

No attempt was however made to either quantify the distribution of the variants or see the relationship between them and extralinguistic factors. The task he set for himself was to demonstrate that 'the mechanics of variation (as distinct, of course from its social uses) can be accounted for in purely linguistic terms' (p.666).

Bickerton (1975), *Dynamics of a Creole System*, pursues the issues of the creole continuum. Bickerton presents three speech samples: the first, (A1) essentially English with 'few surviving creole features' and the third (C1) creole with English lexicon. The second sample, 'the inevitable stage of

transition' combines the features of A1 and C1 and results "from the struggles of a socially insecure speaker of a creole vernacular to adjust his speech 'upwards' in the presence of some representative of the superordinate culture" (p.3).

He therefore argues that it would be 'false' to assume that these three are discrete language varieties rather than two since there are many varieties intermediate between them, pointing out however that the inability of a speaker to attain a particular point along the continuum in one context does not mean that he cannot do so in other contexts that will require such 'competence'.

Bickerton disagrees with Chomsky's idealized speaker-listener theory because 'an heuristic model of a uniform and homogeneous speech does not necessarily constitute the best means' of describing the linguistic situation created by creole. He also diverged from Labov because while on many linguistic items Labov's informants showed variable behaviour, his subjects did not show any such in any of the items tested.

Bickerton, (1975), uses the terms **basilect**, **mesolect** and **acrolect** to refer to varieties within the continuum - called the panlectal grid. Basilect represents the variety that is farthest from English; acrolect, educated Guyanese English; and mesolect represents the intermediate varieties. Bickerton isolates five tense-aspect markers: **a**, **bin**, **bina**, **don and doz** (all of which occur in preverbal positions). He

subdivides the verb system into:

a) **realis** which indicates actions that have occurred or are in the process of taking place; and

b) **irrealis** - which refers to actions that have not occurred.

All the tense-aspect markers, except **doz** (which is a feature of the mesolect), are associated with basilect speakers. Bickerton's analysis is therefore based on use or otherwise of these and other features by the speakers of the three varieties - basilect, mesolect and acrolect. In Tables 2.3 and 2.4, we reproduce the outputs of some basilect and non-basilect speakers.

Table 2.3: Basilectal outputs

Speaker	-s	-ed	(be)	-ing	doz	don	bina	bin	a
2				3	1	1		1	21
9			1	2	21	7	2	3	128
15			1	1	7	3	1		26
24							1		18
25				1			1		31
27		2	8	2	2	2	2	4	42
28					14	5		4	55
118							2	3	28
129							2	4	16
137		1	2	3	3	1	7	6	9
148	2		1				1	4	22
168		1	6	1	5	3			44
170				1	8	2		1	11
172				1	2	9			15
176					12	6		1	39
178				1	6	3		5	56
186		1	13	10	1		2		38
188					9	3	9	9	94
198				1	8		2	10	15
219				1	1		5	1	24

Total	2	5	32	28	100	46	35	56	732

Total standard forms:67 Total non-standard forms: 969

NOTE: -s = 3rd pers. sing. non-past -s: -ed = past morphemes for all verbs except have and be; (be) = all forms of verb, inflected or otherwise; -ing = verbal, adjectival and nominal forms, but excluding going to or equivalents.

Table 2.4: Non-basilectal outputs

Speaker	-s	-ed	(be)	-ing	doz	don	bina	bin	a
92	11	18	44	17					
93	5	31	39	18					
94	7	17	47	23					
117	**2**	10	49	30	4			**2**	
122	**2**	29	76	26				**2**	
125	1	19	36	62	9				
196	2	24	74	39	7			**2**	
226	3	26	46	8					
236	3	10	46	59	2				
241	**5**	23	58	32					
Total	41	207	515	314	22			6	15

Total standard forms: 1077 Total non-standard forms:43

NOTE: Categories as in Table 2.3 (From Bickerton 1975:25).

The tables show that while there are more non-standard forms in the basilectal outputs, the reverse is the case with the non-basilectal. It is important to note, however, that there are tokens of both basilect and non-basilect in each of the outputs.

a: In terms of grammatical function, **a** is used for both the progressive (continuative) and habitual past and non-past (iterative). The following examples are taken from Bickerton's work.

i see we yu **a** go wid bond
He said "where are you going with the bundle?

evri de mi **a** ron a raisfiil
Every day I hurry to the ricefield (1975:34)

Bin marks simple past with stative verbs; its grammatical function is unclear when used with non-stative verbs. However, sometimes it indicates 'past within the past' - with the non-stative.

dem **bin** get wan lil haus
They had a little house (p.35).

Bina occurs frequently with non-stative verbs and conveys the meaning of 'past before the past' and some degree of continuative:

mi **bina** tel i -, mi se bifo i lef,
you no, i go pe - i go pe som rent

I kept telling I -, I said, before he left, you know, that he would - he would (have to) pay some rent. (p.37).

Don signifies completed action or that which make 'a state as being either a necessary preliminary to a succeeding state ...

wen you beel am **don** so you si i a drai

When you're finished draining, it, then you will see it getting dry. (p.40).

In *Roots of Language* and 'The Language Bioprogram Hypothesis' (Bickerton, 1981 and 1984, respectively). Bickerton hypothesises that the incorrect assumptions generally associated with the acquisition of a creole grammar are similar to those known with children learning new

languages.

The bioprogram comprises 'partly species-specific structures of cognition and partly of processes inherent in the linear expansion of language'. It is aimed at ensuring that individuals acquire a particular model of grammar just as a 'physical bioprogram' ensures that they have a particular skeletal structure (Romaine, 1988:257).

In terms of analysis, the bioprogram emphasises four semantic dimensions:

a) specific and non-specific

b) causative/non-causative

c) punctual/non-punctual

d) state/process.

The specific/non-specific distinction relates to the use of definite and indefinite articles, and the differences between the uses of articles in creole language and English.

According to Bickerton, creole speakers use the definite (**da**) and the indefinite (**wan**) articles where English would not permit them, and zero article where one would be expected in English. Creole speakers use definite articles with presupposed NPs and indefinite articles with asserted NPs, while the zero article is used with non-specific NPs. Romaine (1988:261) summarises the differences, using English and Hawaii English creole, which Bickerton says is similar to Guyanese Creole English as demonstrated in the following table.

TABLE 2.5: Differences between English and Hawaii English Creole.

		Non-specific	Specific	
English:			**Indefinite**	**Definite**
Count Nouns:	sg	a book	a book	the book
	pl	books	books	the books
Uncountable:		money	money	the money
Hawaii English Creole:				
Count Nouns:	sg	buk	wan buk	da buk
	pl	buk	buk(s)	da buk(s)
Uncountable:		mani	mani	da mani

The causative/non-causative distinction in Hawaii English is not as clear-cut as it is in English. The same verb form is used for both situations: that is, to convey transitive and intransitive meanings. Bickerton (1981:72) provides the following examples:

From Guyanese Creole:

dem a ponish abi
They are making us suffer

Abi a ponish
We are suffering/being made to suffer

From Hawaii Creole English:

dei wen tek foa board
They took four (surf) boards

foa board wen teik
Four (surf) boards were taken.

The other dimensions (punctual/non-punctual and state/process) relate to the verb. Bickerton employs the terms (±anterior) and (± punctual). For the stative verbs, (-anterior) indicates 'now', the state of liking which may have begun in the past but is still in existence. It is very much like the perfective in English. The feature (+anterior) stipulates 'not now', a terminated state. This too, is similar to the use of simple past.

For non-stative verbs, (+punctual) implies a single action while (-punctual) indicates an extended or repeated action.

He argues therefore that the existence of the categories - realis, irrealis, (± punctual) and (± anterior) shows that they form part of the basic semantic principles which the bioprogram seeks to explain; their occurrence in preverbal positions confirms that they were formed during the evolution of the human brain.

The basilect-mesolect-acrolect transition is characterised by the development of new items such as 'doz', 'ing' in the first phase and the addition of more English forms in their English functions in the final stage. The non-English forms are either dropped altogether or are 'crushed and distorted' into shapes that make them closer to English.

Bickerton expects that these series of changes will help to establish 'an unbroken chain from a basilect level whose underlying structure is very different from that of English to

an acrolect whose structure can hardly be distinguished from that of English.

He however adds that there is no point anywhere on the unbroken chain that any valid boundary could be drawn to separate the two extremes. This is shown in Fig.2.3, reproduced from Bickerton (1975:189).

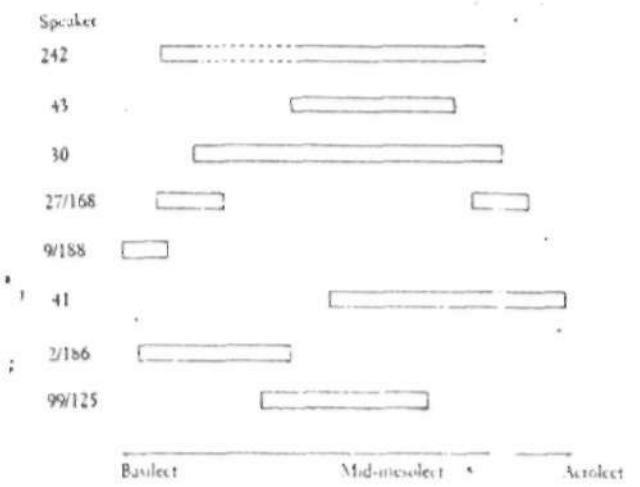


Fig. 2.3 Appropriate ranges of Guyanese speakers.
(Note: Broken lines for 242 indicate a possible discontinuity in his range).

In *Roots of Language* (1981), Bickerton tries to provide answers to how pidgin originated, how children acquire the language and how human language developed. Bickerton shares the view of most linguists that in a language contact situation from which a creole language originates, a pidgin is initially developed. Children who live in such environments acquire the linguistic form of the area on the basis of which

they form hypothesis for themselves. This, Bickerton sees as an indication that there is a 'bio-program' in human beings.

He compares the structure of Hawaiian and Guyanese creoles and argues that the similarities could be the result of a common bio-program of children in early pidgin contexts. He disagrees with any attempt to account for the structural similarity between Caribbean and Guyanese creoles on the basis of a common substratum. It must be explained by the existence of a bio-program.

Bickerton's works have not escaped comments. His hope that his treatment of complementizers would settle the true nature of the continuum 'beyond any reasonable doubt' did not quite materialise. For Washabaugh, it was the first, not the last. In 'Constraining Variation in Decreolization', (1977) Washabaugh argues that variation in creolization is not entirely unidimensional. Variation, he holds, is a more complex process; and rather than being subject to a single pressure speakers in a post-creole community are 'triply-pressured' - to avoid the basilect, acquire the acrolect and vary the mesolect. Speakers of the basilect replace stigmatized forms with whatever is available (acrolect or drop them without replacement).

Washabaugh proposes a 'Lexical Diffusion Model' and suggests that the constraining power of lexical variation can be accounted for by the psychological not linguistic principles and that an understanding of the conflicting

pressures which push creole speakers to acquire the acrolect and at the same time bind them to the basilect will be vital in explaining descreolization.

Bickerton (1977) acknowledges that Washabaugh may be correct in his belief that the constraints on the complementizer variation were inadequately stated but regrets that he ignored the most interesting thing; 'the capacity of the human mind to make quite abstract generalisations about broad categories'. Derek Bickerton queries Washabaugh's claim that the creole speaker is being pushed by 'powerful social and psychological forces' and wonders whether these pressures extend beyond the mind of the observer and accuses Washabaugh of 'putting back the clock in variation studies'.

Bickerton's analyses of the 'fu - tu' complementizers are 'interesting and convincing', yet Gillian Sankoff (1977) feels that to argue that there is inherent variability in the normal human language and that the human mind is capable of handling it does not mean that there will be no need for further research that will explain the operation of a rule.

Le Page (1980:12-13) is of the opinion that the method used by Bickerton did not take into consideration the effect of the observer on the observed and therefore seemed to have sacrificed the gains made by Labov. He contends that Bickerton presents the description of the basilect varieties but failed to explain how a speaker is motivated to move across the continuum.

Robert Le Page also criticises the segmentation of the continuum into discrete units. This, he says, raises acute theoretical problems. It is also difficult for Le Page to distinguish between historically motivated and socially motivated change since language itself is socially motivated. Bickerton's work, he opines, would have produced better results had he made statistical statements about frequency and probability of use of the variants.

Bickerton has also been criticised for manipulating his data to maximise scalability. Baker (1976) cited in Holm (1988:59) maintains that although Bickerton (1975) deals with outputs i.e. speech of individuals which could vary according to circumstances, he labels these as 'speakers' on his tables and graphs. Thus, the same individual is presented as both a basilect speaker (e.g 'speaker' 186 on pp. 25 and 64) and mesolect speaker (on p.115). Baker concludes that such manipulations 'cast very serious doubt on Bickerton's methodology' and that the implicational relations do not hold' (pp.22-31).

The same methodological issue is taken up by Hubert Devonish (1983:91-93) and Holm (1988) in their criticisms of *The Roots of Language*. Hubert Devonish is skeptical about Bickerton's assertion which, he says, is based on his (Bickerton's) earlier analysis of tense and aspect of Guyanese creole. He declares:

> some very important Guyanese creole examples
> presented by Bickerton do leave me (Devonish),
> a native speaker of Guyanese creole a bit skeptical

and that Bickerton's theory neither stands nor falls on the basis of the accuracy of interpretation of the data. He takes it that to establish the validity of Bickerton's hypothesis, he has to try to convincingly demolish an alternative theory especially that of Alleyne (1979) which satisfactorily explains the similarities between English-lexicon Caribbean creoles with reference to a common West African sub-stratum. Bickerton's argument in his attempt to demolish Alleyne (1979) is unconvincing and this raises the question of the validity of the bio-program.

Despite these shortcomings, Devonish is of the view that the bio-program may soon gain currency as it contains a number of vital insights, and the present interest in linguistic universals may help to promote it.

Holm (1988) questions the assertion that there is no West African input into the development of Hawaiian Creole English and points to Reinecke (1969) - which Bickerton includes in his Bibliography - to demonstrate the presence of creole-speaking black Cape Verdans among the earliest immigrants to Hawaii.

In *Pidgins and Creoles*, which deals essentially with lexico-semantic, phonological and syntactic features of pidgins and creoles, Holm argues that while universal tendencies in pidginization and creolization contribute

towards the shaping of creole languages, most of the features which cannot be linked to the superstrate can be traced to parallel features in the substrate languages. He, however, agrees with Bickerton that creole speakers are socially motivated to acquire the standard variety, thereby avoiding the features associated with the basiilect. To him, it is the universal qualities of language as propounded by Bickerton's natural tense-aspect system rooted in specific neural properties of the brain' (1980:12) that can account for the similarities between creoles. Holm sees creoles as systematic and complex enough to be seen as distinct from their superstates or substrates and feels that more work needs to be done to determine the origin and development of creole and non-creole features.

Bickerton's works are of interest to the present study. Mention has already been made of the description by various scholars (Adekunle, 1979; Banjo, 1979; Odumuh and Gomwalk, 1986; etc) of NigE constituting a continuum. Though Odumuh and Gomwalk have rightly commented that Bickerton's Linear Scalogram designed for creole studies 'cannot fully capture the complexity of the variation in Nigerian English,' a transplanted national variety rather than a creole, the basic principle of 'division' into three 'varieties' serves some theoretical function, as discussed later.

It has also been noted that variation in NigE is multidimensional: the average speaker is competent in at

least more than one variety (some in all) and can seemingly 'effortlessly' switch from one variety to another as the situation requires.

It is our view that these and other criticisms already discussed weaken Bickerton's works as a valid framework of analysis. For instance, the question of manipulation of his data, the non-incorporation of the effect of the observer on the observed and the panlectal implicational grid - all tend to seriously affect the validity of his findings.

Bickerton's decision not to be concerned with influence of extralinguistic factors makes it difficult for us to ascertain the motivation for language change; or to know if the introduction of a new item could be the same in the Guyanese and Nigerian situations and whether these factors are correlatable. These compel the researcher to utilize only certain aspects of his framework.

2.4 The Co-existence Theory

The Co-existence Theory proposed by Loflin (1969;1970) and Kanngisser (1972) is based on Chomsky's concept of competence. The theory, according to the proponents, can however succeed only if linguists discard the idea of linguistic homogeneity.

Loflin is of the view that the theory is effective in describing regional varieties of any language. He contends that two or more varieties of language (V_1, V_2, V_3, ... V_n) can

only be said to be dialects of the language 'if the categorical sub-components of the bases of the grammars postulated for V_1, V_2, V_3, ... V_n are identical', arguing that varieties of language which have the same categorical sub-components must have identical deep structure.

Discussing the case of 'be' in Black English Vernacular (BEV) which is different from standard English, Loflin opines that such variation cannot be accounted for by 'low-level rules' (i.e phonological rules) of the surface structure but only by high-level 'rules' of the deep structure. He also holds that differences between variables can only be described with surface structure rules if both varieties have the same deep structure.

Kanngisser (1972) takes the theory a little further. According to him, a language community consists of 'a finite number of disjunctive speaker-hearer groups' for whom a 'disjunctive grammar' is constructed to describe the interaction between the groups. Such a grammar, he states, is meant to present a system of co-existence and group-specific forms of linguistic values.

It is Kanngisser's claim that a model such as this brings together synchronic and diachronic approaches to the study of variation. The different degrees of competence calls for varied capabilities of innovation and consequently different 'levels of grammaticality'. In such a situation, the theory proposes, speakers may be exposed to sentences that, based on their knowledge, would be considered semi-grammatical but which they nevertheless recognise as sentences of their language.

The acceptance of semi-grammatical utterances is closely associated with 'principle of grammatical tolerance' which provides an explanation to why speakers of varying competence co-exist in a linguistic community.

The Co-existence Theory projects two forms of innovation: the conservative and the non-conservative. With the former, the speaker-hearers of different varieties internalise linguistic knowledge from one another while the latter results in the emergence of new linguistic development which transforms the different varieties of the language.

Loflin and Kangiesser also propose the incorporation of social factors in accounting for varieties and suggests a sociolinguistic theory based on a combination of both social and linguistic factors but which goes beyond the scope of linguistics and sociology.

The attraction of the Co-existence Theory lies in its ability to accommodate speakers of varying competence. This is

an aspect that links it with Le Page's Multidimensional Model with some speakers being able to command only a part of the continuum while the others control the entire spectrum and can therefore effortlessly switch from one variety to another. The following excerpts from the subjects illustrate this feature of varying competence which the linguist is called upon to accommodate in his analysis.

A (i) For example, if one goes to the library **you** will just there **searching and searching** for books and eventually you will not get the proper **one's** you need except **some few one**. (WE/001F)

(ii) Academically we are aware of the problems we encounter as a result of insufficient reading texts. Most times, the books are not available. When they are, the copies are so few compared to the number of students who may need them at that materials time. (WE/046M)

As attractive as the Co-existence Theory is, there are some reservations about it. For instance, Dittmar (1976:150) acknowledges that while it is true that variants can be described as discrete in the sense of co-existent grammars, the theory fails to explain why speakers move from one style to the other.

Loflin's plea to linguists to discard non-empirical approaches has not been very effective because he does not state exactly how the empirical basis he advocates can be attained.

In his own comment, Labov (1971) rejects the claim that varieties of a language are distinct from one another. He sees the different varieties as part of the community's 'verbal

repertoire' in line with Gumperz's (1968) definition. Variation therefore takes place between varieties of one comprehensive system. This view destroys the basis of the Co-existence Theory which has also been described as too simplistic (Petyt, 1980:186).

Labov's objections are relevant to the Nigerian situation in which varieties though discernible, do not appear to constitute 'discrete and self-contained grammatical systems'. Jibril (1986) aptly sums up the situation:

> Nigerian English (NigE) is a cluster of regional and social varieties which **interact** sufficiently in a sociolinguistic continuum to qualify for a common cover term (**emphasis mine**).

It is obvious from the foregoing that the Co-existence Model is not adequate to describe the sociolinguistic situation in Nigeria.

2.5 The Bailey Wave Model

Charles-James N. Bailey (1973) presents a new version of an 1872 theory. The 'Wave Theory' proposed by Johaness Schmidt attempted to account for the similarities between different, but adjacent branches of the Indo-European family of languages.

Schmidt suggests that linguistic change ripples outwards from some centres of influence to the surrounding like waves in a pond into which a stone has been dropped. The waves may be of various strengths and may start at different points,

thus different areas of the pond may be affected by different combinations of waves. The Wave Theory therefore explains why, in a geographical area, there may be different combinations of isoglosses and by implication, various languages and dialects of varying degrees of similarity.

Bailey's modernisation of the theory postulates that waves of linguistic change span over a period of time, through geographical or social space or both, and that the waves may be slowed down by social variables such as age, sex, class as well as geographical features.

The theory maintains that since individuals pass on changes, it is envisaged that not all speakers would be equally exposed to a particular change at a particular point in time. Those speakers that a particular change has not reached will differ from others whom it has passed or just reaching. The theory, according to Bailey, accounts for both interpersonal and intrapersonal variation.

An important aspect of the theory is that the changes are said to be implicationally related. This means that a feature that appears on the left on the table may not appear later on the right, or vice versa. This is how Petyt (1980:192) illustrates it, see Table 2.5

TABLE 2.6: **Implicational relations in language change**

Environments		a	b	c	d
	0	-	-	-	-
Stages of Change	1	x	-	-	-
	2	+	x	-	-
	3	+	+	x	-

The symbol '+' indicates that change has taken place and a new rule is functioning; 'x' means that the old and the new rules apply at different times while '-' signifies that no change has taken place.

The views of Charles-James N. Bailey and Derek Bickerton are quite different from that of Labov and his followers (Trudgill, Shuy, Wolfram etc) who believe that variation is 'inherent' within a speech community and that while 'linguistic change necessarily involves variations', instances of variation may not necessarily mean that a linguistic change is in progress.

For C-J.N. Bailey and Bickerton, variation is a stage in linguistic change with the change beginning in a restricted 'heavy weighted environment' and spreading to the others. It is a developmental stage and consequently, does not call for elaborate variable rules and the problem of probabilities of rule application according to different sociolinguistic variables - age, sex, environment, etc.

Proponents of the Wave Theory believe that if the data for individuals is considered in carefully distinguished

environments, the amount of variation will be much lower than that of the group and that a lot of the variation discussed by Labov is 'an artifact' of the model of analysis (see also Bickerton, 1973 for a similar view).

Bailey further argues that if the percentage of use of a particular variable by individual speakers is plotted on a graph, the result is an 's' curve (Fig 2.4) indicating a change going through a community very quickly.

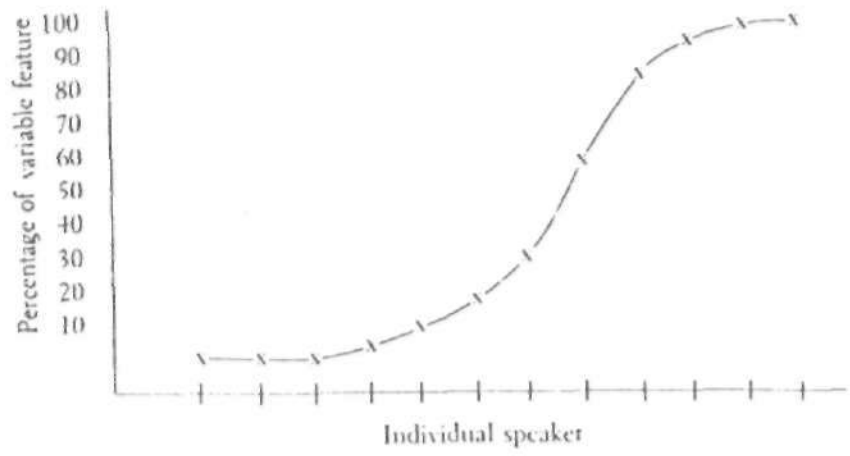


Fig. 2.4 Classic S-curve.

Individual speakers with low scores have just begun acquiring the new feature while those with high scores have acquired it. Speakers with average scores use both the new and old features but are generally few.

Perhaps, the main attractions of the Wave Theory are its simplicity and completeness (Bickerton, 1971:474-9; Hudson, 1981:184). This probably explains why the Wave Theory has been

employed in historical linguistics as well as socio-linguistics. There are, however, a few points to note about the model.

Fasold (1973) argues that the theory does not take into account 'stagnant' variable rules where variation has existed for many years without any evidence that change from the old to the new feature has taken place - for example the (o) and (t) in 'th' words in some varieties of English.

Hudson (1981:42) further argues that a feature does not necessarily have to be an innovation to influence people. This, in plain terms, means that a pebble need not be dropped into a pool. Indeed, it seems possible that a stone that has been lying deep in the pool could oust a new one after the latter has spread.

Because of these problems, Hudson recommends that it would be better to drop he analogy of stones dropping in a pool with what he calls 'a more helpful analogy' which involves different species of plants in a field growing outwards by seed dispersal over a particular area, each plant with its own rate of growth and sometimes in competition with the other plants.

Despite the shortcomings of the Bailey Wave Model, it has remained an important theory in the study of linguistic variation. Derek Bickerton's Linear Scalogram is a development of the Wave Theory despite the fact that he says that he was not very much aware of the theory at the time he was working

on 'The Nature of a Creole Continuum' (1973).

2.6 Le Page's Multidimensional Model

Acts of Identity (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985) is the result of thirty years' work on creole and contact varieties of English in some former British colonies. The work is not essentially a critique of the variationist approach to the study of language; rather the authors seek to throw more light on how such concepts as 'a language', and 'a group' or 'a community' evolve.

The writers recognise the work of Howard Giles on Accommodation Theory which seems 'strikingly similar' to their approach but note that there still exists a remarkable difference between them. According to them, Accommodation Theory is concerned with 'interactive behavioral events' and the ways in which people adjust their linguistic forms to accommodate those of others. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller focus on the way people perceive other groups who may not necessarily be in immediate contact and consequently link these perceptions with linguistic attributes. They deal with two key issues, viz:

a) stereotypes of ethnicity and of language; and

b) projection, focusing, diffusion or steps towards a sociolinguistic theory of language.

This explains why Le Page's work cannot be separated. All his major works must be taken together. *Acts of Identity* is a symbiosis of all his thinking on the subject matter of

sociolinguistics and its relation to linguistic theory.

While they do not object to the value of statistical correlation, they point out that 'it would be particularly problematic to provide rigorous statistical confirmation for our insights' (p.4). They expect that *Acts of Identity* will be of value to those communities in which the social class assumptions which characterised the works of Labov do not apply.

Le Page and Tabouret-Keller also note a number of differences between their work and those of Labov and Trudgill. Labov, (1966) and Trudgill, (1974a) are based on the assumption that linguistically homogeneous communities, members of which speak a language - English, exist. They (Labov and Trudgill) see identifiable units in the underlying system - a system shared by all.

Le Page and his colleague acknowledge the slight shift in position by Trudgill, who envisages that rather than a linear progression from less formal to standard/educated model, as held by Labov and Bickerton, there could be movement in different directions as the speakers adjust to the various dialects of Norwich English. This informs Le Page's multidimensional model. They however fault his conclusion that since the varieties are mutually intelligible, they must share the same underlying structure a diasystem/polysystem with only superficial differences of performance arising from the use of dialect-peculiar rules by the various groups.

They also recall that while Labov was fortunate to work with an existing socio-economic class structure, no such definition of socio-economic class was in existence in the communities they studied. In fact, they have as one of their aims to ascertain if Labov's findings can apply in a different sociolinguistic setting. Accordingly, Le Page sought an approach that could accommodate his experience in the Caribbean communities and came up with the following hypothesis and its four riders:

The individual creates his systems of verbal behaviour so as to resemble those common to the group or groups with which he wishes from time to time to be identified, to the extent that:

(a) he is able to identify these groups,

(b) his motives are sufficiently clear-cut and powerful,

(c) his **opportunities** for learning are adequate,

(d) his **ability** to learn - that is, to change his habits where necessary is unimpaired (Le Page, (1985:115).

Of importance too is the introduction of a socio-psychological dimension to the work. Groups and their linguistic attributes, they say, 'have no existential locus other than in the minds of individuals' and that these units inhere because of the patterned behaviour of the individuals that constitute them (p.4). In other words, the ultimate locus of language is the individual not socio or group community.

The hypothesis and its riders must be seen in the light

of the concept of 'Projection, focusing and diffusion...' (Le Page, 1978), a metaphor derived from cinematography. Le Page sees speech acts as acts of projection - the speaker is projecting his inner universe on to the social screen for others who speak the same language to share. It is a kind of invitation and therefore as he speaks, he attempts to reinforce his model of the world and looks forward to acts of solidarity from those he wishes to identify with. The response he gets from them may reinforce his behaviour or force him to adjust or re-examine his projections. If he gets the support he anticipates in a particular situation, in similar situations, he will become more regular and focused.

If however, he is not reinforced he will have to modify his behaviour to accommodate others. In this case, his behaviour may be initially more variable and diffused but as time goes on, it may become more focused and less diffused. However, these actions are coloured by his 'stereotypes of ethnicity and of language' - biases, both cultural and linguistic.

Language is the instrument by which the individual projects his image and modifies his behaviour, and it is with the same tool that he receives feedback which may not necessarily be in the form of reinforcement. Both language and group may become more focussed i.e. the behaviour of members are seen to be more regular, or diffused when there is no such regularity in behaviour.

Le Page, however, outlines four constraints upon 'acts of identify'. According to him, our ability to conform with the behavioral pattern of any group will depend on whether we can identify the group, the accessibility of the group and whether we can modify our behaviour in line with that of the group. Le Page considers the issue of motivation as the most critical of the four constraints outlined above.

In highly focused monolingual communities motivation is reflected in the choice between varieties which are sometimes associated with social, educational, occupational and even religious groups. In multilingual communities, such as the ones he studied, the speaker adopts the rules of the group he wishes to identify with. He may even choose to be bilingual or tri-lingual using one variety at home and the other in school.

A survey of three communities, Cayo District in Belize, St. Lucia and London was conducted to test the hypothesis and its constraints. These communities have had certain things in common. Their vernacular behaviour has been despised and stigmatized when compared to educated usage. Their linguistic behaviour is unpredictable and quite different from what obtains in linguistically homogeneous communities. In all three, controversy still exists over the choice of linguistic standards.

Belize, for instance was not a plantation colony but contact with various buccaneer groups led to the development of Creole-English speaking settlements. It had a little

(150,000 by 1983) but highly interactive population mostly of African, Afro-European origin. The building of a new capital, Belmopan, not too far from it, after the devastating hurricane of 1961 and the consequent urbanization made the Cayo District highly diffused socially and linguistically.

The island of St. Lucia is located between Martinique and Barbados, the earliest English-speaking plantation settlement in the Caribbean. The language has been affected by immigration from England and Ireland and African slaves working in the plantations. The prosperity of the city has also been affected by he struggle for control between France and England so much that despite the vernacular of the citizens being French, the medium of instruction in schools is supposed to be standard English.

The choice of London as one of the selected districts is to understand the attempt by the young members of the West Indian community in the city to forge a cultural, ethnic and even national identity in the face of the hostility of the environment - it is borne out of the desire 'to know more about the linguistic and social properties of this 'London-Jamaican' (p.155). If in Belize they studied the evolving form of a common vernacular as a first language, in St. Lucia, it is the change from a French-patois-like vernacular to a creolised English through the use of 'standard English' as a second language in schools. In London, however, they are dealing with 'an in-group argot' created by the youths and

regularly modified to suit each generation's desire for an Afro-Caribbean-Londoner identity.

Le Page and Tabouret-Keller use a variety of methods to gather materials for the work. These include interviews, story-telling, reading and a grammar questionnaire. Le Page borrowed two basic ideas from earlier writers notably Labov and DeCamp. From the former, he noted that shifts in behaviour as children moved from formal to informal language in their speech as they become more intimate with the group in question; from the latter Le Page took the idea that while the story-telling starts with the standard form of the language it soon changes to the non-standard as the story takes hold, probably with the hope of re-capturing the language with which the story was originally told, especially in songs, lyrics and magic gibberish, some of which may not even be understood. It is Le Page's belief that even with the combination of formal versus informal, conversation versus story-telling, the speaker moves into a multidimensional sociolinguistic space.

In Belize, every fourth child between ten and sixteen years of the primary school population and a particular number from the only secondary school in the District was selected. Personal details of the 280 children who participated had earlier been recorded and their household noted for further contacts. Conversation was held with each of them and information relating to demographic, geographical and socio-economic variables were obtained from their homes.

The conversation covered issues such as schools, cooking and ghosts. Each child was later asked to tell a story especially the popular 'Anansi' or 'Old Witch' story[1]. The subjects were also given passages to read and were in addition, asked about the language(s) they used at home with their parents and brothers and at school in discussing a range of topics. The same procedure, though with a modified sampling technique, was employed in St. Lucia.

A transcription of some of the tapes in the pilot study revealed a number of variables which have social significance. In Belize, the following features were considered: nasalization of vowels preceding a nasal consonant, the r-colourization of vowels in words with 'r' after a vowel and the devoicing of final sibilants. They also noted the inflection or lack of inflection of nouns for plural and that of past tense in verbs.

Features associated with 'standard English' such as correct inflection of verbs both for the third person singular and past tense, use of 'ing' forms verbal or continuative and use of plural inflection for count nouns were examined in St. Lucia. In addition, features associated with creole English/Bajan speakers and those found to be common with patois-speaking groups were analysed.

The data was subjected to cluster analysis - a statistical framework that brings together subjects whose linguistic behaviour are most alike with regards to known

variables. To achieve this, arbitrary clusters are initially created and the 'centroid' for each cluster determined by 'averaging the quantities for each feature in each mode for each child' (Le Page **et al**,1974:4).

The distance between each child and the centroid is then worked out using the formula:

$$/(_a \text{ child } 1-_a c^1)^2 + (_b \text{ child } 1-_b c^1)^2 \ldots + (_y \text{ child } 1-_y c^1)^2$$

where a,b, ... y represent the linguistic quantities, with c referred to as the centroid.

The second stage of the analysis involves re-arranging the subjects according to the distances from the centroid. New centroids are repeatedly worked out until more compact and discrete centroids are attained. It is only after this that the centroids are related to socio-economic classes. For details, see Le Page (1972) and Le Page **et al,** (1974).

In Belize, each child was represented by a profile of twenty-five linguistic attributes (i.e five linguistic variables x five varying modes). This was to ascertain the mode - early conversation, telling a story read to them, telling a traditional story, later conversation and reading - the child used any of the linguistic variables.

The profiles that were seen closest to one another formed groups/clusters in a multidimensional sphere.

The greatest cluster was found between the variables and the place of abode but the coefficient of 0.3452 leaves two-

thirds of the required information unexplained, except perhaps, in the light of other social factors.

Two other high degrees of association were reported. These are the occupation of the child's father and the socio-economic status of the family - both independently clustering with the linguistic variables.

Though the St. Lucia subjects used almost all the features, which means they share the same repertoires, they clustered into distinct groups of similar behaviour based on the degree of 'standard English' forms, creole English/Bajan or patois items used.[2]

Social factors such as sex, level of education, locality, claimed political awareness of homes or lack of awareness were useful in determining the groups. For instance, girls were found to be more strongly motivated towards the use of standard forms not generally associated with their class (see also Labov, 1966; Trudgill, 1973 for similar views). However, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller argue that these groups cannot be placed on a linear continuum from one variety to standard English'.

In presenting the multidimensional model, Le Page illustrates with the speech samples of four native Belizean children, A,B,C, and D who live not too far from each other but with varying accents. The following are the details of the linguistic capabilities of the subjects:

A: 12 years old, in Standard V in a rural school.

Shows no sign of Hispanization. Nasalizes a little.

B: 13 years old, in Standard IV in an urban school. Nasalizes a little but is more creole than A. Exhibits sign of Hispanization.

C: Nasalizes to a little degree, has high proportion of r-coloured vowels. No Hispanization.

D: Nasalizes a little; has high proportion of r-coloured vowels. High degree of Hispanization.

Le Page also examined 'the grammar of their openings' i.e how they began their stories and found that they also varied considerably. For instance, A had a creole opening and also made use of a creole plural marker in (pig de) while the others used Standard English plural. D devoiced the final consonant in (pigs) but showed no linguistic interference from creole.

Of importance too, is the internal variation in the grammar of the subjects. For example, in a greater part of B's story, grammatical rules of Belizean creole were observed while sometimes the subject conformed to the standards of Anglophone creoles. She also used some standard constructions without any 'continuum of form in between' (p.162).

Based on these and other findings from St. Lucia and London Jamaican data, the authors hypothesy that Standard English forms are associated with book-learning and that 'hypercorrection is associated with a desire to be identified as a Standard English speaker' (P.164).

It is clear from the findings that all the 100 children interviewed in St. Lucia were influenced by several models of English usage and that more than one variety of English is emerging in the city. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller argue therefore that in this case, as in those of accent variation and the grammar of openings in Belize, and the in-group argot of London Jamaican, it will not be possible to arrange these varieties (even the most homogeneous) on a linear scale from standard to some supposed basilect:

> The precise linguistic outcome ...is **not** that of any single external model but the result of focusing around a repertoire of forms in relation to meaning-potentials so that a polysystemic system of multifunctional units develops its own internal coherence and contrastive potentials, both in phonology and grammar. (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985:178).

This, in essence, is the Multidimensional Model - an approach that accounts not only for the different types of variation but also the development of such changes in different directions. It is unlike Bickerton's Linear Scalogram which assumes that innovations start from a particular source and move in the same direction.

In most societies, however, the individual is exposed to various groups which include the world of religion, sex, politics, ethnicity, culture, socio-economic groups etc. He therefore lives in what Le Page calls 'a multi-dimensional symbolic universe'. In such a situation, he points out, the input of the sociolinguistic data for any group is multiple,

so too, the potential systematic output.

Part of the weakness of the linear model is its inability to account for the multiplicity of sociolinguistic outputs. This, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller attribute to its reference to language and not people, yet languages are abstractions of the behaviour of people. They ascribe this confusion to the inability of linguists and non-linguists to distinguish between four different meanings of language.

The first sense (Language One), refers to the fundamental property of the individual brought up in a particular community, for instance his 'mother tongue' or 'native language'. It is usually learnt in childhood and is inaccessible to the intuitive judgement of the native speaker. 'Language One' cannot therefore be observed because the only access to it is through performance which will be in the use of some kind of model and not the actual behaviour of the individual.

The second sense (Language Two) refers to the actual linguistic behaviour of the people which should be seen as acts of identity. Language is no longer the property of the individual but that of the members of the group interacting with other groups (Le Page, 1975:149). This variety of language is accessible to the observer as it is 'the data of linguistic behaviour and performance' (Le Page and Tabouret Keller, 1985:190). The intuition of the native speaker is important since it depends on performance. In a completely

homogeneous community, 'Language One' and 'Language Two' are identical (Le Page, 1978:14); however, no such communities exist in real life.

'Language Three' which is the description of the limited data for which the observer makes abstractions and theories of language may differ from one linguist to another but they serve as reference points for academic purposes.

The fourth sense is the most common and one can talk of particular languages such as Yoruba, English, Hausa, Igbo, Idoma, etc. In this sense, it is similar to Saussure's 'Langue' and therefore inaccessible to the linguist since each of us has only a limited experience of it. 'Language Four' can however be identified with a particular community the membership of which is often difficult to define. It is in this final sense that one can speak of'standard' language either as the 'norm' or that which is prescribed by educational authorities.

The multidimensional model is concerned with the second sense described above, realised in a series of speech acts in which the individual not only projects his identity but the social roles he intends to play. It therefore aims at avoiding the problems created by the Newtonian character of Chomskyan models of competence' modified almost beyond recognition by Labov, and distinguishing between behaviour of the individual as 'an isolate' and when he is interacting with others (Le Page, 1975:149). It is also borne out of the inability of

Bickerton and DeCamp who arrange grammatical variations on an implicational scale, to account for the fact that:

> Commonly within such communities there are individuals who can command any part of the linguistic continuum and others whose range is more limited.
> (Le Page, 1975:147)

Le Page therefore advocates that linguistic features should not be treated as variables since 'grammar', in the Chomskyan sense, belongs to 'Language Three'. He argues that Labov's probability statements are not intended to predict what the individual speaker will do in any particular situation but to stipulate that each member of the community has the knowledge of these rules in his repertoire. This is because the rules that govern the performance of the individual are not only linguistically but also socially marked.

Apart from the reasons adduced by Le Page in support of the multidimensional model, it has some other attractions. Lesley Milroy (1980:115) sees its recognition of the interaction of social variables, such as sex, class, age etc as an indication of Le Page's interest in capturing sociolinguistic realities.

In regarding language as symbol of individual identity, the model also introduces a social psychological dimension to the study of language variation. In this light, it can be said to be 'strikingly similar' not only to Giles' and Powesland's (1975) Accommodation Theory but also to Henri Tajfel's (1974)

Social Identity Theory. The social psychological dimension is vital because it explains why language varies since every speech act should be seen as what it is - an act of identity.

Le Page feels that while the model is important for those communities in which the social class assumptions of Labov and Trudgill do not apply, it can be extended to others. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985:14-9) declare:

> We do not see evolutionary linguistic process taking place within such (creole) communities as being describable in terms of linear progression from a broad basilect towards a model language ... we see the process not peculiar to new communities though more easily observable there, but as a common process through which mankind has evolved its language and its sense of linguistic identity.

Le Page and his colleagues were the first to observe that it is not easy to determine the optimum number of arbitrary clusters that would give the best result. The method has also been criticised by others.

L. Milroy (1980:115) for one, sees it as a complex and difficult way of presenting sociolinguistic facts. Labov (1981) disagrees with Le Page that it offers any convenient way of determining which children behave more alike linguistically. See also McEntegart and Le Page (1982) for a critical appraisal.

Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985:153) do not dispute that because of 'faults in design and execution, the statistical results have been meagre and inconclusive'.

They also admit that Milroy's social networks' approach

is more satisfactory than both the socio-economic group method used by Labov and Trudgill, and the cluster analysis. They state that if they had been familiar with 'networks', they would have employed it. This seems to be an implicit admission of the superiority of the 'social networks' model by the proponents of cluster analysis which had 'appeared' convincingly satisfactory.

Romaine (1988:180) however feels differently. She describes Le Page's approach as 'the most comprehensive example of multidimensional analysis' in recent times. She compares it with Washabaugh's (1977) criticisms of Bickerton's analysis of the Guyanese Creole but argues that of all the examples of variation presented by Washabaugh, only one rule - the change from 'fu to 'tu' represents a move away from basilect to acrolect. With the multidimensional approach, she opines, a number of different varieties and dimensions are brought into play and the analyses are more far-reaching.

We acknowledge that cluster analysis captures the linguistic behaviour of the individual in a multidimensional sociolinguistic universe but re-arranging the subjects from old to new centroids could be problematic and also time-consuming. Perhaps, only a longitudinal approach, as Le Page did, will permit such re-organisations. The present study examines the linguistic behaviour of a group with comparative educational achievement and who have been recognised as speakers of NigE. It seems therefore that the study cannot

afford to be longitudinal since this will invariably affect the status of the subjects.

Of importance, however, is the recognition of a continuum by the model. However, unlike that suggested by Bickerton, varieties within the continuum are neither necessarily linear nor implicationally related. This in effect means that there could be discrete forms within the continuum, each with its own internal coherence and function based on the communicative needs of the users.

The multidimensional model is relevant to Nigeria which shares similar historical and sociolinguistic experiences with Belize, both of which are ex-British colonies. The two countries are also evolving national identities through an ideal language policy in complex multilingual flux with conflicting standards. As can be seen from Chapter Three, some of the basic principles of the multidimensional model have been employed in the present study.

Notes

[1] See p.14 for details of the old woman telling a story the Anansi and old witch stories told by children in Belize, pp 104-112.

[2] Four different forms of 'live' were recorded showing different sociolinguistic influences:

i) 'I live' (Standard educated usage)

ii) 'I lives' (Non-standard usage)

iii) 'I living' (French patois speech)

iv) 'I does live' (Influence of Barbados)

See pp 163-164.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Preliminary Considerations

3.1.1 The Nature of Syntactic Variation

Since the introduction of the concept of linguistic variable by Labov in 1966, a number of studies have demonstrated that there is a close relationship between social factors and patterns of language use. Attracted by the novelty of Labov's methodology and findings on the one hand, and 'the revolutionary fervour' of the new ways of analyzing variation in English (NWAVE) on the other, linguists responded to the call for more research into linguistic variation (see for instance, Shuy, Wolfram and Riley, 1968; Trudgill, 1974; Milroy and Milroy, 1978 and Cheshire, 1982).

Unfortunately however, much of this has focused on phonological variation with very little on syntax and morphology. Gillian Sankoff (1973) was the first to point out this shortcoming. She advocated that variation studies should go above and beyond phonology. In her view, such an extension is not 'a conceptually difficult jump'. Sankoff argues that since in a number of situations studied, there have been consistencies in the underlying probabilities of both social and linguistic constraints, there is no reason why such patterning should not be expected in grammar (p.58).

Rickford (1973:162) attributes this 'salient limitation to the fact that phonological variables are the most common

and therefore more easily noticed. He, like Sankoff, suggests 'carrying the new wave into syntax'. Rickford agrees with Bickerton (1973) that so much space has been devoted to what 'black speakers do with their D's and Z's but next to nothing has been written about the different ways black speakers organise their tense systems'.

Rickford is however not happy with the fact that Sankoff's data is far smaller than what has been customarily accepted in phonology. He also opines that even when grammatical items are examined as in Labov, (1969), phonological features act as significant constraints and wonders what has happened to other syntactic variables which show little or no phonological conditioning.

Lavandera (1987), [cited in Romaine (1982:32) and L.Milroy (1987:158)], expresses some reservations about extending variable rules to syntax. In her opinion, such an extension will contradict the very basis of Labov's definition of the term which implies that differences in phonetic forms convey stylistic and social meaning. She however accepts Weiner and Labov's (1983:22) explanation that sentences in the active and passive relationships should be seen as 'truth-conditionally equivalent and used on the whole to refer to the same state of affairs'.

Lavandera has also criticised studies in syntactic variation. Using examples from Sankoff's work (for instance **bai** in Tok Pisin), she contends that much of syntactic

variation deal with syntactic rather than social or stylistic constraints. She notes that syntactic variables are not as semantically equivalent as the phonological ones and cannot always be said therefore to be two ways of saying the same thing.

Romaine (1982) though interested in variability in syntax, shares some of the views expressed by Lavandera but points out that the cases involved in Sankoff's work are not purely grammatical or syntactic but both phonological and syntactic.

In a related study, Romaine (1984), notes that the concept of semantic equivalence could create serious difficulties of application even if we limit it to 'truth conditional equivalence'. This is because since 'syntax is embedded in discourse, entirely different forms might have similar functions' (L. Milroy 1989:159). As a result, it is sometimes difficult to ascertain the point at which a form ceases to be a variant of a variable.

The issue of two different ways of saying the same thing seems to account for the interest that sociolinguists have shown in phonological variation - those variables that appear generally frequently and therefore easy to identify, were of primary interest. Because of the relative high frequency of occurrence of these variables, it was easy to obtain a large quantity of a particular variable with a relatively small quantity of data.

However, with variation in syntax, there are a number of problems. Large quantities of data will be required to obtain enough instances of a particular variable for analysis. As L. Milroy points out, although phonological systems cannot be said to be 'absolutely closed and finite', they are more closed and finite than syntactic systems. She contends that if in phonological variation the problems are with obtaining 'the full range of realizations' associated with a variable, in syntactic variation the problem is different as the investigator can hardly be guaranteed obtaining 'sufficient quantity of tokens' of a particular pattern of construction in a given discourse. She attributes this to the non-finite or 'leaky' quality of syntactic systems which allows the speaker a great deal of freedom in language use. A similar view is expressed by Cheshire (1982:8).

3.1.2 Fieldwork Methods.

3.1.2.1 Quantitative and Qualitative Paradigms.

The discussion so far has basically highlighted the different methological approaches adopted by two schools of sociolinguists - the quantitative and the qualitative sociolinguists with the former emphasizing phonological as opposed to syntactic variation and using a large body of data to demonstrate that variations are neither free nor due to chance; but are rather systematic and can be correlated with social variables such as age, sex, class, status, etc.

Quantitative sociolinguists see language as the property of the group (i.e society) rather than that of the individual and therefore contend that, because the relationship between the variables could be complex, it is difficult to state explicitly any two variables that vary exactly in the same way. Such a relationship is therefore not expressed in absolute terms but as a matter of degree since social variables are said to be generally continuous rather than discrete.

In practice therefore, in order to determine the statistical value of any variant of a variable, group average rather than individual scores are used. By this process, the performance of the individual is either concealed or played down.

Scores are generally assigned to the variant in terms of 'standard' (High) or 'non-standard' (Low) variety and it creates a problem for analysis if there are more than three variant forms. In such a situation, phonological considerations, which may not provide adequate explanations on the differences between the variant forms, are used to place them between the standard and non-standard forms. For further details, see Labov (1972); Trudgill (1974); Dittmar (1976); among others.

As has been pointed out however, the distinction between standard and non-standard variant based on social class may be misleading because it assumes the existence of an organised

social setting with members of the high class constantly using the standard forms and the lower class, the non-standard variants. This is far from the actual sociolinguistic situation in Nigeria.

It has also been mentioned that syntactic variables do not occur frequently, they are also known not to respond to social variables in much the same way as the phonological ones. It is therefore not easy to strictly apply the quantitative framework to studies in syntactic variation. As L. Milroy (1987:154) points out:

> By definition... work employing the concept of the variables is quantitative but... much interesting work on syntactic variation by Sankoff and others is qualitative or a mixture of qualitative and quantitative approaches.

Following L.Milroy (1987), the present study employs some of the techniques of quantitative studies and some of qualitative paradigm. For example, in terms of focus, it is essentially qualitative. For one, unlike Labov and his colleagues who were interested in the group, this study focuses on the individual, who must be seen in a multidimensional sociolinguistic space. It follows closely the works of scholars such as Le Page, Romaine, Boissevain and Lesley Milroy by building on clusters and networks with the effect that, to a greater extent, the individual's speech is seen as 'an act of identity' and therefore symptomatic of the linguistic behaviour of the social class he belongs to.

Our study differs from the quantitative approach in

another way. Accumulation of a large corpus of data, important as it is, creates the problem of data management. Qualitative sociolinguists believe that after some point in the analysis, additional data only alters the frequencies of the variables and not necessarily the established pattern of linguistic choice. As Sankoff (1974:22) states:

> The literature, as well as our own experience, would suggest that even for quite complex communities, samples of more than 150 individuals tend to be redundant, bringing increasing data-handling problems with diminishing analytical returns.

These issues are not only useful in the 'debate' on extending variable rule to syntax but they have vital implications for the data collection process since we have set out in this study to examine syntactic rather than phonological variation. We have also ensured that the data is representative and contains sufficient types and quantities of language use in appropriate social contexts to permit valid generalizations.

3.1.3 The Observer's Paradox

The effect of the investigator on the respondent and consequently, on the phenomenon being studied has been much discussed by sociolinguists. Of interest specifically, is Labov's (1972) claim that the vernacular is the most authentic source of sociolinguistic data because it is at this level that the most consistent and natural variation can be observed. Labov (1972:112-113) states that:

> To obtain the data most important for linguistic theory, we have to observe how people speak when they are not being observed.

But the vernacular however tends to disappear under direct observation. This is the 'Observer's Paradox'.

The effects of observation on linguistic behaviours are obvious: there are usually attempts by subjects to increase or reduce their use of the phenomenon that is being investigated if they suspect the aim of the study. They may also decide not to talk at all, and if they do, stigmatised forms are carefully avoided for their standard equivalents. In extreme cases, the subjects may be hostile and may refuse to co-operate. These will invariably affect the quality of investigation.

A number of ways have been suggested to tackle the problem especially in an interview situation since no matter what other methods may be used to obtain samples of speech (group sessions, anonymous observations) the only way to obtain sufficient 'good' data from the speech of any one person is 'through an individual tape-recorded interview: that is, through the most obvious kind of systematic observation' (Labov, 1972:209).

In his New York studies, Labov elicited narratives on various subjects. Some themes, especially 'the danger of death' was found to be very effective in reducing the degree of formality, so too were the various speaking and reading

styles - casual, formal etc. There are however, a few criticisms about some of the efforts by Labov. It has not only been observed that 'the danger of death' theme does not always produce the same effect but that it is also not often easy to distinguish between different styles. Macaulay (1977) for instance found Labov's procedure not explicit enough to enable him overcome the problem of the 'observer's paradox'.

The participant-observation method has also been employed. In his (1968) Harlem study, Labov rented a club house for about a year within which he obtained his data from the boys in groups. This was supplemented with individual interviews with the same boys. Cheshire (1982) building on Labov's method, studied present tense verbs in Reading English through 'long-term participant -observation' which enabled her to become 'semi-incorporated into the group' examined. Cheshire employed a cost-saving technique of visiting the boys at two adventure playgrounds for months. She also recalls that occasionally, fighting broke out during recording sessions. Even though this did not help to produce high quality recording, she argues that it suggests that the speech style was 'suitably relaxed' since the boys seemed to have forgotten that they were being recorded.

The problem has been handled differently by other sociolinguists. Wilson (cited in Cheshire 1982) allowed the subjects to make recordings themselves, thus making it possible for the investigator not to be present. Others (see

Crystal and Davy, 1969; Dixon, 1984) suggest the use of candid recording or keeping record cards or diaries (Rickford, 1975; L. Milroy, 1987) but these too have their limitations. For instance, apart from the ethical issues involved in surreptitious recordings, the quality of such recordings have been known to be very poor since the microphone in most cases, has to be hidden. In both candid recording and linguistic diaries, it is sometimes difficult to ascertain the social background of the subjects and the possibilities of supplementary recordings or entries may be ruled out.

L. Milroy (1980; 1987) agrees that it may not be possible to entirely resolve the 'observer's paradox'. She acknowledges that though interviews are capable of obtaining useful data for some purposes, 'they are by virtue of the role relationships encoded in their discourse structure likely to exacerbate the central problem of the observer's paradox' (1987:60). The problem, she admits, is more complex in syntactic studies which, because of their peculiar nature cannot easily do without direct elicitation while at the same time trying to reduce the effect of the observer. Working on the general principle of *Friends of Friends*, (Boissevain, 1974) L. Milroy advances a social network approach to language study. This approach, adapted, is employed in this study. We shall therefore discuss the method in some detail.

3.1.4 Social Networks

Boissevain (1974) is more of a statement of the nature of social relationships than a method of data collection. However, its concentration on how interpersonal relations are structured and influenced and the way individuals, 'seen as social entrepreneurs seek to manipulate these to attain goals and solve problems' (p.3) has made it a vital tool in research.

According to Boissevain, the structural-functional view of human behaviour which stipulates that it can be explained in terms of the system, is no longer adequate because roles change and individual informants are now more concerned with what is best for their families.

He argues that the static structural-functional model does not work at the level of human interaction because human relations are embedded in a 'network'. At the most abstract level, this network could be seen as 'a scattering of points connected by lines' - the points are persons while the lines are social relations. Boissevain views each person as a star from which lines radiate to points, some of which are connected with each other. This is his 'first order or primary zone'. It is however possible that these persons are also in contact with others who they can only reach through members of the first order - these are usually 'important friends-of-friends' (p.24).

Boissevain admits that the concept of social network,

though useful to builders of social theories, is not a theory of society but a way of looking at social relations. He notes that the most important feature of a person's network is that it is composed of individuals linked in a large variety of ways depending on the very many activities the people participate in and the role they play. An individual's network therefore provides

> an image of a many-bladed Japanese or Chinese hand fan, each blade representing an activity field but all converging at one point, the person at the centre of this network. (p.22).

He identifies the interactional and structural factors that affect an individual's network, three of which multiplexity, density and clusters - are summed up here.

At the interactional level, a social relation can be 'uniplex' or single-structured' if it is based on a single role relation or 'multiplex/many-stranded' if based on many stranded relations, some of which reinforce one another. This, he opines, makes the study of networks the study of the influence of social and role relations on each other.

An important structural feature is the degree to which the members of an individual's social network know and interact with one another independent of him. This is the 'density' of the network and it is vital in determining the 'potential' and not the actual flow of information, especially in the first order relationships.

In any social network, there are segments or compartments

that have relatively high densities. People who form such compartments or clusters are more closely related than others. Such clusters can be found among people who share similar occupations or belong to similar social groups; their behaviour is generally more homogeneous and therefore more predictable.

If Boissevain (1974) provides a general framework of social networks, Milroy and Milroy (1978) relate this principle to language studies. In their Belfast studies, they employ the notions of multiplexity, density and cluster to ascertain the level of individual integration into local networks.

Milroy and Milroy believe that introducing oneself as 'a friend of a friend' not only guarantees good faith but also makes it possible for the researcher to be integrated into the community, thus giving him access to 'the rights and obligations ... of the network' (1980:54). Consequently, he can observe a range of speech styles over a long period.

The present study has found some of the ideas in *Friends of Friends* useful but the peculiarities of our work and the nature of the relationship between the investigator and the subjects impose some limitations on the application of the concept of social networks in its most complex form.

3.2 FORMS AND SOURCES OF DATA.

3.2.1 Sample Universe.

The subjects in this study were first and second year undergraduates (1991/92 session) from seven faculties in Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, who by their level of education can be said to have similar social characteristics that qualify them as a social group. They belong therefore to a social group.

In choosing them, considerations were given to the issues that have been raised by earlier scholars (see Banjo, 1971, 1981; Adesanoye, 1973; Odumuh, 1981, 1984a, 1984b; Akere, 1982; Bamgbose, 1982; and Ofuokwu, 1982, 1984 etc) on who the speaker of NigE is.

It can be argued that the subjects used for this research are still in the learning process and so should not be used as sample of English usage in Nigeria. Our view is that the bulk of grammar is supposed to have been taught by the end of secondary school. The teaching of grammar in the universities is by and large remedial. Such remedial teaching (which is not always available to all undergraduates) terminates at 200 Level. Whatever is learnt after this point, is done incidentally. The choice of the subjects is therefore realistic; our sample, adequate.

Cheshire (1982:10) has also noted that she found it easier to work with adolescents, who not only have more time to spare but also can be more easily identified, than with

other people with more patterned lives.

We found it more convenient to use students with whom we socialise, live and work. With the methods employed in the data collection, especially the story sessions, it would have been difficult to effectively use older subjects.

It was considered uneconomical to collect materials from other institutions of higher learning within or outside Kaduna State because studies have shown that language, especially syntactic 'problems' of Nigerian speakers of English are generally similar (see Tomori, 1967; Durojaiye, 1970; Adesanoye, 1973; Ofuokwu, 1982; Opata, 1984 etc).

This research cannot be seen as 'A study of student English' because as we have stated in 1.4, p 47 , the subjects have been selected from the thirty states and Federal Capital Territory, Abuja. They are therefore from the various linguistic and ethnic groups representative of the country.

3.2.2 Data Collection

A combination of three modes was used in collecting the data. These are written tests, oral (face-to face) interview and participant-observation. We believe that as these methods are complementary, such a combination will enhance both the validity and reliability of the data.

3.2.3 Exploratory Essays

Twelve 200 level students (of Ahmadu Bello University's

Main Campus) from five faculties, who had individually sought the assistance of the researcher on essay design and development were at different times between April and May, 1991 asked to write essays on any of the following topics:

A: Should drug traffickers be executed?

B: Should students be blamed for examination malpractices ?

C: What would you like to be done to make life more comfortable for Nigerian university students?

D: What would you like to do when you leave school?

E: The most exciting holiday I ever had.

These essays were exploratory in two ways: they helped in ascertaining the thought development problems of the students, which were later discussed with them, and in providing some evidence about and the nature of some syntactic variables that are identifiable with NigE. This eliminated the problems associated with the researcher working solely on his intuitive knowledge of the Nigerian variety of English.

3.2.4 Choice of Essay Topics

The five topics chosen for the survey were selected from an earlier list of seven which included the establishment of more universities in the country and the existence of secret cults in our institutions of higher learning. The two were dropped for various reasons. It is unrealistic to ask students to argue on the establishment of more universities when those

in existence cannot be maintained. Again, as there were no reported cases of the existence of secret cults in Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria (at that time), the effects of such societies would be more imaginary than real, at least for the students.

The selected topics therefore, not only centre on current national issues, (and are of great interest) but are equally relevant to the students and the nation at large. It is also expected that they will for sometime remain national problems. For instance, the image of Nigeria is said to be continuously dented by drug traffickers whose behaviour always expose Nigerians to undue embarrassment and humiliation at most foreign international airports. The efforts made by the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) to discourage Nigerians from getting involved in the drug trade, the cases of Miss Jennifer Madike[1] and that of Mr Joe Brown Akubueze[2] are still too recent to be forgotten. So too, is the reported execution of ten 'Hajj drug traffickers' in Saudi Arabia[3]. The review of the death penalty for drug trafficking to a maximum of life imprisonment may have been responsible for the increase in the number of Nigerians in the drug trade. Little wonder the call for a re-introduction of the death penalty.

The topic therefore presented the subjects (especially those who are socialist and religious inclined), with the opportunity to dwell on the other ills of the Nigerian society and to argue on the need to preserve the sacred nature of

life. It also offered some other subjects (those who believe in the process of law) an opportunity to present a case for execution.

The history of examination malpractice, at the national level, dates back to 1970 - with what was popularly known as 'EXPO - 70' - when the West African Examination Council (WAEC) cancelled all WASCE papers due to mass leakage. Since then, the act has continued unabated.

'The Special Tribunal (Miscellaneous Offence) Decree' of 1984 on Examination Malpractice which stipulates 21 years imprisonment, has been anything but effective.

Examination malpractice took an alarming turn for the worse in 1991. Malpractices were so rampart and disturbing that they attracted the attention of our newspapers and magazines. *Newswatch* (see July 1, 1991 edition for details) calls it 'corner-cutting', 'crookery in the classroom' and sees it as 'a growth industry complete with its own arcane vocabulary' and a 'new threat to education'. In 1991 alone, more than one hundred students were either expelled or suspended for offence related to cheating in examination.

In Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, that same year, the first semester examination for all 300 and 400 level courses in Political Science and International Studies were cancelled because of massive examination fraud that involved well over forty students and some messengers. The students were expelled, the messengers lost their jobs. None of them took

the university to court.

Time has not helped matters. If anything, examination malpractice is now part of the school system, so much so that it seems an offence **not** to cheat as those 'who cannot beat them have joined them'. In 1994, another group of eighteen (18) students were expelled from Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, some of them had already 'graduated' from the university[4].

The topic therefore calls for an exposition and analysis of the causes, effects and solutions (CES) to the problem and requires that subjects take a stand on who should be held responsible for the act.

The deplorable conditions of Nigerian universities have always attracted the attention of those interested in academic excellence. Basic amenities such as chalk and dusters are non-existent in some departments. The libraries are said to be 'empty'; there are no chemicals for practicals, no desks and chairs in the lecture halls. Yet, only in 1991 the government took a loan of $20m from The World Bank.

The students of Ahmadu Bello University, (ABU), Zaria protested sometime in March, 1991 about the very bad quality of water provided for them in their hostels and this forced the school to an untimely closure. No student was, however, expelled.

The National Association of Nigerian Students (NANS) gave the Federal Government an ultimatum asking her to, among other

things, improve the condition of life of students in the universities on or before the 26th May 1991. Though the ultimatum was not met, the government invited the students for dialogue.

Most Nigerians still remember the six-month strike by the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) in 1992 during which all academic activities came to a halt in all Nigerian universities. The lecturers were demanding, among other things, better funding, university autonomy, and improved conditions of service. This led to the 'September 3, 1992 Agreement' between ASUU and the Federal Government'.[5]

The 'welfare essay' therefore is another CES write-up but with a note of protest. There may be, as a result, claims, arguments, accusations, instances and overgeneralisation - all of which are vital for thought development.

Beyond their current and rhetorical values, the topics were also chosen because they involve the use of items from virtually all grammatical categories. For example, the use of the auxiliaries and present tense verbs especially those indicative of habitual activities, is called for in A and B, while any attempt at C and D requires the use of both tenses (present and past). The holiday question essentially calls for the use of past tense in all its forms. Dynamic verbs (e.g activity and process verbs) will be valuable in presenting how examination malpractices are effected. In A-D, references can also be made to the future especially with 'If clauses' i.e

hypothetical future.

Nouns of various types are needed in B and E especially in terms of the facilities to be provided, places and people visited. Abstract nouns indicating CES to the problems will also be useful in A and B.

Adjectives are mandatory in the discussion of any holiday, more so an exciting one. We also expect the use of intensifiers (e.g emphasisers and amplifiers) in the description of the qualities of the places visited and experiences gained during the holiday and in presenting the effects of drug abuse on the victim and the nation.

Downtoners (compromisers, diminishers, minimisers,etc) and other items that express equivalence, similarity or otherwise are irreplaceable in presenting contrasts between the vacation in question and other vacations.

Adverbials, especially of time (when, frequency and duration) and place, will be mostly employed in A and E and others that indicate cause, consequence etc, will be vital in A and B.

It is our view therefore that whichever essay topic was chosen by a subject, the chances of using these grammatical items were equally high.

3.2.5 Written Essays (WE)

Two hundred first and second year students from the faculties of Arts and Social Sciences, Education, Engineering,

Medicine, Science, Law and the School of General and Remedial Studies - all of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria took part in this study. They had registered for 'English for Academic Purposes' (EAP) - a core course and like those used in the exploratory study, were getting ready for the Mid-Semester Examinations scheduled to start on the 19th July, 1991.

The lecturers who assisted in the data collection were EAP teachers and had been asked to announce the date of the examination and to request all those who wished to write practice essays to choose one topic from A - E. Many students indicated their willingness to do so. One hour was the time limit for the test which was administered on the 9th July, 1991 in all the groups. No student complained that the time was not enough.

The lecturers were also requested to mark the essays using the recommended guidelines for EAP. They were also expected to discuss the students' problems with them. The scripts were however not released to them.

The provision of six essay topics from which the subjects had to choose one was aimed at giving each subject an opportunity to write on the one he can effectively discuss based on his knowledge, experience, interest and the time stipulated for the exercise. It was therefore an attempt to reduce the tension usually associated with such test situations and make the subjects write with minimal disruption of thought.

The class situation was also normal and did not give them any indication that their essays would be put into any other use apart from preparing them for the final examination. Two samples of the essays are provided in Appendixes 1 and 2.

3.2.5.1 Acceptability Tests

To avoid relying on our intuition, thirty-eight (38) sentences which illustrate the variables investigated were picked from WE and presented to two English Language lecturers in the department for acceptability tests. The sentences and others are reproduced in 4.3.1.

The responses of the lecturers confirmed some of our assumptions and gave an indication of the nature of standard and non-standard usage in NigE.

3.2.6 Participant Observation

The author accepts that the classroom situation, no matter how relaxed, can at best be described as quasi-informal and may consequently fail to provide the researcher direct access to everyday spontaneous, natural speech - called the vernacular. The participant - observation method was therefore employed to take care of this shortcoming. There were in four parts - presented in 3.2.6.1.- 4.

3.2.6.1 The Campaign Train (CT).

The researcher participated in the campaign activities (rallies, symposia, debates, etc) for the Student Union elections which sometimes stretched far into the night. These activities culminated in the presentation (by the candidates) of their manifestos on the 26th July, 1991 and the Presidential Debate two days later. During these trips, the writer went round the campus with the various campaign teams, sang whatever choruses were raised with them and got on tape some of their speeches, discussions, arguments and gossips. Some students who identified him held high his hands and offered him 'solidarity tree branches' which he accepted amidst cheers of unity.

The two popular Presidential Aspirants (Steve Aluko - Alias Maradona and Nura Giwa) were asked a few questions during the campaigns, on why they had chosen to contest; what they hoped to do to make life better for the students of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and Nigerian undergraduates in general if they won; and how they would feel if they lost. Ten students were also asked who their candidates were and why they supported them. A number of students had their cassette-recorders and cameras to cover what turned out to be the most exciting event for the session. The researcher therefore did not attract any special attention.

During the presentation of the manifestos, each candidate addressed the 'Congress' justifying why he had decided to

contest for a particular post and what he hoped to do to improve the welfare of students. For most of the contestants, it was a question of reading from already prepared texts. In terms of quality, however, the speeches can hardly be said to be uniform; evidence of varying degrees of competence in co-existence.

> In every **crucial undertakings**,[6] I believe there are two **crucial** moments the moment of promise and that of fulfillment, the latter being more **crucial** than the former ... We are all living **witnessing** to the great dilapidating and deteriorating conditions of our living generally, both environmentally, hygienically and academically ...(*Director of Welfare Aspirant*)
>
> For democracy, efficiency, effectiveness direction **to prevail** Lawretta needs your vote for students union Vice-President, A.B.U. main campus. The students of this campus **needs** to be liberated from the culture of social degradation and the rule of **anarchy leaders of tomorrow**...*(Contestant for the post of the Vice-President)*.
>
> The wind of change that is blowing all over the world is right here in A.B.U. We are at the dawn of a new social order Today, great A.B.U students are faced **by** a herculean but surmountable task of building a strong, virile and independent student union devoid of all vices that **has** characterised previous elections. (*The second Vice-Presidential Aspirant*).

For details of CT, see Appendixes 3, 4 and 5.

3.2.6.1 Presidential Debate(PD)

If the manifestos were mere rhetorics, 'the 'Presidential Debate' (PD), during which each candidate was asked questions on local, national and international issues by his co-contestants called for quick, unedited and spontaneous

responses. The contestants also asked questions about their opponents' private lives (e.g why a candidate was expelled from his formal school?), family wealth and the positions of some of their parents in the Babangida administration and how this would affect their activities if voted into power. In the excerpt below, we present part of the debate:

Maradona: Following the sequence of events in A.B.U and the nation what shall be or whose interest are you going to protect? We all know the role he played i what is happening in Ahmadu Bello today, so I am asking him **that** if he can go witch -hunting students, why, how are we sure he will represent the interest of the students.

Crowd: Ye - e - e

Nura: What is happening **presently** is that some supporters of one of the contestants smashed the windscreen of my vehicle and I **extended to my supporters** to stay calm. Do you know what that means - even if I am voted into power I always plead for calmness, unity and continuity.

Crowd: Ye - e - e

See also Appendix 6 for the details of the speech samples of PD.

A similar coverage of the students' campaign activities for the union elections in 1992 was carried out. This was aimed at particularly ascertaining the reliability and validity of the 1991 exercise.

As it turned out, the pattern of language use was generally similar. In the following excerpt, we present part

of the response of one of the contestants for the post of the Financial Secretary to a question during the presentation of their manifestos.

Student A: What will be your contribution to the management of the Union facilities if we give you the mandate?

Contestant: If you give me the mandate, I **promised** to provide enough and available fund any time the need arises. I will equally make sure that all **properties** that **belongs** to the union are properly **maintain**. The broken ones will definitely be **repair**. The union cars repaired and help in conveying students of the Faculty of Agriculture to their faculty every morning to save them ( ) wasting their precious lecture time.

I will also make sure that the union deposit within **it** capacity the little amount it has for maximum interest...

Crowd: Fire on ...

And here, the aspirant for the post of Secretary General states his goals.

> We do not intend to create new tensions but to heal old wounds; we **seek not** vengeance but justice, conscience has **summoned** us not to divide ABU again but to bring it together once and for all. In this noble crusade, we invite all men of goodwill, irrespective of faculty... to join us and work with us to make this campus a better place for every one.

About the same time that the election campaigns were going on, the members of the Non-Academic Staff Union of

Nigerian Universities (NASU), Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria Branch were demonstrating. They planned to declare a trade dispute with the university authorities if they were not paid the government-approved minimum wage by the end of July, 1991. The volatile nature of the situation made it unsafe to use the tape-recorder; the researcher therefore jotted down a few utterances that attracted his attention. The episode provided data on the output of some Nigerian workers (represented by NASU members in A.B.U) - in very clear spontaneous speech.

> **No any** one of them is reliable, both the V.C, the accountant **or** the bursar, they are the same.
>
> We shall continue with **this our** action until they pay every Kobo.
> This is a sure banker.
>
> We know our rights and we shall continue to fight for **it**, so **therefore** let's move... All we are saying is...

3.2.6.2 The Soccer Adventure (SA)

Another activity that the researcher was motivated to participate in was the inter-faculty soccer competition (from mid-June to mid-July, 1991). During each ninety-minute encounter, he moved round the field with the SING-ON Model Mini Cassette Recorder and tried to pick the student's pieces of conversation. Each time he felt his presence had attracted some attention, he moved to another 'zone' or 'cluster' of supporters where reactions, complaints, expressions of disappointments or happiness were easily picked up. The

argument presented below is between three supporters of the Faculty of Law team.

A: *Eh, take it from him; don't let him pass you.* Thank you, **na only you be the player we get today.**

B: Why you de talk like that, what of that No.5, he save the first goal...

C: Na just luck, old boy No.5 no de play anything.

From another cluster, during the same match between Law and Arts and Social Sciences, we recorded the following exchange:

D: I was sure that the coach will **change** (replace) Usman. Today is not his best day. He is still nursing a leg injury **Old Boy you don try**

E: Na him good for him (am). No bi when i de dribble **those bigger than him**, them finish him leg.

All: G - o - a - l We don win. we don win.

For details of the soccer experience, see Appendix 7.

One disadvantage of such open air group recording is that it is usually noisy, unorganised and the speakers pay little or no attention to turn-taking. The recordings were therefore not of the best quality but some stretches were distinct enough for the writer to follow the students' arguments. The relatively poor recordings were however not considered too much a price to pay to get spontaneous speech.

3.2.6.3 Linguistic Diary (LD)

To supplement the recordings, the writer also kept a

Linguistic Diary' (LD). Pretending to be covering the football matches, he kept 'jotting' down sentences produced by the subjects. Occasionally, leading questions about particular players and teams were asked; provoking assertions were made with a view to making the supporters talk.

The Linguistic Diary was useful in another situation. The researcher has always been attracted by the discussions that usually took place among students at the Faculty of Arts courtyard and on the corridors leading to a block of staff offices where his office (ROOM 7) is located. Listening from slightly opened windows which are fitted with tinted glasses, he quickly took down as much of the students' conversations as possible without them being aware that they were being monitored. See Labov (1972:49) for a similar procedure. The situation was always informal and the conversations always made interesting listening as the students moved from academic to social problems including the inability of some of their lecturers to teach and the methods they employed to cheat in examinations, as in this example:

Student A: I have a problem. I want to write Moral Philosophy exam.

Student B: Go now, run, **they don start.**

Student C: **And if you don't pass this Immoral Philosophy, you will not graduate**

Student B: I like the paper

Student C: Why?

student B: There was one I wrote - there was **no enough** question paper and we were two

using one question paper.

Student C: So, how una do am?

Student B: They did not bring my question paper until we **were** only **having** twenty minutes to go. There was one girl sitting beside me. She say **make I dub. 'Make I dub? - She say, ' no problem' so I come dub** -24A, 25B 26C I got C in that paper, **wetin again remain...**

Student C: There was an assignment I got 14% out of 100

Student B: That's the one I had zero on the ground that we did ECOMOG. He gave me 10% initially because he said I copied from Isaac but when he found that Isaac copied from a book, he gave Isaac 10% and cancelled my own ten. I got zero.

The Linguistic Diary was, in addition used to record constructions in the speeches of students in which the variables being investigated occurred. This was done as soon as the sentences were heard or soon afterwards.

Speech samples were also obtained from newspapers, radio and television broadcasts. These did not form part of the data used in the analysis but they helped to establish whether the forms of speech observed on the campus can be said to have anything in common with those used by other Nigerians. For example, talking about the July 1991 plane disaster in Jeddah in which many Nigerian pilgrims lost their lives, a pilgrim official said:

> Let us consider the luggage of the pilgrims ... it is the fault of the pilgrims who **carry heavyluggages**... We found that the **luggages** they had more than the approved 35kg. Some of

them came out with 200kg and started begging.

More examples are presented below:

> Before we continue, here is Mr. Barwa with a summary of what we **have** said last week.
>
> If you ask the agitators what **is** the **criteria** for state creation, they will give sentimental reasons. So therefore in line with the discussion of the panelists we should not create states.

In Appendix 8, we present more data from LD.

The Linguistic Diary, like the rapid and anonymous Labov's 'fourth floor' experiment, has the advantage of eliminating the observers's paradox since no tape-recorder is involved. Its greatest disadvantage, however, is that information about the social background of speakers is generally not easily available. In the present study, such a problem did not arise as the subjects can, to a greater extent, be said to form a social group.

In all situations in which the Linguistic Diary was used, this writer was guided by Labov's (1981:33) plea that the researcher should avoid any act that 'would be embarrassing to explain if it became a public issue'.

3.2.6.4 The Story Groups (SG)

Another effort made at obtaining samples of everyday language was to involve the subjects in story-telling. Thirty six students (seventeen, first year and nineteen, second year) participated in different story-telling activities. They were

divided into three groups of twelve - the first two groups consisted of seven girls and five boys.

We had equal membership in the third group. While the members of first two groups were all Nigerians, only eight (three boys and five girls) in the third were Nigerians. Of the non-Nigerians, two girls were Cameroonians and the other two (a boy and a girl) were citizens of Niger Republic. The composition of the groups was deliberately worked out. The third group, for instance, was aimed at eliciting speech forms from speakers of other varieties of West African English without obviously creating an exclusive non-Nigerian group.

There was, however no deliberate attempt to have less boys - participation was voluntary and more girls turned up. Being a friend of a friend in the SG also helped in both the membership and participation. The members of each group knew of the existence of the two other groups and were therefore interested in making the activities in their group more exciting.

The subjects had earlier been told that the story-telling experiment was aimed at discovering the narrative techniques employed by students which would be used later in teaching a writing course the participants would be expected to register for.

Story-telling sessions were held at the park between the Convocation Square and the University Bookshop in the evenings. Each session lasted two hours and each group met

twice within the story week.

Light refreshments (biscuits, sweets, and sometimes soft drinks) were provided. At the beginning of each session, a trial recording was made and a playback carried out. The participants were always pleased to listen to their voices on tape.

Members of the story groups were from the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences who had registered for LANG 201 (Contemporary English Usage 1) which involved narration. It was not possible to get students from the other faculties especially the Sciences to participate because the writer could not establish a personal relationship with them, and any attempt to bring about one would affect the friendly atmosphere that usually prevailed during the story-telling sessions.

The discussions generally centred on the 1991 Second Semester Examination they had just completed and the holiday they were about to begin - means of transport, destination, their fears, expectations, accidents; love, friendship and marriage; relationships with their parents, brothers and sisters; parties, visits, vacation jobs, student politics, drug abuse, examination malpractice etc.

Story-telling sessions were very exciting as participants occasionally put in some pleasant jokes. Here, one of the participants talks about an accident in which she was involved:

Azuka: Mine was in 1982 when I was in Form II. I still remember: we were going to ( ) market, me and my mummy in her Beatle.

Researcher: Then, she had a Beatle... she has moved up now

Others: (Laughter)

Peju: That's why she called it a small car.

Azuka: We were going to ( ) market. There was one roundabout. When she was, we were trying to pass this roundabout, the policeman had already stopped us. Then suddenly one car was coming out, coming out from another junction, so that -em bus driver did not look very well and me I brought out my hand. I was just waving like this (dramatizing) to stop and let my mummy's car pass. So, immediately I just brought out my hand the bus rushed in and banged the door and it was that passenger's seat where I was sitting so the something hit me and I had to knock my mummy and the car door went right inside the car.
I had sractches all over the body (showing some of the scars) and I had to go to the hospital. One funny thing was that the driver and the conductor ran away - they ran away.

Sally: What about their bus?

Dodo: Them leave am there...

We have more stories in Appendixes 9 and 10.

A number of scholars including Labov (1966) and Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) have employed the story-telling technique and have found it useful.

3.3 Stratification of Sample:

From an initial sample of 120 essays, twenty were rejected because of their general unsuitability - the subjects either did not write their names and/ or failed to indicate

These pieces of information were useful in ascertaining the respondents' states of origin and where necessary, how long they had stayed in the Kaduna State. The essays of those who had lived in the state for more than one year were not used.

Of the 100 left, 60 were selected using the following guidelines:

(i) length of essay

(ii) topic

(iii) state of origin

(iv) faculty

The essays were further divided into two based on sex. A careful reading of the texts, with particular reference to the use of the features being investigated enabled us to further sub-divide them into smaller units, viz NSNigE and SNigE.

Altogether, sixteen essays were used. To arrive at this figure, every fourth essay was picked. These formed part of the data from the 28 subjects used in the analysis for two of the varieties (i.e Non-standard and Standard Nigerian English).

The same guidelines were used in the selection of the other subjects, though less rigidly. The sampling procedure too was not as systematic as that employed for the WE. There are a few reasons for this.

Since no subject used pidgin for WE and PD, it was necessary to select more subjects from (SA and SG) to make up for the difference. The two contexts (i.e. SA and SG)

necessary to select more subjects from (SA and SG) to make up for the difference. The two contexts (i.e. SA and SG) attracted greater use of pidgin than the others.

It was also not possible to obtain personal details from all the subjects during the SA because of the nature of the setting. This meant that their states of origin could not be determined. They were, however, Nigerians.

While in WE, outputs were continuous, in the others they were in sketches. The discontinuous outputs of respondents were carefully put together and only those that came up to between 250 and 350 words (as in WE) were used in the analysis.

Altogether, eighty-four (84) students served as subjects in this study. See Table 3.1 for details.

Table 3:1 **Sources and Distribution of Subjects.**

	Source	NigP	NSNigE	SNigE	Total
1.	**WE**	-	8	8	16
2.	**SA**	8	4	4	16
3.	**CT**	8	4	4	16
4.	**PD**	-	4	4	8
5.	SG	12	8	8	28
	TOTAL	28	28	28	84

A number of subjects were proficient in both NigP and NSNigE while many used both NigP and SNigE. Only a few of these however were used in the analysis.

3.4 Ages of subjects:

Age and social background of respondents have been recognised as important factors that affect their linguistic behaviour. In Martha's Vineyard, for instance, Labov found that with older men who were proud to be vineyarders, high centralization of /ai/ and /au/ is common.

Milroy and Milroy (1978:25) also state that young male peer group in Belfast use more [ˆ] than their elders. In West Yorkshire, too, Petyt (1978:94) notes that 'the highest use of contracted forms is obviously among the youngest groups'.

The subjects in the present study fall within what may be called the 'university age' - 18 - 25 years. For obvious reasons, the ages of the participants in PD, CT, SA and LD, and some in WE could not be obtained. The relationship in SG however, was such that it was easy to obtain such vital personal information. In Table 3.2, we present the ages of the subjects in SG.

Table 3.2: Ages of subjects in SG

	Subject	Age	Subject	Age
1.	SG/002M	22	SG/005F	23
2.	SG/003M	20	SG/007F	20
3.	SG/006M	22	SG/008F	21
4.	SG/007M	22	SG/011F	19
5	SG/009M	20	SG/013F	19
6.	SG/012M	20	SG/015F	20
7.	SG/014M	21	SG/016F	21
8.	SG/015M	20	SG/017F	23
9.	SG/018M	20	SG/019F	23
10	SG/022M	20	SG/021F	19
11	SG/024M	20	SG/025F	24
12	SG/026M	20	SG/029F	22
13	SG/028M	22	SG/032F	23

The average age of the respondents is 21. However, while the youngest in the male group is 20, that of the female is 19. The female has a wider age range (19-24) as opposed to 20-22 for the male subjects. The age differences between the groups is however not statistically significant - P = 0.3700.

3.5 Occupations of Parents.

Occupations of subjects' parents are also said to have some effects on the respondents' language use, especially in class-oriented societies such as those studied by Labov, Trudgill etc. In Tables 3.3.1 and 3.2.2, details of the occupations of thier parents are given.

Table 3.3.1: Occupations of parents of male subjects.

	Subject	Father	Mother
1.	SG/002M	Businessman	Housewife
2.	SG/003M	Politician	Teacher
3.	SG/006M	Secretary	Teacher
4.	SG/007M	Reverend	Nurse
5	SG/009M	Pharmacist	Deceased
6.	SG/012M	Transporter	Trader
7.	SG/014M	Lawyer	Lecturer
8.	SG/015M	Farmer	Trader
9.	SG/018M	Securityman	Housewife
10	SG/022M	Soldier	Police
11	SG/024M	Lecturer	Lecturer
12	SG/026M	Doctor	Teacher
13	SG/028M	Engineer	Secretary

Table 3.3.2: Occupations of parents of female subjects.

	Subject	Father	Mother
1.	SG/005F	Businessman	Teacher
2.	SG/007F	Doctor	Lecturer
3.	SG/008F	Politician	Housewife

4.	SG/011F	Civil Servant	Trader
5	SG/013F	Lecturer	Lecturer
6.	SG/015F	Police	Trader
7.	SG/016F	Manager	Secretary
8.	SG/017F	Engineer	Lawyer
9.	SG/019F	Farmer	Chef
10	SG/021F	Deseased	Artist
11	SG/025F	Accountant	Designer
12	SG/029F	Banker	Nurse
13	SG/032F	Fireman	Civil Servant

The occupations include a number of the common fields of human endeavour, some of which - medicine, law, pharmacy, engineering, banking, politics and perhaps lecturing - are generally considered 'respectable'. They also include some other less acknowledged professions, such as transportation, farming, fire and security services, trading etc. In a class conscious society, those in the former group are likely to be considered higher than those in the latter on the social strata. This difference is also expected to be reflected in the pattern of language use by their children.

In Nigeria however, there is to a large extent, no rigid stratification into social classes. It is therefore usual to see children from supposedly different social background in the same schools, enjoying similar social ammenities and thus exposed to similar linguistic trends.

This explains why there is generally no noticeable difference between the usage of children from these various background. The following conversation between SG/017F and SG/019F illustrates this.

> Like you are being dependent on these men, it should be on equal basis, he contributes, the woman contributes, like if I **am working** and my husband works, I expect him to contribute to the home-keeping and I will contribute. The money we realise we use it for the housekeeping, we use for relatives, and other people around we have to cater for. It should not be one-sided, the only thing he is there, he can protect me.. (SG/019F)

> Me personally, that's what I was telling you, me persanlly, I don't believe in love. If you have the **characters** I like, I shall go out with you. I might even marry you or something like that. If I **am loving** you and to me as a man you should be the person to give, it is the man that gives, the man that protects, it is the man that em - kind of **defend** you. You are the woman, you should be fragile, you know...(SG/017F)

Where there is any difference in the quality of language use at all, it is our view that this is attributable to individual competence rather than parents' occupation. For instance, while SG/017F and SG/029F are from 'working class' parents and with similar educational background, having both attended the unity schools, SG/029F shows a greater mastery of English than SG/017F. Compare the following paragraph with the preceding excerpt.

> You see, I believe, I go for what comes out from my man's heart not how his face looks - eh I believe love whatever they define it as, that it could happen irrespective of sex - I can love a girl. I can love a girl, in that sense we should attract each other, we could love each other, but facial qualities and characteristics, I believe it is the heart that matters for me in that kind of thing (SG/029F)

It is our opinion therefore that while the parents form a heterogenous group, the members of SG can be said to form a comparatively homogeneous social group despite their individual peculiarities. We also have reason to conclude, that the same can be said of the other subjects in WE, SA, CT, PD and LD.

NOTES

[1]For details of the celebrated case between a one time boss of the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) Mr. Fedelis Oyakhilome and Miss Jennifer Madike, see 'Government Clears Oyakhilome', *The Guardian*, 21st February, 1991, p.20.

[2]See *The Guardian*, 1st March, 1994, p.3 for the story of the 649 wraps of heroine seized from Mr. Joe Brown Akubueze, twelve of which were later reported missing while in the custody of NDLEA. This, according to the report, has worsened the image of Nigeria abroad.

[3]The *New Nigerian*, 21st June, 1991, p.1 has the full story - 'Drug Trafficking - Ten Pilgrims Executed in Saudi Arabia?'

[4] See *Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria News Bulletin*, Vol xxx No.9, 4th March, 1994, p.4. See also *Nigerian Tribute* 29th May, 1996 p.3 for the conference on 'Examination Ethics' held at Offa, Ogun State.

[5] There had been similar strikes in 1973 and 1988 and perhaps there may still be more as the conditions of amenities remain the same, if not worse than they were before the ASUU strike and the Government has continued to breach some aspects of the 'September 3rd Agreement'. Indeed, ASUU embarked on another industrial action on 22nd August 1994, and yet another, in May, 1996 to press for a review of the Agreement.

[6] All examples are reproduced without any changes or

corrections.

[7] The discussion here has centred on the female respondents because this is the group that is known to be more sensitive to linguistic change.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 ANALYSIS OF DATA, RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Preamble

This chapter deals with syntactic as opposed to phonological variation in NigE. It is concerned with structural and morphological changes between, and within the sub-sets - (NigP, NSNigE and SNigE). Here, we present a simple description of each sub-set, an analysis of our data and discuss results. We will begin however with notes on our analytical framework, the variables and our statistical tools of analysis.

4.2 Our Model Framework:

Despite the shortcomings in Bickerton's works and the known fact that they focus on creole, his analytical framework, with some modifications, can be applied to NigE. It has already been stated that the varieties of NigE form a multilayered continuum. We have also identified three varieties - Nigerian pidgin (NigP), Non-standard Nigerian English (NSNigE) and Standard Nigerian English (SNigE)[1]. These roughly correspond to the basilect, mesolect and acrolect. The relationship between these varieties is such that it is not possible to state categorically where NigP stops and NSNigE begins. Again, unlike Banjo's gradient of varying degrees of competence, there is no discontinuity in the range of varieties

speakers use and are competent in. The varieties are not discrete; rather, they dovetail and inter-penetrate each other. Even at the 'plateau', speakers can move back and forth depending on the domain. The 'division' of the varieties into three is therefore for descriptive and analytical convenience.

Bickerton (1975:189) would like to 'meet a speaker whose life-style obliges him to generate approximately equal output of diverse varieties'. Such speakers abound in Nigeria, as our data shows. Consider the following examples:

i) Why did they bring the cup if it is for the overall, **na today them suppose** to give them the cup, **no bi so?** (SA/068M).[2]

ii) Make una no make mistake - we are **the overall winners**. (SA/069M)

iii) You are still around, when we finish **I go come check you**. (SA/070M)

These varieties (which are in a dyadic relationship) can be said to be on a cline with NigP at one extreme and SNigE, at the other. In the following example, we see a gradual but non-implicational movement from NigP to SNigE:

1. No take me play, you (de) hear
2. No (de) play with me, you (de) hear
3. A no want play with you
4. A no want joke with you
5. A no want to joke with you
6. I do not want to joke with you
7. I don't want to joke with you

Sentences 1 - 5 represent different forms of NigP. While 1-2 are typical of native speakers of NigP - in essentially pidgin-speaking areas; speakers of 3 - 5 may have learnt it on the corridors of a university. We notice the introduction of a number of non-core pidgin forms, for instance the standard first person singular pronoun, **I;** the infinitive, **to;** the auxiliary **do;** the negative marker, **not** etc. These changes show that depidginization is beginning to take place and that even within NigP, there is variation. The same can be said of the other varieties. More examples are presented in 4.13.

4.3.1 Grammatical Framework

Our analysis examines the outputs of speakers of the varieties and identifies the features generally associated with each sub-set (i.e NigP, NSNigE and SNigE). Unlike Bickerton's work, variation is described in contemporary terms - nouns, noun phrases, verbs, progressive, perfective aspect etc instead of such features as 'realis', 'anterior' and 'punctual'. It is hoped that this will bring the findings of the study closer to scholars of NigE.

The exact grammatical model employed in this study is essentially eclectic, building on the work of Quirk **et al.,** (1972) 'which having drawn heavily both on the long established tradition and the insights on several schools

of linguistics assumes a compromise position' (p.vi) which permits it to account for most linguistic phenomena.

A Grammar of Contemporary English embodies recent developments in the present day English syntax and acknowledges not only that variation is inherent in language but also that there are varieties of English around the world. See Quirk **et al.** (1992: 13-32) for details.

4.3 The Variables:

The study reveals a number of variables, similar to those identified in the pilot study. Some of these variables have been highlighted by earlier writers as **problems** of Nigerian users of English. These variables (V1 - V38) or **features (not** problems), classified according to their syntactic functions, are exemplified below.

4.3.1. NOUN PHRASE FORMS

V1: **Omission of determiners before specific NPs.**

1) They are all supposed to see ( ) Secretary for their speed post letters (SG/020M)

2) Bayo went to ( ) hospital to visit one jumpology student who could not even score a goal throughout the competition, yet he broke his leg. (SA.250M)

3) I will like to have a bungalow house, a car and some clothes I will be able to maintain, I don't like extravagant spending like living in ( ) four-storey

building having ( ) fleet of cars ... (SG/029F)

4) Another reason that I **wants** to become a pharmacist is due to ( ) presents situation in our hospitals (WE/05IM)

5) Looking at the university one is stalled to find ( ) kinds of things he or she sees. (WE/002F)

V2: Omission of determiners before non-specific NPs.

6) Even ( ) policeman can be arrested if he just **beat** person any how without cause (LD/031M)

7) We saw ( ) dogs at the gate, big, big black ugly dogs (WE/028F)

8) But ( ) BSc **Architecturer** undergraduate has to **finished** both degree and master degree before leaving the institution. (WE/009M)

9) I would by now **turned** into either ( ) armed robber or ( ) thief, I therefore **thanks** you for that (WE/027M)

10) What I would like to be in my life is ( ) lady engineer. (WE/014F)

V3: Superfluous use of determiners:

11) **Some certain** lecturers are not ashamed, they give girls plenty of marks and in the night they take them to the guest houses. (WE/056F)

12) The question we have posed in **this our** struggle is the question of making our priority a permanent agenda in the history of **this our** nation (LD/002M)

13) **Dis una** school na so trouble every day. (LD/018F)

14) **Both the two** boys are from the **same** mother the same father. (LD/035M)

15) I don't want to live **that their kind life**... she never atends lectures, but she de pass every time. (WE/052F)

V4: Plural in irregular count nouns. [$N_{(c)}$pl irreg.]

16) Most of our mad **mens as** suffered from such drugs, but all the same they should not be killed (WE/017M).

17) Have you finished analysing your **datas**? (SG/002M)

18) It is a common **phenomena** in Nigeria today to embezzle government money. (CT/040F)

19) There was only one **memoranda** sent to the panel so it could not sit. (WE/04IM)

20) I don do, who are those discussing MKO, how many **agendas** do we for this meeting? (SA/012M)

V5: Plurals in invariable nouns [$N_{(u)}$pl]

21) A single student can have up to four **accommodations,** I know exactly of people who have four **accommodations** (CT/015M).[3]

22) At Kainji, I was shown the deep of the dam and many **informations** about the dam which is an achievement. (WE/014M)

23) Hm-m, Dupe you know what, when we got to Shagalinku even the manager with his suit and tie and the accountant that one that speaks like Onyinbo - they ate their tuwo with the hands - I was even ashamed that I used the **cutleries** they gave us. (LD/033F)

24) This mismanagement **stem** from bureaucratic incompetence poor educational facilities and inadequate **infrastructures.** (WE/004M)

25) The universities also have the problems of **stationeries** even for presenting the Examination results. WE/021F)

V6: Use of resumptive pronouns:

26) The figure above **it** shows that the rate of drug trafficking has increased. (WE/059F)

27) Examination is a situation whereby the students are not used to **it** even if they do it every semester. (WE/005M)

28) In fact to write a story about my holiday with my uncle **it** would take me a long way, rather I should be **summarised** the story. (WE/036M)

29) So we the council of Presidents **we** delegated ourselves **that let's go** and sample students' opinion. (CT/013M)

30) A pharmacist is entitled to go to any country to buy medicine and sell **them** to any hospital. (WE/024M)

V7: Non-inversion of subject and object in indirect questions

31) If they ask them **what is the criteria** for state creation they will give sentimental reasons. (LD/011M)

32) One wonders **what is their source of protein** as they limit themselves to very few protein foods. (WE/015F)

33) Don't mind the man, he likes talking to girls, he even asked me **what is my name** when you left. (SG/016F)

34) That evening he, us and my senior brother said I should find out **how much is the transport fare** from Maiduguri to Zaria. (WE/031M)

35) Who does not know **who is a prodigal son.** (LD/025M)

V8: Subject ellipsis.

36) Do you know that I **forget** that ( ) am suppose to be in the church. (WE/028F)

37) He thought that ( ) am a fool just for one hundred naira I just give in just like that, no way. (WE/028F)

38) ( ) Am very jealous, you know me ...(SG/008M)

39) That man also toasted me, sey you know ( ) am not cheap. (SG/007F)

40) ( )Is not true, ( ) am sure that it was when he was caught that he gave the names of those in the group. (CT/008M)

V9: **Non-distinction between reflexive and reciprocal pronouns**:

In Example 41, we present part of a conversation between two male students (Levels unknown) soon after the Presidential Debate:

41) Speaker A: When the Presidential candidates held **themselves**, I was very happy...

Speaker B: Yes, one boy shouted, "Newbreed politicians'...

Speaker A: Oh - ho - 0 - 0, you see am too?

Speaker B: Who no see am. they kom hold dem hand as if se dem no be opponents (CT/020M)

42) But you know that the police and the army can even fight **themselves.** (SG/013F)

43) My room-mate is a very nice girl, if you see the way we live - we help **ourselves** very much. (WE/021M)

44) You suppose to take am easy, so una for understand **unaself** before una marry. (SG/046F)

45) A no know se him go bring that kind girl come party we no see **we self** before we come. (LD/015M)

V10 **Class shifts:**

46) That boy is good, but he beat his sister up one day in my **present**. (SG/014F)

47) He was complaining saying 'don't **advice** me I don't hear. (WE/002M)

48) But I know that if anybody should win the **price**, it is Ode. (SG/001F)

49) **Save** journey without naira is not **save** journey, how will I eat if I get to school. (WE/022M)

50) Nobody should talk again, it is time to welcome the

candidates; Please be **silence** (CT005M).

V11 Double negation (negative concord)

51) Chief Aduku said that since there were **no enough** hands to handle the volumes of work, the institute is organising workshops to assist the newly-created states. (LD/024M)

52) Only the followers of each prophet can **be able to** change the life of a child, **no anybody** else can do that. (SA/028M)

53) So far so good, the boys have been playing well; we have **no any** fears about them. (SA/041M)

54) You **no** sabi **notin** yet, mek ai tell you true. (CT/034)

55) They **don't** have **no** enough drugs in the **so-call** hospitals. (WE/020F)

4.3.2 THE VERB PHRASE

V12: Use of V-s with 3rd person singular subjects: (3rd person singular concord).

56) In fact the library **do** not have modern books particularly KIL. This **bring** a lot of problems for the students who want references for **readings**. (WE/008M)

57) The behaviour of some lecturers **account** for **the reasons** why students should not be blamed for examination malpractices. (WE/013F)

58) The aim was to have a look at geographical features such as vegetation, the rocks, how water **come** out of rock... (SG/021M)

59) Maladministration which in turn **give** way to bureaucratic bottleneck **constitute** a big hinder to the comfort of Nigerian university students. (CT/003F)

60) This is the day of decision and in fact it **mark** another history in the historic life of our historious A.B.U. after **a** long period of fascist and reactionary imposition and repression and other

and reactionary imposition and repression and other forms of intimidation. (CT/053M)

V13: Use of V+s with non-3rd person singular subjects

62) So many things **has** been **happeneing** to the students like the leaking of examination question by the lecturers. (WE/049F)

63) One of the reasons why I like to be an accountant **are** that I shall be able to work in a bank and even establish one whenever I want. (SG/013F)

64) For those of you who **knows** me, will define me as some one who is not selfish somebody who cares for the oppressed, somebody who stand firmly on the right way. (CT/007M)

65) My special thanks **goes** to the Co-ordinator of the Campus, State Better Life Programme. (CT/022F)

V14: Use of progressive aspect for habitual events:

66) There are many children who **are going** to school everyday, some who **are** not even **going** to school have nobody to help them. (LD/039M)

67) It is my pleasure to attend to those problems that **are causing** discomfort to the students everyday. (WE/017F)

68 Lecturer A: **Is** the air-conditioner **working**?

Lecturer B: It works, would you like me to put it on?

Lecturer A: Of course, since it is **working**. (LD/012)

69) It is the job of the government to repair all roads, after all the citizens **are paying** their taxes regularly. (WE/048F)

70) Rebecca: Come Pat, I want to see your dress.

Mercy: It is a very old dress.

Jane: But it **is** still **fitting** you. (LD/030F)

71) Oseni **are** you **hearing** me, I say the hardship that the people of this town has been experiencing...

72) A: Where **are** you **living**?

B: I **am living** in Agwar Rimi. (LD/022F)

73) Definitely he **is** not **seeing** or even listening and if he is listening at all he **is** not **hearing**. (CT/048M)

74) I am happy that both of you **are understanding** the lesson so far. Our friends at home, **are** you **understanding**? (LD/038F)

75) In some cases some disciplines **are lacking** enough teachers . (WE/039F)

V16 Past tense of irregular verbs

76) When we heard the noise we were afraid, my mother especially, but Daddy managed and stopped the car, do you know what - the back type had **bursted**.(SG/006F)

77) Don't mind these liar - what of all the things they **forecasted** in 1979 yet NPN won- I don't believe them. (LD/120M)

78) Who did not know that NANS has **splitted** into two North and South? (CT/013F)

79) Have you **rewinded** the cassette, please start it from the beginning. (SG/006F)

80) A: Where did you hang the clothes?

B: Outside, Ma.

A: No, please put them in the garage the ones we **hanged** outside yesterday were stolen before we came back from work. (LD/032F)

V17: Use of present tense forms for past events.

81) On getting to Jeddah, it **seems** to me as if it **is** another world due to the many important things of interest. Everything **is** different from Nigeria. (WE/001M)

82) That party lasted till 4.00 a.m., so in the morning, so after, when we **wake,** we **take** our bath so we went to the praying ground. (SG/035F)

83) Not only that, those years when elections were done in halls, every student **is** accommodated. (CT/013M)

84) For many years ago, I have been looking for admission and even before my own admission was through I **don't** know what to do when I got home and the good news was being given to me. (WE/008F)

85) On that particular day, when they **get** to the examination hall he invigilator was very careful so they **do** not know what to do. (WE/012F)

V18: Use of perfective (Ved_2) in place of progressive (V+ing).

86) They should be cautioned because they are **been** paid for and to really know the value and importance of education to or society. (WE/010M)

87) During the matriculation, it seemed as if we were **taken** an oath but during demonstrations we forget it all. (WE/044F)

88) When we got to Yankari (Games Reserve), when I saw the lion, I was afraid - all my body was **shaken**, even my brother knew. (WE/025M)

89) I was the one who told him that the rain was **fallen**, so we rushed out. (WE/028M)

90) Some people are always **mistaken** a university as a place where someone gets complete freedom. (WE/012M)

V19: Use of present perfective with expressions of definite time reference.

91) We **have** received his letter last week. (LD/022F)

92) The university authority **have** closed the university on the 4th of March 1992 and it is still further notice (LD/062M)

93) We **have** heard it on NTA news yesterday we shall go back next week. (WE/025F)

94) President Samora Machel **has** said in (Dec 1977) here in Zaria 'as you all know in highly indistrialised countries today they turn knowledge and science into instrument of crime. (CT/044M)

95) The members of the family **have** travelled last month

so it was a very bad day because there was nobody to even say 'welcome' after such a bad journey. (WE/015M)

V20: Use of simple present in place of perfective verb forms

96) We have **see** the accident, many people died. (WE/032M)

97) The driver have **drink** too much burukutu at Mokwa. (WE/014F)

98) The principal said that he has **forgive** Aku if so, but there will be no next time. (WE/031F)

99) Winner - 0 - 0 Winner 0... We have **win** (CT/040M)

100) What particular journey after we have **stop** for petrol at Misau the tyre bursted. (WE/05IF)

V21: Use of simple past in place of perfective forms (Ved_1-Ved_2)

101) We in the group have **took** enough electives from SGRS. (LD/038F)

102) The SDP had election officers all over the local government area. (WE/017M)

103) Please Sir, I have not **wrote** my examination number, please Mr. Dili. (LD/016M)

104) He has **threw** the ball before the final whistle. (SA/021M)

105) The class representative has **spoke** to the Dean but they say we have to carry it over and it is not our fault that the two papers has clashed. (CT/027M)

V22: Non-inflection of verbs used with auxiliaries in passive constructions (T - Pass + Ved_1)

106) Having **sample** all our welfare problems, I Sharu Mohammed (Garry) feel that the time has come for the Great ABU Students to say No to all those hostile conditions. (CT/005M)

107) I believe that if the above problems are **solve** riots and demonstrations will surely be **reduce** in the universities. (WE/031F)

108) In order to make life better for students in Nigerian Universities, the government should be **help** to solve their problems. (WE/037M)

109) Everybody who is a socialist **man** should agree with me that the execution of **arm robbery** has not solved the problem it should therefore be **discourage** (WE/021F)

110) I feel that the drug-pushers are correct in their business, they should not be **blame**. (WE/042M)

V23: Inflection of verbs in the infinitive for past tense. (To + Ved_1)

111) The pharmacist is the one to **prescribed** the medicine to be given to that person after operation has been done to him. (WE/037F)

112) Likewise, it applied to me, I took this career in order **to achieved** my goal. (WE/014M)

113) The life of Nigerian university student has been facing so many problems due to the lack of adequate supply of what life needs in order **to survived** in a good and enjoyable manner. (WE/016M)

114) When I finish my course I will try my possible best **to obtained** loan to start my own farm. (WE/014F)

115) ECOMOG should have tried **to captured** Charles Taylor, instead of leaving him to kill two Nigerian Journalists. (LD/049M)

V24: Inflection of verbs with auxilliaries in active sentences (Aux + Ved_1).

116) You **will agreed** with me that upon all the reasons discussed above students should not be blamed for examination malpractices (WE/024F)

117) When I dropped from the bus I saw him waiting for me so I **did** not **encountered** any problem in tracing where he is. (WE/039F)

118) These types of student **will** never **wanted** to do

anything serious because he will always have it in quote that he is always making it through. (WE/010M)

119) This **affect** not only their social life but also their academic performance because some of them do **missed** lectures very frequently. (WE/016M)

V25: Inflection of verbs used with auxiliaries for third person singular concord (Aux + V+s)

120) A lot of them will **receives** a large amount of money. (WE/009M)

121) But my mother **refuse** that she will **wants** me to stay and look after my young onces. (WE/019F)

122) They said that the police will **throws** teargas and **attacks** the students because they are demonstrating. (SG/015M)

123) If you try to take anything, the dog will **shows** its true colour. (SG/018F)

124) Anytime we come the man's wife will just **smile** at us because she does not speak our language. (WE/022M)

V26: Inflection of verbs in the infinitive for third person singular concord (To + V+s)

125) This is just to **helps** me deals with anything to do with electronic that is radio and television. (WE/028M)

126) Architecture is a very good source of getting money to **runs** one programme. (WE/009M)

127) Don't mind her, she is always going there even at midnight to **sees** the doctor in his clinic, she **say** the man is her uncle, na dem sabi. (LD/038F)

128) When the driver wants to speeds the old man brought out his gun. (WE/014F)

129) Don't mind the goal keeper, he always likes to **shows** that he can keep. (SA/023M)

V27: Reduplication of auxiliaries (Can + be able)

130) We **can be able** to assist the government in her programme of Health for all by the year 2000. (LD/013F)

131) Those people who could not go to school **could not be able** to understand. (WE/022M)

132) The change of baton is one of the smoothest change if that is able to happen again we **can be able** to get the gold for the 4 x 400 metres relay. (LD/054M)

133) That is all we **can be able** to take in this programme, we shall be joining Lagos for the network news at 4.0'clock. (LD/023M)

134) As a pharmacist you **can be able** to work in a hospital, chemical and drugs industries, he **can be** able to serve as a chemist. WE/035M)

V28: Use of would/should/could instead of will, shall, can etc

135) God willing I **would** do well in that LANG 204. (LD/038F)

136) My father said that when I grew up he **would** like me to be a soldier so as to defend Nigeria. (WE/011M)

137) The match between Faculty of Arts and Faculty of Education **would** come up today at 4.00 pm. (SA/024M)

138) I will be glad if I **could** see you in the office at 8.00 p.m. (LD/034M)

139) I like such parties. I **should** be there certainly. (SG/023F).

4.4.3 ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS

V29: Double comparison of adjectives

140) It is now **more easier** to communicate either by plane or telephone. (WE/013F).

141) I answered that question on new-colonialism and how Europe underdeveloped Africa - it is **more simpler.** WE/040F)

141) That day was he **most busiest** day in that holiday; from morning to night we were visiting places. (WE/035M)

142) They do it to save people's life and in fact people do it to get **more richer**. (WE/022M).

143) They are just the same but it is just that they look **more better** with the weather, the weather is much more conducive. (SG/050M).

V30: Substitution of intensifiers.

144) That girl, you mean the one they call 'Mama Agba' hmm - she is **very** fat to share the back seat of 504 with her. (LD/061F).

145) I Like the job **too** much - I cannot do any other job but journalism. (WE/038M)

146) The team manger - what is his name again - he was **so** firm **so** the boys always feared him. (SA/005M)

147) The holiday was **so** enjoyable - you can't beat it. (WE/015F)

148) I don't think the boy knows himself - he is **very** ugly to be coming to Amina Hall, yet he comes there every day.(LD/041F)

V31: Use of 'very... that' as correlatives

149) We arrived Lagos **very** early **that** the man's wife thought I was tavelling from Ibadan. (WE/014M)

150) That day I mean the day I saw Barbeach was my happiest day - I was **very** happy **that** I took pictures with other people I did not know. (WE/007F)

151) The things were **very** important **that** anybody who came to the hall without them were not allowed to write the exam. (SG/022F).

152) The Obudu cattle Ranch was **very** interesting **that** anybody who goes there will like to go again. (SG/023M)

153) The campaigns were **very** smooth **that** even the school authority was very impressed that they said we were matured enough to have Students Union (CT/003M).

V32: Use of base forms of verbs as adjectives

154) It is either I know you or you ar not admitted, in this case if such **unqualify** students are admitted, they have to carry out examination malpractices (WE/011F).

155) Unlike the primary and secondary schools, the students here are not **discipline** (WE/031M).

156) Many of them take to **arm** robbery because they want to get rich over night (WE/035M).

157) As the world is going more and more **advance** and developing in such a case I can really see to myself that any country that have a lot of engineers can develop. (WE/025F).

158) It is high time for the **concern** authorities to make meaningful changes in the plans for the universities (WE/022).

V33: Duplication of adverbs.

159) Even though most of the students would want to finish and get their degrees **but** they agree that the strike should be continued. (LD/AS/035M)

160) A: You no fit slap am.

B: Leave me, let me slap him now.

C: Because of **why**? (LD/017M).

161) They don't know what they want so **therefore** in line with the discussion of the panelists we should not create new states (LD/037M).

162) Since **from** my childhood **up to this level,** I did not have a holiday or break that I enjoy (WE/028M).

163) Though the town is very small **but** due to the presence of the game reserve it makes it to be bigger and busy because of the visitors (WE/028M).

V34: Use of prepositions with non-prepositional verbs.

164) Anywhere we went to, they were discussing **about**

June 12, tell me what is June 12? (SG/018F).

165) The workload is too much, 24 credit units, I cannot cope **up** with it (LD/043F).

166) Born again, born again, are we not seeking **for** the kingdom of God (SG/014M).

167) Drug trafficking comprises **of** smoking Indian Hemp, and selling cocaine (WE/015F).

168) I requested **for** a make up test but that wicked man refuse so na carry over, wetin man go do? (SG/018F).

V35: Use of 'never' with universal time.

169) It was my first time, I have **never** seen a lion.(SG/018F).

170) I have **never** travelled by aeroplane so when the thing left the ground I lost one second of my life (LD/029M)

171) A: You will not be injured?

B: You think I am afraid, I am can **never** be afraid, let me tell you! (SG/012M).

172) The driver forgot that we can **never** get to Maiduguri if he kills us (WE/031F).

173) Nigerian can **never** be the same again because each person will vote for his brother (SG/011M).

V36: Use of 'never' with specific time

174) Honestly, I **never** voted that year because it did not matter which party won (WE/013M).

175) I have **never** travelled again by train since 1980 (WE/029F).

176) They have **never** been allowed to go out since they were attacked (SG/015M).

177) I will tell you, I **never** had two hours sleep that night - it was TDB (LD/014M).

178) The history teacher has **never** come to class since

the strike began (LD/039F).

V37: Different pattern of response to tag questions

179) A: I did not even go to church that Sunday, did I?

B: **Yes**, you **didn't**. (LD/011F)

180) A: The old man was angry with us, wasn't he?

B: **No**, he **was**. (LD/042M).

181) A: He hadn't gone to bed yet, has he?

B: **Yes**, he **hasn't**. (LD/031M)

182) A: Those who cheated in the primaries will be dealt with, won't they?

B: **No**, they **will**. (LD/002M).

183) A: Me, I didn't come here yesterday, Azuka, did I?

B: **Yes**, Ijeoma **didn't** come to the department yesterday, she was sick (SG/016F).

V38: Use of universal tag - 'Isn't it?'

184) The girl who was caught cheating has not even seen the examination officer, **isn't it**? (LD/003M).

185) Everybody know she also cheated in Sociology 101, **no be so**? SG/008F). (WE/030M)

186) The returning officer has plenty of voter's card in the box, **isn't true**? (CT/022M)

187) Ai no take time to ready that day, that na party of all party abi, **no be so**? (LD/014F).

188) Bola is more intelligent than Oga, **isn't it**? (LD/011F).

4.4 STATISTICAL FRAMEWORK

To ascertain the degree of reliability between linguistic and extralinguistic variables, the study employed a number of statistical techniques. These include Analysis of variance (ANOVA), Scheffe Group and T - Tests. The statistical analyses were carried out at two different levels.

4.4.1 COLLAPSED VARIABLE ANALYSIS

In order to have an overall picture of the frequency of the variables and also to establish the relationship between the various contextual styles and sex, the linguistic variables were collapsed leading to the 3 x 2 ANOVAS (S.A, C.T, S.G, x M,F) for NigP and 5 x 2 ANOVAS (WE, SA, CT, PD, SG X M,F) for the other two varieties. Since ANOVA does not indicate where differences are located, Scheffe Group Tests, which order the variables into identical groups based on mean magnitudes, were computed for the three and five contextual styles in pidgin, non-standard and standard varieties respectively, and the collapsed total score of the 26 and 38 variables, as they may apply. While Scheffe Tests located the differences more precisely, T - Tests were also employed to determine the levels of significance.

4.4.2 ITEM ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE:

ANOVAS were also conducted separately for the 64 variables (26 in NigP and 38 each in NSNigE and SNigE) with a view to confirming the relationship between sex and usage of the variables. Further statistical differences were sought between non-standard and standard usages which culminated in 2 x 2 ANOVAS (Non-standard, Standard x M,F). These were aimed at establishing whether these two varieties are distinct enough.

We will start our analysis with NigP.

4.5 NIGERIAN PIDGIN

Nigerian Pidgin (NigP) reflects the syntactic structures of both the local languages and English, (that is, the substrate and superstrate languages, respectively). In addition, there is evidence to suggest simplification and overgeneralization. As we have already stated (see pp. 65-68) these contradict Bickerton's findings with Gyuanese Creole. He believes that neither substratum influence nor diffusion is adequate to account for the creation of creole languages - it must be explained by the existence Language Bio-program Hypothesis.

NigP relies on free more than bound inflectional morphemes, thus it tends to use invariant forms of nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs in situations where NSNigE

(in some cases) and SNigE (generally) use inflectional forms.

4.5.1 THE NOUN PHRASE IN NigP

At this level, our data shows that determiners precede nouns. This is also true of both NSNigE and SNigE. A similar pattern is noted by Jones (1972) of Sierra Leone Krio; Todd (1974) of Cameroon Pidgin (CamP); and Bickerton (1981) and Holm (1988) of Jamaican Creole English. This feature cannot be said to have been borrowed from the local languages since a different pattern exists in some of these languages. From the following examples, determiners seem to follow nouns in some Nigerian languages.

Hausa	Littafi **wanna**	(N + det)
Yoruba.	Iwe **yi**	(N + det)
Igbo:	Akukwo **nkea**	(N + det)

(This book).

We note, however, that the use of **N + det** in Hausa is for emphasis, as the unmarked form (**det + N**) also exists in the language.

The definite, indefinite and zero determiners exist in NigP. Their frequencies in any given situation depend on the topic being discussed. In Tables 4.1.1 and 4.1.2, we present the outputs from the twenty-eight users of NigP.

Table 4.1.1: Frequency indices for determiners in the outputs of male users of NigP

Users		Zero	Indef	Def.	Substitu-tion	Super-fluous
1.	SA/002M	13	2	**35**	**0**	0
2.	SA/010M	12	2	**37**	**2**	0
3.	SA/012M	20	2	**45**	**0**	0
4.	SA/025M	15	3	**24**	**0**	0
5.	CT/004M	11	0	**36**	**3**	2
6.	**CT/008M**	10	**4**	31	0	1
7.	CT/015M	10	3	**32**	**0**	3
8.	**CT/019M**	**17**	**4**	**38**	**0**	0
9.	SG/006M	12	1	**20**	**0**	2
10	SG/009M	15	3	**25**	**0**	2
11	SG/014M	**14**	3	**30**	**0**	0
12	SG/018M	13	2	**27**	**0**	1
13	**SG/022M**	16	**4**	**31**	**0**	0
14	SG/024M	11	1	**25**	**0**	1
	Total	189	34	**436**	**5**	12

Table 4.1.2: Frequency indices for determiners in the outputs of female users of NigP

	Users	Zero	Indef	Def.	Substitu-tion	super-fluous
1.	SA/004F	19	**3**	38	**0**	4
2.	SA/008F	20	**3**	32	**1**	**3**
3.	SA/011F	12	**2**	28	**0**	**3**
4.	**SA/013F**	**22**	**2**	37	**3**	**0**
5.	CT/003F	18	**0**	39	**0**	**0**
6.	CT/007F	16	**1**	30	**2**	**1**
7.	CT/016F	14	**0**	25	1	**0**
8.	**CT/021F**	19	**0**	21	**0**	**0**
9.	SG/008F	16	**2**	24	**0**	**1**
10	SG/013F	17	**0**	20	**1**	**0**
11	SG/015F	12	**3**	25	**0**	**0**
12	**SG/017F**	**9**	**0**	22	**0**	**2**
13	SG/019F	15	**1**	18	**1**	**0**
14	SG/023F	19	0	26	**0**	3
	Total	**229**	17	385	**9**	17

4.5.1.1 Variable 1: Zero determiner

A total of 418 occurrences of zero determiner were noted for both groups of subjects. The highest and lowest individual frequencies of 22 and 9 were recorded respectively for SA/013F

and SG/017F - both female subjects.

The tables also show that at the sex group level, the female respondents use zero determiner more frequently than the males. The result of the T-Test however indicates that the difference is not significant: (t = -1.66; df = 26.0; P = 0.1086; N=28).

The patterns of distribution of the indefinite and definite articles are however different from that of zero determiner. The highest individual scores for the indefinite article come from CT/000M, CT/019M and SG/022M while for the definite determiner, each group has 38 tokens as the highest.

Six of the fourteen female respondents did not use the indefinite article as opposed to one in the male category. It is not exactly clear why this is so.

Bickerton's (1981:56) claim that virtually all creoles have a definite article for presupposed-specific NP, and indefinite article for asserted-specific NP, and zero for non-specific NP is not altogether borne out for NigP. While the data indicates that definite articles are used with presupposed-specific NPs, it also shows that zero articles can, and in fact are used for the same purpose especially with NPs that are assumed to be known to the listener. See Examples 189-193.

189 You want branch ( ) Main Campus, drop me for ( ) North Gate (SG018F).

190 Enter ( ) motor make we go, you too talk sef when you see woman (SG/006M).

191 You lock ( ) door so? Go lock am, thief too much for this our area. (CT/008M).

192 Not to sey I no want go Delta, we go ( ) Sabo motor park we no see any motor wey de go Warri. (SG/003F).

193 You go ( ) Geography lecture, I know say that woman no go come. SG/013F).

Table 4.2 shows the frequency of zero determiners used with specific and non-specific NPs. The figures are taken from eight of the subjects in Tables 4.1.1 and 4.1.2 (who showed high frequencies of the zero determiner).

Table 4.2. Zero determiner with specific and non-specific NPs in NigP.

	Users	θDet+Non-Specific NP	θDet+Specific NP	Total
1.	SA/004F	17	2	19
2.	SA/008F	14	6	20
3.	SA/012M	20	0	20
4.	SA/013F	17	5	22
5.	CT/003F	18	0	18
6.	**CT/019M**	**14**	**3**	**17**
7.	SG/013F	14	4	18
8.	SG/023F	15	4	19
	Total	129	24	153

From the table, it appears that instances of zero determiner used to mark specific NPs are few (24 in all) but not non-existent. The only male that used this feature is CT/019M, whose output accounts for 12.5% of the total.

.5.1.2 Variable 2: Superfluous use of determiners

Of the twenty-eight tokens of superfluous use of determiners[4], twenty (71.4%) involved the combination: demonstrative (this/that) and a personal (possessive) pronoun; eight others comprised the sequence **dem + both + two, the**

(two) + both or **both (the) two**. Consider the following examples, (194 - 200) and Table 4.3.

194 **This dem** Supple Blues don sell pass all the TV show we don see before. (SG/002M)

195 I don tell una sey anybody wey wan put sansan for we garri for **this we** obodo Nigeria, na Gashua we go keep the person. (LD/001M)

196 **This una** son sabi look for trouble. (LD/049F)

197 **That your** backman too get strong head, i no **de** hear word. (SA/040F)

198 Carry **this im** dirty bag kommot for my front. (CT/032M)

199 **Both the two** of you no fit sit down for that small chair, una want make i break. (SA/002M)

200 **The two both** of them no fit win this primary as them come from SDP - na one SDP one NRC dem want. (LD/045M)

Table 4.3. Frequency indices for superfluous use of determiners in NigP.

	Users	Demons+Poss ProN	Two + Both	Total
1.	SA/004F	3	1	4
2.	SA/008F	3	0	3
3.	SA/011F	2	2	3
4.	SG/023F	2	1	3
5.	CT/015M	3	0	3
6.	SG/017F	1	1	2
7.	CT/004M	0	2	2
8.	SG/006M	1	1	2
9.	SG/009M	2	0	2
10	CT/007F	1	0	1
11	SG/008F	1	0	1
12	CT/008M	0	1	1
13	SG/018M	1	0	1
	Total	20	9	28

Instances of superfluous use of determiners were less frequent in the outputs of the boys: eleven tokens (39.3%) were recorded for the group while the score for the girls was

seventeen (60.7%). The result of the T-test shows that the difference is not however significant at the 0.05 level: (t = -0.0032; df = 26.0 P = 0.3250 N = 28).

4.5.1.3 Variable 3: Number as a grammatical category in NigP. (Nsg + dem).

Nigerian Pidgin distinguishes between count and non-count nouns. A distinction is further made between singular and plural nouns. While in SNigE number is generally indicated by the use of inflectional variants, in NigP the function is carried out by the use of the particle **dem** after the noun. Consider the following examples:

201 The **egg dem** bad, no one good for inside. (SG/003F)

202 As I reach the place... come see **babe dem**... I take my **two eye dem** see body. (CT/015M)

203 All the **boy dem** wey dress like better people, na thief all **dem** be. (SG/014M)

204 I see -e, the **motor dem** pass us where we de buga amala for Tegina. (SG/006M)

Holm (1988:193) notes, as does Boretzky (1983:91), that **dem** conveys the meaning of definiteness. Our data also confirms this claim and we agree, especially with Holm, that since the feature is 'so unusual' among the world's language, it cannot be ascribed to the influence of language universals but to that of the substrate languages. In Igbo for instance, 'Osisi **ndia**' or 'the tree **dem**' (in NigP) not only means **these** trees' but also points to particular plants.

4.5.1.4 Variable 4: Cardinal numbers and quantifiers as indicators (Card No/Qntf + Nsg)

Sometimes, cardinal numbers and quantifiers are used to indicate plurals in NigP. The nouns however remain invariant, but (in count nouns), this is only in form, not in meaning. Consider the following sentences with count nouns:

205 A: I buy **five orange** for two naira.

B: The girl don cheat you na **seven orange** for two naira. (SG/037F)

206 The man get **plenty car**, some de go Lagos, some de go Enugu.(SG/003F)

207 **Dem two pikin** no go school that day, dem papa no pay dem school fee. (SA/012M).

208 A: Im children **plenty**-o-o how im de fit feed them.

B: That man, na big man i get **plenty money**. (SG/003F).

Examples 209-211 illustrate the same phenomenon with mass nouns:

209 We drink **plenty** that day, i be like sey na christmas we de celebrate. (LD/001M)

210 A: Na **small rice** I chop, **pepper too much** for the stew, na Yoruba woman get the hotel?

B: You no see the name 'Oluwa Te mi', the woman put **plenty oil** too. (SG/014F)

211 Na **all the water** wey de house you take wash? (LD/021F)

As can be seen, quantifiers precede and sometimes follow the NPs they refer to.

4.5.1.5 Variable 5: Use of plural noun + dem (Npl + dem).

Two other different patterns of plural formation were also observed in the data. The first involved the use of **Npl**

+ **dem** instead of **Nsg** + **dem** as already illustrated. Twenty-two such tokens were noted, some of which are presented in sentences 212-216.

212 The **girls dem** no get shame, na so so to go stand for main road for night de wait for lift. (SG/007F).

213 I no be born again, I de meet ashawo, you no know sey all the **ashawos dem** na dem be the real born again. (LD/045M).

214 How your **children dem**, I know sey dem well. (SG/012M).

215 Who no get sense - all the **businessmen dem** wey de give the politicians money, you think sey they no get sense. (CT/052M).

216 I hear sey you want go heaven - where you go keep all the nyong nyong **babies dem** wey you de follow for SGRS? (LD/045M)

4.5.1.6 Variable 6: Cardinal number/quantifier + Plural noun (Card No/Qntf + Npl)

There were also twenty tokens of the second pattern which can be said to be similar to the method of indicating plural in SNigE. This involved the use of cardinals or determiners before the plural noun, See Examples 217-221.

217 Im appear for the first **five episodes** before them come call me for Supple Blues (LD/002M).

218 The **two producers** sef dem no want you once you dey for one soap. (LD/002M).

219 Na trouble in de my brother, all im **five children** follow for the accident. (LD/049F).

220 The thing pass me, when we reach there - see people - **the three villagers** ma no happy, dem carry **sticks, stones** wetin dem no carry take pursue us. (SG/007F).

221 I take God beg you, no join me put for **those students** wey say Maradona too short. (CT/025F).

Two hundred and eighty-eight (288) of the 331 occurrences

noted in the sample consist of Nsg + dem (Variable 3) - the usual form for the formation of plural in NigP. The others, Variables 4, 5 and 6 (arranged here in hierarchical order) account for only 13.0% of the total. See Table 4.4

Table 4.4: Plural Patterns in NigP

Variable	Male	Female	Total	%
3: (Nsg + dem)	120	168	288	87.0
4:(Card No./Qntf+Nsg)	10	12	**22**	6.65
5: (Npl + dem)	5	**7**	**12**	3.65
6: (Card No/Qntf+Npl)	3	**6**	**9**	2.70
TOTAL	138	193	**331**	**100**

Table 4.4 shows that the female subjects use more of each variable in this category than the males. For both groups however, more of Variable 3 is used than any of the others.

It is quite significant that 'Nsg + dem' has the highest frequency. This confirms that it is the most acceptable form. The other forms or variants can be said to be part of the movement from pidgin to non-standard and perhaps, standard usage i.e depidginization. The development can be summed thus:

(a)	(b)	(c)
Nsg+dem Card No./Qntf ± Nsg	Npl + dem	Card No./Qntf + Npl
(boy dem) *(five boy).*	*(boys dem)*	*(five boys)*

While the items in (a) are genuine pidgin forms, those in (b)

and (c) should be seen as sub-varieties of pidgin. In Tables 4.5.1 and 4.5.2, we provide more details of these non-core pidgin plural variants in the output of individual subjects.

Table 4.5.1: Frequency indices for plurals in the outputs of male users of NigP.

	User	Variable 3 (Nsg + dem)	Variable 4 (Card No/Q+Nsg)	Variable 5 (Npl+dem)	Variable 6 (Card No/Q+Npl)
1.	SA/002M	5	1	0	0
2.	SA/010M	12	0	0	0
3.	SA/012M	8	1	0	1
4.	SA/025M	6	0	0	0
5.	CT/004M	5	2	1	1
6.	CT/008M	10	0	0	0
7.	CT/015M	9	0	0	0
8.	CT/019M	8	0	0	0
9.	SG/006M	9	3	1	1
10.	SG/009M	5	0	0	0
11.	SG/014M	12	0	0	0
12.	SG/018M	10	2	2	0
13.	SG/022M	8	1	1	0
14.	SG/024M	13	0	0	0
	TOTAL	120	10	5	3

Table 4.5.2: Frequency indices for plurals in the outputs of female users of NigP.

	User	Variable 3 (Nsg+dem)	Variable 4 (Card No/Q+Nsg)	Variable 5 (Npl+dem)	Variable 6 (Card No/Q+Npl)
1.	SA/004F	6	2	1	0
2.	SA/008F	16	0	0	0
3.	SA/011F	7	3	2	0
4.	SA/013F	14	0	0	0
5.	CT/003F	18	0	0	0
6.	CT/007F	11	2	0	2
7.	CT/016F	13	0	0	0
8.	CT/021F	10	2	1	0
9.	SG/008F	18	0	1	0
10.	SG/013F	11	1	0	0
11.	SG/015F	9	0	1	1
12.	SG/017F	12	2	0	1
13.	SG/019F	15	0	0	0
14.	SG/023F	8	0	1	2
	TOTAL	168	12	7	6

A close look at the tables shows that apart from a few exceptions, speakers with relatively high scores in Variable

3, generally have low or no scores at all in the other variables, i.e. Variables 4, 5 and 6. While this could be a reflection of the subjects' level of competence, it is also possible that the respondents may in fact be involved in some kind of intra or inter variety switches.

We have noted that the female subjects have higher scores for the four variables. The differences are however not significant in all cases. Table 4.6 summarises the results of the ANOVA tests.

Table 4.6: Plurality in NigP: Mean difference between male and female groups in four variables.

Variable	Sex	Mean	Std Dev.	t	P
3	1	8.5714	2.6808	2.7282	0.0113
	2	12.0000	3.8630		
4	1	0.7142	0.9944	0.3606	0.7213
	2	0.8571	1.0994		
5	1	0.3514	0.6333	0.588	0.5611
	2	0.5000	0.6504		
6	1	0.2142	0.4258	0.9241	0.3639
	2	0.4285	0.7559		

df = 26; 1 = Male; 2 = Female; N = M=14, F=14 (28)

The above table shows that it is only in the first case, i.e. Variable 3, that the difference between the outputs of

female subjects and those of the males is substantial - P=0.0113.

Some of these quantifiers, for instance, **all, plenty**, etc are used with both count and non-count nouns. Unlike the former(i.e count nouns) however, the latter group does not employ cardinal numbers as quantifiers. Even with 'all' (in Example 211), it can be argued that there is no intention on the part of the speaker to use 'water' as a count noun.

4.5.1.7 Gender

Our data also shows that NigP does not make any distinction of gender in the third person singular. Consequently, 'he'/'she'/'it'/ is represented by either **i, im in** sometimes **him** as subjects or **am** as object. See Table 4.7.

Table 4.7: Personal pronouns in NigP.

	Sing.	Plural
1.	mi/me	we
2.	you	una
3.	i/in/im/him	dem

These are illustrated further with the following examples.

222 Na Ada you de follow talk, that one na person, **i** go fit sell you-0 (CT/035F).

223 I come tell **am** say **im** (Jumoke) no de bath sef, abi wash **im** blouse. (SG/018M)

224 Bayo na my friend, **i** kind not for talk (SG/006M).

225 When I ask **am** wetin be **im** name **i** say ma Jumoke, im brother name i say na John Bull LD/002M).

226 A see this goat, yes a see **am** yesterday when i de chop this woman cassava for **im** (the woman's) door-mot. (LD/046F).

227 The dog quiet **i** no de bark for stranger sef; make **i** bark when thief come-o-. (SG/007F).

It is important to state that **i**, **in**, **im** and **him** also serve as possessive pronouns (See Examples 225 and 226) as do all other plural personal pronouns - **we**, **una** and **dem**.

4.5.1.8 Reflexives as reciprocals:

NigP does not distinguish between reflexive and reciprocal pronouns. Of the 30 tokens of reflexives noted in the corpus, ten were employed in situations where most speakers of SNigE will use reciprocal pronouns.

A further evidence is provided by the fact that no single token of 'each other' or 'one another' was obtained from the corpus. It therefore seems safe to suggest that they do not exist in NigP and that their introduction may be a later development.

The reflexive pronouns that are used in place of the reciprocals depend on the subject of the sentences. They include **weself, oneself, ourself, themself, theirself** and **unaself**.

228 Make I talk true, we like **ourself** well well before, na since that yeye Ngozi come na im everything don spoil. (SG/017F).

229 We no love **weself** at all at all, na so so fight every day, na that one be friendship. (SG/018M).

230 A no think say una don start marriage; if una no love

unaself now, una never start. (SG/019F).

231 They no want see **themself** for eye, lai lai (SG/007F).

232 When we come reach there they come shake **themselves** hand and them take photo. (SA/010M).

4.5.2 THE VERB PHRASE IN NigP:

4.5.2.1 Variable 7: Use of verbs without preverbal markers.

In NigP, tense and aspect are indicated with markers which occur in preverbal positions. The absence of such preverbal markers signifies that the action is either 'timeless' (in which case it is in the simple present) or that it refers to the past especially, simple past. In both cases, the context would generally specify which of the two situations would apply. In the following example, a student recounts his experiences while trying to collect rent from a tennant in his father's house in Samaru Village, opposite the university.

233 As I **knock** the door, that man, - that 'onigbese' **know** sey na me, i **hide** for under bed. Na im boy **tell** me sey im master don **run** go under bed.... I **wait** till the man **tire to hide**, i **come** commot... (SG/040M).

In Example 234, a man tells his friend about another man's wealth - this time, it is in the simple present.

234 That man **na** big man -o-o i **get** plenty money and plenty fine car dem. You **know sey** i **live** for the place where big man dem de stay - Ikoyi Eh-em I **know** sey you no **sabi** that **kind** place. (LD/019M).

4.5.2.2 Tense and aspect in NigP.

The following preverbal markers are indicators of tense and aspect in NigP **de, den, bin** and **go**.

4.5.2.3 Variable 8: De

This marker indicates that an action is either in the present simple or progressive. It is similar to Bickerten's non-punctual marker **a**, which indicates that an action is continuative and iterative. The following examples illustrate the use of the marker, **de**, in the simple present.

235 That man **de** teach well, I like am (CT/026M).

236 Musa **de** play for im faculty (SA/002M).

237 Haba, na Mairo you **de** talk, i **de** come here everyday (SA/010M).

238 Maradona no **de** talk wetin im no fit do (CT/008M).

239 The man **de** joke with students and i no **de** yab if man come late (LD/046F).

Examples 240-244 are in the progressive aspect.

240 A: Where yo **de** go?

B: I **de** go lecture, show dey? (LD/039M).

241 Musa **de** read for FASS, i forget sey exam don start for Education. (SG/007F).

242 Aisha **de** cook, we no fit wait for am, the party na cocktail, first come first chop. (SG/003F).

243 I **de** sleep when rain **de** fall (SG/012M)

244 As the band **de** play, the girls **de** sing, na so the people **de** dance and na so the Alhaji **de** put money for dem face - we enjoy am-o. (SG/015F).

4.5.2.4 Variable 9: Go.

References to the future are made with the preverbal marker go.

245 If i no do as we talk, we **go** finish am, we no **go** spare am at all (LD/040M).

246 I **go** see the babe tomorrow, may be better **go** dey (SA/031M).

247 If you no leave me now, now, I **go** shout... leave me one, two... (SG/003F).

248 If I no eat, my woman no **go** eat.... (LD/051M).

249 Na me you de talk to like that sh-o-w! you **go** see pepper today (SG/012M).

4.5.2.5 Variable 10: Bin

Bin is an indicator of the simple past (Bickerton's 'anterior'). Unlike the zero marker, **bin** cannot be used for the progressive unless it precedes **de** e.g 'Im **bin de** come' - 'He was coming'.

The following examples illustrate the use of **bin** as a simple past marker.

250 I **bin** go watch the match. Dem **bin** say na we carry the cup (SA/017M).

251 The man **bin** talk sey lecture no go de, how im come do us so? (LD/025M).

252 We **bin** vote for Falae but na Yaradua win (SG/036M).

253 Im say im **bin** no want join the Presidential race but some well-meaning Nigerians come beg am. (CT/042M).

254 Rigging and rigging, I think sey them **bin** sey they no fit rig for open ballot. (CT/043M).

There is probably another difference between **bin** and the zero marker. The unmarked verb presents events with greater

certainty.

255 (a) Ai **see** the boy here now.

(b) Ai **bin** see the boy here now.

256 (a) Im **write** him brother letter

(b) Im **bin** write him brother letter.

Examples 255a and 256a seem to state for certain that the action/event conveyed in each sentences actually took place while in 258b and 259b, the speakers seem to be on the defensive. In 256b for instance, the speaker 'seems' to be saying that he 'thought' he wrote the brother (a letter) but does not know why it was not received or replied to. This is not the case with (a) in which the speaker is certain that he wrote a letter.

4.5.2.6 Variable 11: Don:

The perfective past in NigP is indicated by **don**. This is illustrated with the following examples.

257 I **don** talk finish, if you want go, na you know (SG/006M).

258 You **don** see the man wey de look for you? (SG/028F).

259 Sikira **don** come back for Gandu street trouble **don** come back with am (LD/035M).

260 Nura you **don** win-o winner, certainly you go win again-o winner (CT/048)

261 As una **don** fill form make una go, sit don, na turn by turn we de do am (SG/021M).

The following paradigm illustrates the differences in the use of the markers:

(a) i teach - 'he taught'

(b) i **de** teach - 'he **teaches/is teaching**'

(c) i **don** teach - 'he **taught'/has** taught'

(d) i **bin** teach - 'he **has** taught'

(e) i **go** teach - 'he **will** teach'

Of all the markers, **de** is the most flexible and can occur after each marker to produce complex aspectual forms, as shown below:

(a) Dem **don de** sing - 'they **have been** singing'

(b) Dem **bin de** sing - they **were** singing (before)

(c) Dem **go de** sing - 'they **will be** singing'

(d) Dem **go don de** sing - they **will have been** singing

(e) Dem **bin don de** sing - 'they **had been** singing.

Similar paradigms have been reported for other varieties of West African pidgins and creoles. See Jones (1971:83) and Todd (1974:57) for details.

In Tables 4.8.1 and 4.8.2, we present the individual outputs at the verb phrase level. It seems possible to divide the Variables into two sub-types: Variables 7-11 and Variables 12-15, with the latter group made up of non-genuine pidgin or pseudo-pidgin forms.

Table 4.8.1: Outputs of male users of NigP

	User	V.7 V+0	V.8 de	V.9 go	V.10 bin	V.11 don	V.12 v+s	V.13 v+ing	V.14 ed_1	V.15 ed_2
1	SA/002M	22	15	14	2	3	1	1	**3**	**1**
2	SA/010M	23	18	19	1	2	0	0	**0**	**0**

3	SA/012M	19	21	10	1	1	2	1	2	1
4	SA/025M	30	18	13	3	0	0	0	0	0
5	CT/004M	15	29	22	1	0	0	0	0	0
6	CT/008M	36	27	23	2	3	0	0	0	0
7	CT/015M	33	22	14	2	2	0	0	0	0
8	CT/019M	21	15	16	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	SG/009M	26	14	17	1	2	1	1	2	0
10	SG/009M	30	20	23	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	SG/014M	32	23	11	2	0	0	0	0	0
12	SG/018M	28	20	15	0	0	0	0	0	0
13	SG/022M	16	19	20	2	3	1	1	1	0
14	SG/024M	19	21	14	3	1	1	1	0	1
	Total	350	282	231	18	17	6	5	9	3

Total pidgin forms:900. Total non-core pidgin forms: 22

Table 4.8.2: Outputs of female users of NigP

	User	V.7 V+0	V.8 de	V.9 go	V.10 bin	V.11 don	V.12 v+s	V.13 v+ing	V.14 ed_1	V.15 ed_2
1	SA/004F	15	13	14	3	2	1	0	0	1
2	SA/008F	37	20	15	2	2	0	0	0	0
3	SA/011F	25	26	13	1	3	1	0	0	0
4	SA/013F	28	19	20	2	1	0	0	0	0
5	CT/003F	31	25	21	0	2	1	0	0	0
6	CT/007F	30	28	20	2	2	0	1	2	1
7	CT/016F	20	12	23	0	0	1	0	0	0
8	CT/021F	22	15	26	3	5	1	0	0	0
9	SG/008F	25	20	21	0	1	0	0	0	0
10	SG/013F	21	18	13	2	2	0	0	1	1
11	SG/015F	19	24	18	1	2	0	1	0	0
12	SG/017F	24	23	20	0	3	0	0	2	0
13	SG/019F	18	14	17	0	2	0	0	0	0
14	SG/023F	16	20	21	1	1	1	2	1	0
	Total	331	277	262	17	28	6	4	6	3

Total pidgin forms: 915 Total non-core pidgin forms: 19

There are reasons to suggest that **v+s**, **v+ing**, **Ved_1** and **V-ed_2** are not genuine pidgin markers. For one, as has been stated, NigP does not employ inflectional morphemes. For another, there already exist in NigP equivalents of these items. In addition, it is our view that if they were pidgin forms, the subjects would have utilized more of them than the tables show.

While we can state that the items are non-core pidgin, it is not easy, at least for now, to assign them to any of the other varieties of NigE since this, to a very large extent, will depened on how they are used in sentences.

It seems safe to state at this point that as one moves from NigP to SNigE through NSNigE, more and more pidgin forms are replaced by their non-standard and perhaps, standard variants. This in effect means that depidginization has set in.

In Table 4.9, a summary of Table 4.8.1 and 4.8.2 based on the sex groups is presented.

Table 4.9: Outputs of NigP users at the verb phrase level.

Variable	M	F	Total	%
7 (v+o)	350	331	681	37.52
8 (de)	282	277	559	30.80
9 (go)	231	262	493	27.16
10 (bin)	18	17	35	1.93
11 (don)	19	28	47	2.59
Total	900	915	1,815	100

The table shows that among the pidgin markers, Variable 7 (i.e. **v+o** as past tense) is used more by the subjects, accounting for 37.52% of the total occurrence of pidgin markers in the study.

A possible explanation can be proffered. Most of the respondents were narrating their experiences either during a

journey, holiday or at school. Even when no obvious narratives were involved and they were either describing or reporting events, the use of **v+o** was common.

We also note that **bin** and **don** have the lowest frequencies of 18 and 19 for the male subjects and 17 and 28 for the female, respectively. This raises the question whether they can be said to be an integral part of NigP. Bicketton's (1975:27) argument for the low frequencies of **bin** and **bina** in Guyanese creole English (GCE) applies to **bin** and **don** in NigP. According to him, 'the contexts for their use are rare in ordinary discourse'.

4.5.2. 7 Variables 12-15: Non-core-pidgin verb forms

A situation similar to that of Variable 7 is observed with the non-core pidgin Ved_1 (i.e. simple past: Variable 14) which also has the highest frequency within the sub-group - 15 of the 43 tokens representing 34.88%. See Table 4.10.

Table 4.10 Non-core pidgin verb forms in the outputs of male and female users of NigP

Variable	M	F	Total	%
12 (V+s)	6	6	12	27.91
13 (V+ing)	5	4	9	20.93
14 (Ved_1)	9	6	15	34.88
15 (Ved_2)	3	4	7	16.28
Total	23	20	43	100

The results of the ANOVA tests produced in Table 4.11 show that there is no correlation between Variables 7-11 and sex, despite the slight mean differences.

Table 4.11: Mean differences between male and female groups in five variables at the VP level in NigP

Variable	Sex	Mean	Std Dev.	t	p
7 (V+o)	1	25.0000	6.6564	0.5568	0.5824
	2	23.6428	6.2339		
8 (de)	1	20.1428	4.2941	0.2022	0.8414
	2	19.7857	5.0257		
9 (go)	1	16.5000	4.2922	1.4300	0.1646
	2	18.7142	3.8913		
10 (bin)	1	1.4285	1.0163	0.5297	
	2	1.2142	1.1217		
11 (don)	1	1.4285	1.1578	1.2952	0.2067
	2	2.0000	1.1766		

N = 28; df = 26; 1 = M; 2 = F.

Even with the non-genuine pidgin features (Variables 12-15), no significant relationship exists between them and sex. Details are given in Table 4.12.

Table 4.12: Mean differences between male and female groups in non-core pidgin verb forms

Variable	Sex	Mean	Std Dev.	t	p
12 (V+s)	1	0.4285	0.6462	0.0000	1.000
	2	0.4285	0.5135		

13	(V+ing)	1	0.3571	0.4972	0.3392	0.7372
		2	0.2857	0.61124		
14	(Ved_1)	1	0.6428	1.0082	0.6363	0.5302
		2	0.4285	0.7559		
15	(Ved_2)	1	0.2142	0.4258	0.4220	0.6765
		2	0.2857	0.4688		

N =28; df = 26; 1 = M; 2 = F.

4.5.2.8 Stative and dynamic verbs

NigP does not make an obvious distinction between stative and dynamic verbs as SNigE (sometimes) does. While it is true that some stative verbs do not usually use the progressive marker **de**, for example:

I **de** be teacher,

I **de** get house,

there are others that combine with 'de' to produce acceptable sentences:

262 We **de see** you well well for Amina Hall (SG/024F)

263 Baba **de owe** plenty people (SG/012M)

264 Him **de think** of im carry over. (SG/012M)

From the above examples, it is clear that the distinction is not as straight-forward as would be expected and this has to do with what Holm (1985:150) calls 'the problem of translating unmarked creole verbs into suitable European tense rather than an overtly marked distinction made within the

creole verbal system'.

4.6 Negation in Nigerian Pidgin

The negative marker "**no**" in NigP usually precedes the verb phrase. This is quite different from its position in NSNigE and SNigE where it occurs after the auxiliary. In the following excerpt, we present a conversation between two students:

265 A. Old Boy, you **no** go come see your brother wey wan quench for my room. (LD/023M)

B. Make im quench sef, ai **no** de come. That boy **no** de hear word if you tell am make i **no** smoke igbo i **no** go gree (LD/024M)

A. But im say make I tell you as na you be im only brother for this school. (LD/023M)

B. Tell am sey ai **no** be im brother. We **no** come from the same village, na only local government join us (LD/024M).

In Example 266 below, a shop attendant in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, shares a joke with a customer over who should take N1.50k balance.

266 A: You get another sister, I **no** like this on i too talk.

B: I get, but that one de talk pass this -this one **no** de talk at all.

C: Na im bi say ai **no** go marry from your family - give me my N1.50k make ai go find another wife,
ai **no** want hear say monkey born goat.
LD/052M).

A similar pattern of negation obtains in Sierra Leone Krio and

CamP: 'I **no** di tuk Lamso' - '*He/She is not speaking Lamso*' (Todd, 1982:21); 'U get tu yai **no** si govna' - *Even those who have two eyes* ***cannot*** *see the governor*' (Jones, 1972:86).

A total of 144 cases of negation occurred in the corpus - in all these, the negative marker preceded the verb.

4.6.1 Variable 16: Negative concord

Negative concord (or multiple negation) occurs when the negative marker is used more than once in a sentence. Labov (1972), Hughes and Trudgill (1974) and Cheshire, (1982) confirm that negative concord is a feature of non-standard varieties of English. Unlike in Reading English, (Cheshire 1982) for instance, where negative concord occurs with 'post-verbal determinates', the pattern of negative concord in NigP is different: it can be continuous and can therefore precede the verb or the noun phrase. When negative concord is discontinuous, it occurs in both preverbal position and at the end of the clause.

Four different multiple negation patterns were observed in the data:

(a) Without + no (determiner)

(b) no + any (body/thing)

(c) no + nothing

(d) no ...no

These are illustrated in the following sentences.

(a) **Without + no:**

267 NEPA people fit send you bill **without no** read metre at all (LD/036M).

268 ABU Community Bank go helep you **without no** problem (LD/043M)

(b) **No + anything/body**)

269 **No anything** wey you go tell am wey i go hear stubborn goat. No worry, i go hear when i lose election (CT/045M).

270 **No anybody** wey go go that place come back say im no enjoy am - ha - ha. (SG/011F).

(c) **No + nothing**

271 You **no** sabi **nothing** yet, make ai tell you - you just de learn (SA/010M).

(d) **No... no**

272 If na me I **no** see **no** reason why the man go drive im wife comot for the house. (SG/019F).

More of the subjects however used pattern (b) above i.e. no + any (body/thing). Twelve (12) of the 19 instances of multiple negation were of this pattern. See Tables 4.13.1 and 4.13.2.

Table 4.13.1 Frequency indices for negative concord in the outputs of male users of NigP

User		without +no	No+any (thing/body)	no+nothing	no-+no	Tot
1.	SA/002M	1	1	0	0	2
2.	SA/010M	1	0	1	0	2
3.	CT/004M	0	1	0	0	1
4.	CT/015M	1	2	0	0	3
5.	SG/022M	0	3	0	0	3
6.	SG/024M	0	1	0	0	1
	Total	3	8	1	0	12

Table 4.13.2 Frequency indices for negative concord in the outputs of female users of NigP

	User	without +no	No+any (thing/body)	no+nothing	no-+no	Tot.
1.	SA/011F	1	0	0	0	2

2.	CT/007F	0	2	0	0	2
3.	SG/013F	1	1	0	0	2
4.	SG/019F	0	1	0	1	1
	Total	2	4	0	1	7

Examples 271 and 272 above were the only ones of the sub-types that occurred the in corpus. These examples seem extraneous. Holm (1988:173), however observes that similar patterns exist in Liberian Creole English. He cites Shilling's (1981:91) example: 'I **not** standing **no** up' - an emphatic way of saying 'I refuse to stand up'.

What seems obvious with these examples (i.e. 271 and 272, and even that of the Liberian C.E) is that they suggest some Black American English influence - c.f Labov (1972:130):

It **ain't no** cat **can't** get in **no** coop.
(There isn't any cat that can get into any coop).

No matter the pattern, negative concord is generally used for emphasis - either of the verb, noun or even adverbial. Judging from the number of tokens (19) however, one can conclude that double negation is not a common feature of NigP.

Sixty-three per cent (63%) of the tokens were obtained from the outputs of the men. There is however no significant relationship between the use of negative concord and the sexes: ($t = 0.9236$; $df = 26$; $P = 0.3642$).

4.7 'Never' in NigP

4.7.1 Variable 17: Never + universal time

Never is usually associated with the idea of universal

time reference. Quirk **et al** (1972:491) describe **never** as an indefinite zero frequency time adverbial but suggests that it occasionally takes a more restricted meaning, especially if used as a negative minimizer with an adverbial that refers to specific time, as in:

'You will **never** catch the train tonight'. (Quirk **et al.,** 1972:456) which means that 'you will not under any circumstances catch the train tonight'.

In NigP, these two uses of **never** are maintained. In Examples 273 - 277 **never** is used with universal time reference.

273 Ai **never** see this kind boy before, na so so complain (LD/056M).

274 Ai **never** try the cream, dem say i de work well - you sure sey i go clear all the pimple dem (SG/019F).

275 That na the first time; we **never** enter police cell before; na so i de smell, God forbid bad thing (CT/019M).

276 This kind wahala pass me, ai **never** see person wey de drink pass im belle like this useless man. (SG/034M).

277 Im say i **never** fail exam before, that na lie, i get two carry over last year. (LD/054M).

4.7.2 Variable 18: 'Never' + specific time

When **never** is used with specific time reference, it usually means 'have not'. This is illustrated in the following examples.

278 Ai **never** talk finish, wait now. (SG/026F).

279 Ai **never** see the lecturer since i fail all of us, say we de dub (LD/037F).

280 Since morning ai **never** eat or drink that is 0-0-1.

(LD/051M).

281 Una **never** hear sey the man get accident (SG/012M).

282 Ai **never** submit my LANG 204 assignment (LD/031F).

Not too frequently however, **'never'** can be equated with 'be + not', see Example 283.

283 If I think sey I get money to take go somewhere and I dey late, I go enter taxi; but if I **never** late, I get time to rush for bus like any other person. (LD/032M).

Table 4.14.1: Frequency indices for 'never' in the outputs of male users of NigP

User	Universal Time	Specific Time	Total
1. SA/010M	1	2	3
2. SA/012M	1	0	1
3. CT/004M	0	2	2
4. CT/019M	1	0	1
5. SG/014M	0	2	2
6. SG/018M	0	1	1
Total	3	7	10

Table 4.14.2: Frequency indices for 'never' in the outputs of female users of NigP

User	Universal Time	Specific Time	Total
1. SA/008F	2	0	2
2. SA/011F	2	1	3
3. CT/003F	3	1	4
4. CT/007F	0	2	2
5. CT/021F	1	1	2
6. SG/015F	2	0	2
7. SG/019F	1	1	3
8. SG/023F	1	1	2
Total	12	7	20

Fourteen of the 28 respondents used **never** in their speeches. Altogether, 30 tokens were noted, with an equal number for both universal time and specific time references.

It seems safe therefore to state that the use of **never** with specific time is as much a feature of NigP as its use with universal time.

The female subjects, however have higher scores for both variables, accounting for 60% of the total for both sub-types, 75% of the tokens for Variable 17 and only 53% for Variable 18. The details of the T-tests are presented in Table 4:15.

Table 4.15: Mean differences between male and female groups in the use of 'never' in NigP.

Variable	Sex	Mean	Std Dev.	t	P
17	1	0.2142	0.4251	2.1633	0.0399
(Universal Tm.)	2	0.8571	1.0271		
18	1	0.5000	0.8548	0.2342	0.8167
(Specific Tm.)	2	0.5714	0.7559		

N = 29: df = 26; 1 = M; 2 = F.

The table shows that while there is a significant relationship between Variable 17 (Never + universal time reference) and the sexes, no such correlation holds for Variable 18 (Never + specific time reference).

One other interesting aspect of negation in NigP is the use of **no...ever** especially with **go**. Evidence from the present study does not support Labov's claim that 'ever' occurs with negative concord; rather it can also be used with specific time, even though it belongs to the indefinite zero frequency time adverbial group. See Examples 284-288.

284 As we de go so ai **no** think sey we go **ever** reach the place **today**. (LD/042M).

285 A **no** think sey you go **ever** finish this assignment even **next week** kwa. (sg/032F).

286 No mind the man i **no** go **ever** win **this presidential** election, as he no want spend money at all (LD/039M).

287 A bin think sey we **no** go **ever** go the man office again **till we graduate.** (SG/016F).

288 You **no** go **ever** see that kind thing for Zaria, abi. (SG/007F).

Never also occurs with **ever** to intensify negation. In Example 289, we present part of an argument between two friends (a boy and a girl) on an undisclosed issue. See also Examples 290 - 293.

289 Girl: Make you no talk to me like that, make ai tell you, my real boy friend **never ever** talk to me like that, you hear!. (LD/013F)

Boy: Your real boy friend! so, na wetin ai bi?

Girl: Na you sabi.

290 You **never ever** beat me for class. (SA/008F).

291 A **never ever** see man wey de read like that. (LD/062M).

292 The man say im **never ever** see driver wey de run reach Oloye. (SG/012M).

293 Wetin you de talk sef - im mean say you **never ever** see person wey go fit score goal from there - what of Christian Chukwu? (SA/010M).

In all the examples above, **never + ever** refers to universal time. This does not mean that it cannot be used with specific time. No such example occurred in the corpus. Nevertheless, it is possible to add an adverbial to Example 291 above:

294 A **never ever** see man wey de read like that **since I come this school.**

4.9. Variable 19: Use of serial verbs:

In NigP, it is usual to have two or more verbs with the same subject but without being connected by any conjunction or complementizer, in a sentence. These are serial verbs and they can occur with or without auxiliaries.

If any of the verbs in the sequence is transitive, the object comes after it, otherwise they come in a concatenated sequence to form a complex phrase structure - see Examples 295 - 299.

295 When you go **come take** me **go know** your room? (SG/002M).

296 That No.10 **go carry** ball **go give** opponent, na that one **bi sey** i **sabi play** soccer. (SA/012M).

297 Na im money ai **wan take go give** am, make ai rest. (LD/049F).

298 You **go try go see** the Head of Department for im house, **try buy** small hot drink - im de like am. (SG/003F).

299 You know that lecturer for FASS - im second name na Green Bottle - the man de shack, we **go come go** market **come buy** Pink Lady, Yellow Lady, Purple Lady, any one... we **go come go visit** the man. (SG/019F).

Serial verbs have been recognised as an important feature of Atlantic pidgins and creoles. Todd (1988:22) for instance, reports that the use of serial verbs is common in CamP. She agrees with Holm, who shares a similar view with Boretzky (1983) that serial verbs can be attributed to substratum influence.

Eze (1980:77) quoted in Romaine (1988:107) refers to the concept as 'the superserialization in NigP' and says that in principle, the number of verbs that can be used in such serial constructions is unlimited. He however suggests that the first lexical verb is usually the main verb while the others complement it.

Evidence from the present study confirms that serial verbs form an integral part of pidgins and creoles. As can be seen from Tables 4.16, all the 28 subjects used various forms of serial verbs.

Table 4.16. Frequency indices for serial verbs in the outputs of male and female users of NigP

	User	Serial verbs		User	Serial verbs
1.	SA/002M	15	1.	SA/004F	28
2.	SA/010M	28	2.	SA/008F	26
3.	SA/012M	24	3.	SA/011F	19
4.	CT/004M	30	4.	SA/013F	17
5.	CT/008M	25	5.	ST/003F	23
6.	CT/015M	29	6.	CT/007F	18
7.	CT/019M	29	7.	CT/016F	20
8.	CT/019M	23	8.	CT/021F	25
9.	SG/006M	33	9.	SG/008F	19
10	SG/009M	24	10.	SG/013F	13
11	SG/014M	20	11.	SG/015F	25
12	SG/018M	19	12.	SG/017F	14
13	SG/022M	21	13.	SG/019F	20
14	SG/024M	17	14.	SG/023F	22
	Total	337			289

The table also shows that most of the subjects have relatively high scores - the least and the highest individual scores being 13, (SG/013F) and 33 (SG/006M) respectively. The males however use serial verbs slightly more often than the females. The variable, nevertheless, is not correlatable with sex: ($t=1.8544$; $df = 26$; $P = 0.07$; $N=28$).

A further analysis into transitive and intransitive serial verbs was not seen as rewarding as most serial verb constructions are made up of combinations of both types of verbs, see Examples 300 and 301.

300 Person wey **want die come see** person wey go **kill** am
V_1 V_2 V_3 V_4 V_5 (LD/001M).

(V1, V2 and V3 are intransitive while V4 and V5 are transitive).

301 If na oyibo wey no well call am im go **take land go carry**
V_1 V_2 V_3 V_4

disease **come give** him brother dem. (LD/004M)
V_5 V_6

(V1, V2, V3 and V5 are intransitive while V4 and V6 are transitive).

4.9 Forms of 'be' in NigP

Most studies in Atlantic pidgins and creoles show that **be** is not as simple as Labov's (1966) analysis of the copula has presented it, and by far more complex than it is in English. Romaine (1988:166) and Holm (1988:175) for instance, agree with Bickerton (1975:81) that the copula (which does not exist in the basilect) is introduced in the mesolect. Holm further criticises Labov for not realising the complexity of **be** and loosely calling all forms of **be** 'copulas', thus suggesting the existence of a uniform pattern which according to Labov, is characterised by a low rate of deletion of copula before nouns and a lighter one elsewhere. In Holm's view, Labov failed to

see that the unEuropean pattern of the use of the copula, can be explained by the genetic relationship between Caribbean creoles and Black English.

Holm agrees with Bickerton that with adjectival verbs which follow preverbal tense and aspect markers, the copula would be unnecessary. Consequently, "it is misleading to speak of the 'deletion of the copula' or even 'a copula' before adjectival verbs in such languages since these terms imply that copulas occur (or should occur) in this position" (Holm, 1988:177).

4.9.1 Variable 20: The equative 'be'

In NigP, as in other Atlantic pidgins and creoles, the copula can be realised in a number of forms. These include the equative **be**, the highlighter be, the locative **be** and the zero copula.

The equative **be** is used when the subject and the complement in a sentence can be said, in no strict sense, to be the same. In NigP, the equative **be** is represented by **na** and is illustrated in Examples 302-306.

302 A tell you sey the boy **na** mumu. (SG/019F).

303 The man no look you, the man **na** wood. (SG/017F)

304 Today **na** today, make we see who go win (SG/006M)

305 Jumoke **na** pig (LD/001M).

306 The teacher **na** my friend, a know sey i no go drive us back (SG/007F).

4.9.2 Variable 21: The highlighter 'be'

The equative **be** is quite different from the highlighter, though the same particle **na** performs both functions. While the equative **be** signals 'equality', the highlighter emphasises the word that it precedes. For instance, instead of 'Dem kill dem...' the speaker could say '**Na kill** dem kill dem, come say na plane crash'. Further examples are presented in 307- -311.

307 **Na vomit** ai vomit all the food (SG/013F).

308 **Na me Sikira** de talk so, ai say ai don come (LD/036F).

309 **Na thief** dem thief am, dem no buy am (CT/019M).

310 **Na die** the man die, nobody kill am (SA/012M).

311 A. Wetin de do Usman?

B. Nothing, **na drink** i drink (LD/034M).

4.9.3 Variable 22: Locative 'be'

Be is locative if it functions as an adverbial indicating place or location. In NigP, it is the variant **de** that serves the locative function. See Examples 312 - 316.

312 The lecturer **de** inside, i say make nobody enter. (SG/023F).

313 Ai know sey you go **de** here because booze **de** here (LD/034M).

314 The flask **de** for under bed (CT/015M).

315 That book wey the man say make we read no **de** library sef (SA/02M).

316 You de look for Bola, She **de** for that motor wey comot (SG/003F).

4.9.4 Variable 23: Zero copula

As has already been stated, the structure of pidgins and creoles allows the use of zero copula (not the deletion of copula) before adjectives. This is illustrated in Examples 317 - 321.

317 Na you get this pikin, the boy fine (LD/049F).

318 Aminu lazy pass all of them (SA/010M).

319 Alhaji kind-o-na so im just de give money, that na politics (LD/039M).

320 The goal-keeper tall well well (SA/025M).

321 Maradona small - i no go even reach my shoulder. (CT/021F).

Tables 4.17.1 and 4.17.2 provide details of the frequencies of the various forms of 'be' at the individual level.

Table 4.17.1: Frequency indices for 'be' in the outputs of male users of NigP.

	User	Equative **be**	Highlighter **be**	Locative **be**	Zero Copula	Total
1.	SA/002M	2	0	1	1	4
2.	SA/012M	2	1	0	1	4
3.	SA/025M	1	2	1	1	5
4.	SA/025M	1	1	1	3	6
5.	CT/004M	2	2	3	4	11
6.	CT/008M	4	0	2	2	8
7.	CT/015M	1	1	1	3	6
8.	CT/019M	2	0	3	1	6
9.	SG/009M	4	3	2	0	9
10	SG/014M	2	1	2	2	7
11	SG/002M	2	0	1	1	4
12	SG/022M	1	1	2	4	8
13	SG/018M	2	0	3	0	5
14	SG/024M	2	3	1	0	6
	Total	29	16	24	24	93

Table 4.17.2: Frequency indices for 'be' in the outputs of female users of NigP.

	User	Equative **be**	Highlighter **be**	Locative **be**	Zero Copula	Total
1.	SA/004F	2	1	1	2	6
2.	SA/008F	0	1	0	2	3
3.	SA/011F	0	0	2	1	3
4.	SA/013F	2	1	2	0	5
5.	CT/003F	0	1	0	2	3
6.	CT/007F	3	2	0	3	8
7.	CT/016F	1	1	0	1	3
8.	CT/021F	2	0	1	0	3
9.	SG/008F	0	0	0	2	2
10	SG/013F	2	0	1	2	5
11	SG/015F	0	1	1	1	6
12	SG/017F	3	2	0	0	5
13	SG/019F	2	0	0	2	4
14	SG/023F	3	0	1	0	4
	Total	20	10	9	18	60

The low individual tokens should not be seen as unusual because, even though the copula is an important feature of any language, its occurrence in both speech and writing is naturally restricted. We also note that at the individual level, the distribution of the variants can be said to be erratic - no clear-cut pattern has emerged.

With the sex groups however, the situation is slightly different. The 'equative be' i.e. Variable 20 is more commonly used than the others. With 49 occurrences (29 and 20 tokens for the male and female subjects respectively), it accounts for 32.67% of the 150 instances of 'BE' in the data. See Table 4.18.

Table 4.18: Outputs of male and female subjects in the use of BE

Variable	Male	Female	Total	%
20 Equative 'be'	29	20	49	32.67
21 Highlighter 'be'	16	10	26	17.33
22 Locative 'be'	24	9	33	22.00
23 Zero copula	24	18	42	28.00
Total	93(62%)	57(38%)	150	100

Table 4.18 also shows that the male subjects not only scored higher than the female in the use of each of the variables under review but also have higher group total: total male score is 93 (62%) while that of the female comes to 57 (38%). Despite these, not all the features indicate significant variation with sex, as shown in Table 4.19.

Table 4.19: Mean differences between male and female groups in the use of variants of BE

Variable	Sex	Mean	Std Dev.	t	P
20					
	1	2.0714	0.9992	1.5246	0.1394
	2	1.4285	1.2224		
21 (High-lighter)	1	1.1428	1.0271	1.2784	0.2137
	2	0.7142	0.7262		
22 (Locative)	1	1.7142	0.9138	3.4002	0.0022
	2	0.6428	0.7449		
23 (Zero Copula)	1	1.7142	1.3827	1.1367	0.2660
	2	1.2142	0.8925		

N = 28; df = 26. 1 = M; 2 = F

4.10 ADJECTIVES IN NIGERIAN PIDGIN:

In NigP, as in most Atlantic pidgins and creoles, adjectives occur both attributively (i.e. preceding the NP) and predicatively (following the NP they modify). In most instances of predicative usage, no copula is required. Hancook (1980:78) believes that there is a shift in form class with the adjectives functioning as verbs. The following examples illustrate the predicative use of adjectives:

322 This thing wey you do no **good**, how you go just come push Aisha lai that! (SG/011M).

323 This soup **sweet** well well, na who cook am sef? (SG/017F)

324 Maradona **short** for height not for brain. (CT/027F)

325 Garba na real dogo - i **tall, fine** and ai know sey i go de play basket ball. (LD/020M)

326 Dapo how your papers, hope sey dem **good**? (CT/029M)

In Examples 327-331, adjectives are used attributively.

327 Make una sit don, make we **short** people for see the blackboard. (SG/006M)

328 You want go see that your **fine** boy for Suleiman Hall... **fine** boy nothing, na **fine** monkey. (SG/019F)

329 I know the man, i get one **small** pikin wey i de carry come school everyday. (SG/017F)

330 Turundu, oh ho that na **stubborn** boy i no dey hear twelve. (CT/042M)

331 A. Me, ai no know wetin im see for that kin **fat** girl - that na **heavy** weight.

B. In fact no be **heavy** weight, na shock absorber destroyer - see the laps, i reach 20kg.

4.10.1 Variable 24: Comparison in NigP

To indicate comparison, adjectives are used predicatively and the verb 'pass' (which means 'surpass' is used after the adjectives i.e. Adj + pass (+ N).

332 We say make Jimoh dey for back no be sey na im strong **pass** but because sey na im big **pass** so dem go fear am. (SA/011M)

333 You say you want marry my sister, this one fine **pass** the one you like. (SG/003M)

334 Why you take this road, you no know sey na im long **pass** the other one. (SG/008F)

335 This orange sweet **pass** your own, taste am... you see am. (CT/04M)

336 Oluwole no de play **pass** Kayode. (SA/025M)

Our data also shows that when used predicatively, adjectives can also take preverbal markers. This is illustrated in the following in Examples - 337-341.

337 Make you no worry - we know sey you **de** sick, we no go stay long. (CT/015M)

338 A. Everybody for the class **de** fear, dem say the paper **go** tough - na so? (SG/015F)

B. Na so the man thing de be, very wicked man. (SG/017F)

339 Ijeoma-eh-he you **don de** fat witin you de chop? (SG/023F)

340 This place **come de** dirty now, no be small. (CT/004M)

341 You say Titi na small girl, that na before, the girl **don** big now if you see her body, old boy, you go quench. (LD/022M)

The fact that comparison of adjectives takes place only when they (adjectives) are used predicatively seems to suggest

that it (the predicative use) is more 'conservative' than the attributive which might have come about as a result of later development - in this case, in a movement towards NSNigE or even SNigE.

There are a few other items used for comparison in NigP, especially to indicate equivalence, excess etc. These are 'too', 'reach', 'so tey', not for talk, 'no be small', etc. Consider the following examples.

342 Una own no tough **reach** our own, see wetin that man do us. (LD/011M)
343 The girl fine **so tey** you go think sey na ghost, ai no like am. (SG/015F)

344 Their papa get money, **not for talk**. (SG/013M)

345 Babra **too** talk - na every thing person see i de talk. (CT/025F)
346 The man sabi teach, **not for talk**. (SA/012F)

Thirty-six tokens of comparison of adjectives were observed in the data; there is very little difference between the scores of the sexes - 19 for the boys and 17 for the girls. As can be seen from the results of the T-Test, ($t = 0.8624$; $df = 26$; $N = 28$; $P = 0.3964$), there is nothing to suggest that there is any relationship between the use of this variable and the sexes.

4.10.2 Variable 25: Non-core pidgin forms of comparison in NigP

Non-genuine pidgin forms of comparison (i.e. those that are inflected in one way or the other) were also noticed. These include variants of both the comparative and

superlative forms ordinarily associated with non-standard and standard varieties of NigE. In Examples 347-351, some of these instances are presented.

347 That lecturer de **more tolerant** than our Literature teacher. (SG/019F)

348 Why you go vote for Omale, the boy de **more radical** than you see he wants to bring back Maradona. (CT/019M)

349 Prince O; you know Prince O? Na im be the **biggest** of the three. (CT/004M)

350 Ada na the **most beautiful** girl for the class. (SG/023F)

351 The **best** thing na to carry over the course, wetin be 10 for continuous assessment. (LD/016M)

It is easy to explain why these forms occur. As in the use of 'dem + Npl' in plural formation and 'V+s' with third person singular subjects, the respondents are involved in inter-variety switch - combining the features of NigP with those of NSNigE and SNigE.

Thirteen (13) occurrences of the use of non-genuine pidgin forms of comparison were noted in the corpus. The female subjects had a slightly higher score of eight; the male respondents, five. The use of these forms is not correlated with sex: ($t = -0.8130$; $df = 26$; $N=28$; $P = 0.4236$).

4.11 Variable 26: Duplication of adverbs

Only seven (7) tokens of duplication of adverbs were obtained from the data. This figure may suggest that duplication of adverbs is not a regular feature of NigP. This

is not exactly true. While in general use, items such as 'so + therefore', 'why + because', 'from today + go (forward)' exist in NigP, their use is usually restricted to a few contexts. Consider the following examples,(352 - 356).

352 I say make you pay N30 or you **reverse back**, o.k. (SG/021M)

353 From today **go forward** make you no call me your friend, you see ECOMOG you no tell me. (SG/018M)

354 I go vote for Maradona **so therefore** make you die if you want die. Maradona na my man. (CT/015M)

355 Since that day **go reach today** nobody see the man again for class, i don vex be that. (SG/013F)

356 Not to say na me cheat, na giraffe I giraffe **so therefore** make you no put me for trouble. (SG/022M)

In all these instances, duplication is used to emphasise the point being made. As would be expected, Variable 26 is not correlatable with sex.

4.12 From NigP to NSNigE

We have noted that the transition from NigP to NSNigE is neither linear nor unidirectional. This means that for different users, the entry points vary depending on their competence and other sociolinguistic factors. In this segment, we continue with the analysis and discussion, with a closer look at the non-standard variety.

Perhaps, the most striking change in the development from NigP to NSNigE is that inflectional morphemes which have begun to appear at the later stage of NigP become more pronounced. Virtually all the invariant forms associated with NigP are realised as inflectional morphemes; many other pidgin forms

are replaced by their non-standard and sometimes, standard equivalents.

These changes do not sweep through the spectrum rapidly nor do they take place at the same time. Consequently, NSNigE like the pidgin sub-set, is far from being homogeneous. It shares the features of both NigP and SNigE, some of which are brought together in a rather unusual way. The lexis may be from L_1 or derived from standard forms in non-standard ways but the syntax reflects the features of the two other sub-sets - NigP and SNigE. See Examples 357 -361.

357 That is why when I think of the **suffering you suffer for me** I always remember you (WE/014M)

358 **Infact** I will be with you soon because I **nearly** finish my papers in which I do hope that I will meet you in good health. (WE/002M).

359 I will not **agreed for you** to **live** me alone because I always filled you whenever you are with me in the house.(WE/025F)

360 **If not** because it is compulsory how can I register it WE/012F

361 That lecturer is **wicked not for talk,** he gave me zero just because he told me to be his Valentine and I **say** no. (LD/010F)

The phrase 'the suffering you suffer for me (Example 357) seems to be an echo of Nicco Mbaga's 'Sweet Mother' where a similar line - 'for this suffer wey you suffer for me' - is known to occur.

'I nearly finish' is the pidgin equivalent of 'I have almost finished/completed..' or 'I am almost through', (cf 'ai **nearly** piss for cloth wey the crase man shout.. who-o-a'). It

should be noted that no attempt was made by the subject to put the sentence in the past - a reflection of the pidgin variety that it represents.

In Examples 359 and 360, we see attempts by the subjects to move from pidgin to standard English. In Example 359, the respondent however does more than the two varieties ordinarily require. For instance, the past form (Ved_1) of 'agree' is essentially uncalled for in both NigP and SNigE. This is because while pidgin does not permit inflection, NSNigE which does, never allows it when the verb is preceded by an auxiliary. But as we shall see later, it is an essential feature of NSNigE. The structure can also be compared with 'A no go gree (for you)...'

In 'if not because...' (Example 360), we are dealing with a direct transfer from pidgin 'if no bi sey' which is also a translation from the indigenous languages -

(i) 'Obu na oburo - Igbo }
(ii) In ba haka ba ne - Hausa } *(Were it not for...)*
(iii) Ti ko ba - Yoruba }

The intensifier 'not for talk' i.e 'beyond comparison' or in the particular case, 'the most wicked lecturer' is all in all, pidgin. It is the inclusion of the copula 'is' that makes the sequence a non-core pidgin utterance, otherwise 'That lecturer wicked, not for talk' is an acceptable sentence in NigP.

Such pidgin-based utterances which form an important part

of NSNigE are discussed later in the chapter.

From the performance of the average speaker/user of NSNigE, it may be obvious that he is battling with or wondering what to do with or how to use the English words he already knows. Such a user ends up forcefully stringing them together, sometimes without any regard for the basic rules of syntax, topic or even field of discourse. At best, this occasionally results in a fairly neat and tolerable mixed grill but most of the time, it ends up in an unacceptable and unpalatable concatenation of lexical items. This probably explains why NSNigE is also referred to as 'Broken English' - a grammatically unstable entity that is more available in speech than in writing. See Examples 362-366.

362 If that **is able to happen** then I have **win** raffle (WE/045M)

363 I will be sure that every workers **are pay their** salaries **without any delayment**. (WE/011M)

364 Glory be to God Almighty **who given** me the period to communicate to you and **I hope that my missive will arrive with you and see you well in health, if so doxology**. (WE/025M)

365 Finally I conclude by saying that to make my dreams **became** true I could after leaving school **became** a medical practitioner. (WE/028M)

366 Another thing of **not and never forgetting with you** is the advises and punishment you gave me whenever I misbehave. I therefore **thanks** you for that. (WE/013F)

Todd (1982:22) believes that Broken English in Cameroon is incapable of conveying more than the most basic of messages. According to her, some 'market mammies' in francophone zones use Broken English only on very few

occasions, for instance in their transactions with English speaking customers.

In our experience, Todd's view is correct even of Broken English in Nigeria, which is the base form of NSNigE. Consider the following example.

367 **This laboratories is usually poor facilitated,** this leads to **malpracticing examination.** (WE/009F).

Broken English, (like other varieties of NSNigE) relies on translations and borrowings from the mother tongues. In addition, the mesolectal varieties of NSNigE depend on analogy, loan adaptations, calquing from BrE - clear evidence of languages in contact. This generally leads to utterances being first conceived in the local languages before being rendered in English.

It has in fact been argued that varieties of English in Nigeria could be described along ehtnolinguistic lines such that we have 'Engligbo', Englihausa' and Engliyoruba', see Odumuh (1981), for details. Of importance to the present study is that these 'ethnolinguistic varieties' are considered as non-standard (d'apres Adekunle, 1974). Seventy-eight instances of translation and thirty-one tokens of lexical borrowing were observed in the outputs of our 28 subjects.

368 Most of the practicals in the laboratories cannot be done **without the presence of** social amenities like water, electricity etc (WE/028M)

369 That night I was troubled **in the mind**, I could not sleep

and **the day refused to break** (WE/013F)

370 I don't know **who carried you to** go that course SG/013M)

371 At Obudu Cattle Ranch most of us if not all of us, saw fog **with our eyes** (SG/007M)

372 All those happen but when you **see the thing they call love, you will know it, nobody will tell you.** (SG/011F)

In Examples 373- 377, we present some of the instances of lexical borrowing.

373 Some of these boys are **wayo** boys, they tell you they love you and every night they come to Amina to ask for **tuwo** without giving you chop money. (SG/017F)

374 I cannot vote for Maradona - he likes to demonstrate, his **gra-gra** is too much. (CT/088F)

375 Dupe is a senior girl, real '**aje-butter**' you cannot operate on her level (SG/022F)

376 The **yaro** boys tear off the relevant pages of the books (SG/014F)

377 **Mumu**, she said you should follow her to her boyfriend's office and you come agree (SG/018F)

4.13 THE NOUN PHRASE IN NSNigE

4.13.1 Variable 1: Zero determiner with specific NPs

In NSNigE, determiners precede nouns as in NigP. The definite and the indefinite articles perform their usual functions: the definite article refers to pre-supposed, specific NP while the indefinite article is used with non-specific NPs. Unlike in NigP where zero determiner is generally used with non-specific NPs, more tokens of the use of the feature with specific NPs were noted in NSNigE. Examples 378 - 382 illustrate the use of zero determiner with

specific NPs.

378 I thank him for ( ) money he left for me. (WE/021M)

379 I went to ( ) Sickbay that day, please don't be annoy. (LD/022F)

380 The man who gave you ( ) registration card ( ) first time he came to Lagos. (SG/021F)

381 His big brother in ( ) police wrote letter asking for bribery. (WE/019M)

382 I saw him at ( ) Senate Building. (LD/015F)

One hundred and twenty-nine (129) tokens of zero determiners occurred in the data. This is lower than what was obtained in NigP (i.e 408). Sixty-nine (69) of the number were used with specific NPs. Two male subjects (WE/009M and SG/009M) had the highest individual frequency of six. On the other hand, two female respondents (CT/038F and PD/004F) did not use the item at all. See Table 4.20.1 and 4.20.2.

Table 4.20.1 Frequency indices for determiners in the outputs of male users of NSNigE

	User	θDet + Specific NP	θDet + Non Sp.NP	Superfluous Use.
1	WE/009M	6	4	3
2	WE/015M	1	2	0
3	WE/022M	3	2	2
4	WE/028M	1	2	1
5	SA/012M	2	3	0
6	SA/025M	3	2	0
7	CT/004M	3	2	2
8	CT/008M	2	2	3
9	PD/001M	1	3	0
10	PD/002M	1	1	0
11	SG/006M	3	3	3
12	SG/009M	6	4	1

13	SG/014M	3	3	0
14	SG/018M	2	1	1
	TOTAL	37	32	16

Table 4.20.2 Frequency indices for determiners in the outputs of female users of NSNigE

	User	θDet + Specific NP	θDet + Non Specific NP	Superfluous Use
1	WE/016F	4	0	0
2	WE/019F	3	2	2
3	WE/025F	4	2	0
4	WE/014F	3	3	1
5	SA/008F	2	4	0
6	SA/011F	1	3	0
7	CT/031F	3	2	2
8	CT/038F	0	1	0
9	PD/003F	1	3	2
10	PD/004F	0	2	0
11	SG/008F	2	1	1
12	SG/013F	3	1	3
13	SG/015F	4	2	0
14	SG/017F	2	2	1
	TOTAL	32	28	12

4.13.2 Variable 2: Zero determiner + non-specific NPs.

There were fewer instances of the use of zero determiner with non-specific NPs. Some of these are presented in Examples 383 - 387.

383 What is in teaching? Anybody can be a teacher. Is it not to read your lesson from ( ) lesson note? (SG/024F)

384 Even when they are saying they want? ( ) good leader you think it is a pastor like Adasu we want. (SG/016F)

385 Do you have ( ) lecture in the evening? If you don't have ( ) lecture, let's take a walk to Drama Village. (SG/012M)

386 I saw ( ) accident on Sabon-gari Road yesterday many people must have die, Oh God save us. (LD/013M)

387 We don't have ( ) Geography lecturer, they all went to dig gold at Itakpe - they say they pay more there. (WE/025F)

The pattern of usage however remains the same : the male generally use the item (Det + Non-specific NP) more frequently than the female. The difference can however be said to be due to chance as it is not significant at 0.05 level, (t = 0.9488; df=26; p= 0.3514; N=28).

4.13.3 Variable 3: Superfluous use of determiners.

Twenty-eight occurrences of superfluous use of determiners were observed in the outputs of the 15 users of NSNigE who manifested this feature. Patterns similar to those outlined in NigP were prevalent: eleven involved the use of Demons + Pers (Possessive) ProN; five consisted of **both + two**, while three instances of **two + both** were recorded. These are illustrated in Examples 388-392.

388 **This our** lecturer who comes to lecture three times a semester can set tough question oh. (LD/017F)

389 **The both** of them are guilty - the lecturer who leaks the question paper and the girl enjoys it. (WE/013M)

390 I am just going to **that one** house over there. (LD/018F)

391 The **both** two of them are bad - to copy or to help somebody write. (WE/031F)

392 It was about noon that the election body displayed the picture of Maradona and Nura; **both two** pictures were very large. (CT/022M)

See Tables 4.21.1 and 4.21.2. for details.

Table 4.21.1 Frequency indices for superfluous use of determiners in the outputs of male users of NSNigE.

	User	Demons +Poss. ProN	Both +Two	Two+ Both	Det+ Both	Demons+ Numeral	Det+ ProN	Total
1	WE/009M	1	0	0	1	0	1	3
2	WE/022M	0	1	1	0	0	0	2
3	WE/028M	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
4	CT/004M	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
5	CT/008M	1	0	0	1	1	0	3
6	SG/006M	1	0	1	0	0	0	3
7	SG/009M	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
8	SG/018M	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	TOTAL	6	3	2	2	1	1	16

Table 4.21.2 Frequency indices for superfluous use of determiners in the outputs of female users of NSNigE.

	User	Demons+ Poss. ProN	Both+ Two	Two+ Both	Det+ Both	Demons+ Numeral	Det+ ProN	Total
1	WE/019F	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
2	WE/041F	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
3	CT/031F	0	1	1	0	0	0	2
4	PD/003F	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
5	SG/008F	1	0	0	1	0	0	2
6	SG/013F	0	1	1	0	1	0	3
7	SG/017F	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	TOTAL	5	2	2	1	1	2	13

While SG/013F has the same total frequency with WE/009M, CT/008M and SG/006M, the male group has a slightly higher frequency (i.e. 4:3) of the feature under discussion especially, the two most commonly used ones - **Demons + Poss ProN and both +two**. Superfluous use of determiners does not however, correlate with sex: (t= 0.6667, df=26; p=0.5109; N =28).

Three other tokens involved the use of determiners with proper nouns:

393 A. Do you know why I like Lagos?

B. Why?

A: Lagos is like **a** London... we also went to the Bar Beach. WE/009M).

394 Sir, you know him - Maman Shata...he is living near ou house in **the** Funtua. (SG/011F)

395 Goodbye Mariam, I'll see you in **the** heaven, death cannot part us **no** more. (LD/032F)

While **both + two, this + our** etc can be seen as extensions of NigP, in Examples 393 - 395, a new development is noted. This results from the speaker's inability to distinguish between common and proper nouns. We do not doubt whether the subject in Example 395 is aware that there is only one heaven because the statement is common and usually associated with religion. She however used the definite determiner for emphasis.

There were also instances of substitution of determiners which may be due partly to inadequate mastery of the functions of the many determiners users are exposed to and partly to phonological reasons. Some users of NSNigE find it difficult to distinguish between **this** and **these** (ðis and ðiz) and consequently use **this** where **these** would have been appropriate. This is however more noticeable in written work. Eleven of such instances were noted in the study, five of which are presented in Examples 396-400.

396 **This** examination malpractices are common and it is due to the non-challant attitude of the students (WE/012F)

397 **This** factors are not explicit because one factor leads to another. (WE/015M)

398 Furthermore **this** unserious students also cheat by looking for favours. (WE/001M)

399 Some of **this** poor conditions which make life difficult for **this** poor students can be highlighted as follows. WE/046F)

400 **This** advantages are desirable in the following paragraphs below. (WE/022M)

4.13.4 Number in NSNigE.

Non-standard Nigerian English distinguishes between singular and plural on the one hand, and count and non-count nouns, on the other. Unlike NigP however, the difference between singular and plural nouns is not indicated by the addition of 'dem', rather it is effected (for the regular count nouns) by the addition of 's', 'es' or 'ies' depending on the final sound on the singular noun.

4.13.4.1 Variable 4: Plurals in irregular nouns. [$N_{(c)}$pl irreg]

Some users of NSNigE occasionally extend the pattern of plural formation in regular count nouns to the irregular ones which require different patterns altogether. For example, there are instances in which plural forms are used as 'singular' and consequently an intrusive 's' is added to make them 'plural'. Users end up therefore with **sheeps, childrens mens**, etc - a kind of hypercorrection.

See Examples 401 - 404 and Tables 4.22.1 and 4.22.2 for details.

401 With all these goats and **sheeps** you don't have any problem. (SG/011F)

402 How can he cope - they say he has seven **childrens**, three of them in ABU (SG/019F)

403 Remove him from there - you see the place is not up to **one feet** to the goat keeper (SA/023M)

404 Some people complain of tribalism but what is the **criteria** used in selecting the student to take the course! they don't even know what the **criterias** for admission is (WE/017M)

Table 4.22.1 Non-standard plural forms in the outputs of male users of NSNigE.

Users		(Variable 4) [$\mathbf{N_{(c)}pl}$ irreg].	(Variable 5) [$\mathbf{N_{(u)}pl}$]	Total
1	WE/009M	0	3	3
2	WE/015M	0	2	2
3	WE/022M	0	2	2
4	WE/028M	1	4	5
5	SA/012M	2	3	5
6	SA/025M	0	0	0
7	CT/004M	0	0	0
8	CT/008M	2	2	4
9	PD/001M	2	1	3
10	PD/002M	1	0	1
11	SG/006M	0	2	2
12	SG/009M	0	2	2
13	SG/014M	0	1	1
14	SG/018M	0	1	1
	Total	8	23	31

Table 4.22.2 Non-standard plural forms in the outputs of female users of NSNigE

User		(Variable 4) [$\mathbf{N_{(c)}pl}$ irreg].	(Variable 5) [$\mathbf{N_{(u)}pl}$]	Total
1	WE/016F	1	3	4
2	WE/019F	2	1	3
3	WE/025F	0	1	1
4	WE/041F	0	2	2
5	SA/008F	1	0	1
6	SA/011F	1	1	2
7	CT/031F	0	2	2
8	CT/038F	1	1	2
9	PD/003F	1	0	1
10	PD/004F	0	1	1

11	SG/008F	1	1	1
12	SG/013F	2	0	2
13	SG/015F	1	2	3
14	SG/017F	0	1	1
	TOTAL	11	16	26

4.13.4.2. Variable 5: Plural in non-count invariable nouns [$N_{(u)}$pl]

NSNigE acknowledges that nouns such as **water, rice, kerosine, meat, oil** etc are mass nouns and are therefore treated as such. This may be because these are obviously inseparable. Some other mass nouns are however used as count nouns. They include **staff,**[5] **furniture, advice, information, property, equipment, cutlery, cattle, stationery, accommodation, infrastructure, luggage** etc.

Each time any of these nouns is used in the singular, it is meant to refer to one of the group, otherwise it stands for more than one in the collection. Similar features have been noted in Indian and Australian Englishes.

In Examples 406-410, we present details of this feature.

406 We watched films and **musics** until we landed in London airport (WE/041F)

407 For instance, if you have the **characters** I like, I shall go with you (SG/018F)

408 The **cattles** that live at Obudu Cattle Ranch how are they, are they the same with the ones here? (SG/013F)

409 Discipline is not deeply rooted in the minds of the two senior **staffs** and even students that is why they are all **practicing** malpractices. (WE/005F)

410 Students can easily cheat when there are insufficient **furnitures** and they sit jammed together in an examination. (WE/021M)

Unlike NigP, where at least six different ways of pluralizing exist, only two or perhaps three appeared in the data for NSNgE. These are:

1. $N_{(c)}$sg + s ---> Npl
   (boy) + s (boys)

2. $N_{(u)}$sg + s ---> Npl
   (staff) + s (staffs)

Cardinals or quantifiers can also be used with the second type:

3. Card.No/Qntf + N --> Card. No/Qntf + $N_{(u)}$pl
   (one/a staff) (two staffs.)

In Table 4.23, we present the details of the T.tests for Variables 4 and 5 which deal with plural formation in NSNigE.

Table 4.23 Plural in NSNigE: mean differences between male and female groups.

Variable	Sex	Mean	Std Dev.	t	p
4 [$N_{(c)}$pl irreg]	1	0.5714	0.8516	0.4776	0.6369
	2	0.7142	0.7262		
5 [$N_{(u)}$pl]	1	1.6428	1.2157		
	2	1.1428	0.8644	1.2541	0.2210

The figures in the above table show that the two variables are not indicators of sex.

4.13.5 Variable 6: Use of resumptive pronouns

A number of users of NSNigE are known to duplicate subject NPs especially in relative constructions. Apart from not deleting the Equi-NP, they also add a relative pronoun. Various terms including 'resumptive pronouns' (Trudgill and Hannah, 1989:104);, 'copy' (Jowitt, 1991:121); 'shadow' (Romaine, 1988:238) have been used for the **repeated** NP which is usually coreferential with the subject or object NP. See Examples 411 - 415

411 This is the particular car which we travelled in **it** - the driver can run. (WE/025M)

412 How can anybody ask me to do the course which I had passed **it** at 100 level. (WE/042F)

413 I know many lecturers who **they** have never attended one conference or the other. (WE/029M)

414 That is what they are always saying what of Maradona whom we voted for **him** what did he do? (CT/012M)

415 When I look at him, I saw that he is the same man who I have seen **him** before at Pedro Palm Grove Police Station -he is a thief. (SG/048F)

There were nine instances of this type of 'copying' in the corpus.

A second and perhaps, more common type of 'shadow' also exists in NSNigE. This does not involve the use of relative pronouns as there is usually no indication of embedding; rather the duplication comes after the initial NP subject.

416 And not only that, we in the committee of Presidents **we** know how much we suffered between January and March,(CT/013M)

417 A few students on the campus **they** are trying to cause

confusion within the university, that's what we are against. (CT/020M)

418 A day to Sallah some of my close friends **they** organised a party. (SG/018F)

419 OK, the issue of being well placed before marriage **it** causes a lot of problems. (SG/013F)

420 The two contestants **they** have now answered one local question, one national question remaining an international question. (CT/017M)

Eighteen tokens of the second type (in which there is no embedding) appeared in the data. For ease of analysis, both sub-groups are put together in Table 4.24

Table 4.24 Frequency indices for resumptive pronouns in the outputs of male and female subjects.

User	(Variable 6) Resumptives.	User	(Variable 6) Resumptives.
1 WE/009M	2	WE/016F	1
2 WE/015M	0	WE/019F	0
3 WE/022M	0	WE/025F	0
4 WE/028M	1	WE/041F	1
5 SA/012M	0	SA/008F	0
6 SA/025M	1	SA/011F	1
7 CT/004M	2	CT/031F	1
8 CT/008M	4	CT/038F	2
9 PD/001M	0	PD/003F	1
10 PD/002M	0	PD/004F	0
11 SG/002M	3	SG/008F	2
12 SG/009M	0	SG/013F	0
13 SG/014M	1	SG/015F	2
14 SG/018M	1	SG/017F	1
TOTAL	15		12

Twenty-seven (27) resumptives were noted in the data, 15 of them from the men and 12 from the women. There was however, no correlation between the feature (i.e Variable 6) and sex: ($t = 0.5402$; $df = 26$; $p = 0.5937$; $N = 28$).

Romaine (1988:238) has argued that occasionally 'shadows' are realised as full NPs (not just pronouns). However, no such

realisation occurred in our data. This may, perhaps, be a reflection of the level of the subjects.

Apart from the users' inability to relativise, the use of the Equi-NP in the embedded clause could be the result of attempts by the subjects to emphasis the NP in question.

The use of resumptive pronouns is not peculiar to NigE. Romaine (1984:50) points out that Edinburgh children employ them. Elsewhere, Romaine (1988:240) reports that Wald (1982) also found such 'shadows' in the speech of Los Angeles children.

4.13.6 Variable 7: Non-inversion of subject and object in indirect questions.

In Examples 421 - 425, we present some of the instances of non-inversion of subject and object in indirect questions.

421 The congress will like to know **what are you** going to do about the toilets in the hostels. (PD/004M)

422 When I asked him **what is architecture** he couldn't answer, yet he wants to be an architecture. (WE/104F)

423 A. You have not fallen in love yet, that's why you say that..

B: Love, what is love? How can you define love?

A: Oh no... you don't know **what is love,** let me tell you, I know your boy friend. (SG/018F)

424 If am worried he asks me **what's my problem,** you know, that kind of thing. (SG/017F)

425 We don't know **what is the matter** with this goalkeeper today. (SA/020M)

As can be seen from these examples, the feature calls for

an 'echo' of the initial question in a conversation or any other similar situation such as the Story Group, Soccer Adventure and the Presidential Debate. This probably explains its rather low frequency in the written essays. Only three subjects (WE/028M), WE/016F and WE/025F) used the variable and in all instances there were no inversions. See Table 4.25.

Table 4.25. Frequency indices for non-inversion of subject and object in direct questions.

User		Variable 7 Non-inversion	User	Variable 7 Non-inversion
1	WE/009M	0	WE/016F	1
2	WE/015M	0	WE/019F	0
3	WE/022M	0	WE/025F	1
4	WE/028M	1	WE/041F	0
5	SA/012M	1	SA/008F	2
6	SA/025M	0	SA/011F	0
7	CT/004M	2	CT/031F	1
8	CT/008M	2	CT/038F	1
9	PD/100M	3	PD/003F	0
10	PD/002M	1	PD/004F	0
11	SG/006M	0	SG/008F	2
12	SG/009M	0	SG/013F	1
13	SG/014M	2	SG/015F	0
14	SG/018M	1	SG/017F	1
	TOTAL	13		10

Some other varieties of English notably Indian and Pakistan English are known to have this feature (non-inversion of subject - object). Unlike in Indian English however, in NigE subject - object inversion takes place in direct questions. Sentences such as 'Where **are** the two presidential candidates?', 'Who **will you** vote for - Maradona or Nura?' occur in NigE instead of: 'Where the two presidential candidates **are**' and 'Who **you will** vote for...' as would have been the case in Indian English (See Trudgill and Hannah,

1985:110 for details).

4.13.7 Variable 8: Subject ellipsis.

One other feature observed at the NP level is the omission of the first person singular subject - **I**. This can be said to be due to the inability of some subjects to distinguish between **I am,** and, **I'm am** and on the one hand and **it is**, **it's** and **is** on the other.

In Examples 426-430, the first person singular form of the verb 'to be' i.e **am** is seen as an equivalent of **I'm**, which consists of subject + verb, while in 369 and 370 **is** is used in place of **it is**.

426 If ( ) am not mistaking, as far back as 1982 the Buhari-Idiagbon regime gave a decree on drug trafficking.(WE/014M)

427 When ( ) am at the back they don't score - big barrier.(SA/007M)

428 Anybody who says ( ) am not a good **pharmacists**, will be shocked to see my handwork. (WE/024M)

429 When I told him ( ) is not my fault he became very angry. (SG/014F)

430 But then are all know that ( ) is Sallah day how can we do examination that day. (SG/008F)

Some speakers of NigE pronounce the items (**I'm** and **am**) alike and this may explain why **am** is sometimes used in place of **I'm** and, in some cases the first person singular subject is omitted. A similar situation occurs with **it's** and **is.** No such omission of subject occurred with the verb in the past. Altogether, 27 instances of first person singular subject

deletion were recorded in the data; 14 of these occurred in the outputs of the male subjects, while the score for the female respondents came to 13. See Table 4.26.

Table 4.26. Frequency indices for subject ellipsis in the outputs of users of NSNigE.

User		Variable 8 (Subject-Ellipsis)	User	Variable 8 (Subject-Ellipsis)
1	WE/009M	1	WE/016F	2
2	WE/015M	0	WE/019F	1
3	WE/028M	2	WE/041F	1
4	WE/022M	0	WE/019F	0
5	SA/012M	0	SA/008F	2
6	SA/025M	3	SA/011F	0
7	CT/004M	1	CT/031F	2
8	CT/008M	1	CT/038F	1
9	PD/001M	0	PD/003F	0
10	PD/002M	2	PD/004F	0
11	SG/006M	0	SG/008F	2
12	SG/009M	2	SG/013F	1
13	SG/014M	1	SG/015F	0
14	SG/018M	1	SG/017F	1
	TOTAL	14		13

In Table 4.27, the results of the T-test for Variables 6,7 and 8 are presented. The results show that none of these variables correlates with sex.

Table 4.27 Mean differences between male and female groups for three linguistic variables in NSNigE.

Variable	Sex	Mean	Std Dev.	t	P
6	1	1.0714	1.2688	0.5402	.5947
(Resumptives)	2	0.8571	0.8571	0.7703	
7	1	0.9285	0.9972	0.8588	0.5983
(Non-inversion)	2	06428	0.7449		
8	1	1.0000	0.9607	0.2106	0.8348
(Subject ellipsis)	2	0.9285	0.8287		

df = 26: 1 = M; 2 = F; N: M = 14: F = 14 (28).

4.13.8 Variable 9: Reflexives as reciprocals:

The use of reflexives instead of reciprocals which we have noted in NigP persists in NSNigE. Of the 23 tokens of reciprocals (each other, one another) in the sample, 12 were used in a non-standard way. Seven occurrences of the use of such self-words came from the men, five from the women. The items mostly used were **ourselves** and **themselves**. They were used mainly in essays and discussions on the most exciting holiday", "drug abuse" and stories about the "subjects' love-life". In Examples 431 - 433 taken from SG, some subjects discuss their expectations from their lovers, some of whom they may eventually get married to. See also Examples 434 and 435 from the essays on drug trafficking and "an exciting holiday" respectively.

431 If I **am working** and her, she **is working** and we take care of **ourselves** with generations that we shall raise. (SG/015M)

432 I shall never be a party to a marriage when husband and wife **are fighting** and **beating themselves** and everybody will be watching them - shame I cannot ....(SG/013F)

433 If the man **start to talk**, I shall tell him that it's not today that we have known **ourselves**. (SG/006F)

434 In some countries, the drug traffickers and the police **are shooting themselves** - let it not happen in Nigeria, I beg God ... (WE/031F)

435 That day in Kaduna Christian and moslem fanatics **were** busy **killing themselves**...(WE/006M)

Table 4.28 which provides details of the T.Test, shows that there is no significant difference between the sexes in the use of relfelxives as reciprocal pronouns.

Table 4.28 Mean differences between male and female groups in the use of reflexives as reciprocal pronouns in NSNigE.

Variable	Sex	Mean	Std Dev.	t	p
6	1	0.5000	0.5188	0.7438	0.4639
	2	0.3571	0.4992		

df = 26; 1 = M; 2=F; N = 14, F =14 (28).

It is important to note that at the NSNigE level, reciprocal pronouns which are non-existent in NigP, begin to appear, although generally used in non-standard ways. This development should be seen as part of the change or movement from NigP to NSNigE.

4.13.9 Gender in NSNigE

Unlike NigP, the non-standard sub-set has gender distinction. While in NigP **i, in, im** and later **him** and **dem** are used for the third person singular and plural respectively, no matter the gender, in NSNigE, **he, she** and **it** represent masculine, faminine and neuter gender in that order.

The plural form **dem** (i.e **them**) is however retained but a further distinction is made in NSNigE between **they** as subject and them (object). A frequency count of these items was considered unrewarding as almost every other sentence

contained one or some of these features. See Table 4.29 for the details.

Table 4.29. Gender in NigP and NSNigE

NigP				NSNigE	
SUBJ.	Pronoun			Pronoun.	Gender
	sg.	**i/in/im/him** *	--->	he	male
				she	female
				it	neuter
	pl.	dem		they	
OBJ	sg	am	--->	him	male
				her	female
				it	neuter
pl	dem			them	

* No gender distinction.

4.13.10 Variable 10: Class shifts

Another noticeable feature of NSNigE is the use of items in one word class for another. This should not imply that the sub-set does not generally distinguish between word classes. For some lexical items however, such a distinction is far from being clear-cut. This is particularly true of some words that are capable of undergoing one morphological process or the other - thus making it difficult for users of NSNigE to know which form belongs to which class. Such words include **emphasise/ emphasis; residence/resident; important/ importance; intelligent/ intelligence; self-reliant/self-reliance** etc.

Faulty pronunciation habits also contribute to such class shifts. For instance, inability to distinguish between the

voiceless and voiced labio-dental fricatives, [f] and [v], on the one hand and the alveolar fricatives on the other can make it difficult for a user to ascertain which items in the following pairs (**safe/save; price/prize; advice/advise; practice/practise** etc are nouns, verbs or adjectives.

A number of other instances of class shifts are attributable to overgeneralisation. Consider the following words **jealousing, oning, offing, sorrying** etc.

Our data shows that while such shifts cut across word-classes, nouns, adjectives and adverbs are mostly used as verbs. In Examples 436 - 444, we present some of the cases of class shifts.

a) **Nouns used as verbs**

436 The benefit obtained by the provision of all these cannot be **overemphasis**. (WE/027F)

437 I have been advising him to stop dubbing, giraffing and in fact **malpracticing** in the examination. (WE/014M)

b) **Adjectives used as verbs**

438 Before we left that day everybody told us **save Journey** and Gods journey mercies. (WE/026F)

439 Don't mind them, they are always **jealousing** whatever we buy. (SG/017F)

c) **Adverbs used as verbs**

440 A: Olu please **on**[6] the fan, it is very hot in this room. (SG/014M).

B: Please **off** the thing I have catarrh (SG/008F)

d) **Adjectives used as nouns:**

441 In terms of development an engineer due to his profession and **intelligent** for many year, it might come to his mind to make things for **himself**. (WE/032M)

442 The **important** is that we shall all die and be **judge** by the Almighty God. (SG/028M)

e) **Nouns as adjectives:**

443 Not only **do** one became a respectful person but also aid in the development of the country by making it **self-relianced**. (WE/015M)

444 **Alhaji was residence** here before they transfer him to Zango Kataf. (LD/022M)

See also Tables 4.30.1 and 4.30.2

Table 4.30.1 Class Mixing in the outputs of male users of NSNigE

	User	N ~ V	Adj ~ N	Adj ~ V	Adv ~ V	Total
1	WE/009M	1	0	1	0	2
2	WE/015M	0	1	0	0	1
3	WE/022M	0	0	0	0	0
4	WE/028M	1	0	1	0	2
5	SA/012M	0	0	0	0	0
6	SA/025M	0	0	0	0	0
7	CT/004M	1	0	0	0	2
8	CT/008M	0	0	0	0	0
9	PD/001M	0	0	0	0	0
10	PD/002M	0	1	0	0	1
11	SG/006M	0	1	0	0	1
12	SG/009M	0	0	0	0	0
13	SG/014M	0	1	0	1	2
14	SG/018M	0	0	0	0	0
	TOTAL	3	4	2	1	11

Table 4.30.2 Class Mixing in the outputs of female users of NSNigE

	User	N ~ V	Adj ~ N	Adj ~ V	Adv ~ V	Tot.
1	WE/016F	1	0	0	0	1
2	WE/019F	1	0	1	0	2
3	WE/025F	1	1	0	0	3

4	WE/041F	0	1	0	0	1
5	SA/008F	0	0	0	0	0
6	SA/011F	0	0	0	0	0
7	CT/031F	2	0	0	0	2
8	CT/038F	0	0	1	0	1
9	PD/003F	0	0	0	0	0
10	PD/004F	1	0	0	0	1
11	SG/008F	1	0	0	1	2
12	SG/013F	0	0	0	0	0
13	SG/015F	0	0	1	0	1
14	SG/017F	1	0	0	0	1
	TOTAL	8	2	3	1	15

The tables show that the women have a slightly higher total than the boys. The difference is however not statistically significant: (t = 0.8355., df = 26; p = 0.411)

4.13.11. Variable 11: Negative concord

Negative concord which we noted in NigP persists in NSNigE. However, only two of the four forms employed by the users of NigP appeared in the non-standard sample. These are **no + any** and **without + no**.

Twenty-one (21) occurrences of multiple negation appeared in the NSNigE corpus with thirteen (13) and eight (8) tokens from the male and female respondents, respectively.

If the distribution between the sexes is uneven, it is even more so between the sub-types: of the 21 tokens, 16 consist of **not + any** while 5 is of the **without + no** format. See Examples 425-429.

425 There is **no any** work done without rest, so education is like working hence **their** is need to at least rest in order to **recess** the brain and strength. (WE/023F)

426 Once student **see** that there is **no any** other alternative, the next thing is examination malpractice (WE/015M)

427 In some towns or areas, their election will **perform** as good as what would expected to **perform** because there is **no any misbehave** no misunderstanding no fighting. CT/024M

428 Who cannot quote written speech **without** no correction that is good? (CT/012F)

429 How can you said we have election yet **without no** result to show who wins. (SG/018F)

Going by the statistical analysis, the difference between the sexes did not yield any significant trend. See Table 4.31.

Table 4.31 Mean differences between male and female groups for negative concord.

Variable 11	Sex	Mean	Std.Dev	t	p
Negative	1	1.2857	1.6374	0.6828	0.5007
Concord	2	0.9285	1.0716		

N = 28; 1 = M; 2 = F; df = 26

4.14 THE VERB PHRASE IN NSNigE

We have noted in 4.12 that a major feature of the development from NigP to NSNigE is the introduction of inflectional morphemes in areas hitherto not associated with inflection. The preverbal markers (**de, don, go** and **bin**) identified in NigP are consequently replaced by more standard forms.

4.14.1 Present Tense in NSNigE.

4.14.2 Variable 12: Third person Singular Concord.

Tense and aspect forms in NSNigE are not indicated by the use of preverbal markers; rather subjects combine directly with verbs to express both timeless and habitual activities. In most cases, however, this is done without the application of the rule of third person concord which stipulates that the suffix 's' (phonologically realised as /s/,/z/ and /iz/) is added to the verb, as in 'He puts/ calls /judges' etc

In Examples 440-444, we illustrate the non-observance of the rule.

440 If one **visit** such rooms one can imagine it is a refugee camp. (WE/019M)

441 Please **do** he advise you when you are wrong? (SG/006M)

442 When they are not there the likeness gradually **go** down and this is not love. (SG/017F)

443 This particular lecturer **recommend** books that would be used in the course but when a student **go** to the library they are not available. (WE/022M)

444 I should try and work hard to make the relationship go back to what it **have** always been. (SG/013F)

Instances of non-application of the rule of third person singular concord occurred in the outputs of **all** the subjects in this sub-set. In terms of distribution however, they were less frequent with the female who accounted for 41 (44.56%) of the 92 occurrences, while there were 51 tokens in the outputs of the male respondents. See Table 4.32 for

details.

Table 4.32 Frequency indices for non-application of 3rd person singular concord in NSNigE.

User	Variable 12: (Non-3rd pers sg)	User	Variable 12: (Non-3rd pers sg).
1. WE/009M	5	WE/025F	3
2. WE/028M	4	WE/041F	3
3. WE/015M	2	WE/015F	4
4. WE/022M	4	WE/019F	2
5. SA012/M	5	SA/008F	3
6. SA/025M	5	SA/011F	4
7. CT/004M	4	CT/031F	3
8. CT/008M	3	CT/038F	2
9. PD/001M	2	PD/003F	4
10.PD/002M	2	PD/004F	3
11.SG/006M	3	SG/008F	2
12.SG/009M	5	SG/013F	3
13 SG/014M	4	SG/015F	3
14 SG/018M	3	SG/017F	2
Total	51		41

The result of the T-Test however, shows that there is no correlation between sex and non-application of the rule of third person singular concord: (t= 1.8870; df=26; p =0.0704; N=28).

Non-observance of the rule of third person concord can be said to be an extension of what obtains in NigP where no such rule exists.

Lack of third person singular concord is also characteristic of West Indian English. Trudgill and Hannah (1985;99) recall that it is usual to have 'He **like** it' instead of 'He **likes** it'.

One interesting development is that occasionally tokens of standard application of the rule appeared in the data. These sometimes occurred in new segments of sentences in which

the rule had not applied in earlier ones. See Examples 445 and 446.

445 This **bring** a lot of problems to the student who **wants** references for readings. (WE/031F)

446 Once more holiday **enable** us to meet our parents and it also **gives** us the chance to travel to many places (WE/031F)

4.14.3 Variable 13: Addition of suffix 's' to non-third person singular subjects

Related to non-application of the rule of third person singular concord is its application to non-third person singular subjects. Perhaps, to ensure compliance with the demands of the rule (3rd person sing. concord), some users add suffix 's' to subjects irrespective of number or person. This form of hypercorrection is illustrated in the following examples:

447 Many women **has** done best but you **surpasses** them all (WE/001M)

448 Some girls **goes** to the extent of sleeping in the common room because they don't have rooms. (SG/018F)

449 We **reaches** Lagos late in the evening if the driver is driving very fast. (WE/041F)

450 Each time I **remembers** all **this** things I **tends** to love her more. (WE/028M)

451 However during their course of National services course, a lot of them **receives** a large amount of money where they serve. (WE/009M)

Similar patterns have been noted in other varieties of English. Hughes and Trudgill (1979:17) report that in some parts of north of England and South Wales, 's' occurs with all persons of the verb e.g. I **likes** it', We **goes** home' etc. They also point out that the use of 's' in the first, second person

and in the third person plural "are a sign of the 'historic present' where the present tense is used to make the narration of past events more vivid". They illustrate with these examples:

'I go home every day at four o'clock'

but

'I **goes**' down this street and I **sees** this man hiding behind a tree....'

Cheshire (1982:33) while acknowledging the violation of the third person singular concord in Reading English argues that such 'mistakes' do not occur when **HAVE** is used as an auxiliary but only do so when used with a lexical verb. In NSNigE however, this cannot be said to be altogether true - non-standard forms exist even with HAVE used as an auxiliary.

See Examples 447 (above) and 452 - 456.

452 When we arrive the man, the woman, I mean the so-call wife and even the children, those spoiled boys and girls **has** gone to 'Owa mbe' (WE/018F)

453 They **has** never been dealt with before, they will see me in action today. (WE/011F)

454 The writer **have** to mind the use of his tenses, concord, vocabulary, style and the use of similes. (WE/012M)

455 The two boys **has** cheated many times before. (WE/015M)

456 The lecturers **has** been striking for three months. (CT/05F)

In Table 4.33, details of the frequency of the tokens are presented.

Table 4.33: Frequency indices for addition of suffix 's' to non-third person singular subjects

	User	Variable 13 (V+s with non-3rd)	User	Variable 13 (V+s with non-3rd)
1.	WE/015M	4	WE/016F	4
2.	WE/022M	3	WE/019F	5
3.	WE/028M	2	WE/025F	3
4.	WE/022M	2	WE/041F	2
5.	SA/012M	1	SA/008F	0
6.	SA/025M	2	SA/011F	0
7.	CT/004M	2	CT/031F	4
8.	CT/008M	1	CT/038F	2
9.	PD/001M	0	PD/003F	0
10.	PD/002M	0	PD/004F	0
11.	SG/006M	3	SG/008F	3
12.	SG/006M	3	SG/013F	2
13.	SG/014M	0	SG/015F	2
14.	SG/018M	1	SG/017F	1
	Total	21		28

Fifty-four (54) tokens of the feature i.e. the addition of 's' to non-third person singular subjects appeared in the data. The female subjects had a slightly higher frequency of 28 (51.85%) while the male respondents recorded 26 occurrences (46.14%). Though the difference cannot be said to be significant, (t= 0.2592; df=26; p = 0.7975; N =28) the tendency for female subjects to be associated with some form of hypercorrection has been noted by a number of other scholars, see Labov (1966), Trudgill (1974) etc.

In Table 4.34 the mean differences between the male and female subjects for third person singular concord related features are given.

Table 4.34. Mean differences between male and female groups for third person singular concord features

Variable	Sex	Mean	Std. Dev.	t	Prob
12 (3rd pers. sg).	1	3.7857	1.6723	1.8870	0.0704
	2	2.8571	0.7703		
13 (V+s with 3rd)	1	1.7857	1.1883	0.2592	0.7975
	2	1.9285	1.6854		

df=26; 1=M; 2=F; N=28

4.14.4 The Progressive Aspect.

The development of the progressive aspect in NSNigE is characterised by the replacement of pidgin **de** by the copula, **BE** and the subsequent addition of the progressive marker, **ing** to the verb. This is illustrated with the following examples:

457 He **is going** to visit me to visit Lagos to see Bar Beach . (SG/021M)

458 I **was planning** to **travelled** down to my home town Offa. (WE/006F)

459 The animals they call hyena **were chasing** us with the eyes **fulled** with fear. (WE/011M)

460 The driver **was** spee**ding** like **no man business**. (SG/018F)

461 He **was** carry**ing** two of us on his 'Okada' when the tyre **bursted**. (WE/022F)

The change in the pattern of the progressive form from NigP to NSNigE can be summed up thus:

	NigP	NSNigE
Progressive Aspect	de + v -------->	BE + V+ing
	i de go)	*(He/She is going)*

4.14.4.1 Variable 14: Progressive aspect used for habitual events

The progressive aspect generally denotes temporariness, that is, an action that is in progress, or the existence of a state. Unfortunately, quite a number of users of NSNigE often confuse this function with that of the simple present which, among others, usually indicates habitual or timeless events. In Examples 462 - 466, we present instances of such confusion.

462 We **are cooking** everyday - beans and rice and I like it. (SG/014M)

463 It is the job of the cleaners to sweep the room because some of us **are living** in Samaru village and cannot come here early. (WE/012M)

464 A: Do you know where Balarabe **is teaching**? (SG/013F)

B: He **is teaching** in one secondary school in Dutse. He is even their Vice-Principal. (SG/041M)

465 If I am interested in her, she **is working** and I **am working** eh... I and her **are working** and we take care of **ourselves**. (SG/015M)

466 She **is** always **travelling** every month to Lagos to buy things and sell in the hostel so that is why she **is** always **missing** lectures. (WE/032F)

Forty (40) occurrences of the use of progressive aspect to denote habitual events were observed in the data. The men had a slightly higher score than the women, see Table 4.35 for details.

Table 4.35 Frequency indices for the use of progressive aspect for habitual events in the outputs of the subjects

User	Prog. for habitual events	User	Prog. for habitual events
1.WE/009M	2	WE/016F	1
2.WE/019M	2	WE/019F	0
3.WE/025M	1	WE/025F	2
4.WE/041M	2	WE/041	3
5.SA/012M	2	SA/008F	1
6.SA/025M	3	SA/011F	2
7.CT/004M	0	CT/031F	1
8.CT/008M	0	CT/038F	0
9.PD/001M	4	PD/003F	2
10.PD/002M	2	PD/004F	3
11.SG/006M	0	SG/008F	2
12 SG/009M	0	SG/013F	1
13 SG/014M	2	SG/015F	0
14.SG/018M	1	SG/017F	1
Total	21		19

A close look at the results of the statistical tests shows that there is no significant difference between the use of this feature by both groups of respondents: ($t = 0.3370$; $df = 26$; $p = 0.7389$; $N = 28$)

4.14.2 Variable 15: Progressive aspect with stative verbs

Related to the use of progressive aspect with habitual events is the introduction of 'ing' to stative verbs with a view to giving them temporary values. It is based on the assumption that all English verbs take 'ing'. Stative verbs unlike their dynamic counterparts, do not however take 'ing' because 'the basic meaning of the progressive forms (action with limited duration) clashes with the lexical meaning of the verbs', (Boadi, Grieve and Nwankwo, 1981:221).

The following examples (466-470) illustrate this phenomenon.

466 It **was** then I started **knowing** that the result must be ok. (WE/015)

467 If a teacher should come to class and continue to talk to himself or herself not bothering whether the students are **understanding** him or not I just leave him to finish and go to the library to read the topic. (SG/017F)

468 A: Girl, I **am loving** you very much.

B: Alhaji, I **am loving** your money (SG/013F).

469 Sir, we **are** not **seeing** the blackboard - that woman with Baba Sala headtie is blocking us (LD/020M)

470 You know why she behaves like that... her father is rich, he **is** even **having** transport service from Lagos to Kaduna. (SG/011F).

Twenty-three (23) instances of the use of 'ing' with stative verbs were noted in the data with the male subjects accounting for 15 while the female had 8 tokens.

The use of the progressive aspect (V+ing) on the one hand with habitual events and, on the other with stative verbs are not peculiar to NigE. Trudgill and Hannah (1985) affirm that apart from being common features of the West African varieties they are also noticeable in Scottish, Irish and Indian Englishes. They cite the following examples:

I **am needing** a cup of tea. (p.86) (Scot. Eng)

This **is belonging** to me. (p.94) (SIr. Eng)

I **am doing** it often. (p.110) (Ind. Eng)

Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985:163) identify the use of the progressive as one important feature of Caribbean Creole English. The scholars present analysis of the word

'live' and note that, like most other verbs, it is put into four different uses depending on the sociolinguistic influences on the speakers. According to them, while 'I lives' and 'I living' are both non-standard, the latter has the influence of French patois.

Among the stative verbs, HAVE perhaps deserves special attention because of the peculiar 'problems' it presents to users of NigE generally. Like other primary auxiliaries, (BE and DO), it can function as an auxiliary and as a lexical verb.

In addition, HAVE performs quite a number of other semantic functions. It is however in indicating personal characteristics, possession, expressing relationship and conveying the meaning of 'suffer from' that noticeable differences exist between non-standard and standard Nigerian usages. Consider Examples 471 - 475.

471 You know her very well-she is that tall fat girl, she **is having** very long hair. (SG/018M)

472 I cannot forget when I was sick and you **were having** plenty of money and you took me to a private clinic (WE/013F)

473 **Are** you **having** my LANG 201 assignment? (LD/022F)

474 They say the man **is having** many children so he has to do kabu kabu to make ends meet. (SG/014F)

475 A: Where is Yetunde?

B: She is in the hostel, she **is having** a very bad headache. (SG/017F)

It should be stated that there were a few tokens of each use. This may be due to the nature of the study which is

concerned with general features. A closer look at this class of verbs (i.e. stative verbs) will probably be more revealing.

In Table 4.36, we present the group means and standard deviation for the use of progressive aspect to denote habitual events (Variable 14) and the addition of 'ing' to stative verbs (Variable 15).

Table 4.36 Mean differences between the groups in the use of progressive aspect for habitual events

Variable	Sex	Mean	Std Dev.	t	P
14	1	1.500	1.2247	0.33370	0.7389
	2	1.3571	1.0082		
15	1	1.2142	0.9749	1.9497	0.0621
	2	0.5714	0.7559		

N= 28; df = 26; 1 = Male; 2 = Female

V.14: Prog. aspect with habitual events; V15 Prog with stative verbs.

4.14.5 Past tense in NSNigE

One noticeable difference between tense patterns in NigP and NSNigE is the introduction of inflectional tense markers which have come to replace the preverbal markers in NigP. While in NigP, the zero marker indicates past tense, in NSNigE it signifies the present especially with subjects other than the third person singular. This change is illustrated with the following rules:

	NigP	NSNigE
Present Tense	N + PreV+Verb------>	(N+V+s (3rd pers sg.) (N+V (non-3rd)
Past Tense	N + V------------->	(N+Ved(Regular Verbs) (N+V_o(Irregular Verbs)

Non-standard Nigerian English distinguishes between regular and irregular verbs. Most users of NigE do not generally have difficulties forming past tense with regular verbs, since given the base, they can predict the Ved_1 and Ved_2 forms of the verbs. This is because regular verbs have identical forms for both the past (Ved_1) and the perfective (Ved_2) as shown in the following examples.

	V_o	Ved_1	Ved_2
1	jump	jumped	jumped
2	kick	kicked	kicked
3	play	played	played
4	push	pushed	pushed
5	talk	talked	talked

With the irregular verbs, however, such predictions are not easy to make because verbs under this category vary in their patterns of past tense formation ranging from forms close to that of regular verbs to others totally different. Quirk **et al.** (1972) discuss at length the various morphological patterns of irregular verbs, a summary of which is presented here.

With a group (Group A) the Ved_1 and Ved_2 are identical:

	V_o	Ved_1/Ved_2
1	build	built
2	buy	bought
3	catch	caught
4	sit	sat
5	spend	spent

For Group B however, one of the realisations is like the pattern for regular verbs:

	V_o	Ved_1/Ved_2
1	learn	learn**ed**/learnt
2	saw	saw**ed**/sawn
3	show	show**ed**/shown
4	smell	smell**ed**/smelt
5	spoil	spoil**ed**/spoilt

There is no change in the base form of the verb for Group C verbs; all three forms are identical. These verbs include **cut, split, burst, hit, put, shut**

Some other verbs (Group D) have different realisations for the Ved_1 and the Ved_2, but the latter is identical with the base.

	V_o	Ved_1	Ved_2
1	come	came	come
2	run	ran	run

With Group E verbs, the perfective sufix **en** is either added to the base,

	V_o	Ved_1	Ved_2
1	give	gave	give**n**
2	see	saw	see**n**
3	shake	shook	shak**en**
4	take	took	tak**en**

or even to the Ved_1

1	break	broke	brok**en**
2	choose	chose	chos**en**
3	steal	stole	stol**en**
4	write	wrote	writt**en**[7]

4.14.5.1 Variable 16: Past tense forms of irregular verbs

NigE, like most other varieties of world English employs these various methods of forming the past and the perfective. At the NSNigE level however, these processes are not rigidly complied with. It is therefore usual to find some verbs within each of the groups listed above inflected in non-standard ways.

In all however, the general tendency is to treat the 'problem' irregular verbs as regular. A closer look at the data reveals that this affects both the Ved_1 and Ved_2. In the following examples we see Group C verbs (those with identical forms for Ved_1 and Ved_2) treated as regular verbs.

476 We **forecasted** that Maradona will win, have you seen it now. (CT/043F)

477 It is because the opponents **splitted** their votes. (CT/041F)

478 He should have been saved if the tyre - the front tyre had not **bursted**. (WE/032M)

479 The man was not fast but our driver suddenly stopped he **hitted** us at the back. (SG/011F)

480 When Sani Abacha **broadcasted**[8] to the nation in November nobody took him serious. (SG/01F)

Irregular verbs with identical Ved_1 and Ved_2 which require no suffixation are treated likewise.

481 The drugs are first of all **grinded** into powder form. (WE/028M)

482 It's true, in Amina Hall one girl even **hanged** her two pants and they were both stolen. (SG/008F)

483 A: Is this what you have done to my *No sweetness Here*?

B: Eh - em. I'm sorry but it is not my fault the book

is not well **binded**. (LD/024F)

484 Have you **rewinded** the cassette? I want to see the beginning. (SG/018M)

485 You know this Yorubas, they can lie on the floor in the name of respect. So when the policeman asked for his particulars, he cried 'Mo gbe' and **lied** on his stomach begging ejoo. (WE/028M)

These changes are not as predictable as we have presented them. Sometimes, they can be complex yielding two or more variants for either the past or the perfective. For instance, with Group E verbs, especially with words like **choose, lose, shake, wake** etc, the NSNigE user can spring a lot of surprises. See the examples below.

V_o	Ved_1	Ved_2
choose	*choosed	*choosen
	*chosed	*chosing
	chose	chosen
lose	*losed	*losed
	*loss	*lossed
	*lossed	lost
	lost	
shake	*shaked	shaken
	*shooked	shooked
	*shook	shook
wake	waked	waken[9]
	woked	woked
	woke	woken

In each of the above cases, 'ed/en' has been added to either the base or the Ved_1 form. For instance, in **choose** and **wake** both suffixes are added to the base and the past.

486 I **chosed** to be a doctor because I can never be sick as a doctor. (WE/019M)

487 I was not asked to choose but when the time came, I told them that I have already **choosen** to be a farmer because food is very important to man. (WE/035F)

488 I stayed in the class up to 2.00 am reading LANG 204 and my room-mate **woked** up again at 5.00am. (SG/014F)

489 We were **waken** up by the noise of a monkey trying to come into the house. (WE/019F)

Of interest however is the verb 'lose' whose NigP equivalent is 'loss'. It is also a lexical verb in pidgin and can be used in the following ways.

490 Make you no **loss** my book (V_o)

491 He **loss** im money for bus as we de go Sabon-Gari. (Ved_1)

492 Where my calculator, no tell me sey you don **loss** am, ai no want hear that at all at all. (Ved_2)

Perhaps, the use of 'lossed' is an attempt to make 'loss' (NigP) or 'lose' past. This in effect means that the pidgin form is extended to NSNigE.

Another source of problem is the inability of users to distinguish between the pronunciation of 'lose' and 'loss', especially in the light of another word 'loose'.

493 How many important men have we **losed** in this country to **arm** robbers. (WE/040M)

494 All those who said Nura will win were disgraced, he **lossed**. (CT/030F)

In sum, it is our view that the average user of NSNigE is highly unpredictable in his use of the language and to some extent, each user has his own pattern of usage depending on his competence. Perhaps, this is what Jowitt (1991:54) means by saying that 'its (Broken English) syntax tends to be

idiosyncratic'. In Table 4.37, details of the tokens of non-standard verb patterns are given.

Table 4.37: Frequency indices for non-standard lexical verb forms in the outputs of male and female subjects

	User	Variable 16 (Tense in irreg.verbs)	User	Variable 16 (Tense in irreg. verbs)
1	WE/009M	0	WE/016F	1
2	WE/015M	2	WE/019F	1
3	WE/028M	1	WE/041F	3
4	WE/022M	4	WE/019F	2
5	SA/012M	1	SA/008F	2
6	SA/025M	0	SA/011F	0
7	CT/004M	2	CT/031F	0
8	CT/008M	2	CT/038F	1
9	PD/001M	1	PD/003F	1
10	PD/002M	0	PD/004F	0
11	SG/006M	3	SG/008F	3
12	SG/009M	3	SG/013F	0
13	SG/014M	0	SG/015F	3
14	SG/018M	3	SG/017F	1
	Total	22		18

The figures show that the difference between the two groups is marginal: 22 for the male as opposed to 18 for the female group. As would be expected, the difference is not statistically significant at the 0.05 level: (t = 0.6073; df 26; p = 0.5489; N=28).

4.14.5.2 Variable 17: Tense shifts in NSNigE

Tense shifts (i.e. the use of non-standard tense sequence) is another feature that distinguishes NigP and NSNigE on the one hand, and NSNigE and SNigE on the other. In most discussions, narratives, debates etc, users of NSNigE began with the past but later drifted to the present tense

either in a new segment of a sentence or in an entirely new one.

Cases of tense shifts were however more pronounced in the narratives, especially while the subjects related their experiences during the exciting holiday. In the following excerpts, we see how a male respondent (WE/052M) moves from one tense to the other. He starts the essay with the past tense:

495 The most exciting holiday I ever **had was** when I **went** to Maiduguri to spend the holiday with my friends, brothers and sisters. During my visit to
the state I **met** several kind of people and places.

And, he continues:

496 We **reached** Maiduguri (Borno State) at around 4.30pm prompt.

Then the drift:

497 Immediately the car **stop**, my senior sister and her husband **come** out of the house to welcome all the families. Then we all **go** out and sat down and then she **give** some of us water and some **eat** fruit that we bought on the way.

He goes on:

498 We **stay** at home about one hour or so. Then the husband **says** shall we all go and see the town, everybody **say** Yes....

Finally, he comes back to past tense:

499 We **left** the house at 600pm and **went** straight to the zoo **were** we **saw** a lot of things like monkeys, gorillas and so many kind of animals.

We wonder if the use of present tense in Example 497, for instance, is for narrative effect - to show 'immediacy' of action.

Instances of tense shifts were not peculiar to this subject. As we see in Table 4.38, only two subjects (SG/008F) and SG/009M) presented their narratives and views on various issues without mixing the tenses.

Table 4.38: Tense shifts in the outputs of male and female subjects

	User	Variable 17 (Tense shifts)	User	Variable 17 (Tense shifts)
1	WE/009M	6	WE/016F	15
2	WE/015M	8	WE/019F	20
3	WE/022M	4	WE/025F	8
4	WE/028M	4	WE/041F	10
5	SA/012M	6	SA/008F	3
6	SA/025M	4	SA/011F	1
7	CT/004M	3	CT/031F	8
8	CT/008M	5	CT/038F	5
9	PD/001M	8	PD/003F	3
10	PD/002M	3	PD/004F	6
11	SG/006M	4	**SG/008F**	**0**
12	**SG/009M**	**0**	SG/013F	2
13	SG/014M	4	SG/015F	8
14	SG/018M	2	SG/017F	5
	Total	61		94

The comparatively high frequency of 155 shows that tense shifts is a common feature of NSNigE. The female group accounts for the higher individual and group scores of 20 and 94 respectively. Despite the difference between the scores of the two groups, tense shift does not correlate with sex in NSNigE - (t = -1.4890; df= 26; p=0.1485;N=28). See also Table 4.39 for further details.

Table 4.39: Mean differences between male and female groups in two tense-related variables.

Variable	Sex	Mean	Std Dev	t	Prob.
16	1	1.5714	1.34434	0.6073	0.5489

	2	1.2857	1.1387		
17	1	4.3571	2.1699	1.4890	0.1485
	2	6.7142	5.5112		

df =26; 1= M; 2= F; N= 28; V16:= Irregular Verbs;
V17: = Tense shifts.

4.14.5.3 Variable 18: Non-distinction between progressive and perfective aspects.

The present perfect denotes 'a period of time stretching backwards into some earlier time' (Quirk **et al.,** 1972:91) and can therefore be said to have 'current relevance' (Palmer, 1965). With the progressive aspect however, we are dealing with actions that go on for sometime or 'actions in progress'.

This distinction is not strictly adhered to by the users of NSNigE. Consequently, Ved_2 and V+ing forms are sometimes used interchangeably. See Examples 500 - 504.

500 It was deliberate I am sick and tyred of **seen** Aisha, she is a lousy girl. (WE/028M)

501 They are **been** considered for the post of the P.R.O (CT/002F)

502 I was so interested to go to Saudi Arabia since I have not **being** there, I don't care whether it is in the desert, hot desert. (WE/041F)

503 When we heard that Nigeria has **beating** Germany we shouted 'Up Nigeria'. (WE/025M)

504 Next day we were **taking** to New York museum and we had a lot of things. (WE/019F)

Most cases of non-distinction between Ved_2 and V+ing involve the use of **been** and **being**. These are more noticeable in writing since they have to do with pronunciation, that is differentiating between [bin] and [biiŋ].

For both groups of subjects, the frequency range is similar. This feature therefore is not a sex marker in NSNigE - (t = 0.1522; df=26; p = 0.8802; N = 28).

4.14.5.4 Variable 19: Use of Ved_2 with expressions of definite time reference.

The basic difference between present perfect and simple past is that while the latter involves actions that are said to have terminated, the former, as stated earlier, is "past with 'current relevance'" (Quirk **et al.**, 1972:91).

A number of sentences in the perfective used with expressions of definite time reference appeared in the data. Some of these are presented in Examples 505-509.

505 They **have taken** the ballot boxes to the student Union Building yesterday. (CT/022M)

506 Don't mind that Okoro girl - she **has** already **submitted** her assignment on Thursday. (SG/018F)

507 The Electoral Committee **has received** the nomination papers last week. (CT/004M)

508 The man **has died** immediately but his son only broke one leg. (WE/016F)

509 When I saw him he said he was going to see this armed robbers but I told him that they **have been** executed at 800am in the morning. (SG/017F)

See also Table 4.40 for further details

Table 4.40: The perfective used with expressions of definite time reference.

	User	Variable 19 (Perf.+Def.Tm)	User	Variable 19 (Perf+Def.Tm).
1.	WE/009M	0	WE/016F	0
2.	WE/015M	1	WE/019F	1

3.	WE/022M	3	WE/025F	2
4.	WE/028M	0	WE/041F	1
5.	SA/012M	0	SA/008F	0
6.	SA/025M	0	SA/011F	0
7.	CT/004M	1	CT/031F	2
8.	CT/008M	1	CT/038F	3
9.	PD/001M	2	PD/003F	1
10.	PD/002M	1	PD/004F	0
11.	SG/006M	1	SG/008F	0
12.	SG/009M	0	SG/013F	0
13.	SG/014M	0	SG/105F	2
14.	SG/018M	4	SG/017F	0
	TOTAL	14		12

The statistical tests did not also yield any significant trends. Details are presented in Table 4.41.

Table 4.41: Mean differences between the groups in the use of non-standard aspectual features.

Variable	Sex	Mean	Std Dev.	t	Prob
V18	1	1.2857	1.2666	0.1522	0.8802
	2	1.3571	1.2157		
V19	1	1.1428	1.5619	0.5719	0.5923
	2	0.8571	1.0271		

df = 26; 1 = male; 2 = female; N = 28; V18= V+ing Ved_2; V19= Ved_2 + Def Tm.

Hughes and Trudgill (1979:9) see the use of the perfective with expessions of definite time reference as a good example of grammatical variation which may represent the beginning of language change. It is their view that 'Robert **has played** for us (the club) last season' indicates both current relevance i.e. Robert **still plays** for them and the

information that Robert **played** for the club last season. They however feel that the usage of this grammatical device is limited and that the sequence is not likely to increase as it is treated as non-standard British English[10].

A related situation exists in Indian English: the simple progressive form is used with time duration adverbials instead of the perfective for instance, 'I **am** here since two o'clock'. See Trudgill and Hannah (1985:109).

Although Boadi **et al.,** (1982:237) indicate that a similar pattern of usage is common in 'West African English', evidence from the data does not support that it is 'the most common mistake' in the use of the perfective, at least at the level of the respondents. Only four of such tokens were noted in the data. These are presented in Examples 510 - 513.

510 When my brother returned from work in the evening, I told him that we **were** in Lagos since morning. (WE/018F)

511 I **am** campaigning for Iliya since yesterday when he told us he is not a Gamji. (CT/014M)

512 They **were** dancing since the president arrived. (SG/015F)

513 Abubakar don't you know him he **cheated** since 100 level. (SA/021M)

Perhaps, with a different group of users of NSNigE, for instance those whose educational level is lower than that of the subjects in this study, the frequency of this feature may be higher. Of importance however, is that like Indian and some other varieties of World English, such a feature exists in NigE.

The perfective aspect usually involves the use of the auxiliary HAVE as modifier to the lexical verb, which is generally expected to be in the Ved_2 form, for instance 'The players **have come**,' 'The members of the team **have gone** into the dressing room'.(i.e. HAVE + Ved_2.)

While a number of users of NSNigE produce utterances of that pattern, instances of the use of HAVE + V_o/Ved_1 also appeared in the corpus. Such utterances give different patterns, viz:

(a) HAVE + V_o (Variable 20)

eg. have **take**

(b) HAVE + Ved_1 (Variable 21)

eg. have **took**

These are further illustrated in Examples 514-518 and 519 - 523.

4.14.5.5 Variable 20 (HAVE + V_o)

514 By then the driver has **drink** one big bottle of big Stout and he them say he is ready. (WE/006F)

515 I have never **see** an aeroplane took off just like that (WE/022M)

516 The police said that everyday has **learn** his lesson by the delay until Environmental was over. (WE/105M)

517 The men, even there are women among them armed robber have **build** beautiful mansions in their village for us to see and look and say 'chei'. (SG/018F)

518 The lecturer said that they have **identify** reasons why students are cheating in examinations. (SG/017F)

Fourteen tokens of Variable 20 (HAVE + V_o) appeared in

the corpus. Each sex group had seven (i.e. 50%). The statistical analysis further confirms that the interaction between the variable and sex cannot yield any significant difference (t = 0.0000; df = 26; p = 1.0000).

4.14.5.6 Variable 21: (HAVE + Ved_1)

519 Who among the so **call** lecturers have not **broke** the law one day in the exam. (SG/014M)

520 I spent the following day with my family and we went to places, to places I have never **went** before. (WE/015M)

521 After one hour the driver realised that he has **took** the wrong road so he had to revise **back**. (WE/004M)

522 Nothing else - just that the boy said that he has **forgot** to write his number, the man said it is examination malpractice - malpractice my foot.(SG/013F)

523 Even when they say Christ has **rose** from the dead did any of the born again see him. (SG/006M)

See also Table 4.42 for further details

Table 4.42: Frequency indices for the use of HAVE + Ved_1 in the outputs of users of NSNigE.

	User	Variable 21 (HAVE + Ved_1)	User	Variable 21 (HAVE + Ved_1)
1.	WE/009M	1	WE/016F	0
2.	WE/015M	1	WE/019F	0
3.	WE/022M	0	WE/025F	0
4.	WE/028M	0	WE/041F	1
5.	SA/012M	0	SA/008F	0
6.	SA/025M	0	SA/011F	2
7.	CT/004M	0	CT/031F	0
8.	CT/008M	1	CT/038F	2
9.	PD/001M	0	PD/003F	0
10.	PD/002M	0	PD/004F	2
11.	SG/006M	1	SG/008F	0
12.	SG/009M	0	SG/013F	1
13.	SG/014M	1	SG/015F	1
14.	SG/018M	0	SG/017F	1
	Total	5		10

The figures presented in the above table suggest that while Variable 21 cannot be said to be a common feature among the female users of NSNigE, it is even less common among the male group. However, this difference is not reflected in the T-Test, see Table 4.43 for this and other details.

Table 4.43: Mean differences between the groups in the use of HAVE + V_o/Ved_1

Variable	Sex	Mean	Std Dev	t	Prob.
V20	1	0.5000	0.6504	0.0000	1.000
	2	0.5000	0.6504		
V21	1	0.3571	0.4872	1.3868	0.1773
	2	0.7142	0.8254	0.8254	

df = 26; 1 = Male; 2 = Female; N = 28; V20 = HAVE + V_o: V.21 = HAVE + Ved_1

4.14.5.7 'Be' in NSNigE.

We have already noted that in NigP the equative 'be' is represented by 'na' and sometimes, 'be'; the highlighter 'be' by 'na' and the locative, 'de'.

In NSNigE, all variants of 'be' are introduced. These **are am, is, are, was, were, been, being**, and **(to) be**. This is illustrated in Table 4.44 which is adapted from Quirk **et al.** (1972:81).

Table 4.44. The variants of 'Be'

Base	Non-Negative	Contracted Negative
1st pers sg pres	am, 'm	aren't ain't
2nd pers. pres 1st and 3rd pers. pl pres	are 're	isn't
3rd pers. sg pres.	is 's	isn't
1st and 3rd pers sg. past	was	wasn't
2nd pers. past 1st and 3rd pers. pl past	were	weren't
V+ing	being	
Ved_2	been	

Each of the variants can be used for the three functions of'**be**' mentioned earlier depending on the subject and the tense. From the table however, we can present the following rules for the transition from NigP to NSNigE:

Tense	**NigP**		**NSNigE**
(a) Pres:	(na)	-->	{(i) am,are (non-3rd pers sg)}
	(be)		**(be)**
	(de)		{(ii) is 3rd pers sg)}
(b) Past:	(na)	-->	{(was (sg)}
	(be)		{(was (sg)}
	(de)		{(were (pl)}

As can be seen, **be** is retained in NsNigE. It is therefore the only variant of the copula that is carried on to the non-standard variety of Nigerian English.

4.14.5.8 Deletion of copula

The deletion of the copula which is a common feature in NigP is remarkably reduced in NSNigE. Our data shows that **be** is not usually deleted before adjectives as is the case in NigP. Four tokens of deletion of **be** were noted - all occurred before the word 'suppose'.

524 For example, this semester ( ) suppose to be 16 weeks lecture and the school authority decided to change it to 12 weeks. (WE/034M)

525 We ( ) suppose to start examination at 2.30pm but they were no enough question papers. (LD/014M)

526 You ( ) suppose to know that LANG 204 is compulsory for language students. (SG/017F)

527 No Christian ( ) suppose to vote for Iliya, they say he is a Gamji. (CT/016M)

There are reasons to believe that these may be an extension of NigP which usually has such forms as 'We/Dem suppose....', 'i no suppose to vote....' It is equally noteworthy that 'suppose' is not inflected for the passive (i.e. Ved_2). This is a notable feature of NigP. Deletion of copula is also known to be a feature of Malaysian English (see Wong, 1981:99) and quite a number of other LFEs.

4.14.5.9 Variable 22 Non-inflection of verbs for the passive

One of the important functions of the copula is its use in passive transformation. The change to the passive voice involves the permutation of the two NPs and the introduction of the copula (BE) before the lexical verb. It also calls for

the transformation of the verb (whether) in the present or past tense to the Ved_2 i.e. the perfective form. These changes and others are presented in the following rule:

$$NP_1 + VP + NP_2 \text{ ----> } NP_2 + BE + Ved_2 \text{ by } NP_1$$

Most users of NSNigE do not employ the Passive VP (i.e. BE + Ved_2) rather, the V_o is used. This results in the following rule:

$$NP_1 + VP + NP_2 \text{ ---> } NP_2 + BE + V_o \text{ by } NP_1 \ .$$

Consider the following examples:

528 For the university to be **build** in any area it should be **base** on some factors such as portable drinking water. (WE/022F)

529 Students should not be **blame** for examination malpractice rather a lecturer should be **blame** because they leak them. (WE/04M)

530 This is due to some advantages which this profession have over others, this advantages are **describe** in the following paragraph below. (WE/015F)

531 There is no reason whatsoever on earth why the drug traffickers and sellers should not be **punish.** (SG/012M)

532 Examination malpractice can be **explain** as due to lack of good security service. (WE/016M)

Sixty-one tokens of the use of the base form of verbs (V_o) in passive constructions appeared in the corpus. The female subjects used the feature slightly more frequently. With 34 tokens, they accounted for 55.23% while the male had 27 tokens (44.26%)

The pattern of usage at the individual level remains basically the same and apart from WE/025F who has 8 tokens, (the highest individual score) the range of scores for both

groups is between 0 - 4. See Table 4.45.

Table 4.45 Frequency indices for the use of BE + V_o in passive constructions.

	User	Variable 22 (BE+V_o)	User	Variable 22 (BE+V_o)
1.	WE/009M	2	WE/016F	4
2.	WE/015M	2	WE/019F	4
3.	WE/022M	4	**WE/025F**	**8**
4.	WE/028M	1	WE/041F	1
5.	SA/012M	3	SA/008F	4
6.	SA/025M	3	SA/011F	2
7.	CT/004M	2	CT/031F	2
8.	CT/008M	0	CT/038F	2
9.	PD/001M	0	PD/003F	1
10.	PD/002M	0	PD/004F	0
11.	SG/006M	1	SG/008F	0
12.	SG/009M	3	SG/013F	1
13.	SH/014M	3	SG/015F	2
14.	SG/018M	3	SG/017F	3
	Total	27		34

The difference in the outputs of the two groups is not however significant; the variable cannot therefore be seen as an indicator of sex. Details are given in Table 4.46.

Table 4.46: Mean differences between the groups in the use of BE + V_o in passive constructions.

Variable 22	Sex	Mean	Std Dev.	t	Prob
(BE + V_o)	1	1.9285	1.3280	0.7525	0.4585
	2	2. 425	2.1018		

N = 28; df =26: 1 = M; 2 = F.

4.14.5.10 Variable 23: Infinitive + Ved_1

The use of the past (Ved_1) with the infinitive is another noticeable feature of NSNigE. Because this applies both to verbs that depict past and non-past events, it is difficult to proffer an explanation for the occurrence of the feature.

Examples 533 -534 refer to past events while 535-537 are concerned with non-past activities.

533 When we got there my brother's wife started to **prepared** my bag for the journey. (WE/028F)

534 It was wonderful and it is an opportunity for me to **travelled** by air. (WE/019F)

535 I tried to **pushed** the door but the door opened without my hand touching it at all - I was afraid whether a ghost was there. (SG/01M)

536 But BSc Architecturer undergraduate has to **finished** both degree and master degree before leaving the institution. (WE/009M)

537 If there is not enough teachers to teach the students and not only that but a qualify one, you will expect the students not to **performed** very well in the examination. (WE/013F)

In Table 4.47, we present further details of the outputs of the subjects.

Table 4.47: Frequency indices for the use of Ved_1 with the infinitive.

	User	Variable 23 ($To+Ved_1$)	User	Variable 23 ($To+Ved_1$)
1.	WE/009M	3	**WE/016F**	**4**
2.	WE/015M	2	WE/019F	3
3.	WE/022M	1	WE/025F	4
4.	WE/028M	3	WE/041F	1
5.	SA/012M	2	SA/008F	0
6.	SA/025M	3	SA/011F	1
7.	CT/004M	1	CT/031F	3
8.	CT/008M	1	CT/038F	2
9.	PD/001M	0	PD/603F	0
10.	PD/002M	0	PD/004F	0
11.	SG/006M	2	SG/008F	0
12.	SG/009M	1	SG/013F	0
13.	SG/014M	2	SG/015F	1
14.	SG/018M	2	**SG/017F**	**4**
	Total	23		23

As can be seen from the table, apart from two female subjects (WE/016F and SG/017F) with four tokens, both groups use the variable in much the same way. With 23 occurrences for each sex group, there can hardly be any significant difference between the scores. This is confirmed by the result of the T-Test: ($t = 0.000$; $df = 26.0$; $p = 1.000$).

4.14.5.11 Variable 24: Inflection of verb used with auxiliaries (Aux + Ved_1)

A situation similar to that discussed in Variable 23 is observed with the inflection of the verb used with auxiliaries (Aux + Ved_1) for tense. In some cases, (see Examples 538-540), it is obvious that the users are interested in making the verbs reflect the past but in others it is not easy to determine-(Examples 538 and 549).

538 Because a wife of one who contesting as a **chairmans** would not **registered** her husband she will not **registered** his **rival**. (WE/031M)

539 The guide said that we should not **reached** near the lion because it can **killed** us. (WE/019F)

540 How can Adamu Yanusa contest this our present election the electoral commission did not **cleared** him. (CT/004M)

541 If the students should **asked** he would **directs** them to the textbook. (WE/014F)

532 You will **agreed** with me that you upon all the reasons discussed about students should not be blamed for example and malpractice. (WE/025F)

Details of individual use of Aux + Ved_1 are presented in Table 4.48.

Table 4.48. Frequency indices for the use of Aux + Ved_1

	User	Variable 24 (Aux+Ved_1)	User	Variable 24 (Aux+Ved_1)
1.	WE/009M	1	WE/016F	2
2.	WE/015M	1	WE/019F	2
3.	WE/022M	2	WE/025F	1
4.	**WE/028M**	**4**	WE/041F	0
5.	SA/012M	1	SA/008F	2
6.	SA/025M	0	SA/011F	1
7.	CT/004M	1	CT/031F	3
8.	CT/008M	1	CT/038F	0
9.	PD/001M	2	PD/003F	2
10.	PD/002M	0	PD/004F	0
11.	SG/006M	2	SG/008F	0
12.	SG/009M	1	SG/013F	5
13.	SG/014M	2	**SG/015F**	**5**
14.	SG/018M	2	SG/017F	1
	TOTAL	20		24

The highest individual score for the female is 5 (SG/013F and SG/015F), while for the male, it is 4 (WE/028M). The female group has a slightly higher frequency than the male: 24 and 20 tokens for the groups respectively. The use of the feature (Variable 24) does not however correlate with sex. For details, see Table 4.49.

Table 4.49: Mean Differences between the groups in the use of Aux + Ved_1.

Variable 24	Sex	Mean	Std Dev.	t	p
(Aux+Ved_1)	1	1.4285	1.0163	0.5436	0.5914
	2	1.7142	1.6837		

N= 28; df =26; 1 = M; 2= F.

4.14.5.12 Variable 25: Inflecting verbs used with auxiliaries for person. (Aux + V+s).

In NSNigE, verbs used with auxiliaries are sometimes inflected for person. This is usually with a view to observing

the rule of third person singular concord, irrespective of the syntactic environment in which the verb occurs. As with Variables 23 and 24, standard usage does not permit such inflection if the verb is preceded by an auxiliary. In Examples 543-547 some of the subjects' outputs are presented.

543 During the cause, a lot of them will **receives** a large amount of money where they serve. (WE/041F)

544 For it, I mean such a thing to happens to Maradona, it means it can **happens** to everybody. (CT/011M)

545 The following day, my brother said we will **visits** Yankari Games Reserve. (WE/009M)

546 Before the students will **submits** all his assignments they will **says** it is too late, so carry over.(SG/018M)

547 You know that in that kind of case, he should **decides** because he is your paddy. (CT/022M)

4.14.5.13 Variable 26: Inflection of verbs used in the infinitive (To + V+s) for person.

Inflection of verbs for person also occurs when such verbs are used in the infinitive.

548 What should have been done is to allow the students to **picks** the courses they want to **registers** for. (WE/09M)

549 Most of these students likes to **cheats** in the examination malpractice. (WE/035M)

550 Even the supporters of Nura are prepare to **rigs** it but we say 'no'. (CT/004M)

551 When they caught him, she **tries** to **hides** the paper in her wrapper. (WE/015M)

552 They like to go to parties and that girl especially that one called Margaret - Mary she would **likes** to **attends** everyone of them. (SG/013F)

Individual outputs for Variables 25 and 26 are shown

in Tables 4.50.1 and 4.50.2

Table 4.50.1 Frequency indices for the use of Aux + V+s and To + v+s in the outputs of the male subjects

	User	Variable 25 (Aux + V+s)	Variable 26 (To + V+s)
1.	WE/009M	1	1
2.	WE/015M	0	2
3.	WE/022M	2	2
4.	WE/028M	0	1
5.	SA/012M	0	2
6.	SA/025M	3	1
7.	CT/004M	0	0
8.	CT/002M	0	2
9.	PD/001M	2	1
10.	PD/002M	0	0
11.	SG/006M	1	2
12.	SG/009M	1	1
13.	SG/014M	2	2
14.	SG/018M	1	0
	Total	13	17

Table 4.50.2 Frequency indices for the use of Aux+ V+s and To + V+s in the outputs of the female subjects

	User	Variable 25 (Aux + V+s)	Variable 26 (To + V+s)
1.	WE/016F	1	1
2.	WE/019F	1	0
3.	WE/025F	2	2
4.	WE/041F	0	0
5.	SA/008F	1	0
6.	SA/011F	1	1
7.	CT/031F	0	0
8.	CT/038F	0	1
9.	PD/003F	2	2
10.	PD/004F	3	0
11.	SG/008F	1	0
12.	SG/013F	0	0
13.	SG/015F	2	1
14.	SG/017F	2	0
	Total	16	8

Fifty-four (54) occurrences of such inflections (Variables 25

and 26) appeared in the data, 30 (55.5%) of which were from the men, while 24 came from the outputs of the women.

While for Variable 25 (Aux + V+s) there is significant relationship between its use and the sexes, no such relationship can be said to exist for Variable 26. Table 4.51 gives the statistical details.

Table 4.51 Mean differences between the groups in the use of Aux + V+s and To + V+s.

Variable	Sex	Mean	Std Dev.	t	p
25	1	1.2142	0.8017	2.1828	0.0383
	2	0.5714	0.7559		
26	1	0.8571	0.9492	1.8937	0. 06
	2	0.2857	0.6112		

N = 28; df = 26, 1 = M; 2 = F.

4.14.6 Auxiliaries.

Most auxiliaries are like dummies and do not have any meaning of their own. They modify verbs, thus they show different ways of looking at an activity or state.

Primary auxiliaries (**be, do** and **have**) in addition to modifying verbs, function as lexical verbs. Modal auxiliaries which include **can/could, may/might, shall/should will/would, ought to, must** etc serve different functions. For instance, **can/could** is used to indicate ability, possibility and permission while **may/might** is employed for permission or possibility. (For details, see Quirk **et al.**,1992: 97-102 and Olowodun, 1984).

4.14.6.1 Variable 27: Duplication of auxiliaries:

Going by one of the uses of **can** - that of indicating ability, it seems unexpected to have a combination such as '**can + be able**'. This amounts to some kind of redundancy.

Duplication of auxiliaries, especially **can**, is usual among users of NSNigE. As has been stated, it is brought about by the inability of users to distinguish between the various functions of the auxiliaries in question. Consider Examples 553 - 557

553 A: Let's climb the tree so we can **be able to** see the campaign from there. (CT/003M)

B: Look at this 'gajere', how can I climb? (CT/004M)

554 Who says that we cannot **be able to** march round the campus with the party flag flying. (CT/035M)

555 I know that I can **be able to** cross to 200 level because my mates have crossed. (SG/014F)

556 They cannot **be able to** jail Maradona because he has won election. (SG/008F)

557 As a pharmacist you can **be able to** work in a hospital and drug industries. (WE/028M)

Thirty-three tokens of duplication of **can** (i.e. can + **be able to**) were counted in the outputs of both male and female subjects. Despite the slight difference in the tokens, it seems safe to state that both groups use the variable in much the same way. See Table 4.52 for details.

Table 4.52: Frequency indices for the duplication of auxiliaries.

	User	Variable 27 (Can+be able to)	User	Variable 27 (Can+be able to)
1.	WE/009M	0	WE/016F	0
2.	WE/015M	1	WE/019F	1
3.	WE/022M	1	WE/025F	4
4.	WE/028M	2	WE/041F	0
5.	SA/012M	3	SA/008F	1
6.	SA/025M	1	SA/011F	1
7.	CT/004M	0	CT/038F	2
8.	CT/008M	1	CT/038F	2
9.	PD/001M	0	PD/003F	0
10.	PD/002M	1	PD/004F	0
11.	SG/006M	0	SG/008F	1
12.	SG/009M	0	SG/013F	3
13.	SG/014M	1	SG/015F	1
14.	SG/018M	4	SG/017F	2
	Total	15		18

As would be expected from the above figures, duplication of auxiliaries is not a sex marker:

(t = 0.4703; df = 26; p = 0.6421; N = 28).

4.14.6.2 Variable 28: Use of past forms of auxiliaries for intentions.

The difference between **can/could, will/would** etc is generally seen as that of tense. But as Quirk **et al**, (1972:104) point out, it goes beyond that. When the past tense forms of modal auxiliaries are used in present tense environments, they express 'greater consideration, politeness, tentativeness, than the corresponding present forms'.

Our study reveals that users of NSNigE prefer **could, would**, etc to **can, will** etc in situations that neither call for greater politeness nor tentativeness. Examples 558-563

illustrate this tendency.

558 He said he **would** come to the office at 9.00 am. (LD/022M)

559 What **would** you like to do when you leave school, that is when you get to Eko? (SG/013F)

560 The opponents said that Manifesto **would** now come up in Room 70, FASS. (CT/021M)

561 **Would** you like to go to the clinic tomorrow before we go home - Lola **would** be happy to see us. (LD/042F)

562 Whoever says he knows when he **would** graduate is telling a big lie because these lecturers can make your life useless... (SG/022F)

563 If I am voted Financial Secretary I **would** not only ensure financial prudence but **would** introduce new ways to bring money. (CT/021F)

There were only 26 instances of the use of the past forms of auxiliaries to indicate intention. The male subjects had 16 tokens as opposed to 10 from the female respondents. Correlation does not hold for this variable and sex. See Table 4.53

Table 4.53: Mean Differences between male and female groups in the use of past forms of auxiliaries for intention.

Variable	Sex	Mean	Std Dev	t	P
28 (Would for intention)	1	1.1428	1.3506	0.8472	0.4046
	2	0.7142	1.3259		

N = 28; df = 26; 1 M; 2 = F.

4.15 ADJECTIVES IN NSNigE.

In NSNigE, as in NigP, adjectives are used attributively and predictively. Unlike in NigP however, where adjectives occur predicatively, in NSNigE, they are obligatorily preceded by the copula, leading to the following structure:

(a) NP + BE + Adj

(The boy is tall)

instead of: (b) NP + Adj

(The boy tall)

as earlier noted in NigP.

4.15.1 Comparison of adjectives

For comparative purposes, most adjectives have three different forms, viz; the positive or stem, the comparative and the superlative. These various forms are however realised differently for quite a number of adjectives.

In most cases, the inflectional suffixes 'er' for the comparative and 'est' for the superlative are introduced. This is illustrated with the following items.

big	bigger	biggest
fat	fatter	fattest
high	higher	highest
short	shorter	shortest
tall	taller	tallest

With some other adjectives, it is the use of 'more' and 'most' before the stem that indicates the comparative and the

superlative respectively. They include the following: **beautiful, careful, handsome, honest, responsible** etc.

For a third group of adjectives, comparison is effected in quite a different way. The comparatives and the superlatives are formed from different stems:

bad	worse	worst
far	farther/ further	farthest/ furtherest
good	better	best

It should be noted however that unlike in NigP where comparison is possible only when the adjective is used predicatively, in the non-standard sub-set, it occurs without bias to usage (i.e. predicative or attributive). The same pattern is applicable to the standard variety. It can therefore be said that such a pattern of comparison is a feature shared by the non-standard and standard varieties of NigE.

4.15.2 Variable 29: The use of double comparatives and superlatives.

Users of NSNigE occasionally fail to comply with the patterns of comparison outlined above and consequently use 'more' or 'most' with adjectives in the comparative or superlative as forms. The use of such double comparative or superlative is illustrated in Examples 564-568.

564 It is **more** quicker to go through the North-Gate than going round and round. (SG/018F)

565 My aim, I want to be a politician but my father said it is **more** better to be a doctor. (WE/022M)

566 It is **more** easier to talk, how can you score from there? (SA/025M)

567 It was my **most** happiest day in my life - the day I entered KABO AIR and I was flying in the air only one hour to Lagos. (WE/019F)

568 He was the **most** strongest of the group and was ready for the boys. (CT/038F)

We note however that there is a pattern: the appropriate periphrastic form - 'more' and 'most' are used with the comparative and the superlative respectively.

Twenty-five tokens of double comparative and superlative were noted in the corpus. The pattern of usage is similar, with three as the highest individual token for both groups. See Table 4.54.

Table 4.54: Frequency indices for the use of double comparatives and superlatives

	User	Variable 29 (Double Comparison)	User	Variable 29 (Double Comparison)
1.	WE/009M	2	WE/016F	0
2.	WE/015M	0	WE/019F	1
3.	WE/022M	1	WE/025F	2
4.	WE/028M	0	WE/041F	0
5.	SA/012M	0	SA/008F	1
6.	SA/025M	0	SA/011F	1
7.	CT/004M	0	CT/031F	0
8.	CT/008M	2	CT/038F	0
9.	PD/001M	0	PD/003F	1
10.	PD/002M	0	PD/004F	2
11.	**SG/006M**	**3**	**SG/008F**	**3**
12.	SG/009M	2	SG/013F	1
13.	SG/014M	1	SG/015F	2
14.	SG/018M	0	SG/017F	0
	TOTAL	11		14

There is nothing however to suggest that there is any relationship between the feature and sex. For details of the statistical test, see Table 4.55.

Table 4.55: Mean differences between the groups in the use of double comparatives and superlatives.

Variable	Sex	Mean	Std Dev.	t	p
29 (Double Comparison)	1	0.7857	1.0509	0.5631	0.5782
	2	1.0000	0.9607		

N = 28; df = 26; 1 = m; 2 = F

The use of double comparatives or superlatives has been identified as a problem for some American high school children. See Troyka (1987:254). It is also reported that speakers of Reading English use double comparison - 'He's much **more** higher than me. Yes, but she gets **more** rougher'. See Cheshire (1982:80).

4.15.3 The use of zero determiner with the superlative.

NSNigE differs from the standard variety in another way. In standard usage, the superlative is usually preceded by the definite article as in 'That holiday was **the** most exciting holiday I ever had'.

This is not generally the case with NSNigE where tokens of the use of zero determiner before the superlative, (especially if **most** is employed) were observed. This feature is illustrated in Examples 569-593.

569 Great A.B.U Students, () most militant, () most democratic, () most intelligent, () most revolutionary... (CT/014M)

570 How can you say that that Sociology 101 lecturer is ( ) most accommodating in the department - he just likes you. (SG/013F)

571 Cast your vote for Nura he is ( ) most popular candidate.

(LD/037M)

572 The campaign was ( ) most exciting, you know we went round the campus. (CT/014F)

573 A: Did you attend that party... the outfit allowed was the 60's in the 90's

B: I missed it I heard it was ( ) most interesting party for the year. (SG/021M)

There are indications however that the use of zero determiner before the superlative may not be a common characteristic of NSNigE as only 8 tokens appeared in the data.

Quirk **et al.,**(1972:287) observe that while **most** in 'she is **most** beautiful' is not a superlative in British English, it can be in American English, where it means '**extremely** beautiful' and not that she is necessarily more beautiful than all the other girls.

In NSNigE, the use of **most** (as in Examples 569-573) signifies the superlatives. This means that in Example 569, A.B.U students are **the most** militant etc. Perhaps in other situations, as in:

It is **most** beautiful

it can also mean 'extremely beautiful' as in AmE.

4.15.4. Intensification of adjectives

Intensifiers normally heighten or lower the effect and degree of relationship between adjectives and nouns. There are three sub-types: the emphasisers, amplifiers and downtoners.

According to Quirk **et al.,** 'emphasisers have a general

heightening effect; amplifiers scale upwards from an assumed norm; downtoners have a lowering effect usually scaling downwards from an assumed norm' (p.260).

Downtoners are usually associated with the central adjectives i.e. those that function attributively and predicatively. Downtoners include compromisers (e.g **such as**. **kind of** etc); the diminishers (**partly, slightly, too**, etc) the minimisers (**hardly, rarely**, etc) and the approximators (**approximately, almost, not exactly** etc).

Emphasisers generally occur attributively and include **certain, very, sure, sheer, definite** etc.

Amplifiers can be used both attributively and predicatively if they refer to the noun i.e. if they are 'inherent'. If they are 'non-inherent' they are used only attributively. Amplifiers include **entire, total, complete** and **very**.

The difference between amplifiers and downtoners can further be illustrated with the two intensifiers: **very** and **too**. The item **very**, as stated, is an amplifier and therefore denotes positive values just like all the other items in the sub-group. These are illustrated in Examples 574-578.

574 That was a **very** beautiful goal, the boys are **very** good (SA/012M)

575 The manifestoes are **very** nice I hope they will do the things they have promised otherwise it will be 419. (CT/038F)

576 The food in Ramat Hall is **very** delicious, go and eat there and see for yourself. (SG/013F)

577 You see in the night just when you want to sleep my room mate puts on this **very** bright 200 watts bulbs. (SG/006M)

578 We saw **very** beautiful and big animals at Yankari. (WE/019F)

Unlike **very, too,** (which means 'more than enough') has a very powerful, negative, downtoning effect. It generally denotes'excess'and therefore often 'unacceptable'. This is illustrated in Examples 579-583.

579 The taxi was **too** old to be used for that type of long journey. (WE/028M)

580 The girl is **too** generous to be a treasurer. (CT/011F)

581 You mean in the GRA - the place is **too** quiet, how can you even live there, God forbid'. (SG/015M)

582 Maradona is **too** short to lead the students of the most national university south south of the great Sahara. (CT/026F)

583 Most of you feel **too** intelligent to read when the time comes, you start looking for ECOMOG. (LD/033F)

4.15.5 Variable 30: Substitution of intensifiers

In use, the distinctions so far made between **very** and **too** are not generally complied with in NSNigE. The items are seen by some users as synonymous and therefore interchangeable. The result is that when effects are supposed to be amplified, they are rather downtoned. As we can see from the following examples, the users of 'too' intend to covey positive values. This is not however the case.

584 My brother's wife was **too** kind to me, she made me **too** comfortable and I really enjoyed. (WE/025F)

585 When my mother heard that I was sick, let me tell you, that same day she ran to me with her car because, you know she loves me **too** much. (SG/018M)

586 That girl, is she UK, she is **too** beautiful every lecturer likes to go out with her but **she no want that kind thing**. (SG/025F)

587 That No. 10 is **too** sharp I am sure he will score - you see. (SA/025M)

588 The show was **too** great - we enjoyed it, plenty of chewables, eatables and toastables. (SG/018M)

Twenty occurrences of substitutions of **very** and **too** were noted in the corpus. The details of individual tokens are given in Table 4.56.

Table 4.56: Frequency indices for the substitution of intensifiers ('very' and 'too') in NSNigE.

	User	Variable 30 (Too and Very)	User	Variable 30 (Too and Very)
1.	WE/009M	0	WE/016F	0
2.	WE/015M	1	WE/019F	0
3.	WE/022M	0	WE/025F	2
4.	WE/028M	0	WE/041F	3
5.	SA/012M	1	SA/008F	0
6.	SA/025M	1	SA/011F	0
7.	CT/004M	0	CT/031F	0
8.	CT/008M	1	CT/038F	0
9.	**PD/001M**	**4**	PD/003F	1
10.	PD/002M	0	PD/004F	0
11.	SG/006M	2	SG/008F	0
12.	SG/009M	0	SG/013F	2
13.	SG/014M	0	SG/015F	1
14.	SG/018M	1	SG/017F	0
	Total	11		9

Though the highest individual frequency of 4 is noted for PD/001M, the use of the variable by the sexes is similar. This is also reflected in the result of the statistical tests,

presented in Table 4.57.

Table 4.57: Mean differences between the groups for the substitution of the intensifiers, 'very' and 'too'.

Variable	Sex	Mean	Std.Dev.	t	p
30 (Substitution: very and too)	1	0.7857	1.1217	0.3544	0.7259
	2	0.6428	1.0082		

N = 28; df = 26; 1 =M; 2 = F

The use of **too** to mean 'extremely' rather than 'more than enough' is not peculiar to NigE. Quirk **et al** (1972:287) state that in Australian English, **too**, in the sense of 'absolutely' is common in responses, for instance.

A: He's clever

B: **Too** right, he is (that is absolutely true)

The authors also point out that **too** is commonly used in AmE as a synonym of **very** in negative sentences.

I don't like it **too** much

I don't feel too good. (p.287).

While some users of NigE will not find the former acceptable, many will be comfortable with the latter:

'I don't feel **too** good', especially with an adverbial:

'I don't feel too good **this morning**'.

4.15.6 Expressing equivalence, excess,insufficiency...etc.

The string 'as...as' is generally used to compare two things or situations while 'so...that' and 'such...that' are

used to state excess or insufficiency. In the following examples, we illustrate these uses.

589 Everybody knows that the Faculty of Arts team is **as** tough **as** Faculty of Education except that Education men are very old. (SA/003M)

590 The store-room is **as** big **as** a sitting room - it can take six or more students. (WE/026M)

591 The driver was **so** near the trailer **that** he could see it but he just drove into the trailer. (WE/028M)

592 The drug-pushers are **so** hard **that** they can kill anybody who wants to stop them. (WE/041F)

593 She should not have died - she was **such** an intelligent **girl that** everybody likes to work with her. (SG/009M)

594 If we continue to drink this well water it will get to **such** a time **that** we shall all have cholera or what is it called sef. (PD/009F)

4.15.7 Variable 31: Use of 'very .. that'

While we acknowledge that these three forms of expressing equivalence, excess, insufficiency etc exist in NSNigE, evidence from the data, also show that generally users of this sub-set prefer the sequence: 'very...that' as opposed to 'so...that'. See Examples 595-599.

595 Nothing like that - he was **very** interested in the girl **that** when she left ABU, he decided to transfer to another school (SG/022M).

596 Aisha, hmm - she is **very** kind **that** she can een give you the last food she has and go and buy snacks to eat. (SG/008F).

597 The campaign was **very** successful **that** I am lucky to be there - ABU is great. (CT/012F)

598 A: Have you seen Sally's car?

B: No

A: It is **very** beautiful **that** everybody likes it, even that man they call 'The Struggle Continues' (SG/021F).

599 Tope was vomiting - she was **very** lean **that** we were all frightened, she get belle? (LD/028F)

Although there were 32 occurrences of the sequence 'very...that'. the male group had a slightly higher frequency of 19: the female group had 13. Table 4.58 gives the individual scores.

Table 4.58 Frequency indices for the use of 'very...that'

	User	Variable 31 ('very...that')	User	Variable 31 ('very...that')
1.	WE/009M	**0**	WE/016F	**0**
2.	WE/015M	**0**	WE/019F	**3**
3.	WE/022M	**0**	WE/025F	**2**
4.	WE/028M	**1**	WE/041F	**2**
5.	SA/012M	**3**	SA/008F	0
6.	SA/025M	**2**	SA/011F	**1**
7.	CT/004M	**1**	CT/031F	**0**
8.	CT/008M	**4**	CT/038F	**2**
9.	PD/001M	**3**	PD/003F	**0**
10.	PD/002M	**2**	PD/004F	**1**
11.	SG/008M	**0**	SG/008F	**2**
12.	SG/009M	**0**	SG/013F	**0**
13.	SG/014M	**1**	SG/015F	**0**
14.	SG/018M	**2**	SG/017F	**0**
	Total	**19**		13

The figures presented in the table suggest that the feature is common to both groups. There is nothing however to suggest that there is any relationship between the use of 'very...that' and sex: ($t = 0.5674$; $df=26$; $N=28$; $p.=0.5753$). Non-standard Nigerian English does not only permit the use of **very** as a correlative but also allows it to function as an intensifier leading to the sequence - **so + Adj + *θ*** - instead

of **so + Adj + that** as in 'We were **so excited** and **happy**'; 'My brother's wife was **so kind** to me and my friends', etc.
While in a few cases as in 'The dinner party was so enjoyable, I wish there will be another before we vacate', a **so...that** design is implied, in a number of others, no such construction is obvious. In these instances, **so** is seen as synonymous with **very** - 'We were **very** excited and happy'.

4.15.8 Variable 32: Use of base forms of verbs as adjectives.

A number of adjectives are derived from their verb equivalents by the introduction of participle inflectional suffixes - **ing, ed** (or any variants of **ed**); as in the following examples:

v+ing	**v+ed**
the **fighting** spirit	a **wounded** lion
a **struggling** man	the **defeated** team
the **graduating** students	the **unexpected** visitors
the **negotiating** team	the **retired** soldiers
an **exciting** holiday	some **disappointed** students

V+en

two **broken** promises
the **hidden** agenda
their **unspoken** words
the **unbeaten** champion
those **forgotten** heroes.

It is however with the **ed** group that many users of NSNigE have difficulties. The base forms of verbs (instead of the participle equivalents) are used as adjectives. This is illustrated in the following sentences. See also Table 4.59 for the individual frequencies.

600 In this case, if such **unqualify** students are admitted they have to carry out exam malpractice. (WE/011F)

601 All those who are involved in examination leakages are not **discipline**. (WE/035M)

602 I am not **surprise** to hear that because the girl is always going about with men. (SG/021F)

603 My own case is different, I did not meet the requirements so I was not allowed to take **advance** composition. (SG/017F)

604 There is no need to worry I am sure you can abide by the **specify** conditions. (SG/009M)

Table 4.59: Frequency indices for the use of base forms of verbs as adjectives.

	User	Variable 32 (V as Adj)	User	Variable 32 (V as Adj)
1.	WE/009M	3	WE/016F	0
2.	WE/015M	2	WE/019F	0
3.	WE/022M	1	WE/025F	1
4.	WE/028M	2	WE/041F	0
5.	SA/012M	1	SA/008F	0
6.	SA/025M	0	SA/011F	2
7.	CT/004M	0	CT/031F	0
8.	CT/008M	1	CT/038F	2
9.	PD/001M	2	PD/003F	0
10.	PD/002M	3	PD/004F	1
11.	SG/006M	2	SG/008F	1
12.	SG/009M	3	SG/013F	2
13.	SG/014M	0	SG/015F	0
14.	SG/018M	2	SG/017F	3
	TOTAL	22		12

Of the 34 instances of the use of the variable, the male group accounts for 22 (64.7%) while the female group has 12

(35.2%0). Despite the percentage difference of 29.4, the result of the T-Test shows that the feature does not function as a marker of sex, Details are given in Table 4.60.

Table 4.60: Mean differences between the groups in the use of base forms of verbs as adjectives.

Variable 32	Sex	Mean	Std Dev	t	p
(V as Adj)	1	1.5714	1.0894	1.7850	0.0859
	2	0.8571	1.0271		

N = 28; df = 26; 1 = M; 2 = F

4.16. ADVERBS IN NSNigE

Two areas are discussed at the level of adverbials. These are duplication of adverbs (Variable 33) and the use of prepositions with non-prepositional verbs (Variable 34).

4.16.1 Variable 33: Duplication of adverbs.

We have noted in 4.11 that duplication of adverbs is a feature of NigP. This phenomenon is extended to NSNigE. Our data shows that basically the same adverbials are affected:

605 Many will say they will do this, they will do that, that we are honest, we do not make false promise so **therefore** vote for us. (CT/031M)

606 From today **henceforth**, please don't talk to me, I now know your real true colour. (LD/017F)

607 Since that day up **till today** I have never missed any of that man's lectures. (SG/014F)

608 We went to many places, Bar beach, Eko Meridian so **therefore** I can say it was the most enjoyable holiday. (WE/022M)

609 Since **from** that minute I started enjoying my holiday. (WE/036M)

As with the pidgin sub-set, there were relatively few tokens - thirteen in all and they presented no significant variation between the sexes (t = 0.7629; df= 26, N= 28; p = 0.4524).

Constructions such as **from today henceforth** and **since that day till today** signal obvious cases of transfer from the local languages. Consider the following examples from the three major Nigerian languages.

Hausa: Dege yau...

Igbo: Si tata gaba...

Yoruba: Lati eni (lo)...

(From today henceforth...)

One other form of superfluous use of adverbs appeared in the data. This involved the use of adverbials after verbs with composite meanings, one of which is a verb and the other an adverbial, as in the following items.

a) repeat (say/do + again)

b) return (go + **back**)

c) reverse (go/bring + back)

In NSNigE, it is usual to use these items to denote the verbal component only. The addition of the adverbial **(again, back,)** is therefore to give them their 'full' meaning. See Examples 610-612.

610 I warn you not to come late to classes, if you **repeat it**

again I 'll send you out. (LD/031M)

611 The lecturer said that all those who removed chairs from his room should **return** them **back** after the lectures. (SG/006M)

612 Look your front, **reverse back** before the lorry comes. (WE/022M)

4.16.2 Variable 34: Use of prepositions with non-prepositional verbs.

A distinction is usually made between prepositional and non-prepositional verbs. The former accept the passive but are generally followed by prepositions (Examples 613-617) while the latter combine directly with objects.

613 Abolu only asked **for** his SOLG 101 textbook. (SG/014M)

614 We, I mean all of us listened **to** the lecturer as she lectured. (SG/021F)

615 Bingi begged **for** a ride to the party but you know your boyfriend he returned. (SG/011F)

616 You will not believed that Usman went **to** the room to sleep when we left. (WE/015M)

617 Don't mind him,he just walked **into** the class and started shouting. (SG/005M)

Non-standard Nigerian usage does not generally distinguish between these two sub-classes of verbs. It is usual therefore to see non-prepositional verbs used with prepositions, as in Examples 618-622.

618 He demanded **for** my question paper saying please it is ECOMOG. (WE/021F)

619 It is not possible to discuss **about** NRC and SDP without talking about North and South. (WE/014M)

620 How do you cope **up** with your studies with this big

stomach; Una de try, you and your husband. (SG/015F)

621 The test was not a bad one - it comprised **of** OBJ and short notes, no essay questions. (SG/025M)

622 Even those human rights people who were advocating **for** change, when they were given brown envelopes they just keep quiet. (CT/031F)

Other items include 'awaiting for', 'seek for', 'wish for', as in 'what you wish for yourself' etc.

There were thirty occurrences of Variable 34: the use of prepositions with non-prepositional verbs. The female used the feature slightly more often than the male, see Table 4.61.

Table 4.61 Frequency indices for use of prepositions with non-prepositional verbs.

	User	Variable 34 (Non-prep verbs)	User	Variable 34 (Non-prep.verbs)
1.	WE/009M	2	WE/016F	3
2.	WE/015M	1	WE/019F	1
3.	WE/022M	0	WE/025F	0
4.	WE/028M	2	WE/041F	1
5.	SA/012M	2	SA/008F	2
6.	SA/025M	3	SA/011F	0
7.	CT/004M	0	CT/031F	2
8.	CT/008M	1	CT/038F	1
9.	PD/001M	0	PD/003F	0
10.	PD/002M	0	PD/004F	2
11.	SG/006M	1	SG/008F	2
12.	SG/009M	0	SG/013F	1
13.	SG/014M	1	SG/015F	0
14.	SG/018M	0	SG/017F	2
	Total	13		17

Table 4.62 however shows that the variable does not function as a marker of sex.

Table 4.62: Mean differences between the groups in the use of prepositions with non-prepositional verbs.

Variable 34	Sex	mean	Std. Dev.	t	p
(Non-prep.Verbs + preps)	1	0.9285	0.9972	0.7665	0.4503
	2	1.2142	0.9749		

N = 28; df = 26; 1 = M, 2 = F.

The difficulty in distinguishing between prepositional and non-prepositional verbs is manifested in another way. Prepositional verbs are sometimes treated as non-prepositional and they therefore combine directly with objects. Three such verbs occurred in the data, viz: **reply**, **register** and **vote**. Examples 623 - 625 illustrate the use of these verbs in a non-prepositional manner.

623 When Duniya came he asked me why I did not reply () his letter. (SG/018F)

624 A: What can I do for you?

B: I want to register ( ) LANG 201 (LD/028F)

625 I never voted ( ) Nura I voted ( ) Maradona, that's my man. (CT/024F)

Perhaps, with other contexts more of such verbs will come into use. Similar uses of prepositional and non-prepositional verbs have been identified in Indian English.

4.16.3 Variable 35: Never + universal time.

4.16.4 Variable 36: Never + specific time

'**Never**' continues to be used for both universal time and specific time references in much the same way as discussed in

4.7.1 - 4.7.2.

Thirty-two tokens of 'never' were observed in the corpus, 19 of them denoting universal time reference while 13 indicated specific time. Unlike in NigP where significant difference exists between the sexes in the use of 'never' with universal time, no such relationship exists for either universal or specific time reference in NSNigE. See Table 4.63

Table 4.63 Mean differences between the groups in the use of 'never'

Variable	Sex	Mean	Std.Dev	t	p
35	1	0.8571	0.8644	0.4136	0.6826
(Univ.Tm)	2	0.000	0.9607		
36	1	0.5000	0.6504	0.0000	1.000
(Spec.Tm)	2	0.5000	0.6504		

N = 28; df = 26 1 M; 2 = F.

4.17 Tags in NSNigE

4.17.1 Variable 37: Different patterns of response to tag questions

Tag questions generally consist of an operator and a subject. The operator is usually the same as that of the preceding statement while the subject of the tag is a pronoun which is either a repeat of or a substitute for the subject.

If a statement is positive, the tag is negative, and vice-versa. The response also tallies: Positive + Positive/Negative + Negative, for instance:

Yes, I **did** or **No**, I **didn't**.

Our data, however, shows that in NSNigE, tag questions attract different response patterns. The general tendency is to have 'Yes' where users of some other international varieties, will expect 'No'. The differences are illustrated in the following examples.

626 A: Didn't you come to the lectures that day?

B: **Yes**, I **didn't**. I was sick. (SG/018M)

627 A: No, tell me, haven't we submitted our assignment by then?

B: **No**, we **have**. (LD/028F)

628 A: He didn't even report you to the examination officer, did he?

B: **No**, he **did**. (SG/027F)

629 A: Didn't we see that accident at Zango?

B: **Yes,** we **didn't**. (SG/006M)

630 A: Hasn't the man spoken to the girl's father?

B: **Yes,** he **hasn't**. (SG/015F)

4.17.2 Variable 38: The use of universal tag - 'Isn't it?'

The use of universal tag '**Isn't it?**' is also known to be a common feature among learners of English as a second or foreign language. It is also referred to as 'invariant tag' - See Odumuh (1981, 1984) Jowitt (1991:123) acknowledges that 'Isn't it?' corresponds to the 'all purpose tag' in the various local languages, such as:

Hausa: Ba haka ba (ni) ? }

Igbo: Oburo ezi okwu ? } *(Isn't it?)*

Yoruba: Abi be ko ? }

The following examples illustrate this feature of NSNigE.

631 The congress has agreed that elections should be in the various faculties. **Isn't it?** (CT/022M)

632 We were not even given a chance to defend ourselves - they just said that we malpracticed on the exam and expel us, **Isn't it?** (SG/013F)

633 They should have known that suspending Maradona will not solve the problem, **isn't it?** (LD/012M)

634 Once you miss your CA whether you do well in the exam or not you can't make 'A' in the final, **isn't it?** (CT/038M)

635 That is not the case - the truth is that you did not do well in his course, not that the man toasted you, **Isn't it?** (SG/014M)

Isn't it? is the non-standard/standard form of 'No be/to so?' which serves as the all purpose tag in NigP irrespective of tense, person or the auxiliary.

A similar explanation can be provided for the different patterns of response to tag questions (Variable 37) since such patterns are known to exist in the local languages.

In Tables 4.64 and 4.65, details of the distribution of Variables 37 and 38 are presented.

Table 4.65. Frequency indices for patterns of response to tag questions, and the use of universal tag 'Isn't it?' in the outputs of the male subjects.

	User	Variable 37 (Response to Tags)	Variable 38 (Universal Tag)
1.	WE/009M	2	0
2.	WE/015M	1	1
3.	WE/022M	0	1
4.	WE/028M	1	0

5.	SA/012M	1	0
6.	SA/025M	2	1
7.	CT/004M	0	0
8.	CT/008M	1	1
9.	PD/001M	2	0
10.	PD/002M	0	0
11.	SG/006M	2	0
12.	SG/009M	1	0
13.	SG/014M	0	1
14.	SG/018M	1	0
	TOTAL	14	5

Table 4.65 Frequency indices for different patterns of response to tag questions, and the use of universal tag 'Isn't it? in the outputs of the female subjects.

	User	Variable 37 (Response to Tags)	Variable 38 (Universal Tag)
1.	WE/016F	2	0
2.	WE/019F	2	0
3.	WE/025F	0	0
4.	WE/041F	0	1
5.	SA/008F	0	0
6.	SA/011F	2	2
7.	CT/031F	1	0
8.	CT/038F	0	2
9.	PD/003F	0	0
10.	PD/004F	1	2
11.	SG/008F	0	0
12.	SG/013F	0	1
13.	SG/015F	2	1
14.	SG/017F	1	1
	TOTAL	11	10

Tokens of Variable 37 numbered 25 while those of Variable 38 came to 15. A closer look at the tables shows that while the male group use more of Variable 37, the reverse is the case for Variable 38.

At the sex group level, the tables show that while the males use Variable 37 more than Variable 38, the females use both variables equally. The ANOVA tests however show that none

of variables is an indicator of sex. See Table 4.66.

Table 4.66: Mean differences between the groups in responses to tags, and the use of universal tag 'Isn't it?

Variable	Sex	Mean	Std Dev.	t	p
37 (Response. to Tags	1	1.2142	0.8925	0.7379	0.4672
	2	0.9285	1.1411		
38 (Universal. Tag)	1	0.3571	0.4972	1.3868	0.1773
	2	0.7142	0.8254		

N = 28; df = 26; 1 = M; 2 = F

Both features (Responses to tag questions and the use of universal tag) are also associated with Indian and Malaysian Englishes, see Trudgill and Hannah (1985:111), Cameroonian English (see Todd, 1982:17).

4.18 STANDARD ENGLISH

Quirk (1968:99) defines standard English as 'the usage that bears least restrictive (such as regional) mark, the usage that has the widest acceptability'. It is the usage of 'the wider community' and usually associated with 'educated' members of a community. Similar views are expressed by Alexander (1969:172), Trudgill and Hannah (1985:1), Strevens (1980:69) etc

Standard English has also been described with reference to Standard American English as the English of those who are believed by greater number of Americans to know what good English is (Quirk, 1968:102).

In most countries, it is associated with the language of the learned professions, the press and other institutions and employed when we want to address ourselves beyond our local or immediate community. In Britain, this variety identified with R.P. is known as B.B.C. or Oxford English, while in the United States of America it is referred to as 'Network/Central or North/General American English'.

But as Quirk points out, the idea of 'standard' is only an ideal and therefore cannot be perfectly realised. Consequently, he argues:

> We must expect that the members of different 'wider communities', (Britain, America, **Nigeria,** for example) may produce different realisations (emphasis mine).

This in effect means that standards differ and are distinguishable. For instance, Strevens (1972) notes, as do Quirk **et al,** (1972:17), Marckwardt and Quirk (1964) and Quirk (1981) 'that Standard British English (SBrE) differs from Standard American English (SAmE) in a number of ways. These have nevertheless, remained standards, none derided, ridiculed, or looked down upon.

The truth is that in all these situations, there are national standards used among nationals, and the international, used when 'we seek to communicate beyond our immediate communities', or even the English speaking world as a whole. The remarkable thing about standard usage is the very high degree of unanimity and the small amount of divergence. Little wonder, why:

> Any of us can read a newspaper printed in Leeds or San Francisco or Delhi without difficulty or often even without realising that there are differences at all (Quirk, 1968:99).

This perhaps sums up the argument whether there is any such thing as 'Standard Nigerian English' and whether it can be equated with SBrE or SAmE. Such questions, valid as they seem, are evaluative and tend to imply that SBrE or any other variety is the yardstick for measuring standards and that one variety is superior to the other(s). As Trudgill (1974b:20) points out, Standard English is only one variety among many, and

> Linguistically speaking, it cannot even legitimately be considered better than other varieties. The scientific study of languages has convinced most scholars that **all** languages and correspondingly all dialects are equally good linguistic systems... There is nothing at all inherent in non-standard varieties which makes them inferior.

Though Alexander (1972:177) admits that SBrE 'carries with it certain amount of social prestige', it must be stressed that such social prestige is fast on the wane.

In Nigeria, as in Britain, many users who do not possess this dialect have risen to the highest offices in the state. Speakers of Scottish or Reading, Indian or Nigerian varieties are therefore not likely to accept that their varieties are inferior to any of the two so-declared 'main standard varieties'. Recent studies have also shown that individuals

tend to prefer their own local varieties to other forms for purposes of identity - See for instance, Labov's work in Martha's Vineyard, Cheshire's studies in Reading, etc.

4.19. Standard Nigerian English (SNigE)

Standard Nigerian English is the acrolectal form of NigE. Unlike the speakers of Banjo's 'fourth variety' who are ridiculed for speaking in an affected manner, most users of the variety do not face such problems.

The foregoing discussion should not imply that there are no Nigerians whose mastery of English can be equated with that of the native speaker. Indeed, there are. This perhaps explains why in its written form Standard Nigerian English (SNigE) is virtually indistinguishable from other international varieties of English.

This is contrary to the views expressed by Jowitt (1991:47) that the usage of **every** Nigerian is made up of 'errors and variants' (**emphasis mine**). The point must be stressed here that Nigerians do not necessarily have to speak or write like the British.

Even the discovery from this study that some undergraduates (and possibly, graduates and dons) do not use SNigE should not sound amazing or disheartening , because:

> there are dons and undergraduates at Oxford who do not speak standard English and there are very many people who have had no connection with Oxford who use this form of speech (Alexander, 1972:172).

But there are always, as stated earlier, small divergences between international varieties, for instance, between SNigE and SBrE or between SAmE and Australian English or any other variety. These are the features that make them distinct varieties. They are however not great enough to affect intelligibility.

Most times, these differences are a reflection of the historical development of English in these various communities. It is not surprising, therefore that most of the syntactic features observed in our data are undeniably similar to those of other international varieties on the one hand, and those of most new Englishes around the world, especially the West African variety on the other. Even within this variety, some characteristics are specific to certain national sub-varieties. Jowitt refers to these as 'indexical features' as opposed to common core features which NigE shares with other international varieties.

The differences between the standard and non-standard varieties of NigE can be said to be partly the extent to which each of the varieties employs any or all of these indexical features, which in principle, decrease as one moves from NigP to SNigE, through NSNigE. However, that one hears such utterances as:

(i) How **is** studies? How **is** the children?

(ii) Who **is having** my lecture notes?

iii) I cannot **cope up** with the volume of work

(iv) He gave us **an** advice,

on the corridors of our universities, shows that functionally, at the individual level, this progression is hardly maintained as these features are not, and cannot in the Nigerian context, be arranged on a panlectal grid since they are not implicationally related.

The syntactic structures discussed below are similar to those we have highlighted at the non-standard level. Of the 38 earlier noted, however, only 24 remain indexical of the standard sub-set and are utilized by at least one of the 28 respondents who participated at the level.

4.19.1. The Noun Phrase in SNigE.

At the Noun Phrase level, four of the ten variables were employed by the subjects. These are the use of zero determiners with specific NPs (Variable 1), Superfluous use of determiners (Variable 3) plurals in irregular nouns (Variable 4) and the non-distinction between mass and count nouns (Variable 5).

4.19.1.1 Variable 1: Zero determiner with specific NPs.

Four subjects (with a 3:1 male - female ratio) used the feature. Only 5 tokens appeared in the corpus. The following examples illustrate this usage.

636 On ( ) other hand, the politicians are seen as the only symbol of unity. (WE/013M)

637 Sani Abacha, Fred Chijuka, Diya etc whose names sound

loudest in the new regime held key positions in the Babangida administration that annulled June 12 election which culminated in ( ) present political crisis. (SG/005F)

638 We spent three nights at ( ) police station. (CT/012M)

4.19.1.2 Variable 3: Superfluous use of determiners

Only one subject (WE/026M) used this feature. From the example below, it is obvious it is used for emphasis.

639 **These our** so-called soldier boys do not have the interest of the Nation at heart. (WE/026M).

4.19.1.3 Variable 4: Plurals in irregular count nouns. [$N_{(c)}$pl irreg]

Only three tokens of irregular plural formation were noted in the data. All of them involved items that Quirk **et al,** have described as foreign plurals. See Examples 640-642.

640 The crisis within the various political groups tend to be exaggerated by the government controlled **medias**. (WE/032M)

641 The organisers said there were only three **agendas**. (CT/016F)

642 The **criterias** for crossing to LANG 309 are obvious - a pass in LANG 201 and a credit in LANG 204. (SG/012F)

The word 'criterion' continues to pose some problem for quite a number of users, even of SNigE. To the user, (Example 642),it is certain that 'criteria' is singular. Such assumptions occurred with other items - **memorandum/memoranda, phenomenon/phenomena, datum/data, forum/fora, stadium/stadia, agendum/agenda** etc. We note that in some other varieties of English similar usage occurs.

4.19.1.4. Variable 5: Plural in non-count invariable nouns [$N_{(u)}$pl]

Of the three variables, at the NP level, the use of mass nouns (i.e. non-count invariable nouns) as count nouns had the highest frequency of 7 from the same number of respondents. Four male and three female subjects used this feature which has been noted as a common core feature of NigE.. This is illustrated in Examples 643-645.

643 Once the government gathers some **informations** about the activities of any human right activist, they arrest him. (SG/005F)

644 Even the Senior **staffs** of the department are not allowed to get into their offices - Is this how to be on strike? Nonsense! (SG/003M)

645 You see what happened - by the time Julie put in her **luggages**, there was no space for another passenger (SG/018M)

Sometimes, these nouns are used with indefinite determiners, **a** or **an**:

646 A: This man cannot be the one you told me about, I thought that one is **a** staff. (LD/017M)

B: He is the one, he is **a** staff. (LD/018F)

647 This is **an** advice; if you like you can take it, but let me tell you, it is **an** honest advice.(SA/012F)

The fact that individual outputs vary shows that even among users of SNigE that there are varying degrees of competence. There is however no significant difference between the sexes in the use of these variables. See Table 6.1

Table 4.67 Mean differences between male and female groups in four variables at the NP level in SNigE.

Variable	Sex	Mean	Std.Dev	t	p
1	1	0.0714	0.2672	0.5927	0.5585
(Det+Sp.NP)	2	0.1428	0.3631		
3	1	0.0714	0.2672	1.000	0.3265
(Superfluous Use)	2	0.0000	0.0000		
4	1	0.2857	0.4688	0.4220	0.6765
(Irregular Pls)	2	0.2142	0.4258		
5	1	0.2857	0.6112	0.3588	0.7227
(Plural in Mass Nouns)	2	0.2142	0.4258		

1 = Male; 2 = Female; df = 26; N = 28.

4.19.2 The Verb Phrase in SNigE

Five features already discussed at the non-standard level appear to be important characteristics of the standard variety. These are:

a) Non-observance of the rule of third person singular concord. (Variable 12)

b) The use of V+s with non-third person singular subjects. (Variable 13)

c) Non-distinction between simple and progressive present. (Variable 14)

d) The use of progressive aspect with stative verbs. (Variable 15)

e) Non-inflection of verbs for the Passive. (Variable 22)

4.19.2.1 Variable 12: Non-observance of third person singular concord.

Non-observance of the rule of third person singular concord seems to be the principal feature of SNigE. With 12 tokens from seven of the 28 respondents, non-inflection of the verb for the third person singular has the highest occurrence of all the variables in SNigE. Of the 12 tokens, seven female subjects had one each. See Examples 648-650.

648 The fact is that nobody **exercise** democracy under inconsistent military rule. (WE/013M)

649 The government **have** started to fetter democracy since the pronouncement that **make** it an offence to discuss the new political situation in the country.
(WE/021F)

650 In an emergency situation, the pilot **depend** largely on the flight engineer. (SG/009M)

As has been pointed out, the use of V_o rather than V_{+s} is a common feature of the new Englishes. Virtually, all LFEs share this feature at one level or the other. For a detailed treatment of concord in NigE, see Digga (1987).

4.19.2.2 Variable 13: The use of v+s with non-third person singular subjects.

As with the non-standard variety, application of the rule of third person singular concord to other subjects remains a feature of SNigE. Six tokens, from two male and three female subjects appeared in the data. Some of the sentences are presented below.

651 They demanded three things in particular which **includes** the Decree 43 and 48 which closed down newspaper houses
(SA/001F)

652 Some people who saw themselves as pro democracy **engages** themselves in such irrational acts as hijacking Nigeria Airways plane. (SG/003M)

653 These **gives** us the **rays of hope** that the new Military regime will bring about sanity and unity. (SG/018M)

In Table 4.68, details of Variables 12 and 13 are given.

Table 4.68: Mean differences between the groups in the application and non-application of the rule of third person singular concord in SNigE.

Variable	Sex	Mean	Std Dev	t	p
12 (3rd pers sg concord)	1	0.2857	0.6112	0.5099	0.6144
	2	0.4285	0.8516		
13 (V+s with non-3rd)	1	0.1428	0.3631	0.7518	0.4589
	2	0.2857	0.6112		

1 = M; 2 = f: df = 26; N = 28

As can be seen from the table, the women have slightly higher means for both variables. This difference however, is not significant - none of them is an indicator of sex.

4.19.2.3 Variable 14: The use of progressive aspect for habitual events.

Eight respondents used the progressive aspect to indicate habitual events. We have already discussed the effect of such usage - habitual activities are seen as continuous events. Altogether, nine such instances were noted in the corpus, three of which are presented in Examples 654-656.

654 So you know the madam, she **is** always **deducting** marks, she calls it discipline. (SA/012M)

655 Hajiya **is** still **coming** from Kaduna everyday, you know she has a baby. (SG/005F)

656 He is not a policeman, he **is lecturing** in my department, he is very kind. (SG/003M)

4.19.2.4 Variable 15: Progressive aspect with stative verbs

Some users of SNigE fail to acknowledge the distinction made between stative and dynamic verbs. For this set of users, the progressive marker 'ing' is usually added to the verbs. There were seven occurrences of the feature from six respondents, which included three females. (See also Odumuh, 1981, 1986, for similar position).

657 Chei, NEPA don kill us, Amina... I am not
I **am** not **seeing** the road again...
is this the road to Drama village? (SG/007F)

658 Nnena, **are** you **having** my Sociology 201 notebook?
(LD/041F)

659 Many lecturers **are** now **living** in rented houses since they gave them 56% rent allowance. (WE/029M)

Table 4.69 summarises the results of the ANOVA tests.

Table 4.69 Mean differences between the groups in the use of the progressive aspect with habitual events and stative verbs

Variable	Sex	Mean	Std Dev	t	p
14	1	0.4285	0.6462	1.0360	0.3092
	2	0.2142	0.4258		
15	1	0.2857	0.6112	0.3588	0.7227
	2	0.2142	0.4258		

1 = M; 2 = F: df = 26; N = 28

The figures above show that there are no significant differences between the outputs of both groups despite the fact that for both variables the female subjects have slightly lower scores.

4.19.2.5 Variable 22: Non-inflection of verbs for the passive

The use of the base form of verbs (V_o) rather than Ved_2 in passive construction is another area of similarity between NSNigE and SNigE. For instance, a few subjects used the verb 'suppose' - which we have highlighted in 4.14.5.8, in much the same way as has been described in both NigP and NSNigE while a number of them who did not delete the copula failed to inflect it for the passive. It is obvious that this is a case of transfer from the 'lower' varieties. This and other examples are presented in 660-662.

660 Nigeria is a democratic country and so is **suppose** to be ruled democratically by constitution. (CT/027F)

661 There are a lot of things to be **experience** if you join one political group. (WE/010M)

662 Any time at all the Military takes up power in Nigeria peace is always **forestall**. (CT/018M)

Ten instances were noted in the data, six of which came from the men. The difference is not however significant at the 0.05 level: ($t = 1.000$; $df = 26$; $p = 0.3265$).

A number of other non-standard features at the VP level, with relatively lower frequencies, also appeared in the

sample. Most of them have only one or two tokens and therefore not considered large enough for detailed analysis. See Examples 663-666.

(a) **Variable 17:Tense shifts**

663 During Babangida administration, we **see** how politicians were today brought up and tomorrow thrown into the waste paper basket. (WE/029M)

(b) **Variable 18: Non-distinction between progressive and perfective aspects.**

664 They (the politicians) are **been** used or bribed easily. (SG/012F)

(c) **Variable 19: Perfective with definite time reference.**

665 A: Have you **read** Oladipo's 'Why we struck?'

B: Yes, I **have** read it on Sunday. (SG/003M)

(d) **Variable 20: Have + V_o.**

666 Right from the inception of independence, we have not **experience** civil regime up to ten years of the thirty-three years of independence. (WE/029M)

(e) **Variable 25: Inflection of verbs used with Aux. for tense.**

667 We should only pray that Abacha regime should not have diabolical hidden agenda that will **raised** another round of confusion and retrogression. (SG/010M)

4.19.3 ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS IN SNigE

4.19.3.1 Variable 30: Use of base forms of verbs as adjectives

At the adjectival level, only one of the features discussed in NSNigE is relevant to SNigE. This is the use of base forms of verbs as adjectives.

All the three tokens recorded for this variable are from the women. See Examples 667-669

668 Henry said he was not allowed to do the course because it is more **advance** that LANG 201. (SG/023F)

669 The man likes to discipline people but he himself is not **discipline**. (WE/026F)

670 That woman is a highly **experience** teacher, she does not joke with her job. (SA/010F)

As with most other variables, the use of the base forms of verbs as adjectives is not a sex maker: ($t = 1.4720$; $df=26$; $p=0.1530$).

One adjective that showed remarkable difference in use from the type discussed above is 'mature'. In three of the four instances, in the data, it was used with the suffix 'd' i.e. 'matured'. Consider the following examples.

671 Who cannot lead the students among us, afterwards we are all **matured**. (SG/010M)

672 There are some students who are more **matured** than the lecturers, look at that Baba Suleiman in our class... CT/018F)

The use of **matured** rather than **mature** seems to be the result of overgeneralisation. The item also depicts some of the inconsistencies in the English Language which the LFE user is bound to encounter. While such a user is expected to add the suffix 'ed' to some verbs to make them adjectives, with 'mature', no such suffixation is required.

The difference in use stems from the fact that 'mature' is an adjective. However, it is sometimes treated as a verb (mature, maturing etc). This perhaps explains the use of 'matured' as an adjective.

4.19.4 Variable 34: Use of preposition with non-prepositional verbs.

Only one case of the use of preposition with a non-prepositional verb was recognised; it is presented in Example 673.

673 Our task should be to seek **for** the realization of it (justice) in our dear country.

The use of such prepositions has been discussed in 4.16.2,

4.19.4.1 Variable 36: Never + specific time reference

As in other varieties of English, 'never' is generally used with universal time in SNigE. This has been illustrated adequately in 4.8 - 4.8.2. 'Never' however is also used with specific time reference. Five such instances were counted in the sample, four which appeared in the outputs of the male respondents. Some of these are presented in Examples 674-676 below.

674. I have **never** spoken to him **since the day of the party** (SG/014F)

675. The man said he was cheating in the examination and took him away ... I have **never** set eyes on him **since then**. (WE/003M)

676 We went for show that day but the manager said that the D.J. **has never** come again **since the wife died**. (SG/032F)

The difference between the tokens was not statistically relevant: ($t = 0.6669$; $df = 26$; $P = 0.5109$).

4.19.5 Variable 38: The use of universal tag

While our data provides no evidence that different

patterns of response to tag questions are employed by users of SNigE, the universal tag, 'Isn't it?' continues to be part of the repertoire of the subjects. There were three tokens two of which came from the female group. Examples 677-679 provide some illustrations.

677. When IBB came to power, he promised he would save Nigerians from corruption, nepotism and all sorts of things. **Isn't it?** (SG/016F)

678. They should have restored normal water and electricity supply before bringing out the time table -**Isn't it?** How can we be preparing for examination without water and light, No way. (CT/012M)

679. This is irresponsibility - those lecturers who set the questions should be held responsible. **Isn't it?** **(SG/018M)**

4.19.6 Non-Standard and Standard Nigerian English

It is necessary to compare the outputs of users of NSNigE and SNigE, at least for some of the variables. This, as stated earlier, is expected to provide answers to questions relating to their distinctiveness.

Seven variables which have remained important features of NigE are considered here. These include: Plural in invariable

(i.e non-count) nouns (Variable 5); third person singular concord (Variable 12); the use of V+s with non-third person singular subjects (Variable 13) and the use of the progressive aspect with habitual events (Variable 14).

Others are the use of progressive aspect with stative verbs (Variable 15), non-inflection of verbs for the perfective aspect (i.e. Ved_2) in passive constructions (Variable 22) and the use of universal tag 'Isn't it?' (Variable 38).

In the following table, details of the T-Test for those variables in both non-standard and standard varieties are presented.

Table 4.70: Mean and SD values of the outputs of the users of NSNigE and SNigE.

Variable	Variety	Mean	SD	t	p
V5	1	1.392	1.0659	5.2424	0.000
	2	0.2500	0.4409		
V12	1	3.3214	1.3622	10.157	0.000
	2	0.3571	0.7319		
V13	1	1.8571	1.4327	5.7301	0.000
	2	0.2142	0.4986		
V14	1	1.4285	1.1031	4.7562	0.000
	2	0.3214	0.5979		

V15	1	0.8928	0.9164	3.2310	0.002
	2	0.2500	0.5181		
V22	1	5.5357	4.2815	6.7907	0.000
	2	0.0357	0.1889		
V38	1	0.5357	0.6929	3.3159	0.000
	2	0.7142	0.2622		

N = 28; df = 54; 1 = NSNigE: 2 = SNigE; V5 = plural in non-count (invariable nouns); V12 = third pers. sg. concord; V15 = Use of prog. for habitual events; V22 = non-inflection of verbs for passive; V38 = Universal Tag.

A few observations can be made from the above table. All seven variables show a level of significance of P=0.00 which is higher than what is generally expected in statistics (i.e 0.05 level). What this means is that standard Nigerian English usage generally employs less of these variables than the non-stndard sub-set. There is little doubt therefore that the two varieties are distinct enough.

4.19.7 The NigE Continuum

Two seemingly different conclusions can be drawn from the fore-going discussions. The first is that the sub-sets are distinct entities and therefore capable of independent existence. This implies that there are three different co-existent systems in NigE.

It is also possible to postulate an opposite view - that the sub-varieties are indistinguishable from one

another and one can therefore hardly talk of three entities. The fact that certain features cut across these sub-sets lends credence to this claim.

None of these views is, however, altogether correct. On the surface, these varieties seem to be discrete and delimitable but a closer look reveals that they are linked in a continuum of sub-varieties with the transitional NSNigE mediating the 'polar opposites' of NigP (basilect) and SNigE (acrolect). By calling it a continuum, DeCamp (1971:354) says,

> I mean that given two samples of Jamaican speech which differ substantially from one another, it is usually possible to find a third intermediate level in an additional sample. Thus it is not practicable to describe the system in terms of two or three or six or any other manageable number of discrete social dialects.

Bickerton (1975:18) as we have seen, agrees with DeCamp. His work on Guyanese creole provides further evidence that variation is not always associated with social class, as no unambiguous social lines divide 'invariable' from 'invariant' speakers. His suggestion that any attempt to divide or submerge the continuum into co-existent system on purely linguistic grounds will obscure the linguistic development in Guyanese creoles continuum, applies to the Nigerian context. So too his warning, that any approach which sorts the continuum into discrete sub-systems cannot provide valid answers to such

critical questions as:

> Where did these sub-systems come from, how did they originate and **how do they relate to one another?** (emphasis mine).

Todd (1982:22) more explicitly presents the case of Cameroonian English (CamE), a situation that is similar, to some extent, to the Nigerian context. Admitting that the varieties of CamE are neither discrete nor delimitable, she submits that:

> To imply that any clear cut divisions exist would be a gross over-simplification because each of the varieties influences the others and each is a conglomerate of overlapping variants.

Even at the end of the continuum, O'Donnell and Todd (1980) stress, 'we are not dealing with discrete entities but an unbroken chain between pidgin, and between pidgin and standard English'. That unbroken chain in NigE is illustrated with the following range.

A(i)	Me	a	no	get	**am**	for	money
(ii)	(Me)	a	no	get	am	for	money
(iii)		ai	no	get	am	for	money
(iv)		**I**	no	get	am	for	money
(v)		**I**	**no**	get	am	(for)	money
(vi)		**I**	no	get	(am)		money
(vii)		**a**	no	get	money		
(viii)	(Me)	a	no	get	money		

(ix)	**a**	**no**	get/have	money
(x)	**a**	**no**	have	money
(xi)	**ai**	**no**	have	money
(xii)	**I**	**no**	have	money
(xiii)	**I**	**do**	not have	money
(xiv)	**I**	**do**	not have any	money
(xv)	**I**	don't	have any	money

Sentences (i) - (xii) represent different forms of pidgin. While many speakers of genuine or core pidgin, especially those from Delta and Rivers States will be amazed to hear (i) - (vi), speakers of this range may have learnt pidgin from some urban, non-native pidgin speaking areas, for instance Zaria, Kano and Kaduna.

We also note the obvious cases of the use of resumptive pronouns either as subjects or objects or both.

In (vii) - (xi), we are dealing with a slightly different type of pidgin with (vii) being the closest to genuine pidgin. It must be stressed that it is possible to use **me**, in place of **a** for emphasis, for instance, in **(viii)**. It is equally usual to use both, i.e. 'me' and 'a', thus: '**Me, a** no get money'.

This is almost taking us back to (i) and (ii) except for the inclusion of **am** and **for** in the latter. Sometimes too, we have '**I** no get am for money' (i.e. iv) - which

involves the use of standard 'I' even before the transition to the acrolect can be said to have begun.

It is important to observe that it is towards the end of the spectrum that the non-definite determiner 'any', is used; so too, the contracted form, 'don't'. The latter perhaps, suggests informality. Even here, we like to point out that other alternative forms exist, for instance:

I have **no any** money

There is **no any** money

These suggest that non-standard features still filter into the acrolect.

A less complex range, presented below, will highlight some other aspects of the continuum.

B(i)	**i**	don	see	in/im	book
(ii)	im	don	see	in/im	book
(iii)	im	don	see	im	book
(iv)	he	don	see	im	book
(v)	he	don	see	**him**	book
(vi)	he	have	see	him	book
(vii)	he	have	see	his	book
(viii)	he	has	see	his	book
(ix)	he	has	seen	his	book

While we accept that Sentence (i) is genuine pidgin, the movement from (i) - (ix) may not necessarily be as

systematic as we have presented here: it may therefore (to some degree) differ between individual speakers. This is because it is not usually easy to determine the unit the speaker learns first since the learning pattern of individuals or groups will very much depend on the source, type, strength and the direction of the sociolinguistic wave acting on and influencing them.

If the ranges present a theoretical and somewhat 'systematic' progression, in the following discussion, we see how in practice, the continuum manifests itself.

UK: I find it difficult to believe that your room-mate can lock the door and go out with the key when she **know sey you get exam tomorrow. Na so she be?** It is very unfair - as for me I cannot **cope up** with it. We **go de fight every day** even though **na she be** landlady. **No any body** can treat me like that and go free. **I go show am pepper.**

Sandra: My sister, **na your own better, na me say ai go squat.** After all, there are rooms in Samaru, but **na money yab man; i get as i be, na im make crayfish bend.**

UK **Anyway, na so the girl be. Last session, na so she come get real problems with her room mates. She think sey na only her papa get money, she too do sef, her own too much**

Sandra: UK, we have only two weeks more to the end of the semester; after that **she no go see my face for this room, lai lai.**

UK: **Anyway, na so life be, make we take am like that.** I know that everything will be alright - isha Allah.

What this and other observations suggest is that these units are not implicationally related.

Questions have however been asked as to what determines the particular units to be analysed (see McEntegart and Le Page, 1982:109). For us, both syntactic and semantic factors have been employed in determining the features to be considered in our analysis of the continuum. This is informed by the fact that implicit in the continuum is the assumption that the sub-sets are not completely different and that consequently they share, to some extent, similar semantic distinctions.

For instance, from the syntactic functions and the meanings of the lexical items, it is clear that the standard equivalent of 'no get' in 'a **no get** money' is **'don't have'** A similar explanation can be provided for 'don see' and **'have seen'**

Another issue found relevant to the choice of items is the existence of certain 'indexical features' which are common to all lects in the spectrum. These markers provide the necessary link between the sub-units in the unbroken chain. Our analysis shows that the features include the following (outlined earlier in 4.19.8):

(a) **Plural** in invariable nouns

(b) Non-observance of third person singular concord

(c) The use of V+s with non-third singular subjects

(d) The use of progressive aspect for habitual events

(e) The use of progressive aspect with stative verbs

(f) Non-inflection of verbs for the passive

(g) The use of universal tag - 'Isn't it?'

The results reveal (as Banjo 1971, Adesanoye, 1973 etc have shown) that the frequency of these features diminishes as one moves from non-standard to standard. See Fig 4.1, which represents a simplified impressionistic view of the NigE continuum.

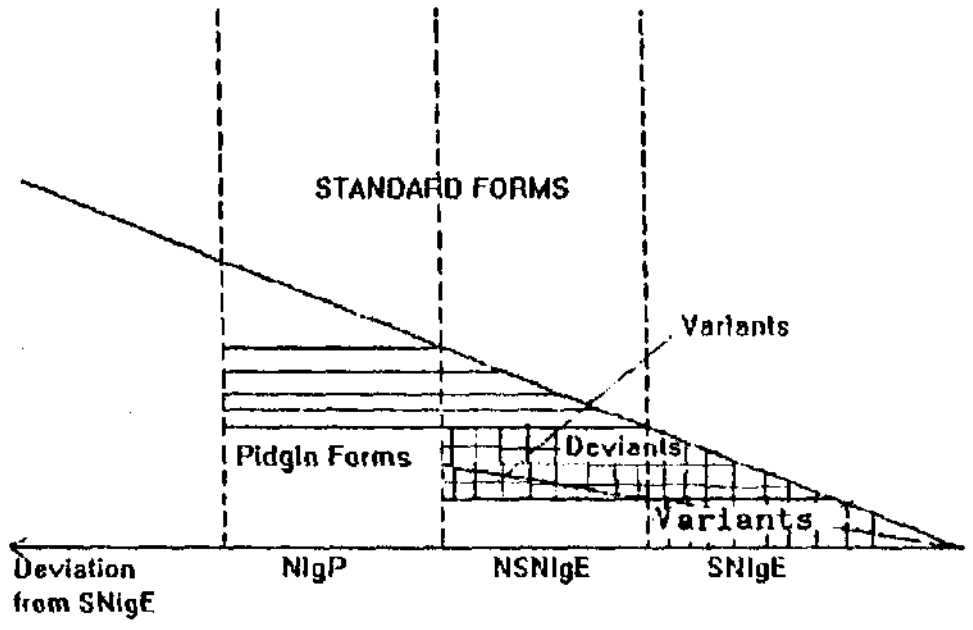


Fig. 4.1 The Nigerian English Continuum. (adapted from Jowitt, 1991:47).

The figure also shows that even in standard usage, there are non-standard forms, though in reduced frequencies. It is the presence of these features that gives

character, not only to NigE, but to most other LFEs, especially the West African varieties.

Admittedly, such an impressionistic view which presents a general pattern conceals individual tendencies which are naturally more complex. This is more so when we recall Le Page's (1975:147) declaration that 'commonly within such communities there are individuals who can command any part of the linguistic continuum and others whose range is more limited'.

For instance, some members of the Story Group (SG/003M, SG/010M, SG/005F, SG/007F etc) used only the standard variety while others (SG/006M. SG/009M. SG/008F etc) were proficient in both SNigE and NSNigE. Those who fall into the former category occasionally found themselves making efforts to speak pidgin during the story sessions. The results were always amazing, especially to fluent speakers of the variety. Listen to this:

680. Akiiga: Umar, you **don write** the names of the people for your group?

Umar: Haba, **I don submitted** it since You know the man likes to keep **to time**.

For a speaker such as Umar, the movement is towards the basilect and it will take quite sometime before he gets there,if he really does. Many speakers used both NigP and SNigE (see SA/012M, CT/004M, SA/008F, CT/016F etc).

At the individual level therefore, the picture is somewhat similar to that presented by Bickerton (1975:180) which we have earlier shown in Fig. 2.3 (P.74).

There is however one major difference. Unlike the Guyanese patterns where no range touches both ends of the continuum, in the NigE continuum, such a situation is not only possible but 'common'. That no such user's output is analysed may seem absurd. To do so however, is likely to create more analytical problems than it is meant to solve, as it has to be determined which variety is employed in each utterance . Individuals are also known to use less of non-standard forms once they become aware of them. Only heavy users of each variety were therefore selected for the analysis - this invariably enhanced the contrast between the sub-sets.

One of the reasons why in Bickerton's Guyanese schema no range touches both ends is that, like Banjo's plateau 'each point is occupied by a new group (of users) as soon as it is vacated'. This in effect means that the users abandon a sub-set, as soon as they acquire the next, for the new-comers.

It may also seem contradictory that while these varieties are said to form a continuum, analyses of the continuum have continued to be based on these discrete sub-sets. It must be borne in mind nevertheless, that the

continuum envisaged here has discrete units within it, with their functions based on the sociolinguistic needs of the users. Our analysis of the lects is therefore based on the known fact that variation (especially in creole communities) is caused by the juxtaposition of several different isolects, or lects, each at a different state of linguistic development (Rickford, 1979:47) and these have remained the major analysable units of the continuum.

4.19.8 NigE and other West African LFEs

Most studies in EWL recognise a West African sub-component. Indeed, Brosnahan (1958) implied the existence of such a sub-regional variety. See also Quirk **et al** (1972), Smith (1981), Todd (1982), Trudgill and Hannah (1985) etc. This is because some of the features outlined in this study are common to the users of English within this geographical area. A number of them however, are peculiar to Nigeria.

Some of these features appeared in the outputs of the four non-Nigerian members of the SG (two female Cameroonians. SG/001F/CAM and SG/002F/CAM, and two citizens (a boy and a girl) pf Niger Republic- SG/003F/NGR and SG/004M/MGR. A few examples will suffice.

Variable 3:

681 **No any** of them is ripe, they pluck unripe mangoes and sell to us .... (SG/003F/**NGR**)

Variables 5 and 12:

682 I don't even know who give them money to buy **stationeries** for campaign. (SG/001f/**CAM**)

Variable 12:

683 Each time he **see** somecody from Zinder **i no go read again**. (SG/004M/**NGR**)

Variable 13:

684 All these **results** to failure. (SG/004M/**NGR**).

Variable 15.

685 I **am living** with my sister in GRA at PZ. (SG/001F**CAM**)

Variable 22.

686 Sewage disposal should be well **manage** (SG/002F/CAM)

Variable 27:

689 I cannot **be able to** stand by the road to wait for lift - lift to where? (SG/003F/**NGR**).

Variable 34:

690 The boys have nothing to discuss **about**, so so girls. (SG/002F/**CAM**).

Variable 36:

691 I have never gone home **since we came back last year**. (SG/003F/**NGR**).

Variable 38:

692 You can never get any **furnitures** in the room, if you come back late, **abi no to so?** (SG/001F/**CAM**)

4.19.9 STYLISTIC VARIATION

Sociolinguists have always shown interest in the relationship between language and social context. Labov

(1966) for example, holds that as the degree of formality increases, New Yorkers tend to use less of non-standard forms of /r/ and that women are more conscious of standard forms than men. Both Trudgill (1974a) and Petyt (1978) agree with Labov. Trudgill, states that the working class in Norwich use 100% glottal stop in casual speech, but in more formal situations, their score is almost the same with that of the highest class.

Petyt affirms that all classes in West Yorkshire use secondary contraction more frequently with increasing informality, though it is heard more commonly towards the lower end of the social scale.

These suggest that speakers (in New York, Norwich and West Yorkshire) have common forms of correctness and are therefore aware of both standard and non-standard forms but that the lower class adheres to these norms only in formal situations when attention is paid to speech.

As we have earlier indicated, Cheshire (1982) has a different view. According to her, the use of non-standard forms tends to increase with formality in Reading. Jibril (1986:71) also observes that 'there is proportionately more of the non-RP variants in reading style than in discussion style'.

In the present study, five contexts were used. These have been discussed in detail in Chapter Three. Scheffe

Group tests were applied to the outputs of the subjects to determine the degree to which the variables were used in the different social contexts while T-Tests and ANOVA were conducted to establish the level of significance.

In terms of frequency of occurrence, the pattern of usage in the various sociolinguistic contexts for both groups of subjects remained the same: more of the variables were used during story sessions (SG) which were less formal, more relaxed and among close friends. Slight differences were, however, noted within each variety. These are discussed below:

4.19.9.1 Nigerian Pidgin

In NigP, Scheffe Grouping puts the use of all the variables in the three contexts into the same category (A). See Table 4.71. This implies the means are not significantly different.

Table 4.71: Scheffe Grouping for the use of the variables in NigP for both groups in three contexts

Scheffs Group	Mean	Context
A	27.96	3.(SG)
A	20.30	2.(CT)
A	19.25	1.(SA)

N = 52 Alpha = 0.05: df = 153: CV F = 3.055
Min sig diff = 17.92. Means with the same letter are not significantly different.

The ANOVA computed for the same set of variables (in Table 4.71) yielded a similar result: (F = 0.86. df = 2: p = 0.42)

While the sex groups have slight means differences for each sociolinguistic context, the general pattern as presented in Table 4.72, remains the same.

Table 4.72. Mean differences between the groups in the use of the variables in NigP in three contexts

Scheffe Grouping	Male	Female	Context
A	28.62	27.31	3.(SG)
A	20.00	29.62	2.(CT)
A	18.47	20.08	1.(SA)

N = 26; Alpha = 0.05: df = 75: C.V of F = 311
Mean with the same litters are not significantly different.

Results from the T-Tests also show that although, in terms of overall usage, the female group has a slightly higher mean; the difference is not significant at the 0.05 level. Details are given in Table 4.73.

Table 4.73: Mean and standard deviation for the groups in the use of the variables

Sex	Mean	Std. Dev.	t	P
1	22.34	37.41	0.0540	0.9570
2	22.66	36.70		

N = 78: df = 154: 1 = M: 2 = F

Analysis of Variance Tests carried out separately for both groups to ascertain intra-group patterns show that there are no significant trends.

Male: $F = 0.55$; $df = 2$: $p = 0.57$.

Female $F = 0.31$: $df = 2$: $p = 0.73$

At the inter-variety level, there however seems to be some kind of functional allocation to NigP. For instance, while pidgin was occasionally used during CT, it was not employed at all during the PD. This is a direct reflection of what obtains in the Nigerian society where pidgin is generally used for campaigns and mobilization. When it comes to the more serious PD, the standard variety is usually employed.

As we have also noted, no subject wrote his essay in pidgin, no matter the topic. The tokens of pidgin that appeared in the essays were the result of inadequate mastery of standard usage. These show that NigP is not generally used in some formal and rather impersonal activities such as those represented by the other contexts, especially if the interlocutors or the members of the audience are competent in the standard variety.

This does not in any way suggest that NigP is exclusively a medium of communication for the uneducated and those not competent in SNigE or simply a lingua franca in multilingual or multi-ethnic contexts.

It does imply however, that while NigP continues to

be used among friends and colleagues irrespective of their level of education and social status and cannot therefore be strictly said to be a contact variety, its role as a medium of interaction in a number of formal contexts remains limited, debatable and therefore unsettled.

Elugbe and Omamor (1991:51) have however argued that in their experience 'university teachers who happen to be typical speakers (of NigP) invariably use it to discuss just about any subject'. While this may be true to some extent, evidence from this study does not support such a view.

Our stand is buttressed by the fact that while there are literary works in NigP and it is extensively used for religious activities, promotions and mobilization, and indeed for explanatory purposes especially 'when communication breaks down between pupils and teachers' in some states in the southern part of the country, NigP is not the official medium of instruction in Nigerian schools. This further explains why NigP was neither used for WE nor PD.

Even when pidgin is used among students and lecturers, it is first and foremost to indicate familiarity. It is not usual for instance, for a student to address his lecturer in NigP even outside the classroom, unless they are familiar. Once a relationship

is established however, the use of pidgin becomes quite normal. In the following excerpt, a member of the SG dramatises this familiarity.

692. Good Evening, Oga Dili. **Na wa o. You scarce today. No be small**, I was in your office thrice, if not more than that before I left for home - **kpa kpa I come go your house - the same thing.**

Sir, I come borrow some books from you. An assignment was given to me late today and I am expected to submit it first thing tomorrow. The assignment says 'Distinguish between morphology and syntax. Please help me if you have any books that treat these two. **Me I no wan bang** - o. (SG/008F)

Among the students, pidgin serves some other socio-political functions: solidarity/mobilization and revolt. Pidgin seems to be easily used to express non-conformist beliefs and views that generally lead to protests and demonstrations by the group that wishes to be seen and heard as different, unique and above the law - a kind of group symbol/ identity. At the least provocation therefore, 'war songs' some of which may not have been heard or rehearsed before rend the air. Such is the following chorus which ran through virtually all Nigerian Universities in 1991.

693. We no go gree - o. we no go gree - o
Twenty million dollar loan
We no go gree

We no go gree - o. we no go gree

World bank loan
We no go gree

So too, is the celebrated 'victory song':

694. Winner oh oh O Winner
Winner oh oh o winner
Maradona you don win, winner
Certainly you go win again o Winner

which seems to have now acquired the status of a 'national anthem'.

What is significant is that for the students (and therefore, the subjects), these songs rendered in NigP signify either that all is not well on the campus or that their demands have been met - both of which call for a rally to decide the next line of action.

At the individual level, students use pidgin to express rejection of even laid-down rules as a mark of protest. Below, we present a student's reaction to an invigilator's declaration that he came late for the examination and would not be allowed into the hall.

695. A: Old boy, come make we go jare. The man think sey na me i go take shine. Only thirty minutes, na im dem no let person write the exam im don de read for since.

B: Na so the man be! - the guy no be correct guy, at all (LD/043M)

Among the boys, it is obvious that to be seen as 'getting on', 'to belong' or 'to meet up', 'to radiate' or 'to vibrate' one must be able to 'rap' and 'toast' in some form of NigP. It is particularly this desire on the part of those who do not have any background in pidgin,

that makes them begin to 'learn' some form of pidgin which is usually a mixture of all the three varieties we have discussed, and not necessarily due to lack of a medium of interaction.

This trend is not however pronounced among the girls who are usually 'shy' to use pidgin especially among those they are not familiar with. This 'shyness' has to do with the initial misconception of Nigerians that pidgin is for the lowly-placed. Even with the changing attitude towards pidgin, girls will naturally want to show that under no circumstances, should they be taken for the lowly-placed.

Among close friends however, they are very much at home with pidgin. In the following conversation, three girls (SG/008F, SG/012F and a non-member of the SG) discuss one of the problems associated with university education - lack of seriousness on the part of some students.

696. A: Old girl, na your eye be this, how now? (SG/008F).

B: Na im o, ai de fine. I beg, you don do your Sociology 201 assignment? (LD/042F)

A: Yes now, na wetin?

B: I beg, give me make I dub, I just de come from Jaji, shey you understand!

A: But ai don submit am since

B: I don die be that.

When the girl left, the conversation continued with her SG friend.

A: You no see am, na so dem de do.
Na only party dem sabi, now i wan come
dub after ai don suffer to do am..
Dem think sey we be fool.

C: Na waah - o, shey you know her friend...
she come my room yesterday before
dem go Jaji. She say make ai help
am write the assignment and make ai
even submit an for am. say she go
do me better if she come back. (SG/012F)

A: So wetin you tell am?

C: Me ke, trust me - ai tell am
sey ai get plenty assignment
wey ai never do.

A: Na im good for am. Make them de
waste their time, one day monkey
go go market i no go return. See...
our lecturer don come make we go class.

4.19.9.2 Non-standard Nigerian English

Unlike in NigP, where the use of the variables in the different contexts did not differ significantly, in NSNigE a different picture emerged. The different contexts were ordered into two groups (A and B), with WE and SG in the higher magnitude range (labelled A in Table 4.74 and CT, SA and PD in the lower range, B.

Table 4.74: Scheffe Grouping for the use of the variable in the five contexts in NSNigE .

Scheffe Grouping	Mean	Context
A	6.579	1 (WE)
A	4.987	5 (SG)

B	2.632	3	(CT)
B	2.342	2	(SA)
B	1.789	4	(PD)

Alpha = 0.05; df = 375; CV of F = 2.3957; N = 76

While the overall mean differences at the non-standard level are significant (F = 19.49: SD = 4: p =0.0001) correlation does not hold between contextual styles and the sexes. The following table gives details of the T-Test.

Table 4.75: Mean differences between the groups in the use of the variables in NSNigE in the five contexts.

Sex	Mean	Std.Dev.	t	p
1	3.6947	3.442	0.1282	0.8980
2	3.6368	5.1833		

N = 78: df = 154: 1 = M: 2 = F

With each subject group, ordering into Scheffe Grouping remains similar to the general plan outlined above - with WE and SG in A, while the other contexts are sorted into B. An explanation has already been given for the high frequency of non-standard features in SG.

A similar explanation can be provided for WE where the respondents had to choose from a list of six topics. They would naturally have chosen those they could discuss effectively. The setting was also familiar to a classroom

situation among course-mates with similar problems and interests. These are bound to enhance spontaneous speech, as the following extract illustrates.

697 Another reason **prompting** my decision to go into **that** profession, **is the** fact that I have **notice** that most of these foreign journalists, **they** come down to this country or might not even come but send spies who come to spy **out** on the country in many ways, be it our **economic**, **political**, security and **they** go back to their own country making bad reports to ridicle the country in the eyes of the whole world. (WE/002M)

As with the combined analysis, highly positive correlation exists between the use of non-standard features and social contexts for both groups of subjects. The following are the details of the ANOVA.

Male: $F = 13.33$; $df = 4$; $P = 0.0001$

Female: $F = 8.78$; $df = 4$; $p = 0.0001$

4.19.9.3 Standard Nigerian English

A pattern similar to what we observed in NigP exists in SNigE: all the sociolinguistic contexts are sorted into one magnitude range for both men and women. See Table 4.76

Table 4.76: Scheffe Grouping for the use of the variable in the five contexts in NSNigE for both sexes.

Scheffe Grouping	Mean	Context
A	0.4211	1 (WE)
A	0.2500	5 (SG)

A	0.1842	4	(PD)
A	0.1711	2	(SA)
A	0.1711	3	(CT)

Alpha = 0.05 df = 375: CV of F = 2.3957: N = 76

Scheffe ordering for the men is similar to that presented in Table 4.74. There is however a different arrangement for the women. Unlike the combined grouping and that conducted separately for the men, the order for the women places WE and SG in the highest and lowest points respectively on the magnitude scale, see Table 4.77

Table 4.77: Scheffe Grouping for the use of the variables in the five contexts in SNigE for women

Scheffe Grouping	Mean	Context
A	0.368	1 (WE)
A	0.263	3 (CT)
A	0.237	2 (SA)
A	0.158	4 (PD)
A	0.158	5 (SG)

Alpha = 0.05 df = 375: CV of F = 2.42048 N = 38

This pattern is not quite easy to explain particularly if we realize that both PD (which is less formal) and SG have the same mean (0.158). The arrangement which sees SA and CT with the same mean range (0.237 and 0.263 respectively) seems easier to explain - both are informal, though not necessarily among students

with similar social networks.

We may be justified therefore to state that with Scheffe Grouping, no definite pattern seems to have emerged, though women tend to be more erratic than their male counterparts in style-shifts.

The ANOVA computed for the combined group and that conducted separately for the men corroborate this trend - both of them yielded significant results: P = 0.0423 and 0.0233 respectively. The figures below however, show that similar tests carried out for the women produced no significant difference.

Male: F = 2.90: df = 4 p = 0.0233

Female: F = 0.88: df = 4 p = 0.4799

It can therefore be said that while women use more standard forms, than the men, sociolinguistic contexts do not seem to be the determining factor in the choice of the variables. The use of more standard forms by women, may seem contradictory especially if we recall that in NSNigE, they also used more non-standard forms. We will explain this apparent contradiction later.

In Table 4.78, details of the T-Test are presented. With only a mean difference of 0.0053 between the groups, there is little wonder why no significant trend is recorded.

Table 4.78: Mean differences between the groups in the use of the variables in SNigE in the five contexts

Sex	Mean	Std.Dev.	t	p
1	0.2421	0.6123	0.0864	0.9313
2	0.2368	0.5743		

N = 190: df = 189: 1 = M: 2 = F

The analysis so far reveals that English usage in Nigeria cannot be said to be directly correlatable with sociolinguistic context. This is more evident in standard usage where SG and WE, two diametrically opposed contexts (one oral, the other written) are assigned to the same magnitude range, indicating that there is no significant difference between their means. What this means in plain terms, is that the frequency of features of NigE (especially the non-standard features) does not diminish as one moves from a less to a more formal context.

The situation therefore does not fully lend credence to Labov's claim that individuals tend to use less of non-standard forms when attention is paid to speech. If anything, the revers is the case, at least generally.

A look at the outputs of the subjects shows that while, for instance, non-standard features occurred more in formal setting (WE) for both groups, no clear-cut pattern has emerged.

While the men used such features most infrequently during the CT, for the women it is in SG. Even a

consideration of both contexts as informal does not explain why contrary to Labov's claim, non-standard forms seem to increase with formality. Apart from differences in the status of English in the United States of America and Nigeria, it is our view that these forms have become stigmatized and therefore difficult to eliminate. They have consequently become features of one of the new Englishes - SNigE.

That our findings do not conform to Labov's or Trudgill's specifications is not surprising. A number of scholars (Akere, 1984 for instance) have come to similar conclusions. Ubahakwe (1974) refers to the English generally used by most Nigerians as 'Bookish English' i.e. the variety taught and learnt in the formal setting of our schools. This variety is employed by most users of English in Nigeria without any consideration of context.

Akere acknowledges that while it is important for the users of English in a second language situation to acquire the knowledge of the language (linguistic competence) it is also necessary for them to learn how to use each variety appropriately (communicative competence).

Akere's view is based on the disturbing realisation that many users of English in Nigeria do not employ appropriate varieties of language in communicative situations. She declares (1984:91):

> Our observation over the years of the use of English in interpersonal encounters among university students and lecturers, in public encounters etc reveals a grossly inadequate knowledge of the sociolinguistic variables which govern language use in communicative interactions.

See also Adeniran (1974), Adetugbo (1979a & b), Egbe (1979), etc for a similar view.

Lack of communicative competence may therefore account for the inability of subjects to use appropriate styles in the different social contexts. If however, Scheffe Grouping fails to produce a clear picture of style shifts among the sexes, Fig 4.2 throws more light and suggests that a pattern, no matter how sketchy, seems to have emerged.

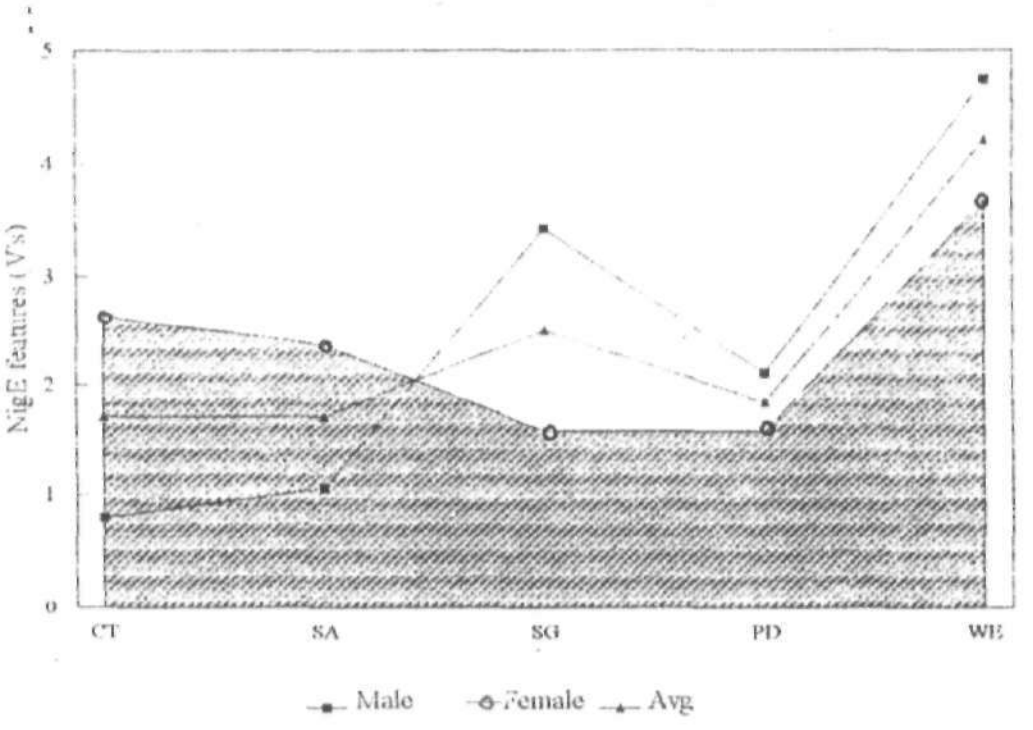


Fig. 4.2 Stylistic variation in SNigE.

The five sociolinguistic contexts have been arranged on a cline of formality with CT and WE being the least and most formal contexts respectively. In deciding this arrangement, the following issues were considered:

i. Medium

ii. Level of attention paid to speed/writing.

iii. Nature and setting of event

iv. The subjects' relationship with the interlocutors/audience.

The figure shows the use of the features of Nigerian English by both groups of subjects in the five sociolinguistic contexts. The vertical axis represents the features index while the horizontal axis shows the five sociolinguistic contexts, in increasing order of formality.

We observe that less non-standard forms are used by the male subjects in the informal contexts (CT and SA). They however show a rapid increase in the use of these features in more formal contexts - the crossover pattern noticed between SA and SG seems to be a deviation from 'the expected pattern of linguistic behaviour'.

For the female, the situation is rather different; comparatively more non-standard forms are used in informal contexts, CT and SA. There is a reduction in the values of these features when compared with the scores for the male in formal contexts.

In sum, we note that while the female use more non-standard features in informal contexts, with increasing formality, there is comparatively a reduction in the frequency of these variables.

This confirms that 'women are sensitive than men to overt sociolinguistic values' and 'they correct more sharply than men in formal contexts' (Labov, 1972:243). See also Shuy, Wolfram and Riley (1967), Trudgill (1971) etc.

The relatively low score in PD is easy to explain. Naturally, only students who are confident and have relatively good command of English will contest for the post of the President. In this study, there were only eight such contestants.

We can then postulate that for both groups of subjects, there is a sharp increase in the use of the variables as one moves from SG to WE - two different forms of communication - one spoken, the other written. See Jibril (1986) and Cheshire (1982) for similar conclusions.

In Chapter Five, we present the summary and our conclusion.

NOTES

[1]Sey (1973) identifies similar sub-types in Ghanaian English i.e. 'Educated Ghanaian English', Broken English' and 'Pidgin English'. See also Allosop (1972) for Caribbean English; Kachru (1969), South Asian English; (1976), Indian English, etc.

[2] Each example is given a code-number which consists of three items: the context SA, WE, SG e.t.c in which it occurred; the subject's Number and sex. For instance, SA/068M - Soccer Adventure, Number 68, Male. Where the subject is a non-Nigerian, his nationality is indicated e.g NGR or CAM for Niger and Cameroon, respectively.

[3] In USEng, 'accommodation' is a plural invariable (mass) noun. It is usual to have 'Good accommodations are hard to find here? See Trudgill and Hannah (1988:61) for details.

[4] Superfluous use of determiners is permissible in pidgin grammar. The use of this feature is however extended to the two other sub-sets.

[5]'Staff' has now come to be treated as $N(_c)_{sg}$ in some varieties of BrE.

[6]It is difficult to state if the subject has employed economy of speech.

[7]See Quirk **et al**, (1992:110) for discussions on 'ablaut' or gradation'.

[8]Broadcast**ed**' occurs in some varieties of English.

See *Chambers 20th Century Dictionary* 1983 ed, p.157.

[9] 'Wake' is sometimes used as a regular verb in some varieties, with the Ved_1 form - 'wak**ed**'

[10] On the contrary, the use of Ved_2 with expressions of definite time reference is becoming increasingly common, even among native speakers in the BBC.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary

This study examines NigE in the light of recent developments in the study of Englishes around the world. It is observed that the forms of English that emerged in the new nation states developed features peculiar to the historical and sociolinguistic needs of the new environments.

While such nativised varieties of English have not been quite acceptable to some native speakers, for instance Prator, who refers to their use for educational purposes as 'heretic', a few others, notably Strevens and Quirk are more sympathetic towards these local forms of English .

The Hawaii Conference acknowledged that it is no longer adequate to see English as the sole property of the Englishman but also that of millions of others to whom English is non-native. It also makes a distinction between intranational and international uses of English in most countries.

5.1.1 Nigerian English

There have been a number of studies in NigE. In terms of variety differentiation however, there is no consensus as to the number of sub-sets identifiable in NigE. While Brosnahan and Banjo identify four varieties, for Adesanoye and Odumuh there are three. For Jowitt however, there are just two.

Equally contentious is who speaks SNigE. Banjo agrees

with Brosnahan that the secondary school leavers should be seen as users of SNigE; Odumuh argues for a group a little higher in education - the first or second year undergraduate.

Of all the scholars, perhaps only Odumuh and Jowitt relate NigE to the growing studies in English as a world language. Both build on 'lects' as employed by Bickerton in his study of the Guyanese creole continuum. They however disagree on the components of the NigE continuum. While Odumuh sees NigP as part of the continuum, Jowitt feels that pidgin is an entirely different language. Our stand is similar to that of Odumuh and for us, the Nigerian English continuum has as its basilect-mesolect-acrolect equivalents: NigP, NSNigE and SNigE. These are not implicationally related.

A number of analytical frameworks were looked into ranging from Bickerton's Liear Scalogram, Labov's Variability Model, the Co-existence Theory to the Bailey Wave Model. A combination of the Linear Scalogram and the multidimensional approach (which takes care of the multi-ethnic and multilingual situation in Nigeria) is employed in this study. Le Page's model also recognises that not all changes in language can be accounted for by variable rules.

5.1.2 The Present Study

Eighty-four 100 and 200 level students from six faculties of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and from the different states and the Federal Capital Territory served as subjects in

the study. The data was collected from five different sociolinguistic contexts: WE (Written Essays), SA (Soccer Adventure), PD (Presidential Debate), CT (Campaign Train) and SG (Story Group). Apart from WE, participant-observation method was used to obtain materials for the study; care was also taken to minimise the usual problems of the observer's paradox, sometimes using social networks and friends of friends.

5.1.3 The Variables

Twenty-eight variables in NigP and thirty-eight in NSNigE and SNigE (most of which have been identified as features of other LFEs) were analysed in the study.

To ascertain the relationship between the use of the variables and sex, ANOVAS were conducted separately for each of the variables, while to determine the relationship between contextual styles and sex, the variables were collapsed into 3 x 2 ANOVAS (for pidgin) and 5 x 2 ANOVAS (for both NSNgE and SNigE).

Both T-Tests and Scheffe Group Tests were also conducted: while the Scheffe Grouping located the differences more precisely, the T-Tests established the degree of significance. Further statistical relationship was sought between NSNigE and SNigE aimed at finding out whether they are distinct enough.

5.1.4 Findings:

5.1.4.1 Features of LFEs

The study confirms that NigE shares the features of other LFEs (Indian, Malaysian, Caribbean, Ghanaian, Cameroonian, Singapore, Indonesia, Pakistan, Kenya, Tanzania, New Zealand, Australian etc). Such characteristics include the following:

1. Pluralizing non-count nouns.
2. Non-observance of the rule of third person singular concord.
3. The use of V+s with non-third person singular subjects.
4. The use of progressive aspect with habitual events.
5. The use of progressive aspect with stative verbs.
6. The non-inflection of verb for the passive
7. The use of universal tag.

5.1.4.2. NigE Continuum

The study has established that except where heavy users of each variety are involved, it is generally difficult to determine where one variety starts and ends as each variety influences the others, to some extent. It is therefore evident that while elements of core NigP exist, depidginization has indeed set in.

That there is a change of attitude towards pidgin is apparent from the fact that the variety which hitherto had been seen as that of the uneducated Nigerian, is used by most Nigerians irrespective of thier level of education in informal

situations and among close friends.

It is possible that as more and more SNigE forms are introduced into NigP, the variety becomes less stereotyped and consequently more attractive. Under such a situation, speech becomes more focused and less divergent and 'when codes and variables lose their symbolic function as markers of various social identities, the way for linguistic changes is paved' (Romaine, 1988:203).

Nigerian Pidgin is also the variety for mobilizing the youths and for revolting against authority. Beyond this, each student (especially the boys) needs some form of campus pidgin to be seen as a model of studentship.

At the non-standard level, we observe that there are more tokens in the outputs of the female subjects. The differences are however not generally significant.

Perhaps, the striking thing about the usage of the subjects is that at the SNigE level, fewer tokens of the variables appeared in the outputs of the women. Though the differences still did not yield any statistically significant trend, the development is worth noting. This is because it supports the general view that women are more sensitive to standard forms than men.

5.1.4.3 Standard and Non-standard NigE

On whether the standard and non-standard sub-sets are distinct enough the study established that they are - the

ANOVAS conducted for the use of all the variables in both subsets confirm this.

5.1.4.4 NigE and Social Contexts

English usage (especially the standard variety) in Nigeria has been described as not varying with context. Evidence from this study shows that this is generally true. For instance, Scheffe Grouping places the usage for both sexes in all the sociolinguistic contexts into one group, an indication that they fall within the same magnitude/mean range. If any group made efforts to vary their usage, it is the female subjects with a reduction in the frequency of non-standard forms especially in formal contexts. This is when compared with the frequency of such forms in the outputs of the men.

Generally however, there is an increase in the number of non-standard items (which can now be said to be stigmatised) as one moves from less formal to more formal contexts.

5.2 Pedagogical Implications

One question that readily comes to mind is 'What variety of NigE should be the medium of instruction?' The Hawaii Conference recognises that English in most non-native countries serves a number of functions - it is used for both intranational and international purposes. When used intranationally, certain identifiable features develop to

reflect the culture and way of life of the users.

The international function is evident when Nigerians wish to communicate with members of the wider English communities. Since this is one of the aims of learning the language, it is recommended by some scholars (Wong, 1981, for instance) that the international variety i.e. the educated native speaker's usage should be the medium of instruction in the new nation states. There are a number of reasons why this recommendation should be taken seriously.

Firstly, NigP and non-standard varieties are not standardized. For instance, the issue of a standard orthography for pidgin continues to create problems.

There are however, abundant materials in the educated i.e. the standard variety. Most educational materials in science, mathematics, law, medicine, administration etc are published in this variety, some of them in the educated native variety. It seems logical therefore, to suggest that the medium of instruction in our schools should be the educated native speaker's variety.

Some Nigerian linguists share this view. Kujore (1995:375-6) for instance, suggests that:

> For the time being, the pupils and students uniformly throughout the education system should be taught and encouraged to adopt British English usage (together with its American influences)

But he adds that at the same time 'they should be fully exposed to the features of Nigerian English'.

It is not however clear what Kujore means by being 'fully exposed...' when in actual fact, this variety is not the medium of instruction and, perhaps communication in these institutions. It will be difficult to implement these suggestions without treating SNigE as inferior to SBrE.

For us, Kujore's submission can be likened to a nation that gains her independence after a long struggle and on the appointed day of celebration, the leaders insist that the colonial master's flag should be hoised, their anthem sung and, only ask the citizens to be aware of the existence of their (own) national anthem and perhaps, the colours of their national flag.

These portray a nation not ready for independence. For the Nigerian linguist, they signify lack of personal conviction about the character, function and status of NigE.

To recommend the use of SBrE as the medium of instruction at all level of education in Nigeria (even 'for the time being') is a painful reminder of 'the British heresy in TESL'. Nigerian English has certainly gone beyond that point.

It therefore seems that Kujore inadvertently (I presume) is holding back the hand of the clock in Nigerian English studies, even though he recognises that 'linguistic identity is the pride of a nation' (P.367). This is unfortunate especially if one remembers that Kujore (1995) is a contribution to the celebration of **New Englishes: A West African Perspective.**

Perhaps too, it is necessary to state that a number of Nigerian linguists, including the present writer, do not claim to have native-like competence in all aspects of English. A casual look at Kujore's check-list (Kujore, 1985) certainly settles the doubt for those who do not know where to place themselves on the scale of competence in SBrE. The greatest problem and perhaps the irony, is that most us, including those who should know, are not even aware that what we consider standard British usage is nothing but NigE. Kujore (1995:375) recalls after a workshop, that:

> Indeed, one of the teachers, most of whom were either examiners or markers for the West African Examination Council (WAEC) asked in utter disbelief: "Are you really saying that 'to request for (money)' is not British English?"

There are many teachers of English in our secondary schools and even the universities who will react in a similar manner, but more importantly, there are quite a number of other situations that call for such, if not more serious expressions of surprise and indeed, disbelief. Such is the story of standard British usage in Nigeria - a story of varying standards in co-existence even among educated users!

It is therefore obvious that since many teachers (if not most) are at home with standard Nigerian usage, it may not be easy to find teachers who are competent in and can convincingly teach SBrE - the model suggested by Kujore. While it is possible to find teachers of English with near-native-like competence (especially in the written form), the

same cannot be said of the other aspects of the language. This, in our view, poses another problem which Kujore is implicitly aware of but did not seriously take into account - the insistence on exonormative rather than endonormative standards.

Bamgbose (1995:26) also disagrees with Kujore's stand. He argues that from the point of view of acceptability, SNigE 'with all its Nigerianisms... is certainly adequate at least as an oral means of communication'.

Ayo Bamgbose, in addition, calls to question the assumption that certain features of English are 'globally normative' as tests of English as an international language and recommends that conscious efforts should be made to 'modify the form and contents of tests in the light of the nativized standard variety in each country'. See also Banjo (1995) for a similar view.

We agree with Bamgbose but wish to add that at the present level of development of NigE, it can, and should serve more than just an oral means of communication. Indeed, in its written form, NigE is virtually indistinguishable from other internationally accepted standard varieties of English.

Peter Strevens (1978) has something to say on the need and adequacy of LFEs for educational purposes. In 'English as an International Language: When is a Local Form of English a Suitable Target for ELT Purposes?', he observes that even in L_1 situations, L_1-based local forms do not normally serve as an educational model. Citing the case of Cockney, he argues

that it is not taught as a model in British schools. Native speakers of Cockney are even taught how to use the standard variety and encouraged to use the non-local accent so as not to make their speech unintelligible to those outside their speech community. If the local form of English is considered at all, 'it is simply taken for granted as a sort of communally-shared base-line' (p.28).

That this kind of educational policy has been found appropriate in Britain is however a reflection of the native speaker's attitude towards his own language. According to Strevens, criteria for pedagogical models of English are determined by the social attitudes towards the language. But attitudes to English in an L_1 situation are not generally the same with those in L_2 contexts. While the attitude in Britain is aimed at enhancing the British way of life, in L_2 situations, English language is not taught as a vehicle to introduce British or American culture but to maintain the indigenous patterns of life and culture. It is to provide a link in culturally and linguistically pluralistic societies and to maintain a continuity and uniformity in educational, administrative and legal systems (Kachru, 1976).

Strevens therefore argues that under an L_2 situation, English generally acquires some localized features and the users are happy to be associated with them. It should therefore be part of their identity not to be like the British L_1 communities. He outlines three criteria that should be met

by any variety before it can be used as an educational model. Such a variety must be:

a) mutually intelligible with all other national and international forms

b) different from all others.

c) recognisably an L_2 form not an L_1 form

Of the three varieties of NigE, only Standard Nigerian English (SNigE) meets the conditions recommended by Strevens. It is also the variety generally associated with the educated Nigerian and that used when Nigerians wish to communicate with, and be understood by the wider English speaking communities.

This is the only way that the identity of the users of the LFEs (Caribbeans, New Zealanders, Ghanaians, Cameroonians, Indians, Nigerians etc) will be recognised. Tongue (1974, cited in Strevens, 1978:29) recalls the wish of a Singaporean Representative to the United Nations that '...when I'm speaking abroad my countrymen will have no problem recognising that I am a Singaporean.'

One problem associated with the use of the educated native speaker's model as the medium of instruction is the non-availability of teachers competent in that model and who can use it in all aspects of education. While it may be relatively easy to find teachers of English with native-like competence (especially in the written form), it may not be that easy for all the other academic areas.

It can also be argued that Nigerians have not seen the

effects of teaching native speaker's English and that we should consequently focus on NigE with all the features outlined earlier, especially the standard variety.

This however seems like a double-edged sword - an argument that turns against itself: if over the years the standard native speaker's variety has been the model for instruction and Nigerians have remained so far from target, it may be argued that to use SNigE for this function will invariably lead to loss of intelligibility and may be considered 'heretic', as the variety is likely to be more removed from SBrE and all other international varieties.

But 'standard' in any society is a norm and as Le Page points out, it results from projection and focusing based sometimes on the transmission of social stereotypes and is promoted by many agencies - urbanisation, sex, close contact, peer groups (promoting generational norms) and other centripetal factors, for instance, external threat, as in the case of Belize.

Care must however be taken to distinguish between 'standard' as a set of identifying characteristics and 'standard' in the prescriptive sense. A standard in the sense of defining characteristics arises form an awareness of a stereotype based upon a norm.

Describing what is acceptable, as in the case of how English phonemes should be pronounced, is according to Le Page, similar to what happens with the focused norms, leading

to a prescription of those characteristics that make the variety distinct.

As we have stated however, the inputs to the norm in Nigeria, as in Belize or any other linguistic community, is far from being homogenous. What is therefore required in our own context is to set in motion what Le Page refers to as the process of 'progressive reification, totemization and institutionalization of a language', so that which ever variety emerges on the linguistic totem (in this case SNigE) will be standarddised and recognised, for example through examination systems.

This means that SNigE will move from a norm to a pedagogical grammar and the other non-totemised norms will continue to develop and co-exist according to the complex network of associations in the linguistic community.

It is our view therefore that, as in other LFE contexts, while educators should continue to draw the attention of their students to deviant forms,

> they should be more tolerant of structures and utterances which do not measure up to native-speaker standards but which still manage to communicate nevertheless. (Wong,1981:105).

Such tolerance is also exhibited in native speaking contexts. For instance, Hughes and Trudgill (1979:1) recall that when a foreign learner of English comes to the British Isles,

> he is usually surprised (and dismayed) to discover how little he understands of the

> English he hears... The English most of them speak seems to be different in many ways from the English he has learnt.

It is evident from this that non-standard varieties exist in British Isle. See also Cheshire's work in Reading.

5.3 Further Research.

This study is concerned with syntactic variation in NigE. In its attempt to cover most aspects of syntax, it may have been rather general in its treatment of the various components. It is therefore suggested that a closer look at variation in specific syntactic areas for instance, the Noun Phrase, Verb Phrase, etc should be undertaken. These may perhaps reveal some of the details which the present study may not have been able to highlight.

The subjects of this study are undergraduates, precisely 100 and 200 level students of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. It will be useful to ascertain if the findings can be applied to similar groups in some other Nigerian universities especially those in the southern part of the country.

There are indications that traits similar to the group analysed in this study also exist among members of other groups, for instance, the professionals. A study of variation among the various professional groups in the country may confirm some of these traits.

It will also be observed that because of the nature of the subjects (who can be said to fall essentially within the

school age of 18-23 years) we could not investigate the effects of age on language use. It is suggested that language use among subjects (for instance, 12 - 50 years) should be examined. Such an examination will shed more light on the relationship between age and possibly, subject's background on variation.

Perhaps, a more revealing and equally rewarding study will focus on the description of the varieties with a view to ascertaining the sub-sets within each variety, for instance varieties within NigP or the different forms of NSNigE. This will lay bare the heterogenous nature of what otherwise is seen as a homogeneous entity.

5.4 Conclusion

Today, English is no longer seen as the cultural possession of English people but that of the entire English speaking world. This realisation calls for a change of attitude from both native speakers and teachers of English as a second language towards the LFEs.

This research is a syntactic account (with a socio-linguistic touch) of variation in NigE which is one of the twice-born or transported Englishes. Our aim has been to make an input into the study of NigE as it relates to English as a world language. As a relatively new area, more work needs to be done in quite a number of aspects.

It is our hope, however, that the few contributions made

here, which will serve as a small beginning, will lead to a greater awareness and understanding of the 'vast exciting, yet little explored territory' open to scholars in Nigerian English, world Englishes and English as an international language.

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APPENDIX 1

ARCHITECTURE MY FUTURE CAREER (WE)

(CODE: WE/009M)

There are many things one has to determine before leaving the school. Some people may like to be medical Doctor, Pharmacist, Engineer, Geologists example still continue, but my determination is to be an architecture who his most popular throughout whole world.

My objective to be an Architecture is that it does not involve a lot of reading and cramming word to word in the head but it involves practical work which I prefer better to reading always. These people who have got their faculty as an Architecture drew practical things in the campus, such as Senate Building and any other good areas in the campus together with things outside the campus.

Secondly, whatever one do in this world the result ends looking for money to build good building buy a car and marry to very good lady. Hence apart from medical doctor and pharmacist, Architecture is very good source or getting money to runs one programme. As one is still an undergraduate, many people call upon you to design their plan for building to them. Majority of those who read Architecture receive a lot of money from their States scholarship board. However during their course of National Youth Service course, a lot of them receives a large amount of money where they serve.

Furthermore, during the week of department at Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, which was exhibited at Kashim Ibrahim Library, some faculty like Engineering, Medicine and Pharmacy exhibited things manufactured by developed countries America and Japan. But those from Department of Architecture designs things with themselves. Things exhibited in Architecture week are design of Ahmadu Bello University Senate Building, Headquarter of Bank of North Limited Kano and designing of Nigeria House of Assembly.

Moreover, architecture sent a lot of new design building magazine to Kashim Ibrahim Library to encourage those reading Architecture as they are future carrier.

However, some courses like BSc. Geology, BSc. Account etc has to finished their degree programme and serve the nation before coming for their master degree. But BSc Architecture undergraduate has to finished both degree programme and master degree before leaving the institution.

In addition to above mentioned point undergraduate students of BSc Architecture has to make a lot of excursion to various places in the world. During last Architecture week, they travelled to countries like Niger, Cote de Voire, Burkina Fasso, Ghana, Liberia and Togo to see different kind of building designed there. Because of this I like to be a traveller, who will know different areas in the world.

In conclusion, after my school I will like to be well known Architecture all over the world.

APPENDIX 2

THE MOST EXCITING HOLIDAY I EVER HAD

(CODE WE/041IF)

The most exciting holiday I have ever had was last year Christmas holiday in which I travel to Lagos. I travel to Lagos with my aunty a week before Christmas an we went there just for her friend wedding ceremony. It was my first time being in Lagos. I was very happy since we are invite I was either to live and the journey started from Kaduna airport. We took afternoon flight in which we just took an 1 hour from Kaduna to Lagos. We reaches Lagos late in the evening. It was my first time to be there, the place looks very nice and interesting to stay. There are different types of colored florescence bulbs, canteens, story buildings, and streets light at the airport, all this I can see from the airport. I told my aunty I like the place. But she just laugh at me and promise to take to some other interesting place. And it just from there we took a taxi to lagos Island where her friend lives. We where welcome by the members of the family and given a room to lodge in. It was already late night so we went to bed, but I just take a look at the back house through the window which I found it over lapped my water. The next day I wake up early because I remember my aunty promise to take me for outing before the wedding started. We left the house early immediately after our breakfast. We start from the water I had

so behind the house the place look nice and cool we took our taxi from that place to Lagos Barbeach in which we bought some snacks and drinks we took them when going round the water and she introducing me to her friends there, and telling me more about the place. The place look comfortable to stay I so many children playing near by and some where dancing nearby. After some few hour we left to children playground in which I so many toy horse in which it move round if it is on toy cars and other thing we move nearby and meet a canteen in which we took our lunch their and rest and left their after resting in the evening we went back play and later went to bed early because the next day is the wedding ceremony taking place. We wake up early took our bath and dressed in our newly dresses in which we enjoyed our self in the company of friends relative and late in the evening we went out for a dinner party at Durbar Hotel, Lagos. It was very interesting, we enjoy our self, me, our friends, relative, bride and bridegroom. I was very tired but still I don't want to mis the company, the next day we park our load and live Lagos around six pm in the evening to Kaduna. I was very happy and sad because I miss my friend and the beautiful place I have been too.

APPENDIX.3

CAMPAIGN TRAIN (CT)

(Interview with the Committee of Presidents)
(CODE: CT/013M and CT/015M)

CHAIRMAN: We are prepared to block all loopholes - if we vote in the faculty somebody cannot vote four times. You can go to Suleiman and vote, we want it to be on faculty basis. Some students are off-campus, how do you make provisions for them.

We don't want a situation where we make trouble, create trouble. I have taken pains to avoid all sorts of problems.

DILI: What are the arguments of those who insist on halls?

CHAIRMAN: Only a few of them - they have no argument, nothing at all. They are talking of tradition - what is tradition? What is the tradition for voting in the halls? What is the tradition for election in this country? Have we ever had open ballot system, don't we have it today? How do we progress, we learn to progress by making good changes...

DEPUTY CHARIMAN:

And, and not only that, when, when elections were done in halls every student is accommodated but now...

CHAIRMAN: Yes, there was 100% accommodation but now the university is increasing by 25% every year and the hostel are not increasing. Only 63% are living in the hostel. How do you create room for proper election.

DILI: It can hold in the Assembly Hall!

CHAIRMAN: There is no election like that, by the way who do you

represent?

DILI: Ask your security man.

SECURITYMAN: He is a lecturer here.

DILI: So what do you intend to tell the congress?

CHAIRMAN: I intend to tell them, I intend to tell the congress of this university because they are the people who elected me to power. I intend to tell them that I foresee injustice within this election, therefore I would want all elections to be on faculty basis rather than on hall basis. Why because when elections are conducted on hall basis, this university cannot accommodate up to 60% of the students on campus, others are off campus and a single student can have up to four accommodations. I know of exactly some people who have four accommodations, how will those people be prevented from voting, from all their various halls. They are genuinely registered students in these halls.

Secondly, if you provide a polling station to Off-Campus Students, I can vote in my hall and come back to vote as an Off-campus student and therefore one man is still entitled to more than one vote, but every single individual, everybody who is a bona-fide student of this university belongs to just one faculty and if he goes there, cross-check his name, check his ID card and he votes, he cannot vote any other way. He cannot, a student in Science cannot go to Medicine and say he wants to vote: if the voting is taking place in the auditorium he does not even know where the auditorium is, he cannot vote. This

is what I intend to tell the congress; I intend to tell, to tell the congress that I want their support and if this is not agreed upon, if the Electoral Commission still insist, then the elections must not hold, and I will go on to disrupt the elections.

DILI: Have you really compiled the list of students?

CHAIRMAN: I have communicated, the list is available at the Dean's Office, every dean, every dean has a comprehensive list of all the students.

DILI: Are the deans aware that you intend to use this lists for the election?

CHAIRMAN: We can go and get it anytime; it is always available...

DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN: No, no it is not even our office...

CHAIRMAN: It is the job of the Electoral Commission to do so and before the day ended, I communicate to them and have told them to do just that. I communicated to the Dean, I communicated to the Council of Presidents, if they don't have it, it is laxity on their part.

DILI: Yes, if they don't have it, that's the big question-the big if - if they don't have it - it can ruin all your intentions.

DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN: Another thing is that, there is rumor going round, the Council of Presidents has to do something about this election, they have been dragging it for the past one week with the Electoral Committee, so we the Council of Presidents we delegated ourselves that let's us go and sample students' opinion. When we sample student opinion as to what

they are saying, so we reach a conclusion and then we wrote a letter to the Student Affairs, Chairman Electoral Commission, Chairman Caretaker Committee informing them that this is what we heard and this are the likely thing that might happen if election is held in halls, there will be malpractice, all this and that, so we communicated to them...

CHARIMAN: And we are the people who governed, who checked the last election and we noticed, we noticed a lot of mistakes, we did not shout over that. We kept quiet because we are the initiators of the process, we fought for this ban to be lifted, we have gone back to this same people and call them, say 'look at the laxity within this concluded election, let's not allow this to happen. Let us look for a way of avoiding it and we have told them to do it. We do not represent any of the organisations, all of us are graduating this year; anybody has the freedom of association, except the final year student, what interest do we have in this student union, if not justice.

DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN: There is nothing, I am graduating in August, in six weeks time.

CHAIRMAN: Few elements like there is in every society, they are trying to cause confusion within the university that's what we are against.

DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: And more so during last election we the Council of Presidents we also went out, we were monitoring elections, many halls, in all the halls, if I could remember I saw,

people voting again and again. I just go to the Electoral Officer, assuming you are my friend and I know your name and your room number, Ye-e-s, I just go there without your ID card, call your name and I will be allowed to vote, we don't want it again.

DILI: Have you thought of possible problems that will lead to other electoral malpractices?

CHAIRMAN: O.K, like in the faculty, each student, I mean, they have a complete faculty list, so if election will be held in the faculty, you must present it, it will be easy. We have only 9 or 10 faculties so it will be easy to monitor the whole thing and not only that...

DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You know your students facially, you stand there, they show their ID card and they vote and you look at their face. If somebody says, that Chika is from Geology and I know he is not there, every student knows him, and I am the Chief Executive in Geology and you say you don't know me, how do you vote. I take the ID card and we go to the office and confirm it, if you are right, you come and vote.

DILI: Have you ever undertaken any gigantic assignment, a very serious assignment in which you had all hopes that it will succeed but it turned out and failed?

CHAIRMAN: Yes of course!

DILI: Can you recount how you felt.

CHAIRMAN: Of course we felt very, very bad, very, very bad and that's why I remember when we constituted the first Caretaker

Committee, because this is the second, I stood here for almost six to seven hours trying to conduct an election and at the end of it all, a few people came in and the whole thing was disrupted and when I tendered those people before the Dean, they were accepted, congress did not accept them and therefore that work was a failure. I was forced to come and conduct another election and I felt very bad when I stood before the congress, people were saying 'How many, how many care-taker committees do you want to constitute? You failed in the first one'. We felt very bad of course therefore this is the reason why we don't want this particular task to fail.

DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: And not only that, we in the Council of Presidents we know how much we suffered between January and March: we missed practicals, tutorials, tests everything, attending meetings with the Dean, attending meetings with everybody at least three hours meeting, at least in a week we have more than six meetings, even weekends, saturdays and sundays, we have meetings because of the Students Union. At first we were told to analyse why all those election we had before failed. We are in a better position to conduct a good election now because we have moved into the history of this university and we have identified reasons why most of the elections have failed, and this is the same. This is one of the reasons at it's going to be repeated. Then of what use is that which we have been doing? Definitely, nil.

APPENDIX 4

CAMPAIGN TRAIN (CT)

MANIFESTO FOR THE OFFICE OF

VICE-PRESIDENT 1

By

LAWRETTA

Most Powerful Congress, ABUSU,
Members of the S.R.A., Elect,
Hall Exco Elect, members of
Electoral Committee.

My Dear Students,

The right to self-determination, and self-rule and to tally decide one's future, and dictate affairs internally has long been recognised in democratic principles. Therefore after much struggle against a repressive Nigerian State and imperialists stoogies amidst bloodshed, Nigerian students have come victorious. But now, we are more fearless, fierce, more reasonable and matured to realistically, ideologically and visionarily determine our future and Nigeria's hence, the globe.

Dear fellow Students, the condition of this campus has being characterised by the following social variables:-

: Water shortage

: Poor sanitory condition

: Poor electrification system

: Poor cafeteria services

: Inadequate participation of students in decisions that may effect well being by the authority.

As we all know, all these variable are very important if we must survive as human beings and therefore must not be over looked in the slightest, even as Karl Marx will way that the material condition of man determine his own consciousness.

My search for the mantle of Vice-Presidentship is aimed at fighting these evils and to ensure greater happiness for the greatest number. According to Karl Marx "the only way to change the social degradation of the people is through popular and collective struggles".

The only way to achieve this struggle is through democratic election of people that have the will, ability and conciouness to bring the people together. These ideals I will fulfill when voted into power.

The most powerful and ever conscious congress; the importance of an atmosphere conducive for academic work cannot be over emphasised. We are all product of "history" on this campus, in which history can be defined as the study of the part to know the present, and be able to predict the future. This conducive atmosphere has great, the most conscious, and ever militant students of A.B.U which is the most largest and most populous, South of Sahara who have suffered enough bloodshed on this campus for the past years. Also in addition, the inadequate of sports facilities, hostel accommodation, library condition which are all causing hardship to students

will be attended to with all seriousness. To this end, when voted into power, I will in addition to the improvement in the conditions of students, fight the following social evils and fascistic tendencies.

- We will say no to the militarization of fear and silence(fascism)
- No to discrimination on the campus teleguided by some elements of conservatism and sectionalism.
- The altitude of divide and rule manifested by the school authority will be gradually challenged.
- We will also struggle for the recognition and resuscitation of NANS by the Federal Government as an independent and viable organisation that provided the basis for democratic struggles and genuine protection of the great Nigerian students. As you are all aware, NANS has become a historical reality that no gum or pen can destroy it.

Comrades in the struggle: the students of A.B.U have come of age. We should not allow ourselves to be led by people that have no ambition and direction for themselves; and are agents of destruction and destabilisation.

At this point, I wish to make it categorically clear that I stand for an independent, democratic, virile, unbearable and unintimidated students Union which shall not receive orders from any authority, how ever high and any organisation however strong.

I also stand to support all progressive organisations and movements which stand for the restoration of democracy, human dignity, freedom and fundamental rights. Hence, the struggles of the NLC the sledge manner of Ibrahim Babangida is noted, the struggles of SWAPO, ANC, PLO, Angolan, Mozambiqan and the Nicaraguan people's for a right to survive and be free will also be given unflinching recognition and support.

For democracy efficiency, effectiveness direction to prevail Lawretta needs your vote for students union Vice-President, A.B.U. main campus. The students of this campus needs to be liberated from the culture of social degradation and the rule of anarchy leaders of tomorrow, your future is at state, and I therefore solicit your mandate in this great struggle for our emancipation

ALUTA CONTINUA,

VICTORIA ALERTA,

POWER TO THE PEOPLE,

Long Live the progressive students of A.B.U.

Long Live A.B.U students union,

Long Live NANS

LAWRETTA

V I C E - P R E S I D E N T.

APPENDIX 5

CAMPAIGN TRAIN (CT).

NAME: AUGUSTINE ANTHONY NDAGHU (COMTE)

POST: DIRECTOR OF FOOD

MANIFESTO OF HOPE, EFFICIENCY AND LIBERATION

(CODE: CT/053M)

The most powerful, most enlighten dedicated, rational and important students of Ahmadu Bello University,

I wish to express my profound salutation to you all on this decision day of struggle to revamp, revatilise and completely democratize our selves and our Ahmadu Bello University.

This is a day of decision and infact it mark another history in the historic life of our historious Ahmadu Bello University after a long period of fascist and reactionary imposition and repression and other forms of intimidation on all of us. Today shall mark the beginning of hope for revolutionary transformation of our entire campus situations.

President Samora Machel (Dec.1977) said, here in Zaria "as you all know in highly industrialised countries today they turn knowledge and Science into an instrument of crime. But we want in our A.B.U. that knowledge and Science should be an instrument of progress, instrument of Liberation... we are all determine to carry the fight against colonialism and imperialism to the end and build a new society. I believe the challenges before us today have tripled with the dynamics of

our society. A country characterised by hunger, sickness, educational and socio-political crisis need serious and committed leaders before any attempt at "solutionising" the crisis. And so I recognise the need to consolidate ourselves into an active progressive and democratic body. We must first of all visualise the solemn indivisibility and indissolubility of Nigerian students as a wholistic magnetism between our ranks and files and as a standing point for our struggle, most powerful congress, a hungry man in an angry man

When I assumed office I will do:- the following

(a) Stimulate an atmospheric change, a change towards cradication the so call 001,010,100 or even 0 1/2 formular.

(b) Make use of all available means to stimulate competition for excellence among the existing cafeteria.

(c) Creation of standard, committee of ABU which shall supervise and give recommendation on the quality and quantity and other issues as it affect food matters in ABU...

(d) Immediate Closure of any cafeteria that have fail to satisfy the student.

(e) Creation of sanity and discipline among the private cafeterias, their workers etc.

(f) Ensuring that the cafe canteen etc are as neat as possible.

(g) Ensuring that all food are sold at realistic, reasonable and attainable price to students.

(h) Provision of better feeding facilities by the cafeterias - a must.

2. 24 hours Buttery service as operated in some Universities where students can buy food and soft drinks on 24hrs basis.
3. National Issues: If voted into power, our great A.B.U. shall spear head a campaign for reintroduction food SUBSIDY - Ticket system etc by the Federal Government with immediate effect
4. Given the reality of the situation we may even get our Food stuffs from the University in order to operate our own separate cafeteria of high standard but minimum cost (Hence serving as a model)

Remember: The most complete form of Democracy is the Democracy for the stomach

- 1st thing 1st
- make a wise choice

Vote for a committed colleague who will change it.

Vote: Augustine Anthony Ndaghu (comte)

Director of Food.

APPENDIX 6

THE PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE (PD)

ANCHORMAN: The Presidential candidates will answer three questions, one local one national and one international from their opponents starting with Nura.

NURA: As a Presidential candidate in the local level, I will like to ask Maradona one local question. My question goes like this! Hon. Maradona, I'll like to ask him a question. I'll like him to answer a three-in-one question. Why I say three in one is that they are related directly or indirectly. The first question is: In 1989, I was in this school, we staged a demonstration against the Special Convocation and Maradona was, Maradona was, Maradona during that demonstration made a statement that students of ABU Zaria should burn the university gym. I'll like him to defend that

ANCHORMAN: Keep quiet!

NURA: Maradona was once in Yabatech.

VOICE: Don't tell him anything, he has made a mistake.

NURA: Maradona was in Kwaratech. After a demonstration in Kwaratech he was somehow, somewhere was expelled in the school. And thirdly, ever since Maradona came to this school, I have never known his real name was Stephen Why doesn't he answer his real name?

MARADONA: Great Nigerian students, three questions he said, three-

in-one but I want to make some corrections. He said in 1989 I was in ABU. This is a false accusation. Ladies and gentlemen I got admission into great ABU, the greatest in the South South of the Limpopo and the first demonstration that I ever played a major role was the water crisis not the special convocation. I would not have answered his question because his own question was directed to the special convocation but I will answer why I played a major role in the water crisis.

CROWD: No, no, no, no,

MARADONA: As regards the water crisis Great Nigerian Students, as regards the water crisis...

CROWD: No, no, no...

As regards the water crisis, everybody knows that health is wealth, I strongly believe that health is wealth. It is in this regard that I felt very highly concerned when my room-mate was sleeping when he had a paper to write. Many of the students were lying down in the hostels, some were taken to the hospital. You can after this debate go to the Sick Bay and collect the data, information on how many students, who were sick, so therefore, so therefore my involvement in the demonstration was to show my concern for students health.

I went to the Student Affairs Officer to complain of the water problem, but he said that what are my acting as; secondly he said that when have I become the policeman of ABU. I accepted that I am not the policeman of ABU but let him realise the interest of the students. In recognition I decided

to tell him that the best way to tell him that we cannot live in ABU and die in ABU.

CROWD: Yes----Yes---- Eh--eh.

MARADONA: On the Kwaratech issue, but thank God that he was corrected, he said Yabatech.

VOICE: He don finish am, if they did not correct him.

MARADONA: My greatest weakness is that I do not tolerate injustice. I, Maradona and the entire students of ABU should stand against injustice within Kwaratech, that led to the protest, it started and somehow for again there was no Student Union and because, like I said, like I have earlier said about the water issue - I met the Dean, at Kwaratech. I always confront the authorities in any, whatever is going on; so I went to the Dean's Office to complain, and asked them to do something about the water issue. They said I must know something about them. Ladies and gentlemen, in a situation where there is no Student Union, there is going to give a room for some people to act on behalf of the other students. In this regard, I was not in a position to act, by then because, that very day. I was locked inside my room.

They set up a panel to confirm that issue - as regards to that one. I attended the panel three times, what they gave me was the SSS and when I got to the SSS Secretariat they had no question to ask. I came back to the school again. They reported to, they reported to the panel again. Like usual, I went for the panel meeting and when I got there, there was no

question to ask again for the fourth time. So ladies and gentlemen, like I have said about the state and the nation before then that some institutions are bent on, are meant to serve the interest of some people and because they felt I am a threat to what they stand for, because they felt that I stand for equality, so decided, out of their own decision which up till now all members of that panel could not explain up till now, they are giving different excuse for my expulsion: some people will say the State Governor said I just have to go; some people will say the Commissioner said that I just have to go, some people say that it is because I am not co-operative - the definition of the co-operation they have not given me up till now, but for one thing, I stand for justice, and there is nothing that will stop me from fighting injustice in as much as it is still exists in our society.

The third issue is about Maradona. I will explain why I have to call myself Maradona. It's not only me that call myself Maradona but others call me Maradona and because I belong to the people I have to accept what they call me. On the issue of Maradona, please listen, I am using Maradona as an adjective not as a pronoun or a noun. I am using it as an adjective in the sense that the Maradona we know world-wide did a great deal to his country and to this I stand for our Nigeria.

Ladies and gentlemen, I know where my questioner was going to. He said to relate my own Maradona with that of

Babangida, there is a great difference between person and personality and to my own personality, I believe in one thing- justice, equality, freedom, progress and this I stand for and it is in this regard that I am going to Maradona into the leadership of ABU Students Union.

ANCHORMAN: Thanks ladies and gentlemen. We have heard Maradona eh Maradona, eh, attention please, attention please, please. Maradona out of three questions has answered two, now they are supposed to answer three questions, one local question, one national question and one international question. He has answered one local issue, he has answered one national issue, he has one more question on the international eh---eh question, so I will now call on Maradona to ask his question.

MARADONA: My own question is very simple, very simple and straight forward and it goes to Nura, and my question stand like this! Following the sequence of events in ABU, following the sequence of events that happened lately I want him to come and answer the interest of whom he would like to protect if voted into power.

CROWD: Yeeees----

NURA: Ladies and gentlemen,please, ladies and gentlemen, em,em Hon. Maradona, ladies and gentlemen has just asked me a question. His question is if voted into power whose interest am I going to protect. I want to use this media to inform you that a vote for

Nura is a vote for victory. Nura for President!

MARADONA: Great ABU students, my question goes like this, simple and straight forward:,Following the sequence of events in Ahmadu Bello University and of what happened lately, of whose interest is Nura going to protect if voted to power?

NURA: Ladies and gentlemen, I state some of his words to answer his question. Following the sequence of what is happening in ABU, I think, not I think only but the interest I am going to protect is the interest of all the students in ABU and first and foremost the section I am going to protect their interest first will be the section of the opposition which is Maradona's section...

CROWD: Yes, You don win, you don win !

Ladies and gentlemen, as presidential candidate, as presidential candidate, I suppose all he students, not only the contestants should know and have this in mind that we are out to protect the interest of the congress of ABU Zaria and Nigeria, so please I want to make a clarification to Maradona. If Maradona says following the sequence of happenings in this our university, he is bound to protect the interest of any group I am telling him Nura Giwa programmes are for all people. Thank you.

ANCHORMAN: Thank you very much, now I will call on Prince O to ask his question. Oh sorry I will call any of the contestants between Maradona and Nura to ask their question.

NURA: Ladies and gentlemen, we are now in he crucial hour, that is why I will never be tired of asking and answering questions. My question, Hon Prince goes like this. Hon Prince O..

CROWD: Prince O...O...O

NURA: As a student of this great University you are protected by the Constitution to go into election, can vote and be voted for but one issue now arises - Your dad is a military man...

CROWD: No, no, no, no...

NURA: Listen, please. Ladies and gentlemen please keep quiet and listen, Keep quite and listen... and also we are now under military administration - your dad is the Financial Controller to Dodan Barracks. Ladies and gentlemen, if a problem arises from ABU, Zaria and Prince O was invited as President, the students are in the process of staging a demonstration against government directly, what will be Prince O reaction if Babangida happens to call on to Prince father and tell him to summon Prince on that issue?

PRINCE: Great ABU students, Great ABU students, in fact I've been expecting this question and I am very happy that I have been asked to defend it. To start with, my father is not the Financial Controller of Dodan Barracks. He is, he is a mere commander of the Finance Corp somewhere in Lagos. Hold on, hold on. Karl Marx's father, Marx a great philosopher who defended, who defended the course of the masses, his father was a multi-millionaire. Reagan was an industrialist. As a final year student in the Dept of Sociology who is a member of

the Electoral commission Hamza Kwajamah, his father replaced Oyakilome and the time he is struggling for the interest of the students. I am Prince O, I' m Nuhu, I am not Husseini Aduku and to reform the system you have to understand the system. Nigerian system is bad. Babangida's administration is very bad, we all now that.

CROWD: No no....

PRINCE: I believe, I believe, hold on, I believe it might interest you before I go further, I am giving my CV I am a mass communicator by profession and I am a student of Political Science, I've been in this system for long and I have identified a lot of these problems and now there is the need for a change.

Now, down to the real question. If I am elected as the President of ABU Student Union and there is a student crisis and there is a student crisis and they decide to pick on my father, that is his own destiny. Thank you folks. I will however, based on the constitution of the student Union of ABU are of the duties of the president is to stand as their spokesman and protect their interest. I am ready to offer my certificate to Nayaya Mohammed just for the interest of ABU students....

CROWD: No, no, no...

PRINCE: I want to, I want to say something, I want to say something as my, as my colleague Nura Giwa asked a question. hold on, my colleague Nura Giwa asked the question, we all

have historical details of all the contestants here as it might interest you - his own dad was an intellectual, his father was a lecturer here, but because he wanted to elevate his status into the ruling class, he moved out and went to establish a

CROWD: No... No...No...

Hold on, hold on, audience, audience, o.k so you can see, you can see that, you can see that he is a son of a multi-millionaire, a member of bouguoise class, if he has the interest of the students at hand, then. I equally have the interest, the interest of the students at hand.

CROWD: No....no....no....

APPENDIX 7

SOCCER ADVENTURE (SA)

* Which people are playing today?
* Science and Adult Education
* Which one be Adult, the one wey wear yellow?
* Yes
* Who de win?
* Na now, I just de come
* We need a minimum of a win, we don't need a draw, minimum of a win, una de hear.
* i don tey wey you come here - any side don score.
* No, but we fit protest how they have been playing 10 against 11, there is no doubt that they will win.
* The ball go pass the line the referee no go blow but if na our own, as it gets to the line, the referee will blow. The man is very is very partial they don give am money

GOALKEEPER: Close up, see that man, tackle him, man to man, move, No 7, Haruna move close, you de hear

* The boy sabi keep, he has been their goal-keeper since he was in year one.
* That ball is too high, is that what you were taught to play?

BITRUS: That is Chinese ball, you are not in China, play like the

Eagles.

GOALKEEPER: Number 7, go that side, now Nasiru, see person wey dey for your back, push am.

BITRUS: That's a good ball O.K now is your turn - make it a goal

TUNDE: That na lie, he can be able to score. That No.7 Nasiru will get him down. I trust that guy.

DILI: How now Dapo? You dey here? Which day our boys go play?

DAPO: Perhaps tomorrow or next.

DILI: What's the name of that No 10 for Education.

DAPO: Mohammed - he is even in our class

BITRUS: Why you de play like that.

TUNDE: I told you, he no fit score, this no be mathematics, na soccer.

* Foul, Foul, come don't argue, wetin you think sey i be?

* You de joke, you de play straight ball no be indirect dem teach you.

DILI; Sherif, you come watch match

SHERIF: You no sey my stuff no de here, so I just de viberate, we are going play tomorrow 442, no be 424.

* Mount wall of defence o that they no go pass you.

* That's a good header, O.K fine - it's a goal.

* See Adult go come win us

* I get one guy wey fit score from that line, that touch line, I swear, if you see the boy here, the boy de tap real soccer.

* The goal keeper for rush forward, i just stand there like mumu

* Wetin i de keep, yeye boy, since dem start this

competition he has been messing up.

* See that hefty guy, you go think sey i no go fit run, you see, one, two oh.oh.

* Why you want dribble three people at a time, cool down, no be so dem de play.

* The boy na Pele of ABU, no match wey i go play wey i no go score goal.

* That's is very dangerous passing - that's what they call banana kick...

* Old boy, that goal na the father of all goals, - you see as the boy shake every body - see the boy i go de waka de smile, wetin concern am, Haruna na serious guy! soccer computer, him na goal-getter anytime, any where.

* See now, goal-keeper be don hold am but the thing just enter inside - every time we go tell dem, make them hold ball well well, they no go gree. I too sabi, na im de kill dem, make dem win, make we commot for the competition.

* It's yours HGM; Baba, I trust you give the goal-keeper.

* Wetin i de dribble, send out your ball now, time is against us, you see, yaro boy commot there.

* Cross out, co-ordinate, see im small leg be like rabbit, you no sey rabbit no de see for light.

* Old Boy give me light, make I light my cigar, make I for cool down, these boys de annoy me, not for talk.

* Fuck you, fool, you de fear ball, see as all of them de run back instead of attacking.

* You don see in face, i be like cat, na only Jimmy go fit mark am and the boy no play today.

* Why now?

* Dem wound am for last match, you no sey na miss the ball and don't miss the leg na im these boys de play.

-o-

* Boys cool down, no problem

* Wetin be no problem wey dem de win us?

* See that goal-keeper na person wey de move fast, today is his day. I know sey i go catch am. I no tell you. The boy na waa-a...

* Education play better today - you know these old men, our boys de fear them you no sey their bones de very strong.

* Wetin you wan do?

* Make una sit down, make we short people for see the ball.

* Referee, blow now, time de go, You want make dem score?

* Yellow, Yellow over the bar, that na real shot sha..

* He missed it, you see I no talk am see this man again, Old man score -a goal.

* We have only one goal, na only one goal we get. Today no just good for we. Old man, go take care of your wife and children, no de injure small boys - Iron leg!

* We have been banking on No.9 Na im come kwukwu ma spoil the whole show.

* If somebody wey de do PHE play match i no win, na who go win?

* Make we congratulate am, at least he played very well, i no de play yeye ball.

* It was not a good test. The balls were directed - that of yesterday. Even the coach was discussing about it he said the boy dey good.

* They were too proud, how can you say we don win wey match never end.

* You are still around, Amina? Haba Beatrice, you come too.

AMINA: You know sey I like soccer I want to see what our boys are doing. I was even asked by the captain to come and cheer them.

BEATRICE: Some of our girls are over there - see them jumping and clapping. We promised the boys that if they win we go take dem to TOP CHEF.

AMINA: No snap us, commot that gajere for my front. Uncle make we go dem don beat us.

* You no know sey that small boy na im be barrier. They no fit hold am, the boy no de gree.

* How I go see Zainab.

AMINA: Na me you go ask of Zainab? You no know her room? Wetin connect me and Zainab?

* Why did they not bring this cup. It is for the overall Na today dem suppose to give them the cup as overall winner.

* Make una no make mistake, we na the overall winner one gold one silver.

* You fit say na we be the overall winner but that you will not give us the cup - just know sey na we win.

-o-

DILI: You scored the first goal, how did you feel when you did it?

JIMMY: Very happy because it shows that the goal-keeper is not unbeatable, at least, that we can penetrate the post.

DILI: Why did I not see you in the last match?

JIMMY: I was injured so I was not selected, they said I dribble too much and the FASS boys are prepared to break my leg again. The team manager wanted to deceive them so he put me on reserve bench.

DILI: What do you intend to do whey you leave school.

JIMMY: You know I am a medical student, after my NYSC I hope to work for the State Government and if God allows, make money and establish my own clinic. Everybody wants money, abi.

DILI: How do you see the standard of play in this year's competitions?

JIMMY: It is very high, better than that of last year but, well, you know that...

DILI: One player Godwin, Dappa was injured in one of the matches and he is still in the hospital nursing a broken leg, what do you think is the level of preparedness on the part of the organiser, with regards to treating the

injured eh em players.

JIMMY: Goddy is my friend, they said he has the knee-cap shifted so therefore they have to operate on him. It's a pity but the authorities have not done much to take care of those injured. The Sick Bay said they cannot cope up with the number of injuries. One man from Education was also injured, he was even crying. Although his own wound is not as serious as Goddy's but the Sick Bay did not have ordinary Panadol togive him.

DILI: Thanks, let me talk to the goal-keeper. You are the goal-keeper - it's half way through the competition and you have not conceded any goal. How do you feel?

GOAL-KEEPER: I feel very happy. I want the cup to go to Medicine this year. For long time, they have been saying eh-eh Medical people can't play. We will show them that we can play and we can be able to win the cup, afterwards, what is his name - Socrates of Italy is a medical doctor and he is a good player - we shall show them, we shall win this year. I think the finals will be on Friday or Saturday, we are going to qualify.

DILI: When does your team practise?

GOAL-KEEPER: No practice, we have been playing what we know. One or two of us are however in the school team. They just

tell us do this, do that and we also watch professionals on the radio and TV.

-o-

DILI: Who is your player of the year?

* Bitrus, the goal-keeper.

DILI: Why?

* Haba, you de ask again, you no see am yourself, you no see as him de catch the ball one time, without no mistake. He is the man of the match Everybody will agree with me.

OTHERS: Yees.....

APPNENDIX 8
LINGUISTIC DIARY (LD)

STUDENT A: I don see my book.

STUDENT B: For where?

STUDENT A: Na that my girl, you know am, na she carry am, she want take am revise.

STUDENT B: So you never submit be that?

STUDENT A: My brother I never submit o.

STUDENT C: Why now, how you go do am?

STUDENT A: I get plans, no worry I get some other assignments, I know as I go do am.

STUDENT B: The thing no be sey i too hard, but na to get time. Walahi, see, the thing wey I compile, I no fit synthesie am, abi wetin dem de call am sef.

STUDENT C: If you don't have assessment, you are in trouble. Do you know the best thing to do, be ready for a C.O.

STUDENT B: Wetin be C.O.?

STUDENT C: Carry Over, you no know, mumu.

STUDENT B: That criteria the man used is not the best.

STUDENT C: I did not write much in my test because I did not

prepare for it. We were in town till-day break.

STUDENT B: Wetin una go do for town?

STUDENT C: You know that bobo for our class, that one wey de boast sey in papa get Rolls Royce. The boy do in birthday, 25th abi 20th we no even ask, so na there we go, go enjoy ourself.

STUDENT B: Make I ask you first - wetin carry you go do that kind course?

STUDENT A: If not to sey na compulsory course, I no want see that man at all, at all. Which day be the submission date.

STUDENT B: Yesterday!

STUDENT C: Na him you never submit.

STUDENT A: No, we beg the man he said we can submit on Tuesday.

STUDENT B: I no just sleep throughout the night because of this assignment.

STUDENT A: Dr Bala said he will talk to him and he will accept it any time before exams.

STUDENT B: You people should form a pressure group.

STUDENT C: Na this guy, called SAP na im go mark our script.

STUDENT A: Sabo Bako, the man too complain.

STUDENT B: He just wants to suffer us, every time do this do that I am going to his place tomorrow!

STUDENT C: Wetin you Pols Science, wetin carry you go there, I go Education de no gree, go English dem say no chance, so na wetin I go do. I bin want do this em Contemporary English, but dem say the course tough -o.

STUDENT A: That your course - we don cancel am.

STUDENT B: Na im be sey you go carry extra one before Monday, dem say that day na closing date.

STUDENT A: Make you no mind am, registration no de close for ABU, no be all of us dey here. Even next month sef, people go still register - see - all these young young girls in 60's in the 90's go come knack step. Watch me, 'Excuse me, Sir (dramatizing) I've come to register', 'Registration is closed' the man go reply. The girl go say, Sir I'm sorry I only returned yesterday, my father did not give me money

on time, I've been waiting for him, Some others will say we did not hear of the resumption, I travelled to London'.

As the man just hear London, im eye go open, i go say 'so wetin you bring come from London.' Well few things...' You know wetin the man go talk - 'Ok, where are your forms!' So old boy, no worry even next month sef, we go register. I know sey Hadiza never return, we go follow am go meet the man...

STUDENT B: Who be Hadiza?

STUDENT A: You no know am, forget I no go tell you, Hadiza na my course mate.

STUDENT B: Where she from come?

STUDENT C: You no hear the name - she na Hausa girl, she no go gree be friend you, you na Christian, she na Moslem - tory don end be that.

STUDENT B: But I fit to declare sey I be Usman Abdullahi.

STUDENT A: No trouble, go declare sey you be Maitama Sule im pikin, my hand no dey.

STUDENT B: Anyway, as we de talk before you bring this Hadiza matter inside, if you are waiting for next year to graduate,they will impose the project on you.

STUDENT C: They have even given us another course - 'Critical

Thinking'.

STUDENT A: My own problem different!

STUDENT C: Na wetin.

STUDENT A: I want to write Moral Philosophy Exam.

STUDENT B: Go now, they don start, run.

STUDENT C: And if you no pass this Immoral Philosophy you no go graduate.

STUDENT B; There was one, I wrote, there wasn't enough question paper, and we were two using one question paper.

STUDENT C: Wetin come happen?

STUDENT B: They did not bring my question paper until we were only having twenty minutes to go. There was one girl sitting beside me, she say make I dub. 'Make I dub?' she say 'No problem', na so I dub: 24A, 25B, 26C, 27D. You know wetin happen? I come get 'C' for that course and that was my highest grade, others na just E,E sometimes D,D. So my brother, I wish you good luck, make you go dub, no be our fault, na the thing wey dem want - mass production.

STUDENT C: You no see for that assignment the man give me 15 over 20,

STUDENT B: Wetin you write?

STUDENT C: Wetin again, I give am stuff.

STUDENT A: If you want to write on social evils, you can go and see the prostitutes, that's what the man said.

STUDENT B: Then I no know wetin the man de look for.

STUDENT A: There was one assignment the man give me 14 over 80.

STUDENT C: That's the one, I had zero on the ground that we did ECOMOG.

STUDENT A: You and who?

STUDENT C: He gave me ten initially because he said I copied from Isaac but when he found that Isaac copied from a book, he gave him (Isaac) 10 and canceled my ten and I got zero.

STUDENT A: Wetin you do, you no protest?

STUDENT C: Protest! you know wetin i do to one girl wey say her grade dey low, she get 12. The man ask am make she bring her paper. As the girl just give am the man, look me, na so the man just do am Vram, Vram na so the girl de look am.

STUDENT A: So make you take am like that.

STUDENT C: Na so life be, these lecturers dem think sey dem be God.

STUDENT A: No worry , make i reach demonstration, se the man get car,we go show am pepper - we go tell am sey we no go gree -o we no go gree, make we go, Bako don come.

STUDENT A: Na December we de so, if you begin de talk carelessly like that, I tell you, you no go eat Christmas rice for your papa house.

STUDENT B: Who you de talk to? Who sai, I fit put you for down below - you know where dem de call down below - where you grandmama and grand papa de stay.

STUDENT A: You no fit buy rice make man chop - who give you power for put me down below.

STUDENT B: Sey I no fit buy rice no mean sey I no fit put you for down below the only thing be sey I only wan mercy for your parents, you wey de sick every day like dog.

STUDENT C: Where the driver dey? Driver come carry us comot for this heat, person go die because i wan go de debate for Kongo. The motor don full, dem go don de wait for we since four O'clock. Everybody in the bus, go in let's go.

STUDENT A: Everybody kawo kudi, money for hand, Old boy where your money, I no get change N50.00 - Old girl pay money N20.00 to Kongo non-stop for PZ.

STUDENT B: Oga conductor, - this work fit you, you don be agboro before for molue for Lagos.

STUDENT A: You need to take a course in town service conductoring LANG 602, and it is a core course.

STUDENT B: Oga driver, you no sey na me be their President, you should not listen to any of them just de go.

APPENDIX 9

THE STORY GROUP (SG)

AKIIGA: We went to Obudu Cattle Ranch, we set out from Makurdi as Geography students and we got to Obudu Cattle Ranch in the morning and from Obudu we went to the Bottom Hill. What was so spectacular about the journey from Obudu to the Bottom Hill was the gradual climbing to that stage and from that point we had to climb much more steeper hill. From there, we climbed one hill after the other about ten. We had to go up tracking 11 km and it was very tedious. We got to a certain point and we found out that we were enveloped by fog and it became difficult to move. We were feeling very cold, very cold. The distance at which one could see was very short and sometimes the wind will be so much that you had to lie down on the coal-tar not to be pushed down the valley and when it subsides a little we went on until we got to the hotel. There we were made to warm ourselves up with a provision by the wall made to generating heat -

DILI... Generate heat!

AKIIGA: Yes - heat'. They put fire wood, fine firewood, burnt up and warm yourself up. There were hot drinks. Hot drinks - students had to rush and buy hot drinks which were very much more expensive than beer and there was no need

putting beer in the fridge, just as it is outside you find out that it is already having water dripping so it's very chilly but nobody went for beer because it was too cold and at Obudu Cattle Ranch. Apart from the hotel, there are other provision for excitement, provision for recreation - the altitude of course there were cattle and sheep. The weather is conducive for the growing of vegetables like carrots and such kinds of vegetables as we have in Jos and the weather. We also met the Director General of Obudu Cattle Ranch and we asked him questions...

VIVIAN: What kinds of questions did you ask him?

AKIIGA: We asked him how Obudu Cattle Ranch was managed, who manages it - the ranch. He told us that Obudu Cattle Ranch is managed by the Cross River State and in fact of course that's where it is situated, and that they have a doctor for the animals, and a doctor for the human beings and they have always been receiving their funds from Obudu, eh en Cross River Government. All the same, they have been having sometimes shortcomings - the fund is not enough for the Cattle Ranch. For one they lack the ability to publicise the ranch and so they receive not as much customers as they expect and so from that they expect and so from that they don't have much money. They

don't have much income so the government keep giving him money to keep the ranch going...

UMAR... The cattles that live there, how are they? Are they the same with the ones here?

DILI: Do you have goats there?

AKIIGA: No Sir, cows and sheep

SALAMATU: How many days did you stay there?

AKIIGA: We spent just a day

AZUKA: How many of you?

AKIIGA: We were Geography students, about a hundred.

AZUKA: Who sponsored the trip?

AKIIGA: Eh - the school

DILI: Ijeoma, it looks like you have been to Obudu Cattle Ranch

IJEOMA: Yes Sir.

DILI: What were your experiences like?

IJEOMA: My experiences look like the experiences he had only that I felt the weather change. It seemed as if it was another place altogether not from Nigeria - we had vegetables something like apples, that seemed, that you can't find outside - outside the ranch. Then we noticed that the natural atmosphere that the weather was exciting, what else... the warm friendly attitude of the attendants, even the villagers around.

DILI... What were your own experiences during the Sallah you said you had a beautiful Sallah -

IJEOMA: Sha, in short the last Sallah was a very exciting experience for me. I said before that in the past I had a misconception about the moslems and I was invited to a moslem home. The friendly attitude they were so warm to us, they accepted us in their midst as one of them. We ate, there was no discrimination, we saw how a ram was slaughtered, the head and the horn, the bleeding. Then we saw how 'kunu' was prepared, the natural drinks prepared from one of the local grains. We saw how food in a moslem home is prepared...then

AZUKA: What kind of food?

IJEOMA: We ate Tuwo Shinkafa. Then we ate rice, pepper soup, it was so delicious, the aroma and everything - nice experience for us Christians being accepted into their midst... their mother took us as one of their children. Infact, an outsider coming in will find it eh difficult to identify who is Mama's daughter and we dressed like moslems that day.

DUPE: We will like to see you dress that way again.

IJEOMA: But unfortunately, we couldn't speak the language. All the same it was a good holiday.

DILI: Sally, can I ask you how your Sallah was, come close to the mic.

SALAMATU: Our eldest Sister came from Abuja so we went to Katsina together to drop her at their school. We came back, we jisted with her, she advised me, telling me that she

wants to connect me with a man like that, that is working in her office.

He saw my pix with her, said that he liked me and I told her I wasn't interested I wasn't interested in marring and so on, she said 'no', he is not thinking about marriage just said that if I come I should give him my address O.K and it was my birthday too.

DILI: That's what I wanted to hear

So I came back late, I came back around 10 p.m. She dropped me at the school, then she went back. I came back, when I went to my room, I met some friends there saying 'happy birthday - saying I didn't want to come because I didn't want to give them anything, that I am stingy and then then they gave me the cake that Ijeoma baked for me. Ee Ee e very nice cake me I didn't think of baking a cake for myself and then my friends brought me plenty of gifts we shared the cake and we jisted late into the night then everybody went to his room. I really enjoyed the day.

DILI: How did you spend your Sallah, Shade?

PEJU: She said it was very hectic!

SHADE: I didn't say so, I said it was very boring

DILI: Where did you spend it?

SHADE: I didn't go to anywhere I was in school throughout.

UMAR: Your friends didn't link you up or what?

SHADE: I wasn't interested

DILI: Have you had any exciting holiday?

SHADE: I can't say

DILI: Have you been to the drama Village?

SHADE: Yes

AZUKA: Tell us of your experiences there, have you watched any play or show? - Tell us!

SHADE: Haba - Haba
I don't know the title...
(Laughter)

DILI: What happened to her?

SHADE: She said she wanted to die

DILI: What happened next?

SHADE: She was afraid of death? Yet she wanted to die

VIVIAN: No, she didn't want to die, she was thinking about her life, the things she would like to do when she grew up, getting to marry a rich and established man and taking her abroad, getting to give birth to nice and beautiful children and then growing up and calling her 'mummy' just like children from abroad and then she suddenly discovers that after all she will have to die and she didn't want to die.

DILI: How was your holiday, Peju?

PEJU: It was nice - (laughter) I travelled out to Kaduna, I did Sallah at Kaduna. A day to the Sallah, some of my friends

they organised a party, they organised a party, that party lasted till 4.00am so in the morning, so after, when we wake up, we take our bath so we went to the praying ground, so after the prayers we came back home to kill the ram we cooked it and after we went out.

DILI: Yes, Azuka I know you have something to say about the Sallah holiday! Where were you?

AZUKA: I was here in Zaria I really enjoyed it - I went with Ijeoma to that place she said she went to abi... (Laughter!)

Yes, I went with her for the Sallah break we were very very welcome by Mama and aunties - Aisha, Mariam and Zainab. It was much fun because we were kind of fed up with the life in school and me personally I was hungry so it was a kind of relief because I want to cook and I was at home with everybody and like Ijeoma said Mama takes us to be her own children and she was even worried when we wanted to come back that night, that probably something might happen to us on the way but we just kind of reassured her that it will be safe and that we told our room-mates that we were coming back that night.

DILI: I will not ask you about the Sallah, I will ask you something else. Tell us the kind of man you'll like for

a husband (Laughter)

IFEOMA: I like to have someone that is tall, kind, handsome, well to do, not that he is too rich or too poor, sha-that has a good character respectable and good family... he must be good to me, he must be caring and loving...
laughter (Laughter)
ECHOES of 'Eh - eh - Lovingities!
Honey, Pepper Soup.

DAPO: How do you know a man who has good character?

IFEOMA: May be with time we try and get to know each other and you get to know the way the person behaves, certain things this man will do to you ... well...

SALLY: Men can be very deceptive !

MALE VOICE: What about the ladies?

SALLY: Ladies are really good, it's men usually that make the women. No, honestly men, I don't know.

DILI: She seems to have had some experience, let's hear her.

SALLY: No, I don't have any (laughter)...No, actually I don't keep lovers, I keep my friends, you can only like a person, you can only like a person because of the character a person has and eh certain things the person has and materially, - (Laughter) so when you see that

thing called love, gradually goes down and that is not love the way this people describe love here.

DILI: What is love?

SALLY: I don't believe in it, true, I don't have any definition of it.

DILI: But what's your own idea?

SALLY: If there is anything like love, it should be something, you should have, just a genuine feeling for somebody you should really like that person whatever it is, you will always accept him for what she is and for what he has but in Nigeria, it doesn't happen that way - the system, the Nigerian men with their kind of character - No!

DILI: I am sure that the men will have something so say!

AKIIGA: She is not being objective. I feel that ladies are- they pretend much more than men. We open up you know we open up, we open the things the way they want it.

SALLY: It's men that pretend, a man will come to tell you that he is rich or he will be speaking grammar that he doesn't know how to speak just because he wants to impress you. If you want to impress the person, just be natural, be yourself, you don't have to bring in something fake, and that's what men do, that's...

VOICE: Try, you are on track!

DAPO: The girls don't pretend at all! - capital lie....

AZUKA: I think I have a little contribution, O.K like this love issue, you know it bothers on the ego of the men because

they try to please these girls they will go out of their way to do certain things and these things they try to portray is like is being... I don't know how to express it... (Voice: Try) the girls don't like those things they try to portray, like you bring in one big car and you try to be egoistic or you try to be, there are so many things they do to win these girls but in the long run you see that most of them at times they don't have what you can call self-confidence and because of this they want to go out with men.

DILI: Let me ask you a very important question. What will a man do to win your love?

AZUKA: Ah.. the only thing a man will do is not lie. As Sally said I don't really believe in love but what you can do to please me at times when I am in need I am down emotionally and probably I am not in tune with my God. I need somebody to be closer to me. I just don't need him to shout or try to tell me that because he has the money or because you are a male that you just have to do without me but if you can stand by me in times of trial, that what I mean about somebody.

ABDULLAHI: I want to ask about what somebody said. She talked about material, I don't know what she meant by it -if I am interested in her she is working I am working an I and her are working and we take care of ourselves with these

generation that we shall raise and may be we assist some of our relations what do we need again. I am asking Sally.

SALLY: Me personally, that's what I was telling you, me personally I don't believe in love. If you have the characters I like I shall go out with you, I might even marry you or something like that. If I am loving you and to me as a man you should be the person to give, it is the man that gives, the man that protects, it is the man that -em kind of defend you. You, you are the woman you should be fragile, you know..

DILI: We believe a man has to provide, protect...

IFEOMA: Like you are being dependent on these men, it should be on equal basis, he contributes, the woman contributes, like if I am working and my husband works, I expect him to contribute to the home keeping and I will contribute, then the money we realise we use it for the house keeping we use for the relatives and other people around we have to cater for. It shouldn't be one-sided, the only thing, he is there, he can protect me I...

UMAR: In what way can he protect you?

DUPE: Like there are times, you know everything is not money, there are times he ought, need your care, attitude, your loving words to kind of - when she is not feeling fine or

she is down, money is not everything.

DILI: The men must be admiring what you have been talking about - why don't you tell us what you admire in a man.

SHADE: No...

DILI: What about you?

IFEOMA; Personally like they have said, I don't believe in love...

VOICE: Three of you!

(LAUGHTER)

IJEOMA: You see, I believe, I go for what comes out from my man's heart not how his face or looks - eh I believe love whatever they define it as, that it could happen irrespective of sex-I can love a girl. I can love a girl, in that sense we should attract each other, we could love each other but facial qualities and characteristics, I believe it is the heart that matters for me in that kind of thing.

VIVIAN: Sally do you want to make believe now that you have never fallen in love with anybody?

SALLY: Not in love I can't say I am in love, I've a regular boyfriend. I like him very much but all I know is that anytime I don't like anything he does or he starts changing that's when the relationship, relationship, we finish it there. And for me that shouldn't be love if

there is anything like love, whatever he does, you should always accept even if he is bad you should always like him, but it is not like that...

VIVIAN: What do you admire in him?

SALLY: He is nice, gentle, somehow shy but he is very considerate and caring and affectionate.

DILI: Affectionate!

VIVIAN: What do you think love is all about? What definition can you give?

DILI: She used the word affectionate -

SALLY: There is a difference between affection and love, by affection expressing his love that's what I mean by affection and maybe if I am stressed off or I am worried he asks me what's my problem, you know he takes care of me in every aspect, materially emotionally -(bursts into laughter)

VIVIAN: What is called love if he takes care of you and he attends to you anytime you need him, he loves you.

SALLY: May be he loves me but if he should stop, if he stops being affectionate, I will stop going out with him and to me, even if he stops being affectionate, if there is anything like love then it shouldn't change the relationship may be we should try to work hard to make

the relationship to go back to what it have always been but if it happens that way for me, me I know that definitely we just call it off.

ABDULLAHI: Please do he advise you when you are wrong?

SALLY: Yes, he does and he is always doing that and that's the thing I dislike about him.

DILI: Let's get a man talk now - we are asking what you would like in a woman.

DAPO: I would like for instance - my wife.

DILI: Are you married?

DAPO: No, my wife to be - I'll like somebody who is of a certain height almost of my own but I want one I will be a little bit taller to show that my ego is more than hers, educated to a certain level, A level.

SALLY: I hope it's not because of what happened, what we talked in class ...

DAPO: No, I have been having it before and from what the ladies have just said, they have just proved what the Nigerian women folk are all about and what they believe in.

DILI: What is it?

DAPO: Materialistic living (**laughter**) of course.

AZUKA: But it is not just the women-everybody wants money.

DAPO: Money?

AZUKA: Yes, and you can't do without money

SALLY: Material comfort - yes

AZUKA: And we talking of extravagance or extravagant living.

DAPO: No.

AKIIGA: You are just talking of - you are comfortable marginal comfort.

AZUKA: I will like to have a bungalow house, a car and some clothes I will be able to maintain . I don't like extravagant spending like living is a four storey building, have a fleet of cars because I love to live simple life. If I have these things, it kind of turns my head off and another principle in life is that even if I have these things, I will only stay in a room at a time drive only one car, stay in one room, even one bed so being extravagant will not conform to my principles.

IJEOMA: What if your husband affords more than a car?

SHADE: Will you reject it? Tell us.

AZUKA: If he has more than one car I will tell him my mind, will tell him I am not in for extravagance. If he doesn't want it, he can go on, he has his life to live I have my personal life to live.

DILI; Okey, he doesn't want a bungalow, he wants a duplex, he

builds it, so you won't live there?

AZUKA: Automatically he has to build a bungalow house for me

DILI: And how much will it cost now?

UMAR: To get a bungalow?

AZUKA: It's like we're going to plan the whole thing I am not ready to marry an already made man because I don't want it.

SALLY: What? cheee...e...e

VOICES: You never start!

DILI: Let's hear, she seemed to have struck you somewhere.

SALLY: I can never think of marrying somebody that is not already established - how can -

Tape 1] A No.2)

SALLY: I can never think of marrying somebody that is not already established - how can -

DAPO: Why?

GIRLS' VOICES: I can't how can, for one I can't; what kind of life are we going to live. I can't do that.

UMAR: Does it mean that you will not like to go with the one that is about your age?

SALLY: Personally anybody below the age of 30 I cannot go out with that person. My husband, honestly speaking, because I feel I am, feel immature for that person in all aspects.

DILI: At the age of 30 one is not established

IJEOMA: The person I will go out with should be of that age of 30 and above and should be established.

DILI: What about you?

PEJU: I will like to marry somebody that is not already established because I will be able to have control over him.

VOICES: Eh -

PEJU: Yes, let me explain what I mean, I will be able to have control over him because he cannot say that eh already I have got all these things before you come, this and that, I will tell him that we start these things together and if he is trying to go out of mind I will control him.

DAPO: How do you control him?

PEJU: I will talk to him that these things we started it altogether, you can't just drive me away.

IJEOMA: Because Sir, there are two ways about these things - it's either we go out we start from the scratch, build up then when we reach a certain stage in life we are not comfortable with what we have. The man doesn't just wake up overnight and say 'get out of the house or pack out'. You can build a home or whatever, we started from the scratch and the second way or the other side of the coin, is either he has already made it and me struggling or I might have already made it when we met, so I now have and he has his and both of us nobody will say get out or pack

your things.

SALLY: But that's not the point, infact the person that will ask you to get out will be the one you grew up together with. By the time he becomes comfortable, he start looking out for other ladies. The thing is there - it's something that's happening everywhere. Come to Amina Hall now, most of the men that come there are men that are married that started their lives with these wives they have at home but now instead of them to enjoy their wealth or whatever they are having with the women at home they came out to chase small small girls and what do you think these men can tell them. They can't tell them anything, you know you are forced to have their own - if you go in you meet - if he says, 'Look!' you can't even say it to him. Honestly speaking, it depends on how you meet.

IJEOMA: A man reaches a certain stage in life he will never be comfortable until he tastes the outside love and that is why these men at Amina, that's what they do. They have to taste that outside love - not that they don't have their wives at home, not that they don't care but they have to taste this outside love...

AZUKA: I have a little contribution to make. OK this issue of being well placed before you marry it causes a lot of

problems. Like this girl, one of my school mates, she had always believed that she has to marry to be married to a rich man so it's like she got married to a rich man but she was very rude to the mother-in-law and you know she is always upsetting the man so, before few months she got pregnant and the man drove her away. For these things to happen, you know it's just frustrating but the man wanted back his baby so they went to a court case and in the process the child was granted the man, I think on temporary basis but you know one callous thing this man did? As they were going back, he, the wife and the child just on the highway he opened the door, pushed out the girl and kept moving. So if this girl hadn't insisted on marrying a well-to-do-man and had finished her education, there is no way the man would have meted out this punishment.

PEJU: I have the case of a man that married somebody he started from the scratch just like that. That man later, I don't know whether - I don't know what, he just did to the the girl, all of a sudden the next thing we heard, he asked the girl to pack out, that if she should, just like the story they told us in class today that you know that the woman is too low for him and that he can do that and he went and married a new wife. Can you imagine that!

AZUKA: You should understand; it is either... you can't say her

friend is trying to do that the material gain is more than what you have.

UMAR: What is happening is that Salamatu and Azuka believe in materialistic living.

Others: No !!!

UMAR: She does, she said, she would like to marry a man who has a bungalow!

(Laughter)

DILI: Wait, wait it is not very easy.

AZUKA: I said I will like to live - in a house, in a bungalow

UMAR: Bungalow, and a car

AZUKA: I said I will like these things, it doesn't really mean that the man must provide them. I want these... it does mean the man must necessarily buy these things for me. I am reading now to support myself and I am not reading for any goddam man to do anything for me.

DAPO: Azuka....you!

PEJU: Ose jare...

ABDULLAHI: Azuka what happen, is now you are trying to, telling us that you can still marry somebody without these things

AZUKA: Yes...

DILI: But she hopes to get them in life.

UMAR: Let me talk to Salamatu. Salamatu, is a materialistic lady and I feel you will end up in trouble

DAPO: We don't pray for that, but by experience...

DILI: Experience?

UMAR: By seeing what happens, I see a lot of ladies who believes in materialism at the end of the day. Eh-a-a Somebody may have lots of them - of them, put one here, put the other there, just like Alh Abdulkadir and later, eh eh and if another person who is more beautiful than Salamatu, I think, I think Salamatu may actually care. To me I don't believe that eh eh...

Had I really know, or have seen what has been happening to girls. Because in my place Kano, eh you find these things, boys-e-e spending as much as you want in yourself and your parents on your family but at the same time immediately you got, you get pregnant they sent you out eh what is there because you are there because of money eh, not because of eh-he- himself for that eh think you better look for the one you have from the scratch so grew up together so that eh, in case there will be anything, tell him, you remind him because that man is not prefect.

SALLY: But the former Petroleum Minister Jibrin Aminu, if you read FAME Magazine the woman the first wife she was just talking about her experience with him as a man - This man brought in a mistress, a young girl a 27 year old girl, which almost the same age with his first daughter, brought her in, not married, not anything. He gave her a car she has access to the house while his wife the one that they grew up together with, the one that has borne

him six children. This woman does not have a car to herself - a car to herself and as we heard it the other day... The man you are used to, look at him! What did he do to his wife, Hajiya Awal or whatever they call her, she is the one that experiences more pain, her own her own is not a physical thing it's just psychological something and it is the same with what the wife of the former Petroleum Minister experienced so what are you people going to tell me ...

IFEOMA: After seeing all these things, so what is the need of starting from the scratch? Yes, that's the truth.

IJEOMA: Excuse Sir, we have laughed, the excitement about talking about the system, now there are few home truths, I want to bring in. You know these things about marriage is ones fate. There are natural laws in creation where law of reciprocal action, eh-e laws of homogeneity that birds of the same feather flock together, that whatever a man soweth shall he reap so if there are still girls, men do pick from the brothels yet those girls make homes, and have children and there are still girls one picks from a good home the girls can't even have a baby. These things are laws, is experiences that are meant for one. In as much as we see it from the material sense of it or from the physical, and like the scientists will tell you that thing that a man doesn't see here, or feel outside, that it doesn't exist in creation, it but like I was saying

there are laws in creation - whatever a man soweth, law of reciprocality. Me personally if a man is good to me I will give him the best he should expect from a woman but if you are bad to me, all well, it's unfortunate... like the way somebody was talking about the wife of Petro Minister Normally in our culture...

APPENDIX 10

NIGERIAN PIDGIN-STORY GROUP (SG)

LILIAN: I don suffer...

NIKE: You never start, I say you never hala, you just de start.

JINNIFER: I think sey you de cook? Make you just de cook, leave Lilian alone, a beg, jist me, wetin happen?

LILIAN: You know wetin, you sabi that our lecturer ba, my supervisor.

JENNIFER: No be that bobo? That one wey get bald head for FASS.

LILIAN: Na im o, my project, I come carry am go give this man.

NIKE: You don finish am?

LILIAN: I manage write the thing , and how sha. I go give am. As I reach there, the man just look the paper, he just fling the thing throw way.

JENNIFER: The man fling am.

NIKE: He never fling am.

JENNIFER: Make you just leave am, just de jist me. I de hear. You know use strategy?

LILIAN: Wetin you de talk? Mm, as I reach there, I just come knock the man door.

JENNIFER: Good.

LILIAN: As I knock the man door, he say, 'Come in'. Na im I come enter.

NIKE: You for stand there, Mumu...

JENNIFER: Your rice de burn, the thing de burn.o..o..

LILIAN: As I enter now, make I de tell you, na im I just give the man like this (she claps her hand twice exposing her laps)

JENNIFER: Wetin?

LILIAN: The man no look me...

NIKE: How the man for look you, see the craw craw wey de for the legs.

JENNIFER: No mind Nike, I de listen, eh hem..

LILIAN: As the man no come look me now, I come say make I give am Strategy No.2. Se, you remember that my blouse, that one wey de like this (bending, touching her chest to show how low the neck of the blouse is)

NIKE: That 'show me your burst' wey Alhaji give you.

JENNIFER: Haba, haba, na im you wear?

LILIAN: Na im o.o.; so I just come put my two hands for table like this.. (dramatizing) come say 'good afternoon sir'... Jenny, you know wetin happen.

JENNIFER: Eh - the man no look you!

NIKE: How the man go look you, the thing wey you de show am, no commot for under blouse.

JENNIFER: I don die, the man no look your face with Number 2.

LILIAN: The man no look me, I come say make I give am Strategy No.3

JENNIFER: Wetin you come do?

LILIAN: I just carry chair, sey make I give am my leg like this (throwing her legs open)

JENNIFER: Wetin happen?

LILIAN: The man no look me!

JENNIFER: The man no look you - I don die... the man na wood, the man na wood

NIKE: How you go say the man na wood? Commot your leg, my rice de burn.

LILIAN: Just stop am, this my leg get craw-craw?

JENNIFER: No mind am, come this side, Nike de vex today, I no wetin de do am.

NIKE: Jennifer, that your maggi and pepper...

JENNIFER: Take everything, leave me, carry everything inside... Lilian tell me jare, look Nike why you talk like this, no be your boyfriend I see with one girl de chop groundnut for 90's

VIVIAN: Old girl, na your eye be this, how now?

TAIYE: Na im ai de fine, I beg you don do your Sociology 201 assignment?

VIVIAN: Yes now, na wetin?

TAIYE: I beg, give me make I dub, I just de come from Jaji, se you understand.

VIVIAN: But ai don submit am since

TAIYE: I don die be that (Leaves)

VIVIAN: You no see am, na so dem de do. Na only party dem sabi; now, i wan come dub after i don suffer to do am. Dem

think sey we be fool.

AZUKA: Na waah - o shey you know her friend... she come my room yesterday before dem go Jaji, she say make ai help am write the assignment and make ai even submit an for am, sey she go do me better if she come back.

VIVIAN: So wetin you tell am?

AZUKA: Me ke, trust me - ai tell am sey ai got plenty assignment wey ai never do.

VIVIAN: Na im good for am, make dem de waste their time, one day monkey go go market i no go return. See, our lecturer don come, make we go class.

APPENDIX 11
MILITARY TAKE-OVER
STANDARD NIGERIAN (SPOKEN) ENGLISH
(CODE: SG/011M)

FARUK: Good afternoon or good evening class we are here to present to you our reasons behind the taking over of government by the military which we think is justifiable eh and I'm here to convince you that eh their taking over is necessary as they, have said, it's a child of necessity and that is why the government why the government has come.

Looking back into the Nigerian political history, we will have to say that to date when we have General Sanni Abacha as the Head of State we have ten heads state. Out of these ten heads of state we have seven of them military, three of them civilian and three of the civilians, two elected, one appointed. So in all, we have about thirty-three years, eh since independence in Nigeria and out of these thirty-three years twenty-two of which eh were used by the military in office. So from what we have said, you can see that the military has eh taken about 2/3 of the number of years we have in governing this particular country.

Also the military came into power and introduced a lot of things to make sure that the government has gone down to the grassroots by creating local government and creating states as we have today. And all the states been created in Nigeria, were all created by the military government and not a single one was created by the civilian government.

The... and when we look at all these political development in this country, then coming to the present situation, we talk about the reasons why the government or the military government has to come back despite the fact that the former Head of State or the former President of Nigeria General Ibrahim Gbadamasi Babangida came out categorically to say that his government was going to be the last. But unfortunately, they've come. It's unfortunate they have come but it is necessary for they 're here.

So when we look at it now, we see that we started the problem right from the beginning when the Federal Military Government asked us to go and form our own political parties. So we went to form political parties and we came out with about forty or even fifty political parties, eh very few were selected about sixteen were selected for deliberations then, by the Armed Forces Ruling Council. And then, by the time they finished scrutinizing these particular political parties that were organized by the people themselves, they came out with a lot of political parties, coming out either on the religious lines, tribal lines, eh regional lines or even some kinds of community associations. They formed these political parties.

Out of all the political parties that went for registration that time, none of the political parties reflected the interest of Nigeria as a nation.

So because of that, the military government then dissolved or all of them were refused to be registered, as a

result of which the federal government had to impose military parties. So they imposed, they imposed the two military parties so that at least each of the party must be having an office and representation from each ward of all the five hundred and seventy three local government we have in Nigeria and all the states, that we have in this country.

So these parties have representation from every part of the country. This is because the military looks at it that because of the disciplinary nature of the military, because of their training to unite the nation, because of their training to defend the integrity of Nigeria, they thought the only way was for them to impose two political parties for the people to be well guided, because they observed the civilian regime had no discipline, civilian regime had no direction to make us stay in peace and, also our economy to be in good shape as well as some other social factors.

So because of that, the military had to come to do some kind of imposition of these two political parties. Then eventually elections were held. The elections started from the local government level of the two parties as well as the local government councils with all their members. And we also witnessed the moments when this particular election grew from that particular grass roots level to the peak of electing the members of the eh Senate as well as House of Representatives. The only step that was left was that of the Presidential election. When the Presidential election eventually came or

some candidates came out for this particular post. Infact almost the whole nation everybody was looking for that one seat. So they thought it was not ideal, they just sent out of them parking and eh some of them were even banned from participating in politics because there was still no discipline.

So they thought there was going to be some kinds of lessons to be learnt; these lessons were not learnt and they ask people to go and adopt the Option A4 election which started from the grassroots. They thought that was going to help, eventually money came and exchanged hands, very usual of our politicians. And so the elections were were cancelled eh after going to the poll eh just half-way eh into eh. announcing the result that we saw. So the Federal Government just annulled the election or cancelled the election because of eh alleged anomalies that were being detected. So from there, we also saw that many aam of the people started coming to talk about, because in politics a politician is a very selfish individual, where he wins he does not talk where he loses, he talks and infact, he has to go to any extent. We have witnessed that with many of the presidential candidates that lost elections in the past, they had to go to court, some of them had to go to where ever they thought was going to be their savior.

So we were gradually going to have a united Nigeria that has a democratization right from the grassroots to the highest

level of office but unfortunately we, when they came there was only one solution and that solution they said was that the President had to come down or had to step down. But eventually he stepped aside and introduced what we called the Interim Government. And the Interim Government we thought was going to be the solution to the problem but all along, that till the moment I think the military would have been the best solution for Nigeria. But unfortunately the military were asked to leave because the civilian thought they were going to do everything themselves.

After, if we look at if from the right from the beginning if the inception of politics, civilians came and they were introducing regional politics instead of eh national politics. So because of that Babangida had to step down or he stepped aside in force, em then he formed the Interim Government which was, which we thought was going to be the solution. And then many people started rejecting it. Some parts of the the country rejected some parts of the political parties rejected the Interim Government. And did not even provided a solution, they just rejected the Interim Government, they criticised the Interim Government without providing a solution to the Interim Government. So eh as the Interim Government was going on to eighty two years, em eighty two days of their existence, they came out with something em like dissolving the local government councils in preparation for their elections of December of January or February next year. But then, some

states of the federation that felt were not being favoured with the cancellation of the June 12 eh election are refused even to obey that order which means they were not recognizing the Interim Government. Then some of the senators that belonged to or who felt they were not favoured with the cancellation of the June election refused to attend eh eh a kind of briefing which was done by then Head of State or President Chief Ernest Shonekan they they went out or walked out of the house and refused to even listen because they did not recognise him. And also some of the governors or four out of the five states in the western part of Nigeria refused to attend all meetings called by the then Head State, a-aa- of all the governors they refused to attend. But later on the Ondo State governor said he was no more part of that team, he came to join the remaining part of Nigeria to recognise the Interim Government. So the Interim Government was shaking, moving here some people rejecting it, some people trying to say that the term of their stay should be extended. So in a situation like this, where you have all these problems, nobody is trying to recognise the Interim Government. The Interim Government also was trying to do some kind of political, economic and social reconstruction. But then they can only achieve that if they've the unity of the nation. The unity of the nation was not there because it was the politicians that were handling the affairs; so there was chaos, there was no certainty in the future of the social, economic and political

future of this nation. I am sure even it was going to affect our educational system.

Most of you are living witnesses that if the military had not returned, may be by now we would all be at home; (Laughter) just eating and no reading. So you see, this is a situation, because we have come, so in the light of all these the Interim Government has not been recognised by in all parts of the nation. And infact for a government to stay in office to deliver the goods, to change the system and make you to be happy as an individual and also as a good citizen of this country who pays his tax to stay in the peace and also to have some kind of economic buoyancy, there is need for a very strong and eh eh dedicated central government and the the Interim Government was not giving us that so the civilian, the military had to come back to bring back sanity into the system because or they are known or being taught best to introduce sanity into the civilians that have not been able to be united, that we not been able to have the discipline, that have, been fighting in the houses of assembly, that have been currupting and taking our money away, that we have been moving in flashy cars all over the town and lots of these. So that was why they came, thank you very much.

DAMILOLA: I want to ask the speaker, the pro-military speaker a question because he recognised the facts that the military have come to power again because they want to clean up some

insanity. I want to ask him who his created the insanity in the first place?

FARUK: Well, if you look at it, who created the insanity was a joint responsibility of the military and the civilians because if you it was during Babangida regime, Babangida was not the only person in the office. I am sure his Vice-President was a civilian and also his Secretary to the government was a civilian and some of his ministers were all civilians and so it was a collective decision.

So the civilian were involved, infact the number of civilians in that cabinet was more than the military. So they had the chances of imposing their decision on the few minority military that were around.....

APPENDIX 12

MILITARY TAKE-OVER (PD/007F)

(PRO CIVILIAN)

Looking at the political situation in this country, it is evident that the military are not capable of leading this nation.

The military is not a democratic institution and therefore cannot give us democracy. The tried this before handing over to Shagari in 1979 but what we had was a Second Republic that crumbled even before it began. What they are trained for is the defence of this country. The average military man (captain - major) start a democratic institution based on an autocratic and dictatorial institution is bound to collapse. This writer has not heard of a farmer who planted onions and reaped tomatoes. We cannot allow dictators to rule us and expect to have democracy. We must begin to build a solid foundation for democracy based on democratic ideas. The military is so corrupt and greedy and having invested so much on power, they will not allow their plans hope and aspirations thwarted. Take a look at their tenures of office. It was during their tenure that the famous Nigerian Civil war broke out due to sectionalism, tribalism etc.

If after more than twenty years of their rule, the Military have not been able to perform the miracle so expected

of them, then one wonders if that miracle can still be performed in such hard times as this. It is justified to say they should give the politicians a chance to prove their mentor' after all, the civilians have merely been building on the foundation they laid for them. The transition programme was their brainchild, if it collapses, they should take the lion share of the blame because they should have foreseen these difficulties.

The military harp on the corrupt nature of the civilians but are their hands clean? The Bible implored us to remove the log in our eyes in order to be able to remove the speck in our brother's eye. How can they say, they're fighting corruption when the total salary (It is assumed he saves every kobo) of a major general throughout his lifetime does not amount to N2 million and he is riding a lexus car of N1.6 million. Let him get rid of his corrupt nature before he eradicates the Nigerian society of corruption. The same man can afford to send his family on hajj every year. Where does the money come from. The tax payers money of course. We shouldn,t forget that the so-called money Abiola made through the NITL was during their tenure, so who started the dance that finally led to the madness.

Every Nigerian, young or old loves peace and wants peace. We are also peaceful for as long as the conditions around permit peace. It is said that a hungry man is an angry man and an angry man looks mad. That one asked for food because he is

hungry should not be termed lawlessness and madness. This is always the reason given by the military for coming back. Let us not be fooled, they're the lawless among us: seizing power when they're not supposed to, censoring and banning everything when there should be freedom, indoctrinating us when all we cry for is liberation and freedom of speech. Let's face the fact. They're the trouble shooters among us. And until they learn to be lawful and obedient by confining themselves to the barracks where they belong, there will continue to be civil unrest in this country. What should be called for is revolution against any autoractic government.

The present military head of state hasn't the mental and intellectual capability to rule this country. He's only brave, wicked and wields a gun and this is not enough qualifications demanded of a leader. Enough is Enough!