A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF NIGERIAN PIDGIN IN ZARIA

BY

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DECEMBER, 1992

DECLARATION

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

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

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

T. O. Gani-Ikilama (Mrs.)

December, 1992

CERTIFICATION

This thesis entitled:

A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF NIGERIAN PIDGIN IN ZARIA

by Taiwo Olufunto Gani-Ikilama (Mrs.) 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

This thesis is dedicated to

THE GLORY OF GOD

and to

The blessed memory of my parents

Vererable Archdeacon & Mrs. S. O. Akinluyi

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ABSTRACT

Much of what is currently known about Nigerian Pidgin (NP) has been provided by researches into NP in southern Nigeria as it exists especially in Edo, Delta and Rivers States. There is even a general assumption that MP is a phenomenon of southern Nigeria alone, and the use of NP in the northern part of Nigeria is often denied by many, probably because of the presence, in the north, of the strong lingua franca, Hausa.

The need for documented material on the existence and use of NP in the northern part of Nigeria is the motivation for this research. A typical northern Nigeria town, Zaria, was used for the research, with the assumption on the part of the researcher that whatever insight is gained into NP in Zaria will be by and large applicable in other northern Nigeria towns.

In a brief background to the study which is given in Chapter One, the relationship of NP to West African Pidgin, and the relationship of the latter to the English language in West Africa are

discussed. A short overview of the earlier spread of MP is also given in this section.

Chapter two is a review of literature on pidgins (and Creoles) with particular focus on NP - its status in Nigeria, its lexicon, syntax and phonology. A second part of this chapter reviews various frameworks for the study of language and ends with a proposed framework for this study.

Chapter three presents the method used for this research as the Rapid Rural Appraisal (R.R.A.) technique, which is a combination of . data collection methods through the primary and secondary sources. Questionnaires were administered, and three recordings made of samples of NP in Zaria.

The data gathered are analysed in Chapter Four, and the same chapter discusses the findings. This analysis provided answers to the questions the researcher started out with,namely who uses NP, with whom, where ard for what purpose. Deviations from NP in the recorded samples are highlighted, and "echoes'' of NP are also pointed out.

Chapter five corcludes that NP is spoken in Zaria by various people in various walks of life

and in every section of the town even if rot every single person uses it. It also concludes that the NP used in Zaria is a variety of the NP in Warri/Sapele which we have used as norm.

The implication of the existence ard use of MP in the north is of great importance for Nigeria, as far as a unifying national larguage is concerned. The researcher recommends that the government of Nigeria give official status to NP, approve an orthography and possibly adopt a new name for it, in order to liberate it from the stigma of low status that is often attached to it.

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used only in the southern part of Nigeria. In fact some people call it "Bendel Language" or "Bendelan" (Murtagh, 1973) because of the extent of its use in the former Bendel State. While it is true that Nigeria has indigenous linguae francae like Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba in the northern, eastern, and western parts of the country respectively, the one lingua franca that is to be found in various parts of the country, albeit in varying degrees of usage is NP. According to Adekunle (1972:198), NP

> ...is the language most frequently used as the means of inter-ethnic communication at shopping centres, market places, motor parks and even in most informal discussions in offices, in linguistically heterogenous cities.

1.1 Statement of the problem and objectives

The use of NP in the northern parts of Nigeria is not as widespread as it is in the south. As stated in (1.0), its use in the north is often contested, probably because of the extent of the use of Hausa, and also because research into NP has been based largely on the southern variety.

To the best of this writer's knowledge, not much work has been done on the northern variety. The implication of this is that our knowledge of NP (its features and uses) is based largely on the southern variety. This is however unacceptable in the sense that the social, cultural and linguistic backgrounds of these varieties are not the same - a fact which is bound to affect the varieties in question. This means that there is a gap yet to be filled.

This study therefore sets out to:

1. establish the presence of pidgin in a typical northern Nigeria town - Zaria;

2. describe this variety

It is our hope that the findings of this study will put an end to the controversy as to whether or not pidgin exists in the north. We are interested in who uses pidgin, where and for what purpose. This work will also examine the type of pidgin used with a view to finding out how this variety stands in relation to the southern Variety[1] - the Warri/Sapele variety which Omamor uses as norm in her research.

1.2 Background to the Study

In order to place our study of pidgin within the general framework of the discussions on West African Pidgin in particular, and world pidgins in general, a brief historical background of pidgin will be provided in what follows.

1.2.1 English in West Africa

English in anglophone West Africa, according to Spencer (1971) exists alongside hundreds of indigenous languages which constitute the mother tongues or first languages of the peoples of West Africa, and it too has become relatively at home here.

Usually because it was the language of the colonial administrators, English was left behind as official language in the former British colonies in West Africa and other places. As populations became socially and geographically more mobile, the place of English got more interwoven with the lives of more and more people. Even though English in West Africa is used in various aspects of life such as education, administration, business, law, politics, mass

media, etc., etc., according to Bangbose (1971:36) "by far the most important role of English... is its use as a medium of social communication".

English is used by West Africans both for intra-national social interactions and for international activities as well. Thus, as Spencer argues, it helps the West African as it were to move out from his traditional setting to the outside world, and more specifically to the "Western" world.

English in West Africa is not a homogenous entity, but it exists in varieties, ranging as Grieve (1964:1) puts it "from something very near standard to the patois of the market place". Though there exists a "standard written English" (Spencer, 1971:4) which is internationally intelligible and which is learnt with various degrees of perfection, the problem of a standard is much easier as far as written English is concerned than it is with spoken English.

Brosnaham (1958) and Banjo (1971) identify four varieties of spoken English in Nigeria.

The variety at the top in each of their analyses is one which is close to standard English and is nationally and internationally intelligible. There is no agreement about the forms at bottom end of the ladder except that they are non-standard. Brosnaham argues that this variety is pidgin, while Banjo refers to it as that which exhibits "wholesale transfers" from the first language (L_1) of the speakers, and he corcludes that such a variety is nationally and internationally unacceptable.

English is so much used in West Africa that various non-standard forms exist especially in informal situations. Pidgin which is related in some ways to Erglish, especially in its lexicon is sometimes classified among these non-standard forms as Brosnaham has done, but this, in our view is controversial.

Spencer (1971) and Odumuh (1981) consider pidgin a separate language. As Spencer (1971:5) puts it:

> If, on the other hand, one listened to children in the playground in certain urban areas of Coastal West Africa, one might hear another language, closely related in some ways to English, but certainly unintelligible to native English speakers from outside West Africa; Pidgin English.

Pidgin exists as a lingua franca in West Africa, and though there are varieties of it, there is a sufficient common linguistic core for these varieties to be still reasonably mutually intelligible.

1.2.2 West African Pidgin

It is difficult to say exactly when pidgin was first heard along the West African Coast. Christopherson (1933) suggests that a pidginised form of Portuguese was used for contact between Englishmen and Africans on the Guinea Coast from the earliest times till late in the 18th century when a pidginised form of English replaced the pidgin Portuguese as the lingua franca of the coast (Tonkin, 1971:140).

Records show that as early as 1554 Africans were taken to England to learn English in order to assist future trading expeditions as interpreters. This would mean that English was probably used on the coast earlier than Christopherson has suggested. In fact Kup (1961) writes that from about the 17th century onwards, there was a "professional band of interpreters" who were very active on the West African coasts. Among this band must have been people capable of interpreting between English and the African languages.

It was however the establishment of two settlements - Freetown, in the colony of Sierra Leone and Monrovia, in the colony of Liberia - after the abolition of the slave trade that led to the development of West African Pidgin. The repatriated slaves, having lost their mother tongue in the new world returned with a new mother tongue based on English lexicon. This had started as a pidgin but later became mother tongue to the people. This mother tongue - Krio - is a creole native to some 200,000 Sierra Leonians and a lingua franca for the rest of the country. Krio speaking teachers, missionaries, clerks and

middlemen enjoyed some prestige throughout West Africa, and by the middle of the 19th century, they were to be:

> .....found from the Gambia to Fernando Po; by the end of it, they filled the government offices of Nigeria and were scattered as far away as the Cape of Good Hope. (Fyfe, (1965) cited in Todd 1984:140).

Thus, all across West Africa was to be found this pidgin even though in many varieties, yet all of them being mutually intelligible in varying degrees.

Pidgin is used not only in anglophone West Africa, but also in francophone countries a well where it is referred to as "patois" when it is French-based. However, English-based pidgin is used in some Francophone countries too. Although French is the official language of Togo, Pidgin English still flourishes on the coast and in the East (Todd, 1984). In the Cameroons too, where French and English serve as the official languages, Pidgin English remains the most useful lingua franca. Even in Fernando Po where

the official language is Spanish, pidgin English is widely used too.

West African pidgin therefore not only covers a very large geographical area, but it also exists in varieties ranging from a true creole to what Mafeni (1971) refers to as "minimal pidgin", that is, "broken pidgin" used between Europeans and their domestic servants. Mafeni is right when he says:

> Research into West African pidgin must take into account its varying social functions equally with its formal variations from area to area along the West African Coast.

In this study, we shall be concerned among other things with the social functions of the variety of NP spoken in Zaria.

1.2.3 Nigerian Pidgin (NP)

Nigerian pidgin, though a variety of West African pidgin, has its own history.

The contact between Britain and Nigeria through trade, colonial administration, as well as missionary activity also meant contact with and use of English. The colonial administrators, for instance were so eager to get through to the natives that they did not mind if pidgin was the result of their efforts to teach the English language. According to Ayandele (1966:33), an official in the colonial office once commented that, "the earlier we can make English even if it must be 'pidgin English' the common speech of West Africa, the better".

The result of the ambitious aim to give English this role was that schools were turned into "clerk-making machines", the chief objective being to equip those clerks with some form of English that enabled them to function as interpreters in the colonial government. If, as it appeared, many of the clerks could only speak pidgin and not English, then the efforts could be said to have enhanced the spread of pidgin.

Since pidgin draws its vocabulary mostly from one language, in this case English, it is very easy to acquire once the vocabulary items are known. According to Hall (1966:89), "the man in the street is in general more interested in the vocabulary of a language than its structural patterns".

The method of teaching itself probably made its own contribution too to the spread of pidgin. Sir Alan Burns (1929) must have held this view, because his comment on the section of the Report of the East African Commission which says "when English is taught at all, it must be taught completely...", was "anyone who has heard pidgin English spoken will agree with this". (Ayandele, 1966:339).

Describing the genesis of Nigerian Pidgin, Taiwo (1972:8) remarks as follows:

> The Niger Delta... was inhabited by many ethnic groups, each having its own language or dialect.

> Communication between the people on the one hand, and the various agencies - missionaries, administrative staff, traders - on the other, had to be in some form of English. The situation gave rise to ... "pidgin English..."

Mafeni (1971: 19) also observes of Nigeria pidgin that it is:

> essentially a product of urbanisation. While its origins lie historically in the early contacts between Europeans and Africans on the coast, its development and spread is the result of contacts between Africans.

The growth of towns with their heterogenous populations enhanced the use and spread of NP as a lingua franca in many parts of Nigeria. Today, NP is a lingua franca for many, and a big solution to communication problems in Nigeria. Most urban dwellers, especially in certain parts of Nigeria like Edo, Delta, Rivers and Cross Rivers States, are bilingual, i.e. in NP and their own indigenous Nigerian language. In these areas, NP is a more important medium of communication in the life of the younger generation than the indigenous

languages of the areas. The result is that NP is a creole in some of those places.

The spread of NP has been helped not only by the factors mentioned above, but also by today's school system. Pidgin is the commonest language outside the classroom in many urban schools, and this is a feature, not only at the primary school level, but at the secondary and tertiary levels as well. Because of the mixed population in most tertiary level institutions, pidgin is very much used outside the classroom as a language of relaxation in informal situations.

Although it appears most convenient to look at NP as part of the larger group of the English based pidgin and creole languages of West Africa, various studies, notably that of Todd (1984), indicate that it is better to consider NP as a distinct variety of world pidgs.

Nigerian Pidgin is itself relatively complex and it "exhibits variety in form and function from region to region and from community to community" (Mafeni, 1971).

Varieties of NP, even though more or less mutually intelligible can vary quite significantly according to the indigenous languages of the users. In other words, although NP is English-based, the local languages have also contributed to its make up. NP has its own distinct form, roles and functions in the community, hence this writer would rather refer to it as "Nigerian Pidgin" as can be observed has been done hitherto, than as "Nigerian Pidgin English".

In this study therefore, Nigerian Pidgin is regarded as a language in its own right and not merely as a kind of English.

For one thing, it is rot intelligible to a native speaker of Erglish who has never had any contact with it, and secondly, it is markedly differert phonologically and syntactically from English in spite of its heavy deperderce on the latter for vocabulary elemerts.

1.2.4 The Earlier Spread of NP

(a) Alorg the Coast

The linguistic heterogeneity all alorg the coastal areas of Nigeria provided a favourable situatior for the development of a contact larguage. The contact larguage - pidgin - which thus developed between the coastal peoples and the Europeans who, according to Ayardele (1980) came first as traders, then as

missionaries ard later on as explorers must have been used too by the indigenes in their communication with ore arother, since they did rot share a commor language.

Along the Nigeriar coast, pidgin had more success in some areas thar others. In the Lagos area, the coastal population was quite homogerous as far as the Yoruba language was concerned, and even though pidgin was used with the Europeans, the traders quickly fell back or their own larguage when the Europears had gone. This accounts for why, even though NP is spoker in Lagos today, it is not very wide spread, and one firds that the predomirart language there is still Yoruba.

Going eastward from Lagos, the Warri/ Sapele area preserted a different situatior as far as pidgin was corcerred. Even though the

language of Warri was Itsekiri, it did not pose a major challenge to the use and spread of pidgin. Elugbe and Omamor (1991) account for this as follows. The Itsekiri traders and their numerically powerful neighbours the Urhobos - were firmly under the authority of the strong Edo rule, even though the Edos were further away from the coast. In such a situation the Itsekiri language could not play any dominant role.

In the Port Harcourt area, the joint presence of the indigenous languages and Igbo helped pidgin to thrive.

By contrast, the dominance of Efik in Calabar and Ijo generally in the Eastern part of the Delta reduced the role of Pidgin in these areas.

(b) The Interior

The spread of pidgin to the interior was initially virtually hindered by the presence of strong local languages like Yoruba in the Western

part of the country and Igbo in the East. Even though pidgin is found in these areas today, it is a relatively recent development. Yoruba and Igbo are still the main linguae francae, and any "stranger" to these areas always needs some words of the local language to get by.

However, in the non-Igbo parts of the former Mid-West Region of Nigeria (i.e. former Bendel State) where there is no predominant language - not even in Benin whose indigenous language is Edo - pidgin is often the first choice especially in the markets (Omamor, 1982). The only exception to this was in the Akoko-Edo areas where Yoruba functioned and still functions as lingua franca because of the linguistic diversity in the area. The use of Yoruba there is often attributed to the missionary influence since the earlier Bibles were in Yoruba and so the earlier focus was on literacy in Yoruba. The incidence of Yoruba in Akoko-Edo is also sometimes attributed to political administration since the area concerned was not only administered by, but also adjacent to the Yoruba speaking West.

The exploratior of the interior of Nigeria took place in the eighteenth century, about two hundred years after the contact between the coastal peoples and the Europeans. Ever during the slave trade, the contacts with the Europeans were mainly on the coast since the interior powerful warriors brought slaves down to the coast.

That pidgin is found today in other interior parts of Nigeria is due to the growth of cities with their multi-ethnic or multi-linguistic populations. However, the failure of pidgin to spread more into the interior is attributed by Elugbe and Omamor (1991) to the growing awareness of the value of literacy in English. The introduction of schools and writing in the Calabar area produced records such as Antera Duke's famous diary with its 1785 entry. This is probably one of the early records of NP spoker about two hundred years after it first started, ever though the records reveal what might be identified today as a mixture of pidgin and imperfect English.

> ...so I mak goods for Callabar antera to go in Commrown. (meaning: "so I got together goods for Calabar Anterra to go to Cameroon"). (Forde, 1956:90).

1.3 Justification for the Study

Nigeria, because of her multi-lingual nature, has the problem of communication across various linguistic groups. English the official language of the country and the language of formal education in particular, offers some solution to this problem since it is used in many parts of the country. This solution is however limited because only the formally educated (which constitute about 10% of the entire national population)[2] can enjoy it. The indigenous linguae francae, Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba also offer some solution which is again limited because of the restricted area of their uses as mentioned earlier.

This situation has made the issue of national language for Nigeria a perennial problem because of the political implications of adopting and enforcing one out of the many indigenous

languages as the national language of the country. The idea of English as the national language of Nigeria is out of the question because it is generally considered unsuitable since it is an exoglossic language, i.e. an official language introduced from outside, and a remnant of colonialism.

In the abserce, therefore, of any indigenous language as a satisfactory national larguage, an examination of the use and spread of a language like NP is very important as it can be very useful in language planning.

Pidgins are usually looked down upon as inferior versions of standard languages, especially when they exist alongside their source languages as NP in Nigeria does with the English language. According to Hall (1972:151):

> The major difference between a pidgin or creole and any other indigenous language, in achieving recognition as a stardard, lies in its relation to the prestige - language of the region in which it is used, especially if this latter is its source - language. Any non-standard language has to combat prejudice with regard to its use, as opposed to that of a more firmly established variety, whether on the local, the regional or the national level.

Hall goes on further to identify two elements of social disfavour as far as pidgins and creoles are concerned; namely the question of a simple social standing, and secondly, the widespread opinion that it is a "debased" or "corrupted" variety of some other language, whether that language is the dominant prestige tongue of the locality or not. Hall opines that as long as no political considerations are involved, pidgins and creoles have little or no chance of achieving recognition on the basis of intrinsic merit or even usefulness alone.

A pidgin such as NP deserves consideration and recognition on the basis of its usefulness and intrinsic merit. Elugbe and Omamor (1991) argue that:

> ...NP today has a system that can be described coherently... It cannot be a makeshift system in terms of which linguistic theory seems to see true pidgins or a jargonised/bastardised form of any language, whether foreign or indigenous... there is today no reason for ... (the fact of its contact language history) to ipso facto colour descriptions of the language.
>
> (Cited in Omamor, 1990:44).

Among educated Nigerians who are not informed in linguistics, pidgin is rated as a sub-standard variety of standard English which no educated person should be heard to speak. To them, pidgin is a vulgar and debased language of the uneducated - the language of house boys, messengers, motor park touts and the lay-abouts of

society, (Soola, 1991).

Allen Grimshaw (1971:11) argues that in some instances, early linguists were loathe "to dignify pidgins by labelling them as languages". However, pidgin and creole studies have shown that although they are based on certain languages, they are a new system. As Tonkin (1971:29) puts it:

> One must... call the result a 'language', and not merely some partial or corrupt form of the original, because its syntax and grammar have been restructured to for a new system.

In spite of its lack of popularity among some Nigerian people, pidgin is a force to reckon with in multilingual Nigeria. Apart from bridging the linguistic barrier that would have made communication impossible among the many illiterate linguistically diverse Nigerians, pidgin, according to Soola (191:6), "can be effectively utilised in reaching radio's multi-lingual and predominantly illiterate population who would otherwise have been mass ex-communicated".

Pidgin is of value to the educated Nigerian too, for, as Todd (1984:1) remarks, "the more we study pidgins and creoles, the greater will our estimation of them be". Radio and Television network programmes in pidgin for plays, various advertisements and more recently political propaganda, reveal the usefulness of pidgin throughout Nigeria.

Therefore, researches into this significant language are worthwhile, and since a lot of work has already been done on pidgin in the south, there is a need to investigate pidgin in the north as well. This is the preoccupation of the study, i.e. an examination of pidgin in Zaria.

1.4 Scope and Delimitation

This study is limited to Zaria because of the assumption of this writer that whatever insight is gained from this study might give some insight into the pidgin spoken in other Northern towns like Kano, Kaduna, Bauchi or Katsina.

Another assumption is that since Hausa is lingua franca in the North, there will be Hausa elements in the Northern Variety. This work will examine the grammar, phonology and vocabulary of some Zaria pidgin recordings.

1.5 Limitation

Even though Zaria was zoned into six for the purpose of this study, there were no population figures available for the various zones. This means that in administering the questionnaires for the research, we have had to use the random sample method. Also, even though we have attempted to structure the questionnaires, it was inevitable that multiple responses were obtained in some cases as in the question which asked about domains of use of NP. All the same, the items of information elicited have been of value to this research.

FOOT NOTES

1. Pidgin in southern Nigeria is not just one variety just as English in southern Nigeria is not one variety but since this study is on Pidgin in northern Nigeria, the expressions "southern Pidgin" or "pidgin in the south" cannot but come up occasionally for contrastive or convenience purposes.

2. Bashir Ikara (1984). "English as a Communicative Medium and a Cultural Dilemma in Nigeria". In English Language Studies in Nigerian Higher Education. British Council, p. 17.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This chapter has two sections. The first part is a review of related literature on pidgins as well as creoles. This review touches on etymology and definitions, acquisition, lexicon, syntax and phonology, and finally discusses the status of NP. The secord part examines different theoretical frameworks, and at the end of the chapter, the proposed frame work of analysis for this study is described.

2.1 Review of Literature

2.1.1 Etymologies and Definitions of Pidgins and Creoles

The terms "pidgin" and "creole" have been variously described and defined over the years. Our review begins with the etymologies and definitions of these terms with a view to laying bare some of the controversies that have ensued over the years.

(a) Etymology of Pidgin

Different accounts of the etymology of "pidgin" abound in the literature. The Oxford English Dictionary suggests that "pidgin" is a Chinese mis-pronunciation of the word "business", and that this word first appeared in print in 1850. This view remarks that the word was initially pronounced "bidgnish" ard later softened to "pidgin".

Leland (1876) opines that the word "pidgin" may have derived from a modified form of the Portuguese word "occupacão" which means "occupation" or "business", while Hassert (1913) relates it to the Hebrew word "pidjom" which mears "barter".

Kleinecke (1959) suggests that "pidgin" derives from "padians", a Yayo word meaning "local Indians". The English colonialists in their contact with the Yayos probably used the phrase "padian English" to mean "non-native English". Another suggestion which has obvious connection with the "baby talk" theory is that "pidgin" comes from the Portguese word "pequeno" which means "little" or "child". Todd (1984) opines

that "pidgin" is a variant form of "pigeon", since pigeon language is used for carrying simple messages, and since many people consider a pidgin language "as being of little more consequence than birdlike imitations of language" (1984:3).

It is obvious from the views above that the actual source of the word "pidgin" is not known or agreed on; but as it is currently used in the literature, the term is applied to a marginal or makeshift language.

(b) Definitions of Pidgins

In an attempt to define the term "pidgin", various people have focused on different things. Some, such as De Camp (1971a) have been concerned with the number of languages needed to produce a true pidgin. De Camp (1971a) argues that any two languages in contact can result in "inter-lingual improvisation" but that the development of a true pidgin requires more than two languages in contact. Whinnom (1971) believes that a pidgin is born in a situation which involves a target

language and two or more substrate languages. This target language, which is the socially superior language, is usually not accessible enough to the substrate speakers with the result that there is hardly any motivation to improve performarce; moreover, a defective version of the stardard language is considered functionally adequate. Takirg this view irto consideration, is it any wonder that some peoole today still classify pidgins as defective versions of natural languages?

Schuman (1978) speaks of a process of pidginisation at work in the acquisition process of a foreign learrer of a language who has limited exposure to its speakers, and limited motivation to acquire the language. This mears that ir this case, only one "substrate" language is involved; and so this view of applying the term "pidginisation" to contact between only two languages is a significant departure from Whinnom's view. Other significant departures from this view are situations of "foreigner talk" (Ferguson 1971), immigrart languages, or the type of makeshift commurication between tourists ard guides described by Hall (1966) as a pidgin.

Other researchers have focussed on the need for communication. Todd (1974) defines pidgin as a marginal language which arises to fulfil certain restricted communicative needs among people who do not share a common language. This could mean that pidgins are more generally the result of any situation of language contact. Le Page (1977) extends this idea by referring to the communicative act of a speaker on any given occasion as an "instant pidgin", since speakers in any situation will need to accommodate to one another even if they speak the "same" language. Indeed there is an on-going need in all human communicative settings for speakers to negotiate a common set of meanings through the linguistic means available to them.

Further still on communication, Romaine (1988:224) defines pidgin as "a language which has been stripped of everything but the bare essentials necessary for communication".

Focus on the structure and lexicon of pidgins is not a recent one. About seventy years ago, Jespersen remarked of pidgin that "the grammatical

structure has been simplified very much beyond what we find in any of the languages involved in their (i.e. pidgins') making" (1922:227). Around ten years later, Bloomfield claimed that pidgin is a "variety whose grammar and vocabulary are very much reduced". He went on to say that "the resultant language must be native to none" (1933:474). Hall (1966) echoed this view many years later when he made the following claim:

> Two or more people use language in a variety whose grammar and vocabulary are very much reduced in extent and which is native to neither side. Such a language is a "pidgin". (Hall, 1966: XII).

The question of "native" which both Bloomfield and Hall refer to is discussed further in 2.1.3.4.

Adler (1977), while focussing on the grammar and lexicon of pidgin, also like Whinnom makes references to the social aspect, the fact that the groups in contact are not of equal social status.

The definitions of pidgin are many and varied, and as Traugot (1981) points out, "despite

the attempts to define the terms "pidgins" and "creoles" in homogenous ways, they have proved to defy such definitions". De Camp (1977) too makes the following remarks:

> There is no... agreement on the definition of the group of languages called pidgins and creoles. Linguists all agree that there is such a group, that it includes many languages and large numbers of speakers, and that pidgin-creole studies have now become an important field within linguistics (1977:3).

Each of the definitions above, tends to ignore or overlook certain important characteristics or potentials of pidgins. For example, those who stress the makeshift character of pidgins ignore the fact that pidgins can develop to a considerable degree of stability and complexity. Those on the other hand who focus on the reduction in the grammar and lexicon of pidgins tend to confuse simplification with impoverishment and to ignore the development stages of pidgins.

Linguists who overemphasize the birth of a pidgin in a goverror/governed situation overlook the fact that many pidgins have evolved in non-colonial situations (Todd, 1984). Also, the fact that language contact brings pidgins into existence does not mean that pidigin is mixed in the sense most often intended. The most mixed component of a pidgin is not the grammar but the lexicon, and yet this is often ignored. Mixture of grammar usually comes into pidgins at a much later stage (in the life cycle of a stable pidgin) if this pidgin exists side by side with its original lexifier language, as NP does with English.

Furthermore, the classification of pidgins according to the languages that supplied the bulk of their lexicon, as for example pidgin English, pidgin French, pidgin Spanish etc., (i.e. based on English, French and Spanish respectively) is strongly objected to by Dennis and Scott (1975:22) who argue that they "can see no grounds for deciding that the lexicon is the base of the language, as opposed to the semantic-syntactic frame work of the language".

From the various definitions available however, it is possible to make certain assumptions about pidgins. A pidgin grows out of an initial non- intimate contact between speakers of different languages when quick comprehension is more highly valued than correctness or the differentiation of shades of meaning.

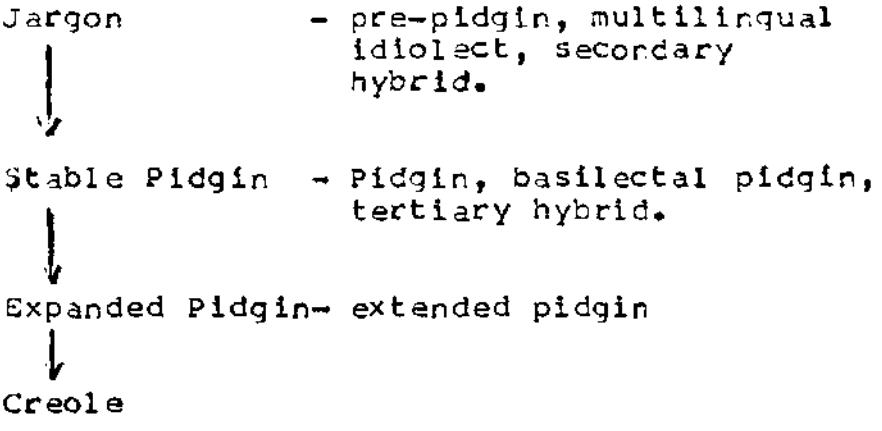
In the early stages of the contact, only a few words are involved and these are accompanied by gestures and mime. If the contact is short-lived, then the pidgin dies. However, pidgins survive the stages of initial contact under certain conditions such as in colonial or multi-lingual situations such as trading or military operations. In such cases, the pidgin grows and becomes stabilised and expanded into a lingua franca which is more flexible and is able to fulfil the increasing linguistic needs of its users. Todd (1984) refers to the earlier stage as "restricted pidgin", and the latter as "extended pidgin".

Mühlhäusler's (1986) definition of pidgin is one that implies the assumption that there

are qualitatively different stages in the development of a pidgin.

> Pidgins are examples of partially targetted or non-targetted second-language learning, developing from simpler to more complex systems as communicative requirements become more demanding. Pidgin languages by definition have no native speakers, they are social rather than individual solutions and hence are characterised by norms of acceptability (1986:5).

He goes on to give his own preferred labels side by side with others commonly in use:



Because of the important link between pidgins and creoles, it is pertinent at this stage to examine what the literature has on "creole".

(c) Etymology of Creoles

There are various views as to the origin of the term "creole", just as there are for "pidgin". According to Romaine (1988), the term was derived from Portuguese "crioulu" via English and French. It originally meant a white man of European descent born and raised in a tropical or semi-tropical colony. The meaning was later extended to include indigenous natives and others of non-European origin.

Valkhoff (1966) traces the term "creole" to "criar" meaning "to nurse, breed, nourish". This word originated in one of Portugal's colonies in the sixteenth century. Another possible root word is that given by Mühlhäusler (1986:6) as "criolho" which originally meant a "slave in European employment, particularly around the house, white man or woman originating from the colonies".

(d) Definitions of Creoles

Todd (1984:14) defines a creole as "a pidgin which has become the mother tongue of a

group of people". De Camp (1971a) had earlier on defined a creole as "the native language of most of its speakers". He went on to say "therefore its vocabulary and syntactic devices are, like those of any native language, large enough to meet all the communication needs of its speakers" (1976:16).

The historical relationship betweer a pidgin ard a creole was first suggested by Bloomfield (1933). Hall (1953) carries this idea further by postulating a linguistic life cycle which begins with a pidgin and evolves into a creole. However, linguists like Bickerton (1981a) would not carry this idea too far because of the semantic similarities among creoles which cannot be traced to their antecedent pidgins.

Many linguists however see a direct link between pidgins and creoles. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985:198) opine that "creoles are the outcome of children growing up in pidgin using societies and creating their mother tongue out of the pidgin". In the same vein, Mühlhäusler

(1986:7) defines a creole as " a pidgin that has acquired a community of native speakers".

There is justification for treating both pidgins and creoles as related phenomena as both involve developing systems which arise in different contexts of language acquisition. Hymes (1971:28) describes pidginisation and creolisation as "complex processes of socio-linguistic charge". Pidginisation, according to him, involves reduction of linguistic resources and restriction of use, while creolisation involves expansion along both those dimensions,Bickerton (1977a) characterises pidginisation and creolisation as processes of acquisition under restricted conditions. According to him, in pidginisation, the acquisition process involves the learning of a second language by speakers of different language backgrounds who have limited access to the language of dominant group while in creolisation, there is restricted input and this occurs as part of first language acquisition process. Bickerton's (1981a) hypothesis holds that in such situations children fall back on the innate universal which

governs the processes of expansion of the pidgin into a fully adequate native language.

Although a neat separation or distinction between pidgins and creoles would be useful, this is not always possible because there are some pidgins such as NP and Tok Pisin that have viable creole communities and yet continue to serve as second language for most of their users. For example, according to Mafeni (1971:96), West African Pidgin "runs the gamut all the way from a true creole-as a mother tongue to what one might call a 'minimal pidgin'".

Stewart (1962) and Fishman (1972) among others have attempted to develop a typology to categorise kinds of languages/varieties according to their socio-linguistic characteristics. They argue that the main difference between a pidgin and a creole lies in the feature referred to as vitality. This means whether the language has a viable community of native speakers or not.

The use of the term "native language" or "mother tongue" is one over which there has been

a lot of controversy. Mühlhäusler (1986) advises caution over the use of these terms. He suggests the term "primary language" to designate the language that is best mastered by a speaker, since that speaker's dominant language may not be his or her first language or mother tongue as far as the order of acquisition is concerned.

Linguistic theory has tended to equate the concept of "native language" with the language into which a person is born or the language of the group to which a person belong by birth. Gilman (1979:273-74) suggests that rather than refer to pidgin as being "nobody's native language", it would be better to talk in terms of it being a "language of reference for no ethnic group". In this way, we can say for example that Krio, in Sierra Leone, is a language of ethnic reference in the sense of it being the native language of a group of people whereas NP, even though a creole in some parts of Nigeria cannot be said to be a language of ethnic reference. This suggestion of Gilman's helps to clarify the distinction between pidgins and creoles.

Romaine (1988) like Hymes (1971) describes the process of creolisation as one which involves an expansion of inner form and complexification of outer form in response to the communicative needs of the users. This stands to reason because, before a language can acquire a community of native speakers, it must be regular, yet flexible and expanded enough to be able to fulfil the communicative needs of its users. Does such a language thereafter change its name? According to Omamor (1982a) there is nothing in the name of a language to reveal its stage of development; rather we have to look into the language itself to make decisions on its nature. It is true that Tok Pisin, until July 1981 when the government of Papua New Guinea declared that to be its name had been called "Neo Melanesian", sometimes "Nuginian", but still these names have nothing to do with the nature of the language.

It is difficult to say how any indigenous or "natural' language came into existence. We only know that such languages usually have native speakers. In Omamor's (1982a) discussion

of what distinguishes a pidgin from a natural language and what constitutes a native speaker, she points out that the difference hinges on the question of origins and the concept of an associated speech community, or an identifiable body of native speakers. Since pidgins came about through contact between two or more groups of people who do not share a common language, they cannot from the outset have native speakers. However, as in the case of Tok Pisin, a unique name and government recognition can give status to a pidgin language (like NP) which is serving many useful purposes in a country.

In what follows, we consider how NP is acquired.

2.1.2 Acquisition of Nigerian Pidgin

Although English is considered technically a second language in Nigeria, in actual practice, the second language of many Nigerians especially

in uneducated homes is either the local indigenous lingua franca, i.e. Hausa, Yoruba, Igbo, etc., or pidgin. Pidgin is not given this label because, according to Ingram (1975:273) "for the majority of people in developed countries, the learning of a second language occurs mainly in a formal setting". Pidgin is therefore regarded as "acquired" not "learnt" since the former takes place in a most informal setting (McLaughlin, 1978), and even though it is acquired by many people after they have acquired their mother tongue.

Hughes (1970:10), stating the differences between the mother tongue and a second language noted that "the mother tongue is learnt quickly and as an organic whole" while the "second language is learnt slowly, step by step". The short time within which pidgin is acquired especially by children is remarkable. No wonder Taiwo (1972:8) says that pidgin is "easy to

understand after a little practice". Akinluyi (1977) claims that in linguistically heterogenous towns like Warri, Sapele, Benin and Port Harcourt, some children, i.e. of pidgin speaking homes acquire pidgin as their first language (in which case it is for them technically, a creole), but the majority of children in other pidgin speaking areas learn pidgin as soon as they start to talk and play with other children in their neighbourhood. An illiterate adult too who moves from a rural to a multi-linguistic urban area finds that he needs the local lingua franca, possibly pidgin, for normal day to day interaction with other people outside his home. This gives him a high motivation for learning the language. His situation is aptly described by Ingram (1975).

> There is only one way in which an adult can experience something approaching the intensity of drive which he brought into his first language, and that is by being in a comparable situation. An individual may find himself in a place where people speak a language he does not know and where there is nobody to interpret. Learning in such cases can be incredibly fast. (Ingram 1975:286).

The rate of acquisition is however not always fast with everybody. Akinluyi (1977) remarks that in some towns, some immigrant linguistic groups tend to live together; she gives the example of Lagos Street in Benin City where there is a Yoruba speaking section of the street. She claims that a new Yoruba-speaking arrival to that street would not need pidgin for survival. His need for pidgin is mainly when he moves out of his domain to the larger community when he needs to do some shopping. In such a case, he may not need more than "Hau mọch yu de sẹl am? Ai wan bai ọrenj, pẹpẹ, etc". Unless he becomes a travelling trader, or gets into an occupation that needs communication with people of various linguistic backgrounds, he will have no pressure to learn pidgin fast.

Linguists like Adekunle (1972) highlight the role of context in the acquisition of pidgin in Nigeria. He remarks that Pidgin can be heard almost everywhere - "in the market

places, government offices, schools, and motor parks". (1972:197). He goes on to argue that pidgin is a language which people "learn on the streets" (1972:198). The favourable context described above therefore is, in the researcher's view, a catalyst in language learning or acquisition because it provides immediate feedbacks and reinforcement for the acquisition of correct forms. Voorhoeve (1962) describes pidgins as "efficient" language, i.e. "those which can be learnt by others with the minimum of time and effort", which indicates that the nature of pidgin itself makes for quick acquisition.

Finally, Akinluyi (1977) remarks that although pidgin learners may generally not be exposed to it as a child is to his mother tongue, the number of hours of exposure to pidgin (depending on the situation and occupation of the learner) makes the hours of exposure to a

second language in a classroom negligible by comparison.

2.1.3 The Status of NP in Nigeria

Introduction

The common practice of considering every deviant form of English as NP is considered by this research as unscientific. This section therefore examines NP in its own right, and also gives insight into broken English, and deviant forms that Omamor (1990) calls "pseudo pidgins".

2.1.3.1 Nigerian Pidgin (NP)

Researches show that in the delta areas of Nigeria, NP has a viable creole community while in some other parts of the country, it continues to serve a secondary role in the life of many more of its users.

The study conducted by Marchese and Schnukal (1980) highlights the following points about NP:

a) that in the areas around Warri and Sapele NP has an associated linguistic community.

b) that there is at least one generation of people for whom NP is first language.

c) that NP displays evidence of the kind of rapid linguistic changes that are associated with a pidgin when it is becoming or has become the mother tongue of a people.

d) that the range of NP usage is more extensive than that of any of the other local languages with which it may be said to be in competition.

Omamor (1982) also claims that the variety of NP spoken around Warri and Sapele has evolved into a full fledged "natural" language (see 2.1.3.4) and that it is not just a mere contact language. She gives the following reasons:

a) for most speakers of NP in the area, and they cut across all social classes, NP is a first language in every sense of the expression.

b) the language itself shows strong linguistic evidence of having graduated from being a mere contact language into a fully grown "natural" language with an associated speech community.

c) speakers of NP in the Warri/Sapele area and even people from that area who live away from home demonstrate a sensitiveness attributed typically to native speakers of any "natural" language whenever rules of the language are violated.

Faraclas (1983) makes similar claims concerning the pidgin spoken around the Port Harcourt area, i.e. that it is a creole. However, further research is needed to ascertain whether these NP speakers had their first language displaced by NP because of the wide use of NP, and whether they still have some competence in their indigenous language.

Referring to NP, Dadzie (1990) claims that it is settled in its semantic, phonological and

lexical realisations, and that it is sufficiently predictable to be classified as a language. Elugbe and Omamor (1991) also have this to say of NP, that:

> Careful consideration of the grammatical description of NP... demonstrates beyond reasonable doubt that the sentence of NP cannot possibly be accounted for in terms of the grammar of English.

The work of these same researchers (i.e. Elugbe and Omamor) on the phonology of NP clearly indicates that the system of NP is sufficiently different from the one which operates in English as to lead to the conclusion that all things considered, we are faced with two separate systems i.e. NP and English.

Many writers have for many years done NP the injustice of using it for the orthography of English, and this practice, according to Mafeni (1971) blurs some lexical and grammatical distinctions in the language (NP), while also suggesting that it is a sub-standard variety of English, thus reinforcing misconceptions about NP.

This really is not the fault of the writers. It is because there has been no standardised orthography for NP, ard until this is worked cut, it is our view that the orthography of NP will remain uncontrollable.

However, research has shown that NP is today "a distinct language with a characteristic system operating on the basis of well-defined rules" (Omamor 1987:36).

For example, according to Dadzie (1990) we can identify the three main types of utterances in NP, viz the declarative, imperative ard interrogative. Each of these utterances is traditionally associated with specific functions but it is not limited to these functiors since they can carry ard do carry illocutionary forces different from what their types represent. Dadzie gives examples of the three types of utterances as follows:

1. Declarative

The sentence "Dat man na ticha", means "that man is a teacher".

This form carries in formation, but in other contexts, it can also be interrogative depending on tone. English demonstrates this flexibility too, e.g.

That 'girl is a 'seamstress. = Statement

That 'girl is a 'seamstress? = Question

2. Imperative

NP "Komot yor hand" which means "take your hands off" or "remove your hand". Apart from this being a straight order, Dadzie comments that it can also be gentle advice given in playful interaction.

3. Interrogative

NP questions are introduced by various operators such as "wetin, se, sebi, na, abi," as in

"Wetin you carry" (What do you have on you?)

"Se you go come" (Will you come?)

"Sebi a don tell you" (Haven't I told you?)

2.1.3.2 Broken English

Broken English, according to Akinluyi (1977) is a manifestation of the efforts of a non-English, non-pidgin speaker to communicate in English. This form of speech is often confused by the uninformed, with NP, but it is not NP. Dadzie (1990:23) remarks that Broken English is simply a functional method of conveying information, only slightly better than the use of gestures and signs.

In Sey's (1973) work on the distinction between Pidgin English, Broken English and Standard English in Ghana, he observed that Broken English is:

> Almost entirely devoid of connecting form words and inflections, and characterised by strings of lexical items arranged in some logical order to form sentences. (Sey 1973:2).

This aptly describes Broken English in Nigeria too. All it does is to convey simple information without any pretensions to finesse as the following examples from Gani-Iklama (1991) show:

ENGLISH	BROKEN ENGLISH
1. John has brought the book	John bring book Book John Bring John book bring
2. I am going to the Post Office	I go Post Office Me go Post Office Me Post Office Post Office I go

Akinluyi (1977) comments that in Nigeria Broken English is used by different groups of people. One is the group of educated non-pidgin speakers who are attempting to speak pidgin.

Another group consists of people with little or no formal education who find themselves in situations where English is required.

Broken English corresponds to what Corder and Selinker (1971) call 'Inter Language'[1] reflecting features of both pidgin and English. Although a learner's dialect is unstable as he tries to move towards the target language (Nemser 1971), broken English, while having no fixed form is a somewhat fossilised inter-language

since its users are mostly adults who are not in school.

The grammar of broken English is an approximative system (Nemser 1971)[2] and individual attempts make it impossible to talk about a fixed grammar. A comparable form of speech is "foreigner talk" (Mühlhäusler, 1986), the main difference between the two being that the user of foreigner talk can speak the actual language but is only trying to simplify it, while the user of broken English is attempting to speak a language he does not actually know well.

2.1.3.3 Pseudo Pidgins

In a recent research Omamor (1990) considers the issue of "pseudo-pidgins" - those forms (spoken and written) which are usually confused with Nigerian pidgin, but which, while having some characteristics

of NP, cannot, because of their linguistic form be classed as NP. She describes the language of "Wakabout" in the Weekly Newspaper Lagos Weekend as "bad English donning a top-coat of NP structure" (Omamor, 1990:45).

As for the language of Zebrudaya, the hero in the radio and television serial "The New Masqurade", Omamor argues that it is "an unfortunate attempt to speak standard English by an ill-informed person" (1990:46).

Okwudishu (1985) had earlier referred to this form as "exaggerated English". Omamor concludes about Zebrudaya's language that it has a form that is clearly different from NP, and from the point of view of syntatic patterns, tense, aspect phonology, etc., it shares more similarities with English than with NP.

A form similar to Zebrudaya's larguage is the speech of Chief Ajas in the popular television series "Hotel de Jordan" which was shown in the former Bendel State. In this form, all rules of grammar of English or NP are violated with impunity. Okwudishu (1985) sees this as being in keeping with the purpose of such language, namely to create humour. There is the use of high sounding words ard usually such English is used to ridicule the group of people locally referred to as "Money mis road" i.e. that wealth came to them by accident (Okwudishu, 1985). These people usually have little or no formal educatior ard they like to show off their wealth ard to raise their social status by attempting to use the English language which is regarded as the language of prestige. The result is of course, linguistic blunders; but, their point is made.

Even though Mafeni (1971:96) says of NP that "every English word is a potential loan word in pidgin", Omamor argues that this applies to pseudo-pidgin. She points out that psuedo pidgins operate on the assumption that any and every lexical item in English has currency in NP. In reality, some lexical items in English just do not occur in NP. For example, while Agheyisi (1989) uses the expression "foreign exchange" in her pidgin poem on the "Naira", Omamor feels that "ril original moni" is a more accurate NP expression. (For more on NP vocabulary see 2.1.4.1).

It is obvious that pseudo pidgins do not have a fixed grammar or vocabulary and as such exist in varieties. It is obvious too from the description in 2.1.3.2 that broken English is a pseudo pidgin. NP itself being an actively used language does exist in varieties too. However, it is pertinent at this point to examine Np vis-a-vis "natural" larguages.

2.1.3.4 NP and Natural Languanges

The term natural language (Mühlhäusler, 1986), is usually applied to languages that are

not artificially invented like Zamenhoff's Esperanto or computer languages. The argu ment is that the rules and conventions of natural languages are mainly unconscious and are rot directly amenable to human interference. Languages like Erglish, Yoruba, French are therefore considered "natural" while pidgins and creoles have often been denied that status. Pidgins and creoles have often been grouped with artificial languages because some people see them as invented larguage. For example, Reed (1943:271) reports the view that Tok Pisin "was irvented and irtroduced by the Romans in order that they might speak before the natives in their own tongue without being understood", even though Mühlhäusler (1980) dismisses this view as untrue. Some linguists also see pidgins as reduced parasitic systems which can be explained only in terms of or by reference to "full" or "natural" languages. Supporters of this view, Mühlhäusler, opines, are constantly unaware of the fact that pidgins exhibit structures and developmental tendencies which cannot be traced to their lexifier language and/or their substratum languages.

The general assumption in linguistic circles is that every pidgin speaker has his own first language and that for him, pidgin is only a second language (L_2). This may not be wholly true, and research (Omamor 1987) has in fact revealed that some NP speakers in the Warri/ Sapele area where the indigenous languages are Itsekiri and Urhobo respectively, speak only NP.

One major difference between pidgin and what is referred to as "natural" language is that even when the former has established and creolised, neither theory nor its non-L_1 speakers seem able, according to Omamor (1980), to transcend the fact of its contact language history. As a result, the language seems

> open to a proliferation of varieties arising from what seems like a never-ending process of spontaneous (or even sometimes deliberate?) creation and recreation. (Omamor, 1990:53).

However, the reaction of L_1 speakers of NP (as mentioned in 2.1.3.1) appears to be that just any form carrot be labelled NP. NP has a specific ard describable grammar with a lexicon that is recongisably its owr.

Pidgins ard creoles are by their rature ard the circumstarces surrounding their birth, both linguistic ard social phenomena, ard Omamor is of the opinion that the claims and predictions of theory need to be divorced from the insights gained from the description of these languages, otherwise, new theories must be evolved especially with reference to the relationship between pidgirs ard creoles on the ore hand, ard yet their separate natures on the other.

Even though NP is traditionally associated with speakers of mirority languages especially in the southern part of Nigeria, Elugbe and Omamor (1991) claim that Nigerians from different parts of the country display

> an almost romantic longing to know more about NP. Those who cannot speak it would love to speak it... those who do are... quite willing to show off". (Cited in RALL, 1990:49).

What has emerged from researches on NP is that NP does have "native speakers" as "natural" languages do, and NP does not display the limitation of reduction in lexis and structure that Hall (1966) attributes to pidgins. If NP is lexically deficient, it will not be able to fulfil the linguistic needs of those for whom it is a first and probably the only language. The next section on pidgin lexicon addresses this issue.

2.1.4 The Features of Pidgin

The grammar of pidgin consists of its lexicon syntax and phonology. In what follows we review these areas as they exist in the literature.

2.1.4.1 The Pidgin Lexicon

This section examines the adequacy or otherwise of the pidgin lexicon, and the various ways by which the vocabularies of pidgins (with

particular reference to NP) are made to cope with various demands made on them.

One of the criteria of a "true pidgin" which Hall (1966) puts forward is that of a sharply reduced vocabulary. The vocabulary of a pidgin is indeed small compared with those of other languages, but an examination of what pidgin does with its vocabulary is necessary for a proper assessment of its adequacy.

Hall (1953) compares the number of lexical items which a speaker of an ordinary language has, 20 to 30,000 with the number of lexical items in Neo-Melanesian (now Tok Pisin), 1,500. He observes that these 1,500 lexical items can be combined into phrases

> so as to say anything that can be said in English. The implication is that there is no reduction in the overall semantic domains covered by a pidgin, but merely in the number of items used to map them. (Hall 1953:23).

If therefore, a given semantic field has to be covered by a few words rather than many, each word has to signify a wider range of phenomena. Moag (1978:80) has compared a selected lexical sample for standard Fijian and Pidgin Fijian to illustrate the fact that items in Pidgin cover a wider semantic domain.

MEANING	STANDARD FIJIAN	PIDGIN FIJIAN
Case, basket, box	kato	kato
Fishing basket	noke	
Coconut leaf basket	ʒu	
Woven leaf tray	ʻ lalakai	

Akinluyi (1977) gives some other examples in NP. The NP word "sabi" (to know) has the following meanings:

(a) know a person; as in "I sabi John"

(b) recognise a person; as in "I sabi Peter"

(c) have the technical know how; as in "I sabi drive".

Other NP examples are:

NP	ENGLISH
beat	beat, lash, thrash, flog, spank strike whip
fine	lovely, beautiful, handsome, attractive, georgeous

NP	ENGLISH
spoil	destroy, damage, deface, disfigure, soil
get	possess, have, own, obtain, receive, snatch.

As a result of this characteristic, pidgins are said to hardly have synonyms ; context therefore plays a vital role in disambiguating meaning.

Haiman (1985) makes a distinction between "lexical" and "grammatical" languages. A lexical language is one that has a large stock of primary roots, while a grammatical one has a small stock and makes up for the deficit in periphrastic constructions. Languages which are long established tend to be more lexical while pidgins, trade languages and second language learner varieties are more grammatical. Child language falls into this latter group too. Pidgins exhibit a high degree of motivation and transparency in compounding, and Haiman remarks that this is a direct consequence of their impoverished vocabulary. As he puts it, "the greater the lexicon, the greater

the opacity; the smaller the lexicon, the greater the transparency and iconicity of the linguistic (sub) system", (Haiman, 1985:158).

The vocabulary of pidgin is a constant source of attack or criticism. It is true that there are gaps in pidgin lexicon at the early stages of the development of a pidgin, but a pidgin in active use must have filled this gap in various ways if the pidgin is currently serving in various fields of communication. Quirk (1962) observes that in Tok Pisin

> words... can be compounded to make a very large number of further words ... a great deal of complex and advanced communication is therefore possible in pidgin, and there are a good many books published in it, not to mention books of religious instruction such as the three-volumed work 'Yesu e mi forman bilong yumi' (Jesus is our leader). (Quirk 1962:16).

Altiery (1971) expresses an objection to the use of pidgins on the grounds that pidgins are capable of communicating only the simplest of ideas and even these imprecisely, with the implication that those who use pidgin habitually

risk being locked within an intellectual prison. Quirk's comment above, and Labov's (1972) reaction to those who hold a similar view about Negro English are appropriate responses to Altiery's view:

> There is no reason to believe that any non-standard vernacular is in itself an obstacle to learning. The chief problem is ignorance on the part of all concerned. Our job as linguists is to remedy this ignorance. (Labov 1972:239).

According to De Camp (1968:35)

> ... any pidgin is capable of expanding its structure and vocabulary whenever changing social conditions call or it to perform a role greater than minimal inter-lingual communicatior...

Pidgin employs various ways for vocabulary enlargement some of which will be examined below.

(a) Borrowing

Trudgill (1974:169) postulates that "all languages are ... the product of the influence

and admixture from other languages", and NP is no exception. NP consists of words borrowed from many different languages. Apart from English from which the bulk of its vocabulary is derived, there are words also from Portuguese and French even though the last two are relatively few. The local languages of Nigeria are sources of borrowing too, but so high is the incidence of English words that NP is intelligble to illiterates.

Romaine (1988:11) however sounds a necessary note of warning when she says:

> serious misunderstandings can arise from the assumption that words which look like English ones have the same meaning.

Some English words in NP have kept their mearings while others have undergone changes of different kinds. Akinluyi (1977) discusses some of these changes.

(b) Change in Meaning

The NP word "kos" from English "curse" means "to insult", while "sụẹ" from English "swear" is the NP word that corresponds to the English word "curse" as in

i bin kọs mi (He insulted me)
i bin sụẹ fọ mi (he cursed me)

"bọro" in NP is a reciprocal verb which means "borrow" and "lend" as in:

"I go bọro mai buk" (He will borrow my book)
"Ai go bọro am mai buk" (I will lend him my book)

Sometimes, NP words get into Nigerian English i.e. English in a secondary language situation, and gains wide usage as in the following example.

Standard English: I stopped at his house on my way to the market.

NP : "Ai prarch fo im hqus wẹn ai de go makẹt"

Nigerian English: "I branched at his house on my way to the market".

(b) Shift in Meaning

The English word "fit" is used in NP to mean "able, can", so that the NP sentence "Aï fit du am" means "I can do it"; and NP "Ai fit kari dẹm" means " I can carry them", It is easy to see the shift in that the NP use of "fit" means "well enough" or "strong enough" (to do something).

(c) Amplified Words

Akinluyi (1977) also mentions the use of modifiers to amplify words such that a distinctive meaning is achieved. For example "bẹlẹ" in NP stands for SE "stomach" "belly", "womb", or "abdomen", but "to be pregnant" is expressed in NP as "gẹt bẹlẹ"; as in "i gẹt bẹlẹ" which means "she is pregnant." Also, NP "papa" means "father" but "smọl papa" is the NP expression for "uncle" while NP "big papa" means "grand father". For the English word "adult" NP has "big pẹsin" although the latter can also mean "an important person".

(d) Loan Words

The presence of loan words in any pidgin

and in NP in particular is not unusual. Long before the English came to Nigeria, the Portuguese had already penetrated the coast of Nigeria in the 15th century. It is therefore no surprise that Portuguese words exist in NP. Some examples are

"Sabi" (to krow) from Portuguese "Saber" (know);

"dash" (give free of charge) from Portuguese "doacao" (present);

"pikin" (child) from Portuguese "pequenino" (little)

Some loan words are shared by many pidgins. Hall (1966:6) for example, refers to the word "savvy" for "know" as "perhaps the most widespread of all words in the different kinds of pidgin English and ... almost the hallmark of pidgin".

The NP word for "plenty" is "boku" and it would appear that this comes from the French "beaucoup" meaning "plenty".

Events in the political history of a nation and even of the outside world can bring new words into a pidgin. Elugbe and Omamor (1991) cite the example of the verb "pẹlẹ" in NP which means "disappear fast or escape most quickly". This word has apparently been coined from the name of the former ace Brazillian international footballer, and seems to be semantically based on the speed of his movement on the football field.

(e) Nigerian Languages

Borrowings from various Nigerian languages into NP vary from locality to locality. Research has shown that uneducated minimal users of NP swell their vocabulary with words from their own indigenous languages which means that this may not be easily understood outside their local or ethnic context.

However, as far as NP (which is spoken and understood around the country) is concerned, by far the greatest contribution to it from Nigerian

languages comes from Yoruba. Omamor's (1987) research on the language of "Wakabout" ard the contribution from other Nigerian languages lists 39 borrowings out of which 20 i.e. over 50% is from Yorubaalone, (Omamor 1987:10-22). Mafeni (1971) too mentions the influence of Yoruba on pidgin. This is surprising since Yoruba land is not one of the places of pidgin predominance.

A possible explanation for the number of Yoruba words in pidgin is found in the fact that governmental power was more or less concentrated in Yoruba land; the seat of government was in Lagos, the most developed port was there too, the first Nigerian University was in Ibadan, and many of the earliest secordary schools and teacher training colleges were in Western Nigeria. The result of the concentration of important things in the West could be that mary people, particularly traders and students travelled from different parts of the country to Western Nigeria, and through their contact with the Yorubas, they invariably absorbed some Yoruba words into their language of communication.

A few examples of Yoruba words in NP are:

"Jẹjẹ" (carefully); as in "holam jeje" (Handle with care).

"Patapata (totally, completely); as in "idọn finish patapata" (it's completely finished).

"Bajẹ" (spoilt); as in "dị tin dọn bajẹ" (The thing is spoilt).

"Ọga" (Master); as in "Na mai ọga" (He's my master)

Examples from other Nigerian languages are:

"Kudi" (money) from Hausa
"Diọkpa" (Youth) from Igbo
"Oritsẹ" (God) from Itsekiri

Because of the practice of free borrowing, a speech is often considered as pidgin when the grammar is pidgin grammar, so that sentences such as:

"Ai dọn ọperẹt di Peshẹnt (I have operated on the patient)

"We mai riga" (Where's my dress)

are considered NP sentences.

(f) Calquing

Todd (1984) mentions calquing as one of the ways by which a pidgin vocabulary is increased. Calquing is expressing in words from a superstrate language ideas borrowed from the local cultures.

Akinluyi (1977) and Todd (1984) give some examples from NP ard two other English - based pidgins (Cameroon pidgin and Tok Pisin) as follows:

NP		MEANING
swit mout	(i.e. sweet mouth)	flattery, exaggeration
long trot	(i.e. long throat)	greed
korokoro ai	(i.e. clear eyes)	boldly, blantantly

gaiwe (the way of a guy) recklessly

Other examples are:

Cameroon Pidgin		MEANING
gud hat	(good heart)	sincere
dei klin	(day clean)	dawn
krai dai	(cry die)	Wake-keeping funeral celebration

Tok Pisin		
bel klin	(belly clean)	sincere
ai pas	(eye fast)	blind
mous gras	(mouth grass)	moustache, beard
wan blut	(one blood)	sibling

(g) Circumlocution

Romaine (1988:36) highlights the device of circumlocution, giving the following Tok Pisin example:

"Singsing long taim mausi pas"
(to sing when mouth is closed)
i.e. "to hum".

Examples of circumlocution from NP are "chọp mọni" (embezzle), "tọkam egen (repeat it); "bẹlẹ de swit am" (he is happy).

(h) Ideophones

Ideophonic expressions in pidgins help to give very vivid meaning. Dadzie (1990:27) gives the following examples from NP:

"Which kain gbamgbam dimdim noise be that?" referring to the sound made by the drums and the bass guitar.

In another example "trowe di doti fiam" (throw away the refuse): "fiam" refers to the sudden movement of the object away from the thrower.

(i) Reduplication

Todd (1984) mertions the use of reduplication by pidgins to exterd a small vocabulary, reduce ambiguities and allow speakers to express subtle ambiguities. She gives the following examples from Cameroon pidgin (CP):

"benben" (from "bend") meaning "crooked" (i.e. intensification).

"di pikin di soso krai krai from

("cry") the child is always crying i.e. repeated or protracted action.

Elugbe and Omamor (1991) argue that the use of pidgin in general and NP in particular in literary works, on television, radio, newspapers and in various aspects of life constitutes a concrete proof that it is far from being limited to one code or register. Since such limitations are the terms in which monocodality is usually characterised, to use the term for NP or ary other pidgin in active use shows ignorance on the part of those concerned.

G.B. Gelli's words in his "Capriccidi Giusto bottaio" (Whimsical thoughts of Giusto the Cobbler) are appropriate here:

> All languages are fit to express the concept of those who use them: and if they should chance not to be they (those who use them) make them so. (Cited in Hall, 1966:90).

Paul Procter (1981) in his "New Generation Dictionary" claims that:

> Most people use only about 1,000 words in conversation, and that figure covers their reading vocabulary too. (Quoted in the Daily Mirror, 25th July, 1981, p. 14).

If Procter is right, then the differerces between speakers of standard languages and speakers of actively used pidgins must have been exaggerated.

Furthermore, Dadzie (1990:28) argues that

> pidgin English performs all the functions expected of it by users of the language. It is receptive to new ideas which it bends to suit its will.

This section has examined the pidgin lexicon and some of the ways in which the relatively small vocabulary is expanded. It can therefore be seen that the pidgin lexicon though scanty compared with those of other languages, is adequate or made adequate for the needs of its users and for use in any field that a user requires. Any attempt therefore to underrate it on the basis of scantiness or inadequacy should be resisted.

The next sectior takes a look at the syntax of NP.

2.1.4.2 NP Syntax

Pidgins have been described as being syntactically simpler than their source languages and NP is ro exception. Maferi (1971), Elugbe and Omamor (1991) among others have given some description of NP syntax. This section gives a very brief description of the syntax of NP with their Erglish translations to enable us see how NP compares with English.

(a) Sentence Structure

According to Maferi (1971) NP has a fixed word order usually SVO, and NP sentences are usually short and simple:

e.g. V - Chop (Eat)
VO - Chop di fud (Eat the food)
SVO - I bin chop di fud (He ate the food)

Sometimes, complex sentences do occur in NP e.g. I no go go dia if yu no tẹl mi wetin di man bin tọk.

Meaning: "I will not go there if you don't tell me what the man said".

b) Negation

NP uses the negative marker "No" to indicate negation and this may occur in the pre-verbal slot.

e.g. kọm (come)
No kọm (don't come)
Dẹm no fit kọm. (they can't come)

"Neva" (never) is used for negation when the aspect is perfect,

e.g. Dẹm nẹva go (they haven't gone)
I nẹva chop (I haven't eaten)

For emphasis, "no" can occur before both the noun and verb as in:

No man no go kọm (nobody will come)

(c) Passives

Passives do not occur in NP. Rather passive meanings are expressed in other ways.

e.g. Dem kill am (He was shot)

Dem tif in shu dem (His shoes were stolen)

(d) Questions

Questions are usually introduced by interrogative words; words such as:

wai (why); wai i de krai? (why is he crying)

husai (where): husai i de? (where is he?)

wich taim (when); wich taim ju si am?(when did you see him?)

Yes/No questions are however introduced by tone alone, e.g.

I bin tel yu ? (did he tell you?)

Dem don go? (Have they gone?)

(e) Verbs

Verbs in NP have no inflection for person,

number or tense.g.

Di man de kọm hia ẹvri de (The man comes here every day).

Mary wit Peter de kọm hia ẹvri de (Mary and Peter come here everyday).

(f) Tense/Aspect

Tense and aspect are shown in NP as the following examples from Akinluyi (1977) show:

Simple Present	- Ai de chọp	(I eat)
Present continuous	- Ai de chọp	(I am eating)
Past simple	- Ai bin chọp	(I ate)
Past continuous	- Ai bin de chọp	(I was eating)
Future simple	- Ai go chọp	(I will eat)
Present perfect	- Ai dọn chọp	(I have eaten)
Past perfect	- Ai bin dọn chọp	(I had eaten)
Future perfect	- Ai go dọn chọp	(I will have eaten)

It is obvious from this list that rather than use inflections, NP uses the base form of the verb, and indicates temporal aspectual distinctions by means of a set of particles as follows:

de - Present

bin - Past

go - Future

dọn - Perfect

(g) Nouns

Nouns in NP are words that can either occur alone or with qualifiers, e.g.

Pikin - (child)

Smọl pikin - (a small child)

haus - (a house)

big haus (a big house)

Some times nouns are derived from other words and Elugbe and Omamor give the following examples:

draiv (drive) - draiva (driver)

pent (Paint) - penta (painter)

Other examples of nouns are those formed by reduplication or compounding (Elugbe and Omamor).

Chọp chọp (A gluton)

lai lai (a liar)

bọi bọi (a house boy)

kresman	(a mad man)
woch nait	(night watchman)
longa trot	(a greedy person)

(h) Plurality

Omamor (1987) holds that plurality in Np may be indicated in a number of ways.

i) Preceeding the noun by appropriate adjective qualifiers such as "plenti, meni" (plenty, many) as in
A get plenti dog (I have many dogs)

ii) The use of "dem" after the noun head as in
di got dem (the goats)

iii) No overt marker at all in which case plurality is determined contextually.

Buk no de fo maket
(There are no books in the market)

According to Omamor and Elugbe (1991) when definite reference is intended, plurality is commonly marked by the third person pronoun dem occuring after the noun head which is itself preceded by the definite article di (the or the

demonstrative dis (this) and dat (that).

e.g. di man dẹm (the men)
dis pikin dem (these children)
dat bọi dẹm (those boys)

(i) Modifiers

Modifiers, usually adverbs are used in NP to modify the meaning of a verb as in the following examples:

A bin rid am wẹl (I read it well)
I bit am wẹl wẹl (He beat her mercilessly)
Dẹm don go tee They have been long gone)
I de trai smọl smọl (He is improving gradually)

Sometimes in NP a verb is used in addition to other verb in a sentence to express what standard English would express as an adverb (Todd 1984, on Cameroonian pidgin):

Kari am go (Take it away)
Bring am kom (Bring it here)
A don go kom (I have come back or I have returned)

I ron go klas (He ran all the way to the class)

The sense in this use of kom and go is obvious i.e.

Kom i.e. in the direction of the speaker

Go i.e. away from the speaker

(j) Adjectives

Elugbe and Omamor refer to adjectives in NP as words that qualify or describe the roun or the noun phrase in NP. e.g.

di fat wuman (The fat woman)

di smol boi (The small boy)

dem bit di smol gel (They beat the small girl)

Some times words that look like adjectives behave like verbs.

e.g. I bin big (He was big)

I bin de big (He was getting big)

CF I bin waka (He walked)

I bin de waka (He was walking)

This behaviour is similar to what obtains in English -

S	V	Adj
He	wɑs	big
I	bin	big

In NP, adjectives show no morphological variations at all even when there is a comparison. To express the latter NP uses "pas", "pas...ol"

I smọl	(He is small)
I smọl pas wi ọl	(He is the smallest of us all)

(k) Pronouns

Pronouns in NP are distinguished in terms of number (i.e singular and plural) and person (i.e first, second and third). The third person singular form has no gender distinction as the table shows.

	Subject	Object	Possessive
Singular	Ai (I)	mi (me)	Mai (my)
	Yu (you)	Yu (you)	Yọ (your)
	I (he,she, it)	am (him,her, it)	in (his, her, its)

	Subject	Object	Possessive
Plural	wi (we)	Wi (us)	wi (our)
	una (you)	Una (you)	Una (your)
	dẹm (they)	dẹm (them)	dẹm (their)

(1) Prepositions

Prepositions in NP are fewer than in standard English though with a wider range of meaning. e.g the preposition for in NP behaves as follows:

I de fọ haus	(He is at home)
Dem fọ choch	(They are in the church)
Du am fọ mi	(Do it for me)
Di buk de fọ tebul	(The book is on the table)
Tek am fọ mai salari	(Take it from my salary)

This brief description of the syntax of NP has been done here as a necessary reference point for the examination of pidgin in Zaria. (See Chapter four).

2.1.4.3 NP Phonology

In this section, we shall be discussing the phonology of NP with a view to acknowledging what has so far been done in that field, so that there

can be a basis for the comparison or description of spoken pidgin in Zaria later or in this work.

According to Mühlhäusler (1986), of all parts of grammar, those of pronunciation and phonology remain the least stable in stabilised pidgins. We share this view and opine that the reason for this instability is the existence of variety of the spoken form.

It is difficult if not impossible to talk about the phonology of NP. This is because, as for Nigerian English, speakers of NP by and large bring into it the phonology of their first languages. Phonologically, therefore, this gives NP different varieties such that for example, while the average Nigerian may say / tʃɔp / for "chop" which mears "to eat", a Yoruba person may pronounce the same word as / ʃɔp /, because the sound / tʃ / does rot occur in Yoruba.

It is pertinent to note here that judging by the efforts so far made to codify some Nigerian languages such as Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba

which have varieties, NP will eventually be codified despite the varieties.

Another problem with handling NP phonology is that because English is the major lexifier language of NP, NP words sometimes tend to be seen and treated as if they are English words. Elugbe and Omamor (1991) sound a note of warning here when they say:

> Any description of the phonology of NP will fail if it does not look on NP words as NP words but instead tries to see them as modified version of their English counterparts.

Three significant works on NP phorology are those of Mafeni (1971), Oyebade, (1983) and Elugbe and Omamor (1991). An over-view of their descriptions both at the segmental and supraseg-mental levels will be helpful here.

a) VOWELS

i) Monothongs

The three works mentioned above all agree that there are seven oral vowels in NP, viz:

/i, e, ɛ, a, ɔ, o, u/. Akinluyi (1977:95) gives a summary of Dunstan's (1969) work on the vowels of "Twelve Nigerian Languages" as follows:

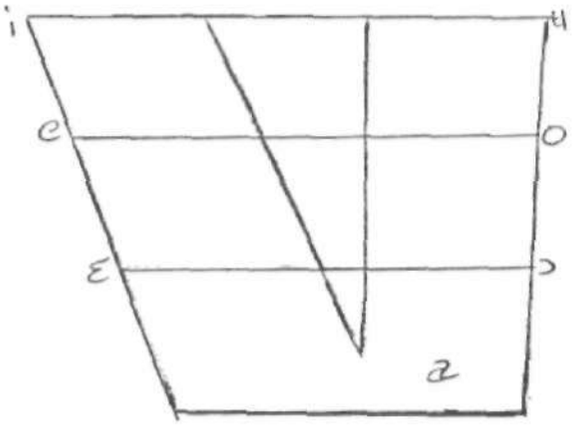
(TABLE I)

Efik	Etsako	Fula	Hausa	Igbo	Ijo	Isoko	Itsekiri	Nupe	Tiv	Urhobo	Yoruba	Pidgin
i	i	i: i	i: i	ị i	ị i	ị i	i	i	i	i	i	i
		e: e	e: e	e [e] [ɛ]	e	e	e	e	e	e	e	e
ɛ	ɛ				ɛ	ɛ	ɛ			ɛ	ɛ	ɛ
		a: a	a: a					aa a	a	a	a	a
ɔ	ɔ			ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ		ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ
o	o	o: o	o: o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
u	u	u: u	u: u	ụ u	ụ u	ụ u	u	u	u	u	u	u

She comments that "it is not difficult by taking a frequency count, to see why the vowels of pidgin are generally /i,e,ɛ,a,ɔ,o,u/."

Elugbe and Omamor remark that all these vowels except / a / are similar to the cardinal vowels in quality: / a / is an open central vowel whose position is between cardinals 4 / a / and 5 / ɑ /. Their view agrees with that of Hall (1966:21) who remarks that:

> The vowel phonemes of pidgin languages are normally reduced toward the 'cardinal vowels... It is relatively rare to find a pidgin language with other types of vowels...



(ii) Diphthongs

Mafeni's work suggests that in NP, words of English origin have their diphthongs realised as

vowel plus approximant, as in:

/ prawd / for NP "praud" meaning "proud"

/ smayl / for NP "smail" meaning "smile"

Oyebade (1983) identifies five vowel sequencies viz: /ai, au, ie, io, oi/, but Elugbe and Omamor argue that vowels can co-occur more freely in NP than in the cases Oyebade listed. They are of the opinion that contrary to Oyebade's /ai, au, oi/ the actual sequences are /ae, ao, te/ respectively as in

"ae" meaning "eye

"haos" meaning "house"

"boɬ" meaning "boy"

(iii) Nasalisation

Mafeni is silent on nasalisation while Oyebade, Elugbe and Omamor all agree that there is significant nasalisation in NP. Oyebade gives the number of nasalised vowels as seven, i.e. the same as the number of oral vowels. Elugbe and Omamor claim that in NP, there is automatic nasalisation after the nasals /n, m/. They cite as examples

/ ɾɔ̃ / for "ọn" meaning "run"

/ ĩ / for "im" or "in" meaning "him" or "her"

/sidɔ̃/ for "sidọn" meaning "sit down"

ard argue that an underlying nasal is the source of significant nasalisation in NP.

(b) Consonants

Mafeni and Oyebade give the number of NP consonants as 24 while Elugbe and Omamor claim that they are 25. However, in spite of the relative closeness on the number, Mafeni has /tʃ, ʃ, ʒ /, while /tʃ/and /ʒ/ are absent in Oyebade's description. The consonants as given by Elugbe ard Omamor are listed and explained in Table 2.

Table 2

	Bila-bial	Labio-Dental	Alve-olar	Palato Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labio-Velar	Glottal
Plosives	p b		t d			k g	kp gb	
Fricatives		f v	s z	ʃ (ʒ)				h
Nasals	m		n	(ɲ)		ŋ	(ŋw)	
Laterals			l					
Approx-imants			ɹ	j			w	
Affricates				(tʃ) dʒ				

The status of /tʃ, ʒ, ɲ/ according to Elugbe and Omamor, is in doubt, hence the brackets around each of the sounds.

/tʃ/ is an acceptable variant of /ʃ/, as
in /tʃukutʃúkú/ or /ʃukuʃúkú/ which means "thorn"
/tʃɔtʃ/ or /ʃɔʃ/ which means "church"

/ʒ/ - Usually, /ʃ/ is used in place of English /ʒ/ as in NP /mɛʃɔ/ which means "measure" /mɛʒə/. Elugbe and Omamor see the occurrence of /ʒ/ in NP as a case of interference from standard English.

/ɲ/ - This occurs in NP usually when there is a nasal anywhere in the word.

e.g. /ɲam/, which means "yam"

/ɲɔŋg/, " " "young"

/ɲaʃ/, " " "buttocks"

/ŋw/ - This sound also occurs when a nasal coexists in a word with /w/ as in the following

ŋwin/ which means "win"

/ŋwant/ " " "want"

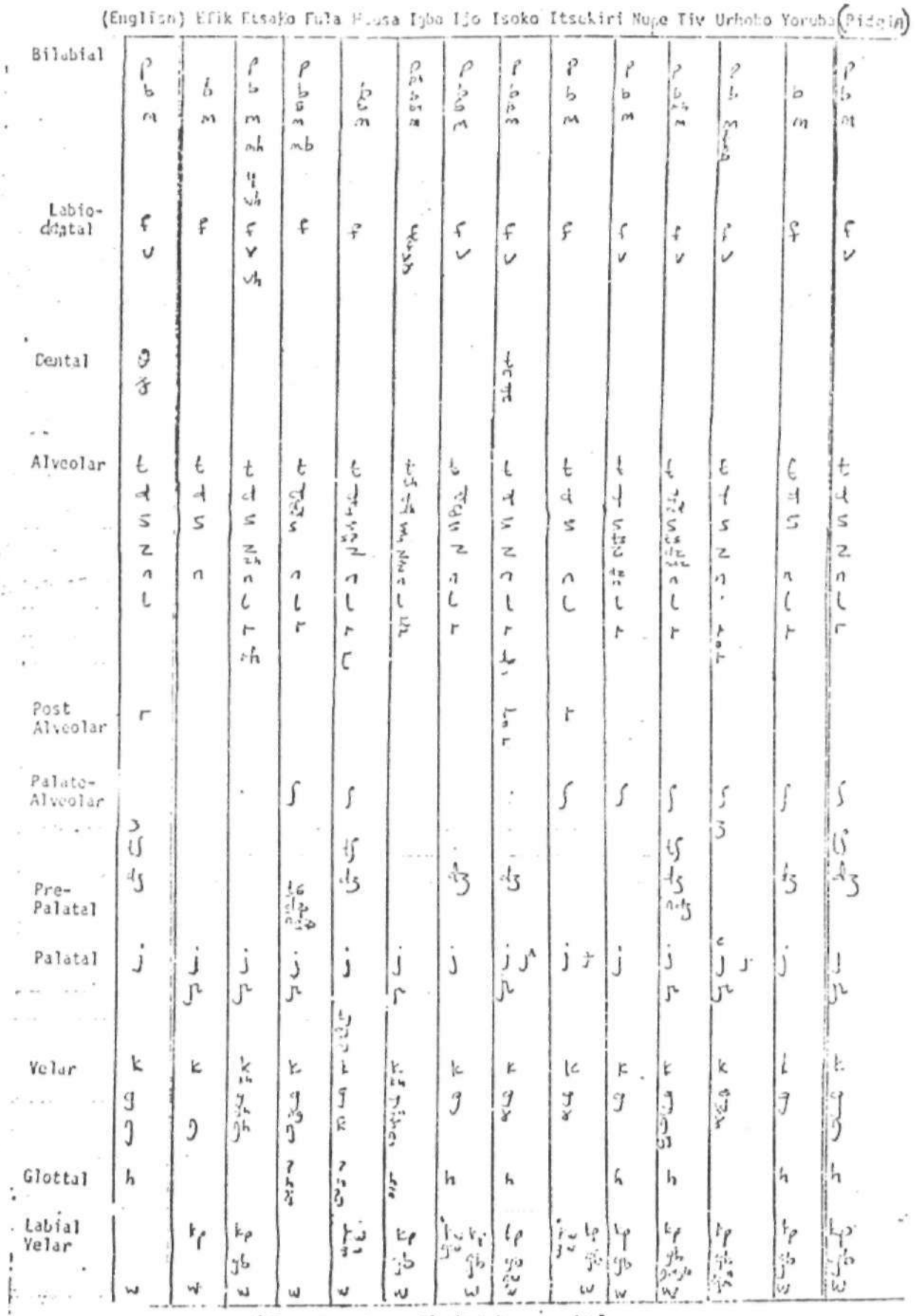
Sometimes, the final consonants is dropped as in /ŋwĩ/ (win) /ŋwɑ̃/ (want).

kp/gb - These sounds occur in NP usually in onomatopoeic words. Omamor (1987) gives the following examples.

/gbagbati/ meaning "rascal"
/kpoi/ meaning "fantastic"; and
/kamkpe/ meaning "real good".

A summary of the consonants of twelve Nigerian languages, (Akinluyi 1977:96) at a glance as shown on the next page shows that each system including pidgin is unique.

Table 3



(From Dunstan, E. (Ed.) op. cit.)

Akinluyi (1977) remarks that unlike the pidgin vowel system which hardly has any vowels in common with English, the Pidgin consonant system has many sounds in common with English, even when some of these sounds are absent in some local languages. For example /tʃ/ occurs in only three of the twelve languages listed, and yet is listed by Akinluyi (1977), and Omamor and Elugbe among others as a pidgin sound.

The complete absence of the dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ is noteworthy. Wherever these occur in words borrowed from English, the alveolar plosives /t/ and /d/ are used in pidgin.

(i) Consonant Clusters

Mafeni, Oyebade, Elugbe and Omamor all agree that consonant clusters of the structure CCV or VCC are possible at the beginning and end of syllables.

e.g. /stɔ/ "stọ" meaning "store"
/aks/ "aks" "ask"

Elugbe and Omamor however argue that speakers vary in their pronunciation, depending on their contact with standard English. They claim that some clusters are easier to produce than others, and that sometimes initial clusters are broken up by insertion of a vowel, e.g.

/sìpũ / for "spun" meaning "spoon"
/sɨtɔp/ for "stop" meaning "stop"
/kilia/ for "klia" meaning "clear"

(c) Tone

According to Nafeni (1971) NP is a tone language. The following are cited as evidence:

bàbá meaning "father"
bábà meaning "a barber"
sísì meaning "six pence"
sisí meaning "a female or sister"
fadá meaning "a Roman Catholic Priest"
fádà meaning "father"

This view just cited is however strorgly opposed by Elugbe ard Omamor on the grounds that

there are only a few of these patterns and as such NP does not qualify to be called a tone language. They also add that NP has no tonal morphemes and that variation of pitch on syllables frequently fail to alter meaning. It is true that all languages use pitch but they differ in their use of it. In intonation languages, pitch covers whole phrases and utterances to convey shades of meaning, but the basic lexical meanings remain unchanged. According to Pike (1948) pitch in tone languages is significant, contrastive but relative on each syllable. Elugbe and Omamor conclude that NP is a pitch accent language which operates an intonation system similar to English. In short, to them, NP demonstrates features of both the Nigerian (i.e. substrate) languages and English (the superstrate or base language).

(d) Rhythm

Mafeni, Elugbe and Omamor share the view that NP is a syllable-timed language but Elugbe and Omamor also remark that the influence of English sometimes gives it an appearance of

"stress-timeness".

Although Mafeni treats NP as a language irdependent of English, he leaves no doubt at all that he strongly suggests that Yoruba is responsible for the sound system of NP. Elugbe ard Omamor disagree with this view. They assert that the Yoruba are the least familiar with NP. They also make the point that Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa areas were rot fertile areas for the development of NP, because these languages are already widely used in their respective areas ard so there was no need for another lingua franca.

Mafeni's suggestion is based on the fact that NP like Yoruba has sever oral vowels, and also like Yoruba has the sounds /kp/, /gb/ ard lacks the dental sounds /θ/ and /ð/. Elugbe and Omamor argue that Yoruba is rot the only Nigeriar language with 7 oral vowels, or with the occurrence and abserce of the sourds mertioned above. They point out that other languages like Edo, Itsekiri ard Urhobo share these characteristics too.

Elugbe and Omamor studied the Delta variety of NP for their work, and they feel that for Mafeni to have made some of his assertions, such as denying the occurrence of nasal vowels in NP, he must have studied a sophisticated variety of NP with massive interference from standard English.

This research work focusses on NP in Zaria, and will attempt among other things to find out what factors affect the NP spoken in Zaria.

The next section gives the framework for the study.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

This framework falls into two parts. The first part examines approaches that have been used in the study of language choice with a view to finding a model for the analysis of our work, while the second part is concerned with a model for the examination of the type of pidgin that is spoken in Zaria.

In any multilingual situation such as exists in Nigeria in general and in various towns in particular, speakers would select the code and

interaction strategy to be used in any specific content. Sociologists have concerned themselves with accounting for the rules or system for such decision-making, thus describing communication within any group and explaining communication more generally. There have been various approaches to the study of language choice. This section examires three broad approaches that have been used as descriptive speech, with a view to selecting a model for the analysis of our data. These approaches are:

a) The sociology of language approach.

b) The socio-psychological approach.

c) The anthropological approach.

2.2.1 Sociology of Language

This approach was introduced by Fishman (1964). His theory of "domain analysis" is an attempt to correlate physical setting and social context with language choice. Fishman defines "domain" as

> A socio-cultural construct abstracted from topics of communication, relationships between communicators and locales of communication, in accord with the institutions of a society and the spheres of activity of a speech community (1971:587).

Saville-Troike (1982) opines that certain factors determine domain: these may include the general subject area under discussion (e.g. education, work, family, friendship etc), the role-relationship between the participants (e.g. teacher-student, employer-employee, father-son etc), and the setting of the interaction (e.g. school, office, home, market etc). Saville-Troike argues that there can be no fixed set of domain for all speech communities, since the factors involved, i.e. the set of activities, role-relationship and setting will be directly related to each culture. For example, Brann (1975:13) identifies sixteen domains of incidence in common Nigerian usage, namely: assembly, bar, club, dispensary, theatre, farm, nome, legion, market, office, palace, resto, school, temple, unibus and workshop.

The studies carried out by Greenfield (1972) using domain analysis reveal that certain domains favour the use of one code rather than another.

Domains are related to widespread socio-cultural rorms and expectations. Fishman (1964) remarks that the concept of domain is useful for the description and explanation of the distribution of the means of communication.

Wardhaugh (1986) observes that in the use of language, a speaker needs to have some basic knowledge about the socio-cultural background of his inter-locutor. He believes that larguage is used by people to locate themselves in a multi-dimensional social place.

Still in connection with domain analysis, Fishman examines role-relationship which according to him are implicitly recognised and accepted sets of mutual rights and obligations between members of the same socio-cultural system. Appropriate variation and non-variation in manner of speech are ways by which members reveal such common membership to each other. Fishman argues that speakers are constrained in their choice and use of language by the role-relationships which exist between them and their interlocutors. Some role-relationships may experience some degree of role range or fluidity while others do not. For example, a lawyer and his client may also interact

as relations, as friends, as members of the same church etc., while a king and his subject (in the same speech community) may not experience such a role range. In the case of the former, the interaction is "personal" while in the latter it is "trarsactional".

"Social situation" (Bock 1964) is arother important factor for language choice ard use. Fishman remarks that "social situation" is responsible for some interactions being "personal" sometimes and "trarsactional" at other times. By "social situation" he means that the time and place of any social interaction must be suitable for the kind of role-relationships that exist between interlocutors. In other words, role-relationships can change, depending on whether or not a social situation is congruent i.e. right behaviour, right time, right place. The work of Fishman Cooper ard Ma (1968) reveals that bilingual Puerto Rican parerts and their children in New York use Spanish with each other at home but in the school environment, they use English. This means that they see the home and school as

different situations which call for different role-relationships, and as such different languages.

Fishman (1972) proposes too that topic per se is a regulator of language choice in multi-lingual settings. This concept he refers to as "topic regulation" and it implies that certain topics are better handled in one language than in another.

2.2.2 The Socio-Psychological Approach

This approach looks at the language behaviour of individuals as portrayed by their socio-psychological traits. Two major theories which have emerged from this approach are Herman's (1968) "overlapping situation hypothesis" and Giles' (1973) "accommodation theory".

Herman's work reveals that a speaker is placed in two psychological situations simultaneously. One is the situation in which one's own psychological needs or desires make one speak a particular language in which one is

most at home. The other situation has to do with the demands of one's peer group. These two situations in which one satisfies one's own desires and sometimes conforms to group demands constitute Herman's (1968) "overlapping situation hypothesis".

Giles (1973) proposes an "accommodation" theory which shows that a speaker chooses to speak a language or a variety of it to suit the needs of his addressee i.e. to accommodate to him. In this process of accommodation, pronunciation differences tend to be reduced between speakers especially when they are speaking varieties of the same language (which are completely mutually intelligible). Giles calls this "accent covergence" and Trudgil (1986) sees it as a universal feature of human behaviour.

Fasold (1984) argues that the accommodation theory and the accent convergence theory focus on individual motivations rather than a societal structures, i.e. that the theories are person - oriented rather than society-centred.

This now brings us to the third approach, the anthropological approach which will be discussed very briefly below.

2.2.3 The Anthropological Approach

This approach focusses on societal rules and constraints.

Hymes (1974) postulates a hypothesis on the "ethnography of communication". This hypothesis is concerned with how language choice is used to reveal values which are fundamental to speaking in various situations within the framework of society. The argument is that the use of language in each society conforms to the norms of that society, and social appropriateness in the use of language is more important than grammatical correctness.

2.2.4 Departures from NP

Omamor's (1990) analysis of some texts - namely the language of "Wakabout" in the weekly newspaper *Lagos Weekend* and the speech of Zebrudaya, the hero of "Masquerade" a popular

comedy series on Radio and Television - using the NP of Warri/Sapele area as the norm leads her to conclude that "pseudo pidgins" do exist. According to her:

> It is this kird of mixed language or interlarquage that is at one and the same time awful pidgin and everything nor-pidgin, and does not quite belong anywhere in particular, but is encountered in some segments of society outside the areas where NP predomirates, or passed off as instances of NP ir the mass media, print or electronic that the present study subsumes under the label pseudo-pidgin (1990:47).

Omamor gives the texts, the English trarsla-tion and NP trarslation. The followirg is one of her examples from the speech of Zebrudaya, the hero of Masquerade.

> Shatap!
> A doz not se dat ye wili not bi respektebul yo sirio; bot to kol klarus Mgboojikwe oga ir mai veri bifo, faul!

English Translation

Shut up!
I am not saying that you should not show some respect for your elders; but to cal Clarus Mgboojikwe "master" in my very presence is to commit a foul.

NP Trarslation

Shọrọp/Sharap!
A nọ tọk se mek pẹsin no rẹspẹkt in sinio; bọt/to kọm bigir kọl klarus Mgboojikwe "ọga" for mai presẹnt ẹẹn, dat (wọn) na faul.

She remarks that certain features of Zebrudaya's speech, e.g. the use of "A doz not" for "I do not" and "yu wili not" for "you will not" in place of NP "a no" and "yu no go" respectively, reveals more similarity with English than with NP. Similarly, respektebul" ard "mai veri bifo" are rot NP either, even though the component words may be understood by/an NP speaker who also knows English. The structure of Zebrudaya's utterances appear like an attempt to reproduce English structure, e.g

Zebrudaya	English
My veri before	My very presence

Yet because this language is obviously not English, it is generally considered to be NP.

Cmamor and Elugbe (1991) also examined Zebrudaya's speech and list some differences between it and NP in relation to standard English as follows:

a) The use of the English preposition "in" which does not feature at all in NP.

e.g. si mi in di rod
NP Si mi fo rod
SE meet me in the streets.

b) The use of the relative particles where NP would use we

e.g. a wot oyiboakol
NP na di tin we oyibo dem de kol
SE Is what Europeans call..

c) The use of expressions which do not occur in NP or English but designed to

achieve comic effect.

e.g. "Cgrogoriti" for English "priority".

Other departures from NP are the use of "s" for pluralisation as in "pikins", the use of pronouns such as he, his etc. Cmamor and Elugbe in their work present a description of the grammar of NP in order to demonstrate that NP is an independent language that operates at the basis of "well defined and discoverable governing principles". It is because of this that a comparison of other forms with NP is possible.

In conformity with the theory of linguistic universals (Todd 1984), NP shares the following grammatical characteristics with other stable or stabilised pidgins, and departure from it is certainly not NP:

a) uninflected word forms
b) number not indicated on nouns
c) gender not marked in pronoun
d) fewer prepositions than in lexical source languages

e) no bound forms

f) verb serialisation

Omamor and Elugbe's joint and separate works have been consistent in their method of analysis. They have highlighted the similarities and differences discernible between NP and their samples and then drawn conclusions as to whether a particular sample is NP or a pseudo pidgin.

2.2.5 Proposed Model for the Study

The approaches to language study described above (are applicable and) have been variously applied to actual speech acts and events with the aim of discovering patterns of language choice in code switching or code mixing.

This work is different in that it is an attempt to discover the existence and use of NP in Zaria. Fishman's "domain analysis" asks the questions "who speaks what language, to whom, when and why" and these are the very questions that our investigation is seeking answers to. Fishman uses the term "domain" to mean "institutional contexts" in which one language or language variety is more

likely to be appropriate than another.

The Zaria linguistic situation is one in which many languages are coexisting in the community. There is the indigenous language - Hausa, in addition to other Nigerian languages spoken by various individuals or speech communities, and there is also English the official language. Because of the existence of these languages, and since the town, like other towns has a mixed population consisting of people with various professions and educational backgrounds ranging from the street hawker to the medical doctor, from the illiterate to university professor, this work sets out to investigate the role or place of NP in the community. Domains enable us to understand that language choice and topic, appropriate as they may be for analyses of individual behaviour at the level of face-to-face verbal encounters, are, related to widespread socio-cultural norms and expectations.

Fishman (1971) remarks that domains of language behaviour may differ from setting to setting. It is true that domain analysis is

usually applied to detailed study of face-to-face interactions, but, as Fishman (1971) again remarks, "there are several levels and approaches to sociolinguistic description and a host of linguistic, socio-linguistic and societal constructs within each". As he goes on to argue, the choice among them depends on the particular problem at hand.

Since this work is focussing on one language among many rather than the language behaviour of a single population in a multilingual setting, none of the approaches described in the section above can be adopted wholesale for our use. Rather, we shall borrow some terms from the concept of "domain" and also use the method that "domain analysis' uses for eliciting information i.e. the questionnaire/interview method.

For the analysis of our data, some issues raised in "domain analysis" will be used, such as "topic" and "social situation", where the former refers to the subject matter and the latter to the setting.

Considering the fact that NP co-exists with stardard English (its main lexicon source language) in many parts of Nigeria, the issue of diglossia will also be looked into.

Diglossia is a situation in which two or more languages (or varieties of the same language) in a speech community are allocated to differert social functions ard contexts. Charles Ferguson (1959) who first coined this term used it to refer only to the use of two or more varieties of the same language by speakers under different conditions, but Fishman (1972) extended this term to include the use of more than one language. For example, in Paraguay, Spanish is the language of school while Guarani is the language of home, the former being regarded as H language i.e. of higher level of prestige than the latter - L language. In that situation Spanish ard Guarani are said to be in a diglossic relationship.

Saville-Troike (1982) remarks that rules for language choice are usually not consciously formulated by native speakers, and so must be

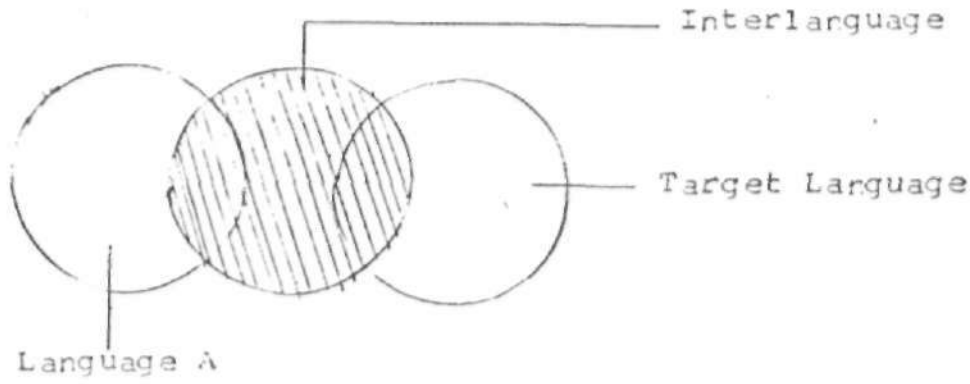
inferred by the ethnographer from a variety of observations and interview techniques.

Fishman (1971) remarks that the members of diglossic speech communities come to have certain views concerning their languages because these languages are associated (in behaviour and in attitude) with particular domains: the H language is considered to reflect certain values and relationships within the speech community whereas the L variety or language is considered to reflect others.

The analysis of the first part of our work will therefore hinge partly on "domain" and partly on "diglossia".

FOOT NOTES

1. Corder (1971:151) describes "irterlanguage" as "a dialect whose rules share characteristics of two social dialects or languages, whether these languages themselves share rules or not".



Corder, S.P. (1971): Idiosyncratic Dialects and Error Analysis in IRAL, Vol. 9. No. 2. p. 151.

2. Nemser (1971) defires an "approximative system" as "The deviant linguistic system actually employed by the learrer attempting to utilise the target language. Such approximative systems vary in character in accordance with proficiercy level, variation is also introduced by learning experience (including exposure to target language script system), communication function, personal learning characteristics, etc." (Nemser, (1971). Approximative Systems of Foreign Language Learners. In: IRAL Vol. 9. No. 2 p. 116.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter attempts to explain the method used for this research, the study areas, the questionnaire and the data processing and analysis.

3.1 Geography of the Area

The study covers the town of Zaria in Kaduna State. Kaduna State stretches from latitude 9^{o}N to latitude 11^{o}N ard longitudes 6^{o} to 9^{o}. It has common boundaries with Niger, Sokoto, Katsina, Kano Bauchi and Plateau States, as well as the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja. Zaria is located in the north-east of Kaduna State.

3.2 Study Areas

Hancock (1977) in his repertory of pidgin and creole languages lists pidgin in Nigeria as "Western Nigerian Pidgin" probably because, as mentioned earlier in 1.0, the places of pidgin predominance are largely the former Bendel State, i.e. the former Mid-West Region of Nigeria which was originally part of Western Nigeria.

The focus of this study is on pidgin in a Northern Nigeria town - Zaria. Zaria was zoned up into sections because of the peculiarities of each section. Our study areas within Zaria include the following.

a) Zaria City

An old historic section referred to as the "City". This was the original Zaria and it had a wall around it, and gates for entry and exit. This section is inhabited today mainly by the indigenes who are Hausas and whose religion is mainly Islam.

b) Tudun Wada

This area is inhabited by people of various trades, occupations and religions.

c) Sabon Gari

By its very name, this section is a newer extension of the town, and it is inhabited mainly by "strangers" or non-indigenes from various parts of the country.

d) Wusasa

This part of the town is inhabited mainly by Christians. No other religion apart from Islam was tolerated in the historic "City", and so converts into Christianity settled in Wusasa - with their first Christian Church - St. Bartholomew's - which was built in 1919.

The situation today, though somewhat relaxed is still by and large the same.

e) Samaru

This is the University Village, and it is inhabited mainly by the non-academic staff of the University with their families, even though a few Zaria indigenes are to be found there as well.

f) Barracks

Zaria has army and police barracks which house the people of the forces with their families. These people are a heterogenous lot drawn from various parts of the country.

Though not comparable in size to cities such as Kano and Kaduna, Zaria can be said to be a typical northern town, sharing certain characteristics, such as 'city', Tudun Wada, Sabon Gari with other northern cities.

Two points are note-worthy here. Firstly, the University Campus was deliberately left out of this research because campus populations are usually mixed groups which do not necessarily reflect the characteristics of the towns in which they are situated. The community immediately outside the Campus or the other hand (which is referred to above as the University community) exhibits the influence of both the University and the indigenous settlers.

Secondly, the inclusion of the barracks in this research is just to re-examine a prevailing tendency. All over the country, because the forces are a mixed group linguistically, NP is krown to thrive very much in the barracks. In fact, pidgin is internationally known as "soldier language".

3.3 Research Methods

The research methodology used for this study is dual in nature. The first is the Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) technique, which is a combination of data collection methods through primary and secondary sources. The second is a recording of conversations (in Pidgin) with Zaria indigenes.

In the RRA technique, the secondary data source included libraries, newspapers, magazines and journals. Invaluable information was also collected from the university libraries in Ibadan and Lagos, and from researchers into pidgin like Professor B. Chi Elugbe and Dr. Augusta Omamor.

The primary sources included sample survey through the use of structured and unstructured questionnaires. The questionnaires were directed to respondents who are literate and those who are not literate but can communicate in pidgin. Each questionnaire solicited information on age, sex, marital status, level of education, occupation and place of residence. Other questions included languages best spoken, ability to speak pidgin, what class of people speak pidgin, how the respondents acquired pidgin, where pidgin is mostly spoken, and what factors influence the respondents to speak pidgin. (See Appendix 1).

The second methodology which made use of recordings of conversations with Zaria indigenes, examined the language of these conversations using Omamor's model. The recordings were first transcribed and then critically examined to enable us draw conclusions on what type of pidgin they are. Also, the sound system of the Zaria variety was elicited from the recordings.

3.4 Sample Frame

The survey was multi-stage. The first was a reconnaissance survey of the respondents in the six zones mentioned above, namely: Zaria City, Sabon Gari, Tudun Wada, Samaru, Wusasa and the Army Barracks. During the reconnaissance surveys, a total of about 60 questionnaires were administered - 10 in each zone.

In view of the fact that there is ro data to show the population of each of the zones, a simple random sample of 62 (sixty-two) respondents was taken in each of the six zones. The choice of these zones was based on their relative sizes, accessibility and different characteristics of life style of the people who reside in each zone.

3.5 The Survey

Six (6) well trained enumerators accompanied the researcher to the field for the interviews.

The reconnaissance survey was very helpful in that it made it possible for the researcher to reframe whatever question was not operational on the field.

First of all, the format of the questionnaire was reframed completely. A pre-coded questionnaire (Appendix I) was designed in place of the reconnaissance questionnaire. This is because answers to the first questionnaire were found to be rather unwieldy and not easy to code for feeding into the computer.

Secondly, through the reconnaissance survey, questions that were not useful were dropped while helpful ones that were previously absent were brought in. For example, place of birth per se does not affect languages spoken as duration of stay and place of residence do. Also, age class which was not uniform in the first questionnaire was readjusted.

Some lessons were also learnt about the strategy and time for data collection. For example, in Zaria city, only those who could speak Hausa fluently, and speak pidgin and dress like the Hausas were well received. The

situations in Sabon Gari and Tudun Wada were more relaxed. In all, Samaru, the University community, was the most agreeable of the six zones. This is probably because the people in Samaru are used to such interviewing.

3.6 Data Processing and Analysis

The three hundred and sixty-eight questionnaires were processed in three stages, namely coding, data preparation and data analysis. The coding was carried out by giving numerical value to each respondent's answer, with zero denoting non-response. The first stage was relatively easy since the questionnaire had been precoded.

The data was analysed using the statistical package for the social sciences (SPSS). The analysis was based largely on frequency distribution and other descriptive statistics.

CHAPTER IV

DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter examines the socio-demographic characteristics of respondents in the six zones studied and analyses the findings. Also three different recordings of samples of Zaria pidgin were transcribed and analysed in order to find out what Zaria pidgin is like linguistically.

4.1 The Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

The respondents were stratified by sex, i.e. male and female. Other specific factors treated are age, level of education, occupation and languages spoken. The findings are based on the data collected from 368 respondents in Zaria. 372 (three hundred and seventy two) questionnaires i.e. 62 (sixty two) from each zone were given out; 4 were not returned while seven were returned with little or no responses. Therefore 368 (three hundred and sixty eight) were returned and processed.

The analysis also handles knowledge of pidgin, what class of people speak pidgin, where pidgin is mostly spoken and what situations influence people to speak pidgin.

4.1.1 DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY AGE

TABLE 4

AGE CATEGORY	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
16-25 years	155	42.12
26-35 "	120	32.61
36-45 "	62	16.85
46-55 "	11	2.99
Over 55 "	4	1.09
No response	16	4.35
TOTAL	368	100

SOURCE: FIELD SURVEY, 1991

Table 4 shows that the highest concentration of respondents, i.e. 42.12% falls within the age group of 16-25 years. This is followed by those in the age group of 26-35 years with 32.61%. The least i.e. 1.09% are those that are over 55 years of age. Others include those within the age group

of 36-45 years with 16.85%, those in the age brackets 46-55 years with 2.99% and those who refused to respond to the question 4.35%.

These responses are most revealing. Among the youth (that is 16-35 years) who form about 75% of our respondents, (this was not deliberate) and who are very important in that they constitute a strong working force, pidgin is very much admired. To them, it is the language of recreation and informal situations. Among this group too, literature in pidgin e.g. sections of Lagos Weekend, magazines like "Ikebe Super" etc., are very popular.

It is not surprising that with the over 55 years the percentage is low. This is because this age group are not often found moving around as the younger group are. They are usually inside the house, or occupied at something sedentary. Moreover, pidgin is not very popular among this age group except those who are motivated by their business to sell beyond their ethnic or linguistic boundaries.

4.1.2 DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO LEVEL/TYPE OF EDUCATION

TABLE 5

TYPE/LEVEL OF EDUCATION	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
None	7	1.90
Koranic	36	9.78
Adult	7	1.90
primary	71	19.29
Secondary	203	55.16
University	35	9.51
Others	5	1.36
No response	4	1.09
TOTAL	368	100

Source: FIELD SURVEY, 1991

With regard to the educational level of the respondents, the majority of them (55.16%) had secondary education. This is followed by those who had primary education 19.29%. Others include people with Koranic education 9.78%, University education 9.51% while the least are those who refused to respond to the question.

The fact that secondary school leavers form the highest group agrees with table 4 on age. In other words, it is possible that the majority of those who were interviewed are secondary school leavers - traders, roadside mechanics, workers in the informal sector who are waiting to go in for further education.

4.1.3 DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION

TABLE 6

OCCUPATION	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Government employed	41	11.14
Farming	88	2.17
Trading	170	46.20
Self employed	29	7.88
Student	92	25.00
Others	20	5.44
No response	8	2.17
TOTAL	368	100

Source: FIELD SURVEY, 1991

Table 6 shows that the occupation of most of our respondents happers to be trading: 46.20% are traders. This is followed by students with 25%. Government employed people come next with 11.14% while the least - 2.17% are those who say they are farmers. It can be deduced from Table 6 that traders who constitute the highest figure here have among them those with primary or secondary education.

In spite of the random sampling technique used, traders still get the highest figure. As further responses will reveal, this research suggests very strongly that pidgin is a trade language.

4.1.4 DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO PLACE OF RESIDENCE

TABLE 7

RESIDENCE	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Zaria city	49	13.32
Sabon Gari	68	18.48
Tudun Wada	61	16.58
Samaru	60	16.30
Wusasa	59	16.03
Barracks	63	17.12
No response	8	2.17
TOTAL	368	100

Source: FIELD SURVEY, 1991

Even though the research attempted to interview an equal number of people in each zone, Table 7 shows that the respondents were not necessarily interviewed in their places of residence. For example, there was no zone in which as many as 68 people were interviewed as the Sabon Gari figure shows. However, the range of figures in each zone shows a fairly even distribution, and contrary to the general expectation that Sabon

Gari and Barracks will score highest, it was discovered that NP is spoken every where in Zaria as 4.1.6 shows.

4.1.5 DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO LANGUAGE BEST SPOKEN

TABLE 8

LANGUAGE	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
English	78	18.14
Hausa	132	31.50
Igbo	60	14.32
Yoruba	29	6.92
Pidgin	80	19.09
Others	42	10.02
TOTAL	421	100

Source: FIELD SURVEY, 1991

Table 8 reveals the preponderance of Hausa speakers - 31.50%. This is not surprising since Zaria is a Hausa town. However, it is noteworthy that in spite of the fact that English is taught in schools and NP is not, the percentage of NP speakers - 19.09% is higher than that of English speakers - 18.14%. If NP were taught formally in the school system, it would be interesting to know what the result would be. The table reveals that Zaria is a mixed

community of speakers of various languages - Igbo, Yoruba etc.

4.1.6 DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO KNOWLEDGE OF PIDGIN

TABLE 9

KNOWLEDGE OF PIDGIN	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Yes	335	91.10
No	25	6.73
No response	8	2.17
TOTAL	368	100

SOURCE: FIELD SURVEY, 1991

From the figures above, it can be seen that, as many as 91.10% of our respondents have knowledge of pidgin. This shows the significance of pidgin even in a Hausa community. Only 6.73% of our respondents indicate they have no knowledge of pidgin while the remaining 2.17% give no response. The respondents were questioned further (Question 14 i.e Appendix 1) as to whether or not they can speak pidgin. 88% responded in the positive. This means that the majority of our respondents not only know but also can speak pidgin. These responses show the

importance of pidgin among our respondents.

4.1.7: CLASS OF PEOPLE THAT SPEAK PIDGIN

TABLE 10

CLASS OF PEOPLE	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Soldiers	95	24.42
Market women	157	40.36
Traders	64	16.45
Students	20	5.14
Illiterates	53	13.62
TOTAL	389	100

Source: FIELD SURVEY, 1991

This table shows that some of our respondents gave multiple answers. Since market women are a class of traders, the two can be taken together, and if so, our table shows that 56.81% of our respondents feel that market women/traders use pidgin most. This supports the assumption that pidgin is a trade language. 24.42% of our respondents say that pidgin is spoken by soldiers while, 13.62% say that it is illiterates that speak pidgin. Only 5.14% say that pidgin is spoken by students. The figure on market

women/traders agrees with table 6 which shows that 46% of the respondents are traders. This is also supported by the answer to question 17 in which 68.84% of our respondents say that the most common place where people speak pidgin is in the market. Further support for this view is to be found in the answer to questions 24 where 88.86% say that the market is the place where pidgin is mostly heard, and also in question 29 where 68.44% of our respondents say that pidgin is most advantageous for easy business transactions.

4.1.8 HOW PIDGIN WAS ACQUIRED

TABLE 11

HOW ACQUIRED	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Through conversation	256	69.57
Through imitation	54	14.67
Trial and error	28	7.61
Teaching by speaking	15	4.08
No response	15	4.08
TOTAL	368	100

Source: FIELD SURVEY, 1991

69.57% of our respondents indicate that they acquired pidgin through conversation. This agrees with the literature on the acquisition of pidgin. If pidgin is not taught formally in the school system, then pidgin is acquired through interest and motivation e.g. for communication, for trading purposes, or for socialisation and integration.

Question 19 elicited more information on this. Respondents were asked what influenced their speaking of pidgin. 48.92% of our respondents claim that business partners have had the greatest influence on their speaking of pidgin. Business partners mean buyers and sellers, in other words trading. Communication between sellers and buyers of different linguistic backgrounds is most important if trade is to succeed. In answer to the same question 19, 22.43% of our respondents say that place of residence influenced their speaking of pidgin while 7.84 claim that it is their place of birth that influenced them.

This means that for many respondents their current associations and interactions are more important in their acquisition and speaking of pidgin than place of birth.

4.1.9 DOMAIN S OF USE OF PIDGIN

TABLE 12(a)

DOMAINS	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Market	236	64.84
Office	9	2.47
Home	40	8.24
Social gathering	14	3.85
Everywhere	52	14.26
Others	23	6.32
No response	4	
TOTAL	378	100

Source: FIELD SURVEY, 1991

This table like table 12(b) shows that the most common place where people speak pidgin is the market. The implication of this on buyers and sellers who cannot speak pidgin is that they will experience some limitation when they cannot communicate.

4.1.10 PLACE WHERE PIDGIN IS ALWAYS HEARD

Table 12(b)

PLACE	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Market	319	88.86
Office	7	1.77
Home	17	4.79
Social gathering	13	3.53
No response	12	3.22
TOTAL	368	100

Source: FIELD SURVEY, 1991

This table confirms table 12(a) on the use of pidgin in the market. Incidentally, even though pidgin is spoken elsewhere, it is certainly, as can be gathered from our data, not the language of the home or office or social gatherings for many of our respondents.

4.1.11 SPEAKING PARTNERS - PEOPLE WITH WHOM PIDGIN IS USED

TABLE 13

TYPE OF PEOPLE	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Other ethnic groups	91	24.73
My own ethnic groups	21	5.71
Non-educated people	119	32.34
Educated people	27	7.34
All of the above	103	27.98
No response	7	1.90
TOTAL	368	100

Source: FIELD SURVEY, 1991

According to this table 32.34% i.e. the highest figure speak pidgin to uneducated people which again confirms Soola's (1991) claims on attitudes to NP; that many feel it is the language of the uneducated. 24.73% speak NP with people from ethnic groups other than their own. This shows the usefulness of pidgin in solving communication problems in multi-linguistic Nigeria. Other responses show that 7.34% speak NP to educated people, while 5.71% speak it to people from their own ethnic group.

All these responses depend on domains - what actually dictates the dialogue situation, i.e. the topic, context, etc.

4.1.12 PLACE IN NIGERIA WHERE PIDGIN IS MOST SPOKEN

TABLE 14

PLACE	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Former Bendel Area (i.e. Edo and Delta)	200	54.35
Igbo/Rivers Area	86	23.37
Yoruba Area	26	7.07
Hausa Area	33	8.91
Others	9	2.45
No response	14	3.80
TOTAL	368	100

Source: FIELD SURVEY, 1991

The table above indicates that 54.35% of our respondents are of the opinion that pidgin is mostly spoken in the Bendel area, i.e. Edo and Delta Areas. This opinion agrees with available literature which gives these same places as the areas where pidgin is mostly spoken. Igbo area comes next with 23.37%, while Yoruba area comes last with 7.07%. It is

noteworthy that our respondents feel that the use of pidgin in Hausa area is rated higher than in Yoruba land, considering the fact that geographically, the Yoruba area is nearer the predominant pidgin areas. This is probably a function of trade influence.

4.1.13 RESPONSE TO USE OF PIDGIN BY EVERY NIGERIAN

TABLE 15

RESPONSE	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Yes	180	48.91
NO	175	47.55
TOTAL	368	100

Source: FIELD SURVEY, 1991

This table shows that 48.91% of our respondents would recommend pidgin for use of every Nigerian while 47.55% would not. This closeness in the response shows that the issue of the acceptance of pidgin is still a controversial one. The tilt in favour of pidgin however, shows that pidgin is playing a significant role in the lives of Nigerians, even though it is not as yet one of the officially recognised

languages of Nigeria. The response to the next question is a further confirmation of the controversy about NP. 38.32% would recommend NP as national lingual franca while 42.93% would not.

4.1.14 LANGUAGE THAT REACHES THE LARGEST NUMBER OF NIGERIANS

TABLE 16

LANGUAGE	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Hausa	104	28.26
Yoruba	14	3.80
Igbo	6	1.63
pidgin	217	58.97
Others	3	0.82
No response	24	6.52
TOTAL	368	100

Source: FIELD SURVEY, 1991

From the figures above, it can be seen that pidgin is considered the language through which the largest number of Nigerians can be reached. 58.97% of our respondents claim this. This figure is more than double the figure (28.26%) of those who chose Hausa, in spite of Zaria being a Hausa community, and more than those who say Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba, all

put together.

This result is very significant because it shows that even in the North, pidgin is regarded as the language that reaches the largest number of people in Nigeria.

When asked further in question 33 which language is most useful outside the home, 37.23% opined that it is English, while a close figure, 36.14%, argue for pidgin. Other Nigerian languages put together do not come up to even half of those who opted for English or pidgin.

The fact that English and pidgin come so close together may have to do with the dilemma of the average Nigerian when faced with the issue of prestige (See 4.1.13) and that of usefulness with respect to language use. In addition, the respondents who opted for English may even be considering places beyond Nigeria.

4.1.15 LANGUAGE PREFERRED FOR USE ALL THE TIME

TABLE 17

LANGUAGE	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
English	147	39.95
Hausa	113	30.71
Yoruba	15	4.08
Igbo	9	2.45
pidgin	63	17.12
No response	21	5.71
TOTAL	368	100

Source: FIELD SURVEY, 1991

When asked which language our respondents would like to speak all the time, the highest figure, 39.95% opted for English. This is followed by Hausa 30.71%. Only 17.12% opted for pidgin even though that is not the lowest figure.

This swing in favour of English in spite of the response in table 16 might have to do with the prestige that is usually attached to English. According to Akinluyi (1977) many who use pidgin are ashamed to be associated with it in public.

No wonder our low figure of 17.12% here. The general attitude is that English is the language which every educated person should speak, and the speaking of pidgin in any classroom situation in the past usually carried the penalty of a fine! English, the vehicle of formal education has always been the language that many or most Nigerians like to be associated with. Even when an un-educated person or a semi-literate is speaking some deviant form of English he likes to think he is speaking English. This result clearly shows that usefulness does not necessarily determine choice.

4.2 TRANSCRIPTION OF RECORDINGS

This section is a transcription of the recording of three conversations. The first conversation involves the researcher and a non-educated trader in Sabon Gari market. This trader has lived in Zaria for eighteen years and his first language is Hausa (Appendix III page 236).

The second conversation is between two Zaria indigenes who have different levels of formal education, mainly primary and secondary (Appendix IV, p. 248). The third conversation is

between the researcher and a University student who is an indigene of Zaria (Appendix V page 251). There is a critical examination of each sample, which is supposed to be in NP, to enable us to draw conclusions as to whether they are NP or not. No attempt is made to transcribe phonemically the researcher's speech since it is not the focus of our investigation.

4.3 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.3.0 Introduction

This section is a discussion of the findings from the analysis of our data in the light of the conceptual framework discussed in Chapter 2.5.

4.3.1 Discussion of the Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

4.3.1.1 Domains

This research has revealed that there are at least three discernible domains in which pidgin is used. These are school, trade and work and we shall discuss them one after the other.

a) School

pidgin is found to be very popular among youths,

especially the 16-35 years age group who are vital to the working strergth of the society. Since our data (Table 5) reveals that most of these youths (74.45%) have had primary/secondary education, it is pertinent to consider whether the school system has any relevance to their speaking of pidgin.

As far as the language policy on education is concerned, NP is neither taught in the classroom nor is it officially allowed in the school; therefore, the classroom cannot be responsible for students speaking pidgin. However, it is possible, as Wedgewood (1953) poirts out, that English, the medium of instruction is not a comfortable medium for the students. As a result, the students usually can hardly wait to get out of the class at break time, to resort to what for them is a comfortable compromise - NP. Because of its English-based lexicon, and the fact that it is easy to acquire, many students use it outside the classroom. Even those who did not speak it before they came to school quickly acquire it (Table 11) and use it with their mates.

Wedgewood (1953:115) argues that for the school child, pidgin is "an easier medium of learning and

thought than English is and therefore a better medium of instruction..." This issue is also extensively discussed by Akinluyi (1977:87-92).

Pidgin is a very important out-of-classroom language in many places where it occurs and it is noteworthy that this research has revealed that many school leavers in Zaria know and use it.

Kirk-Green (1971: 143) claims that

> even at the university, the preferred linguistic common denominator of students speaking among themselves is pidgin.

Pidgin is used as a language of relaxation when students want to break free of the formality that the English language constitutes for them. So, apart from pidgin serving as a language of socialisation for the school child at a lower level, it also acts as language of relaxation for students at a higher level. Students need pidgin not only among themselves but to relate to other people in a mixed society. When asked about people with whom pidgin is spoken, 7.34% of our respondents claim that it

is . with educated people. Theseusers here can either be educated people using pidgin with each other for socialisation purposes, or non-educated people using it with educated people of other linguistic backgrourd purely for communication purposes.

b) Trade

The view that market women, traders and business people in general are the greatest users of pidgin (tables 10, 12a, 12b) was very consistent throughout this research. This would confirm the general assumption that pidgin is a trade language. In a situation where buyers and sellers have to interact not only with people of the same linguistic background as them but also with others, NP cannot but come in very useful. This also confirms Gani-Ikilɑma's (1989) comment:

> Trade, more than anything else, because by its nature it involves inter-ethnic contacts has helped the spread of pidgin. An illiterate businessman who does not speak pidgin cannot hope to go very far unless he limits his trade to the geographical areas in which his indigenous language is used. (1989;16).

Even a literate businessmman who speaks only English and his indigenous language is restricted too, i.e. he is cut off from non-English speakers who do not speak his indigenous language.

Our data shows not only that the class of people who use NP most are market women and traders, but also that the place where pidgin is mostly spoken and heard is the market. 68.44% of our respondents claims that pidgin makes for easy business transactions.

c) Workers Generally

The occupation of our respondents, 91.10% (Table 9) of whom claim to know pidgin, ranges from self employed-farming, hawking, trading etc., to government employed i.e. workers in offices and factories, etc: there are students as well. Zaria, though originally a Hausa city with a wall around it has expanded beyond the walls and now harbours various educational institutions, industries and trading concerns. Kisob (1963:30) speaks of pidgin as "an indispersable raw material in any scheme of industrialisation".

As our research reveals, pidgin is actively used by workers although not in the same serse as FANAGALO, (a "workirg larguage" in the Copperbelt of Zambia) which is used exclusively or predominantly during work. Self employed workers like mechanics, tailors, cobblers, and other public employed ones like builders, painters, drivers, factory workers etc., claim to know and use pidgin: this is because these professions deal with the gereral public who are a mixed population.

Arother category of workers is the army. Our data confirm Mühlhäusler's (1986) findirg that soldiers are users of pidgin. (C.F. Hiri Motu, fromerly called Police Motu in Papua New Guirea). This is rot surprisirg since the forces are usually a mixed group compelled by their profession to live together. Until relatively recertly (i.e. less than 30 years ago) in Nigeria, when soldiers cdme into goverrmert they used to be seen only as a group of people with little or no formal education, and who spoke pidgin when they talked with each other or to the public. Pidgin is a larguage that is common to barracks, and it gives the mer in uniform not just a sense of belorging but also a tool with which to function.

4.3.1.2 Social Situation

Nigeria's multilingual setting often forces situations in which means of communication have to be found so that people who find themselves together can communicate. As mentioned, English the official language of the country cannot effectively do this for the whole population, and situations are revealing that NP is performing this function (Tables 13,16).

Adekunle (1972:198) remarked twenty years ago that:

> The function of pidgin has changed from that of a trade language, used only by traders and missionaries to that of a link language used as a medium of inter-ethnic communication.

Iso and Afendras (1970:1) articulated the same opinion earlier, that

> pidgin English .....is extremely important for the communication pattern, linking people who do not share a common language.

Apart from the value of pidgin in inter-ethnic communication especially, for trading purposes as

mentioned above, this research has also revealed that 24.73% of our respondents say that tney use pidgin (Table 13) with people from other ethnic groups. Another 15.36% actually claim that it removes ethnic barriers (Question 28). In a town like Zaria which has a mixed population in spite of the predominant Hausa indigeres, NP is a very useful means of inter-ethnic communication, thus confirming the views of Adekunle, Iso and Afendras.

4.2.1 .3 Diglossia

When asked about people with whom pidgin is spoken, 32.33% the highest figure (Table 11) opined that it is with non-educated people. This confirms the gereral opinion or attitude of society that Erglish, the official language and the language of education, which from the time of the colonial masters has been the key to white collar jobs and important positions in society, has always been accorded a high status in society, while people look down on pidgin as the inferior alternative used by people who do not have the privilege of formal education.

This attitude is interesting because many people in society are capable of speaking both languages - English and NP but they compartmentalise their use of each language. In the Zaria situation and possibly as in other parts of Nigeria, English and NP are often in a diglossic situation where English is the H language and NP the L language.

The response from our questionnaire (Table 10) that NP is used mostly by market women, traders and illiterates, is also in line with this view of low status for pidgin since market women are generally classed as illiterates who resort to selling in the market because they cannot cope with academics.

Only 5.14% of our respondents (Table 10) claim that pidgin is used by students. This is contradictory yet revealing considering the fact that 84% of our respondents claim to have had primary or/and secondary education, and also claim to speak pidgin. Our respondents are consistent in that Table 13 also indicates that only 7.34% say that pidgin is spoken with educated people.

In spite of the ackrowledgement in Table 16 that pidgin is the language that reaches the largest number of Nigerians (58.97% say this), only 17.12% would opt for pidgin as opposed to 39.95% (Table 17) who opt for English. This shows that our respondents would sacrifice usefulness for prestige as far as language choice is concerned. Not even Hausa, the indigenous language of Zaria scored as high as English: Hausa scored 30.71% here.

As in diglossic situations, certain considerations probably forced our respondents to prefer English to pidgin ir Table 17. Such considerations could include the following: the fact that there is literary heritage in English but not in pidgin, the fact that pidgir is learnt outside school while English is learnt in school and the association of English with formal and official situations, while pidgin is usually associated with informal situations and people of the lower class.

4.3.1.4 Varieties

The response to Question 20 on fluency in pidgin, points to the discussion of Omamor (1990)

on pidgins and pseudo pidgins. 17.12% of our respondents claim to speak it very fluently, 22.83% speak it fluently while 35.33% would describe their performance as fairly fluent. 22.01% however, admit that they are not fluent. This wide range suggests the existence of different varieties of forms which are here being referred to as pidgin. (See also Bickerton's (1975) concept of the basilect, mesolect and acrolect).

With the existence of Hausa around, it is possible to argue that those who admit that they are fluent may only be capable of broken English and not pidgin at all. Banjo (1970) suggests that some adult illiterates in Hausa land speak English or broken Erglish and not pidgin because of their exposure to native English speakers (since the history of education here is not as old as in the south) whereas in the southern part of Nigeria, people are exposed to various deviant forms of English as a result of many having been taught by Nigerian teachers who have emerged from several generations of educated Nigerians. The English language as it was passed on to the first generation of speakers by native

speakers, certainly must have been coloured as it was passed down through several generations of Nigeriars.

Even then the speech of those who claim to speak pidgin with varying degrees of fluency may include pseudo pidgins as well i.e. forms which have the semblance of pidgin, but which violate the rules of pidgin grammar at different levels. The next section highlights deviations from NP grammar in the three samples examined.

4.3.2 DISCUSSION OF RECORDINGS

4.3.2.1 Conversation with an Illiterate Trader (See Appendix III)

COMMENTS I

My Name is Mohammed Sani

English: My name is Mohammed Sani

NP : Mai nem bi Mohammed Sani

The response of this person is in perfect English sentence, even though the question was asked in NP. In spite of having no formal education, Mohammed can produce a grammatically correct English sentence. This calls to mind Banjo's (1970) comment that some northerners, depending on

their exposure, can speak English even if they have had no formal education.

However, as our conversation reveals this speaker sees no difference between pidgin and English, he thinks he is speaking English. He says "wen ai stat, ai no de hia Inglish... nau, ai trai".

Etin yiẹs ego

English: For eighteen years

NP: Na etin yiẹs

The use of the word "ego" is English, not NP; the correct NP response to that question is "na etin yies".

So di taim wen ai stat

English: When I started...
(the time that I started...)

NP: di taim we ai stat

Clause qualifiers in NP are usually introduced by "we", a relative particle. This speaker uses wen which again reveals the influence of English.

Mẹnis pipu

English: Many people

NP: Mẹni pipu.
or
plẹnti pipu

The use of 's' after "meni" here may look like an effort at using the English plural inflection "s", but in other parts of the conversation, it is obvious that the speaker makes this sound when he is thinking or hesistating, e.g.

"So ai de.. s spik.. smosmo"

"am... ais...em...etin yiẹs ego"

"ai sabi spiks... smosmo"

Mẹnis pipu di wan wia de kọm bai... fọ mai han

English: Many people who come to buy (things) from me

NP: Mẹni pipu we de kọm bai fọ mai han (plẹnti)

Here again, this speaker does not use the NP word 'we' which introduces a qualifying clause. Instead he uses "wia." He does this in other parts of the conversation, too, e.g.

"I gẹt wan bọi di wan wia de sẹl..."

(I have a boy (the one) who sells..."

"...di wan wia de hẹp sẹl...."

(...the one who helps me sell...")

His use of the word "wia" does not correspond to the use of "where" in English, so one cannot say he is getting NP mixed up with English in this case. He just has a form of speech that introduces a qualifying clause with "di wan wia" instead of simply we in NP.

Ai sabi spiks smosmo...

Ai kan spik, bot di ka rid bọt dị kanọ rait

English: I can speak a little...

I car speak, I can read but

I can't write

NP: Ai sabi spik smọsmọ

Ai sabi spik, ai sabi rid but ai no sabi rait

Except for the use of the NP word "sabi" this section sounds more like English than NP, even though the use of the first "bot" is wrong. The word "can" is not in NP: it is translated in NP as "sabi" or "fit" depending on the meaning of the word.

From injin oẹl ai bak to ọrenj, t kwin dis kọn is finish rau, a o bak to ọrenj

English: From engire oil, I went back to(selling) orange. Even when this maize (season) ends, I will go back to (selling) orange.

NP: From ɛnjir oyẹl, ai go bak to ọrenj. Ivụn sef if dis kọn finish ai go go bak to ọrerj.

The first senterce uses "bak" as verb: this is neither NP nor English. The clause "ɪbin dis kon is finish nau" is not NP either: In fact it has more similarity with the English clause "If this corn is finished".... The final sentence "ao bak to orenj" has the same feature of using "bak" as verb, but ore wonders what the function of "o" is in "aɔbak". If "a" stands for "ai" which it does, does the "o" stand for "go" the future particle in NP or "will" in English? This is most likely the case.

I neva go sku bọt nau I de wọkin for ọnda plateau Cinema limited shis ọpretọ nau

English: He did not go to school but now he works under plateau Cinema Limited. He is an operator now.

NP: I no go sku, bọt nau i de wọk for plateau Cinema Limited. i bị ọpretọ nau.

"I neva go sku" sounds more NP than English, even though NP would rather use "no" here than "neva". The NP expression "I neva go" means "he hasn't been", and this does not fit into the context here. The speaker seems to be emphasising the fact that the person referred to has never been to school. This means that his use of "neva" here is similar to the English use of the word. In "I de workin for orda"..... while the first two words are NP words, certainly the third word "wokin" is not. NP verbs do not take on inflections or affixes for tense or aspect. In fact," de wokin" is a mixture of NP and English, since the tense is obviously present progressive, "fọ ọnda" is another mixture of NP and English. In an NP sentence, the preposition "fọ" is the only word needed, and to add "ọnda" is tautology.

Ai dọn no wẹda i de rid, ai dọn no

English: I don't know whether he can read
(whether he reads) I don't know.

NP Ai nọ no wẹda i fit rid (weda i de
rid) ai rọ no.

Apart from the clause, "weda i de rid" the rest of this utterance sounds more English than NP. "I don't know" is expressed in NP as "ai nọ no". The word "dọn" in NP is the particle for expressing aspect. "Ai dọn no" in NP means "I have known".

This analysis has highlighted so far, deviations from NP. There are other parts of the speech where the speaker makes grammatically acceptable NP sertences. Examples are:

"Dẹm bọn mi fọ Kanu"
"Bifọ, ai de sẹl sigrẹt"
"If pipu de bai sọmtin fọ mai han..."
"Na im de tich mi smọsmọ"
"Ai gẹt wan bọi...."

In general, one would say this person's language is neither NP nor English. Not having had any formal

education, he could not have learnt English in school; but it does appear that he has been exposed to speakers of NP and English as a result of his occupation which is trading. The speaker himself, as is obvious from the conversation, cannot distinguish between NP and English, he classes both as English.

The next conversation is between two Zaria indigenes. Speaker 2 has been through primary school and gone half way through secondary school while speaker 1 is a beginner student at a tertiary level institution. Speaker 2 is a junior worker in an office.

4.3.22 Conversation between Two Literate Zaria Indigenes

COMMENTS II

I de te we ai si yu long (1) (i.e. First Speaker)

English: It's long since I last saw you.

NP: I don tee we ai si yu las

NP uses "don" where this speaker has used de

Beirg an educated person this speaker is probably translating literally from NP/since "is" in English would be translated as "de" in NP. The use of long here seems to be the influence of English. This is certainly not an NP expression.

---

das wai ai wan jọs de fọ gẹt tins (1)

English: That's why I just want to forget things.

NP: Na in mek I wan jọs fọgẹt ẹvritin.

Again "das wai" is a direct lifting from English "that's why". The use of the word "tins" for English "things" is not NP. NP never expresses the plural by use of inflections. Here "evritin" will do in place of "tins".

Ai de fọ FASS ivun (2)

English I am even in FASS

NP: Ai de fọ FASS sẹf.

"Ivun" here is not NP but English "even".

Margaret Thatcher Na shi get ayon han (2)

English: It's Margaret Thatcher that has an iron hand.

NP: Margaret Thatcher nain get ayọn han

NP does not express gender in pronouns: the third person singular pronoun is the same for all the genders - in not shi .

Ho' children? (1)

English: How are the children?

NP: Hau pikin dẹm?

There are two deviations from NP in the use of the word "children". First the NP word for "a child" is pikin. Secondly, NP does not use inflections or affixes to indicate plural; rather another word 'dem' after the noun is used to indicate the plural form. The word "children" therefore in NP is "pikin dem". The word "children" occurs in several places in this conversation.

Childrẹn a dia (2)

English: The children are there

NP: Pikin dẹm de dia

Except for the absence of the definite article at the beginning, this sentence sounds like an English sentence. "Are" is not an NP word.

Wia manajin (2)

English: We are managing

NP: Wi de manej

Like the previous example, this is more like an English sentence than NP. NP has no inflection on verbs to indicate progressive action .

Ai tink se, i don sabi wok nau (1)

English: I thought he can now walk

NP: Ai tink se i don de waka nau.

The NP word for "walk" is "waka". The use of "wok" except for the context in which it is used can be easily mistaken for "work".

---

de onli prifa sombodi to bak dem (2)

English: They prefer to be carried

NP: (Na soso kari kari dem de laik).

Na soso mek pesin kari dem, dem laik pas.

"prifa" is lifted from the English word "prefer" but this does not occur in NP. The equivalent NP word is "laik pas".

Wan we go.....(1)

English: One who goes.....

NP Pesin we go

The English impersonal pronoun "one" is rendered in NP as "p e sin" not "wan"

in di monin (1)

English: in the morning

NP: fọ mọ ning

The phrase here is more like English than NP. The English preposition "in" is translated as "fọ " in NP.

i de an mọni fọ ofis (1)

English: She earns money in the office

NP: de gẹt mọni fọ ọfis.

The word "earn" does not occur in NP, even though the sentence structure is NP. "Earn" is translated in NP as "get".

Na yọ on siin o (2)

English: That is your own view

NP: Naso you si am

"Siin" here seems to be taken from the English word "seeing". Verbal nouns do not occur in NP.

Na yọ taip....(1)

English: It's your type

NP: Na pẹsin laik you

(Na yọ kain pẹsin)

"Type" in NP is "kain", but here, the two alternatives given above are possible.

Sọmbọdi laik mi (2)

English: Someone like me...

NP Pẹsin laik mi

The word "pesin" in NP is often used where English would use "someone, somebody" etc.

So a wi alau mai họsband onli tọ ... (2)

English: Do you mean I will allow my husband alone to.....

NP: Yu tink se ai go lẹt onli mai họsband meki...

This is a question which is indicated in the rising tore. The sentence on paper does not indicate this. This shows the importance of tone in NP. Furthermore the sentence as it stands is more like an English sentence than an NP sentence. Neither the word "will" nor "allow" occur in NP. Rather the future in NP is indicated by "go" plus the base form of the verb, while the English word "allow" is translated

as "let" in NP.

---

to bi tekin kia of di children (2)

English: To be taking care of the children

NP: Mek i de luk afta pikin dem.

Again here "tekin kia of di children" is more like English than NP. As mentioned earlier, the progressive form of the verb is expressed as "de" plus the base form of the verb, and the base form does not change in NP, no matter what the tense is.

Ai kan du dat o (2)

English: I can't do that

NP I no fit du dat

This is another evidence of lifting directly from English; "Cannot" in NP is "no fit".

Ai hav to help him at list (2)

English: I have to help him at least

NP: Sebi I sopos to help am.

Another English sentence here. "Him" is the NP is "am" since it is object of help.

At list I hav to tek kia of di children (2)

English: At least I have to take care of the children.

NP: Sebi I go luk afta pikin dem

Like the previous example this is more like an English sentence in structure and vocabulary. The only difference is in the pronunciation and tone.

Giv dem food it (2)

English: Give them food to eat

NP: Giv dẹm fud chọp

"Eat" is not an NP word. The NP equivalert is "chop". The word "fud " occurs in NP, but it can also be translated as "chọp".

to bai niu klos (2)

English: to buy new clothes

NP: Mek ai bai niu klọt dẹm

"klos" which is obviously from "clothes" does not occur in NP. Rather the plural is expressed as "klot dem". "To" is often translated as "mek..."

bẹt livin di họsband laik dis (2)

English: But leaving one's husband like this...

NP : Bọt mek pẹsin liv in họsband laik dat

The use of "livin" here (to mean "leaving") is certainly not NP. NP does not make use of gerunds. Instead of "living", NP uses "to liv" or "mek pẹsin liv..."

Am not hẹlpin mai God (2)

English: I am not helping my God

NP : Aino de hẹlp mai Gọd.

This is yet another sentence which is obviously not pidgin, but looks more like an English sentence.

Again, I have highlighted the non-NP utterances in this conversation. The other parts of the conversation are in NP.

Unlike in Conversation I, the participants in this one just examined seem to be in control of their language even though there are many evidences of interference from English. Surprisingly, idiomatice NP expressions appear in this conversation, e.g. "kontri had" (life is tough), "sofahed" (trouble; a situation of suffering); "get k-leg" (It is awkward or problematic).

Here too there is the use of reduplication as in "fain fain" (very well); smǫsmǫ (little by little), waka waka" (a lot of walking). Also there are typically NP words like "boku, sebi".

The next conversation is between the researcher and a university student. In all these conversations, the intention is to use NP.

4.3.2.3 Conversation with an Undergraduate Zaria Indigene

COMMENTS III

Mek di gǫvment kǫm du sǫmtin abaot it

English: The goverrment should do something about it.

NP: Mek gǫvmert kǫm du sǫmtin about ar.

The English neuter pronoun "it" does not occur in NP. The third person pronoun in the accusative case, whatever the gender is, is "am" in NP.

if not

English: If not

NP: If no bi so

NP prefers to use simple sentences rather than phrases.

dẹm go kọn de dai of họngga

English: They will be dying of hunger

NP: Họngri go bigin kil dẹm

Even though there are many pidgin, NP expressions in this sentence, "dai of honga" is not NP, and in fact is more like English, "Hunger" in NP is "hongri", and the verb is "de hongri".

"Brekfas", "lọnch", "dina"

English: "Breakfast", "lunch", "dinner"

NP: "Họnin fud", "Aftunun fud", "nait fud".

Our respondent here uses English words all the way, where NP would plainly express "monin, aftunun and ivnin/nait fud".

Yu go it

English: You will eat

NP Yu go chọp.

The NP word for "eat" is "chọp". The use of "it" here is obviously the influence of English "eat".

Das fọ di hol de ma sef

English: That's even for the whole day

NP : Dat wan na fọ di hol de.

The use of "das fo" here directly follows the English expression "that's for".

Buks

English: Books

NP : Buk dẹm

Wrong expression of the NP plural form. The mistake stems from following the English pattern.

Finish with his on buk

English: Finish with his book

NP: finish wit in buk

The use of "his" here is English and not NP.

NO sabi bai buk

English: Cannot afford books

NP: NO fit bai buk.

Even though "sabi" is an NP word, it is wrongly used here. "No sabi" means "does not know...". The correct NP expression here is "fit" which means "not able to".

<u>If wan sabi.. bai kok</u>

English: If one can afford coke

NP : If pẹsin fit bai kok...

The same wrong use of "sabi" as mentioned above. Also, "pẹsin" is the appropriate NP translation of "oṇe".

<u>dẹn me bi i go fit bai...</u>

English: Then may be he can buy

NP : Sọmtaim i go fit bai...

The NP expression for "may be" is "sọmtaim".

The respondent here is very confident, but there are hesitations in some places. It appears that he is translating and making sure he keeps within NP. There are cases of interference, but it is obvious that the respondent does speak NP.

Code-switching between NP and English (and sometimes with some broken English) is an observable feature of all the conversation samples examined.

In Conversation I (Apperdix III) our respondent cannot distinguish between NP and English: in fact his speech form is a somewhat fossilised inter-language. However, the respondents in Conversations II and III (Appendix IV and V) because they are educated, know the two languages and so they code-switch without being aware of it. This code-switching is probably due to the fact that they are not fluent in NP.

It is evident from our analysis that our samples show evidence of departure from the norm at the levels of syntax, phonology and lexicon. Examples are the following:

Syntax : Use of "pipu di wan wia de kǫm bai..." in place of "pipu we de kǫm bai..." (Conversation I)

Phonology : Use of /sef/ in place of /sɛf/ for NP "sef". (Conversation II)

Lexicon : Use of "it" (to eat) in place of NP "chop". (Conversation III)

In spite of the deviations from NP which have been the preoccupation of this section, it is possible to identify "echoes of NP" (Omamor, 1987) that is, typically NP features which are common to all the samples examined. Some of them are the following:

a) The use of the predicator na which is a realisation of the verb "to be" in NP.
Examples are:
   i) Na Yoruba man (He is a Yoruba man)
   ii) Na shi gẹt ayọn han (its she who has iron hands)
   iii) Na hi ai gro ọp ma (Its here I ever grew up)

b) Tense expressed by go to mark future
   i) A o bak to ọrenj (I will go back to selling orange)
   ii) Na jọs fọ bankyu go put am (You will just deposit it in the bank)
   iii) I no go tek lọnch (He will not take lunch)

   de to mark the progressive
   i) Ai de sẹl probishọn (I sell provision)
   ii) Wetin yu de tink so (What are you thinking of)
   iii) Ai de trai re (I am only making an effort)

c) The use of dẹm as subject of a senterce which has a transitive verb where the English Language would use a passive senterce.

i) Dẹm bọn mi pọ Kano (I was born in Kano)

ii)

iii) Iḭ dẹm gẹt am fọ laibrari (If it is obtainable from the library...)

d) The use of no, neva, to express negation

i) I nẹva go sku (He did not go to school)

ii) Ai no gẹt dat kain wahala (I don't have that kind of problem)

iii) Yu no go tek dina (You won't take dinner)

e) The use of we as a relative pronoun.

i) Di taim we ai de sẹl (The time that I used to sell...)

ii) Human bin we de haid (A humar being who is hiding...)

iii) Pipu we de spik (People who speak pidgin)

(NB: Examples 1, ii, iii cited above occur in conversation I, II, III respectively in Apperdix III, IV, V).

The next section will consider the influence of the Hausa language on the samples examined.

4.4 The Influence of Hausa i.e. Hausa Expressions in the Speeches Recorded

Even though a non-Hausa pidgin speaker can understand these conversations, certain expressions come into the speeches which he certainly will find difficult to understard.

A consistent ore in all the speeches is the expression "ma sef". The "ma" is typically Hausa and it means "even". The NP word "sef" means "too", and it is observed that Hausa pidgin speakers combine the two i.e. "ma sef". Examples in each of the speeches are:

a) Na hia a gro op ma sef
(I even grew up here) (Conversation III)

b) Ai don foget yo rem ma sef
(I have even forgotten your name (Conversation II)

c) Bot in ma sef ireva go to sku
(But even he did not go to school) (Conversation I)

Sometimes, only "ma" is used to mean "even, as in

"na onli wan fud ma yu go it" (Conversation III)

Another Hausa expression used commonly here is "ne" which means "it is that.." e.g.

"Ai de trai ne, smọsmọ"
(It is that I am making some effort).
or
(I am only making some effort).
(Conversation I)

Sometimes, "ne" is just a reinforcement for a question as in:

"Yu si ẹnjọmẹn fọ mai bọdi ne?"
(Can you see any sign of enjoyment on me?)
(Conversation II).

The Hausa expression "kaiwai" which means "just" comes into these conversations too. The senterce (in Conversation III)

" I no fit ne kawai" means
"He just cannot"

"Samsam" in Hausa means "not at all" and our respondent (in conversation III) uses it to reinforce the assertion made above

"I no fit ne kawai , samsam"
(He just can't; not at all).

These Hausa expressions give away the Hausa pidgin speaker.

4.5 Sound System

This section will attempt to describe the sound system of our respondents especially with a view to identifying any significant departures from southern NP.

a) Consonants

i) Dentals

The Dental consonants are generally absent in the speeches of the respondents. This is in keeping with our NP norm which is the Warri/Sapele variety.

/t/ is used where English would use /θ/ as in "tin" (thing), and /d/ is used in place of English /ð/ as in /wẹda/ (whether). Hausa speakers of English are however, known to generally substitute /s/ for /θ/ and /z/ for /ð/.

Plosives

Whereas many Hausa speakers use /f/ and /p/ in alternation, only the illiterate trader does this in the recording. The three incidences of

this are in the first conversation :

"In ma sep"
"Dem bon mi po kano"
"Wan op mai fren"

Even then the sound used is not a bilabial plosive but a voiceless bilabial fricative.

The researcher noticed the use of voiced bilabial fricative too. In Conversation I the speaker pronounced /joruba/ (Yoruba) without plosion in the /b/; and the same thing happened in Conversation III when the speaker said /sabongeri/. This is not a general occurrence in the conversations. The speaker in conversation III pronounced the /g/ in "honga" without plosion i.e. as a velar fricative. This appears to be due to speed in talking because he had no problem with /g/ in other words.

Fricatives

This group of sounds presented no problem except with the speaker in Conversation I who pronounced /provi$\int$ɔn / "provision" as /probi$\int$ɔn/:

and (/ivun/ (even) as /ibin/. In fact on the two occasions when he used the NP word "provishon" he had the same pronunciation. This must be because /v/ is not present in Hausa, and so /b/ is generally substituted for it when it occurs in English or NP. However, this speaker prorounced /neva/ without difficulty. As far as consonants are concerned, the speakers all generally seem to use the following:

Bilabial /p/ as "pipu" (people)
/b/ as "bọn" (born)
/m/ as "mek" (make)

Labio-Dental
/f/ as in "fit" (able
/v/ as in "ivun" (even)

Alveolar
/t/ as in "tin" (things)
/d/ as in "dẹn" (then)
/s/ as in "se" (say)
/z/ as in "Zaria" (Zaria)
/n/ as in "nau" (now)
/l/ as in "laik" (like)

Palato Alveolar

/ʃ/ as in "inglish" (English)

/ʧ/ as in "tich" (teach)

/ʤ/ as in "ẹnjọi" (enjoy)

Palatal

/j/ as in "yu" (you)

Velar

/k/ as in "kọn" (come)

/g/ as in "gẹt" (get)

/w/ as in "we" (which)

Glottal

/h/ as in "hol" (whole)

(The examples are all from the recordings)

Vowels

According to Dustan (1969:77) the /ɔ/ sound is absent in Hausa, but the speakers in all the conversations used /ɔ/ without difficulty. e.g. /brɔda) (brother); /mɔni/ (money). The same author claims that /ɛ/ is not present in Hausa. Here, although the speakers generally used /ɛ/ there

were a few cases of the substitution of /e/. Examples are:

/sef/ instead of /sɛf/ (Conversation I)

/rest/ " " /rɛ̃st/ (Conversation II)

In general the vowel system of these conversations is as follows:

/i/ as in "si" (see)

/e/ as in "tee" (long)

/ɛ/ as in "leg" (leg)

/a/ as in "han" (hand)

/o/ as in "no" (know)

/ɔ/ as in "wɔk" (work)

/u/ as in "yu" (you)

/ia/ as in "dia" (there)

/ai/ as in "fain" (fine)

/au/ as in "nau" (now)

(These examples are all from the recordings).

On the whole, the sound system of our respondents shows no significant departures from that of the southern variety of NP. However, the cases of interference of Hausa sounds in the speech of our illiterate respondents show that education

does make a difference, since the literate respondents have much fewer incidences. Apart from the Hausa expressions mentioned earlier, and of course tone/intonation, the pronunciation of particular words like /gɔmɛn / or /gɔmɛn / for NP "govmẹnt" does give away the Hausa NP speaker.

In the next chapter we shall discuss factors affecting spoken NP in Zaria, general conclusions from this research, and make some recommendations.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary

Our research set out firstly to investigate the presence of NP in Zaria, and secondly to describe the variety of NP in Zaria if indeed NP does exist there.

Using the interview/questionnaire method of investigation, and Fishman's theory of domain analysis as framework, the researcher has been able to establish the presence of NP in Zaria. This study has been able to provide answers to questions such as who speaks NP, to whom, where ard for what purpose. In addition, Omamor's approach has complemented our framework in identifying the type of NP that is spoker in Zaria.

5.2 Conclusion

We now conclude from our research findings (which includes the points above) that NP does exist in Zaria, not only in some sections of the town, but in all the sections, albeit in varying degrees (see Apperdix III). Our findings show

that the majority of the inhabitants of Zaria: i.e. indigenes and non-indigenes, the literate and illiterate, and indeed people of various professions use NP. NP is used mostly in the domain of trade and it is also used for communication among people of different linguistic backgrounds.

However, our research also reveals that there are many varieties of NPin Zaria. The description of our samples shows that what we have in Zaria is not NP as it exists in Warri/Sapele which we, following Elugbe and Omamor, have used as norm.

Omamor (1990) remarks that the type of NP put out on Radio and Television in Nigeria suggests that there may well be a case for recognising an "educated variety" of pseudo NP: this variety will comprise othe usage of educated second language users of NP who tend to assume that every Nigerian user of English is capable of speaking what can pass off for NP. Omamor acknowledges too that even some first language speakers of NP tend to use this educated variety, and she attributes this to the effect of decreolisation due to the co-existence of NP and English in society. This co-existence may also be responsible, in the researcher's opinion

for the confusion experienced by illiterates who do not know that there is a difference between English and NP. Okwudishu (1990) remarks that this co-existence has a "sheltering" effect on NP.

There is a gereral tendency of pidgins to be open to a proliferatior of varieties (Okwudishu, 1985, Omamor 1990), even when they have developed to a degree of stability and complexity at which they are hardly, if at all distinguishable from "natural" languages. These varieties result from the fact that users tend to keep on creating and recreating, and Omamor concludes that:

> This, for us, most probably explains the emergence of what we have termed pseudo-varieties of NP.

Following Omamor's argument, the researcher would conclude here that in spite of the similarities observable between NP and our samples in this study, the departures from NP as our examination reveals, clearly place what exists in Zaria as

pseudo-varieties of NP. However, to av the issue of stigmatisation, we will refer to it as the Zaria variety of NP, since it is intelligible to any speaker of NP.

Contrary to the expectation that the Zaria variety of NP would have heavy interference incidences, in direct proportion to the differences between the phonologies of NP and Hausa, the cases of interferences are surprisingly minimal. This would confirm Tonkin's (1971:149) view that

> The sound system of a pidgin can vary according to the first language of the speaker. The more a pidgin was spoken among Africans, the more its phonology "Africanised", but it remained an independent system including attempt at European phonemes; it likewise did not mirror any single African language.

The phonology of Zaria NP is certainly not a mirror of Hausa even though it is affected by Hausa.

Following these conclusions, it is pertinent to point out factors that affect spoken NP in Zaria, and to re-state the social functions that NP is performing in Zaria.

5.2.1 Factors Affecting Spoken NP in Zaria

a) Mixed Population

The fact that people of various linquistic backgrounds in Zaria use NP the way they krow how, does not help to ensure a stable form. In an environment where there are alternative languages in addition to the indigenous lingua franca - Hausa, speakers are not likely to be as concerned about finesse especially in using a non-indigenous language, for example, NP, as they are about communication. Infact, non-Hausa speakers may be busy trying to acquire it, and so not bother about NP.

b) Exposure

In a mixed society or community, where, as our research shows, there is a variety of forms of NP, a new learrer is exposed to these varieties; in short, he has no fixed model. As this research also reveals, the non-formally educated does not even know the difference between pidgin and English. Illiterates like one of our respondents abound on the streets as hawkers,

traders and professionals e.g. mechanics, coblers, vulcanisers, etc., and since their clients are bound to be mixed, that is, speakers of English, broken, NP and other Nigerian languages, this exposure to a mixture or variety of languages and forms is bound to continue.

The result is that fresh illiterate learners of NP are not likely to do better unless their exposure charges i.e. unless they move to a more uniform pidgin-speaking area, or they are helped to see NP as a proper larguage with a proper form. The latter point will be discussed further in 5.3.3.

c) Hausa

Another very important factor that affects NP in Zaria is the presence of Hausa. Hausa is not only the indigerous language of Zaria but also a strong lingua franca throughout northern Nigeria. As such, rew arrivals in Zaria are sometimes compelled by situation to pick up some words and expressions in Hausa to be able to

relate to the indigenes and other northerns who live in Zaria. This means that Hausa like NP functions across ethnic boundaries, the only difference being that while Hausa is limited to northern Nigeria, NP goes beyond those boundaries. It also means that since in Zaria the majority of people are comfortable with Hausa, the pressure to use NP is less, and of course this is bound to affect performance in NP.

d) "Southern Thing"

Another noticeable factor is the general attitude on the part of "northerners" that NP is a "southern thing" (Table 14). Since they have Hausa as a satisfactory lingua franca, the general tendency is not to bother about NP.

e) Non-government Recognition of NP

The fact that NP is used nationally and yet not given official government recognition, makes many people look on it as a joke, a language to be used when people are not serious or when what

is being discussed is not considered important. The result of this is that people can be generally careless in their use of NP, and they do not feel they need to bother about the form.

5.2.2 Social Functions of NP in Zaria

a) Communication

Zaria, like many towns harbours people of various ethnic groups, and it is clear from our firdings that NP is an important language that helps communication across these ethnic groups no matter what the level of education of the user is. Our research has shown that this pidgin may not be NP proper, but it helps communication all the same.

The use of pidgin in Zaria also ersures that Zaria is not left out, but is in fact reached by the various programmes put out on radio and television in pidgin. Such programmes include adverts, like the recent political adverts, comic plays like "Samanja", "Jagua" and "Titus' Workshop".

b) Socialisation

The fact that NP is even used by people of the same ethnic group (Table 13) shows that the need is not just for communication. If NP is also used, as our research reveals, among students and educated people who should have access to standard English, then, NP must be helping the individual who uses it to socialise with others. The fact that NP which is not taught inside the classroom is acquired far quicker than English by children who came to school with no knowledge of either, is another strong evidence of its role in socialisation in school life.

c) Status Indicator

Another point that is worth re-stating from our research is that the use of NP is associated with low status. Since our respondents largely feel that NP is used with uneducated people and market traders who are associated with low status in society, then pidgin must be a status marker in particular circumstances. The fact that our

respondents claim that NP is a most useful language in Nigeria and yet when asked to make a choice, more people opted for English which in Nigeria is the symbol of education, "white collar jobs" and upward mobility in society, shows that NP is indeed considered a language of low status. Even today in academic circles, in spite of the growing research in NP, there is still so much ignorance about the nature and potentials of NP that some academics do not want to hear about it. The use of pidgin in formal circles is often considered a signal of low status especially if the user has little or no formal education. When the highly educated use NP, it is considered to be a language of relaxation or socialisation, but when the uneducated use it, that is when it carries this stigma of low status. Therefore, the status mark of NP depends largely on the user.

5.3 Recommendations

5.3.1 Increasing and Improving Spoken NP in Zaria

Radio and Television programmes in NP in Kaduna State (which serve Zaria) are at present

few and far between. Increase in NP programmes will certainly help the masses to hear the language more and so acquire it. At an interview of butchers in NP on NTA Kaduna during the 1992 Eid el Kabir festival, it was very observable that butchers who could participate in the programme felt proud while those who could not because they did not speak NP wished they could. Such programmes presert good motivation for learning the language.

If the Nigeria Television Authority (N.T.A.) Kaduna, Radio Nigeria Kaduna, and the Kaduna State Media Corporation (KSMC) Kaduna, would ensure that they put out at least a thirty-minute programme in NP every day before or after a popular programme like the news, that will surely help the populace to get to understand and speak NP more.

It is true that research has proved that many media programmes are in pseudo-varieties of NP. However, this can form a good starting point, and then a national body of authorities on NP, if formed, can take up the issue of ensuring that media programmes are in NP proper.

5.3.2 Orthography

Media advertisemerts and programmes in NP or radio and television have always suggested that NP is the language that reaches the largest number of Nigeriars. Our research proves this - Table 16. Even the National Concord Newspaper of October 5, 1989 records that:

> Presidert Ibrahim Babangida... spoke the 'peoples" language... pidgin Erglish ... to explain the rationale for the People's Bank of Nigeria.

However, illiterates and people who are literate only in their ethnic languages are cut off whenever NP is used in print - newspaper articles, cartoons, magazines, books etc. This is because there is chaos in the present practice of codifying NP. Some use English orthography while many others, deviating from this are not consistent in their own practice.

Mafeni (1971:101) argues for the adoption of an orthography for NP that is similar to the

ones used for the indigenous Nigerian languages. This, he says would be a way of drawing attention to the phonetic/phorological differences between NP ard English. Gani-Ikilama (1989) argues too that an orthography that is different from that of Erglish will give NP the independence that it needs from English. She cites the cases of Tok Pisin and Swahili whose orthographies have made them independent of Erglish and Arabic trespectively. She also goes on to argue that the adoption of a decided orthography for NP will be of great advartage in mass literacy efforts.

The orthography worked out and suggested by Elugbe and Omamor (1991) and which has been used by the researcher in this work (except in quoted examples like Dadzie's on pages 52 and 53) is most realistic and appropriate because it fits in with the suggestions above. With this orthography, the non-formally educated who is literate in his own language will be able to read materials in NP, and this will further help their performance in the language.

5.3.3 The Government and NP

It is most revealing from our research that the same community who acknowledge the effectiveness of NP for communication purposes in multilingual Nigeria, would hardly recommend it for Nigeria. This suggests that there are other considerations besides effectiveness in communication.

Some very strong considerations must be the low status attached to NP and the non-official recognition of the language. Incidentally it is only governments and not individuals that can help this situation. Governments elsewhere, notably those of Tanzania and Papua New Guinea have liberated Swahili and Tok Pisin respectively - languages which were until some years ago tagged as pidgins with low status - by according them government recognition, official status and giving them orthographies different from those of their source languages (as mentioned earlier), and even a new name as in the case of Tok Pisin.

Government recognition of NP will bestow a status on it that will help the Nigerian population

to give respect and regard to it as a language in its own right. People will no longer feel ashamed to be associated with it and they will be helped to see it as a language that has a proper describable form which is worthy of any effort made to learn it.

5.3.4 Implications of Official Status for NP

(i) Government adoption of NP has political advantages for multilingual Nigeria since it is not the indigenous language of any ethnic group. Whiteley (1952:12) making a similar claim for Swahili says "what was loved by none could be tolerated by all", and the Nationalist newspaper of 1st August, 1966 acknowledges that

> it has proved our greatest asset in our pre-independence struggle as the instrument of uniting the people of the nation's different tribes.

(ii) Even though the pidgin Englishes in different parts of West Africa are by and large mutually intelligible, NP has identifiable elements that make it typically Nigerian, such that

it cannot be tagged a "foreign" language. In any case official recognition will engender wider use which will indigenise it further still in Nigeria, such that it will be clear to anyone that NP belongs to Nigeria just as Tok Pisin does to Papua New Guinea.

(iii) NP like other pidgins is easy to learn. With a proper orthography and planning, the masses of Nigeria can easily gain an effective additional language. Voorhoeve (1962) who described pidgins as "efficient" languages i.e. those that can be learnt by others with a minimum of time and effort, designed and tried out a method of teaching Surinam creole to foreign learners. The latter acquired the language well enough to cope in an exclusively Surinam speaking area after six weeks of two half-hour lessons a week.

(iv) The national language policy on education by which Nigerian secondary school students study one of the three major Nigerian languages is still not solving Nigeria's problems. Most students, because they do

> not want to fail, usually go in for languages they already know, so while they are learning formally what they already knew, the question of a unifying language for the nation is still not being addressed. If NP is studied in every secondary school throughout the country, the spread will not only be enhanced, but also the form will be controlled - in grammar and vocabulary, even if not so much in phonology.

5.3.5 Further Research

This work has established the presence of NP ir Zaria, a northern Nigeria town, and identified domains of its use. However, this has not been a study on language choice per se. Since NP is found to be so important especially in trade, it will be very useful to investigate the pattern of language choice in a northern Nigerian market, with special focus on the place of NP.

Another area of interest is an examination of the recreation-time language of children in some

metropolitan schools in Northern Nigeria with a view to documerting the role or place of NP in it.

The language used by junior workers in offices in northern Nigeria where only Erglish is required will be of interest to us too as it can reveal the interplay of broken, NP and English such that the code switching or code mixing patterns can be studied.

Since this research has been preoccupied with the Zaria variety of NP, it will be valuable to compare this variety with other varieties, especially other "northern" varieties of NP.

The role of NP ir the lives of Nigeria's millions makes research into various aspects of its use of vital importarce in the field of linguistics.

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APPENDIX I

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SPEAKERS OF NIGERIAN PIDGIN IN ZARIA

This research is being undertaken by Mrs. T.O. Gani-Ikilama, a post graduate student in the Department of English, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. I shall count on your co-operation and goodwill for the successful completion of the research. Please answer the questions below as truthfully as you can. The information supplied will be treated as confidential and will be used for research purposes only. Thank you for your anticipated co-operation.

Mrs. T.O. Gani-Ikilama

(Please tick where appropriate.)

A. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Date:.....

Zone:	Zaria City	01
	Sabon Gari	02
	Tudun Wada	03
	Samaru	04
	Wusasa	05
	Barracks	06

B. PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

1. Name ..... optional

2.	Sex:	Male	01
		Female	02
3.	Age:	16 - 25	01
		26 - 35	02
		36 - 45	03
		46 - 55	04
		Above 55	05

4. Marital Status:
   a) Single 01
   b) Married 02
   c) Divorced 03
   d) Widowed 04

5. Number of Children:.....

6. Level of Education:
   a) None 01
   b) Koranic 02
   c) Adult 03
   d) Primary 04
   e) Secondary 05
   f) University 06
   g) Others (specify) 07

7. Occupation:
   a) Government employed .. 01
   b) Farming 02
   c) Trading 03
   d) Self-employed 04
   e) Student 05
   f) Others (specify) 06

8. Place of Residence:
   a) Zaria City 01
   b) Sabon Gari 02
   c) Tudun Wada 03
   d) Samaru 04
   e) Musasa 05
   f) Barracks 06

9. How long have you been resident in 8 above?
   ..... years.

10. Language spoken:
   a) English 01
   b) Hausa 02
   c) Igbo 03

d) Yoruba 04
e) Pidgin 05
f) Others (specify) 06

C. BACKGROUND IN PIDGIN

11. Do you know what is called pidgin English?
a) Yes 01
b) No 02

12. How often do you hear it spoken in your environment?
a) Seldom 01
b) Often 02
c) Very often 03

13. What class of people speak pidgin?
a) Everybody 01
b) Market Women 02
c) Traders 03
d) Students 04
e) Illiterates 05

14 Can you speak pidgin too?
a) Yes 01
b) No 02

15. How did you acquire pidgin? Through:
a) Conversation 01
b) Imitation 02
c) Trial and error 03
d) Teaching by speaking .. 04

16. How often do you speak pidgin in a day?
a) Very often 01
b) Often 02
c) Seldom 03
d) It depends 04

17. Where do you always speak pidgin?
a) Market 01
b) Office 02
c) Home 03

d) Social gathering 04
e) Everywhere 05
f) Others 06

18. Is the pidgin in the North same as the one in the South?

a) Yes 01
b) No 02
c) Don't know 03

19. Which of these influenced your speaking of pidgin?

a) Place of birth 01
b) Place of residence 02
c) Parents 03
d) Peer group 04
e) Business partners 05
f) Others (specify) 06

D. USE OF PIDGIN

20. How fluently do you speak pidgin?

a) Very fluently 01
b) Fluently 02
c) Fairly fluently 03
d) Not fluent 04

21. Do you read and write pidgin?

a) Yes 01
b) No 02

22. Which of these people do you like to speak pidgin to / with?

a) Other ethnic groups .. 01
b) My own ethnic group .. 02
c) Non-educated people .. 03
d) Educated people 04
e) All of the above 05

23. How often do Northerners/Hausas speak pidgin in a day?

a) Very often 01
b) Often 02

c) Seldom 03

d) It depends 04

24. Where do you always hear pidgin?

a) Market 01

b) Office 02

c) Home 03

d) Social gathering 04

e) Others (specify) 05

25. What would you say about speaking of pidgin in the area where you live?

a) Very common 01

b) Common 02

c) Not so common 03

d) Others 04

E. GENERAL

26. Where in Nigeria do you think pidgin is spoken most?

a) In Bendel area (i.e. Edo and Delta States) 01

b) Igbo area 02

c) Yoruba area 03

d) Hausa area 04

e) Others (specify) 05

27. Would you recommend pidgin for every Nigerian?

a) Yes 01

b) No 02

28. If above is yes, would you recommend pidgin as a national lingua franca?

a) Yes 01

b) No 02

29. What are the advantages of using pidgin in your area?

a) Easy business transaction .. 01

b) Removes barrier between ethnic groups 02

c) Non-formal communication .. 03

d) Others (specify) 04

30. In view of the different languages in Nigeria, through which language do you think the largest number of Nigerians can be reached?

a)	Hausa	.. ..	01
b)	Yoruba	.. ..	02
c)	Igbo	.. ..	03
d)	Pidgin	.. ..	04
e)	Others (specify)	.. ..	05

31. Judging from your experience of pidgin in your area, how would you rate the use of pidgin in Zaria?

a)	Very high	.. ..	01
b)	High	.. ..	02
c)	Low	.. ..	03
d)	Very low	.. ..	04

32. Which of the following will you like to speak all the time?

a)	English	.. ..	01
b)	Hausa	.. ..	02
c)	Yoruba	.. ..	03
d)	Igbo	.. ..	04
e)	Pidgin	.. ..	05

33. Which of the languages you speak do you find most useful outside your home?

a)	English	.. ..	01
b)	Hausa	.. ..	02
c)	Yoruba	.. ..	03
d)	Igbo	.. ..	04
e)	Pidgin	.. ..	05
f)	Others	.. ..	06

Thank you for your co-operation.

APPENDIX II

RESPONSE TO QUESTIONNAIRE

1. ZONE

	FREQ.	% FREQ
Zaria City	62	16.85
Sabon Gari	59	16.03
Tudun Wada	58	15.76
Samaru	58	15.76
Wusasa	62	16.85
Barrack	62	16.85
No response	7	1.90
TOTAL	368	100

2. SEX

	FREQ.	% FREQ
Male	255.4	69.29
Female	106.3	28.80
No resporse	7	1.90
TOTAL	368	100

3. AGE

	FREQ.	% FREQ
16-25	155	42.12
26-35	120	32.61
36-45	62	16.85
46-55	11	2.99
Over 55	4	1.09
No response	16	4.35
TOTAL	368	100

4.

MARITAL STATUS	FREQ.	% FREQ
Single	181	49.18
Married	179	48.64
Divorced	2	0.54
Widowed	0	0.0
No response	06	1.63
TOTAL	368	100

5.

NUMBER OF CHILDREN	FREQ.	% FREQ
1	9	2.45
2	22	5.98
3	23	6.25
4	34	9.24
5	21	5.71
6	19	5.16
7	8	2.17
8	11	2.99
9	11	2.99
10 and above	19	5.15
No response	191	51.90
TOTAL	368	100

6.

EDUCATION	FREQ.	% FREQ
None	7	1.90
Koranic	36	9.78
Adult	7	1.90
Primary	71	19.29
Secondary	203	55.16
University	35	9.51
Others	5	1.36
No response	4	1.09
TOTAL	368	100

7.

OCCUPATION	FREQ.	% FREQ
Government employed	41	11.14
Farming	8	2.17
Trading	170	46.20
Self-employed	29	7.88
Student	92	25.00
Others	20	5.44
No response	8	2.17
TOTAL	368	100

8.

RESIDENCE	FREQ.	% FREQ
Zaria City	49	13.32
Sabon Gari	68	18.48
Tudun Wada	61	16.58
Samaru	60	16.30
Wusasa	59	16.03
Barracks	63	17.12
No response	8	2.17
TOTAL	368	100

9.

PERIOD OF STAY	FREQ.	% FREQ
0-10	23	57.89
11-20	69	18.25
21-30	42	11.41
31-40	14	4.20
Over 40	10	2.72
No response	20	5.43
TOTAL	368	100

10.

LANGUAGES BEST SPOKEN	FREQ.	% FREQ.
English	761	18.14
Hausa	132	31.50
Igbo	60	14.32
Yoruba	29	6.92
Pidgin	80	19.09
Others	42	10.02
TOTAL	421	100

11.

KNOWLEDGE OF PIDGIN	FREQ	% FREQ
Yes	335	91.03
No	25	6.03
No response	8	2.17
TOTAL	368	100

12.

HOW OFTEN HEARD	FREQ	% FREQ
Seldom	131	35.60
Often	130	35.53
Very often	101	27.45
No response	6	1.63
TOTAL	368	100

13.	WHAT CLASS OF PEOPLE SPEAK PIDGIN	FREQ.	% FREQ.
	Everybody	95	24.42
	Market women	157	40.36
	Traders	64	16.45
	Studerts	20	5.14
	Illiterates	53	13.62
	TOTAL	389	100

14.	CAN YOU SPEAK PIDGIN	FREQ.	% FREQ.
	Yes	327	88.86
	No	34	9.24
	No response	7	1.90
	TOTAL	368	100

15.	HOW YOU ACQUIRED PIDGIN	FREQ.	% FREQ.
	Through conversation	256	72.52
	Imitation	54	15.29
	Trial and Error	28	7.93
	Teaching by speaking	15	4.25
	TOTAL	368	100

16.

HOW OFTEN SPOKEN	FREQ.	% FREQ.
Very often	59	16.03
Often	74	20.11
Seldom	30	8.15
It depends	192	52.17
No response	13	3.53
TOTAL	368	100

17.

DOMAINS OF USE	FREQ.	% FREQ.
Market	236	64.84
Office	9	2.47
Home	30	8.24
Social gathering	14	3.85
Everywhere	52	14.26
No Response	4	1.09
Others	23	6.32
TOTAL	378	100

18.

NORTH PIDGIN SAME AS SOUTH PIDGIN?	FREQ.	% FREQ.
Yes	125	33.97
No	189	51.36
Don't know	41	11.14
No response	13	3.53
TOTAL	368	100

19.

WHAT INFLUENCE) YOUR SPEAKING PIDGIN ?	FREQ.	% FREQ.
Place of birth	29	7.84
Place of residerce	83	22.43
Parent	12	3.24
Peer group	44	11.89
Business partrers	181	48.92
Others	21	5.68
TOTAL	370	100

20.

FLUENCY OF SPEAKING	FREQ.	% FREQ.
Very fluently	63	17.12
Fluently	84	22.83
Fairly fluently	130	35.33
Not fluent	81	22.01
No response	10	2.72
TOTAL	368	100

21.

DO YOU READ AND WRITE PIDGIN ?	FREQ.	% FREQ.
Yes	167	45.38
No	149	40.49
No response	52	14.13
TOTAL	368	100

22.

PEOPLE YOU SPEAK PIDGIN WITH	FREQ.	% FREQ.
Other ethnic group	91	21.13
My own ethnic group	21	5.71
Non-educated people	119	32.96
Educated people	27	7.48
No Response	7	1.90
All of above	103	28.81
TOTAL	368	100

23.

HOW OFTEN DO NORTHERNERS/ HAUSAS SPEAK PIDGIN?	FREQ.	% FREQ.
Very often	52.	12.77
Often	72	19.57
Seldom	57	15.49
It depends	188	50.27
No response	7	1.90
TOTAL	368	100

24.

WHERE DO YOU ALWAYS HEAR PIDGIN?	FREQ.	% FREQ.
Market	319	89.86
Office	7	1.97
Home	17	4.79
Social gathering	15	3.66
No response	10	2.56
TOTAL	368	100

25.

EVALUATION OF PIDGIN IN YOUR AREA	FREQ.	% FREQ.
Very common	90	24.46
Common	116	31.52
Not so common	148	40.22
Others	4	1.09
No response	10	2.72
TOTAL	368	100

26.

WHERE IN NIGERIA PIDGIN IS SPOKEN MOST	FREQ.	% FREQ.
Bendel area (ie. Edo Delta)	200	54.35
Igbo/Rivers area	86	23.37
Yoruba area	26	7.07
Hausa area	33	8.97
Others	9	2.45
No response	14	3.80
TOTAL	368	100

27.

RECOMMENDING PIDGIN FOR NIGERIA?	FREQ.	% FREQ.
Yes	180	48.91
No	175	47.58
No response	13	3.53
TOTAL	368	100

28.	RECOMMENDING PIDGIN AS LINGUA FRANCA IN NIGERIA AS PER 27	FREQ.	% FREQ.
	Yes	141	38.32
	No	158	42.93
	No Response	69	18.75
	TOTAL	368	100

29.	ADVANTAGE OF PIDGIN IN YOUR AREA	FREQ.	% FREQ.
	Easy business trarsaction	245	68.44
	Remove ethnic barrier	55	15.36
	Non-formal communication	49	10.89
	Others	19	5.31
	TOTAL	368	100

30.	LANGUAGE THAT REACHES LARGEST NUMBER IN NIGERIA	FREQ.	% FREQ.
	Hausa	104	28.26
	Yoruba	14	3.80
	Igbo	6	1.63
	Pidgin	217	58.97
	Others	3	0.82
	No response	24	6.52
	TOTAL	368	100

31. RATING PIDGIN IN ZARIA	FREQ.	% FREQ.
Very high	38	10.33
High	102	27.72
Low	180	48.91
Very low	44	11.96
TOTAL	368	100

32. LANGUAGE OF CHOICE	FREQ.	% FREQ.
English	147	39.95
Hausa	113	30.71
Yoruba	15	4.05
Igbo	9	2.45
Pidgin	63	17.12
No response	21	5.71
TOTAL	368	100

33. MOST USEFUL LANGUAGE OUTSIDE HOME	FREQ.	% FREQ.
English	135	37.23
Hausa	55	14.95
Yoruba	5	1.36
Igbo	6	1.63
Pidgin	133	36.14
Others	3	0.82
No response	29	7.88
TOTAL	368	100

APPENDIX III

I: CONVERSATION WITH AN ILLITERATE TRADER (3)
(Mohammed is a trader with no formal education)

A Wetin bi yọ nem?

STANDARD ENGLISH TRANSLATION (What is your name?)

B Mai nem is Mohammed Sani
mai nem is mohamed sani
(Mai name is Mohammed Sani)

A Na Zaria dem bor you?

(Were you born in Zaria?)

B No, dem bọn mi pọ Kano.
no dem bọn mi pọ kano
(No, I was born in Kano).

Madobi Loka Guomar
madobi loka guoman
(Madobi Local Goverrment)

A Bọt na Zaria ju de ste?

(But do you live in Zaria?)

B Yes
jes
(Yes)

A Haumẹni yiẹs yu dọn ste fọ Zaria?

(For how many years have you been in Zaria?)

B Am...ais...ẹm...etin yiẹs ago
am ais ẹm etin jes ego
(Am...eighteen years ago)

A So I don tee?

(So it's been lorg?)

B Yes
jes
(Yes)

A Hau yu hia bɪokir?

(How did you come about pidgin?)

B Em.. bikos ai de sel.. bifo ai de
Em bikɔs ai de sɛl bifɔ ai de
(Em.. because I am a trader; in the

sel sigret, probishon, so di taim wen
sɛl sigret probiʃɔn, so di taim wɛn
past I sold cigarete, provision. Wher I started

ai stat, ai no de hia inglish, so meris
ai stat ai no de hia inglis so mɛris
I did not urderstand English. Mary who bought

oipu di wan wia de kombai.. fo mai
ɔipu di wan wia de kombai fɔ mai
things from me could speak English,

har de hia inglish, so ai de sspik
har de hia inglis, so ai de sspik
so I started speaking

smo smo, nau ai trai
smɔ smɔ, nau ai trai
little by little: now I am doing quite well.

A Yu de trai wewe.

(You are doing very well)

B Yes, ai de trai wewe.
jes, ai de trai wɛwɛ.
(Yes I am doing well)

A Na bikọs yu de sẹl fọ makẹt

(Is it your selling in the market that helped

na in yu hia?

(you to understard (pidgin)?)

B Ɛ̃ e

(Yes

A As yu de sabi spik bọkin so, i de

(Does the fact that you speak pidgin

hẹp you as yu de sẹl

(help your selling?)

B Ɛn.. so.. di taim we ai.. ai de sel, so

(Yes. When I started selling things, if

if i pipụ de bai somtin fọ mai han,

(anybody came to buy from me

den spik inglish, ai no de hia,

(they spoke English, and I could not urderstand

so ai si won ọf ai gẹt won cọ mai

(so one of my frierds - a

fren... so na Yoruba man, so na

(Yoruba man was the one who

im de.. tich mi smosmo, den, nau

(taught me little by little, now,

ai sabi spiks smɔsmɔ. So ... Win...
(I can speak a little.

So ai kan spik, bɔt ai ka- rid, bɔt
(I can even ... I can speak, I can read

ai kannɔ rait, rau, di kan spik, den
(but I can't write. Now I can speak,

ai kan rid, ai -- aika ai....kannɔ rait en
(I can read but I can't write.)

A Na fo hia Saborgari nai ya de sel
(Do you sell thirgs here in Sabon gari)
somtin?

B Er....ɔp to rau
(Yes up till row.)

A Wetin yu de sɛl rau?
(What do you sell row?)

B Nau? ai ai tɛl yu sɛ bifɔ, ai de sɛl
(Now? I told you that I used to sell

probishɔn, so, ai si, no gen, ai
(provision; there was no profit; so

liv dat biznet, so ai chenj se
(I left that business and changed to

to injin oel, fromirjin oel, ai bak
(ergine oil, from ergine oil I went

to orenj. Ibin dis kon is finish nau
(back to orange. Even when the maize

a o bak to orerj.
(season is over, I will go back to orarge)

A Dat de we di si yu, ai hia yu
(The day I saw you ard heard

yu de spik pijir ai get am fo mai
(you speaking pidgin, I had it in

maind I se mos kom, kom hia
(mind that I will come here and

yo vois, put yo vois fo dis tin,
(listen to you ard record your voice

bikos ai laik as yu de spik pijin
(because I like the way you spoke

ai no no hau yu len am, bot yu
(pidgin. I wondered how you learnt it

dǫn tęl mi nau

(but you have told me now)

B Yęs ai tęl yu
jɛ́s ai tɛ́l jú
(Yes I've told you)

A Tark ju vęri mǫch

(Thanks very much)

Meni... plenti pipu fǫ hia dęn

(Can many people here speak pidgin?)

sabi spik pi j ir?

B Ęn... wi hav meris pipu hiya.
ɛ́n wi hɛv mɛ́ris pípu hiyá
(Yes we have mary people here

Ai gęt wan boi, di wan wia de sęl
ai gɛ́t wán bɔi, di wán wiə de sɛ́l
I have a boy who sells things

Mis .. di wan wia de hęp mi sęl kon
mis di wán wiə de hɛ́p mi sɛ́l kɔ́n
.... who sells maize for me.

i de hia smosmo, bǫt in ma sęf
i de hiə smɔ́smɔ, bɔ́t ín má sɛ́f
He understands a little, but he too

i nęva go to.. sku, bǫt nǫw, ide
i nɛ́və go to skú, bɔ́t nǫ́w ide
did not go to school, but now

wọkin fọ onda Plateau Cinema Limited
(He works under Plateau Cinema Limited

Shis ọpretọ rau. So nau in ma sẹf i kan
(He is an operator row. So now, he too can

ṣpik bọt i ka n krait. Ai dọ no
(speak but he can't write. I don't know

weda ide rid, ai dọ no.
(whether he can read, I don't know)

APPENDIX IV

II: CONVERSATION BETWEEN LITERATE INDIGENES

1. A, Madam gud moni.
   ʔa madam gud moni
   (Good morning, Madam)

2. A gud moni o
   ʔa gud moni o
   (Good Morning)

1. Hau yu de?
   hɪu ju de?
   (How are you?)

2. Ai de fainfain
   ai de fainfain
   (I'm every fine)

1. A, ide te we ai si yu long
   ʔa ide te: we ai si ju lɔŋ
   (It's long since I last saw you)

2. Ø mar i de o. Ai jos haid fo wan ples
   ʔa mĩ i de o ai dʒos haid fɔ wã ples
   (I'm here. I'm just hiding in one corner)

1. I bi laik sæ ai don foget yɔ nem ma sef
   i bi laik se ai dɔn foget jɔ nem ma sef
   (It seems I've ever forgotten your name)

2. Si yu, yu don foget mai nem? wetin yu de
   si ju i ju dɔn fɔget mai nem? wetin ju de
   (Look at you! you have forgotten my name? What are

tink so?
tink so

(you thinking of?)

1. Yu si, prǫblem de bǫku fǫ kǫntri, das wai
ju si: problem de bɔku fɔ kɔntri, das wai

(You see, there are so many problems in the country,

ai wan jǫs de fǫget tins rili.
ai wan dʒɔs de fɔget tins rili

(Thats why I just want to forget things really)

2. Na wa o mai brǫda o, na so, dis kǫntri de had.
na wa o mai brɔda o na so, dis kɔntri de had

(It's terrible my brother, life is touch)

1. Ye. Hau yu de marej fǫ ǫfis?
jɛ hau ju de marejs fɔ ɔfis

(Yes, how are you getting on in the office?)

2. To, wi de marej am smǫ smǫ
tɔ wi de marej am smɔ smɔ

(Well, we are maraging little by little)

1. Hau wǫk?
hau wɔk

(How's work?)

2. Man wǫk de fairfain o
mæ wɔk de fɛ̃rfɛ̃n o

(My job is very fine)

1. Yu de... stil de: fọ ABU, na dia yu de wọk?
Ju de... stil de fɔ ebiju na dia ju de wɔk
(Are you still at ABU? Is that where you work?)

2. Ai de fọ FASS ivun, fọ English Department
ai de fɔ fas ivn fɔ ɪŋglɪʃ dipatment
(I am even in FASS, at the English Department)

1. Fọ FASS? e..ibi laik se na yu bi Margaret
fɔ fas ʔ e ibi laik se na ju bi maɡrɛt
(In FASS, Hm, it seems you are Margaret

Thatcher ma sef
tatʃɛ mɛ sɛf
(Thatcher)

2. Ah, ai no gẹt ayọn han o. Margaret Thatcher
a ai no gẹt ɛjɔn han o ɲ maɡrɛt tatʃɛ
(Ah, I don't have iron hand. Its Margaret Thatcher

na shi gẹt ayọn han. Mi na jọs humar
nɛ ʃi gẹt ɛjɔn han mi nɛ dʒɔs humɛ
(who has iron hands. I'm just a humar being

bin we de hai fọ wan ples
bin we de haiɛ fɔ wan ples
(who is hiding in one corner)

1. hau famili?
hau famili
(How's the family)

2. Famili de fain
famili de fain.
(The family is fine)

1. Hq. chi.dren?
hau tʃildren
(How are the children?)

2. Chidren a dia, wi manejin
tʃildren a dia, wi manejin
(The childrer are there, we are managing)

1. Hqu dat smo boi we ai de wan kqmit fodia?
hau dat smɔ bɔi we ai de wan kʏ mit fɔ dia
(How's that little boy that I ofter like to

to come see?)

2. Di boi de dia. I jqs de giv mi sqfahed
di bɔi de dia. i dʒɔs de giv mi sɔfʒhed
(The boy is there. He gives me a lot of trouble

Wa ala go hia
wa?ala go hia
(He is troublesome)

1. Sebi in de go sku?
ʃebi ɪ de go sku?
(He goes to school, doesn't he?)

2. Ai de bring am evri mqri fq bak, na so ai
ai de brigg am evri mɔri fɔ bak, na so ai
(I put him on my back and bring him every

(morning; that how

de bak am de kqm wqk
de bak am de kɔm wɔk
(I bring him on my back to work)

1. A yu de bak am? Ai tink se i don [illegible]
ə ju de bɛk æm ai tiŋk se i dɔn [illegible]
(You put him on your back? I thought he

wɔk nau
wɔk nɑu
(he can now walk.)

2. I de wakà bɔt yu no dis chi.dren
i de wɔkɑ bɔt ju no dis tʃi.dren
(He can walk but you know that the children

of nɑɑades dɛn no de gri waka waka
ɔf nɑɑades dɛn no de gri wɔkɑ wɔkɑ
(of these days don't agree to walk

fɔ rod, de onli prifa sɔmbɔdi to tek..to bak dem,
fɔ rod, de onli prifa sɔmbɔdi to tɛk to bɛk dɛm
(they prefer to be carried)

1. I bi laik se... madam una de ɛnjoi o.
i bi lɛik se... mɑdɑm unɑ de ɛndʒɔi o.
(It seems, madam, that you are really erjoying

yourself)

2. Wich kain erjoimen? Yu si erjoimer fɔ
witʃ kɛin ɛndʒɔimɛn ju si ɛndʒɔimɛn fɔ
(What type of erjoymert? Can you see ary sign

mai bɔdi ni?
mɑi bɔdi ni
(of enjoymert on me?)

1. A... Yes rau ... yu si, wan we go... we
ɛɑ jɛs rɑu ju si: wɔn we gɔ ... we
(Ah Yes. You see, somebody who

... kɔnfɔ ɔfis de wɔk in di mɔni, we
... kɔ̃ fɔ ɔfis de wɔk in di mɔnĩ, we

(comes to the office in the morning, has

get chirɛn, we get hɔsban we de giv
gɛt ʧirɛn, we gɛt hɔsban we de giv

(children ard a husband who gives

am fud, an stil, in de an mɔni fɔ ɔfis o,
am fud an stil, ĩ de an mɔnĩ fɔ ɔfis o,

(her food, yet she earns her own morey in

(the office,

dat wan na ɛnjɔimɛnt nau
dat wan na ɛnʤɔimɛnt nau

(that's erjoyment.)

2. na so yu de si? dat wan na yɔ ɔr siin o
na so ju de si dat wan na jɔ ɔr siin o

(Is that what you see? That's your own view)

1. Yu no se ... fɔ man nau, in go
ju no se ... fɔ man nau, ĩ go

(You see, in the case of a mar, he goes to wɔrk

kɔnfain fud, tek am go hom
kɔ̃ fain fud, tek am go hom

(looks for food, takes it home

an di waif go se di tin tu smɔl, an na
an di waif go se di tin tu smɔl, an na

(and yet this wife may say its too little, its even

yɔ taip una de tel hɔsban se di tin
jɔ taip una de tɛl hɔsban se di tin

(your type that tells a man that the food

de smɔl, tu smɔl
de smɔl, tu smɔl

(is little, too little.)

2. In, a... dat wan ra, dat wan na
ɪ ʔɜ dæt wɜ nɜ:. ɔfɛt wɜn nɜ
(That goes for a woman

Wuma we no sabi wetin de hapun fọ
ɯuma we no sɔbɪ wetin ɔie hapʊ̈ fɔ
(who does rot krow what is happening in

dis kọntri. Sọmbọdi laik mi..a,..mi a ro
ɔɪs kɔntri. Sɔmbɔdɪ lɜɪk mɪ..ɜ,.. ɜ ro
(the country, Someone like me, I dor't have

get ..at kair wahala o
gɛt dɜt kɛɜn wahɜla o
(that kind or problem)

1. Ʌ... if yu ro cẹt am, if yu gẹt yọ
ʔɜ if ju ro gɛt ɜm, if ju gɛt yɔ
(Ʌh, if you dor't have it, if you get your

mọni fọ wọk, ra jọs fọ bank yu go
mɔni fɔ wɔk, nɜ dʒɔs fɔ bɜnk ju go
(salary, you orly bank it

go put am, bikọs yọ họsban. go
go pʊt ɜm, bikɔs yɔ hɔsbɜn go
(because your husband will

giv yu fud, an ra wetin yu want
gɪv ju fud, ɜn nɜ wɛtin ju wɜnt
(feed you. What else do you want?)

egen?
egeʌ?

2. So a wi alau mai họsban onli to bi
so ɜ wɪ ɜlɑu mɜɪ hɔsbɜn onli to bi
(Do you mean I will allow my husbard alone to

tekin kia of di children? No, Ai kar du dat o
tekin kiə ɔf di tʃidrɛn ? no, ai kæn du dæt o

(take care of the children? No, I car't do that)

1. Wai
wai

(Why?)

2. Ai hav to help him at list
ai hav to hɛp him at list

(I have to help him at least)

1. E oke. dat wan na konsidrat tin tu du nau
ɛ oke. dat wɔ̃ nə konsidret tin tu du nau

(Okay, that's a considerate thing to do - helping

If yu go help yo hosband
if ju go hɛp jɔ hɔsbənd

(your husband)

2. At list I hav to tek kia of di children
at list ai hav to tek kiə ɔf di tʃildrɛn

(At least, I have to take care of the children

A go giv dem fud it, at list to bai
ə go giv dɛm fud it, at list to bai

(I give them food to eat, and at least

niu klos. Yu no se dat wan tu na help
niu klos. ju no sɛ dæt wan tu nə hɛlp

(buy new clothes. You know that that too is a help

ai de help di man nau, at list i go rest
ai de hɛp di mænnau, at list i go rɛs

(the man. At least he will be relieved

fọ wan said
fɔ wɑ̃ said
(on one side)

1. ɛn oke
ɛ̃ oke
(Okay)

2. Ai go ivun pe dia sku fis, yu no.
ai go ivɑ̃ pe dia sku fis, ju no.
(I even pay their school fees, you krow)

1. A..
ʔa
(Ah)

2, Bet livin di họsban laik dis, a di tin no de
bɛt livɑ̃ di hɔ̃zbɑ̃n laik dis, a di tin no die
(But leaving ore's husband like that is rot

fain o... i ro .... ino luk laik.. am rọt helpin mai
fain o i no fno luk laik am not helpin mai
(nice. It doesn't look like....I'm rot helping

Gọd o
gɔd o
(my God)

1. A... yes
ʔa jɛs
(Ah yes)

2. Di tin de... I gẹt.... i kọn get K-leg
di tin de... i gɛt i kɔn gɛt K-leg
(The situation looks akward)

APPENDIX V

III CONVERSATION WITH AN UNDERGRADUATE ZARIA INDIGENE

A. Wetin bi yo nem?

(What is your name?)

B. Mai nem bi Mohammed
Mai nem bi Mohamed
(My name is Mohammed)

A. Wia yu de ste?

(Where do you live?)

B. Ai de ste fọ Sabongeri, Zaria
ai de ste fɔ Sabɔŋgeri, Zaria
(I live in Saborgari, Zaria)

A. Na Zaria dem bor yu?

(Were you borr here in Zaria?)

B. Ɛ,den bọn mi fọ Zaria
ɛ den bɔn mi fɔ Zaria
(Yes, I was borr in Zaria)

A So i dọn teewe yu de hia?

(So it's lorg sirce you've been here)

B. Ai dọn tee; na hia ai gro ọp ma sef
ai dɔn tee; na hia ai gro ɔp ma sef
(It's long. I ever grew up here)

A. E wich primari sku yu go?

(Which primary school did you atterd?)

B. Ai go LEA Sabongari primari sku, Zaria
ɛi go ɛlie; sɛbongɛri praimri sku, zaria
(I attended L.E.A. Sabongari Primary School Zaria)

A. An ju Sabi pijin we we?

(And you can speak pidgin very well?)

B. Ɛn ai de trai re, smɔsmɔ.
ɛ ɛi de trɛi ne sɔ̃ɔsmɔ
(Yes, I do make some effort)

A. Hau yu kɔn how yu hia ram?

(How did you get to know pidgin)

B. Ai de mix wit pipu we de spik pijir
ɛi de mix wit pipu we de spik pidgɔn
(I mix with people who speak pidgin)

A. Fɔ da sai?

(There?)

B. Ɛn
ɛ
(Yes)

A. Fɔ Sabongari?

(In Sabongari?)

B. Yes, fọ Saborgeri
jɛs fɔ saborgɛn
(Yes, in Saborgari)

A. Hau ya de si di praiz of tin nau, fọ ma ket?

(What would you say about the cost of things

now at the market?)

B. Kai, di praiz of tin de, ide raiz, jọs plẹnti
kɛi di praiz ɔf tin de, i de rɛiz, dʒɔs plɛnti
plẹnti.
plɛnti.
(Kai, the cost of things is risirg very high

Si di tin de wọri pipu tu mọch o. Ai tink di
si di tin de wɔri pipu tu mɔtʃ o. ɑi tiŋk di
(You see, the situation is very worrying. I think the

gụomẹn..a mẹk di gụomẹn kọm du sọmtin abọọt
gʊɔmɛn ɜ mɛk di gʊɔmɛn kɔm du sɔmtin ɜbɑʊt
(government should do something about it, :

it, if nọt, me bi pipu go kọ stat de du...
it, if nɔt, me bi pipu gɔ kɔ stat de du...
(if not may be people will begin to

a me bi dẹn go.. kọnde dai of họnga
ɑ me bi dɛngo kɔ de dɑi ɔf hɔŋgɑ
(may be people will even be dying of hunger

ma sef
mɑ sɛf

A. As student hau yusef de manej?

(As a studert, how are you managing?)

B. A wi de manej wit somtaims 101 we
ɔː wi de manɛdʒ wit sʌmtɛimz wʌnoʊwʌn wi
(Ah, we manage sometimes with 1-0-1½which

pesin go tek brekfas, i no go tek
pɛsin go tek brɛkfɛs, i no go tek
(one would take breakfast, one would rot take

lonch, ko tek dina. Somtaims yu go tek
lɔntʃ kɔ tek dinɑ sʌmtɛimz ju go tek
(lunch, themore would take dinner, sometimes you will take

lonch yu foget abaut yu...yu don...yu no
lɔntʃ ju fɔgɛt əbaʊt ju... ju dɔn... ju no
(lunch, you forget about em .. you don't..

go tek dina, yu no go tek brekfast, som taims
go tek dinɑ, ju no go tek brɛkfɛst, sʌmtɛimz
(take dinner, you don't take breakfast. Sometimes

ra onli wan fud ma yu go it
ɹɑ onli wʌn fud mɑ ju go it.
(it's only one meal you will take

If yu it war fud der dais fo di
If ju it wɔɹ fud dɛɹ dais fɔ di
(If you take one meal, then that's for the

hol de ma sef
hol de mɑ sɛf
(whole day)

A. Na wa o. Wot bout buks?

(That's serious. What about books?)

B. A buks, if dẹr ro de fọ laibrari, den
ə buks, ɪf dɛn nɔ de fɔ laibrəri, dɛn
(Ah books, if there are no books in the library

wan no go rid enitin dẹn. Is jọs
wɔn nɔ gọ rid ɛnitɪn dɛn. ɪs jọs
(then one will rot read anything. We practice

fọ di boro boro frọm pipu. Yu boro frọm
fɔ di bɔrəbɔrɔ frɔm pipu. jʉ bɔrɔ frɔm
(borrowing books from people. You borrow from a

dis yọ. frẹn , if yu finish wit his on buk
dɪs jɔ frɛn , ɪf jʉ fɪnɪʃ wɪt hɪs ɔn bʉk
(friend, when you finish with his book,

yu go boro frọm wan arọda... fr: ərd
jʉ gọ bɔrɔ frɔm wɔn ərɔdə frɛnd
(you borrow from another friend

if yọ rid finish yu tek di buk
ɪf jɔ rɪd fɪnɪʃ jʉ tek dɪ bʉk
(when you finish reading, you return the book

bak to him... ẹr if dẹn get am
bʉk tɔ hɪm ɛ ɪf dɛn gɛt ɛm
(to him. If the library is

fọ laibrari go laibrari go rid, dais
fɔ laibrəri gọ laibrəri gọ rid, dɛɪs
(better, you go to the library to read, that's

ọl . Bọt wan no sabi bai
ɔl , bɔt wɔn nɔ sɛbi bɛɪ
(all. But one cannot buy

buk dis des, I ro fit ne kawai
bʉk dɪs dɛs, ɪ nɔ fɪt nɛ kawɑɪ
(books these days. One just can't

Sam sam
Sɛm sɛm
(Not at all.)

A. Laif don rili had we we?

(Is life really hard now?)

B. He, i de had
He, i dɛ hɛd
(Hm, it's hard)

A. If yu de rid ar yu de ongri yu

(If you are studyirq, and you are hurgry

fit just go bai wan kok? tek f,

(Can you just go ard buy a coke to help you?)

B. Kok? fǫ dis taim? Ha, kok na
Kɔk fɔ dis taim? ?ɑ, Kɔk nɑ
(Coke? At this time? Ha-ha coke is

fǫ rich pipu o... if wan sabi.. if
fɔ rɪtʃ pipu o if wɛ̃ sɛbi ɪf
(for rich people If one can.. if ore

wan fit bai kok nau, den me bi i go
wan fit bɑi kɔk nɑu, dɛn me bi i gɔ
(one can afford a Coke now, then may be

fit bai buks ma, bai fud fǫ imsef
fɪt bɑi bʊks mɑ̃, bɑi fud fɔ ɪmsɛf
(One can even buy books, buy food for himself.

Wan botul of kok nau na tu naira
wɑn bɔtul ɔf kɔk nɑu nɑ tu nɑira

(One bottle of Coke now is two Naira

fifti kobo madam,
fifti kɔbɔ mɑdɑm,

(fifty kobo Madam.)