A TRANSFORMATIONAL GENERATIVE ACCOUNT OF SENTENCE STRUCTURE IN RIVERS STATE PIDGIN

BY

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D E D I C A T I O N

To My Father

Elder Patrick Akwuraka Azuma

Who Started It All

But Never Stayed

To Taste The Fruit Therefrom.

O Hieni.fora Yie Egbno!

D E C L A R A T I O N

I hereby declare that this thesis has been written by me and that it is a record of my own research work. It has not been presented in any previous application for a higher degree. All quotations are indicated and the sources of information are specifically acknowledged by means of references.

I. N. Azuma

APPROVAL

This Thesis has been carefully read and approved as having satisfied the conditions for the Award of Master of Arts Degree in English Language, in the Department of English, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Ahmadu Bello University, Samaru, Zaria, Nigeria.

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A C K N O W L E D G M E N T S

The help of my energetic supervisor, Dr. A.E. Odumuh, runs through the gamut of this work: he read, amended and recommended ways that improved the work to whatever standard it may be judged to have attained. His concern over my personal welfare requires a more spacious place than is here available.

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But the buck stops at my desk: the inadequacies and imperfections remain my responsibility.

A B S T R A C T

What is commonly known as "Nigerian Pidgin" has its majority of speakers in the Rivers, Bendel and Lagos States. As Bernard Mafeni (1971) observed, Nigerian pidgin has developed various forms, varying mostly according to geographical provenances.

This work is about the sentence structure of a 'dialect' of Nigerian Pidgin which will be callc 1 "Rivers State Pidgin" (RSP, for short),, The pidgi:! has already been established as a local language in the Rivers State, and is used not only in informal but also in formal situations„ it might be described as a semi or second official language in view of its importance as a language of wider communication in the state, (English is the official language of the state).

However, the importance of the present study lies largely in its "analytical formalization" of the sentence structure of Nigerian Pidgin, encouched in a Transformational Generative model. The study is sociolinguistic, seeing the pidgin as a language in its own right.

There are six chapters. Chapter One attempts

to place the pidgin in its perspective in the state* Factors that led to its wider range of functions arc examined briefly,, Some previous studies on pidgins and Creoles, particularly those on syntax, are reviewed in the same chapter. Chapter Two deals with the theoretical frame-work used in the analysis. Sources of data and research procedure are discussed in Chapter Three.

In Chapter Four the phrase Structure Rule format of English as it is formulated in Transformational Generative Grammar is used in rewriting the sentence structure of the pidgin. This is based on the assumption that all human languages share a common deep structure (linguistic universalism). Chapter Five deals with the surface structure characteristics of RSP. Attempts are made in the chapter to formalize the various transformational rules whose application gives rise to these surface structure differences. Lastly, the basic points of the study are summarized in Chapter Six. A conclusion is also drawn and areas of further research suggested in this last chapter.

There are at the end a list of appendices and a Bibliography.

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SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS*

S	Sentence
NP	Noun Phrase
VP	Verb Phrase
AUX	Auxiliary
PS	Deep Structure
SS	Surface Structure
PP	Prepositional Phrase
Det	Determinant
N	Noun
V	Verb
Pron	Pronoun
Adj	Adjective
Adv	Adverb
Comp	Complement
T	Tense
Pres	Present
M	Modal
Asp	Aspect
Perf	Perfect
Prog	Progressive
+	elements are concatenated
{ }	only one element may be used in a rewrite rule.

*Others used are explained in the body of the text.

( ) enclosed symbol is optional.

$\longrightarrow$ rewrite as (items to the left of the arrow are rewritten as those to the right).

B(C) B is obligatorily present; C is optionally present.

$\left\{\begin{matrix} B \\ C \end{matrix}\right\}$ B and C occur in this position but are mutually exclusive.

$A \longrightarrow B / _C$ A is rewritten as B in the environment preceding C.

$A \longrightarrow B / C _$ A is rewritten as B in the environment following C.

$A \longrightarrow \left\{\begin{matrix} Y \\ Z \end{matrix}\right\} / \left\{\begin{matrix} C \\ D \end{matrix}\right\} _$ A is rewritten as Y after C (but not after D) and as Z after D but not after C).

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Preamble

Each chapter in this work is provided with a separate introduction in which its aims and organization are outlined in detail. In this chapter we present general remarks on the origin of Rivers State Pidgin and its present status; statement of research problem, scope and delimitation of the work; and we also review other studies.

The reasons for the permanent form, growth and sustenance of any pidgin when the situation which brought it into existence has ceased to exist can no more be ascribed merely to 'the result of languages coming into contact and influencing each other'. In the case of Rivers State Pidgin there are factors such as the creation of the Rivers State, its multiple languages, cultures and governmental policies. Hence it is considered appropriate to begin with a perspective on the state.

1.1 Rivers State: An Overview

The Rivers State was created (along with eleven other states) on May 27, 1967 as a means of, inter alia, creating "new foci of loyalty and attachment for the non-Ibo 'speaking people of the Eastern region - in other words, to break up the solidarity of the peoples of what, during the civil war, was to become known as "Biafra"'".[1]

The Rivers State is the southernmost part of Nigeria, bounded on the west by Bendel State, on the north by Imo State, and on the east by the Cross River State. A large part of the West African coastline forms the southern boundary of the state. The population totals about 1,719,925, occupying a land area of 21,850 square kilometers.[2] There are ten local government council areas in the state: Ahoada, Bonny, Brass, Degema, Ikwerre-Etche, Okrika-Obigbo-Tai Eleme, Port Harcourt, Sagbama and Yenagoa. The capital of the state is Port Harcourt.

The people of the Rivers State were among the first in Nigeria to have direct contact with Western civilization.[3] However, much of the culture of the people has been preserved. The people have two major occupations: farming and fishing. Crops grown in the state include cassava, oil palm,

plantain, coconut, vegetables, rubber, rafia and banana. Timber is also produced in the state. The mineral resources include large deposits of crude oil and natural gas. Other occupations in the forms of art and craft include weaving, wood carving and sculpture.

Rivers State is multitribal, with one international language (English), one 'language of wider communication' (the pidgin),[4] and numerous 'local' languages.

1.2 Origin of Rivers State Pidgin

It may not be possible to be precise about the birth and growth of the pidgin in the area now known as Rivers State. However, it seems certain that the pidgin is a product of contacts between Europeans and Africans, and the pidgin has survived in various forms since then.

The history of the pidgin might date as far back as the middle of the seventeenth century when the Rivers[5] was opened up to slave traders. Because of the difficult sailing conditions of the areas, ships might have been anchored for months in the estuaries while slaves were being

collected. The result might be the development of an additional form of contact between the Europeans and the heads of the Delta Houses. Like in many contact situations, this longstanding commercial relationship would have produced a kind of pidgin.

Tonkin's anthropological account of some coastal pidgins of West Africa[6] shows a more general-based origin. It is possible that there were as many pidgins along the coast as there were European languages. However, there seemed to be a model available everywhere, and this was Pidgin Portuguese. The Pidgin Portuguese seemed to have been replaced by an English-based pidgin through relexification[7] when the English took over trade from the Portuguese later. The existence of Portuguese words like 'sabi' (know), 'pikin' (a child), and 'palava' (trouble, quarrel) are vestigial.

This relexified pidgin might have been reasonably well-known in the coastal areas during the early part of the nineteenth century and sufficiently well-formed. It was further strongly influenced and stabilised by the Krio and West Indian missionaries who "were partly responsible for its dissemination in non-coastal regions". When English became a formal school subject in the

country, the pidgin "was frowned upon by the school master and swept under the carpet by almost all colonial educationists; and so began the 'underground' existence of the language.[8] However, the pidgin was not displaced because of its firm establishment as a means of communication for Africans who had no common language.

The Ibos were the dominant linguistic group in the defunct eastern region. This dominance extended to all spheres of life, and was so great that even the schools located in the villages were staffed predominantly by Ibo teachers. Igbo language was taught in most places in the present Rivers State as a "vernacular" (the 'first language' of non-Igbo speaking pupils).[9] And so to a very large extent Igbo language was the lingua franca of the present people of the Rivers State before the outbreak of the civil war in the country in 1967.

At the end of the civil war in 1970 there was a mass exodus of the rural population to Port Harcourt. There were job opportunities everywhere waiting for the qualified, the semi-qualified and the unqualified as the Ibos who occupied those positions had been confined to their own state.[10] These people had no common language. The former

one, the language of the 'second colonial masters' (Igbo) was no longer compatible with the growing spirit of separate identity. The only candidate capable and suitable for bridging the linguistic gap was the pidgin long driven underground.

1.3 The Status of Rivers State Pidgin

The aim of this section is to acquaint the reader with the nature of the pidgin spoken in the Rivers State.

It is now a widely held view by linguists that pidgin is a contact language used by people who have no common native language for purposes that often relate to commerce and trade. In other words no group of speakers speak pidgin as their native language. Linguistically, the vocabulary of a pidgin is limited, and its grammatical structure, compared to those of the natural languages from which it is forged, is reduced.

On the other hand a creole is a pidgin that has gained native speakers and whose communicative functions have expanded to equal those of natural languages. Creolisation involves expansion of vocabulary and grammar in order for the language to

ably serve the full range of communicative needs of the speech community in its environment. This process can be accomplished by borrowing words from the superordinate language. However, words from the several subordinate former native languages may be adopted too.

Rivers State Pidgin presents a peculiar case in view of the distinction made above between a pidgin and a creole. Almost every adult who speaks the pidgin also speaks one of the local languages as a first language. Even children born and brought up in Rivers State's townships who speak the pidgin speak it as a second first language - a situation E. Haugen (1972) called "equilingualism".[11] The point we are making is that unlike Krio, Cape York Creole, Jamaican Creole, etc., which have displaced the languages of their original speakers, Rivers State Pidgin is spoken by people whose native languages are extant. This brings us to the distinction which L. Todd (1974:5) makes between 'restricted' and 'extended' pidgins.

According to Todd a restricted pidgin arises as a result of marginal contact such as for minimal trading and serves only this limited purpose. It dies as soon as the contact which gives rise to it

is withdrawn. An extended pidgin is one which proves vitally important in a multilingual area even if it is not a mother tongue for the speakers, and which, for its usefulness, is extended and used beyond the original limited functions that gave birth to it. This latter type could more appropriately designate the pidgin spoken in the Rivers State, a type whose communicative ability is no longer restricted to any one situation.

The pidgin is widely used not only between members of the different language groups but also among people that share a common language. It provides a very wide communication network - one which is for that matter wider than those of English and the local languages put together. The two radio houses in the state broadcast news and news talks in the pidgin, including announcements and advertisements.

Another important dimension of Rivers State Pidgin is its co-existence with English in the same speech community. Generally where a creole exists in the same speech community with its superordinate language, and social mobility is possible, the tendency is for the speakers to modify their speech toward what they take to be a more prestigious

norm.[12] This might become pronounced in a situation where the superstrate language is the primary medium of instruction in the schools and where it is used for governmental and other public purposes. Tonkin puts the Nigerian situation of pidgin and English thus:

> Nevertheless, though Pidgin might be adequate for such internal (her emphasis) uses, additional knowledge of English was necessary to enter the world of Western ideas. The language of reading and writing in Nigeria, the language of newspapers, is necessarily near 'standard' or, better, 'international' English. Hence a diglossic situation is likely to arise, with spoken varieties tending towards the 'pidgin' end of the continuum and literacy requiring a command of 'standard' forms.13

There might be reasons to believe that Rivers State Pidgin has started decreolizing (or depidginizing).[14] Faraclas et al say that the "Rivers Pidgin English... encompasses the entire pidgin-creolization-decreolization continuum".[15] However, the nature and direction of the decreolization is far beyond the scope of the present study.

The status of the pidgin is more complex than we can present in an impressionistic account of this nature. Moreover, it is not one of the aims of the work to present a full functional distinction of the various discourses (situations) involving the

pidgin. Commenting on language phenomenon, Ben. Blount and M. Sanches, put the difficulty involved in trying to describe the status of a pidgin or a creole language this way:

> Since pidgins and creoles do not constitute the only codes in the speech communities where they are spoken, their structures (and the variation these structures exhibit) can be seen more readily in relation to social factors such as age, generation, origin, status, and education than would be the case for codes in monolingual societies.16

It suffices to say that what is spoken in the Rivers State is neither a pidgin nor a creole. We shall, therefore, use the term 'pidgin' as it applies to Rivers State Pidgin conventionally rather than descriptively.

1.4 Statement of Research Problem

The position taken in this study is that the pidgin is a language in its own right. It could have been a matter of considerable debate whether in the absence of historical evidence the pidgin, based solely on linguistic evidence, could be distinguished from other mother tongues. However, this study recognizes English as the lexical source language of the pidgin. As G.W. Turner puts it, "In the detail of vocabulary, naturally, a source

language can be assigned to each element" (p.208), but "it may, in any case, be a wrong question to ask whether linguistic features so general as syntax derive from one or another source language" (207).[17]

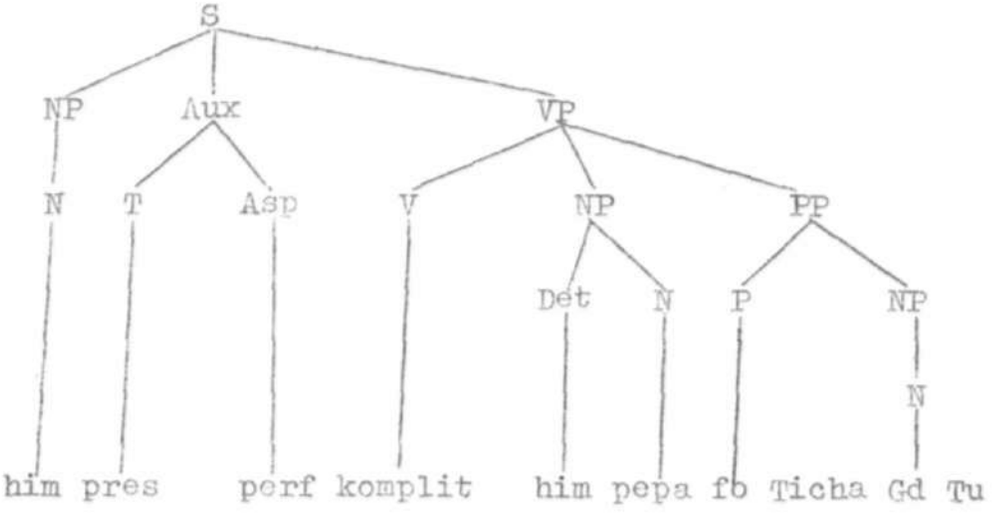
If Turner is right there might be the possibility that the base rules of all languages are similar. In other words, there could be as Howell and Vetter (1976:306) put it, "some-way of generating specific alternate realizations ("languages") from an underlying structure".[18]

Now let us look at the pidgin sentence 1, below.

1. Him don komplit him pepa fo Ticha Gred Tu.

It can be shown in the deep structure as follows:

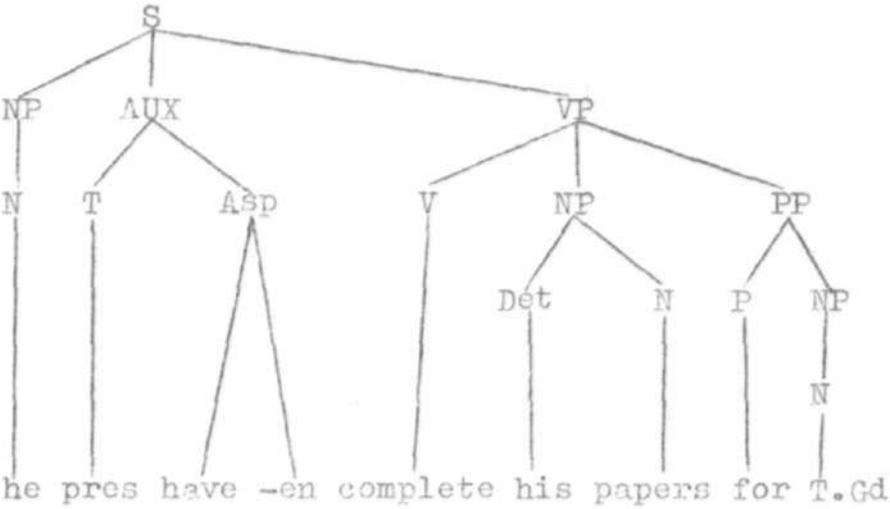
Example 1



1(a). NP + pres + perf + V + NP + PP[19]

⇒ Him don komplit him pepa fo Ticha Gred Tu.
(He has completed his papers for Teachers' Grade Two).

The English gloss can be shown in the tree diagram below.



1(b). NP + pres + have+en + V + NP + PP

⇒ He has completed his papers for Teachers' Grade Two.

The phrase structure rules that re-wrote 1(a) and (1(b) are similar. As a corollary, their deep structures (terminal strings) are also similar. The differences of their surface structures lie in the transformational rules responsible for the conversion of their deep structures into their surface structures. In the case of English the

affix hopping rule will apply thus:



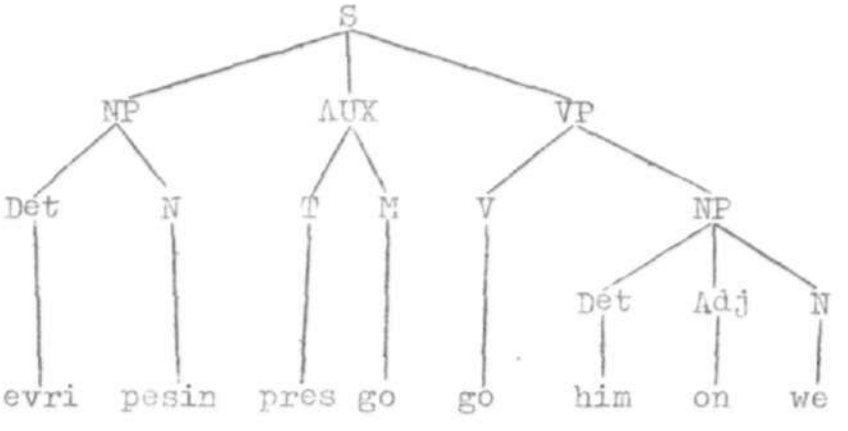
After the application of the morphophenemic rules, this ultimately yields the structure "has completed" as we have it in the surface structure of the English sentence.

To take a further example, consider the pidgin sentence:

2. Evri pesin go go him on we.

which can be shown in the tree diagram below:

Example 2:

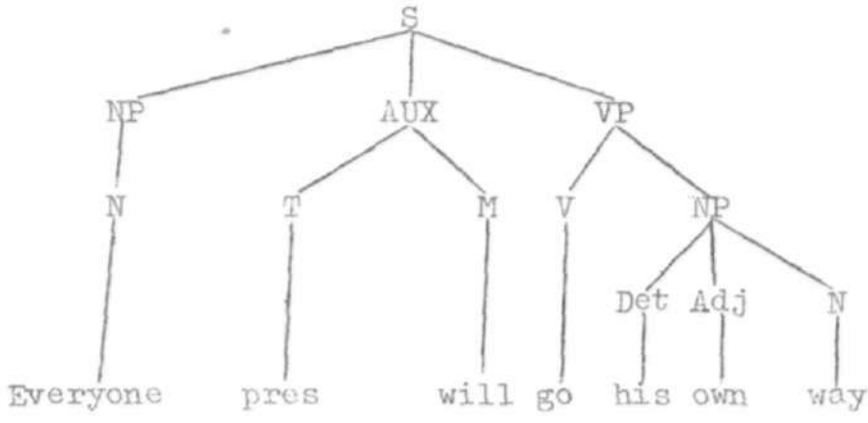


2(a) NP + pres + M + V + NP

⇒ Evri pesin go go him on we.

(Everyone will go his own way).

The English equivalent of the sentence can be represented by the following tree:



2(b). NP + pres + M + V + NP

=> Everyone will go his own way.

The terminal string of the two sentences is:

NP + pres + M + V + Det + Adj + N

which can be converted to either of the languages by transformational rules that rearrange and order these universal forms into expressions appropriate for the surface structure of that language.

This study attempts an analytical formalization of the sentence structure of Rivers State Pidgin, using the linguistic formulations of Transformational Generative grammar. The aim of generative grammar is to discover a system of formulas for each language which can determine the grammatical sentences in that language and can associate with each of these sentences those structural properties

on the basis of which correct interpretation can be arrived at.[20] As Strawson (1971) puts it:

> It seems entirely reasonable to say that the possession, on the part of the fluent and correct speaker of a language, of these abilities to construct, interpret, and criticise sentences implies the existence of a set or system of rules which the speaker has, in some sense, mastered (p. 130)... A fully explicit and maximally systematic statement of the rules which 'govern' the fluent speaker's exercise of his capacities will supply the theory of that speaker's language. Such a theory may be called, in an extended sense of the word, a grammar of the language (p. 131).

We shall use English phrase structure rule format to re-write the sentence structure of Rivers State Pidgin. Transformational Generative grammar claims that the Deep Structures of all human languages are similar; and that their surface structure differences come about as a result of various transformational rules that each language employs in converting the common underlying structures to surface structures.

According to Molony (1972)[21] "there are no linguistic features unique to creoles, and therefore the normal linguistic tools of analysis can be used with them". From the analysis of the two pidgin sentences above, it appears that the sentence structure of Rivers State Pidgin, with minor exceptions, can be written in the phrase

rules of English sentences as enshrined in Transformational Generative grammar.

English is being used for interpolation here because it is one of the few languages whose grammars have been extensively examined and formalized. Moreover, it is the medium of expression here; there is the likelihood that the reader, already equipped with the structure of English sentences would require such comparison, explicit or implicit.

A study of this nature is necessary because RSP is becoming increasingly important in the Rivers State. As Kibrik (1977: 1-2) rightly remarks, the "description of the present state of unwritten insufficiently studied languages which are not threatened with immediate extinction is also very valuable for linguistics; the fixation of the present state of these languages will be important for succeeding investigators because of the unavoidable linguistic change that will take place".

1.5 Scope and Delimitation

There are many reasons for limiting this study to the 'variety' of Nigerian Pidgin spoken

in the Rivers State. Whereas the varieties of Nigerian Pidgin spoken in areas where a language is culturally dominant borrow mostly from the dominant language for expansion, Rivers State variety of the language tends to borrow almost exclusively from English. This might be one of the reasons that led Faraclas et al (see note 15) to the conclusion that "Rivers Pidgin English" is closer to standard English than other varieties spoken elsewhere in the country, or any other pidgin spoken with English words for that matter.

The study is further limited to syntax not only because of the emphasis the analytic model used here places on the study of syntax,[22] but also for the fact that, as Halliday[23] puts it, the general linguistic theory "is concerned with how language works at the level of grammar, with brief reference to the relations between grammar and lexis and between grammar and phonology". Chomsky himself defines language as a "set (finite of infinite) of sentences..." (1957:13). It seems appropriate, therefore, to say that the "most natural pronounced entity and the one that should be used for analysis is the sentence. Of course the smaller constituents of the sentence will also be analyzed, but as a rule they figure

within the framework of the sentence"
(Kibrik, 1977:59).

1.6 Review of Other Studies

Modern descriptions of pidgin and creole languages of the world have appeared in some number, pioneered by the extensive work of Hall Jr (1942 et seq.). Of particular importance in this regard is Hall Jr (1966) which is an integrated and unified account of his earlier publications on pidgin and creole languages. This work provides a general discussion of the structure of pidgin and creole languages "in relation to the languages out of which they have arisen" (p. vii).

However, Hall's general analysis of the syntax of these languages cannot be taken as a description of the structure of any of them, much less of those not represented. There are great structural differences between the English-based pidgins and creoles he uses and Rivers State Pidgin. To take an example, all the pidgins and creoles he investigates have elements other than the verb as the centre of the predicate (Cf. p. 85ff). Sranan, one of them, has the following sentences:

3. Anansi koni man.
(Anansi (is) a clever man).

4. Anansi koni.

(Anansi (is) clever).

5. Tigri dia.

(A) tiger (is) there).

Sentences 3 and 5 are not grammatical in Rivers State Pidgin. There must be a form of copula verb ('na', 'de', or 'bi') to connect two noun phrases (e.g. 3) or a noun phrase and an adverbial complement (e.g. 5), to give the following:

6. Anansi na koni man.

7. Taiga de dia.

However, sentence 4 is grammatical in Rivers State Pidgin. (We shall attempt an explanation for its grammaticalness in chapter 5, section 6).

This example and many others, including verb serialization and obligatory non-relative pronoun constructions, could show how unrepresentative of pidgin and creole languages (in particular Rivers State Pidgin) his analysis might be.

Another general study of pidgin and creole languages is Loreto Todd (1974). This study focuses on pidgins and creoles lexically (my emphasis) related to English.

Todd recognizes the fact that the pidgins and creoles she examines, though English-based, are

"mutually unintelligible" (p. xi). This variety unintelligibility might have to do with all levels of linguistic analysis and therefore leads to the type of problems we have pointed out in Hall's study. However, only a few general characteristics of pidgins and creoles are mentioned in the study, her aim being to define pidgins and creoles, and thereby their full nature will "emerge only gradually"(p.1).

Todd (1982) is about Cameroonian Pidgin which "is undoubtedly the most widely used" (p.18), especially in anglophone Cameroon.

Todd is aware that Cameroonian Pidgin "is not one single homogeneous language but can show markedly different features of phonology, lexis, syntax and style, as between one part of the country and another" (pp. 19-20); yet she maintains that the pidgin is "mutually intelligible with Nigerian Pidgin English" (p. 25). We shall take a few examples to show that the assertion is wrong.

Without the English glosses it is doubtful if speakers of Nigerian Pidgin can understand the following sentences in Cameroonian Pidgin:

8. "i bin memba fo i bele soi - he realised that". p. 100.

9. "i no bin gri chus mi - He wouldn't forgive me". p. 100.

10. "dat wan sabi buk taim no dei - That one is really well educated". p.102.

In Cameroonian Pidgin, "after go and kam, there is frequent recapitulation of the first and third person pronouns" (p. 109) for emphasis. For example:

12. "i bin go i - he went away". p. 109.

13. "a go kam mi - I will come". p. 109.

In Nigerian Pidgin the recapitulated pronoun occurs adjacent to its coreferential (see chapter 5, section 5).

Todd (1984) is a bringing-together of her earlier publications on pidgins and creoles. However, Cameroonian Pidgin (representing the Atlantic group of pidgins and creoles) and Tok Pisin (representing the Pacific group of pidgins and creoles) form the main focus of the work. The history, sociolinguistic background, vocabulary, pronunciation and grammar of each of them are examined in detail.

However, we need to watch the list of "some

of the characteristic features of Pidgin Englishes" in the work to enable us to appreciate how unrepresentative of all English-based pidgins and creoles the grammars of the two pidgins might be.

The work claims that Pidgin Englishes have an immutable word-order of which the longest string is Subject + Predicate + Object + Complement (p.5). This claim might be too strong in view of the following sentences:

14. Him go go bai moto fo Kaduna tumoro.

15. Tumoro him go go Kaduna go bai moto.

16. Na tumoro him go go bai moto for Kaduna.

The three sentences have a similar deep structure.

Cameroonian Pidgin, it is claimed uses the negative marker no "before all the semantically full elements" (p. 5) in very emphatic statements. For example:

17. No man no laik mi no smol - Nobody likes me even a little".

Nigerian Pidgin does not make such an 'indiscriminate' use of the negative marker. It is further claimed that "A negative sentence, however, must have a no in the preverbal slot with the result that a sentence such as:

18. No man bin kam.

is ungrammatical, the correct form being:

19. No man no bin kam - Nobody came".

In Nigerian Pidgin the reverse is the case; that is, 18 is grammatical; while 19 is not.

The work posits that Pidgin Englishes have no passive constructions. This does not appear to be altogether true of Nigerian Pidgin - and of RSP in particular (see 5.1.3 below): and that "Nouns are not marked for cases (p.7). Case distinction does exist in RSP as these sentences bear out:

20. Ai bin si am/him.

21. De bin tel am/him.

The pronoun "i" ("he"), the nominative form, can not occur in the place of "am/him" above. Therefore it may be misleading to say that case distinction does not exist in all Pidgin Englishes.

The following sentences in Cameroonian Pidgin are not possible in RSP:

22. "I bin bi treda - He was a trader". p.147.

23. "I bin bi fo haws - He was at home/ in the house". p.147.

Their likely equivalents in RSP are:

24. Him bi treda bifo.

25. Him bin de fo haws.

Finally, it is said that "Na can never replace or

be replaced by dei. It has neither existential nor locative features" (p. 147). As we shall show in 5.3 this is not true of RSP.

R.N. Agheyisi (1971) studies the grammatical structure of West African Pidgin English (WAPE), though what she actually describes is the structure of Nigerian Pidgin as almost all her examples are drawn from it. The remark of Ofuani (1979:14) that Agheyisi's thesis is at present "the only fairly detailed analysis of Nigerian Pidgin Syntax" is still valid at the present time. However, it is important to note that the main objective of the thesis is not to write the grammar of Nigerian Pidgin (WAPE?), but to find out the nature of its simplicity and simplification in comparison to its related standard language.

In any case, there are some objections one would like to make about the study. First, the analytic approach is unsatisfactory. The analysis is not couched in any one analytic framework, and this according to her is because "the concern here is with providing as much information or data as possible about the internal structure of the pidgin, rather than with analytic formalization" (p.77). There is no reason to believe that one

analytic model cannot do this. Second, in treating West African Pidgin English as a homogeneous unit, Agheyisi, (granted that the varieties of the pidgin (WAPE) originated from a common source), has failed to appreciate the fact that it has existed for over 400 years and has undergone extensive linguistic expansion that shows regional variation to the point of mutual unintelligibility. Even Nigerian Pidgin as Mafeni (1971: 97) rightly observes "is itself relatively complex, and exhibits variety in form and in function from region to region and from community to community"!

Moreover, the way some aspects of the grammar are treated (possibly as a result of the view the work adopts about the nature of creole and pidgin languages) is questionable. One example will suffice here. In her analysis the verbs "kom" (come) and "si" (see) in sentence 26 below are regarded as verb serialization (that is, where one main verb immediately follows another, etc. See similar treatment in Hall, 1966: 77; Todd, 1974:19).

26. Ai kom si mai moda.

(I come/came to see my mother)

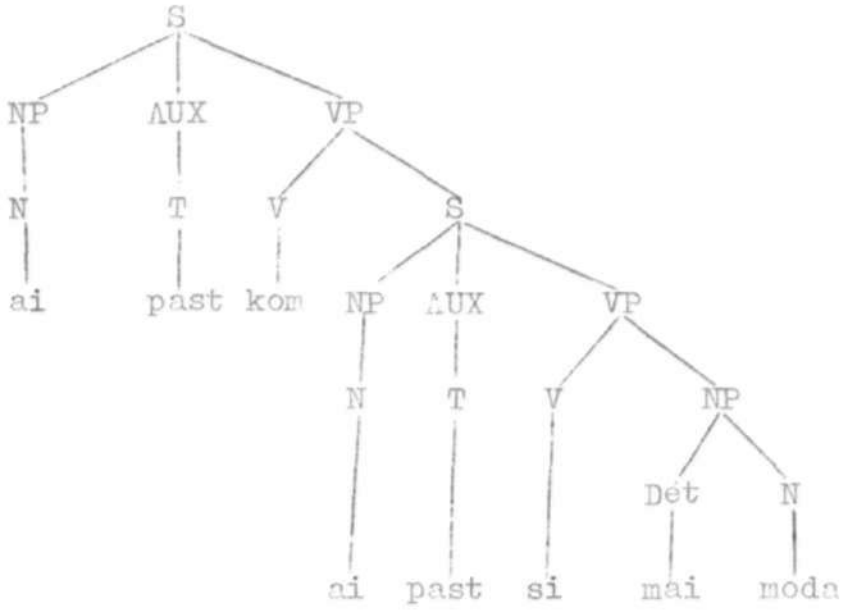
Also the verb "wan" (want) in sentence 27 is regarded as an inceptive aspect:

27. Hi wan sing Samba song.

(He wants to sing a Samba song).

From the viewpoint of Transformational Generative grammar the juxtaposition of two or more verbs in a sentence will be regarded as the product of a series of transformations: not simply a question of 'lumping' them together. For example, the deep structure of sentence 26 can be shown as follows:

Example 26



The terminal string can be shown as:

$$NP_x + AUX + V \quad S[NP_x + AUX + V + NP]$$

The Equi-NP T-deletion (see chapters 4 and 5) applies to this terminal string and deletes the second NP_x. The tense node of the embedded

sentence is re-written as Ø to yield the surface structure "Ai kom si mai moda" as we have it in the pidgin sentence.

Mafeni (1971) is a brief descriptive sketch of Nigerian Pidgin and specifically his own idiolect of the variety spoken in Sabon Gari community of Kano. Only a few syntactic notes are made in the study "to suggest that the grammatical categories of English do not necessarily fit the patterns of Pidgin" (p. 110). The analysis of the two pidgin sentences in section 1.4 proves that Mafeni's suggestion might be misleading.

Ofuani (1979) deals exclusively with "tense and aspect in the verb system of Nigerian Pidgin". This work is a fairly detailed account that has increased "the body of information" on the two categorises of his study.

Ofuani's work uses a combination of different descriptive models because the concern of the thesis "is with providing as much information as possible rather than with analytic formalization" (p. 15). Since he sets out to treat Nigerian Pidgin as a language in its own right one could have expected him to agree with Howell and Vetter (1976 : 6) that "Today most linguists are

primarily concerned to develop the rules that generate the possible utterances of a language".

The work of Faraclas et al (1983-1984) is entirely about 'Rivers Pidgin English' which they claim is closer to standard English than other varieties of Nigerian Pidgin or any English-based pidgin the world over. Among other things, the paper gives a fairly detailed description of the phonology of the language, but "a brief overview" of its grammar.

Marchese and Schnukal (1982) report their on-going research aimed at determining the nature and status of Nigerian Pidgin, among other things. Their survey area is the town of Warri (and its suburbs) in Bendel State of Nigeria. According to them, Warri with a population of about 220,000 is both multiethnic and multilingual. Languages heard in the town are Isekiri, Kwale, Isoko, Okpe, Urhobo and Uvwie, among others.

Their finding can be restated as follows: Since Nigerian Pidgin English is the primary language of people in Warri, performing the expressive function of the community, it is now a creole.

The problem with the study centres around their functional definition of a creole. By such a definition, the difference between, for example, Jamaican Creole and Nigerian Pidgin, posed by their different linguistic situations, might be obscured (see 1.3 above).

Ifode (1983-84) is a case study of the complexity and pattern of usage of Nigerian Pidgin English in a multilingual community. Its aim is to suggest factors that need to be incorporated in a model of creolization to be proposed for the language. The survey area is Port Harcourt, "one of the multilingual settings in Nigeria where NPE is most favoured" (p. 200).

The study reveals that almost every speaker of the language also speaks one of the local languages or more. Though NPE is increasingly becoming popular as a primary language, that is, "the linguistic code best controlled by the individual", it does not mean that it is now a mother tongue for the speakers since every speaker's "mother tongue ascribed by birth is still available" (p. 203). It concludes: "If creolization is the nativization of a pidgin to acquire speakers for whom it is the mother tongue, then NPE is not creolising"(p.203).

Though the study uses a large number of informants, its objectivity is questionable since it relies exclusively on the information provided by the informants. More often than not, informants, sometimes unintentionally, feed the investigator/researcher with wrong information.

Notes To Chapter 1

1. Billy Dudley "The Military and Politics". An Introduction to Nigerian Government. (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1982), p. 106.

   Three main reasons are given for the creation of the Rivers State in "Take-Off Stage: The Rivers State of Nigeria". Broadcast to all Rivers citizens by the Military Governor of the Rivers State, Lt. Commander A.P. Diete-Spiff, in April, 1968:

   "(a) to satisfy the long and continuing agitation of all Rivers people for a separate existence within the Federation of Nigeria;

   "(b) to ensure peaceful co-existence of all the ethnic groups within Nigeria; and

   "(c) to obviate the fear of domination by larger tribal groups" (p.12).

2. The population and land area figures quoted here are those of the Nigerian Year Book. (Lagos: Daily Times Publication, 1982), p. 489.

3. See "Rivers State of Nigeria". A booklet presented to the students of the Royal College of Defence Studies, London on the occasion of their visit to Port Harcourt, Rivers State on 24th September, 1973, p.3.

4. Throughout this study the term "the pidgin" will be used interchangeably with "Rivers State Pidgin".

5. The people of the present Rivers State were long known by this term.

6. Elizabeth Tonkin "Some Coastal Pidgins of West Africa". In Edwin Ardener (ed) Social Anthropology and Language. (London: Tavistock Publications, 1971, pp.129-155). She went further to suggest that there was a remote "Lingua Franca" that predated the Portuguese contact with Africans. In other words, English has no claim to the structure of Nigerian Pidgin.

7. Todd (1984:23) puts theory relexification thus: "According to this theory the Portuguese navigators would have used a Portuguese version of lingua franca in their post-fifteenth century contacts in Africa, Asia and America. Then, as Portuguese influence began to wane and as other European nations developed their trade, the Portuguese vocabulary would have been replaced by the vocabularies of Spanish or French or English or Dutch, while the simple structures would have been retained".

8. See John Spencer, "Introduction". In John Spencer (ed) The English Language in West Africa. (London: Longman Group Ltd, 1971), p. 5.

9. The author received instructions in Igbo language in the early years of his primary education in Saint Joseph's (Roman Catholic Mission) School, Erema.

10. The former East Central State.

11. Equilingualism means having equal competence in two languages. This should not be taken to mean that one could acquire equal 'native' competence in two languages. Einar Haugen is right to say that "it is a law of general validity that one's experience in one language must necessarily lag behind one's experience in another". (Quoted in N. Brooks Language and Language Learning, 1964, p. 42). By this token, metropolitan children in the Rivers State are likely to be more competent in the pidgin their language of home, school, etc., than in their parents' mother tongues mostly heard at home.

12. See Crowley and Rigsby, 1979: Todd, 1974: Spencer, 1971: etc.

13. Elizabeth Tonkin ibid. p. 147.

14. Note that it is not a sine qua non for a pidgin language to first creolize before it starts growing toward the standard.

15. F. Faraclas, O. Ibim, G. Worukwo, A. Minah, and A. Tariah. "Rivers State Pidgin English". In Journal of the Linguistic Association of Nigeria No. 2. 1983-84. pp. 187-198.

    This development (if it is one) is what Ofuani in a personal conversation with the author called "anglicization".

16. Ben G. Blount and M. Sanches "Introduction". In Ben G. Blount and M. Sanches (eds) Sociocultural Dimensions of Language Change (New York: Academic Press, 1977), pp. 6-7.

17. G.W. Turner The English Language In Australia New Zealand. (London: Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd, 1966).

18. Richard Howell and Harold Vetter Language In Behavior (New York: Human Sciences Press, 1975).

19. These formulations are fully explained in the body of the analysis, chapters 4 and 5.

20. See C.J. Fillmore "A Grammarian Looks to Sociolinguistics". In J. B. Pride (ed) Sociolinguistic Aspects of Language Learning and Teaching. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 2.

21. Carol H. Molony "Recent Relexification Processes in Philippine Creole Spanish". In Blount and Sanches (eds) Sociocultural Dimension of Language Change (New York: Academic Press, 1977, pp. 131-159), p. 132.

22. The term 'syntax' will be used here to mean 'sentence structure' in complete exclusion of any other meaning.

23. M.A.K. Halliday "Categories of the Theory of Grammar" In Bertil Malmberg (ed) Readings in Modern Linguistics. (Laromedelsforlagen: Mouton, 1972, pp. 157-208), p. 158.

Chapter 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Preamble

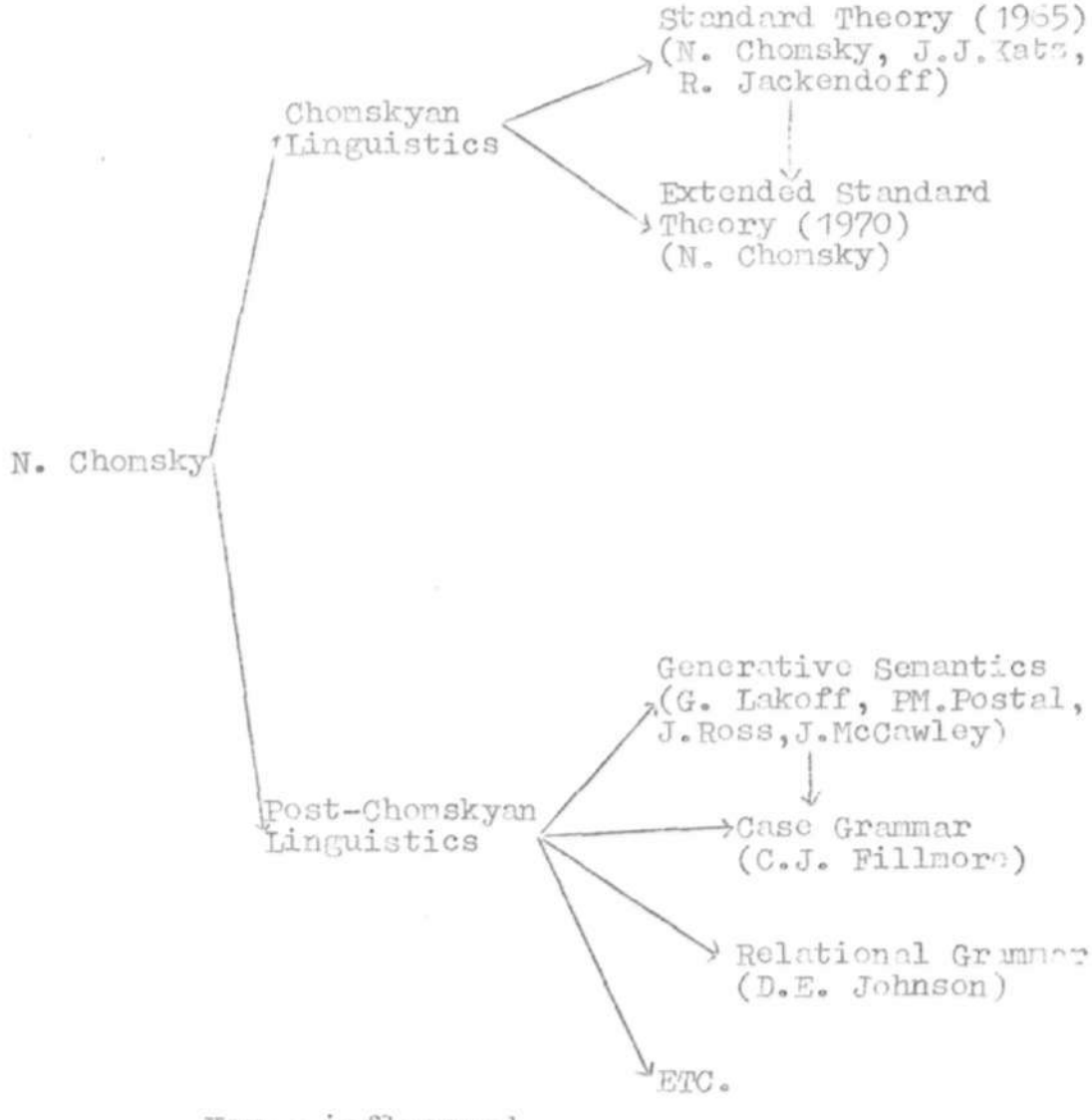
This study uses Transformational-Generative model. It is the aim of this chapter to discuss the model at length; but not so exhaustively as to serve as an introduction to it.

It is no longer safe to discuss Transformational Generative grammar without segmenting its evolutionary history into periods. This is necessary in view of the shifting stance of the transformationalists and their "heterogeneous proposals for changes of greater or lesser radicalism", a situation which Chomsky blames on the "lively" nature of the field.[1]

The evolutionary history of Transformational-Generative grammar can be divided into three main periods - the period of the Logical Structure of Linguistic Theory (LSLT, for short),[2] early 1950s to mid 1960; the period of the integration of semantics, 1965 to 1970; and finally the period of universal grammar, 1970 to the present.[3] Three distinct but related theories are assigned to these periods: 'classical', 'standard' and 'extended

standard' theories, respectively[4] (see figure 1). It is unlikely that these divergent theories and their versions[5] can be accommodated in a work of this nature. Hence it is imperative that a version which will best serve our purpose be chosen.

Figure 1: Schools in Transformational-Generative Grammar



Key: → influenced

This version is the 'Standard Theory'. Therefore what is actually discussed in this chapter is the 'Standard Theory'.

2.1 Historical Antecedents

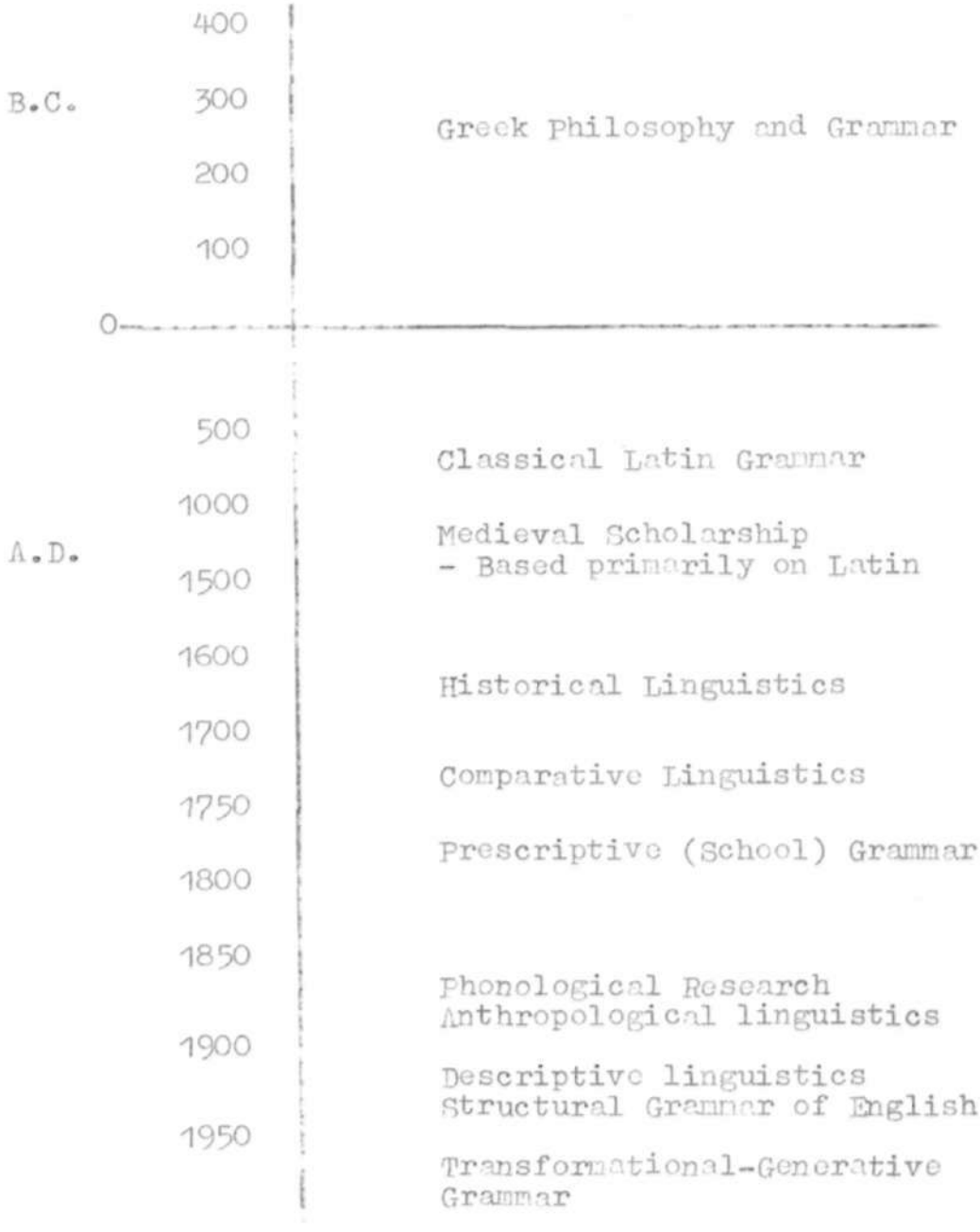
Transformational linguistics did not spring into existence in a void (see Figure 2). Significant things had happened in linguistics before its emergence. The Greeks, for example, had long developed schools of philosophy that dealt with the subject matter of linguistics. Panini, the Indian grammarian who worked in about 300 B.C. produced what is still being considered in linguistic circles as the 'most accurate and complete grammar of any language written to date'. Philosophers of the medieval time and the French Port Royal grammarians developed sophisticated systems of grammatical analysis. The work of the American structuralists initiated by Leonard Bloomfield (who worked under 'the reflex of Positivism upon the field of psychology that was known as Behaviorism') is well-known in linguistics. Their members still insist that 'all experimentation, all discussion, all research, and in effect all work of any kind done' must be restricted to those phenomena that are directly observable. This

approach is a reaction against metaphysical reasoning and vague mentalistic philosophy of traditional grammars.[6]

The structuralists, who dominated linguistics (especially in America) up to the emergence of Transformational-Generative grammar, placed great emphasis on methodology, and this culminated in a continuing attempt to specify a discovery procedure.[7] Their techniques of analysis were so rigorous and brilliantly executed that their most enthusiastic members thought that with little finishing touches, their procedures would become mechanical - such that one would 'only have to follow the program, like a machine, to discover the grammar of any language'.[8]

What seems to have been the proximate cause of the development of Transformational-Generative grammar is attributed to Zellig Harris's major 'conceptual break-through'. Harris, a structuralist himself, discovered that there is a formal relation holding between sentences in such a way that one sentence structure may be called the transform of another. As he observed, the relation is based on comparing individual co-occurrences of morphemes, a process through which we can characterize the

Figure 2: Temporal Typological Analysis*



*Source: Adapted from J.H. Herndon (1976:26).

distribution of certain classes 'which may not be definable in ordinary linguistic terms'. We can then go on to define transformation, 'based on two structures having the same set of co-occurrences'.[9] Much of what is now relatively well-defined notion of transformations stemmed from the work of Harris, who is appropriately described as 'a kind of linguistic John the baptist".[10]

Chomsky, the initiator of Transformational-Generative grammar, learnt how to do linguistics in the tradition of structuralism (see Figure 3). But he rejects the structuralists' 'notion that the structure of a language is basically rather simple and that all the signals of structure are physically overt'.[11] For Chomsky and his followers a language is like an iceberg in that it lies mostly below the surface - hence the careful distinction of deep and surface structures. (See Hungerford et al, 1970). They reject the behaviorism of the structuralists for older psychological assumption that the mind is hereditarily pre-programmed for the acquisition of certain kinds of knowledge, and that in particular there is an innate faculté de langage, a language acquisition device which accounts for the fact that all normal children can acquire language in substantially the same manner. The study of

Figure 3: Some Schools and Individuals in Modern Linguistics



Key ——→ strong, direct influence or development

- - - - - → less, direct influence

: cross-fertilization

*Source: D.J. Allerton, 1977, p.7.

universal grammar - the principles that underlie the processes of sentence-formation in all languages - may lead, according to them, to deep knowledge of the human mind. Their grammar is both traditional and innovative in bringing together techniques and theories from modern logic and mathematics. In the words of Simpson (1979:169), the result of the advent of Transformational Grammar is that "the study of grammar has expanded beyond the narrow aim of describing the workings of a natural language to become a tool in the investigation of the nature of man".

2.2 Standard Theory

The Transformational-Generative theory of language focused on syntax rather than semantics from 1957 through 1964. In a layman's term, the theory at this early stage was concerned with form rather than meaning. One major reason for revising the classical theory is the inclusion of meaning into Transformational grammar. The revised version is popularly known as 'standard theory'.

In the years following the publication of Syntactic Structures, Chomsky and his followers came to the conclusion that, as in the case of syntax, the meaning of sentences could be submitted

to the same kind of precise, formal analysis. "Since the function of syntactic rules is to state the relationship between semantics and surface structures, considerations of meaning are extremely important in justifying underlying representations". (Langacker, 1972: 108). In other words, for language to be complete, semantics should be included as an integral part of the grammar. And with this the native speaker's competence[12] is completely accounted for (cf Lyons 1977:79). For Chomsky, the grammar of a language is now a system of relating the meaning of each sentence it generates to its physical manifestation in the medium of sound.

At its face value, the standard theory is a complete account of the set of well-formed sound sequences and the set of well-formed semantic representations. This synthesis -'incorporating the grammatical and the semantic descriptions of a language into one integrated description' - was only possible because of the work of Katz and Fodor in their development of the semantic theory.[13] The kernel of the 'Katz-Fodor Hypothesis' is that transformations are meaning preserving, that is, 'that every two contiguous trees in a derivation

must be semantically equivalent' (Grinder and Elgin, 1973: 124).

The standard theory organizes grammar into three major components: the syntactic, the semantic and the phonological. The syntactic component has two subcomponents: the base and the transformational component. The whole system is outlined as follows:

Figure 4: The Structure of a Grammar

A. Syntactic Component
   (i) The Base
      (a) Phrase Structure Rules
      (b) Lexicon, with rules of lexical insertion
   (ii) The Transformational Component
B. Semantic Component
C. Phonological Component

A derivation is constructed by applying phrase-structure rules to produce a branching tree which defines various grammatical relationships. Then items are inserted from the lexicon at each terminal node on the tree. The result of these two operations is a deep structure that contains all the information required for an understanding of the sentence.

The other two components are purely interpretive in the sense that the meaning of the sentence is already in the deep structure prior to their application. The interpretive rules of the semantic component simply combine the various meanings of the lexical items, using projection rules. The projection rules are so called because they project meanings up the branches of the tree and combine two or more meanings when they meet at a particular node (see Thomas and Kintgen, 1974). Any meaning that is incompatible with other elements in the sentence is in this process of meaning combination suppressed by the projection rules. The result of the projection rules is called semantic reading.

We then return to the syntactic component and apply the appropriate transformational rules (which are exclusively determined by the nature of the deep structure) to get the surface structure of the sentence. Lastly, rules of the phonological component are applied to the surface structure to produce the phonetic - the 'spoken' - form of the sentence.

We must have created the impression that the standard theory is a linguistic panacea. If it

were, the extended standard theory could not have been proposed as an alternative a few years later.

The basic point of the extended standard theory is that, contrary to the previous position, the deep structure alone does not contain sufficient information to lead to certain aspects of the required semantic representation. (Cf Simpson, 1979). In this theory it is realized that concepts such as focus ('the word or words either referring to the particular piece of information being requested or else conveying new information') and presupposition ('the background information shared by the participants in the verbal exchange'), among others, cannot be possibly identified from the deep structure. The result of this reasoning is that the semantic interpretation rules must have access to the surface structure so as to determine fully the semantic representation. However, this modification does not affect the fact that the semantic component interprets the grammatical relations specified in the deep structure.

2.3 Choice of A Model

We have seen that transformational-Generative grammar has been in a state of continuous development since its inception in the late 1950s, and

there has been violent fermentation since the appearance in 1965 of Aspects of the Theory of Syntax with what is now called the 'standard theory'. Disputes flourish, and new ideas challenging the standard theory continually erupt. Existing syntactic models have their powers stretched to breaking point by recent theories of meaning. In Chomsky's words the field is at present 'in considerable ferment and it will probably be sometime before the dust begins to settle and a number of issues are even tentatively resolved'.[14] Writing almost nine years later, John Lyons says that there are "thesis, antithesis - and counter-thesis - but so far no synthesis".[15] It is therefore a necessary condition for a linguist of the camp of transformational grammar to make a temporal choice.

The standard theory, our chosen model, is mainly concerned with generation and transformation. The two are not logically dependent but it is on their inter-action that the plausibility of the grammar rests. The base of transformations is the notion that each sentence in the language has a 'deep structure' and a 'surface structure'.[16]

All linguists who accept the genuineness in any form of the distinction between the surface and

deep structure,[17] assume that the deeper level is more relevant for semantic analysis. The extreme acceptance of this distinction is the basis of other post-*Aspects* developments: that is, that "the deepest analysis of a sentence is its semantic interpretation, or meaning, from which its surface structure is derived by the successive operation of transformational rules".[18]

The purpose of transformations in natural language(s) research is to state explicitly the relations which native speakers by virtue of their competence, judge to exist between distinct surface structures. Therefore, transformations are the explicit statements of the structural relations, the formal analogues of the intuition of the relations which the native speakers identify. The argument that transformations do not change meaning rests on the belief that the meaning of the elements involved in each transformation is a part of the structure. The objection prompted by this explanation is that if the elements or their meanings reside in the deep structure, the rules that map out the deep structure could have also specified them in their appropriate places to avoid the unnecessary cumbersome processes of transformation. The story in transformational grammar would be the

same, the argument goes, if we postulate, for example, that the active form of a sentence has as a derivative formula: NP + V + NP and the passive NP + AUX + V + by NP, each operating independently.

However plausible this might appear to be, the phrase structure rules are bound to be congested with optional rules in cases where many transformational rules apply. Consider the following:

1. (a) John saw Ofor.

   (b) Was Ofor seen by John?

How are the phrase structure rules going to be formulated so as to include both the passive rule and the Q rule that gave 1(b)?

Another problem concerns nominalized strings. The shooting of the hunters, for example, involves two sets of transformations and they must be stated in order to show what makes the string ambiguous.

The number of transformations can be reduced by making some part of the phrase structure rules: but no linguist has clearly shown how all transformations can be made part of the phrase structure grammar. Thus we shall uphold the notion of transformations and all that they imply as they are found in the standard theory (for more details,

see 5.1.).

Compared with the earlier model, what we may consider as the greatest achievement of the standard theory is the inclusion of meaning into grammatical analysis. Language is no more the study of meaningless sounds. A link, however badly executed, has been established between sounds and meanings. Moreover, the standard theory has a stronger claim to the aims and objectives of transformational-generative grammar as a whole than the theories before and after it. For even if we see the extended standard theory as a more generalized account of the linguistic system, the forms the surface rules are to take in the grammar remain unspecified. This we consider dangerous to the rule-governed nature that gives transformational grammar its plausibility within and outside the linguistic circles.

As Thomas and Kintgen observe, the standard theory in Chomsky's Aspects of the Theory of Syntax (1965) is perhaps the "most important statement of his linguistic interests and position".[19] It is only at this point that Chomsky can claim a separate identity for his grammar. Beyond that we are stepping into the theory of performance. Chomsky knows about this unhealthy development but

played it down because for him the initial phrase markers, inter alia, "play a role in the theory of performance".[20] We are forced to conclude at this point that transformational-generative grammar has derailed from the study of competence to that of performance.

Yet Chomsky persuades us to still agree with Strawson that "the central thesis of the transformational grammars, the step which conditions the whole character of their theories, is the insistence that any adequate grammatical theory must recognize a distinction between the superficial syntactic structure, between its deep grammar and its surface grammar".[21] Moreover, he still wants us to understand the terms 'basic structure' and 'deep grammar' to refer to nonsuperficial aspects of surface structure. About the development following the standard theory Lyons remarks that it "can be described, in a very general way, as the progressive devaluation for the process of semantic interpretation of the notion of the deep structure".[22]

We shall, therefore, assume that the standard theory is to a great extent closer to the objective of a generative grammar, and it is "the first thorough-going attempt to come to grip with the

problem of grammatical explicitness". A related aim for the choice of this model is that it occupies a unique position in the development of Transformational Grammar. It is, as Thomas and Kintgen point out, "the point of departure for most current research, and is thus an indispensable prerequisite for advanced study in language".[23]

In conclusion, the standard theory assumes that all meaning resides in the deep structures after lexical items have been inserted. The idea of the deep and surface structures is closely tied up with the notion of universal grammar.

Notes to Chapter 2

1. Noam Chomsky Language and Responsibility (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977), p. 176.

2. The title of Chomsky's Ph.D. Dissertation.

3. See Chomsky, 1977, p. 106. Mitsou Ronat, on "The Birth of Generative Grammar", Chapter 5.

4. The chief sources of the theories are Syntactic Structures, 1957; Aspects of the Theory of Syntax 1965; Studies on Semantics in Generative Grammar, The Hague, 1972; respectively.

   It is appropriate to remark here that Chomsky made a wrong matching in the case of the extended theory. This writer is of the view that the standard theory with the 'full' notion of the deep structure is more closely tied to universal grammar than the extended standard theory.

5. We exclude from consideration versions of the theory that are not initiated or accepted by Chomsky himself. The aim is to give a simple, straightforward account of the grammar.

6. Rather than being a reaction against metaphysical reasoning and vague mentalistic philosophy of traditional grammar, a more plausible explanation of their scientific inclination is that they were trying to approach linguistics in line with the then prevailing scientific atmosphere.

7. Simply put, a discovery procedure is a mechanical device or method that takes a set of data as input and yields as output a grammar.

8. H. Hungerford, J. Robinson and J. Sledd (eds) English Linguistics (London: Scot, Foresman and Co: 1970), p. 12.

9. Quoted in J.T. Grinder and S.H. Elgin Guide to Transformational Grammar. History. Theory. Practice. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1973), p. 14.

10. H. Hungerford et al, ibid, p. 19.

11. H. Hungerford et al, ibid, pp. 12-13.

12. The question of COMPETENCE and PERFORMANCE is related to Transformational-Generative grammar's interest, not in the actual texts, but in what is linguistically possible. Every native speaker of a language has internalized a set of rules that serves as the basis of his ability to speak and understand the language. The objective of the linguist therefore, should be to study the knowledge of these rules (Competence), not the actual sentences he produces (Performance).

    The competence-performance distinction is important for understanding the point about the infinite number of sentences in a language. In theory we can go on ad infinitum, increasing the size of a sentence, but there are some practical limits. What prevents us from producing and understanding a sentence, of, say one thousand words has nothing to do with our knowledge of the language: it is simply our actual inability - the limitation of our memory.

    Again the distinction accounts for the fact that in most cases we do not speak 'grammatically'. A large portion of spoken utterances is full of false starts, uncompleted sequences, deviations and so on. However, the notion of grammaticalness, or correctness has raised a number of questions: What is a grammatical sentence? Who decides? According to what criteria? How do we separate grammatical from ungrammatical sentences? and many others. So some linguists feel that the spectre of traditional prescriptive grammar has reappeared thinly disguised by symbols, tree diagrams, and mathematical equations - all tools of analysis employed by Transformational Generative grammar.

13. See Katz and Fodor, 1964 (Bibliography).

14. Noam Chomsky Language and Mind (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1968), p.54, fn. 6.

15. John Lyons, 1977, p. 84.

16. See R.L. Liles, 1972, pp. 63-64.

17. Even in the extended standard theory Chomsky still upholds this distinction.

18. John Lyons New Horizons in Linguistics (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd, 1970), p. 27.

19. Owen Thomas and E.R. Kintgen, 1974, p.64.

20. Noam Chomsky, 1976, p. 83.

21. Quoted in Chomsky 1976, p. 84.

22. John Lyons, 1977, p. 101.

23. Owen Thomas and E.R. Kintgen, ibid, p. iv.

Chapter 3

RESEARCH PROCEDURE

3.0 Preamble

There are two discussion points in this chapter:

i. Sources of data; and

ii. Research Procedure.

i. Sources of data sub-divides into:

a) intuitive; and

b) formal sources.

ii. Research Procedure sub-divides into:

a) the procedure for data collection and

b) experimentation design.

3.1 Sources of Data

3.1.1 Intuitive Data

When the linguist is a native speaker of the language under study, primacy has generally been given to his own introspection. He creates from introspection a corpus that is believed to be relevant to the area under analysis; and this is taken to be more convenient than collecting a corpus and extracting the relevant data or conducting experiments and analyzing the results.

The main objection (according to transfor-

mationalists) against relying on a corpus is that it is limited in size and scope; and therefore it cannot include all that actually occurs in the language. A good number of features of the area under study is bound to be absent. Therefore, to make generalizations about the language, a linguist must not restrict himself to what appears in a corpus. This fact - that linguistics is concerned with far more than the range of patterns to be found in any corpus - has not been disproved (even by any linguists opposing transformational methodology[1]).

The intuitive data are derived primarily from the investigator/researcher who is a "native" speaker of Rivers State Pidgin, i.e. his introspection on the subject.

3.1.2 Formal Data

The formal data falls broadly into two: oral and written.

1. Oral

This sub-divides into: (a) Recital, and
(b) Discourse

(a) Recital (i) Two news items

(ii) Sixteen items of announcements and advertisements in the pidgin.

(b) Discourse

(i) One piece of 'local' music in the pidgin from Pope Ogbu (an artiste who sings mostly in Ogba language).

(ii) Five pieces of conversation in the pidgin.

2. Written

(i) Sixteen cartoon strips in the pidgin.

This study combines both sources (intuitive and formal sources). It is felt that these represent 'good enough' data.

3.2 Research Procedure

3.2.1 Procedure for Data Collection

Two kinds of procedure were used in collecting the five pieces of conversation that form a good portion of the oral data.

The researcher had two pieces of the conversation with one of his close friends on two separate

occasions. His friend was aware of the tape recorder on both occasions.

The first of the two pieces concerned the death of the wife of one of their friends. This was why the informant came home that weekend. The second piece was about the informant's mistress and their recent unceremonious separation. The fact that they were 'composed in real time in response to immediate situational demands' seems good enough to characterize them as 'natural'.

The other three pieces were tape-recorded surreptitiously.[2] The first of these three pieces of conversation was with an uncle's wife. She heard that the author was going to Port Harcourt and sent her daughter to tell him that she would come to give him a message for her husband. Before she came a small tape-recorder had been set ready for recording, with a 90-minute play cassette. The author used the same procedure to record the story of a brother's wife whom he sent for to come and tell him about a fight they had had at Akabuka market[3] a day before. The last piece was with one of his maternal aunts. He heard her talking with his mother in the latter's room. He knew that she would come to his room, as usual, to "greet" him. Moreso as he had called on her the previous day

but did not meet her at home, he was certain that she would come to tell him where she had gone.

Each informant was told about the recording at the end and why she was so recorded. The author asked, and was granted the permission to use the recordings. Most of the first piece was more or less a complaint, and so only a little part of it is represented here (appendix "C"). The other two pieces were edited to remove the noisy parts.

The oral data also contain one piece of local music in the pidgin. The plate containing the number was played from a disc and tape-recorded. The artiste, Pope Melody Ogbu, sings mostly in Ogba language . The piece titled 'Nwakpariuka' (literally, 'one that does not talk') tells a story about his encounter with a dumb person in a hotel in Port Harcourt.

The rest of the oral data came from the radio. The radio, as Stubbs (1983) observes, has recently become a major source of data easily available to researchers. The two radio houses in the Rivers State have many pidgin programmes. The programmes represented here were taped directly from the radio

while being broadcast. The rest of the radio data were sixteen programme announcements. Some of them are designed in line with the present "War Against Indiscipline" going on in the country. The radio data have the advantage of being recorded, and read without the researcher in view. The fact that they are also recitals is beside the point here.

The only written text in the pidgin the present writer knows about is the cartoon which appears regularly on page sixteen, right bottom-most corner of the "Nigerian Tide", a daily newspaper printed and published by the Rivers State Newspaper Corporation (No. 4 Ikwerre Road, Port Harcourt). Sixteen of the Cartoon strips were culled by the author. They appeared on different dates, between 1983 and 1984.

Due to copyright restrictions, the radio data, the piece of local music and the cartoon strips will not be formally represented or used in the analysis in this work. The rest of the data appear in the appendices at the end of this work.

3.3 Post-Data Collection Test

Many scholars have pointed out the fact that there exist different forms of Nigerian Pidgin that vary not only from region to region but also from one speaker to another (Cf Faraclas et al, 1983-84; Mafeni, 1971; Spencer, 1971; etc.). To ascertain if there exists among such vagaries a "common-denominator grammar", the author carried out a post-data collection test in December, 1984. Five Rivers State students in the Ahmadu Bello University, Samaru, Zaria, were used. The process is described below.

3.3.1 Preliminary Test

To ascertain whether or not the subjects were capable of differentiating English sentences from those of the pidgin, the following three pairs of sentences were read to each of the subjects, each pair at a time, and the subjects were asked to tell whether they were (1) all English sentences, (2) all pidgin sentences, and (3) English and pidgin sentences.

1. (a) Him no sabi di man we kom dia haws yestade.

(b) I do not know what you are talking about.

2. (a) He tended her and nursed her back to health.

(b) We visited several students and found them all at work.

3. (a) Na hu giv yu di buk we yu de rid?

(b) Him tok se de no go kom.

The results of the preliminary test were the same. Each of the five subjects identified 1 (a) as a pidgin sentence, 1 (b) as an English sentence; sentences 2 (a) and (b) were both identified as English; and sentences 3 (a) and (b) were both identified as pidgin.

3.3.2 The Main Test

Fifty sentences (here called 'target sentences') were picked at random from the data described in 3.2.1 above by the author and translated into English. These English equivalents (here called 'test sentences') were read to the five informants differently and they were asked to give their equivalents in the pidgin. Their pidgin equivalents (here called 'result sentences) were closely compared with the target sentences.

3.3.3 Ratings

Acceptability, as Quirk and Greenhaum (1970:6) remark, is gradable. The evaluation was done on a three-point scale: 'Perfectly Natural and Normal' (PN); 'Somewhere Between' (SB); and 'Wholly Unnatural and Abnoramal' (WU).

Where the result sentence was similar to the target sentence, 'x' was marked under PN: a little deviation (for example a difference in choice of lexical items), was taken as SB, and a radical difference in structure marked the sentence WU. Numerical values were assigned as follows:

PN	=	2 marks
SB	=	1 mark
WU	=	0 mark

This permits quantification of language use. At the end of each interview the total scores of PN were taken and multiplied by two. Likewise, the total scores of SB were taken and multiplied by one. The sum total of the two gave the percentage score of each informant. The table below summarizes the results of the test.

Table 1: Scale

S/N	Informant	PN	SB	WU	Percentage Score
1	Thankgod Wiro	40	8	2	88
2	Felix Nnebue	41	8	1	90
3	Victoria Woke	36	12	2	84
4	Julius Urombo	42	7	1	91
5	Olobo Pollyn	36	10	4	82
	Average				87%

3.3.4 Trends Drawn From the Test

As the whole of this procedure shows, in determining the 'form' of the pidgin to be used in this work, we were guided by percentage similarities. The striking degree of uniformity of the results of the test goes a long way to confirming some impressions about Rivers State Pidgin earlier assumed. First, it is confirmed that the pidgin has a syntactic structure that is distinct from that of English; except that, as it is believed in Transformational grammars, there are cases of overlapping based on the general characteristics of all human languages.

However, unlike English, this structure is almost immutable, and this may account for the

similarity between the target and result sentences. There are differences, no doubt, but they are so unimportant that we cannot be restrained from reaching the above conclusions. It is Hockett's (1973:83) view that when "the aim of our investigation into a language is "synchronic" or 'descriptive' we choose, quite legitimately to ignore the innumerable tiny changes that are going on during the period of our investigation, most of which would escape detection anyway, as well as the obvious personal idiosyncracies".

3.4 Method of Transcription

One of the biggest problems confronting a writer on pidgin languages is the choice of a suitable orthography. Only a few of them have standardized orthographies. Nigerian Pidgin has none. The bits and pieces of the language found in written forms show 'many discrepancies and inconsistencies'. Todd (1974: 85) argues "that because the standard English orthography reflects no specific pronunciation with any precision it is capable of representing a whole spectrum of Pidgin/Creole pronunciations as it now represents various British, American and Indian pronunciation". This view is laudable but dangerous. It is capable

not only of distorting the nature of the language but also of making it 'appear at best dialectal, at worst inferior'. The price is too great to pay!

The author has therefore resorted to the use of what Hall (1966:41) calls "ethnophonemic orthography" which makes each grapheme (unit of written shape) correspond to a phoneme of the language and the other way around. Apart from representing the pronunciation of the language with some degree of accuracy, a practical orthography of this kind removes the unconscious impression of taking the pidgin for a 'reduced' form of English which might be caused by the use of English orthography. However, for typographical convenience, a few of the graphemes have more than one value.

Recognizably, pronunciation varies not only among the different tribal groups in the state but also - most of all, in fact - among speakers of different levels of education in English, age and experiences. To reconcile these inconsistencies (and thereby avoid setting up a separate orthography for each informant) the pronunciation is idealized, modelling the present writer's.

Below is the orthography employed. Notice that the letters on the left column represent the sounds on the right enclosed in square brackets.

a	[a]	as in	papa	'father'
b	[b]	as in	bele	'stomach'
d	[d]	as in	di	'the'
e	[ɛ]		den	'then'
		as in		
	[e]		de	'day'
f	[f]	as in	fosa	'for nothing'
g	[g]	as in	got	'goat'
h	[h]	as in	hala	'shout'
i	[i]	as in	bigin	'begin'
j	[dʒ]	as in	juju	'talisman'
k	[k]	as in	kain	'kind'
l	[l]	as in	luk	'look'
m	[m]	as in	mama	'mother'
n	[n]	as in	nak	'knock'
o	[o]		go	'go'
		as in		
	[ɔ]		wowo	'ugly'
p	[p]	as in	pesin	'person'
r	[r]	as in	ron	'run'
s	[s]	as in	sabi	'know'
t	[t]	as in	tanda	'standstill'

u	[u]	as in	yu	'you'
v	[v]	as in	liva	'liver'
w	[w]	as in	wetin	'what'
y	[y]	as in	yad	'yard'
z	[z]	as in	zip	'zip'
ch	[tʃ]	as in	choch	'church'
sh	[ʃ]	as in	shem	'shame'

Notes to Chapter 3

1. See David Crystal Linguistics (Penguin Books, 1971), p. 103.

2. Two of the three informants from whom this set of data was collected are not formally educated in English. The other holds the first school leaving certificate.

   The author's village was chosen for this set of data because English is not so much spoken there as to influence the informants' pidgin. In the townships, there are still many people who communicate only in English and it is dangerous to underrate the effect of their English on the pidgin of the uneducated who are their neighbours, vendors, servants, etc.

3. Akabuka is a periodic market that holds every Nkwo day of the four-day native week. It is the largest in the area, and its central position draws a great crowd to it.

Chapter 4

SENTENCE STRUCTURE

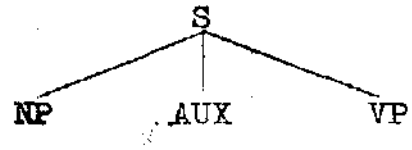
4.0 Preamble

For reasons to be given later in this chapter (see 4.2), it will be assumed in this work that every sentence has three basic constituents in the deep structure: a noun phrase (NP), an auxiliary (AUX), and a verb phrase (VP). If we formulate a rule to represent this fact, it may read as follows: "A sentence consists of a noun phrase followed by an auxiliary and a verb phrase". This rule can be abbreviated by convention as

$$S \rightarrow NP + AUX + VP$$

and may be shown as a tree (figure 5).

Figure 5: A Tree-Diagram



Such rules are called phrase structure rules (PS-Rule, for short).

The aim of this chapter is to use the phrase

structure rule format of English to show the constituents of sentences in Rivers State Pidgin. We begin with the node called the Noun Phrase Constituent.

4.1 Noun Phrase

The term 'noun phrase' seems a misnomer in Transformational Generative Grammars. It designates a clause, a single word as well as a phrase. However, the major defining characteristic of a noun phrase is perhaps the ability to function as a subject or object (see Langacker, 1972: 194).

Noun phrases in Rivers State Pidgin consist of a head noun and various modifiers: and a rule for their structural possibilities can be written as:

$$NP \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} NP & S \\ (DET) & N\ (S) \end{matrix} \right\}$$

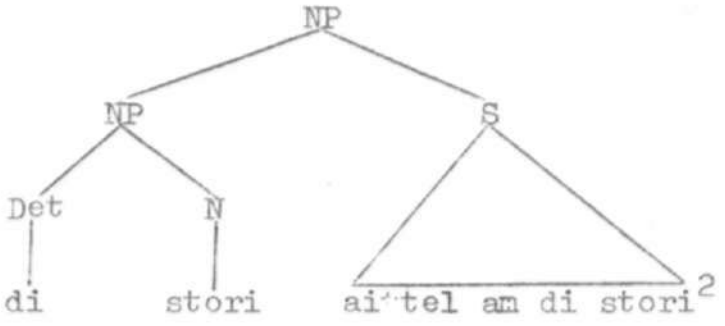
(a) If the upper line is chosen, the structure is that of a noun phrase which contains a relative clause, as in the following:

1. Di stori we ai tel am.
   (The story which I told him)

2. Di fud we him giv os.
   (The food which he gave us).
3. Di man we yu si.
   (The man whom you saw).

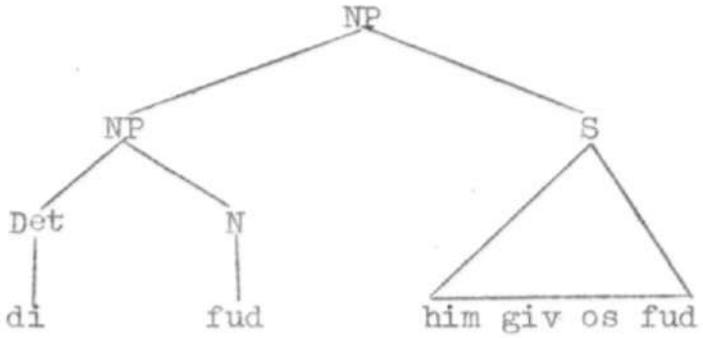
The underlying representation of these noun phrases can be shown by the tree diagram as follows.[1]

Example 1:

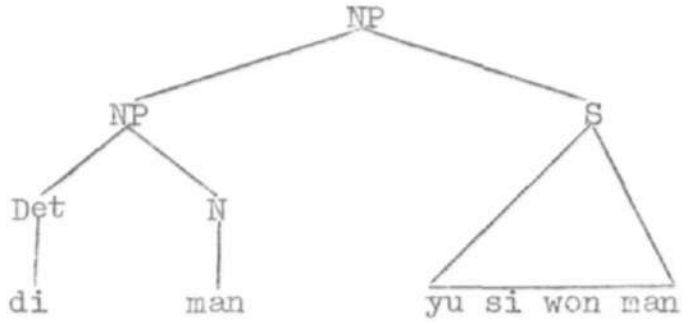


[2]

Example 2:



Example 3:



(Notice that the noun which a relative clause modifies is called the head noun, the principal noun of any noun phrase - whether or not it contains a modifying clause).

The underlying representation of a relative clause contains a noun that is coreferential to the head (as the diagrams above show). The repeated noun phrase is reduced to a special pronominal form called a relative pronoun. In the pidgin this relative pronoun is we, substituted for all nouns. This relative pronoun is then moved to the beginning of the clause, adjacent to the head noun.[3]

(b) If the lower line of the rule is chosen, four possibilities are open:

(i) a noun only, as in

4. Wowo bin kom yestade.

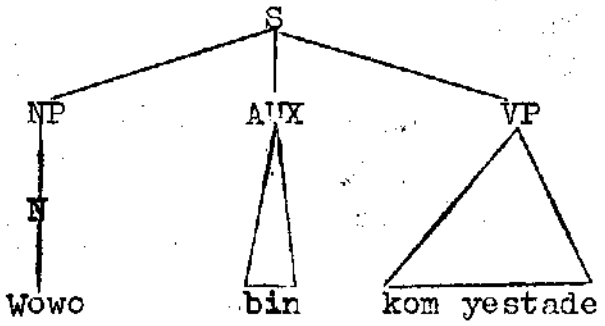
(Wowo came yesterday).

5. Gozie don go dia.

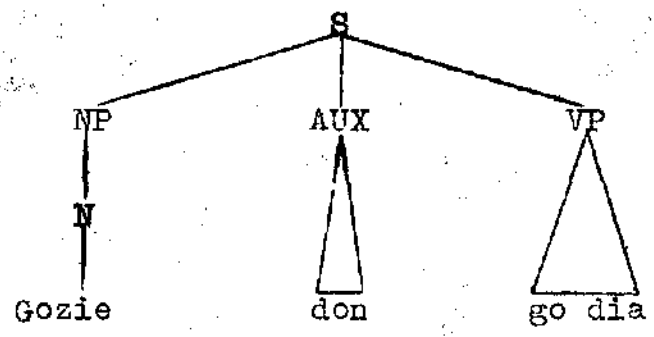
(Gozie has gone there).

The underlying structures of 4 and 5 can be represented as follows:

Example 4:



Example 5:



(ii) a determiner and a noun, as in:

6. Dat gel bin still for maket.

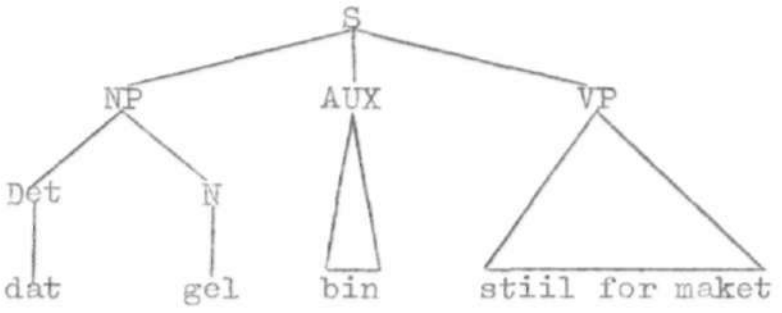
(That girl stole in the market).

7. Di woman de dans.

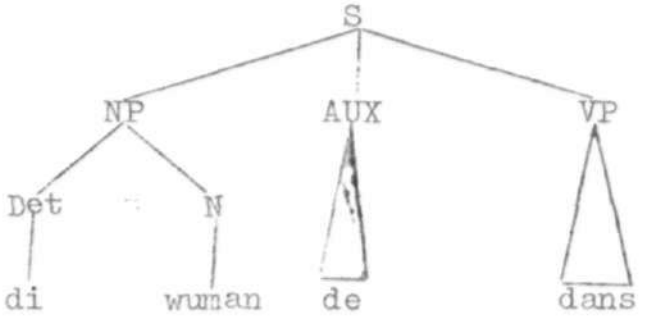
(The woman dances/is dancing).

6 and 7 can be shown in the deep structure as:

Example 6:



Example 7:

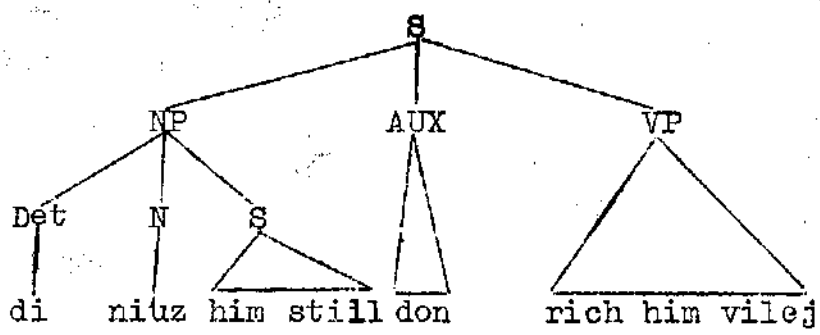


(iii) a determiner a noun and a sentence, as in:

8. Di niuz se him stiil don rich him vilej.
(The news that she stole has reached her village).

The deep structure of this sentence can be shown as:

Example 8:

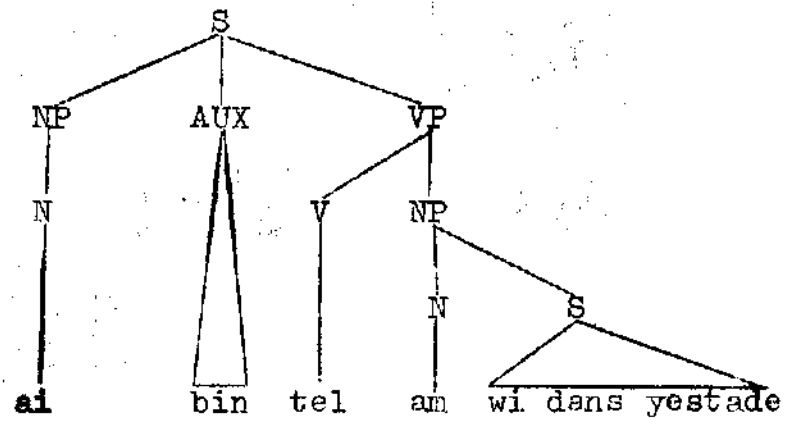


(iv) a noun followed by a sentence,[4] as in:

9. Ai bin tel am se wi dans yestade.
(I told him that we danced yesterday).

The deep structure of 9 can be shown as:

Example 9:



4.2 Auxiliary

The term 'auxiliary' as it is used here consists of separate verb-like entities that mark

tense, modality and aspect in the pidgin. According to Mathesius (1975:63), "Tense, aspect and mood (modal) resemble each other in that they reflect the subjective conception of the action expressed by the verb and may even overlap". They all precede the verb and may or may not be present in any particular sentence.

Transformationalists are divided as to whether the auxiliary is to be part of the verb phrase or a separate constituent from the S node. Here the auxiliary is treated as a separate constituent, directly under the domination of the S node because all the elements under it do not 'belong' to the verb from the standpoint of how words are combined to make up grammatical sentences in the pidgin.

All structural possibilities for the auxiliary constituent can be represented by the following rule:

AUX ⟶ Tense (Modal) (Aspect).

4.2.1 Tense[5]

PS-Rule: $\text{Tense} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Present} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \emptyset \\ \text{de} \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{Past} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \emptyset \\ \text{bin} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\}$

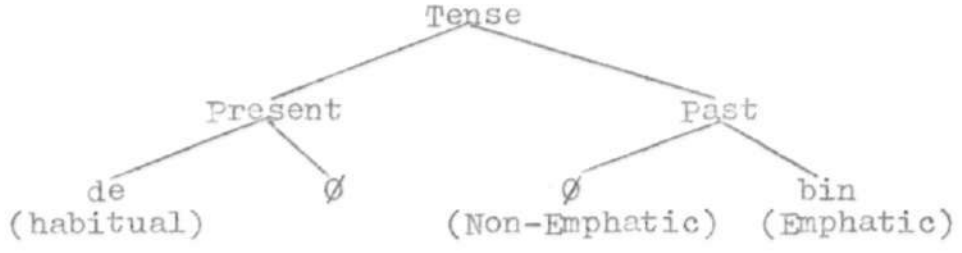
(See the tense tree, figure 6).

The formulation above seems to capture the whole gamut of tense in the pidgin by allowing for the variations (or 'irregularities') found in the following sentences:

10. Ai si am.
    (I see him).
    (I saw him).
11. Ai de si am.
    (I see him).
12. Ai bin si am.
    (I saw him or I did see him).

As in English, we shall assume in this study that tense is obligatorily present in the deep structure of every pidgin sentence. It does not matter whether or not tense is realized in the surface structure. In English, for instance, the present formative - S is re-written as zero (or null string) in the surface structure when the subject noun phrase is I, you, we, or they, etc. as the following sentences, 13 (a) - (d), show:

Figure 6: Tense Tree Diagram



13. (a) You see the girl.
    (b) I see the girl.
    (c) We see the girl.
    (d) They see the girl.

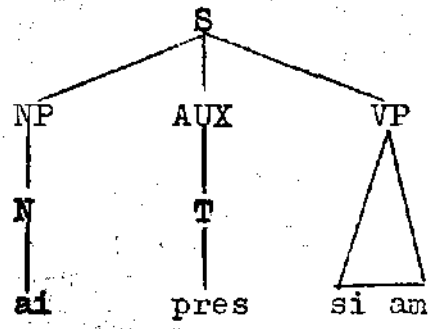
Also in English the past formative -ed is re-written as zero (or null string) in the surface structure when shut, cut, put, hit, etc. are involved, as these sentences, 14 (a) - (d), show:

14. (a) I cut the rope.
    (b) She hit the dog with a rod.
    (c) He shut the door angrily.
    (d) They put the book there ten years ago.

However, the view adopted here is similar in principle to Traugott's (1976:73) that "Past tense, if expressed, is periphrastic..., bin signals not mere past time, but rather emphasis on the past, sometimes a past which is relatively remote. Present tense or unemphatic past usually remains unexpressed".[6]

Following this, examples 10, 11, and 12 can be shown in the deep structure as:

Example 10:

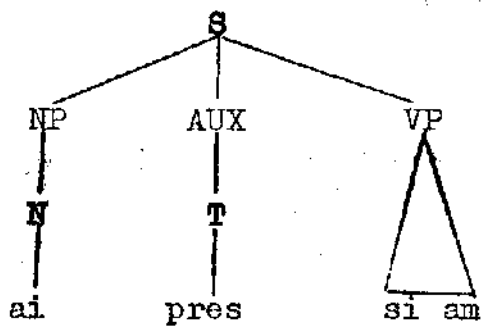


Condition

Tense ⟶ ∅

⇒ Ai si am.

Example 11:

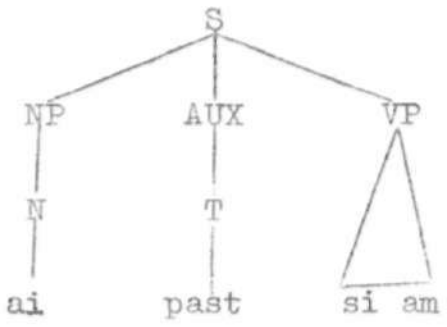


Condition

Tense ⟶ de

⇒ Ai de si am.

Example 12:



Condition

Tense ⟶ bin

⇒ Ai bin si am.

Notice that the syntactic present and past are mutually exclusive in the pidgin, as in English. Their mutually exclusive relationship can be expressed as:

$$m \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} p \\ \\ q \end{Bmatrix},$$

where m is the tense node, p present and q past. If a choice is not made between the two, the following ungrammatical strings would occur:

15. *Ai de bin si am.

16. *Onete de bin dans.

4.2.2 Modals[7]

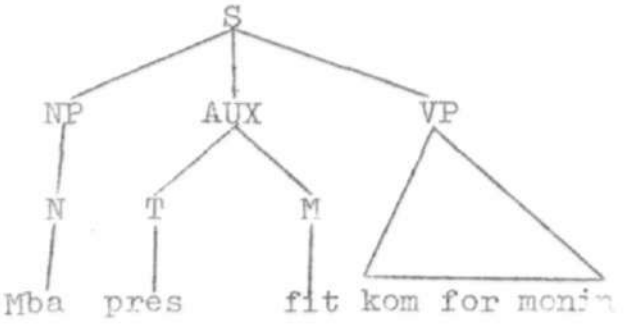
Modals include words such as go, fo fit, etc.[8]

FIT is multifunctional, expressing probability, possibility and capability. Consider these:

17. Mba fit kom fo monin.
    (Mba may come in the morning)
18. Ai fit kil am.
    (I can kill it).
19. Him fit do am.
    (He could do it).

The deep structures of 17, 18 and 19 can be shown as:

Example 17:

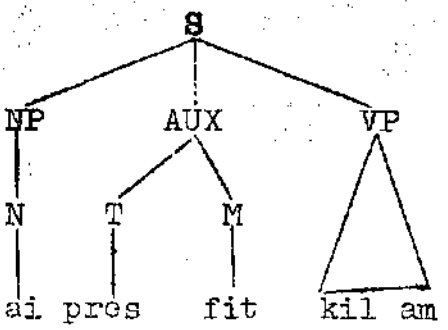


Condition

Tense $\longrightarrow \emptyset$

$\Rightarrow$ Mba fit kom fo monin.

Example 18:

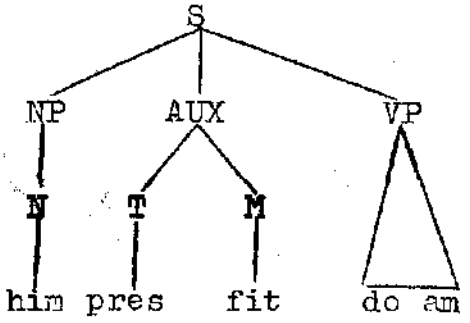


Condition

Tense ⟶ ∅

⇒ Ai fit kil am.

Example 19:



Condition

Tense ⟶ ∅

⇒ Him fit do am.

FO is used in both conditional and subjunctive constructions. It may be glossed in English as "should have" and "would have" (see Agheyisi, 1971:138). Consider 20 and 21.

20. Ai for bai dat redio.

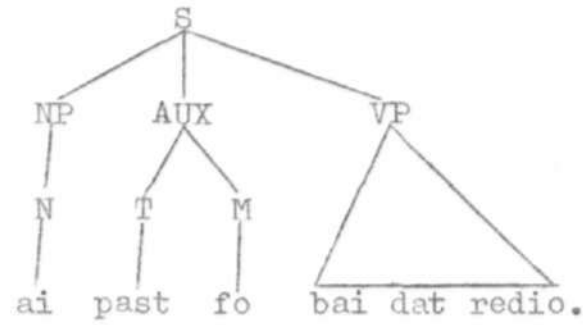
(I would have bought that radio).

21. Ai fo don go hom.

(I should have gone home).

The deep structure of these two sentences can be shown as:

Example 20:

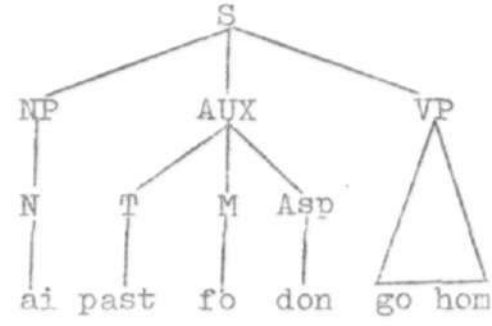


Condition

Tense $\longrightarrow$ Ø

$\Rightarrow$ Ai fo bai dat redio.

Example 21:



Condition

Tense $\longrightarrow$ Ø

$\Rightarrow$ Ai fo don go hom.

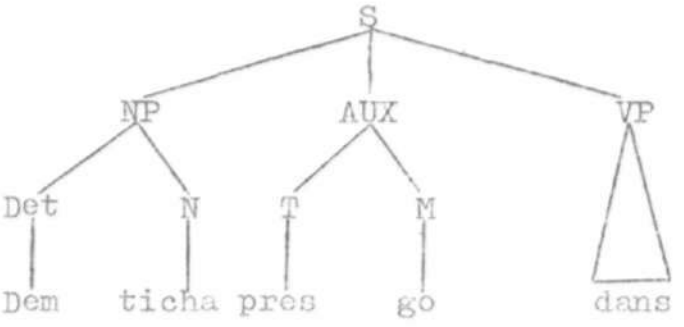
GO expresses determination and futurity. Consider:

22. Wi go go.
(We will go).

23. Dem ticha go dans.
(Their teacher will dance).

The underlying structure of sentence 23 can be represented in terms of the following diagram:

Example 23:



Condition

Tense $\longrightarrow \emptyset$

$\Rightarrow$ Dem ticha go dans.

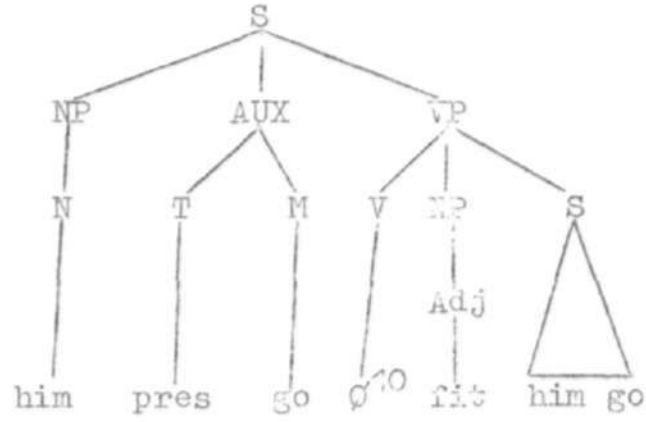
The problem with go as a modal formative is that it can co-occur with fit, another modal formative. The sentences following are grammatical:

24. Him go fit go.
((a) He can go).
((b) He will be able to go)

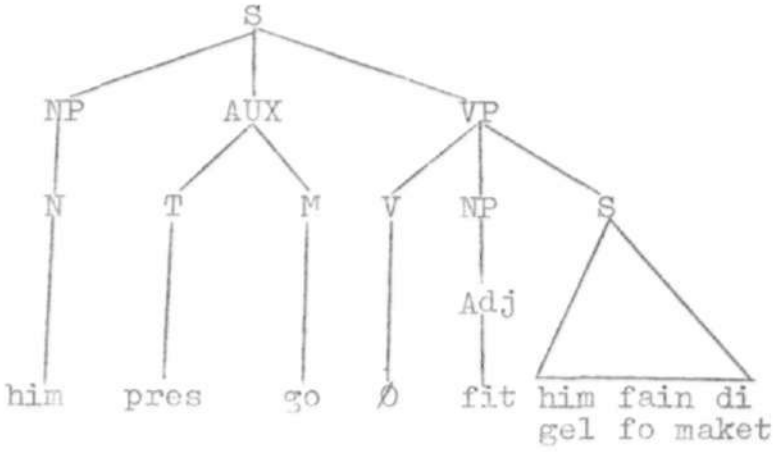
25. Him go fit faind di gel for maket.
((a) He might find the girl in the market).
((b) He will be able to find the girl in the market).

What this suggests is that go is not a modal but a temporal formative (like *de* and *bin*), indicating only futurity. If this hypothesis is correct then Rivers State Pidgin has a three-tense system: and this might defy our formulation here based on the English two-tense system (Simpson, 1979:195). However, if we take the (b) glosses of the two sentences (24 and 25) we will be able to represent them as follows:

Example 24:[9]



Example 25:



4.2.3 Aspect[11]

(1) PS-Rule: Asp ⟶ (Perfect) Progressive)

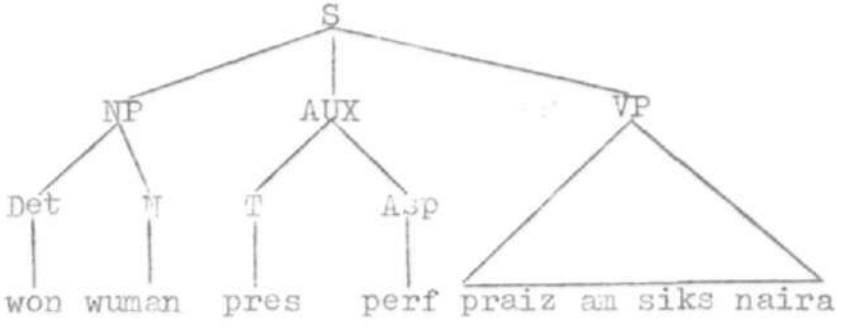
(i) Perf ⟶ don, as in:

26. Won wuman don praiz am siks naira.

(A woman has offered six naira for it)

The deep structure of 26 can be represented by the following tree diagram:

Example 26:



Conditions

Tense ⟶ Ø

Perf ⟶ don

⇒ Won wuman don praiz am siks naira.

A construction with the perfective don can not be negated by using no. The following strings are therefore ungrammatical:

27. *Him no don go.

28. *Dem no don si di boket.

The pidgin employs neva, a negative perfective market which must be used in this case, thus:

29. Him neva go. (He has not gone yet).

30. Dem neva si di boket. (They have not seen bucket yet).

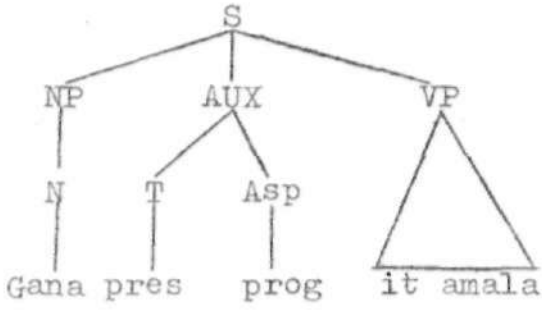
(ii) Prog ⟶ de, as in:

31. Gana de it amala.

(Gana is eating amala).

shown in the deep structure as:

Example 31:



(iii) Both perfect and progressive are mutually inclusive. The absence or presence of one does not depend upon the other, but whenever they occur together it must be in the order perf + prog. This can be expressed by the formula

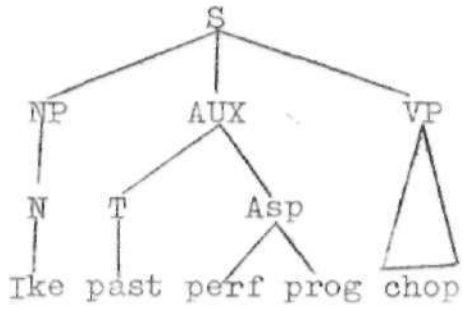
$$a \longrightarrow (b)\ (c),$$

where a is the aspect constituent, b perfect and c progressive. Consider the following:

32. Ike bin don de chop.
    (Ike would have been eating).
33. Yu go don de dans.
    (You will have been dancing).

Sentences 32 and 33 can be shown in the deep structure as:

Example 32:



Conditions

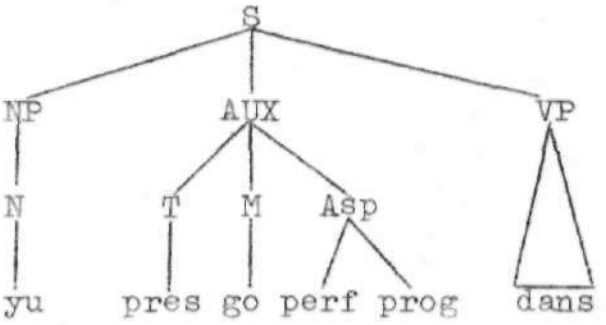
Tense $\longrightarrow$ bin

perf $\longrightarrow$ don

prog $\longrightarrow$ de

$\Rightarrow$ Ike bin don de chop.

Example 33:



Conditions

Tense ⟶ Ø

Perf ⟶ don

Prog ⟶ de

⇒ Yu go don de dans.

Notice the multifunctionality of de and don. de apart from describing "usual, habitual, or 'generic' activities" which are in English done by the present tense, and indicating the progressive aspect, also functions as the verb "be" in English. don is not only an aspectual particle but also a 'full' verb in its own right, meaning "cook", among others. Consider:

34. Mai fada bin de fo haws.
(My father was in the house).

35. Di fud bin don welwel.
(The food was well cooked).

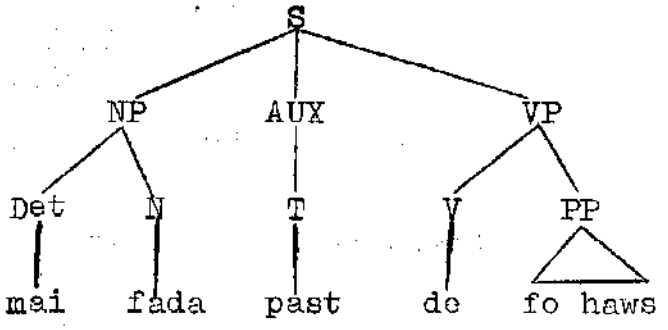
Notice also that "De alone can have existential reference" Todd (1984:147). For example

36. Wota de.

(There is water)

The deep structure of 34 to 36 can be shown as follows:

Example 34:

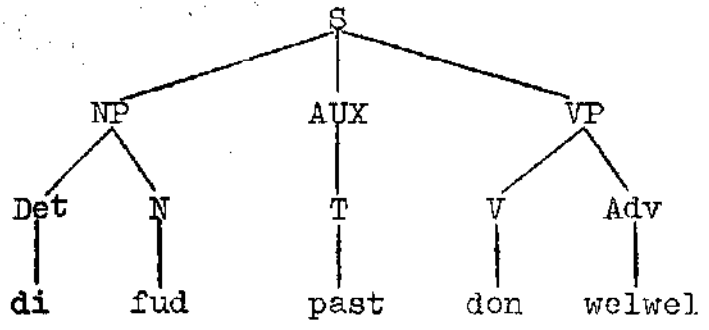


Condition

Tense ⟶ bin

=> Mai fada bin de fo haws.

Example 35:

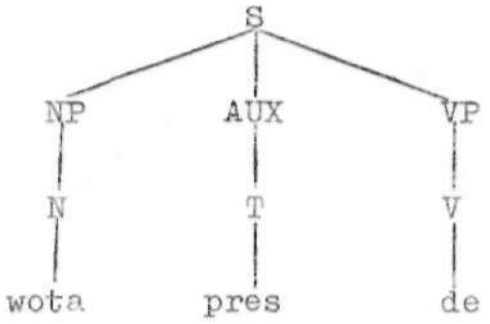


Condition

Tense ⟶ bin

=> Di fud bin don welwel.

Example 36:



Generally, there is the covert tendency in Rivers State Pidgin to subordinate the function of tense to that of aspect. Put differently, it is often more significant to consider whether an action is ongoing or completed by the time of speaking than to consider whether it is past or not.[12]

4.2.4 An Auxiliary Paradigm[13]

All elements of the auxiliary are in principle mutually inclusive as might be shown in the paradigm below. Notice that the list is by no means exhaustive.

RSP	ENGLISH
Him de chop	He eats/is eating.
Him go chop	He will eat.
Him don chop	He has eaten.

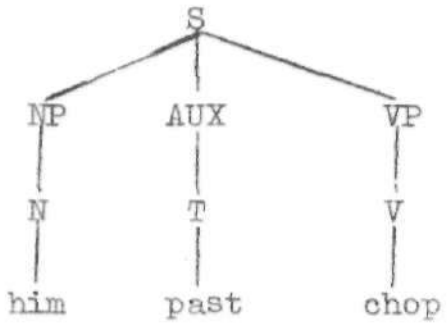
RSP	ENGLISH
Him bin chop	He ate.
Him bin de chop	He was eating.
Him bin don chop	He had eaten.
Him don de chop	He has been eating.
Him bin don de chop	He had been eating.
Him go de chop	He will be eating.
Him go don chop	He will have eaten.
Him go don de chop	He will have been eating.
Him bin go don chop	He would have eaten.
Him fit de chop	He could be eating.
Him fit don chop	He could have eaten.
Him fit don de chop	He could have been eating.
Him fo don de chop	He should have been eating.
Him fo don chop	He should have eaten.

4.3 Verb Phrase

A verb phrase must contain at least one element, a verb (abbreviated V). The verb is the primary constituent of a verb phrase; and is without exception, the first element of a verb phrase in the deep structure.

The whole of the verb phrase in the pidgin can possibly be expressed by the rule

Example 37:

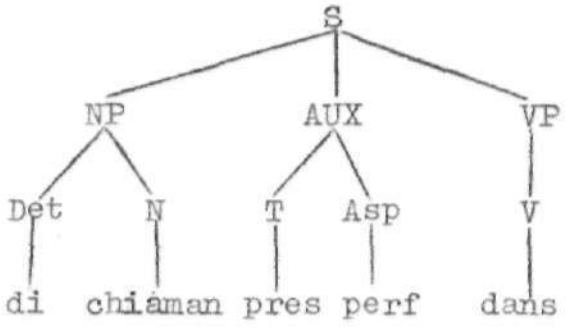


Condition

Tense ⟶ bin

⇒ Him bin chop.

Example 38:



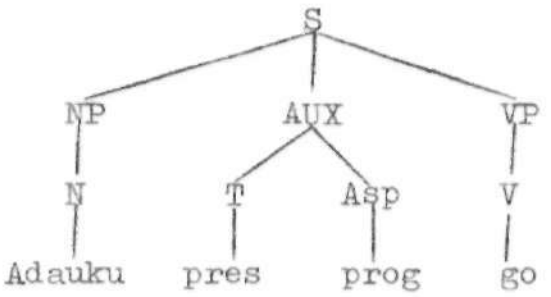
Conditions

Tense ⟶ ∅

Perf ⟶ don

⇒ Di chiaman don dans.

Example 39:



Conditions

Tense ⟶ ø

Prog ⟶ de

⇒ Adauku de go.

(ii) a verb phrase containing a verb followed by one noun phrase. This can be expressed by a PS-Rule:

VP ⟶ V + NP,

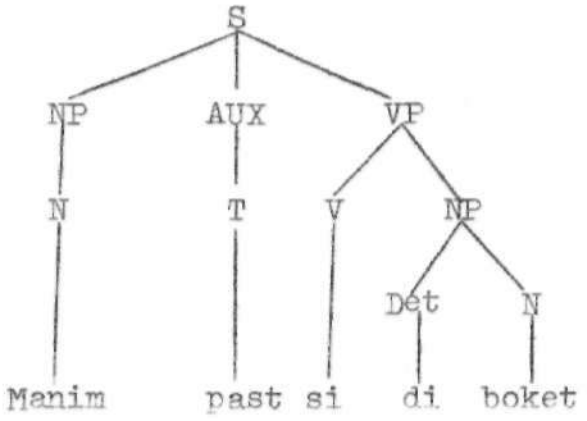
exemplified in these sentences:

40. Manin bin si di boket.
(Manim saw the bucket).

41. Im kari di baisikol.
(He took the bicycle).

Sentences 40 and 41 can be shown in the deep structure as:

Example 40:

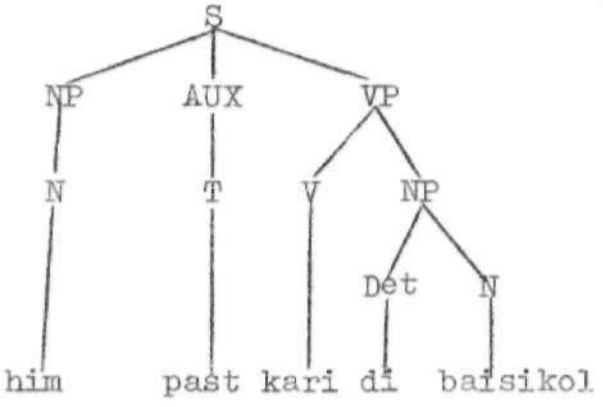


Condition

Tense ⟶ bin

⇒ Manin bin si di boket.

Example 41:



Condition

Tense ⟶ ø

⇒ Him kari di baisikol.

(iii) a verb phrase containing a verb followed by two noun phrases. This can be expressed by a PS-Rule:

$$VP \longrightarrow V + NP + NP$$

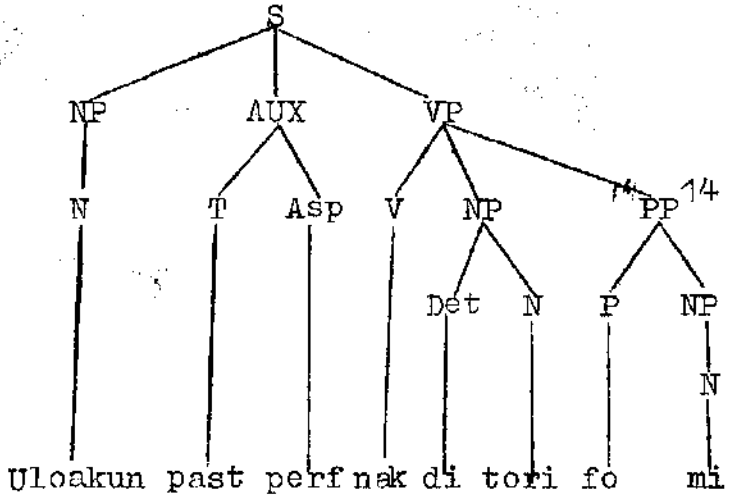
The following sentences are examples of such verb phrases:

42. Uloakun bin don nak mi di tori.
(Uloakun had told me the story).

43. Won wuman don praiz am siks naira,
(A woman has offered six naira for it).

The phrase marker for example 42 can be shown as:

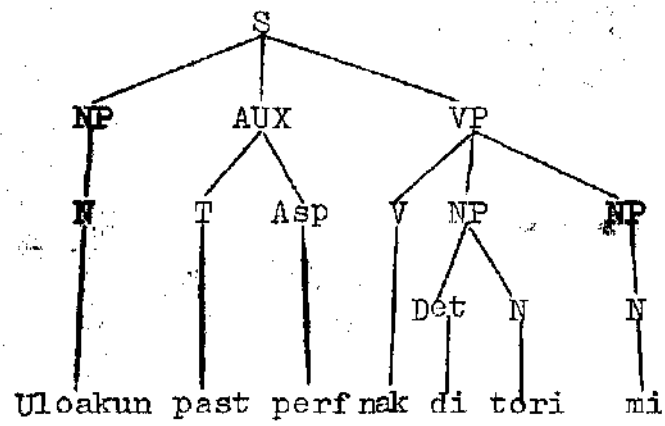
Example 42:



Two transformations would apply to this structure to generate its surface structure. The first is the preposition deletion transformation which deletes the preposition constituent to generate

this intermediate structure, 42b.

Example 42b:

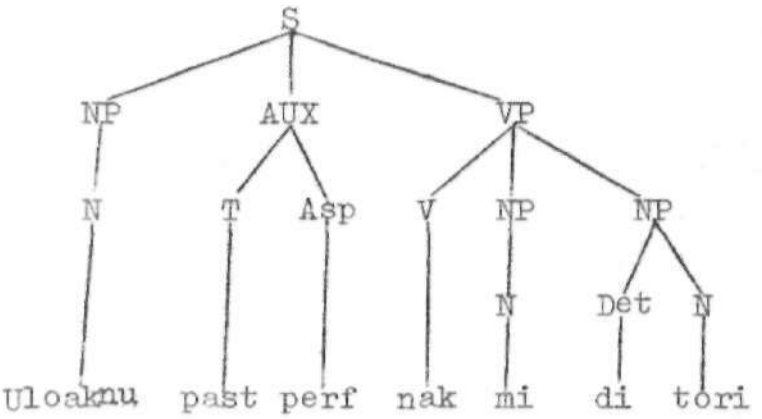


Next is the indirect object inversion transformation that reverses the order of the two noun phrases. The rule can be stated as:

	X	NP	NP	Y
S.D. :	1	2	3	4
S.C. :	1+3	Ø	Ø	2+4

Once this rule is applied 42c below would be generated.

Example 42c:



Conditions

Tense → bin

Perf → don

⇒ Uloaknu bin don nak mi di tori.

(iv) a verb phrase containing a verb followed by a sentence. The phrase structure rule for this can be written as:

$$VP \longrightarrow V + S$$

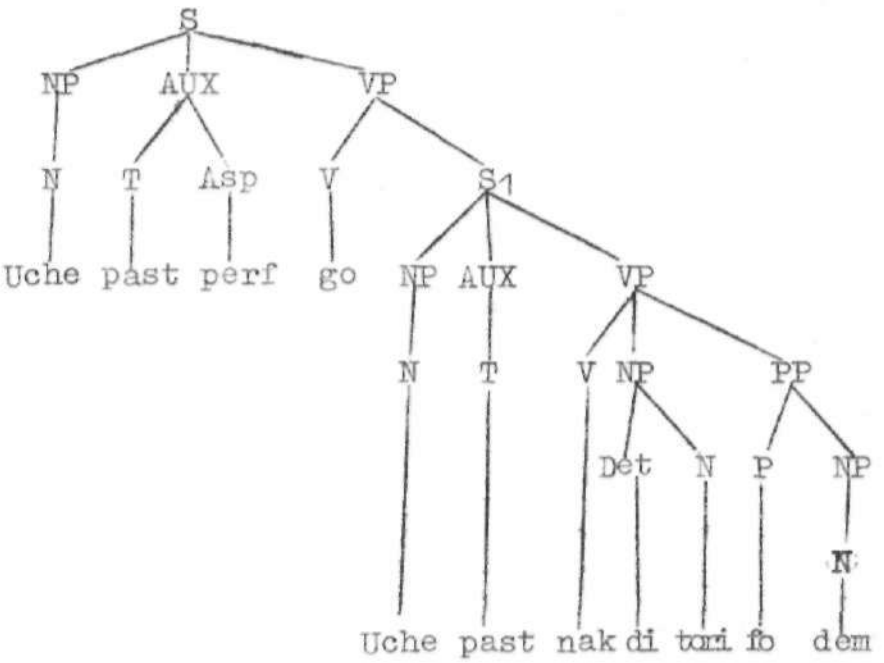
Examples of this type of verb phrases are 44 and 45.

44. Uche bin don go nak dem di tori.
(Uche had gone to tell them the story).

45. Mba don kom tel os abawt him joni.
(Mba has come to tell us about his journey).

The underlying structures of sentences 44 and 45 can be shown as:

Example 44:



Conditions

Apply 1. Preposition deletion transformation

2. Indirect Object Inversion transformation.

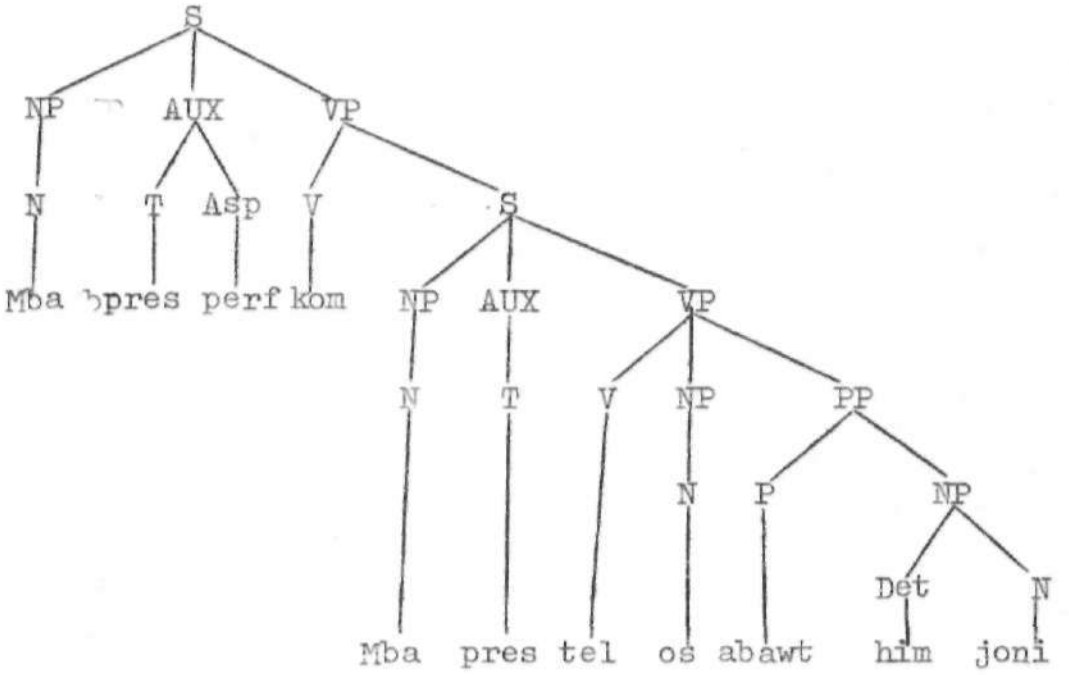
3. Equi-NP transformation[15]

Tense → bin

Perf → don

⇒ Uche bin don go nak dem di tori.

Example 45:



Conditions

Apply Equi-NP transformation

Tense → Ø

Perf → don

⇒ Mba don kom tel os abawt him joni.

(v) a verb phrase containing a verb followed by a noun followed by a sentence.[16] The Phrase structure rule for this can be written as:

VP → V + NP + S

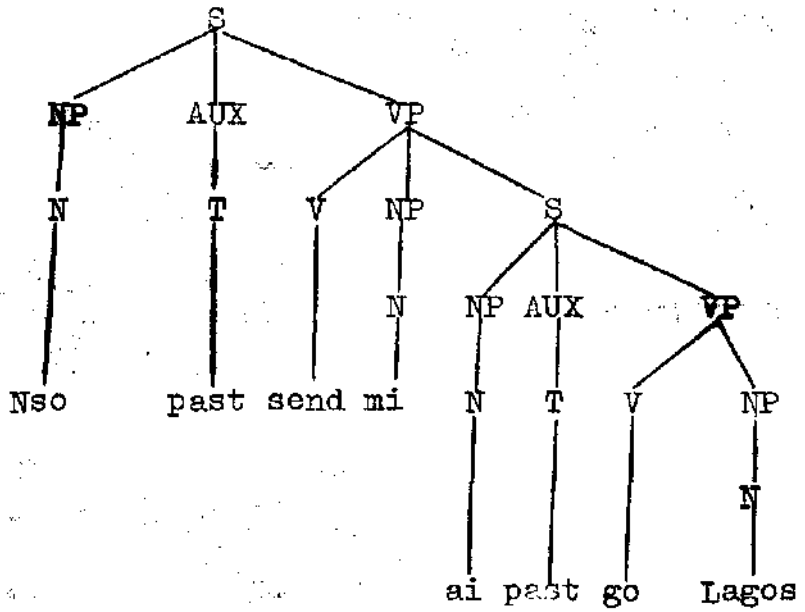
An example of this is 46.

46. Nso send mi go Lagos.

(Nso sent me to Lagos).

The deep structure of this sentence can be shown as:

Example: 46:



Conditions

Apply Equi-NP transformation

Tense $\longrightarrow \emptyset$

$\Rightarrow$ Nso send mi go Lagos.

4.4 Noun Phrase Complements

We have already seen that phrase structure rules do introduce embedded sentences into two different configurations: NP $\longrightarrow$ NP + S and NP $\longrightarrow$ DET + N + S. The former leads to restrictive

relative clauses and the latter to noun phrase complements. Consider the following sentences:

47. Di gel we him slap sabi dans.
    (Lit. 'The girl whom he slapped knows dance').

48. Di niuz se him stiil redio de sopraiz mi.
    (The news that he stole a radio surprises me).

The first of these sentences contains a restrictive relative clause: we is a relative pronoun standing for the deep structure object of the embedded sentence. The second is slightly different: se does not represent any deep structure element of the embedded sentence which still has its subject him, verb still, and object redio intact in the surface structure. se is simply a clausal complementizer introduced by the so-called clausal complementizer transformation (Clausal T-Comp, for short).

There are possibly three things to account for in distinguishing noun phrase complements from other types of sentence embedding. They are

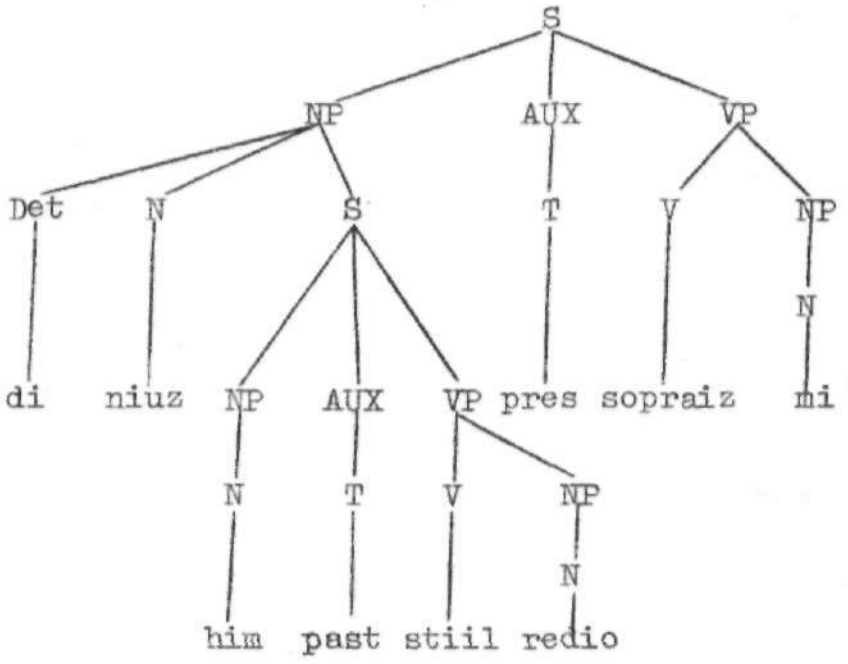
(a) "that a sentence can be embedded directly after a noun;

(b) "that the embedded sentence can occur with no noun preceding it, and;

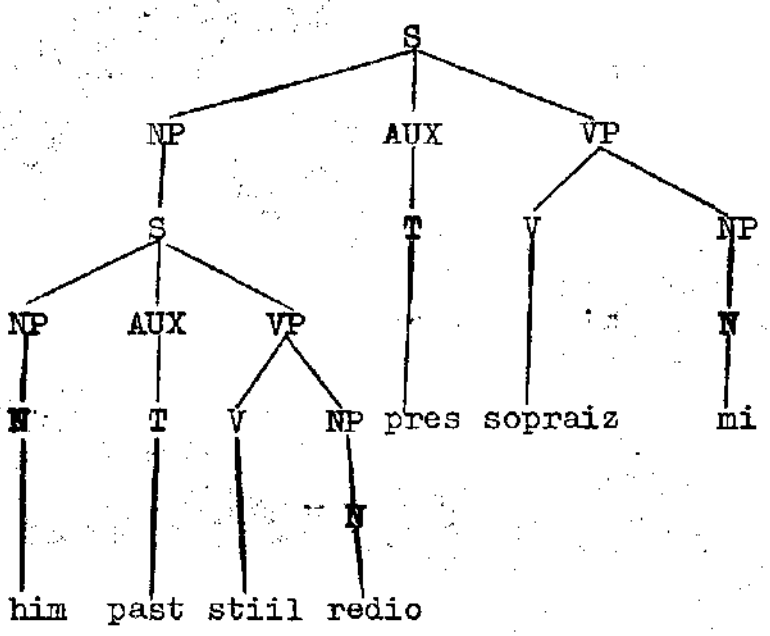
(c) "that it is possible to move the embedded S to the end of the matrix S, as long as the pronoun it is left behind to mark its original DS position". (Thomas and Kintgen, 1974:208).

Condition (a) is satisfied by example 48 as is shown in this diagram.

Example 48:



Condition (b) is met if the embedded sentence is the only constituent of the subject noun phrase, as in:



If the clausal T-Comp is applied, introducing se before the subject noun phrase of the embedded sentence, sentence 49 will be generated:

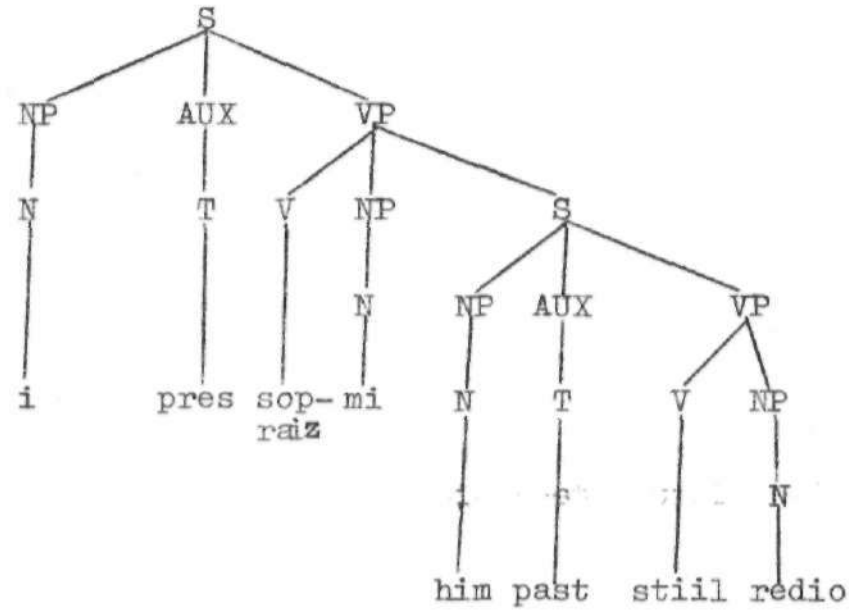
49. Se him stiil redio de sopraiz mi.
(That he stole a radio surprises me).

Condition (c) involves the application of the extraposition transformation.

Extraposition Rule

	X	N	+	S	Y[17]
S.D. :	1	2		3	4
S.C. :	1+it	ø		ø	4+3.

Applied to the deep structure of 48 above, this rule will generate the structure below:



And last, if we apply to this structure T-Comp, re-write the tense node of the embedded sentence as null and the tense node of the matrix sentence as de, sentence 50 below will be generated; and with this condition (c) above is met.

50. I de soprize me se him stiil redio.
(It surprises me that he stole a radio).

4.5 Verb Phrase Complements

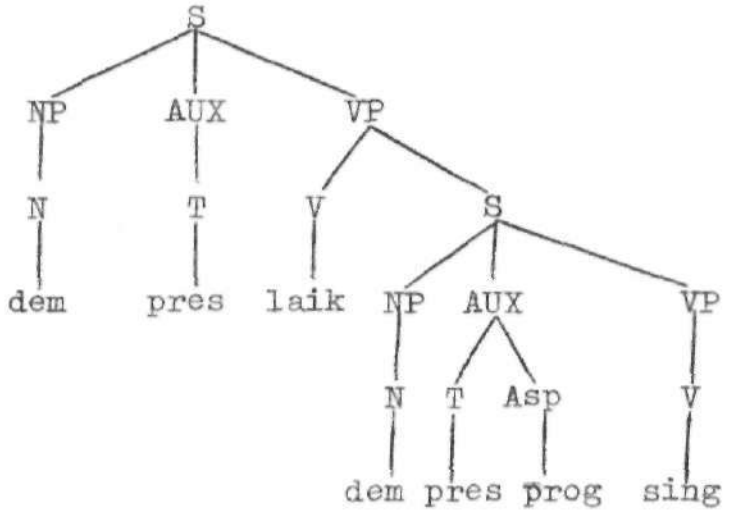
A verb phrase complement can be defined informally as a constituent that appears in a verb phrase following the verb. The complements discussed here are full sentences embedded directly under the domination of the verb phrase.

A good number of sentences in the noun phrase are mistaken for what most analysts (Hall Jr, 1966; Agheyisi, 1971; Todd, 1974; Traugott, 1976; etc.) called "serialization" (see chapter 5, section 4) simply because pidgin, except in a limited number of cases does not use "connectors" usually called complementizers which signify the presence of complement sentences. Consider these sentences:

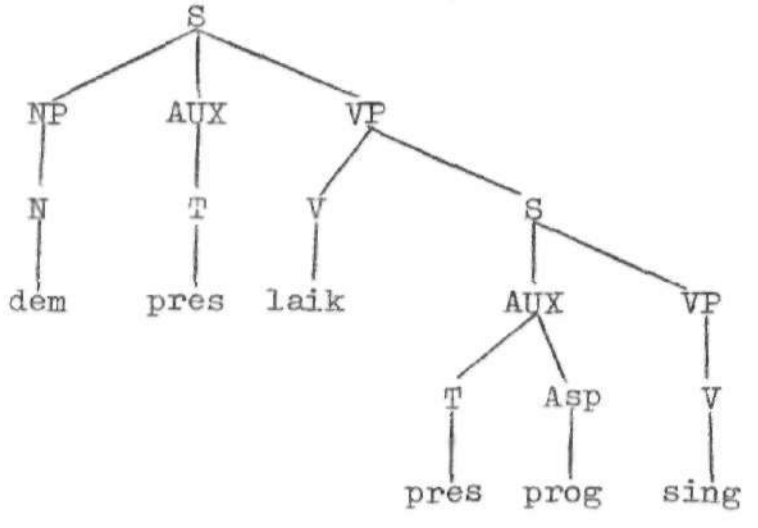
51. Dem laik to de sing.
    (They like to be singing)
52. Di boyi laik to it.
    (The boy likes to eat).
53. Nkem laik to de kuk.
    (Nkem likes to be cooking).
54. Ai de laik to ste fo vilej.
    (I like to stay in the village).

The deep structure of sentence 51 can be shown as:

Example 51:

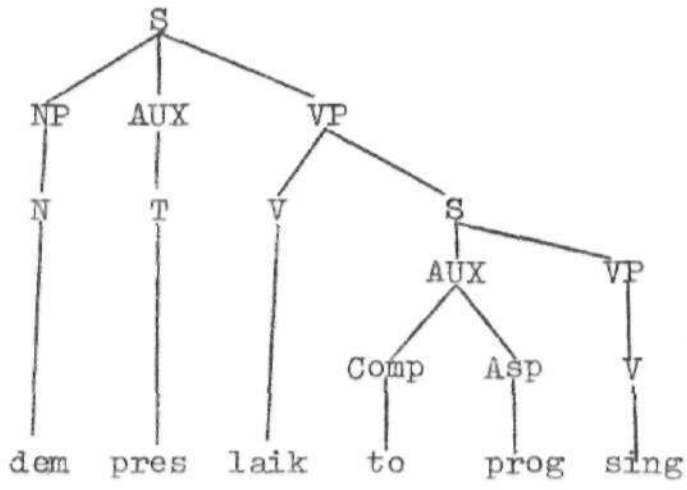


When the identical noun phrase deletion transformation applies to the structure above, the subject noun phrase of the embedded sentence is deleted, yielding the structure:



Then the infinitival complementizer transformation replaces tense node with to,

yielding this intermediate phrase marker.



Conditions

Tense → ∅

Prog → de

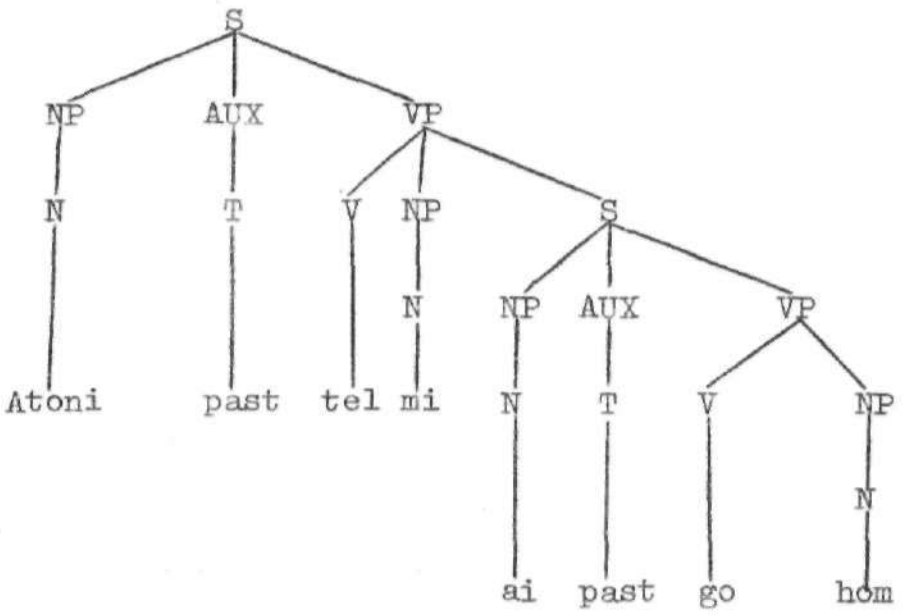
=> Dem laik to de sing.

The verb phrase complement constructions of the sort discussed above are called intransitive verb phrase complement constructions because they contain no object noun phrase. In another kind of verb phrase complement the verb is followed by a noun phrase which is in turn followed by a complement sentence, all under the immediate domination of the verb phrase. This kind of complement construction is called transitive verb phrase complement construction. An example of such construction is 55, below:

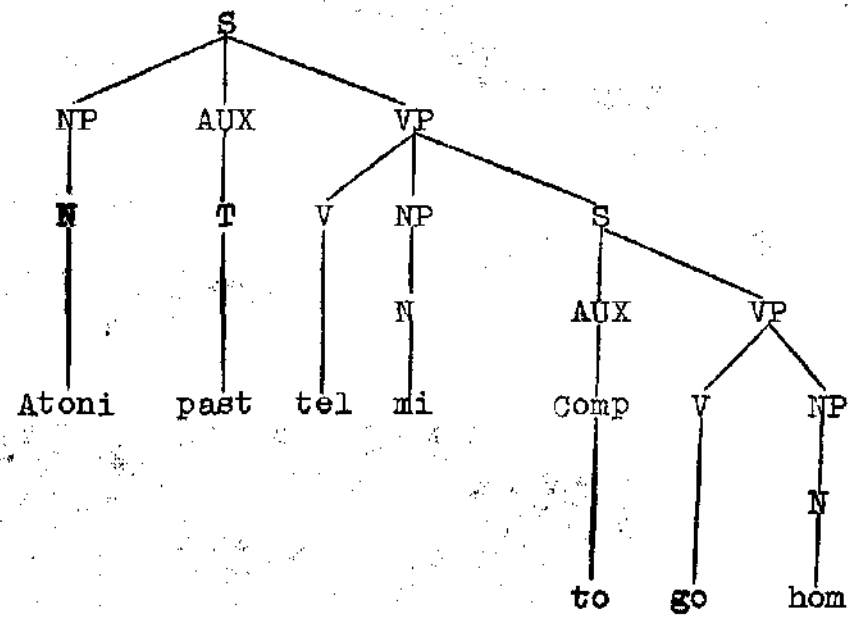
55. Atoni bin tel me to go hom.
(Atoni told me to go home).

The deep structure of this sentence can be shown as in the following diagram:

Example 55:



As usual, the Equi-NP deletion transformation will delete the subject noun phrase of the embedded sentence; also the infinitival complementizer transformation will replace the tense node with to, yielding the following intermediate phrase marker:



Condition

Tense → bin

=> Atoni bin tel me to go hom.

Notes to Chapter 4

1. Details about segment structures are omitted unless where they are germane. Instead, actual lexical items are used in the underlying structure.

2. The triangle is the customary abbreviation in transformational grammars for constituent structures when full details are not required.

3. It is important to note that a relative clause need not always occur directly adjacent to the noun it modifies in the surface structure. It is possible in the pidgin to move a relative clause to the end of the sentence, separating it from the head noun in the surface structure, as (b) below shows:

   (a) Tins we de no de stop de.
   (There are things that they do not stop).
   (b) Tins de we de no de stop.

4. Examples of this construction in the subject noun phrase are hard to come by (even in English). See Jacobs and Rosenbaum, 1968.

5. Tense is defined here in the words of Vilem Mathesius (1975:61) as "the formulation by means of language of how a speaker classifies an action in terms of the section of the time axis, whose centre of orientation is his own actual present".

6. We might like to add that the selection of "bin" is more or less optional; that is, it seems to be a kind of stylistic variation.

7. Modal is defined here in the words of Mathesius (1975:62) as "the formulation by linguistic means of how a speaker conceives an action with respect to the existing or potential reality".

8. Agheyisi (1971:138) treats sabi as a modal, as in

   "Mai pikin sabi rid big buk".
   ("My child can read a big book").

   In Rivers State Pidgin, the English equivalent of her sentence might be this sentence:

My child knows how to read a big book/books.

The author presented the pidgin sentence above with the two English equivalents to Mrs Victoria Woke, a Rivers State student in A.B.U. and a competent speaker of the pidgin to choose the English equivalent that is closer in meaning to the pidgin sentence and she chose "My child knows how to read a big book/books".

9. For this double base transformation, see section 5 of this chapter.

10. See chapter 5, section 6.

11. Our working definition of aspect here is that of Mathesius (1975:62) that "Aspect is the formulation by linguistic means of the manner in which the speaker conceives verbal action with regard to its course". The aspectual system, as Traugott and Pratt (1980:369) remark, is one of the "most striking features of pidgins". In the progressive aspect "events are reported in continuous process without reference to a beginning or end". The perfective aspect indicates that the action is completed by the time of speaking.

12. Tense and aspect can also be expressed by words such as longtaim, finish, bifo, sins, etc.

13. For the interpretation of this paradigm, I am grateful to Miss Joy Bestowe of A.M.K. Motors Ltd, Zaria. Joy, from the Rivers State, is a polyglot: she is a competent speaker of the pidgin, English, Igbo, Yoruba, Ibani (with a smattering of Hausa).

14. We adopt this analysis here to avoid the inconclusive arguments for and against the existence of prepositions in all noun phrases (see Jacobs and Rosenbaum, 1968: 136).

15. See chapter 5, sections 1 and 7.

16. An example of this type of constructions has been given earlier (see sentence 9 above).

17. This is the structural condition of the deep structure of sentence 48.

Chapter 5

OTHER SYNTACTIC PROCESSES

5.0 Preamble

In the previous chapter we presented phrase structure descriptions (as they are enshrined in Transformational grammars) and re-write rules of the pidgin.

In this chapter we shall examine some of the surface structure characteristics of the pidgin (which equally require to be accounted for explicitly).[1] If, as it is hypothesized in Transformational linguistics, "much of the deep structure specified by the base component is universal rather than specific to particular natural language" (Botha, 1968:34. See also Chomsky, 1965: 117-118), then the significant differences between the surface structures of languages must result from the different transformational rules that convert the hypothetical universal base into surface structures.

The topics treated in this chapter involve one form of transformation or the other. Therefore, it is necessary to give a brief account of transformations in Transformational-Generative

grammar for an appreciation of how surface characteristics peculiar to the pidgin are generated.

5.1 Transformations

Four reasons are advanced (see Allerton, 1979) for the use of transformations in Transformational-Generative grammar.

(i) For cases where complex differences in form correspond to a simple difference in meaning or function; e.g.:

1. He saw the girl (Active)
2. The girl was seen by him (Passive).

(ii) For dealing with variant forms of a structure; e.g.:

3. Occasionally I walk home.
4. I occasionally walk home.
5. I walk home occasionally.

(iii) For relating complex sentence patterns by adequate explanation; e.g.:

6. Okilo who was a governor has been jailed.

   = $S \longrightarrow S_1 + S_2$.

   S_1 = Okilo has been jailed.

   S_2 = Okilo was a governor.

(iv) For the relation, deletion, reordering, etc., of elements of the deep structure to conform to their surface structure; e.g:

7. -ed you smoke => Did you smoke?

8. I have -en be -ing wait => I have been waiting.

Transformations in all human languages could be divided into three broad elementary subcategories: deletion, substitution and adjunction (see Chomsky, 1965:144, 147; Thomas and Kintgen, 1974:107; Bach, 1974:84-87; Simpson, 1979:138; etc.)

5.1.1 Deletion

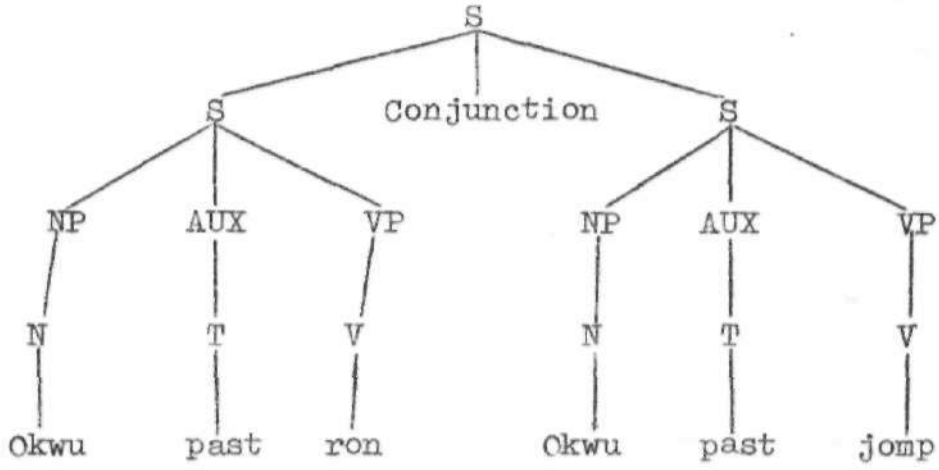
Deletion transformations are of two types - optional and obligatory. An obligatory transformation must apply or the resulting string will be ungrammatical. An optional transformation may have to do with items that are irrelevant or those that are of no interest to the speaker. Consider the sentence:

9. Okwu bin ron and jomp.
(Okwu ran and jumped).

which is derived from Okwu bin ron and Okwu bin jomp by the conjunction transformation that

introduces and and deletes the second of the identical NP's (that is, the subject of the second sentence). The deep structure of the sentence can be shown as:

Example 9:



$$NP_1 + AUX + VP_1 + NP_1 + AUX + VP_2$$

S.D.: 1 2 3 4 5 6

S.C.: 1 2 3 ø ø 6,

where 1 ⇒ 4.

⇒ Okwu bin ron and jomp.

Notice the presence of the second AUX constituent in the string.

There are two possible ways to account for it - either that the transformational rule that

deletes the Equi-NP will also delete it or that a separate rule will apply to it. The former is assumed in this analysis.

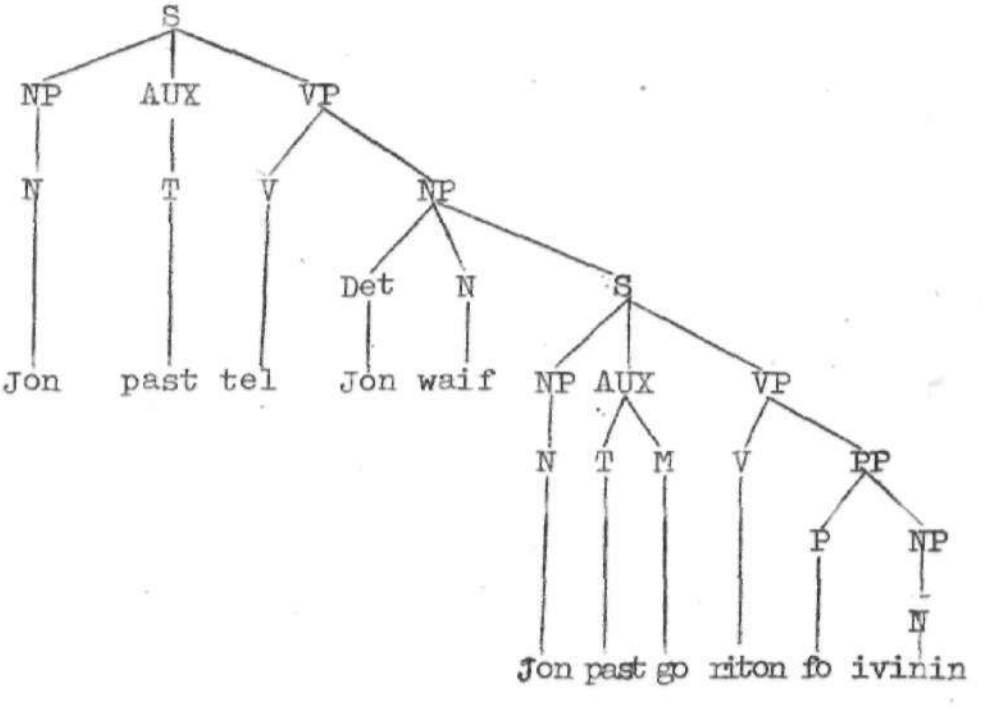
5.1.2 Substitution

This transformation deals with the replacement of an item with another. Proforms are typical examples of this kind of transformation. Consider example 10:

10. Jon bin tel him waif se Jon go riton fo ivinin.
    (John told his wife that John would come back in the evening).

10 can be represented in tree-diagram as follows:

Example 10:



Since the two Jon's are coreferential, the pronominalization transformation can apply substituting the second Jon with him, to yield the more acceptable 11, after other transformations have applied:

11. Jon bin tel him waif se him go riton fo ivinin.

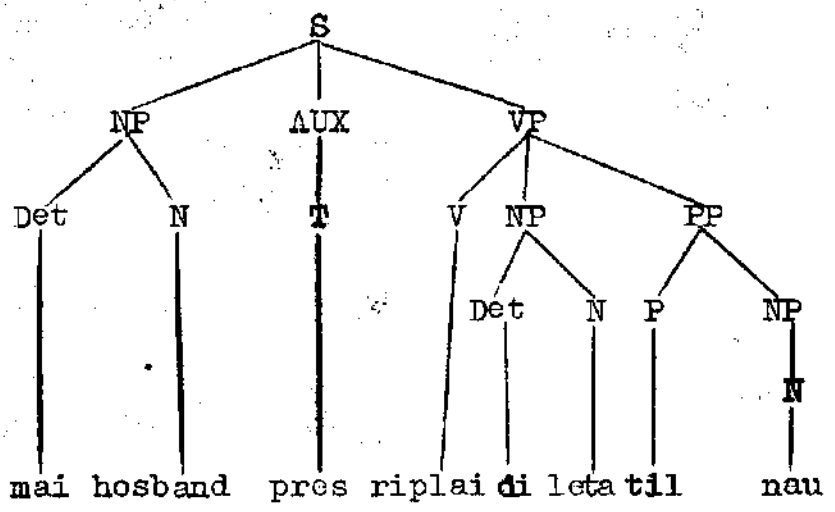
5.1.3 Adjunction

This involves a case where an item is introduced without replacing any element in particular. An example of adjunction is the Negative transformation. Take the sentence:

12. Mai hosband no riplai di leta til nau.

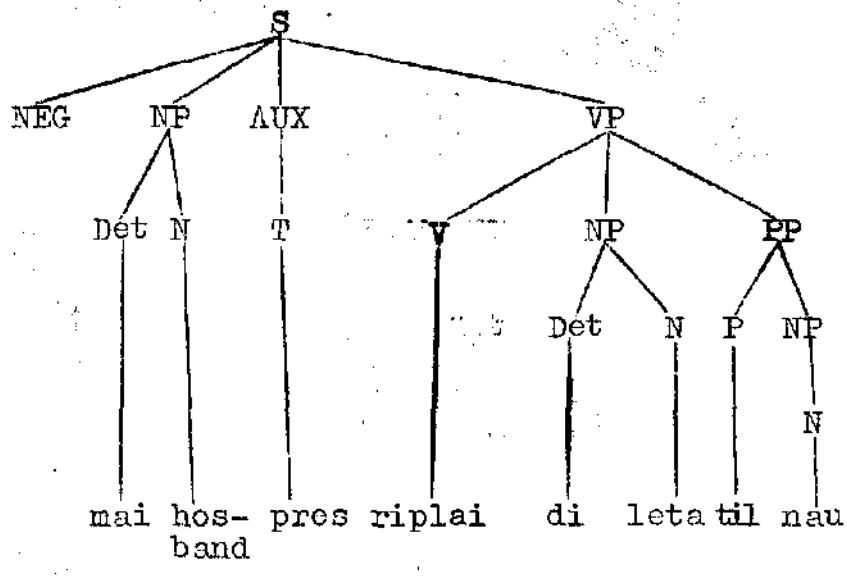
whose deep structure can be shown as:

Example 12:



The Negative transformation creates a NEG constituent in the deep structure of the sentence as is shown in 12b below.

Example 12b:

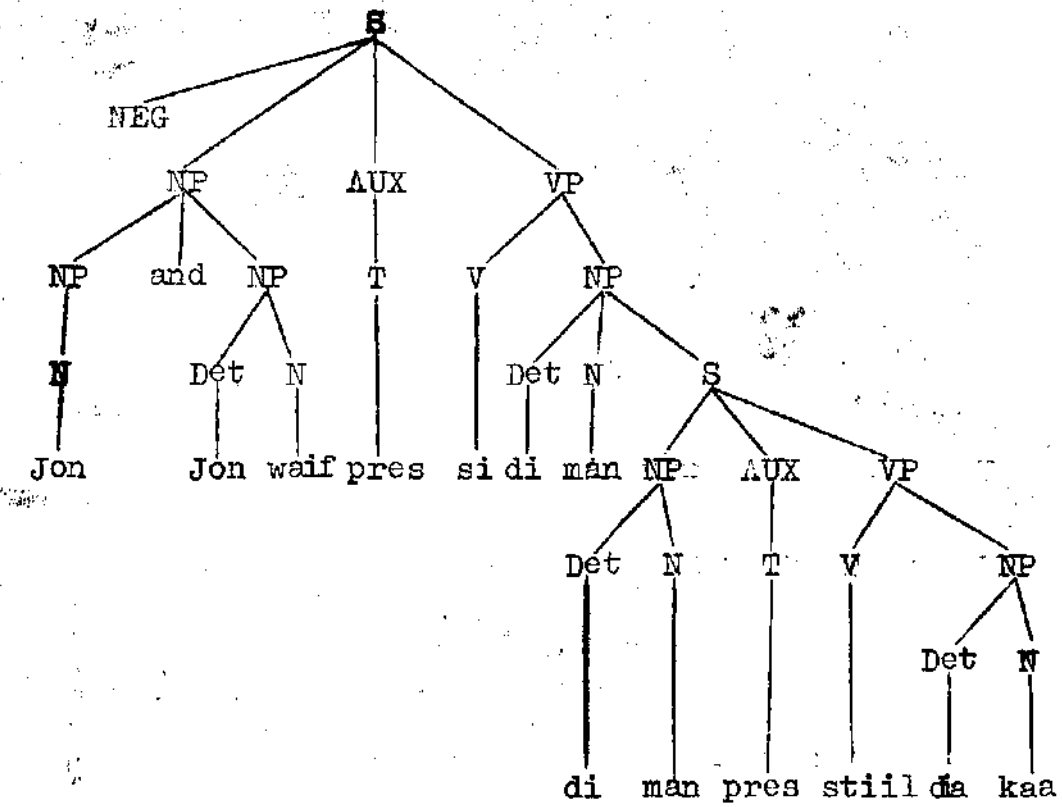


The Negative Placement rule simply replaces the NEG constituent with no and places it after the subject noun phrase.

The three transformations described above together with the passive transformation must apply to yield example 13:

13. Di man we stiil dia kaa na im Jon and him waif no si.
(Lit. 'The man who stole their car it is that John and wife do not see').

whose deep structure is shown as:



Notice the form of the passive construction in the pidgin. As Palmer (1971) observes, active and passive sentences are common in many languages, though their precise distinctive features vary considerably.[2] Generally, what is important in the active-passive relationship is that there must be some clear sense in which the object of the sentence 'becomes' the subject of the passive form (p. 139). This contradicts Agheyisi's contention that "the pidgin (referring

to WAPE in general) has no equivalent of the English passive construction" (1971:85).

Each language has its own transformational rules for deriving surface structures from deep structures. For the transformation of active to passive to take place, Rivers State Pidin brings the NP_2 to the first position, adds na and the 'concord particle' (see 5.4). The NP_1 + AUX + V come last in their normal sequence:

Passivization Rule

NP_1 + AUX + V + NP_2

S.D.: 1 2 3 4

S.C.: 4 + na + Cp + 1 + 2 + 3.

With this we can now get as an output the b sentence of the following pairs from the a sentence[3]

14. (a) Meri bin si Jon.
    (b) Jon na im Meri bin si.
15. (a) Nedu chop gari fo monin.
    (b) Gari na im Nedu chop fo monin.
16. (a) Eke no griit Okwu and Chima dem fo skul.
    (b) Okwu and Chima na dem Eke no griit fo skul.

5.2 Second Person Pronoun (Plural)

Rivers State Pidgin makes a distinction between second person singular and plural pronouns. The second person pronouns of the pidgin are as follows:

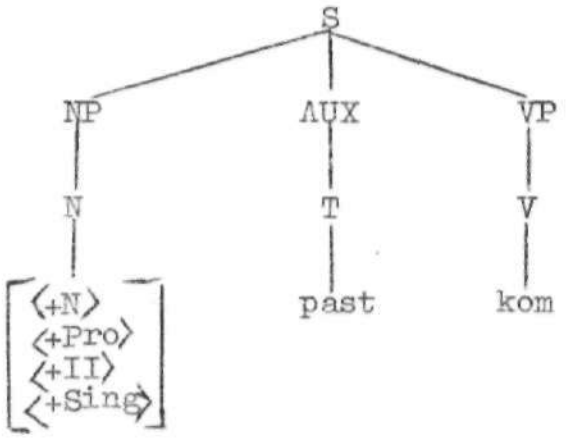
Singular	yu
Plural	ona

Thus the pidgin makes a distinction in meaning between these pairs of sentences:

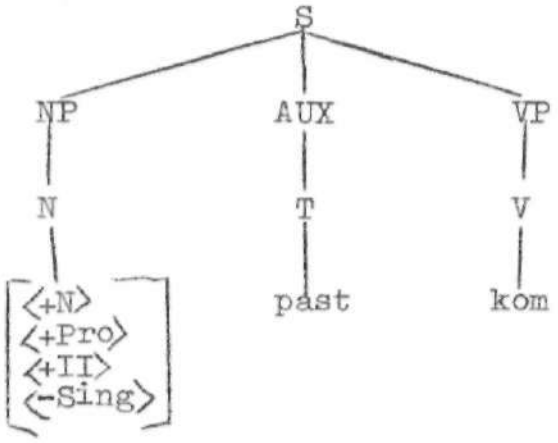
17. (a) Yu bin kom. (You came).
    (b) Ona bin kom. (You came).
18. (a) Yu de krez. (You are crazy).
    (b) Ona de krez. (You are crazy).

In the usual tradition of Transformational linguistics, singular will be represented as ⟨+Sing⟩ and plural as ⟨-Sing⟩. We shall regard the plural formative of the second person pronoun as a feature of the noun phrase in the deep structure. Consequently, sentences a and b of example 17 can be shown as:

Example 17a:



Example 17b:



The segment structure rule will apply in the cases above to give yu and ona following the features ⟨+Sing⟩ and ⟨-Sing⟩, respectively.

However, other ambiguities inherent in the pronominal system of English still exist in Rivers State Pidgin. For instance, awa 'our' does not show whether or not the hearer is inclusive. Consider the following:

19. Dat got na awa on. (That goat is our own).

20. Awa ticha de kom. (Our teacher is coming).

Another such pronoun is wi 'we', exemplified in:

21. Wi go go. (We will go).

22. Wi no dans yestade. (We did not dance yesterday).

Except where the sentences containing plural pronouns occur in isolation, they do not normally cause misunderstanding. In writing specifically, we rely solely on contexts for their 'inclusive' and 'exclusive' meanings since they are usually referential.

5.3 Directional Modifier

Verbs in Rivers State Pidgin can be divided into: motion and nonmotion verbs (as they can also for English).

A. Motion Verbs		B. Nonmotion Verbs	
wok	'walk'	sing	'sing'
ron	'run'	stee	'stay'
bring	'bring'	beri	'bury'
kari	'carry'	dig	'dig'
giv	'give'	kuk	'cook'
swim	'swim'	it	'eat'

In the pidgin, there is a major difference between these two classes of verbs. Verbs of motion can be followed by a modifier that expresses the direction of the action from the speaker's vintage point. These directional modifiers as they are called are two in number - go and kom. Consider these sentences.

23. Di boi ron go.

24. Di gel de ron kom.

The importance of this type of constructions in the pidgin is that the listener understands from the sentence the location of the speaker vis-a-vis the action being reported. In sentence 25 below it is understood that the speaker was inside the room by the time of the action; but in sentence 26 the speaker was not in the room by the time of the action.

25. Kalo kari am kom rum.

26. Kalo kari am go rum.

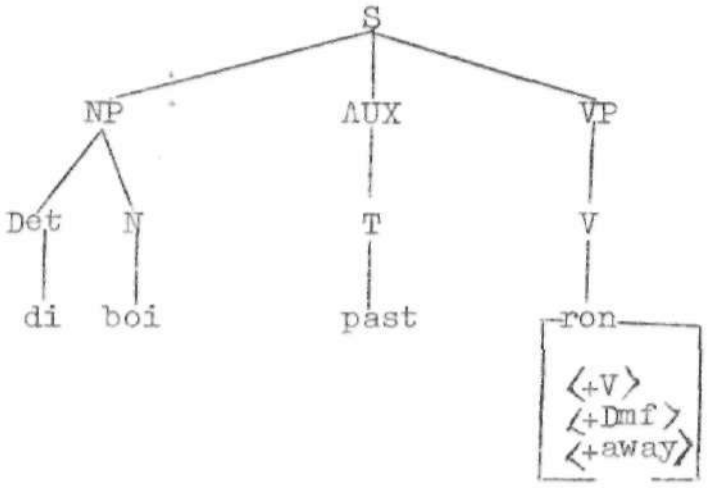
We shall regard the directional modifier (Dmf, for short) as a feature of the motion verb in the deep structure because of its dependency upon the verb, expressed as:

$$a \longrightarrow b\ (c),$$

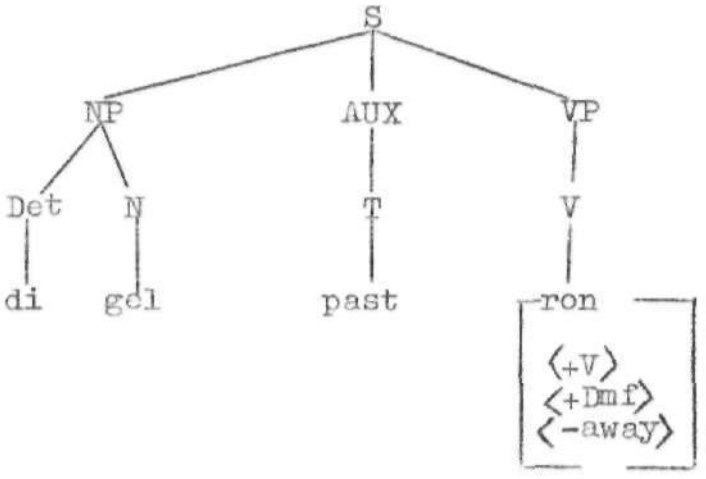
where a is a verb phrase, b a motion verb and c

a directional modifier. If we use the features ⟨-away⟩ and ⟨+away⟩ for kom and go, respectively, we can show sentence 23 and 24 as follows:

Example 23a:



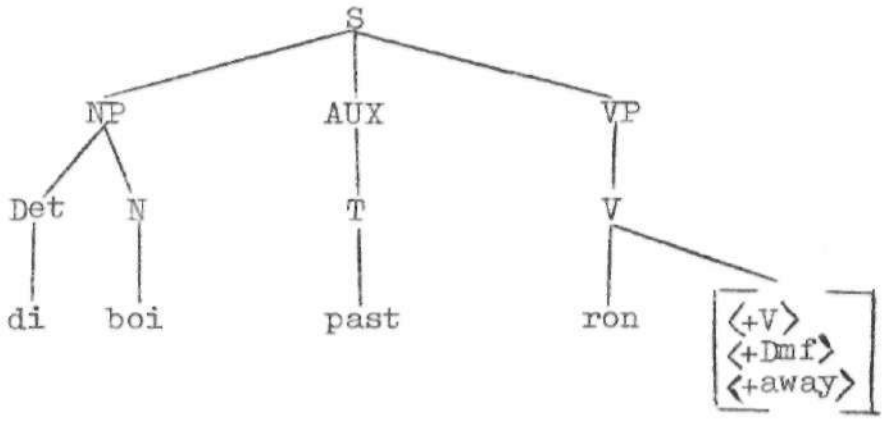
Example 24a:



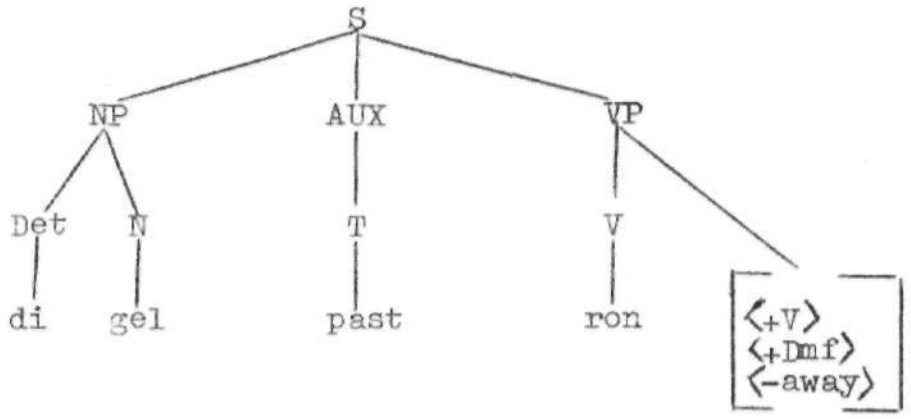
Following the existence of directional modifier feature in the deep structure, a segment structure rule will introduce a directional

modifier segment to the right of the verb, as follows:

Example: 23b:



Example 24b:



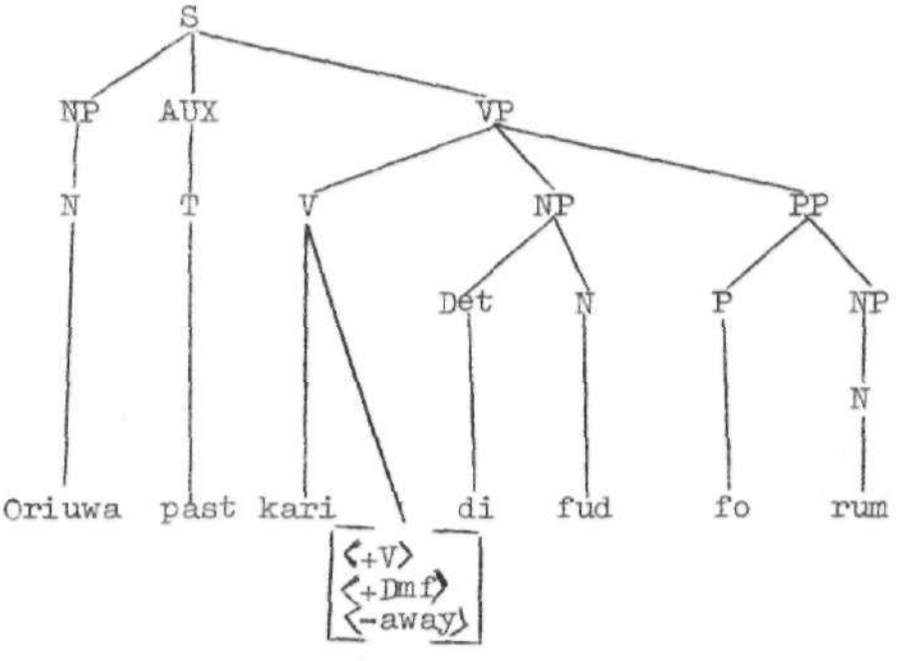
The directional modifier is then realized as kom in the case of ⟨-away⟩ and go in the case of ⟨+away⟩ .

If the verb has an object, the directional modifier must come after it. Consider 27 and 28, below.

27. Oriuwa bin kari di fud kom fo rum.

28. *Oriuwa bin kari kom di fud fo rum.

28 is ungrammatical in the pidgin. The deep structure of 27 after the application of the segment structure rule can be shown as:



Like the indirect object inversion transformation, the directional modifier inversion transformation (T-Dmf Inversion, for short) reverses the order of the directional modifier and the object. But unlike the indirect object inversion transformation, the directional modifier transformation obligatorily applies or ungrammatical strings such as 28 above will result.

The T-Dmf Inversion can apply to the deep structure of 27 as follows:

T-Dmf Inversion:

	NP	+ AUX	+ V	+ DMF	+ NP	+ PP
S.D.:	1	2	3	4	5	6
S.C.:	1	2	3	Ø	5+4	6

Another possible way of analyzing sentences with directional modifiers is to see them as a combination of a matrix and an insert. Take for example Di boi ron go. We could have de boi ron and di boi go which by transformational processes, are conjoined into a single sentence. Most scholars of pidgin and creole languages call this kind of construction serialization.[4]

Serialization is a kind of sentential complexity common to most pidgin and creole languages everywhere and to many Nigerian languages, including Ogba and Yoruba. As the name might suggest, serialization is a question of one verb being "followed by another verb with nothing separating them" (Crowley and Rigsby, 1979:202) in the surface structure (See also Todd, 1984: 146). This occurrence of several verbs is believed to be orderly - "verbs of motion followed

directly by verbal complements" (Hall, 1966:77) that serve as complements of purpose, result, or condition:

29. Ai kom si yu. (I came to see you).

30. Hi wan kil am. (He wants to kill her).

If Hall were right, the following nonmotion verbs could not have occurred in the first position of the verb series in 31, 32 and 33: stee "stay", sing "sing" and slip "sleep".[5]

31. Ai stee it bifo ai komot.
(I stayed and ate before I went out).

32. Hi sing dans fo choch yestade.
(He sang and danced in church yesterday).

33. Di gel slip wek op for aftanon.
(The girl slept and woke up in the afternoon).

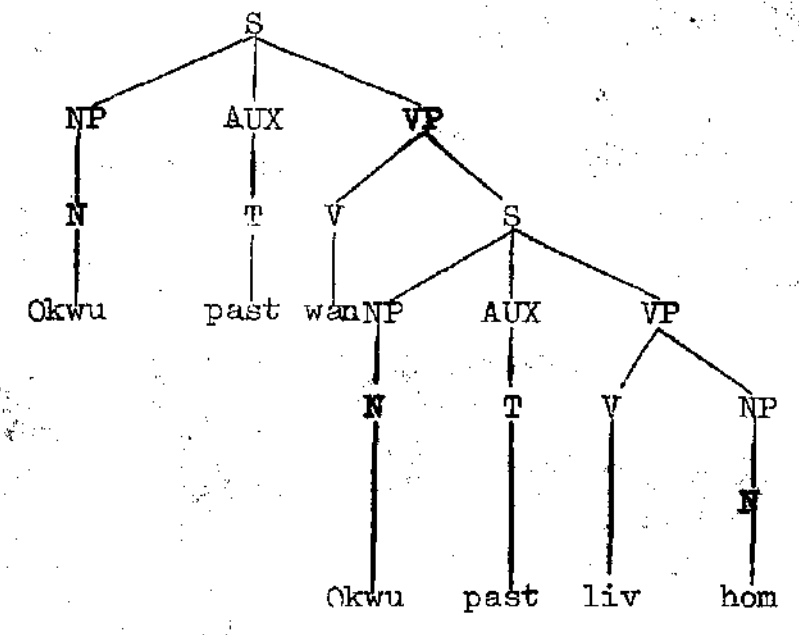
All questions of serialization seen from the viewpoint of Transformational linguistics will involve the formation of a complex sentence from two or more simple sentences. An example of serialization is the identical noun phrase deletion in the pidgin, as in 34.

34. Okwu bin wan liv hom.
(Okwu wanted to leave home).

It is obvious that Okwu is the one to leave home,

even though Okwu is not 'overtly' mentioned after the verb wan. This leads to the suggestion that the deep structure of the sentence contains Okwu as the subject of 'liv hom'. This can be shown in the diagram below.

Example 434:



	NP + AUX + VP	S1 NP + AUX + V + NP
S.D.:	1 2 3	4 5 6 7
S.C.:	1 2 3	ø ø 6 7,

where 1 ⇒ 4.

After all necessary transformations have applied, we then have the sentence Okwu bin wan liv hom with two verbs in a series, one followed by another "with nothing separating them".

The difference between serialization and directional modifiers as Agheyisi (1971:111) points out is that the latter can only come after motion verbs. Following this, the sentences below are ungrammatical.

35. *Di boi slip kom.

36. *Di gel si go.

And what makes them ungrammatical is that the verbs slip "sleep" and si "see" are not motion verbs.

5.4 Concord Particle

Whenever the subject noun phrase contains only a noun (but not a pronoun) as head, the rest of the sentence (the predicate, i.e. auxiliary and verb phrase) is usually preceded by a particle that agrees with the noun in number (see Crowley and Rigsby, 1979:183). This particle is usually called concord particle (CP, for short). The underlined words in these sentences are concord particles.

37. Oge and Helen dem don kom.

38. Bello im don go skul.

39. Di moto im no gri staat.

40. Choch pipul dem go enjoy dis ista.

The concord particles indicate when the noun is

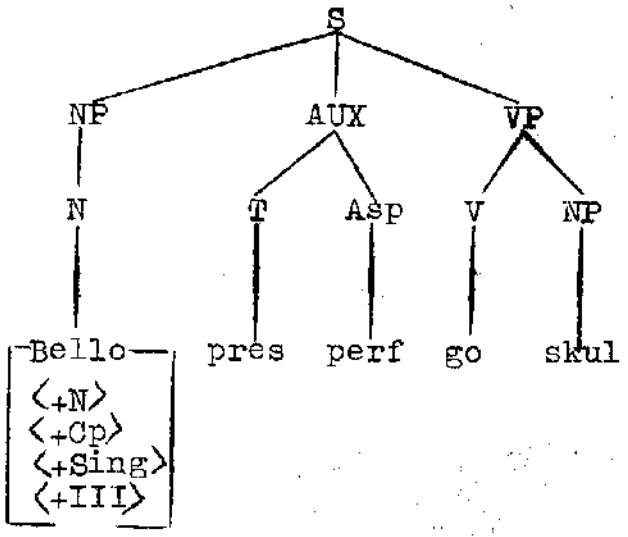
singular or plural. In the spoken medium the concord particle is preceded by a pause that could have made us to consider it as an apposition. But the point again is that the concord particle gives no extra information about the noun.

Another important point about the concord particle is that its plural form dem could be added to a singular noun to mean "and others", for example:

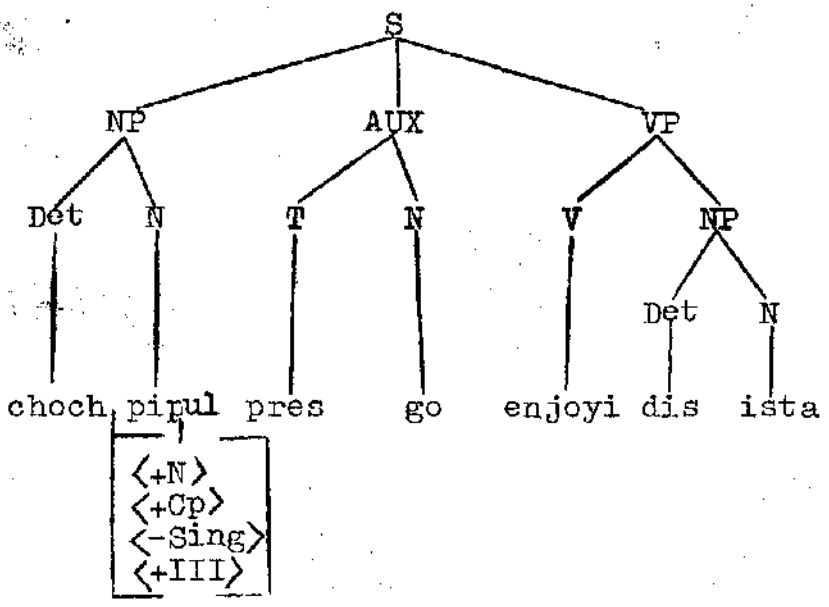
41. Nne dem don go Akabuka maket.
(Nne they have gone to Akabuka market, i.e. Nne and others have gone to Akabuka market).

Since the concord particle post-modifies the noun, we shall treat it here as part of the noun phrase. If we assign the feature ⟨-Sing⟩ to dem and the feature ⟨+Sing⟩ to im, examples 38 and 40 can be shown as follows:

Example 38a:

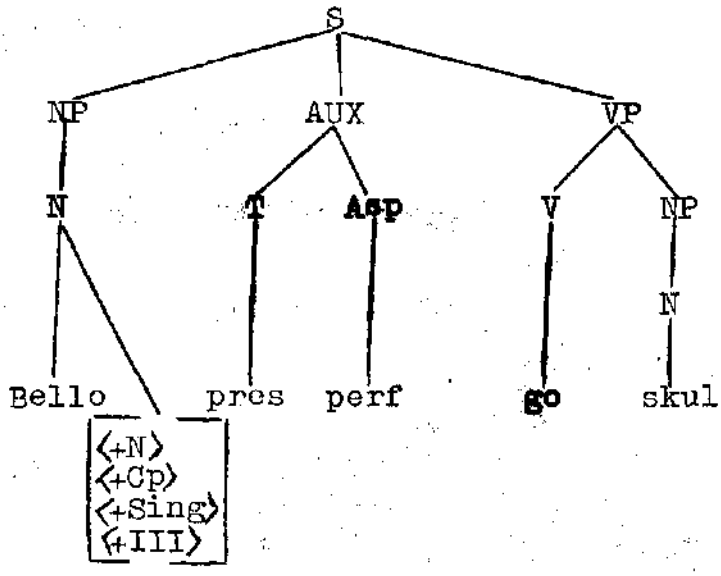


Example 40a

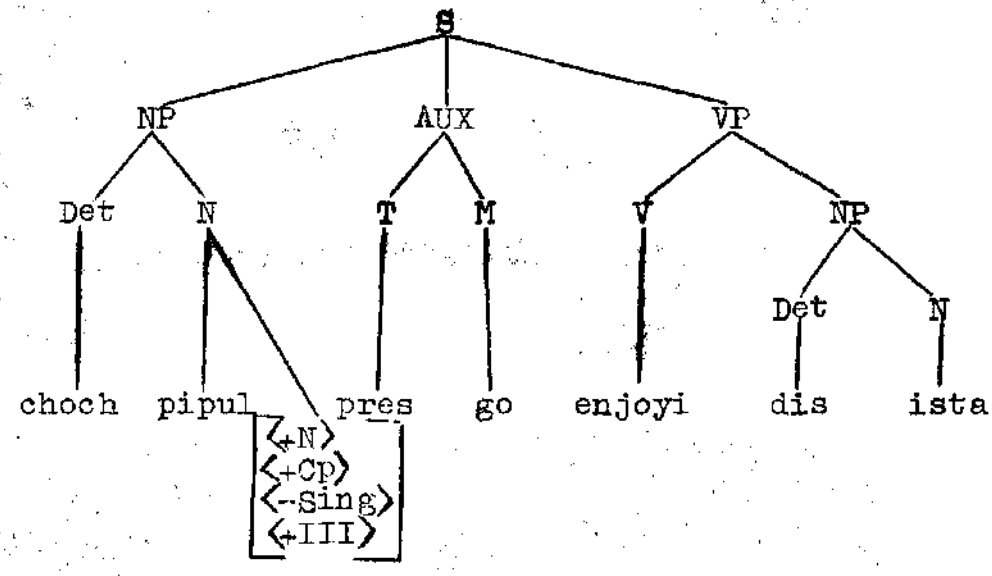


The segment structure rule will introduce a concord particle segment to the right of the noun as follows, copying all the features of the noun:

Example 38b



Example 40b:



After all transformations have applied, the concord particle is then realized as im in the case of ⟨+Sing⟩ and as dem in the case of ⟨-Sing⟩:

The concord particles (both singular and plural) can as well function as clitics (possessive formative). Consider these sentences:

42. Meri im sista bin kom.
(Mary's sister came).

43. Ndu im moda don go.
(Ndu's mother has gone).

This can be expressed as the following rule:

Clitic Rule: NP + Cp + NP.

The plural form of the concord particle when used as a possessive formative might lead to ambiguity. For example sentence 44.

44. Ndu dem moda bin kom.

can be paraphrased as 45 and 46, below.

45. The mother of Ndu and others came.

46. The mothers of Ndu and others came.

5.5 Subject Recapitulation

The use of repeated subjects, as Traugott and Pratt observed is a characteristic of spoken language. "These are particularly frequent in pidgins, and probably originate in the need to repeat the subject in difficult communication situations" (Traugott and Pratt, 1980: 369).

This syntactic process in the pidgin involves the repetition of the subject by a "coreferential pronoun". As Traugott (1976:72) puts it, "Emphatic stress seems to be a condition for the introduction of a variant pronoun form in any pidgins and creoles, with only subsequent extension of the form to either subject or object position".

A. Stressed Form[6]	B. Unstressed Form
mi	ai
him	im, i
yu	yu
dem	de
wi	wi
ona	ona

Whenever the two forms occur together, the stressed form usually precedes the unstressed form. (Notice that ona, yu and wi are invariant):

47. Hi tink se mi ai no laik am.
48. Yu yu no sabi chop amala.
49. Him i don go London.
50. Dem de no go skul tode.

Each of the two forms can occur in the subject position, except the stressed first person pronoun mi. It is uncommon (in fact, less

grammatical) in Rivers State Pidgin to use the stressed form of the first person pronoun in the subject position. Consider 51.

51. ?Mi bin si di chiaman.

However, our data show that it might not be true of Rivers State Pidgin as Traugott (1976:87) says of West African Pidgin generally that, it uses "iteration of the subject by an anaphoric pronoun... so frequently as to be almost obligatory". The two forms exhibit a relationship of 'mutual (inclusive) independence', that is, the presence or absence of one does not depend on the other. This can be expressed as follows:

$$a \longrightarrow (b)\ (c),$$

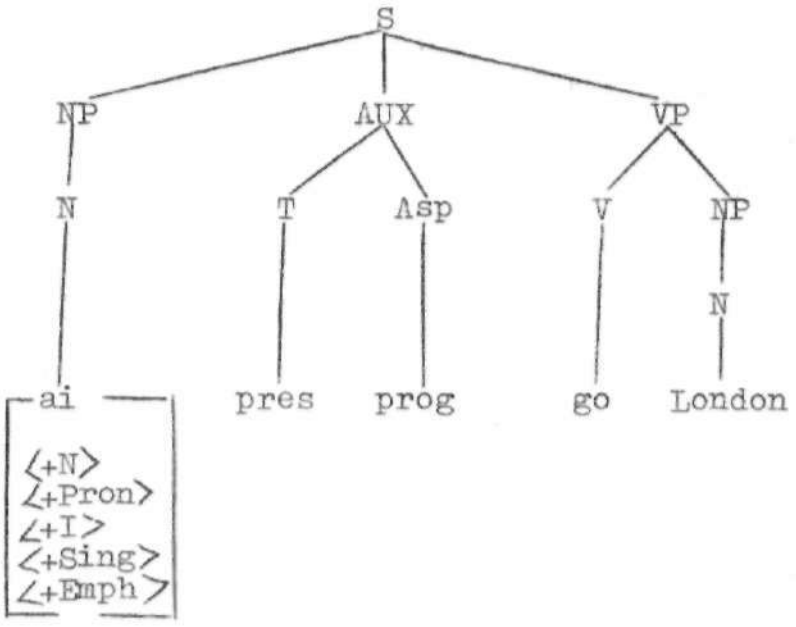
where a is a noun phrase, b and c are pronouns of the stressed and unstressed forms, respectively.

Our suggestion is that a sentence containing subject recapitulation should have only one subject in the deep structure - the unstressed form. This form is to have an emphatic feature (EMPH, for short). Consider 52.

52. Mi ai de go London.
(I am going to London).

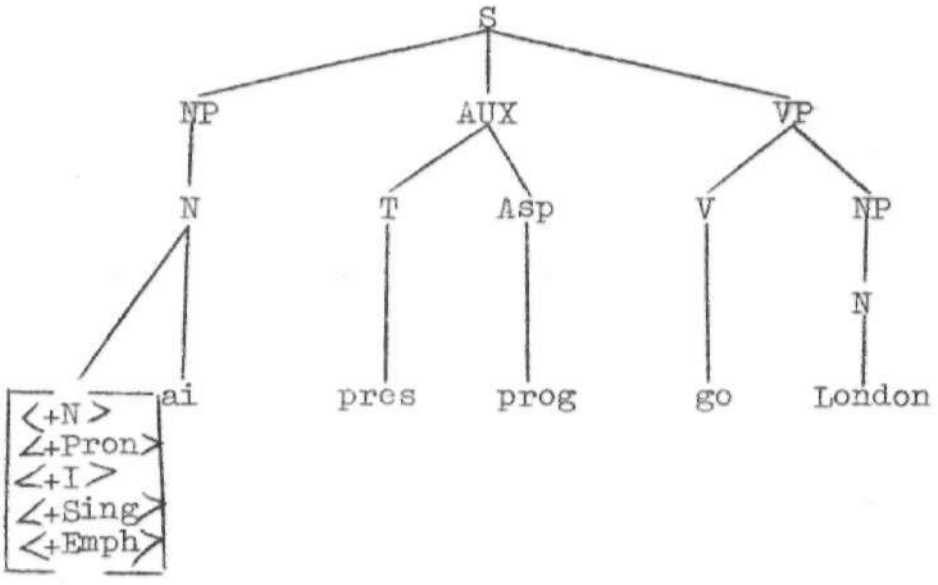
The deep structure of 52 can be shown as:

Example 52a:



The segment structure rule creates an emphatic segment in the position left of the noun, copying all the features of the snoun:

Example 52b:



The emphatic segment is then replaced with mi in the surface structure after all transformations have applied. In a case where the emphatic form occurs alone in the subject position, the segment structure rule will not create an emphatic segment. Rather it will apply to the features of the noun and convert the unstressed form to a stressed one.

5.6 Accidence

The term 'accidence' is used here in the sense in which it is used in traditional grammars. It involves the passage of a word from one word class to another without any outward indication of change in form (see Hall, 1966). Put differently, there are words that overlap in form but are different in function. The word 'man' in the two English sentences below exemplifies this.

53. The man of the people is dead.
54. The stranger was asked to man the car.

Accidence is not peculiar to the pidgin. This 'multifunctionality' or shift of form class as Hancock (1980:78) observes "is extremely widespread in all creoles, and in any language which has little surface morphology". What is

of interest here, therefore, is the way the pidgin makes use of the process.

Almost every word can pass for an adjective, a verb or a noun. (See Todd 1984:9). This versatility is shown by the word tif "thief" in sentences 55, 56 and 57.

55. Dem bin kach won tif fo maket tode. (noun)

56. No folo tif man de go abawt. (adj.)

57. Dem don tif him bag fo klas. (verb).

To take another example, consider chop "eat" in these sentences:

58. We de chop amala fo skul. (verb)

59. Wi no si chop fo haws. (noun)

60. Wi get chop boks (adjective).

We shall focus attention on the relation between verbs and adjectives in equational constructions (see Crowley and Rigsby, 1979; Hall, 1966; Todd, 1974) with predicative adjectives.

In equational constructions the predicate refers back to, or is equated with, the subject. In the pidgin this can be done without any verbs, as the following sentences, 61 to 64, show:

61. Dis man tol. (This man (is) tall).

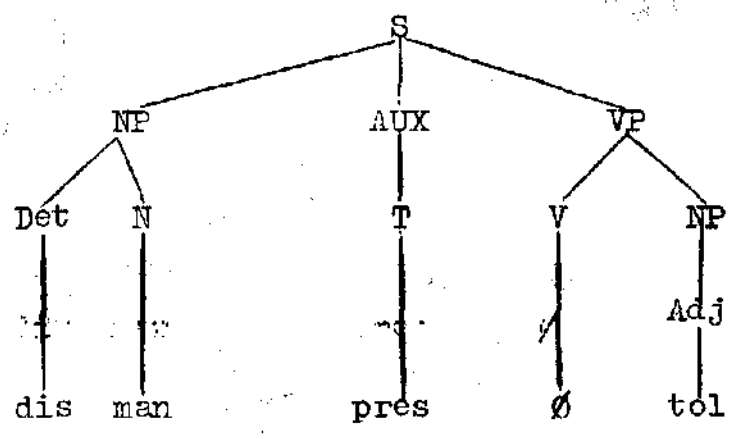
62. Di boi mad. (The boy (is) mad).

63. Him hapi. (He (is) happy).

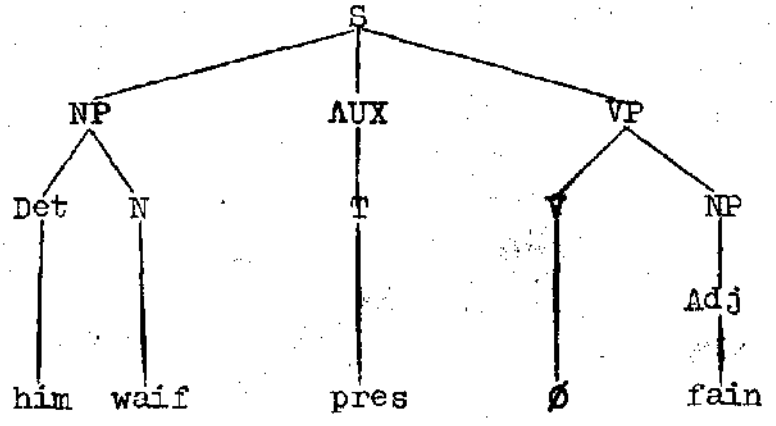
64. Im waif fain. (His wife (is) beautiful).

Notice that the complement noun phrase in each of the sentences is an adjective (not a noun). We can show examples 61 and 64 in the tree-diagram as:

Example 61:



Example 64:



However, rather than saying that these

sentences have no verbs, a more plausible explanation might be that the verbs do exist in the deep structure but are not, in most cases, realised in the surface structure. For example the following pairs of sentences are all acceptable variants in the pidgin:

65. a) Di gel tol.
    b) Di gel de tol.[7]
    (The girl is tall).

66. a) Di got fat.
    b) Di got de fat.
    (The goat is fat).

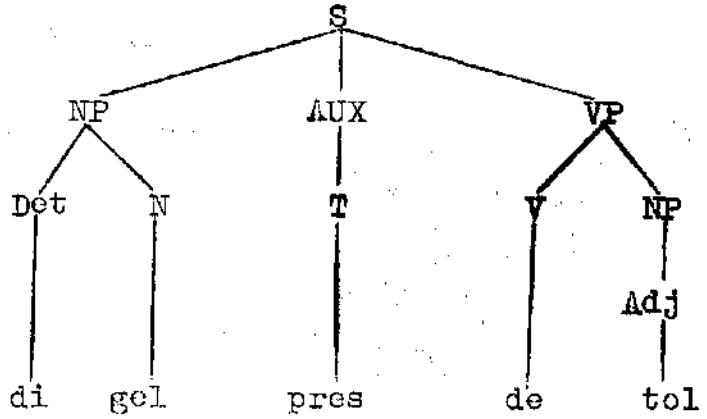
67. a) Him waif fain
    b) Him waif de fain.
    (His wife is beautiful).

Following this reasoning, equational constructions in the pidgin can be srepresented in this formula:

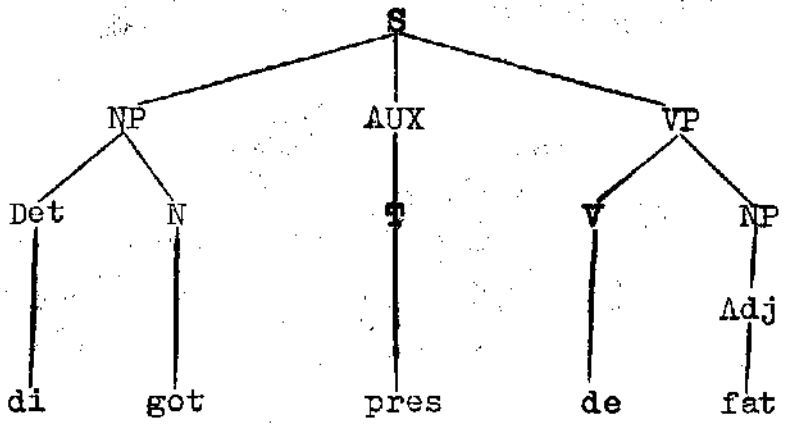
$$V \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} de \\ \emptyset \end{matrix} \right\} / __ \text{ Adj}$$

With this we can postulate a deep structure with a verb that may or may not be realized in the surface structure. Sentences 65,66 and 67 can therefore be shown as:

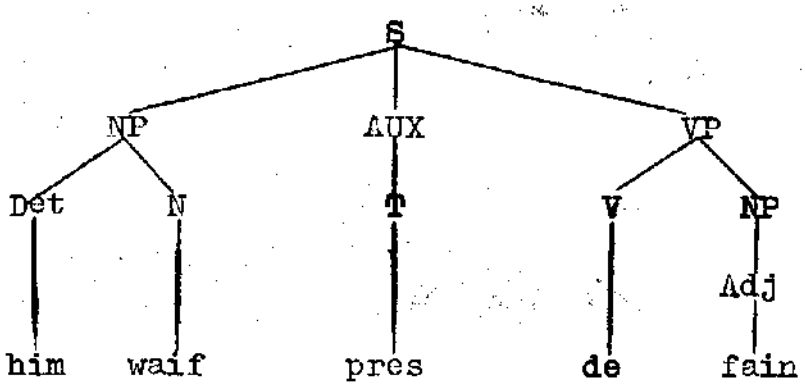
Example 65:



Example 66:



Example 67:



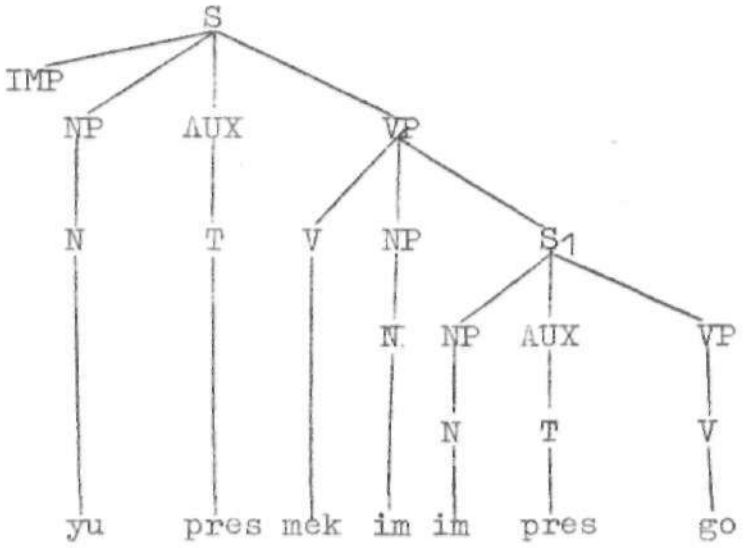
5.7 Imperative 'Mek'

The word mek "make" is paid special attention in this chapter because of its common occurrence in the pidgin. It is one of the few words in the language that are syntactically irregular, having several meanings. Consider these sentences.

68. Unya de mek chia.
    (Unya is making a chair).
69. Mek im go.
    ('Let her go' or literally, 'You make her go').
70. Im se mek ai wet fo am.
    (He said I should wait for him).
71. "Mek yu kom".[8]
    ("Get yourself to come").

Except in such cases as 68 above where mek is similar in meaning to "make" in English, we shall assume that other cases of mek in the pidgin involve the imperative transformation.[9] Following this, sentences 69, 70 and 71 can be shown in the deep structure as:

Example 69:



The Equi-NP transformation first applies to the structure, yielding the following intermediate underlying string:

$$NP_1 + AUX + V + NP_2 + V$$

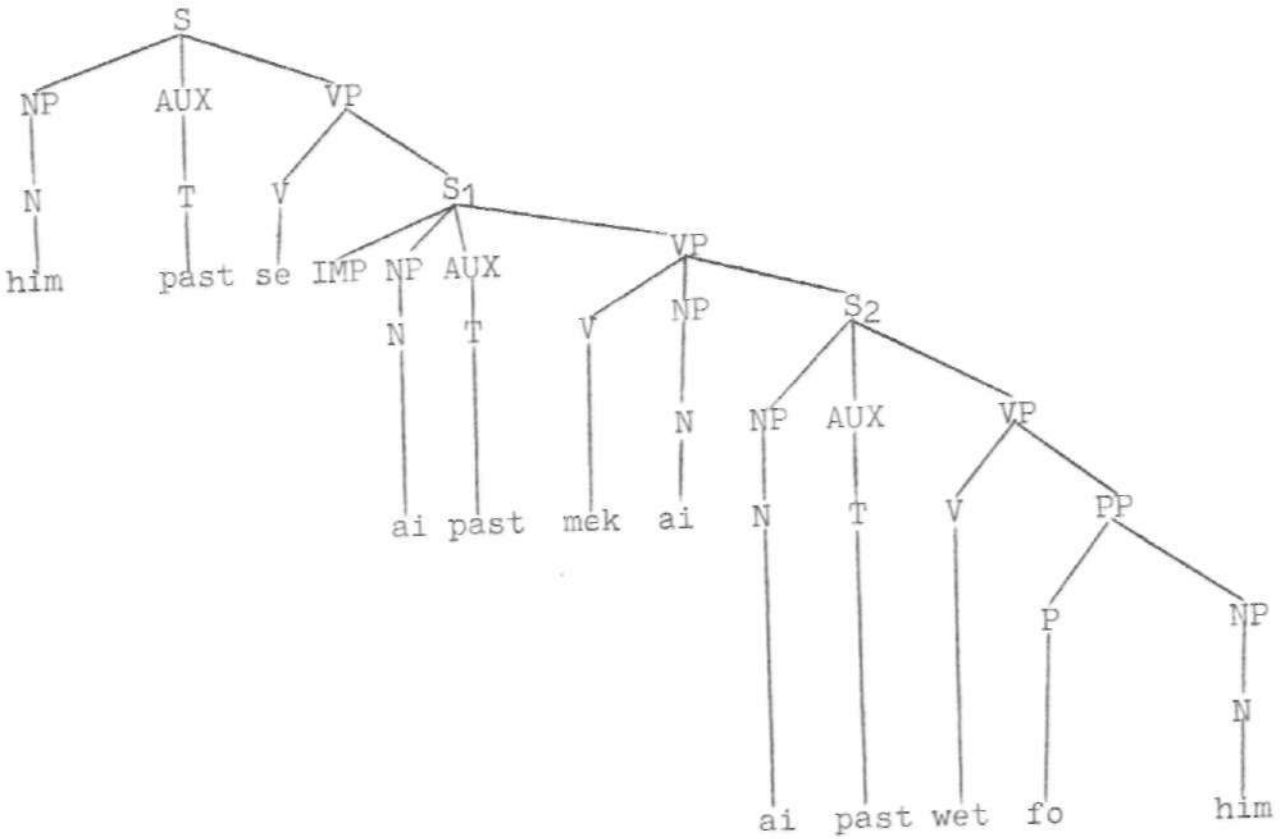
to which the imperative deletion transformation (T-Imp deletion)[10] applies as follows:

T-IMP Deletion:

	NP_1	AUX	V	NP_2	V
S.D.:	1	2	3	4	5
S.C.:	ø	ø	3	4	5

=> Mek im go.

Example 70:

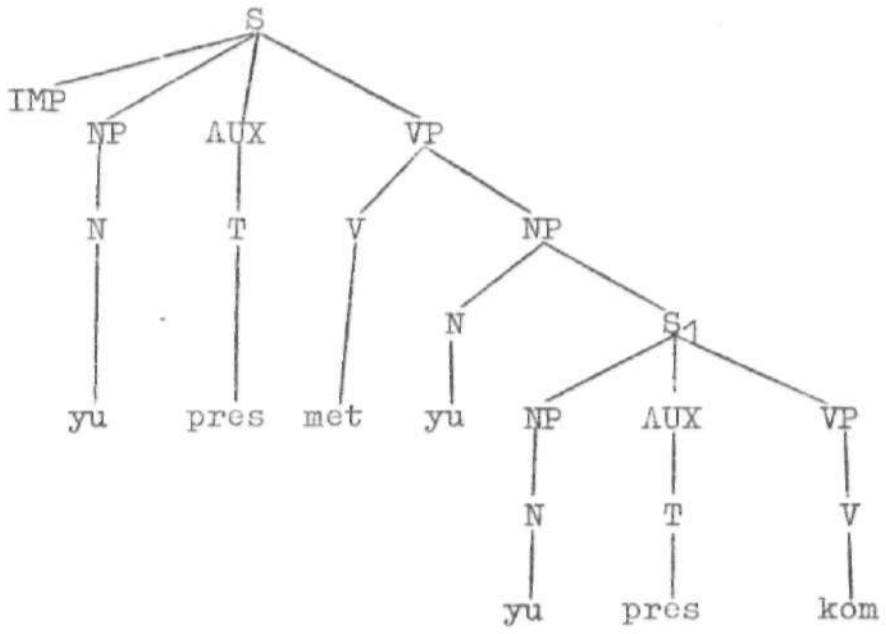

S
NP
AUX
VP
N
T
V
S1
him
past
se
IMP
NP
AUX
VP
N
T
V
NP
S2
ai
past
mek
ai
NP
AUX
VP
N
T
V
PP
P
NP
N
ai
past
wet
fo
him

The Equi-Np deletion transformation applies to the deep structure of the sentence, deleting the noun phrase of the second embedded sentence. This gives an intermediate structure with the following underlying string:

$$NP_1 + AUX + V + NP_2 + AUX + V + NP_3 + V + PP$$

The T-IMP deletion applies to this structure deleting NP_2. When the tense formative of the first embedded sentence is re-written as zero, the result is the sentence Him se mek ai wet fo him.[11]

Example 71:



The Equi-NP deletion transformation deletes the noun phrase 'subject) of the embedded sentence

and the T-IMP deletes the subject noun phrase of the matrix sentence to give the sentence Mek yu kom.

Another important aspect of mek in the pidgin is its use in giving polite order. In this case it could mean "shall" or "could" (see Todd, 1974: 31-32). Consider 72 and 73 below.

72. Mek wi go. (Shall we go).

73. Mek yu kwench di faia. (Could you put out the fire).

74. Mek yu grit am fo mi. (Greet him on my behalf).

However, even if mek could be glossed as "shall" or "could", it might be unreasonable to conceive of it as an element of the modal auxiliary. First, there is no evidence to show that mek as a modal is switched over the noun phrase to the first position; and second, it is unlikely for the auxiliary to precede the noun phrase in the deep structure. Therefore, the analysis proposed above can as well be used in handling mek in this case.

5.8 Equational Subject-Particle

The name equational subject-particle will be

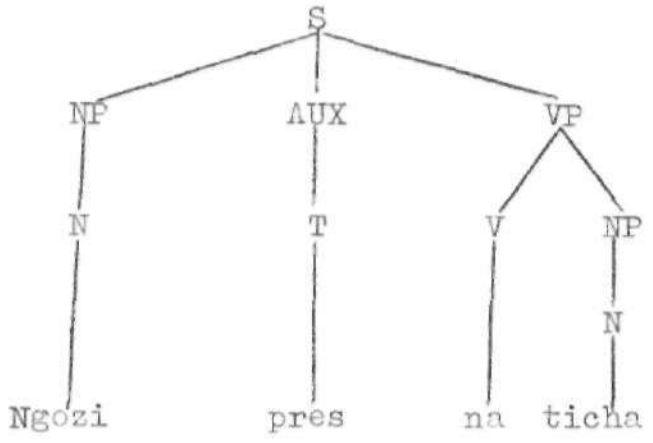
used here for the 'portmanteau' word na commonly found in the pidgin. According to Hall, Jr (1966:86) "na is best classified as an equational subject-particle which serves simply for the identification of any predicate that follows it".

However, Hall is wrong in saying that na identifies "any predicate that follows it". The particle is either a verb (part of the predicate) or a combination of both subject noun phrase and verb. Whatever precedes na or is identified by it in both cases must be a complement. Consider 75 and 76.

75. Ngozi na ticha.
    (Ngozi is a teacher).
76. Na Mela we kom hia.
    (It was Mela who came here).

We shall gloss na as "is" where it relates two noun phrases, and as "it is" where it occurs in the subject position, as in 75 and 76, respectively. In this regard the deep structures of the sentences can be shown as:

Example 75:

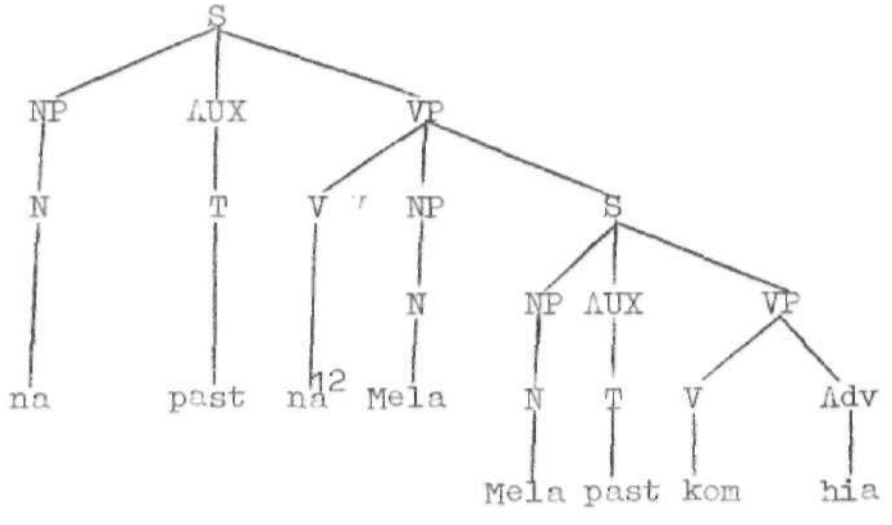


Condition

Tense → ∅

=> Ngozi na ticha.

Example 76a:



The underlying string of 76 after the application of the Relativization transformation will appear as:

NP + AUX + V + NP + we + V + Adv

to which the T-na will be applied thus:

T-Na:	NP	+ AUX +	V	+ NP	+ we	+ V	+ Adv
S.D.:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
S.C.:	1	Ø	Ø	4	5	6	7

=> Na Mela we kom hia.

There are other important aspects of Na-constructions in the pidgin. First, they cannot be negated. Sentences 77 and 78 are ungrammatical for this reason.

77. *Na no Mela we kom hia.

78. *Ngozi no na ticha.

For the sentences to be negated, bi, a 'variant' of na (see Agheyisi, 1971: 119) must be introduced (to replace na). We shall, however, treat bi as a variant of na only when the latter serves as a 'copula'. In its dual role as 'equational subject-particle' na is not syntactically equivalent to bi. For example sentences 79, 81 and 82 are grammatical: 80 is not.

79. Na Oke we ai si fo naket.
(It was Oke that I saw in the narket).

80. *Bi Oke we ai si for naket.

81. Ofor na telo.

82. Ofor bi telo.

The negative form of 80, sentence 83 below is grammatical.

80. No bi Oke we ai si for naket.

Its grammaticalness can be explained as follows: The deep structure of the sentence contains the expletive na which is replaced with bi following the presence of the negative constituent. However, it is not certain whether it is the negative transformation or another transformation altogether that will introduce bi to replace na in the subject position.

Second, na as a copula normally follows a subject noun phrase with a noun as 'head'. (a) and (b) of 84 and 85 are acceptable variants in the pidgin:

84. (a) Mesi na mai gelfren
(b) Mesi bi mai gelfren.
(Mercy is my girlfriend).

85 (a) Den na Yoruba.
(b) Den bi Yoruba.
(They are Yorubas).

but their degrees of grammaticality differ. In 84, (a) is more grammatical than (b); in 85, (b) is more grammatical than (a). The rule for this can be formulated as:

$$Cop \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} na \\ bi \end{Bmatrix} / \begin{Bmatrix} N \\ Pron \end{Bmatrix} __$$

The explanation is as follows: the copula is re-written as na after a noun (but not after a pronoun) and as bi after a pronoun (but not after a noun). However, as we have remarked earlier, the breaking of these rules does not result in unacceptable sentences.

Third, as Traugott (1976:73) points out na is different from other copulas (bi, de, etc.) because it can also express location and existence, as in

86. Na lo se nek wi no smok?
(Is there a law that we should not smoke?).

87. Na wetin de hapun?
("There is what going on/ What's going on?).

Notice, however, that na in 86 and 87 can still be glossed as "it is" in English without any loss of meaning. If this is right, then the analysis proposed in this section is also valid for existential meaning of na.

Notes to Chapter 5

1. We deliberately omitted the discussion of obvious surface structure characteristics of the pidgin such as incoining, calquing, tonalizing, reduplication, and semantic extension because they more properly belong in morphology.

2. In Latin, for example, what takes precedence is the question of case (nominative, accusative, ablative, etc.) in nouns. (See F. Palmer Grammar, London, 1971: 139).

3. It is a trivial point whether the passive transform has the same meaning with the active form or not. What is of importance as Chomsky emphasized is that any active sentence (with rare exceptions) can be transformed into a passive one.

4. Serialization merits a separate section, but for its structural similarity with directional modifiers.

5. Agheyisi makes the same 'mistake' as we pointed out in the first chapter of this work.

6. Notice that the stressed forms are used nonemphatically in object position.

7. It is important to note that RSP is to a reasonable extent tonal (like most West African Languages). The word de provides a typical example of tonality in the pidgin:

   i. dè - continuous marker, as in
   Di gel de tol.
   (The girl is talling i.e. growing tall).

   ii. dé - a copula verbs, as in
   Di gel de tol.
   (The girl is tall).

8. This sentence and its English gloss are Traugott's (1976).

9. With other persons mek is obligatory while with the second person ("you") it is optional. For example:

   Mek yu go => Go.

   Mek yu kom => Kom.

10. The Imperative Transformation deletes the subject noun phrase along with the auxiliary constituent (usually the tense node).

11. As this sentence shows, the imperative transformation can apply to the insert(s) without affecting the matrix sentence.

12. The interim measure adopted here is to represent both subject noun phrase and the verb as na in the deep structure since the word na is indivisible. The Na Deletion Transformation (T-na deletion) will then delete the second na, both being identical, together with the tense node.

Chapter 6

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Summary

Most studies of pidgin and creole languages have been undertaken in order to provide "as much information or data as possible" about their internal structure. Occasional remarks on some of the differences between them and their superstrates are made with the aim, mostly of showing the nature of their "simplification and simplicity" in relation to "the languages out of which they have arisen".

The aim of this study was to give a formal description of the structure of sentences in Nigerian Pidgin, with the 'variety' of the language spoken in the Rivers State of Nigeria as a case study. It was felt that the "body of information" on the pidgin needed a kind of 'analytical formalization'. The approach was sociolinguistic, which saw the pidgin as a language in its own right.

The data on which the study was based were of two kinds: formal and informal. The formal

data were collected from a fieldwork undertaken by the author from June to October, 1984 in the Rivers State and an evaluation test carried out among Rivers State students at the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, in December, 1984. The informal or intuitive data were primarily derived from the author who is a native speaker of the language. Relying solely on intuition is unacceptable in sociolinguistics. Hence it was felt that both data be fused to complement each other.

The study was couched in the 'Standard Theory' of Transformational Generative grammar, a model that has shown as Halliday (1978:37) puts it, "that natural language could be brought within the scope of formalization, that you could in fact study natural language as a formal system".

6.2 Limitations

The shortcomings of the work are numerous, relating to both the approach and descriptive model. First, the choice of our descriptive model implies that the structure of the pidgin had been determined in advance, with an already made English casket to bury it. A more objective

approach could have avoided this procedure in order not to imply that "all varieties of pidgin English and creoles that have grown out of them have an underlying identity of structure with English" (Hall, 1966).

Second, the work relied heavily on intuitive data. A study that aims at describing the language people use in their everyday lives would have been based on more objectively-collected data, reflecting as many social contexts as possible. This could have removed the suspicion that the description was that of the author's idiolect, markedly distinct, perhaps from those of others.

Third, the rule system used in the description appears to have ignored the nature of the pidgin-creole continuum. We earlier observed that the pidgin is being influenced by English.

Effects of decreolization abound in Rivers State Pidgin. A careful examination of the sentences analyzed in this work will reveal that it is complex in structure and in its use of variants. It has developed subordinate structures akin to those of English, and which

are necessary for the indication of hierarchical relations between things. Another area of modification in the pidgin is the prepositional system which is increasingly expanding toward English. Even in the speeches of our two illiterate informants the following examples occurred:

1. Wi no get ani ples to faan. (Appendix C).
   (Lit. We have no place to farm).
2. If to se i no gri to giv yu...
   (Appendix E).
   (If he had refused to give you...).

Pidgins and creoles in general do not make a distinction between genders (Traugott and Pratt, 1980:371). This distinction has started appearing in Rivers State Pidgin. On more than two occasions shi ("she" occurred in the subject position for the feminine gender (see Appendices B and D). Also indicative of decreolization is the co-existence of many alternants of a sentence. Consider the following sentences:

3. (a) Hin kuk beta fud fo os.
   (She cooked a delicious dish for us).
   (b) Hin kuk os beta fud.
   (She cooked us a delicious dish).

4. (a) Ireju wan mi to kom.

   (b) Ireju wan mek ai kom.

   (Ireju wanted me to come).

5. (a) Hin laik yu. (He likes you).

   (b) In laik yu. "

   (c) I laik yu. "

   (d) Hi laik yu. "

6. (a) Chidi de haws. (Chidi is at home).

   (b) Chidi de fo haws. "

7. (a) Akpaka kom. (Akpaka came).

   (b) Akpaka bin kom. "

These variant forms make our rule formulations suspect. It might appear that the language has no rules for sentence formation except for individual speakers. Even if what was described here were identical idiolects that might bear some claim to the structure of the pidgin, it is still an imperfect description for a language that is growing and changing. But these are beyond the scope of our present study. We are only being speculative (cf Section 6.3).

6.3 Conclusion

The use of the phrase structure rule format of English in describing the sentence structure

of the pidgin (Chapter Four) points to the issue of linguistic universals (cf Chomsky, 1957 et seq; Parisi and Antinucci, 1976:11) - all languages it is believed have similar underlying grammars.

The transformations that apply at intermediate stages to produce the surface structures of various human languages differ (Chapter Five). From our post-data collection test it became clear that Rivers State Pidgin is a form of a language that is operating with a system of well-defined rules quite different from English (except that there are cases of overlapping). However, unlike English, this structure is almost immutable, and this may account for the similarity between the target and result sentences. There were differences, no doubt, but they were unimportant. It is Hockett's (1975:83) view that when "the aim of our investigation into a language is 'synchronic' or 'descriptive' we choose, quite legitimately to ignore the innumerable tiny changes that are going on during the period of our investigation, most of which would escape detection anyway, as well as the obvious personal idiosyncrasies".

6.4 Further Research

In view of the limited oscope of the present study (cf. 6.2 above), the following aspects of the study could be undertaken. They are suggested as areas to be undertaken by later scholars.

1. Semantics, Phonology, Morphology:

   These are other outstanding facets that require the type of analytic formalizations we have attempted here for sentence structure (partly syntax). Studies that deal exclusively with these areas will no doubt contribute to a fuller view of what the language is, whether or not they are introduced via syntax (as is the practice in Transformational Generative grammar).

2. Speech Contexts:

   In the type of multilingual community we have in the Rivers State there usually emerges a sort of 'linguistic division of labour', each language trying to fulfil 'certain' functions for the speakers. There is a need for a study that will map out appropriate contexts for the pidgin. For, if it really fulfils separate functions,

the question of its overlapping with English might not be as threatening to its existence as it might appear from our account here.

3. "Forms"

The question of forms or varieties arises at two separate levels. First, there needs to be a rigorous distinction of regional varieties of Nigerian pidgin. It is not sufficient to make impressionistic observations about regional differences. Else terms such as "Rivers State Pidgin", "Nigerian Pidgin of Warri", and so on will remain more of composite terms than indicators of discrete types.

Also the different types of speakers that, according to Faraclas et al, form the "entire pidginization-creolization-decreolization continuum" need to be identified. It is also necessary to find out at what linguistic levels - syntactic, phonological, lexical and/or semantic - speakers along the continuum show differences.

4. Post-Creole Continuum

The phenomenon of post-creole continuum is

largely the product of education in English. Therefore there is a need for a study that will rigorously define the terms 'educated' and 'uneducated' speakers of the pidgin, and on this basis collect data from the two groups for contrastive study. This will no doubt assess the nature and degree of the much-talked-about decreolization taking place in the pidgin.

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APPENDICES

SAMPLE TEXTS

(Taped Recorded Pieces of Conversation)

A

HMU: Dis kain George him kes, mi ai no biliv am, atol atol.

INA: Nna, na bele nau.

IMU: As Victor kom fo awa ofis kom tel mi se George waif don dai, yu no wetin ai aks am? Se hwich George? I se Nwaeremah nau. Ai se hau kan! A-a, no bi di George waif we mi ai si fo Satode hwen we de tok? Shi no ivin sik, she no ivin luklaik se him de sik. Laik se him tel mi se na George dai, ai fo se oke.

(They laugh).

No. Na tru, bikos na him de so lin dat de. No bi so George de de bifo...

INA: E...nu. Na di ekzam nau.

HMU: Hau i go se na him waif dai.

INA: Na wa-o!

HMU: So as ai de kom hom sef, ai de fia to tel pipul se ai de kom bikos George waif dai...

INA: Sombodi dai...

HMU: Ehn... Ai se weda na lai him tel mi. Mek ai no kom de se... dat kain tin...

INA: No bi so...

HMU: Ehm.

INA: Hau pesin go se anoda pesin don dai?

HMU: Na him wi de kom wi si Iz Bra fo paak...

INA: We him don skwot...

HMU: Ehnn... we him don skwot wel-wel. Yu no se him sabi his niuz nau.

INA: (laughing) Aktiv vais prinsipal.

HMU: (laughing) Aktiv vais prinsipal. So ai no bi wan kom aks am abawt di kos nau. Ai no wan mek him de go tok plenti fo mi.

INA: O.

HMU: Ai kom tel am se weda him hia se George waif don dai fo hom. I se hi neva hia-o. Hmm... ai kom de fia weda dis tin na tru atol. As wi rich Erema jonkshon nau, as ai don enta for mashin, ai bigin de aks se na hu dai fo Erema. De se na George waif. Ai kon se i fit bi tru-o. As ai rich haws ai no fit si eni pesin. Na him ai no se di tin na tru.

INA: Hmm.

HMU: Mi ai jus... di tin de sopraiz mi. To go si George sef, ai de fia bikos ai no no hau him fes go bi. Hwen ai rich nau kon si se him jus de feiali ol rait, ai kon se wel...

INA: Hau man go du nau. Na dai? If pesin don dai nau, if yu se yu wan dai, yu go dai de beri. Stiil fud de go on. Pipul de chop.

HMU: Dat kain tin na big ekspiriens-o!

INA: Ehn. Dat de him de krai se him tu smol fo... fo dis tin... him tu yon egen...

HMU: Hmmm.

INA: Ehn. Bikos laik se yu tu yong di tin fo no hapun...

HMU: Hapun to yu.

INA: Ahnn. As di tin don hapun to an nau, him no yong egen. Na him wi kon simpataiz wit am.

HMU: Nau him no go fiil am bikos pipul de plenti fo dia haws.

INA: Aa.

HMU: Dis kain tin de du. I bi laik se na so i go de...

INA: Ehn... tru awt...

HMU: Evri tain.

INA: Bot hwen won wiik don pas nau...

HMU: Evri pesin go go him we.

INA: Nna, old boi we get wok go tok se, nna, nek yu tek haat-o. Ai wan... go... Pot Haa... ivin dis wiik end sef.

HMU: Ehnn.

INA: Son pipul go staat go nau. At list dos boi we de ste dia de get job. I go se wel insted of... mek den just tel yu se kontrakt don taminet...

HMU: Hnnn.

INA: ... se nek yu liv am, se at list go wok. Fo nekst Fraide yu go kon.

HMU: Ehnn.

INA: And nobi nekst Fraide noni no de to kon baak... o as him get... as him do fo tichin praktis, him go go baak nau.

HMU: Him go nau. Hwen him go kon baak him no go si him waif egen. Na di tain him go no se him waif don dai.

INA: O-o. Wel. Dat won na anoda tin-o.

HMU: Na dat tain him go rili bigin de du di krai. O hwen di chuldren go bigin de aks am...

INA: ... We den nomi. Na di tain trobul go konot. Bikos di smol won fit wek fo nait se him de luk fo him nana.

INA: Aa... for she!

HMN: Hau yu go eksplen am? Tia go konot fo yua ai.

INA: Hmmmn... i... i...

HMU: Na di tain him go no se him waif don dai.

INA: E-e. Onles pipul laik os we... we don si nainti-nain akodin to Zebrudia (laughing)

HMU: (laughing) Him se we... we... i de rinen onli won nek...

INA: Hu a hondred? (laughing) Kaunt from won to ... yu rich nainti-nain...

HMU: Hrrm.

IN:A Hu a hondred egen? and nainti-nain long pas hondred!

HMU: Enn.

INA: Hmm.

HMU: Dat kain tin...

INA: Hin tink se yu...

HMU: Hin tink se ni ai no laik an.

INA: ... yu de UPN nau...

HMU: Ehmm.

INA: (laughing) ... hin de NPN.

HMU: Ehnn.

INA: Weda na beta kandidet o bad won, at list hin sho to win. (laughing).

HMU: (laughing) Na waa-o.

INA: Na Okilo den govment. Weda yu vot fo ni o...

HMU: Ekzatili!

INA: ... yu no vot fo ni ai go win.

HMU: Ai go win.

INA: Hin pas.

HMU: Tru tru, ai no no wetin yua sista kuk fo an bikos yua sista don spoil hin hed welwel.

INA: Na waa.

HMU: Yu no se de bin tel an nek hin kon du B.ed. fo Kolej of Edukeshon, no. Hin no go.

INA: Ehn?

HMU: Ehn...

INA: So hin pepa de ol rait?

HMU: I bi laik. Hin don komplit hin pepa fo Ticha Gred Tu.

INA: A-a-a.

HMU: Oke...

INA: So WASC him du bifo... bifo Ticha Gred Tu?

HMU: Ehn. Hwen him don mis dat won nau...

INA: Ehn?

HMU: ... de tel am nek him kon du NCE egen, sekotarian edukeshon. Him no fit go rejista. Ai no no wetin hapun. So hi don mis dat won egen.

INA: Nna!

HMU: So-o ona go aks ona sista wetin she kuk fo ha hosband we di hosband no fit go skul egen o de tink se di won we de riid don du fo den?

INA: A-a. Hwich won bi yua wahala? Di we we him dres nau na laik big man nau. Dos of os we de laik ofis boi dia... a-a ... hau yu go... na big man...

HMU: Ann.

INA: Dis won na ticha, him waif na woka. Fo nont end nau dis won tu hondred. Di oda won go rich won hondred and sontin. Hwen de join am dat's tri hondred and sontin naira...

HMU: Na tru nau.

INA: Na grajuet noni.

HMU: Di we man de dres... no bi laik... i no de sho di riil tin we de fo man... haws-o. Bikos dat won na naskured; bikos as won man de tel mi won de se as him de kon from ofis wit nesedis benz...

INA: Mmm.

HMU: ... him si won man we tai op welwel. Ren de bit am. Se if dat man we tai op get noni, oke, tu naira to pe a drop, ren fos no de bit am for dat ples. Na him nek him opun hin noto, tel am to enta. Di man fia se hwich kain man go opun hin noto nek hin enta. Weda... hmm...

INA: Na to tek an go mek moni... medisin fo moni.

HMU: So hin kon enta nau. Di nan aks an se hwia him de go. Him tel am. Di nan kari an go dia. Tek moni egen...

INA: Giv an... na waa!

HMU: So hin kon tok se hin bi sekuriti fo bank.

INA: Igba!

HMU: So if hin no tel yu se hin bi sekuriti for bank...

INA: (laughing) At ol.

HMU: ... yu go tink se na...

INA: (laughing) Jeneral Maneja...

HMU: (laughing) Yu go tink se na jenaral maneja fo bank. (laughing) Yu si an.

INA: Na hin (laughing).

HMU: Ai no de biliv... ai no de ret pipul fo di we... di tin we de wia fo bodi...

INA: Ah.

HMU: ... bikos ai sabi den... son sabi de du ai savis. Mek... biliv...

INA: Ah.

HMU: Yu si dat kai tin!

INA: Taks pipul sef... dis won we den de shawt... taks pipul go si am sef... se dis won, nna...

HMU: Ehmn.

INA: ... dis nan, if hin no bi deputi... laik se ani de get deputi... (laughing) se dis won na deputi govano fo Rivas Steet... (laughing).

HMU: (laughing) So yu no pipul?

INA: (laughing) Hmmmn.

HMU: Ah, yu no nau. Afta ol him de kom fo inlo ples. Him go dres wel.

INA: Nna.

HMU: Yu no dat kain tin...

INA: At list.

HMU: Hin go dres wel.

INA: Na waa!

HMU: Afta ol yua sista bin de konplen di oda tain. So if ai bin wan go du PP, ai fo don go baak.

INA: Bot if yu du dat won... hnnnn...

HMU: Hnnnn.

INA: ...if wi kach yu (laughing)... hnnn.

HMU: (laughing) If yu a kachi?

INA: Hnnn... (laughing)...

HMU: No. Ai no go fit du an.

INA: ... yu go snel pepe.

HMU: Ah. Na rili snel pepe.

INA: Yu go snel pepe.

HMU: Ai no go fit du am bikos dat yua sista rili de haatles.

INA: Mnn. bot...

HMU: So dat de hwen wi kari... Ogunwa ded bodi kom from Pot Haakot... yu no dat de shi de kom nia mi bikos ni ai de fo di run... dat nait-o... dis Bra bra fo Obiosinini kari am dat nait-o, hwen ni ai de krai... kari go fo Obiosinini go pas nait wit am.

INA: At list i go stop an nau... hwen yu de... yu de... de...

HMU: Stop an? Tins de we de no de stop. Hwen di tin don enta blod...

INA: Na lai... it is not...

HMU: ... hwen di tin don enta blod.

INA: Na lai.

HMU: Hwen di tin don enta blod.

INA: Di... di... akodin to Zebrudia it is not tru to awa koston.

HMU: En?

INA: Hwen it is tru to awa koston we go no.

HMU: Koston no de wok egen-o.

INA: Bot at list pipul de respekt son.

HMU: Wel, de se tif man...

INA: Ehn?

HMU: ... ivin if haws ful fo moni, if him si ten kobo fo yua poket hi go pik an.

INA: Enn. Dat won na original tif man.

HMU: So yu tink se yua sista no bi original?

INA: Mba... nba... she kan...

HMU: Oke-o.

INA: She kannot bi fit to dos it.

HMU: (at the same time)... to bi dos it.

INA: Enn.

HMU: Agrided.

INA: Enn... Hau kan? Hau kan...?

HMU: Agrided.

INA: Hau kan?

HMU: Ai pre nau nek dem liv wel. Afta ol di pesin we him de mari na nai junio broda.

INA: Enn. Wel. Problem no de nau.

HMU: Ai dos not grombul.

INA: If tu of dem... weda no kontribushon dem de nek kon pe os ol wi no bi se...

HMU: (laughing) Weda na kontribushon...

INA: Ann... a..

HMU: Bot shi get moni. Shi bi biznes wuman.

INA: Shi get moni nau.

HMU: Shi get.

INA: Welwel. Na him bi di tin we ai de tok se weda tu of dem de... put hand togeda de kon pe os, wi, wi no veks.

HMU: Hmmmn.

INA: Ol wi no bi se nek it komplit.

HMU: Hmmn.

INA: Hwen i don komplit fo naarej, enn... manan le o ji ego kpori la nwa nu-o**

HMU: Na him nau. Kari am go donp am.

INA: If yu get... won... moni to bai klot, yu bai. If yu get moni to bai ivin kaset. Ai fit go giv am won ol' kaset. Se, nna, sista, yu no se... hmmm dis militiri govment...

HMU: (laughing)...

INA: (laughing)... moni neva... moni no de laik NPN govment... so...

HMU: Se as NPN komot...

INA: Ehn.

** Literally, "My nother, he who holds noney has taken away ny child".

HMU: ... i don kari di moni go.

INA: NPN don kari di moni finish.
(both laughing).

C

BM: Mai hosband no riplai di leta til nau. So na him nek ni se ai go kon tel yu as yu go go Pot Haakot dis konin Satude. Mek yu tel mai hosband se nek him fain smol tin giv os, bikos ai no no hau ai go du am as faam... faam sizin kom laik dis. Wi no get eni ples to faam. And ai don tel mai hosband se nek him bring noni nek wi tek am bai di ples we wi go.. go plant... kasava. Mai hosband no gri kon hom. So ai no no hau ai go du am. So if yu go Pot Haakot on dis konin Satude, yu go tel am se nek him fain foti naira bring fo os. Se ai don si di faam we wi go bai. Di man kon tel ni se if ai no kom kwik, him go sel am fo anoda pesin. So if hi sel di faam fo anoda pesin nau hau wi go du am? Abi ni and nai pikin den wi no go chop?

Dat... dat kobo ndiya we den de plant so, ni ai no get am sef...

INA: And yu neva bai til nau?

BM: Ai neva... neva... bai am. Ai no get noni to bai sef.

INA: Hmm. Oke. Ai go tel am. Bot Enweda kon wiik end.

BM: Enweda kon: bot as Enweda kon nau ai don aks Enweda. Enweda kon tel ni se him tel nai hosband se nai hosband no ansa am enitin.

INA: Oke. Hwen ai rich Pot... ai go ... go tel am.

BM: Tel am, ai beg.

INA: Ai go tel am.

D

... won wuman si ni kon hol mai planten se hin go bai am. Ai tel am di praiz of mai planten... tel am se nek hin po ten naira. Di wuman kon praiz am faiv naira. Ai se no. Den di wuman liv mai planten. Ai kari am go fo maket, go insaid maket.

Mai kostona si ni, kon hol mai planten se hin go bai am. Ai tel am se nek hin bai am ten naira. Mai kostona no gri. Shi kon praiz am faiv naira. Ai se no. Won wuman don praiz am siks naira. Ai no gri. Den... won... dat wuman si os egen hon hol... kon hol di planten egen... kon hol di planten egen. Mai kostona no gri liv di planten. Den dat wuman kon... kon... kon push mai kostona. Mai kostona kon... kon fol fo graun.

Den ai... a... den di wuman... mai kostona go kol polis fo os fo... Polis kon... kon tek mi and di wuman go nek... go lok. Ai si won wuman we de dia. Ai tel di wuman se nek hin go kol mai papa. Di wuman go kol mai papa. Den mai papa kom tek mi fo bel.