Chapter One

Introduction

1.1. Background to the Study

Language is the main tool for constructing every literary work. The importance of language to human beings cannot be overemphasized. It is an important means of human communication that serves a wide variety of purposes. It is one of the factors that distinguish human beings from animals; the former communicate with language (verbal and non-verbal) and express thoughts, feelings and ideas in it. The primary purpose of language is communication and no human language is inferior to another. The concept of language universal asserts that there are characteristics/properties of language that exist in all languages.

Languages co-exist and affect one another to produce sociolinguistic results such as multilingualism, bilingualism, interference, code-switching, code-mixing, nativisation/acculturation/domestication, pidginisation and others. Language contact situations lead to most languages getting influenced at one time or another. This results in varying degrees of transfer of features from one language to another. Nigeria is a multilingual nation with about 520 local languages and the English language with some features of the English language rubbing off on the indigenous languages and vice versa.

The advent of English and its co-existence with indigenous languages is a case of language contact. Factors like colonialism, religion, education, and commerce can be held accountable for this.

The missionaries that came into Nigeria paved a way for colonialism. Nigeria was colonized by the British Empire and English was imposed on Nigeria in the process. The Britons did not think the indigenous languages were worth speaking, so they introduced their own language. According to Foldeh Baldeh,

> The English language is undoubtedly the most important legacy of the British colonial masters to Nigeria. The adoption of the imperial tongue as a language for wider communication dates back to 1862 when Lagos was formally established as a colony by the British invaders. Its subsequent spread is, therefore, linked closely to British colonial rule and its attendant Christian Evangelical Crusade, with their cultural, political and economic ramifications (1).

It is normal for colonizers to impose their language on the colonized. Some will even go as far as forbidding natives to speak their local languages, and this was the case between the Britons and Nigerians at the time. Hence, the English language is a colonial gown.

Missionary activities in Nigeria also contributed to the implantation of English in Nigeria. The missionaries came along in the middle of the nineteenth century and trained Nigerians as clerks and interpreters. Christian converts were taught the English language in order to read the Holy Bible. The coming of the missionaries into Nigeria brought about formal education with the establishment of schools where English was taught and learnt. Reverend Thomas Freeman and Mr. and Mrs. De Graft (missionaries) arrived Badagry in 1842 and trained their converts in reading and writing skills in order to foster communication. These converts learnt English and used it.

The Transatlantic slave trade and its abolition aided the implantation of English in Nigeria. During the slave trade, the slave masters had business transactions with local intermediaries. After the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade, some of the freed slaves returned to their villages through Sierra Leone with their knowledge of the English language which they in turn taught their families, friends and neighbours. According to A. B. K Dadzie and Segun Awonusi, “some of these Nigerians, particularly the Yorubas locally known as Akus in Sierra Leone, returned to their villages where they were known as Saros and Krios, and freely used the English language in their new settlements”.(53)

The slave traders established active trade contact with the West African Coastal region as far back as the sixteenth century. The language contact situation produced a language called Pidgin.

The Portuguese were the earliest known European visitors to Nigeria. The first Nigerian population they had contact with was the coastal population of the Niger Delta. According to Ben Ohi Elugbe and Augusta Phil Omamor,

> The first contact situation between a Nigerian population and a European group was, therefore, between the Portuguese and the coastal peoples of the Niger Delta where the visitors found rivers up which they could navigate a little inland. We assume that some kind of trade jargon developed between the Portuguese and their Nigerian trading partners. Arising from this assumption is the question in what kind of speech-form the Portuguese attempted to communicate with their hosts. It would be quite inviting to rush to the conclusion that the Portuguese at once resorted to the famed Portuguese-based Pidgin, the claimed ancestor of all European-based Pidgins (3).

The multiplicity of languages in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria must have aided the implantation of "some kind of English" for the purpose of communication. Something must have happened after the Portuguese traders left Nigeria, because Nigerian Pidgin is English-based and not Portuguese based.

The English language left its native home and took on some character traits peculiar to its new environment. In Nigeria, English evolved and developed

independent of any metropolitan source and did not imbibe the norm/all the norms of the metropolitan varieties. “There is no gainsaying the fact that English has become a Nigerian language” (Akindele and Adegbite 56). The English language in Nigeria has been nativised by developing a subset of rules which mark it as different from American or British English. According to Akindele and Adegbite,

> English has been cultivated and re-domesticated as well as indigenized to accommodate the culture and tradition of the people. The numerous social, political and economic functions of the English language as we have pointed out above have also made it to acquire some local colour which differentiates it from the native English variety used in England or America (61).

Nigerian English evolved due to the nativisation of English in Nigeria. Nativisation, simply put, is “the indigenization of English in a second language environment” (Elugbe 11). It can also be seen as a sociolinguistic process through which a particular language gains native speakers. The foreign language becomes native to the people. In the context of English in Nigeria, nativisation refers to the changes which the language has gone through as a result of its contact with various indigenous languages in Nigeria, and takes place at all levels of linguistic analysis. This is the situation on which Nigerian

English was developed, having been developed in the Nigerian non-native English situation. According to Okoro,

> Nigerian English is simply English the way Nigerians speak and write it. Nigerian English is made up, on the phonological level, of the peculiar forms of pronunciation typical of the Efik, the Hausa, the Igbo, the Urhobo, the Yoruba and the numerous other ethnic groups that make up Nigeria; on the semantic level of meaning broadening, narrowing, total shift, literal translation, and the creation of peculiar idioms on the lexical of coinages, loans, blends, compounding, acronyms, on the syntactic level by transfer of MT structures and so forth (167).

The nativisation of English in Nigeria is hinged on Nigerian English and other sociolinguistic concepts like Nigerian Pidgin, code-switching and code-mixing.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Many writers write in English because it is a global language and serves their artistic needs. A writer does not only write through language, s/he talks about the language. Some post-colonial writers appropriate English to suit various purposes. They nativise the language to make it culturally relevant to society, especially when the literary text is culture related, hence creatively using it in

the process of decolonization by experimenting with the variant forms of English and incorporating forms of the indigenous languages into the English language. But it has been found out that most people are reluctant to accept the nativised variety of English while some writers are reluctant to use this variety in their literary works.

These writers do not use the nativised variety in their literary works lest they be categorised as persons who lack a mastery of the English language. There is also the fear of not gaining wide readership. They believe that English being a global language will fetch wide readership for their literary works. But "can the African writer effectively convey his peculiar experience in English? Should he try to speak and use English like a native English speaker?" (Emenyonu and Uko 82). Can an African writer boast of a complete mastery of the English language in order to use it effectively in literary writings? How do writers effectively express their culture in a foreign language? How will African literature written in a foreign language retain the African cultural heritage? Can the nativised variety add aesthetics to literary works?

An African writer expressing African literature in a foreign language might encounter problems along the way. There might be problems of full expression and thought. Should the African writer now nativise the English language or write in his/her native language?

It is, therefore, imperative to find out if the nativisation of English in literary works can be aesthetically and creatively done, if it can equally be the long lasting solution to sociolinguistic problems like linguistic hegemony and linguicide (language death) or should African writers bid English farewell and use their indigenous languages in order to maintain the dignity of African literature and culture?

1.3 Purpose of the Study

A great deal has been done on the nativised variety (ies) of the English language (New Englishes) both in written and oral communication. The overall purpose of this study is to further establish that the nativised variety can add aesthetic values to a work of literature or has a creative part to play in it.

This research work seeks to ascertain if the nativised variety is a variation of the New Englishes or a deviation. It equally explores how a language can be affected by its environment.

Language is primarily used for communication. A writer/speaker should be able to employ a language that will aid his/her thought processes and bring all the ideas to limelight. S/he is expected to choose a language in which s/he can comfortably communicate his thoughts and ideas, so this study is an attempt to ascertain if the nativised variety can be all that and many more to the post-

colonial African writer. It will equally investigate the extent to which the nativised variety is a creative language by adding creativity/aesthetics to a literary work. This research work will ultimately harness the sociolinguistic aspect of literary texts.

1.4 Significance of the Study

This research makes a significant contribution to knowledge by showcasing the underlying creativity embedded in the nativised variety of English. It creates awareness on the aesthetic value of nativising the English language both in the written and spoken forms of communication and show how it contributes to the creative nature of African writers which leads to a better comprehension and appreciation of literary works.

This research helps readers appreciate the use of the nativised variety in African literature while helping members of the populace recognise the nativised variety as an emerging variety of world Englishes. It equally puts the nativised variety on a pedestal and helps it shed the negative attitude against it as speakers appreciate it as a creative means of communication. Writers, on the other hand, will start employing it in their literary works.

This work also creates awareness on the positive use of the nativised variety while educating the ignorant users of language that equate the nativised variety

to illiteracy in the English language. It makes them see it as a communicative option.

1.5 Scope and Delimitation of the Study

This research looks at the concept of bilingualism and languages in contact at large. The study is delimited to investigate *Nativised English in Selected Nigerian Literary Texts*. For purposes of this study, the research focuses on four literary works that were deliberately chosen:

On Black Sisters' Street _ Chika Unigwe

Fine Boys _ Eghosa Imasuen

*Purple Hibiscus*_ Chimamanda Adichie

Yellow-Yellow _ Kaine Agary

Instances of the nativised variety in these literary texts were used for analysis. The data derived produced results that were used for generalisation of issues raised in the study.

1.6 Research Questions

The following questions were addressed in this study:

1. To what extent is the nativised variety of English in the literary texts a debased form of the English language?
2. To what degree do the authors employ nativisation of English in indicating the social class of characters?
3. To what extent do the authors nativise English to dismantle the hegemonic relationship between the English language and the indigenous languages in Nigeria?
4. How far does the nativised variety help authors in expressing their cultural heritage and African experiences?

Chapter Two

Review of Relevant Scholarship

2.1 Conceptual Framework

2.1.1 Language and Society

Human beings come together for various reasons which are facilitated through language. The primary purpose of language is communication so; language is very indispensable and inevitable in the existence of the human race because it serves as a means through which human beings communicate. Sapir defines language as “a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions, and desires by means of a system of voluntarily produced symbols.” (1) Bernard Bloch and George Trager believe that it is “a system of arbitrary vocal symbols by means of which a social group cooperates.” (10) The common factor in these definitions is that a language fulfils the communicative needs of its speakers.

Language is a social and cultural phenomenon. It cannot be studied outside the social context in which it is being used. Human beings are predestined to speak, we have the ability to learn a language but it takes social contact for that to take place. Noam Chomsky believes that every human being is wired with language acquisition device (LAD), a hypothetical module of the brain that accounts for a

child's innate predisposition to acquire a language. This cannot take place outside society.

Language does not exist outside society. If a newborn is isolated in a solitary place where there is no language in existence, he/she will not be able to learn a language. According to Josiane Hamers and Michel Blanc, "language does not exist in itself but has a use for the overall behaviour which is meaningful in a given culture.... To some extent language is one of the variables that define culture." (8) Languages function in social settings. They express group identity. People in their small groups (families, places of work, friends) develop little changes in their languages to suit their interest. But when a larger group does the same, it becomes a social dialect with differences in pronunciation and use based on social factors. In different societies, people live together and use language to show identity, power, class, status, solidarity, accommodation, gender, age, ethnic group and politeness. Addressing someone as Professor, Mr., Mrs., Ms, Aunt, Uncle or the person's first/full name goes beyond diction and extends to social factors like identity, social class, gender and politeness.

2.1.2 **Languages in Contact**

When speakers of different languages interact closely, it is typical for their languages to influence each other. So, language contact occurs when two or

more languages or varieties interact. It can occur at language borders as a result of conquest or immigration.

Most languages have been influenced at one time or another by contact and this has resulted in varying degrees of transfer of features from one language to the other. The English language, for instance, has borrowed many words from French and Latin. “Language contact is everywhere: there is no evidence that any languages have developed in total isolation from other languages.” (Thomason 8) Although this type of language contact situation does not require speakers of different languages to have actual contact, there are other language contact situations that do require actual contact in order to create a new contact language that will be a language of its own rights. Language contact is an indispensable prerequisite for the development of contact languages. It begins in the minds of the individuals and results in a change of the linguistic behaviour of an entire speech community.

Uriel Weinreich distinguishes two types of definitions of language contact,

(i) The psycholinguistic definition according to which two or more languages are in contact when they are used by one and the same speaker;

(ii) The sociolinguistic definition saying that two or more languages are in contact when they are used in the same social group. In this case, the group as a whole is the locus of language contact. The more intense

> the contact situation is, the more likely a mutual transfer of linguistic features will occur. (qtd in Riehl 11)

Sarah Thomason and Terrence Kaufman provide parameters for the degree of intensity that lead to transfer of linguistic features as:

> _length of time, i.e., that development of bilingualism, as well as integration of interference features in the borrowing language, take their time.
>
> _the number of source language speakers is higher than the number of borrowing language speakers.
>
> _socio-political dominance of source language speakers over borrowing language speakers and/or intimate contact in mixed households/other social settings.

The study of the ways in which these languages in contact influence one another is called contact linguistics. This area of study investigates various phenomena relating to the encounters between two or more languages or varieties and their speakers.

According to Donald Winford,

> Whenever people speaking different languages come in contact, there is a natural tendency for them to seek ways of bypassing the communicative barriers facing them by seeking compromise

> between their forms of speech. Such contact can have a wide variety of linguistic outcomes. In some cases, it may result in only slight borrowing of vocabulary, while other contact situations may lead to the creation of entirely new languages. Between these two extremes lies a wide range of possible outcomes involving varying degrees of influence by one language or the other. More accurately, of course, it is the people speaking the respective languages who have contact with each other and who resort to varying forms of mixture of elements from the languages involved. The possible results of such contact differ according to two broad categories of factors--- internal (linguistics) and external (social and psychological). (70)

When languages come in contact, people tend to acquire second languages. Most languages have been influenced at one time or another through contact and this results in varying degrees of transfer of features from one language to the other. The English language, for example, has borrowed many words from Latin and Greek.

2.1.3 Sociolinguistic Outcomes of Languages in Contact

No language is inferior to another; instead languages complement themselves in language contact situations. Contact between people that speak different languages can have a wide variety of outcomes. A few words may be borrowed

or a whole new language may be formed depending on the length and/or intensity of contact between the groups. Another type of contact situation involves the use of different languages within the same community by bilinguals/multilinguals. This leads to a high degree of convergence between the different languages. Some bilingual speakers are able to manipulate the two codes which give rise to code-switching and code-mixing. Some communities switch codes according to the setting which results in diglossia: one code is used in informal settings while the other is used in formal settings.

These sociolinguistic outcomes of language contact can be categorically grouped as language interference, bilingualism/multilingualism, Diglossia, nativisation, code-switching and code-mixing, pidginisation and linguistic borrowing.

I) Language Interference

When a new language is being learnt, learners, consciously or unconsciously, tend to seek similarities between their native language and the language being learnt. Language interference can be defined as the transference of elements of one language to another at various levels of linguistic analysis (phonological, morphological, lexical and orthographic). It can also be seen as an application of knowledge of a learner's native language to his/her second language. Weinreich defines interference as "those instances of deviation from norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their

familiarity with more than one language, i.e., as a result of language contact." (1) But Rod Ellis defines it as "the influence that the learner's L1 exerts over the acquisition of an L2." (6)

Language interference can be as a result of unfamiliarity with the target language because the learner has not really learnt the nuances and intricacies of the target language.

In cases of language interference, if there are similarities between the target language and the native language, the learner makes correct guesses. Positive transfer can take place. But differences between the two languages will lead to negative transfer which causes errors.

Language interference takes place at different levels of linguistic analysis.

a) Phonological Interference

In phonological interference, stress, rhyme, intonation and speech sounds from the first language influences the second language. The Igbo language, for instance, does not have the schwa sound /ə/. It is most likely that an Igbo language speaker learning English will substitute /ə/ with /a/. The speaker will pronounce father as /fada/ instead of /fa:ðə/.

b) Grammatical Interference

At this level, the native language influences the target language in terms of word order, use of pronouns, articles, determiners and tense. If the learner's

native language lacks articles, for instance, he/she will find it difficult to rightly use articles in the target language if it has articles.

c) Lexical Interference

Words are borrowed from one language and converted/naturalised in another.

ii) Bilingualism and Multilingualism

Bilingualism is the ability to speak two languages while multilingualism is the ability to use three or more languages. A bilingual might be very fluent in one language but still struggles with fluency in the second language.

When speakers of two or more languages live together in one community, this gives rise to bilingualism or multilingualism. A bilingual individual is seen as the place of language contact and a rich source of interaction between different linguistic patterns. Bilingualism, according to Leonard Bloomfield, is "the native-like control of two languages" (56) but native-like proficiency in both languages is rare.

As a result of languages in contact, people get familiar with more than one language and use them effectively, "one or more at home, another in the village, still another for purposes of trade, and yet another for contact with the outside world of wider social or political organization." (Wardhaugh 96) Bilingualism

is simply the ability to speak two languages effectively while multilingualism is when a speaker speaks three or more languages. It ranges from a minimal proficiency in two languages to an advanced level of proficiency which allows the speaker to function and appear as a native speaker of the languages. A person could be bilingual by virtue of having grown up learning and using two languages at the same time (simultaneous bilingualism) or by learning a second language sometime after acquiring his/her first language(sequential bilingualism).

Simultaneous bilingualism produces compound bilinguals. This set of bilinguals has one semantic system but two linguistic codes because the languages were learnt at the same time and (maybe) in the same context. A very good example is a child that is the product of an inter-tribal marriage where both parents speak their different languages to the child at home. Sequential bilingualism, on the other hand, gives birth to coordinate bilinguals and they have two semantic systems and two linguistic codes too, probably, because the two languages were acquired and learnt differently and in different contexts. Subordinate bilinguals are also produced through sequential bilingualism. They are bilinguals that have learnt a second language but cannot understand it without the help of their first language. This set of bilinguals think in their first language and translate in their second language.

A bilingual is bound to achieve a level of proficiency in the two languages. The degree of proficiency bilingual people achieve in their languages usually depends on society's attitudes to the languages concerned and the opportunities that present themselves to the speaker to speak them because particular languages are used in particular contexts for particular purposes and with a particular set of people. "People who are bilingual or multilingual do not necessarily have exactly the same abilities in the languages (or varieties); in fact, that kind of parity may be exceptional" (Wardhaugh 96).

Shikaripur Sridhar concurs:

> Multilingualism involving balanced, native like command of all the languages in the repertoire is rather uncommon. Typically, multilinguals have varying degrees of command of the different repertoires. The differences in competence in the various languages might range from command of a few lexical items, formulaic expressions such as greetings, and rudimentary conversational skills all the way to excellent command of the grammar and vocabulary and specialized register and styles (50).

A bilingual might be able to speak, read and write in one language while he/she can only speak the second language or understand it to an extent, i.e., semilingualism/passive bilingualism. This is to say that although most bilinguals possess very high levels of proficiency in both languages (written and

oral); there are others that display varying proficiencies in written and oral skills.

In the words of Hamers and Blanc, “bilingualism refers to the state of a linguistic community in which two languages are in contact with the result that two codes can be used in the same interaction and that a number of individuals are bilingual.”(1) Suffice it to say that bilingualism is as a result of language contact in societies where languages co-exist; individuals as well as societies can be bilingual.

Bilingualism can be studied at two levels: individual and societal. It is both an individual and a societal phenomenon. Individual bilingualism refers to the state of an individual having access to two language codes for the purpose of communication. He/she has a considerable level of proficiency in the two languages. At this level, investigation is made into the acquisition and use of the two languages by the individual and how these languages are used in both oral and written forms.

At the level of societal bilingualism, bilingualism is studied as a social attribute. Two languages operate in a speech community/society and some members of the community, not all, can use the two languages effectively. Here, bilingualism is concerned with issues such as status and roles of the languages in the particular society where they are spoken, attitudes of people towards the languages and how these languages are used by the members of the speech

community. Societal bilingualism is often called diglossia. In Nigeria, for instance, where Nigerian Pidgin and English are in a diglossic relationship.

iii) Diglossia

According to Charles Ferguson,

> DIGLOSSIA is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation(336).

In certain speech communities there is usually "one particular kind of standardization where two varieties of a language exist side by side throughout the community, with each having a definite role to play." (Ferguson 65) The varieties are termed the 'H' variety and the 'L' variety, that is, high and low varieties. The high variety is the official language/ language of prestige used in conducting official affairs in the community while the low variety is usually a vernacular. The high variety is learned through education while the low variety

is typically acquired at home. According to Wardhaugh, “a diglossic situation exists in a society when it has two distinct codes which show clear functional separation, that is, one code is employed in one set of circumstances and the other in an entirely different set.” (89) Some criteria come into play in order to determine a diglossic situation.

Ferguson’s nine criteria for determining diglossia are:

Function

Prestige

Literary heritage

Acquisition

Standardization

Stability

Grammar

Lexicon

Phonology

Ferguson proposed four prototypical cases of diglossia:

Situation	‘H’ variety	‘L’ variety

Arabic	Classic Arabic	Various regional colloquial varieties
Swiss German	Standard German	Swiss German
Haitian	Standard French	Haiti Creole
Greek	Katharevousa	Dhimotiki

The case of Arabic diglossia

Situation	H	L
Sermon in church or mosque	x	
Instructions to servants, waiters, works men, clerks		x
Personal letter	x	
Speeches in parliament, political speeches	x	
University lecture	x	
Conversations with family, friends, colleagues		x
News broadcast	x	
Radio ‘soap opera’		x
Newspaper editorial, news story, caption on picture	x	
Caption on political cartoon		x

Poetry	x
Folk literature	x

(qtd in Wei 80)

Due to certain factors like language contact, bilingualism and others, when languages adapt to regional and linguistic conditions, they tend to systematically depart from their patterns of use in L1 settings. Localized forms of the language emerge through which personal and regional identities are revealed. Simply put, nativisation of the 'foreign' language takes place. This is exemplified in the literary texts under study where the writers added aspects of Nigerian culture to English in order to nativise English.

iv) Nativisation of English

Language is dynamic. Co-existing languages may be in a process of rapid change, living in harmony or one might rapidly advance at the cost of the other, or sometimes, be in conflict. Such advancements/rapid changes can occur in the form of nativisation, that is, the process whereby a language gains native speakers like when a Pidgin language gets creolised.

Communicating in the English language is natural to native speakers. But they are likely to encounter persons speaking English that they do not fully

comprehend. “English has been appropriated by its non-European users and changed to reflect their own experiences” (Mair 235) and it has been undergoing processes of nativisation/acculturation in post-colonial contexts.

According to Dadzie,

> ... English in its non-native contexts, begins by being considered a variety of Standard BE. In many third world countries of the world where English is spoken, there is usually an approximation to the Oxbridge tradition which is usually considered to be the ‘pure’ form of the language. However, one also notices a kind of clime where English is spoken differently depending on the speaker’s degree of exposure to the language. Very few people usually become this well-acquainted with the language in its ‘pure’ form and the result is a backlash against those who ape the English way of speaking. English then acquires its own status and its study becomes more diachronic revealing the changes that are acceptable to the speakers of the language in its new geographical area. Hence, in the last two decades, interest in the study of the variety known as Nigerian, Ghanaian, or Kenyan English reached such proportions that we now talk about the nativisation of English (qtd in Dadzie and Awonusi 89)

This is as a result of the globalisation of the English language. The language keeps spreading all over the world and it gets nativised in the process. The spread of English has birthed various varieties; from British English to American English, Indian English, Singapore English, Japanese English, Nigerian English and others. These varieties differ in vocabulary, word usage, pronunciation and syntax. These varieties can be viewed as "acceptable departure from the rules in diction, pronunciation or from what is generally regarded as the standard, but possessing mutual intelligibility even at international level" (Owolabi 488). Mukherjee and Gries concur:

> An integral part of the processes of acculturation are linguistic changes, with new forms and structures emerging at the level of vocabulary and syntax (e.g. due to loanwords and transfer from local languages) and new norms evolving in phonology and intonation ... the linguistic changes can be subsumed under the notion of structural nativisation, i.e., "the emergence of locally characteristic linguistic patterns" (Schneider 2007:5-6) (28)

Nativisation is the acculturation, indigenization, or domestication of a language in a non-native context. According to Efurosibina Adegbija,

> The domestication of English is referred to as acculturation, nativisation, indigenization, adaptation and application of English

> for home use to suit our various conveniences, experiences, nuances and sensibility (20).
>
> When English is used in an international context, certain cross-cultural factors will influence strategies in discourse.

Emanuelle Adamo, on the other hand, believes that "nativisation involves integrating a language into the culture of a community or integrating the culture of the community into a language for the expression of the experience and the worldview of the community." (105) Adegbija concurs:

> The domestication of English in Nigeria is informed by the necessity to meet the linguistic and socio-cultural needs; the need to project the local customs and traditions, which could not be easily expressed in Standard English without being locally coloured to reflect its new social and linguistic environment (23).

Braj Kachru considers nativisation to be a result of "the changes which English has undergone as a result of its contact with various languages in diverse cultural and geographical settings" (11). In other words, the global/international spread of English could be held responsible for the growth of the nativised variety.

According to Kachru,

> ...when English is adapted to another culture -to non-English contexts- it is decontextualised from its Englishness (or Americanness). In the interactional networks of its new users, it provides an additional, redefined communicative strategy. What is a deviation for one beholder is a communicative act for another language user. We see this clearly in code-mixing, code-switching, or in typical uses of language. (9)

The production of a variety of English that is native and realistic as well as relevant to the needs of Nigerians such as the promotion of unity, deeper understanding and social interaction among the users of English is pertinent. The nativised variety may sound gibberish to non-Nigerian speakers of English but it conveniently conveys the message of the writer to the target audience viz-a-viz meeting the linguistic and socio-cultural needs of the people.

"The predominant view that English is a European language is steadily being eroded and seems likely to disappear." (Kachru x). Upon nativising English, the new variety becomes distinct from the parent source/ variety and from other indigenized varieties in other regions of the world.

> A language pays a linguistic price for acculturation---for not remaining just a "guest or friend", but to use Raja Rao's words, for becoming "one of our own, of our own caste, our creed, our

> sect and of our tradition" (Raja Rao 421) The linguistic price is nativisation (Kachru 333)

"As a result of the spread and diversification of the English language, many local forms and standards have emerged amongst native and non-native speakers of English. Hence, with time, the English language has undergone a process of nativisation." (Mbisike 29)

Language Attitude: Nativised Variety versus Non-Native Varieties

The English language is variably used all over the world. It is an international language. In some places it is used as a first/native language. Some use it as a second language and some learn it as a foreign language. The varieties of British, American, and Australian English are considered native varieties of English spoken by native speakers. Nativised varieties, according to Andy Kirkpatrick, "are newer varieties that have developed in places where English was not originally spoken and which have been influenced by local languages and cultures." (5) When speakers of English refer to a variety of English as a native variety, they often point to a variety that is spoken by a native speaker. This native speaker is usually an American or a European.

Kirkpatrick proposed two criteria for categorising/classifying a variety of English as native_ "that the native variety has been around for a long time and (b) that it has influenced younger varieties of English in some way." (5)

He further explains,

> It is not possible to find a sensible definition of 'a long time', and, as we shall see, all languages routinely influence each other. While it is quite true to say that British English has been around longer and has influenced the development of American English, does this mean that British English is native and that American English is nativised? The two criteria identified above would suggest that American English is a nativised variety, but most people would call American English a native variety (5).

Kachru argues that English has attained "functional nativeness" in several regions of Asia. Functional nativeness is "determined by the *range* and *depth* of a language in a society: *range* refers to domains of functions, and *depth* refers to the degree of social penetration of the language." (Kachru 92)

Languages are formed but they tend to change through contact situations. "All languages develop as a result of contact with other languages and the only difference is the degree of contact and influence" (Kirkpatrick 14). The general idea is that a native variety is superior, better and purer than a nativised variety.

But the truth is that traditional English is a mixture of Latin, Greek, French and German and it has evolved over the years from old English (1100 AD), middle English (1100-1500 AD), early modern English (1500-1850 AD) to modern English (1850-date) So, if a nativised variety of English is really one that has been influenced by the local cultures and languages of the people that developed that variety, then, all varieties of English are nativised. British English is as nativised as Nigerian English. No variety of language is inferior to the other. The concept of language universal believes that all languages serve same functions; communication, identity and culture. According to Kirkpatrick,

> A nativised, accultured or indigenised variety of English is thus one that has been influenced by the local cultures in which it has developed. By this definition all varieties of English that are spoken by an identifiable speech community are nativised...in the context of English language teaching, some people may argue that British provides a better 'model than Malaysian English because it represents 'proper' English. But it is important to remember that both these varieties are nativised in the sense that they reflect their own cultures.... So, if people choose British English as the model, they are also, wittingly or unwittingly, allowing British culture to seep into their learning of English...All varieties are nativised. By the same token, there

> is no justification in assuming that the 'native' variety you speak is somehow better and purer than the nativised variety spoken by someone else (6).

The nativised varieties have been facing a problem of acceptance over the years. The development and nativisation of these institutionalized varieties have not gone down well with native speakers. They are considered deficient. This attitude further extends to some non-native speakers seeing that the non-native varieties have been relegated to the background. According to Kachru,

> The non-native speakers themselves have not yet been able to accept what may be termed the "ecological validity" of their nativised or local Englishes. One would have expected such acceptance, given the acculturation and linguistic nativisation of the new varieties (43)

"There is now clearly a need for attitudinal change toward the institutionalized non-native Englishes." (Kachru 344)

v) Pidginisation

"Pidginisation is a complex process of sociolinguistics" (Hymes 84). It involves a superstrate language and substrate languages. Bernard Mafeni opines that,

> A Pidgin language is a special kind of 'mixed' language consisting of a 'base' language which supplies the bulk of the vocabulary of the 'new' language and one or more substrates which provide 'the basic morphological and/or syntactical pattern' of the language (102).

The superstrate is usually the language of power while the substrates are usually the local languages. "Pidgin is a 'simplified' language with a vocabulary that comes from another language but whose grammar is different" (Fasold 180). A Pidgin language takes its lexifiers/vocabulary from the superstrate language and the grammar and phonology from the substrate languages. The emergent language is called a Pidgin; it is massively simplified and spelled as it is pronounced. In the case of Nigerian Pidgin, the English language is the superstrate while the indigenous languages are the substrate languages.

According to Elugbe,

> Nigerian Pidgin is English-based or English-related because most of its vocabulary is derived from English. Since it has Nigerian languages as its substrate or underlying influence, it can be said, and it is often said, that the vocabulary of Nigerian Pidgin is English while its grammar is English. (286)

Pidgin languages share certain common features like specific word order and morphological simplification. A Pidgin language is generally reduced "in the direction of whatever features are common to the languages of all those using the Pidgin, for mutual ease in use and comprehensibility, thus arriving at a kind of greatest common denominator" (Hall 25).

Hudson asserts that "each Pidgin is of course specially constructed to suit the need of its users which means that it has to have the terminology and constructions needed in whatever kind of context" (62). Salikoko Muhlhausler asserts that,

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

These definitions affirm that Pidgin languages are languages in the true sense of a language. No language is inferior to the other, instead languages are meant to rub off on another where two or more speech communities are in contact.

A Pidgin is either restricted or extended/expanded. A restricted Pidgin is a means to an end and dies out after the contact situation that gave rise to it has

ended while an extended/expanded Pidgin lives on and could be creolized, decreolised or become an international language.

Theories on the Origin of Pidgin

Baby-Talk Hypothesis

This theory is of the view that Pidgins are as a result of an imperfect mastery of a language while in its initial stage, in the child with its first language and in the grown up with a second language learnt by imperfect methods, leads to a superficial knowledge of the most indispensable word, with total disregard to grammar. The general idea in baby-talk hypothesis is that people lack the ability to learn the standard languages with which the Pidgins are associated. This theory has been rejected by many linguists. John Holm opines that "Pidgins and Creoles are real languages, not baby talk. They are used for serious purposes." (81)

Ronald Wardhaugh believes that "there is no evidence either for any 'foreigner-talk' or 'baby-talk' theory for the origin of Pidgins and Creoles, that is, that they result from Europeans simplifying their languages in order to communicate with others" (71). He further reiterates that,

> Pidgins are not a kind of baby-talk used among adults because the simplified forms are the best that such people can manage.

> Pidgins have their own special rules, and, as we will see, very different Pidgins have a number of similarities that raise important theoretical issues having to do with their origins.(58)

Monogenetic/Relexification Hypothesis

This theory lays claim to the fact that Pidgins' underlying structural similarity is traceable to one common European source. It is based on historical evidence that points to the existence of a fifteenth century Portuguese Pidgin which is assumed to have been derived from an auxiliary language called Sabir that was used in the Mediterranean in the Middle Ages.

According to Wardhaugh,

> In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Portuguese relexified this language; that is, they introduced their own vocabulary into its grammatical structure, so that a Portuguese based Pidgin came into widespread use as a trade language. Later, this Pidgin was in turn relexified into Pidginised French, English and Spanish. (73)

The Nautical Jargon Theory

This theory posits that sea farers, ocean travellers and navigators developed Pidgin as a matter of necessity. John Reinecke noted the possible influence of nautical jargons on Pidgins. He is of the belief that the many voyages of discovery embarked on back then led to the development of a core vocabulary of nautical items and a simplified grammar. It asserts that the similarities among Pidgins and Creoles could be attributed to a common origin in the language of sailors.

Elugbe and Omamor state that,

> The argument of the monogenetic/relexification theory is slightly similar to the one involved in the nautical Jargon hypothesis. Both views assume one origin for all Pidgins and essentially the same method of diffusion. (33)

The Independent Parallel Development Theory

This theory is based on the well-acknowledged similarities between Pidgins. The argument is that the similarities which are known to exist between different Pidgins must be explainable in terms of the fact that:

i. they are derived from Indo-European stock, i.e. they all have as one of the input languages some Indo-European language or the other
ii. they all involve a good percentage of speakers who share “a common West African sub-stratum, and had to come to terms with similar physical and social conditions” (Elugbe and Omamor 32).

This theory opines that Pidgin evolved independently of any other language and that any similarity found between Pidgin and any language is a mere coincidence. The propounders point out that there are many features inherent in Pidgin that can attest to its independent status.

Universalist Theory

This theory considers the similarities in Pidgin to be a result of universal tendencies among human beings to create similar languages, that is, a language with a simplified phonology, SVO syntax, and a lexicon that thrives on polysemy and reduplication. This theory is the most recent view on the origin of pidgins. The Universalist theory serves as the theoretical framework on which the pidginisation theory is hinged.

In the case of Nigerian Pidgin, it is believed that the earliest visitors to Nigeria were the Portuguese. They were trading with the Achan tribes of Ghana but fell out with them when they demanded part of the payment for their slaves in gold. They went in search of slaves and navigated inland; farther into the coast. The first contact they had with a Nigerian group was with the indigenes of the Niger Delta Region. It was believed that a certain trade jargon was spoken between the two groups.

The multiplicity of languages in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria made the Portuguese introduce the English language to them. The co-existence of the

English language and the indigenous languages produced an emergent language called Nigerian Pidgin.

Morphology of Nigerian Pidgin

Generally, Pidgins are simplified languages. Nigerian Pidgin is an English-based Pidgin, that is, its lexicon is massively based on the English language. Nigerian Pidgin employs many devices in enriching its rich vocabulary.

a)Reduplication

One of the characteristics of Pidgin languages is "the use of reduplication as intensifier" (Idiagbon 204). Reduplication is a "mechanism for forming new words. It involves the repetition of a word (or part of a word) resulting in a distinct lexical item slightly different in meaning" (Holmes 88). It is a morphological process in which the root or stem of a word (or part of it) or even the whole word is repeated exactly or with a slight change. It is used to create new words in lexical derivation. According to Crowley,

> Reduplication also seems to have some kind of special status in the morphologies of Creoles and expanded Pidgins, including European-lexifier varieties, although it is typically not a

productive feature in the morphological systems of Indo-European languages. (87)

Examples

wuru wuru	Jaga jaga
kia kia	Kata kata
yama yama	Waka waka
corner corner	blo blo
hori hori	ben ben

b)**Affixation**

Affixation is the linguistic process used to form different words by adding morphemes (affixes) at the beginning, middle or the end of words. The suffix –y may often be attached to adjectives to derive nouns that bring out contrastive meanings that are emphatic.

Examples

short +y = shortly – a short person

black +y = blacky – a very dark skinned individual

left +y = lefty – a left handed fellow

sweet+y = sweety – a dear one

c) Compounding

It is a process of word formation that creates compound lexemes. Compounding takes place when two or more words are joined together to make one word. The meaning of the compound word might be different from the meanings of the various words in isolation.

Examples

A	+	**N**		
long		throat	-	glutton
bad		belle	-	jealousy
busy		body	-	prying person
sharp		mouth	-	a talkative person
strong		head	-	stubbornness
long		leg	-	nepotism
bad		market	-	hard luck
long		rope	-	period of grace
big		man	-	a wealthy man

N	+	**N**		
God		pikin	-	Christian
baby		girl	-	girlfriend

country	people	-	masses
baby	oku	-	nubile girl
basket	mouth	-	a garrulous person
coconut	head	-	a dunce
bush	meat	-	game

V + N

make	mouth	-	boast
make	eye	-	wink
hear	word	-	listen/obey
tear	race	-	run
tear	face	-	wild person
suffer	head	-	unlucky person
fear	face	-	respect

V + V

siddon	look	-	redundant
carry	go	-	suit one's self

These compound words are either hyphenated, written separately or together.

d) **Metaphorical Extension**

Metaphorical extension is a natural process in any language undergone by every word. It is the extension of meaning in a new direction through popular adoption of an original metaphorical comparison.

Examples:

water don pass garri	-	A disturbing situation
tokunbo	-	fairly used goods
pancake	-	cosmetics
yellow fever	-	a traffic warden
grammar	-	a fine sounding English word

e) **Clipping**

Clipping is a word formation process that involves the reduction of a word to one of its parts. In Nigerian Pidgin, some of the words got from the superstrate language (English) are shortened but they retain their full lexical meaning.

Examples:

gree	-	agree
acada	-	academic
bros	-	brother
tori	-	story
Naija	-	Nigeria

pami - palmwine

sisi - sister

f) **Acronyms**

An acronym is formed from the initial components of a word or phrase.

Examples

TDB - Till Day Break

24/7 - 24 hours a day, 7 days a week

OYO - On your own

JJC - Johnny just come

g) Assignment of meaning to Referents based on Social, Economic and Political Circumstances

Ghana must go - Luggage

Face me I face you - A ghetto compound

Park one side - steer clear

I pass my neighbour - a small generator set

h) **Borrowing**

Borrowing refers to a word borrowed from one language for use in another. "Borrowing occurs when speakers of a language adopt a new word from another

language, e.g., the English word computer is borrowed in Xhosa, a South African language as ikompyuta." (Mesthrie 264)

Examples

boku - French

wayo - Hausa

awuf - Krio

sabi - Portuguese

pikin - Portuguese

abi - Yoruba

shebi - Yoruba

wahala - Hausa

oyibo - Yoruba

oga - Yoruba

vi) Code-switching and Code-mixing

Code-switching and code-mixing are consequences of language contact and bilingualism; they are language choices available to bilingual/multilingual individuals. According to Ronald Hudson,

> Anyone who speaks more than one language chooses between them according to circumstances. The first consideration, of course, is which language will be comprehensible to the person

> addressed; generally speaking, speakers choose a language which the other person can understand (51)

Conversation constitutes a major part of human interaction and bi/multilinguals have important choices to make whenever they speak. Code-switching and code-mixing are an everyday reality in places where more than one language is spoken. They are speech processes in bilingual/multilingual speech communities. A code, according to Ayeomoni, is "a verbal component that can be regarded to be as small as a morpheme or as complex as the entire system of a language" (91). But Wardhaugh maintains that "the particular dialect or language that a person chooses to use on any occasion is a code, a system used for communication between two or more parties" (99).

According to Shana Poplack, "code-switching refers to the utterance-internal juxtaposition, in unintegrated form, of overt linguistic elements from two or more languages, with no necessary change of interlocutor or topic" (Ammon et al 1) while John Gumperz believes that it is the "juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems" (59).

Examples (English and Igbo)

1. Nigeria is developing at a snail level. *Chukwu nyere anyi aka.*

2. *I na ezuzu ezuzu*? Are you hard of hearing? Didn't you see the little girl at the door?
3. Grand papa used to say about difficulties he had gone through. "It did not kill me, it made me knowledgeable." *Ogburo m egbu, o mee ka m malu ife*. (Adichie 347)

English and Nigerian Pidgin

4. 'By the way, I said backing out and straightening up again, I met an American lady called Elsie at a party the other night....Whenever her name was called- my mind went to you.'

   Who tell am say na Elsie be im name?

   Who tell am say na Elsie be im name? When you see am again make you tell am say im own Elsie na counterfeit. But Odili you self na waa! How you no even reach Bori finish you don de begin meet another Elsie for party? Make you take am je-je o!

   'Relax, I said, imitating Jean...Na lie, she said smiling her seductive two-dimpled- smile. The way I look you eye I fit say that even ten Elsies no fit belleful you.

   Nonsense, I said, Abi dem take Elsie make juju for me? (Achebe 65).

5. 'I no follow you black white-men for drink tea and coffee in the hot afternoon', said chief Nanga

   Whisky and soda for me and for Mr. Samalu. (Achebe 37)

Code-mixing, on the other hand, refers to "all cases where lexical items and grammatical features from two languages appear in one sentence." (Akindele and Adegbite 37) Some linguists have not been able to differentiate code-switching from code-mixing. Michael Clyne argues that code-switching and code-mixing refer to the same linguistic situation in "which the speaker stops using language 'A' and employs language 'B'." (161) Romaine supports this view and says that "code-switching as a phenomenon occurs in a continuum where both inter-sentential and intra-sentential code-alternation take place." (61) But code-switching /inter-sentential switching occurs at sentence boundaries while code-mixing/intra-sentential switching occurs "within the same sentence or sentence fragment." (Myers-Scotton 4) According to Hudson,

> The purpose of code-mixing seems to be to symbolise a somewhat ambiguous situation for which neither language on its own would be quite right. To get the right effect the speakers balance the two languages against each other as a kind of linguistic cocktail – a few words of one language, then a few words of the other, then back to the first for a few more words and so on (53).

Examples (English and Igbo)

1. *Agwala m ha na-adi m* very angry.
2. I do not think *na Chioma anyago ugbo ala ahu*.
3. I bought the book *mgbe m gara ahia.*
4. I asked her *ma ahu odikwa ya.*

English and Nigerian Pidgin

5. E bi like say she wants to buy the book.
6. The man that trained her wan marry her before.

Sociolinguistic Perspective on Code-switching

The sociolinguistic perspective on the switching of codes deals with the social functions of code-switching and its relationship with language choice in society. Here, code-switching is seen as a kind of group membership. Sociolinguistic approach defines code-switching as the symbol "of group membership in particular types of group membership" (Auer 3). It considers why and when bilinguals switch codes, that is to say that it handles factors like topic, setting and speaker. The situational and metaphorical types of code-switching were crafted from this perspective.

Situational code-switching is concerned with a certain situation where a speaker uses one code for one situation and another code for another situation. "Two different languages are assigned to two or more different situations. The setting,

activity and participants in such situations remain the same." (Adegbite and Akindele 35) Wardhaugh concurs:

> Instances of situational code-switching are usually very easy to classify for what they are. What we observe is that one variety is used in a certain set of situations and another in an entirely different set. However, the change from one to the other may be instantaneous. Sometimes the situations are so socially prescribed that they can even be taught, e.g., those associated with ceremonial or religious functions. Others may be more subtly determined but speakers readily observe the norms (103)

The speakers have knowledge of languages that are associated with different situations and switch to a particular code with regards to a change in situation or topic. For instance, when persons engaged in a speech act are joined by a person they do not wish to accommodate in the conversation, they change to a language that is foreign to the person. According to Hudson,

> More precisely, this kind of code-switching is called SITUATIONAL code-switching because the switches between languages always coincide with changes from one external situation (for example, talking to members of the family) to another (for example, talking to the neighbours). The choice of language is controlled by rules, which members of the community

> learn from their experience, so these rules are part of their linguistic knowledge (52)

In metaphorical code-switching, the topic determines the language that will be used. “In such cases, where it is the choice of language that determines the situation, are called METAPHORICAL CODE-SWITCHING” (Hudson 53). According to Blom and Gumperz, “metaphorical code-switching occurs when alternations enrich a situation which allows for the allusion to more than one social relationship within the situation” (409). The speech does not depend on the change in a speech situation but on the speaker’s intended meaning /topic. “Metaphorical code-switching however, concerns various communicative effects the speaker intends to convey” (Uppsala 61). In these types of code-switching, the social and personal relationship between the participants has to be established. Gumperz postulated the ‘we’ and ‘they’ codes to buttress this point. According to him,

> The ‘we’ code which is the ethnically, specific minority language is associated with informal and in-group relationships and personal involvement with the interlocutor, while the ‘they’ code is associated with the formal out-group relationships, and personal distance with interlocutor (66).

“A minority language serves usually as “we code” and is associated with in group and informal activities.”(56) This ‘we code’ can be related to the

corresponding language used in the family domain which functions in terms of group loyalty, intimacy and solidarity while the 'they' code portrays formal language used in formal settings.

Sociolinguistically, code-switching and code-mixing are communication strategies. For instance, in trading, a trader could switch or mix codes in talking to a customer in order to decipher if they share the same language(s). If they do share same languages, the confidence and goodwill of the customer is gained.

The sociolinguistic approach to code-switching and code-mixing generally supports the functional aspect of the switching and mixing of codes in that they show language loyalty. Another approach/model is Carol Myer-Scotton's Markedness model.

The Markedness Model

Myers-Scotton believes that a bilingual individual has a sense of markedness with regards to the relationship he/she shares with the interlocutor that is responsible for choosing the code in the conversation. In this case, the speaker is considered a rational actor who can either make the unmarked choice (the expected choice), or the marked choice (the generally unexpected choice). The most frequently occurring code in a speech community is the unmarked choice while the less frequently occurring code is the marked choice.

According to Didier Goyvaerts,

> The unmarked choice is used to affirm interpersonal relationships or to narrow the social distance between interactants. The marked choice is used to widen the social distance. So, interactants have this pre-knowledge before they make use of any of the codes they speak. (177)

The sense of markedness of two bilingual individuals that do not speak same languages makes them choose the unmarked choice in conversations. In a situation where there is no clear unmarked language choice, speakers practice code-switching and code-mixing to explore possible language choices. Gumperz believes that bilingual speakers switch codes unconsciously but Myers-Scotton argues that speakers are generally aware of their choice of code, marked or unmarked.

vii) Linguistic Borrowing

Borrowing/loan words is a consequence of language contact between two different speech communities. It is the process whereby speakers adopt words from a parent language into their native language. Words can be transferred from the two languages into themselves but borrowing is usually asymmetrical especially in a situation where one language has prestige and power. If speakers are bilingual in the parent language –the parent language is their second

language-they pronounce the borrowed words in a similar or different way. According to Hudson,

> Another way in which different languages may become mixed up with each other is through the process of BORROWING (Heath 1994). At this point, however, we are shifting our view from speech to language systems.... Borrowing involves mixing the systems themselves, because an item is 'borrowed' from one language to become part of the other language. Everyday examples abound – words for foods, plants, institutions, music and so on, which most people can recognise as borrowings (or LOAN WORDS), and for which they can even name the source language. For most English speakers the following would probably be included: *karaoke* (Japanese), *paella* (Spanish), *schnapps* (German), *eisteddfod* (Welsh), *sputnik* (Russian) *fait accompli* (French).... We treat them as ordinary English words, used in ordinary English sentences, but at the same time we know that they are modelled on words in other languages, which gives them a more or less foreign 'flavour'. (55)

The English language has borrowed extensively from other languages. With the advent of Christianity, many Latin words were borrowed into the English language. Words like pope, nun, priest, angel and temple have Latin origin.

Many times, these copied words retain their phonological and semantic properties. They are either completely or partially naturalized. According to Hudson,

> It is common for items to be *assimilated* in some degree to the items already in the borrowing variety, with foreign sounds being replaced by native sounds and so on. For instance, the word *restaurant* lost its uvular *r* when it was borrowed from French into English, so that it would occur with a uvular *r* in an English sentence only as an example of code-switching. On the other hand, assimilation need not be total, and in restaurant many English speakers still have a nasal vowel at the end, which would not have been there had the word not been borrowed from French (58).

The loan words that are not assimilated or rather, completely unassimilated are called calques/loan translations. They do not have any 'formal resemblance' with the words that belong to the parent language on which they are based. They bear same semantic properties but are pronounced differently. For example, "the English *superman* is a loan translation of the German *Übermensch*" (Hudson 58).

2.1.4 World Englishes

The English language is an international language. The majority of its speakers are bilinguals/multilinguals who learnt the language and use it with other bilingual/multilingual speakers. English has more second language speakers (people that speak it for international communication) than native speakers.

World Englishes refers particularly to “the wide-ranging approach to the study of the English language worldwide particularly associated with Braj B. Kachru and other scholars working in a “world Englishes paradigm” (Bolton 367). They are emerging/indigenised/nativised varieties of English that have developed in diverse regions of the world asides the United Kingdom and United States of America. The use of English in these territories is influenced by cultural backgrounds, the functions they serve and society. Generally, the concept of world Englishes deals with the spread of English through globalisation. It portrays the use of the English language all over the world and explains the differences in the ways English is used in different countries.

In some parts of the world, people came in contact with English as a result of colonialism, conquest and/or immigration. In some other places, people learnt the language because it is a language of global communication. The English language is a native language in some places, second language in some regions and foreign language in some other places.

Three Models of World Englishes

ENL

ENL means English as a native language. In this category, English is spoken in countries where it is the primary language of the majority of the populace. Countries like Australia, Canada, UK, USA and New Zealand belong to this category. English is spoken as a native language in these countries.

ESL

ESL means English as a second language. Here, the English language acts as an exoglossic language. It is spoken as an official language but it is not indigenous to the people that speak it. Countries like Nigeria, Ghana and India fall into this category. It is worthy of note that these countries are ex-colonies of UK or USA.

EFL

EFL is another category. In the countries that are in this category, English is not made use of for day-to-day activities. It is typically learnt at school. Indonesia and China belong to this category.

This model has been criticised for the stigma it attaches to non-native speakers. In these categorizations, the prejudice is that ENL is better than ESL and EFL. ESL and EFL are seen as hybrid/abridged varieties of ENL. But, actually, ENL has sub-varieties. This is exemplified in Kachru's concentric circle model to explain world Englishes.

Kachru's Concentric Circle

Braj Kachru introduced his model of concentric circle to explain the status of English around the world. He described the spread of English in terms of three concentric circles_ a) inner circle b) outer circle and c) expanding circle. These circles exemplify "the type of spread, the patterns of acquisition and the functional domains in which English is used across cultures and languages." (Kachru 12) He further says,

> The current sociolinguistic profile of English may be viewed in terms of three concentric circles... the inner circle refers to the traditional cultural and linguistic bases of English. The outer circle represents the institutionalized non-native varieties (ESL) in the regions that have passed through extended periods of colonisation ... the expanding circle includes the regions where

the performance varieties of the language are used essentially in EFL contexts) (367)

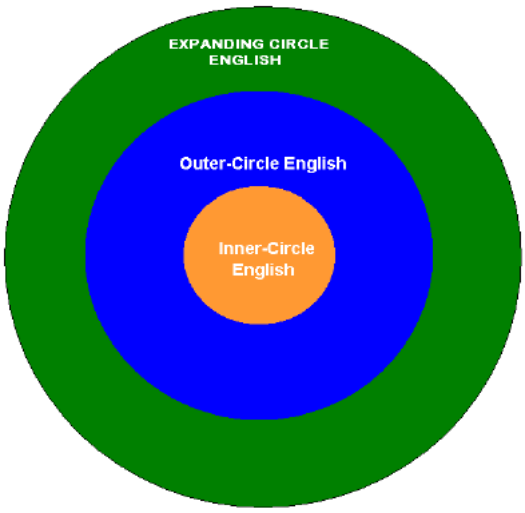

Fig. 1_Kachru's Concentric Circle

The Inner Circle

The inner circle is norm providing, that is, norms of the English language are developed in these countries. The speakers of the language in this circle are native speakers; English is the first language here.

The Outer Circle

This circle is norm developing. It makes reference to the spread of English in non-native settings. English plays the role of a second language in these multilingual settings.

The Expanding Circle

The expanding circle is norm dependent. Here, English is learnt as a foreign language; the language of international communication. It relies heavily on the norms set by speakers that belong to the inner circle.

Kachru's concentric circles have been criticised because they do not sufficiently represent the reality of the use of English in the world. Although it does not portray native speakers to be better than non-native speakers, it still places native speakers in the inner circle. Varieties are not differentiated within circles. This model has also failed to portray English as a lingua franca which serves people that do not share same first languages; the circles they belong to notwithstanding. It does not account for the linguistic diversity between and within countries that belong to the same circle. Ultimately, this model does not put bilingualism/multilingualism into consideration.

Speakers in the expanding circle are highly marginalised in that they have to solely depend on the norms produced by speakers in the inner circle. It has also been criticised for boxing people into clearly demarcated, mutually exclusive circles which is not the real life situation.

The English language, through its spread and use, has been nativised, indigenised and accultured and emergent languages which are varieties of world Englishes have been birthed.

2.1.5 The Reality of Nigerian English

English in Nigeria belongs to the outer circle of Kachru's concentric circles where English is used as a second language. Many debates and writings have been dedicated to finding out if there is anything like Nigerian English. Many scholars and linguists belong to the school of thought that believes that it does not exist while some linguists like Ayo Bamgbose and his disciples strongly believe that it exists.

According to Bamgbose,

> The question whether there is a "Nigerian English" should, at this point, have become a non-issue. For one thing, it is generally known that in a language contact situation, particularly a close one where an exoglossic language becomes a second language with an official role in a country, the second language is bound to be influenced by its linguistic and cultural environment (99)

He reiterates:

> In a language contact situation such as exists in Nigeria, it is to be expected that there will be an interaction between the vernaculars and English ... the influence of the vernaculars on English is more

> relevant here, especially in view of the earlier discussion of local variants in Nigerian English. Basically, what happens is that patterns of the local languages - phonological, grammatical and lexical- tend to be transferred into English (47)

This variety of English has been termed a debased form of English, a make shift language, language of illiterates, mutually unintelligible language and others. Some educated Nigerians have denied the existence and use of Nigerian English but Farooq Kperogi has this to say:

> By Nigerian English --- I mean the variety of English that is broadly spoken and written by our literary, intellectual, political, and media elite across the regional and ethnic spectrum of Nigeria ---. But this is true of all 'standard' varieties of all 'modern' languages in the world. What is called British Standard English, for instance, is no more than the idiosyncratic usage of the language by the English royalty and by the political, intellectual, literary, and media elite of the country. (37)

Language is fashioned to meet the communicative needs of the people that use it whilst serving as a source of group identity. It is indispensable in the expression of culture. This is the ultimate test of the effectiveness of a variety of language. So, should a region develop its own standard of an international language? Will it result in mutual unintelligibility?

According to Rosarri Mbisike,

> Do we then as Nigerians share a common cultural experience with the British people? If yes, then we would be justified to use an imitation of the British standard. But if no, which is the case, we definitely should have a 'standard' that should depict our cultural experience. Every language and even age has social, economic, political and cultural factors (31).

Nigerian English is a "conglomeration of legitimate variants of English in Nigeria, which retain intelligibility, reflects a common Nigerian culture or perception of the world has a mother tongue influence and a common socio-political environment." (2) Nigerian English emerged and evolved due to the nativisation of English language in Nigeria so, it can be defined as the type of English spoken and used by Nigerians. According to Adekunle,

> Since the English language in Nigeria is not and cannot be a linguistic island to itself, it has been reacting and adapting to the local, social and linguistic environment ... consequently, the tendency is for a mutual interaction to take place between all or some of the structural components of both languages. (28)

Awonusi concurs:

> The domestication of the English language in Nigeria for over four centuries, particularly its use in the educational system and colonial administration over a century ago has resulted in the use of the language in the country in domains different from those of native-speaker of communities like USA, the UK and Australia. (67)

Many speakers of English in Nigeria believe that Nigerian English is a bastardised form of the standard British English. But the truth of the matter is that English, having left its original abode to migrate to Nigeria, has been affected by society, culture and indigenous languages in Nigeria. Nigerians can now lay claim to English as their own language owing to its nativisation. “The irony, however, is that no Nigerian who was educated at home, including those who deride Nigerian English can avoid speaking or writing it either consciously or unconsciously.” (Kperogi 37)

The globalisation of English, on the other hand, is responsible for the various emerging varieties of world Englishes which Nigerian English is one of them.

2.1.6 Is Nigerian English A Debased Form of British/American English?

It is generally believed that the Brits own the English language solely. They are the “owners of the language, American English is a crude imitation of it and the Nigerian English is a deformed creature which ought not even to be

mentioned." (Jowitt 28) The 'deviant forms' found in Nigerian English are termed mistakes rather than evidence of a distinct type of English in Nigeria.

According to Eyamba Bokamba,

> One noticeable effect of the refusal to accept the existence of a Nigerian English is the perpetuation of the myth that the English taught in Nigerian schools is just the same as, say, British English; a corollary myth is that teachers of English, even at the primary school level, are capable of teaching this model effectively. (99)

Deviation versus Mistake

According to Kachru,

> A deviation can be contextualised in the new "unEnglish" sociolinguistic context in which English actually functions; its "meaning" must, therefore, be derived with reference to the use and usage appropriate to that cultural context. Such use results in a number of productive processes which are variety specific and context specific. Because such innovations have gone through various processes of nativisation, both linguistically and culturally, a description of such formations must consider the context of the situation as relevant for the analysis. A mistake,

> on the other hand, does not necessarily have an underlying sociolinguistic explanation: it may be essentially a marker of acquisitional inadequacy, or it may indicate a stage in language acquisition (325)

A native speaker classifies deviant forms as mistakes seeing they do not conform to the laid down rules guiding the native variety. But a nativised variety or deviant form is distinct from the norms guiding the native variety because it is a product of the contact between the native variety and indigenous languages.

According to Kachru,

> A "mistake" may be unacceptable by a native speaker since it does not belong to the linguistic "norm" of the English language; it cannot be justified with reference to the socio-cultural context of a non-native variety; and it is not the result of the productive processes in an institutionalized non-native variety of English. On the other hand, a "deviation" has the following characteristics: it is different from the norm in the sense that it is the result of the new "un-English" linguistic and cultural setting in which the English language is used; it is the result of a productive process which marks the typical

> variety-specific features; and it is systemic within a variety, and not idiosyncratic (45).

Broshanan identified four levels of Nigerian English_

> Level I - Pidgin; spoken by those without any formal education
>
> Level II – Spoken by those who have had primary school education. Most speakers belong to this level
>
> Level III- Spoken by those who have had secondary school education. Marked by increased fluency, wider vocabulary, and conscious avoidance of Level I usage
>
> Level IV – Close to Standard English but retaining some features of Levels II and III. Spoken by those with university education. (100)

As can be seen, education is a variable in these levels of Nigerian English. Banjo introduced four varieties of Nigerian English as follows_

> Variety 1_ marked by wholesale transfer of phonological, syntactic, and lexical features of Kwa or Niger-Congo to English. Spoken by those whose knowledge of English is very imperfect. Neither socially acceptable in Nigeria nor internationally intelligible.
>
> Variety 2_ syntax close to that of standard British English, but with strongly marked phonological and lexical peculiarities. Spoken by up to seventy-five percent of those who speak English in the

> country. Socially acceptable, but with rather low international intelligibility.
>
> Variety 3 _ close to standard British English both in syntax and in semantics; similar in phonology, but different in phonetic features as well as with regard to certain lexical peculiarities. Socially acceptable and internationally intelligible. Spoken by less than ten percent of the population.
>
> Variety 4 _ identical with standard British English in syntax and semantics, and having identical phonological and phonetic features of a British regional dialect of English. Maximally internationally intelligible, but socially unacceptable. Spoken by only a handful of Nigerians born or brought up in England. (101)

There is a similarity between these two levels/varieties of Nigerian English except for the top and bottom scales. Pidgin language, which Broshanan termed Level 1, is missing in Banjo's varieties. Broshanan did not treat native English, Banjo's variety 4, as a level of Nigerian English. Out of these levels/varieties, which should be treated as Standard Nigerian English?

Bamgbose identifies three approaches to identifying Nigerian usages in Nigerian English:

a. **The Interference Approach**

This approach traces Nigerian usages to the influence of the Nigerian languages; this approach is very relevant to the phonetics of Nigerian English. Standard Nigerian English's Nigerian usages are attributed to mother tongue interference. But not all cases of interference are correctly Nigerian usages. Some belong to Nigerian Pidgin.

Example

He come say she be fool. (He/she said that she is a fool)

The absence of gender distinction in third person pronominal reference may have resulted from first language interference but it is not a feature of Nigerian English.

b) The Deviation Approach

In this approach, there is a direct comparison of Nigerian usage with Standard English and observed differences are termed 'deviant'. This may be as a result of interference or an imperfect attempt to reproduce statements in the target language.

Examples

1. *He went to market.
2. *She bought furnitures yesterday.

These examples are products of inter language errors, the first example is as a result of a lack of knowledge of articles which some languages do not have.

c) The Creativity Approach

This approach focuses on the exploitation of the resources of Nigerian languages and English in order to create new idioms and expressions. Usages that might have been termed 'interference' or 'deviation' are seen as legitimate second language creation.

Example

"From the expression *She has been to Britain* a new noun, *been-to* has been created to describe anyone who has travelled overseas, particularly to Britain." (Bamgbose 104)

According to Bamgbose,

> A combination of all approaches is therefore required and a certain amount of subjective judgement regarding acceptability will be required in determining what falls within or outside the scope of Nigerian English. One issue which constantly arises in determining a truly Nigerian usage is whether what is being held out as a local variant is not instead "incorrect" English.... Differences then have to be classified somehow; often opinions differ as to whether some are "errors" or correct local variants (104)

Salami opines that,

> Although one finds some differences between certain usages by some Nigerians and, for instance, British usages, most of such differences are due to mistakes of some sort; they should not be regarded as 'typically Nigerian' especially as they have not been proved to be general (105)

In categorising Nigerian English, a clear distinction has to be made between bad English (errors and mistakes) and linguistic creativity cum improvisation.

Features of Standard Nigerian English

Phonetics and Phonology

Standard Nigerian English has a reduced vowel system which leads to substitutions like /e/ for /ei/, /o/ for /ou/, /a/ for the schwa sound /ə/. Tense vowels are pronounced as lax vowels and letters that appear in spelling but are not pronounced- in words like plumber, lamb, numb, listen- are pronounced.

Lexis and Semantics

Nigerian English has many innovations in its lexical items. Most of these lexicons have their meanings deeply rooted in socio-cultural contexts.

Examples

a) head tie
b) go slow
c) town's meeting
d) bush meat
e) market day
f) tie-dye cloth
g) village meeting
h) red-cap chiefs
i) traditional wedding
j) fuji music
k) council-of-elders
l) wine- carrying ceremony
m) pepper soup
n) pounded Yam
o) chewing stick

In the examples above, head tie (traditionally called gele by the Yorubas) is a traditional head gear used by women in most cultures in Nigeria to complement their traditional attires especially wrapper and blouse attire. The traffic jam situation in Nigeria has been nicknamed go-slow because of the way vehicles move slowly in slight gridlock situations. Town's meetings are usually held in cities, it is a coming together of persons from a particular village. It could be a

bi – monthly or monthly meeting held in a designated place. Bush meat is a special type of game that is caught in the bush. There are four market days (*Eke, Orie, Nkwo, Afor)* in the Igbo culture. Tie-dye clothes are special fabrics locally produced in Nigeria while a village meeting is a meeting of a certain group of people (men, women, youths) in a village. Red cap chiefs are titled men in the Igbo culture whose traditional attire is incomplete without a red cap. Fuji music is a traditional music of the Yorubas while council – of – elders are members of the king's cabinet in Igbo land. Wine carrying ceremony is the traditional marriage ceremony of the Igbos. Pepper soup (meat and local spices) and pounded yam are original to Nigerians while chewing stick is Nigeria's toothpaste and toothbrush.

The reality of English in Nigeria is that it has been influenced by the indigenous languages, hence its nativisation/domestication. According to Bamgbose,

> In view of the existence of many mother tongues in Nigeria, the English spoken and written in Nigeria is bound to be influenced by these languages; new features are bound to develop, and are in fact already developing. In time, many of these features are likely to become stable and ultimately standardised, and a distinct Nigerian variety of English, probably associated with a certain level of education, will then emerge (48)

"Whatever our view of language (whether as a dialect, a standard, or as an adulterated corruption), it is the property of society and should be judged by society." (Pandey 1) British English and American English, for instance, have so many discrepancies between them. In America, the word *professor* is used for any college or university lecturer but in the UK, it is the highest honorific title for a university lecturer. License plate is to Americans what number plate is to Britons. The Britons use *got* where Americans will use *gotten*. The spelling system of American English is slightly different from that of British in English especially in words that end with - our. Suffice it to say that language cannot be judged outside of the society that uses it.

In conclusion, languages are dynamic. In language contact situations, languages affect themselves and birth some sociolinguistic outcomes. English itself has developed over time from old English to what is not termed modern English, it has also borrowed a lot from other languages like German and Latin. "After all is said and done, linguistic nativism is a treacherous betrayal of the intrinsic hybridity of the English tongue. No variety of the language is authentic. All English is bastardised." (Kperogi 46)

Nigerian English is a nativised variety of English just like American English, Ghanaian English and others. It is not a debased form of English although it lacks documentation.

2.1.7 Politeness Strategies in Nigerian English

Politeness in language use is an aspect of human communication that deals with social/interactional relations. Politeness strategies, according to Leech, are "forms of behaviour that establish comity; that is, the ability of participants in a social interaction to engage in discourse in an atmosphere of relative harmony. (133)"

Robin Lakoff concurs:

> The awareness of another person's 'face' or the means employed to acknowledge the public self-image of a person. It is a system of interpersonal relations designed to facilitate interaction by minimizing the potential for conflict and confrontation inherent in all human interactions and transactions (34).

Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson proposed two types of politeness, positive and negative politeness. "Negative politeness --- consists in minimising the impoliteness of impolite illocutions, and positive politeness consists in maximizing the politeness of polite illocutions." (Leech 84). Politeness is pertinent in social interactions because everyone has a face and wants to be respected.

Face, according to George Yule, is “the emotional and social sense of self that everyone has and expects everyone else to recognise.” (134) This can be seen as an individual’s self-image, self worth or self esteem. It is “the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact.” (Goffman 5)

Just like politeness, the concept of face comprises positive face and negative face. Positive face is a person’s need to be accepted, liked by others and treated as a member of a group while negative face is a person’s need to be independent. When face is not respected, an individual’s face is threatened and could be lost. According to Hudson,

> We lead unavoidably social lives, since we depend on each other, but as far as possible we try to lead our lives without losing our own face. However, our face is a very fragile thing which other people can very easily damage, so we lead our social lives according to the Golden rule (Do to others as you would like them to do to you) by looking after other people’s faces in the hope that they will look after ours (114).

Face threatening acts (FTAs) threaten an individual’s expectation with regards to his/her self-image. In a bid to maintain politeness, speakers save face through face saving acts (FSAs). Negative politeness reduces face threatening acts.

Yule asserts:

> A face-saving act which is oriented to the person's negative face will tend to show deference, emphasize the importance of the other's time and concerns, and even include an apology for the imposition or interruption. This is also negative politeness. A face-imposition or interruption. This is also negative politeness. A face-saving act will show solidarity, emphasize that both speakers want the same thing, and they have a common goal. This is also called positive politeness.

Manifestations of Politeness in Nigerian English

Language and society are intertwined. Language is never judged outside the particular society where it functions. Language "rules and skills vary from society to society." (Hudson 113)

It is common knowledge that Nigerian cultures have politeness strategies embedded in them. A younger person cannot threaten the face of an older person, it is a taboo. It is preposterous, in Nigeria, to address one's parents, a teacher, a superior, or an older person by the person's first name unlike in

America and Britain. In different tribes like Yoruba, Hausa, Igala and others, younger persons are expected to curtsy, kneel or prostrate when they greet persons that are older than them. Language is a reflection of culture. The English language, having adapted to culture and society in Nigeria, has been nativised and Nigerian English (nativised variety) is replete with these politeness strategies which are manifest in greetings, honorific terms, kinship terms, expression of thanks and others.

a)**Greetings**

In Nigeria, the younger ones greet the older ones. In fact, in most cases where an older person greets a younger person, the latter hides his/her head in shame. Of special interest is the use of the adjective 'well done' as a form of greeting. In Standard English, the phrase is used as an exclamation of praise for something rightly done or endorsement of an achievement. But in Nigerian English, it could be used as a form of salutation, greeting, exchange of pleasantries. Kperogi says:

> The use of the phrase "well done" as a form of salutation for someone who is working is peculiarly Nigerian. Nigerians use it to approximate such expressions as "sannu da aiki" in Hausa, "eku ise" in Yoruba, "dalu oru" or "ji si ike oru" in Igbo, "ka soburu" in

> Baatonun (my native language), which have no parallels in American and British English (6)

b) Expressing Thanks

Nigerians have a very unique way of expressing thanks to a benefactor. Double use of intensifiers is usually employed to show levels of gratitude.

Examples

1) Thank you very much.
2) Thank you so very much.
3) Thank you very very much.

Nigerians like to show gratitude and that is why the Igbos have this expression: *ekene dike na nke omelu, omekwa ozo* (when you thank someone for what s/he has done, s/he will do another). The Yorubas, for instance, will keep thanking someone even a week after the deed had been done. *Thank you for yesterday* and *Thank you for the other day* are some of the expressions they use.

c)Show of Empathy/Apology

The word ‘sorry’ has a peculiar use in Nigerian English. In Standard English, it is used to ask for clarification of what was not understood. It is also an apology. But in Nigeria, people use it to show politeness and concern towards others. It is used as an exclamation when one trips and falls whether the speaker is responsible for the misfortune or not. It is also said to someone that looses a

loved one. Although this is in use in Standard English, it lacks empathy, for instance, I am sorry for your loss means I am sad for your loss.

According to Kperogi,

> The way Nigerians use the word "sorry" is also a good example of linguistic creativity. They have expanded the word's original native English meaning from a mere exclamation to indicate an apology to an exclamation to express concern for a misfortune (such as when someone skips a step and falls). Nigerians say "sorry" whether or not they are responsible for the misfortune. This usage of the word, which is completely absent in American and British English, is an approximation of such expressions as "sannu fa" in Hausa, "pele o" in Yoruba, "ndo" in Igbo, "kpure kpure" in Baatonun, etc (Kperogi 7).

d)Honorifics/Address Terms in Nigerian English

According to Ron Scollon and Suzanne Wong Scollon, "address terms are discourse strategies for showing degrees of involvement and independence in social interaction." (20) An honorific title is a connotative word that conveys respect, honour and esteem when used to address a person. Honorifics

precede/prefix a person's name. The commonest are Mr. (married/single men), Mrs. (married women) and Ms. (marital status unknown).

Other Examples

i) Reverend
ii) Barrister
iii) Professor
iv) Lieutenant Colonel
v) General
vi) Captain
vii) Coach
viii) Minister
ix) Sir
x) Lady
xi) Dame
xii) Alhaji

Examples from Nigerian English

a) Very Rev. Dr. Prof

b) Prof. Mrs.

c) Rt. Rev. Prof.

d) Barr. Dr. Mrs.

e) His Excellency

f) Her Excellency

g) His Royal Highness

h) Her Royal Highness

i) His Royal Majesty

j) Pharm. Mrs.

k) The Rev. Arch. Prof.

l) Dame

m) Lady/Sir (Religious knighthood)

n) Otunba Sir

o) Kinship terms (daddy, mummy, aunty, uncle, sister and brother)

In Nigerian English, persons add two or more honorifics to their names leading to obscure realisations like Chief Mrs. Stella Oduah, Rev. Fr. Prof. Okeke Okafor, Prof. Engr. Mrs., Dr. Barr. Mrs., and others. Some honorifics possess meanings in Nigerian English that are different from their original meanings in Standard English. Examples are Lady, Sir and Dame. These honorifics are related to British Knighthood; a *Sir* is a man that has been knighted in his own rights while a *Lady* is a woman married to a knighted man. Dame, on the other hand, is a woman knighted in her own rights. But in Nigerian English, *Sir* and *Lady* refer to Knights of the Roman Catholic Church and Anglican Communion. Any grown man/elderly person can be called *Sir* as a sign of respect especially in conversation. Any woman, in Nigerian English, can choose *Dame* as a prefix to her name although women do not get knighted in Nigeria. Practical examples are the wife of the former president of Nigeria, Dame Patience Jonathan and the former Deputy Governor of Anambra State, Nigeria, Dame Virgy Etiaba.

Kinship terms in Nigerian English have their semantic scope broadened beyond their original use and meaning in Standard English. Senator Florence Ita-Giwa is known as Mama Bakassi although it is biologically impossible for her to give birth to the entire people of Bakassi. Some married couples call themselves

mummy and daddy. The husband calls his wife mummy while the wife calls her husband daddy, the meaning of the words notwithstanding. In the aspect of religion, especially in Nigerian Pentecostal/protestant churches, the general overseer of the church and his wife are referred to as *mummy* and *daddy*. An elderly member of the church or a mentor can also be referred to as *mummy/daddy* in which case the general overseer and his wife would now be Daddy G.O and Mummy G.O. The fact that these people do not have any filial relationship with the man of God and his wife does not come into play. The devout young wo/men that attend same church are called sisters and brothers; Sister Kemi, Brother Joshua, My sister-in-the-Lord, Brother-in-the-Lord and others. Kperogi asserts:

> In NE, "Daddy", too, can be a completely non-biological relational construct. For instance, big-name Pentecostal pastors in Nigeria are called "Daddy". Older women that one respects can be called "mummy" even if they are not one's blood relatives." (Kperogi 10)

A practical example is in the Department of English Language and Literature, Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka, where Prof. Ekpunobi is referred to as *mummy* by both staff and students probably because of her age (the oldest female lecturer in the department), her position as a clergy man's wife or her kind and quiet nature. One's female teacher (low pitch) or an elderly person

(high pitch) can be referred to as *aunty*. *Uncle* could mean an elderly one, a male teacher or an uncle in the real sense of it.

Different speech communities have different address terms used to show politeness and accord respect and honour in interpersonal interactions. Honorifics in Nigerian English have been influenced by the socio-cultural needs of the speakers of the language. They are a reflection of social relationships. Suffice it to say that socio-cultural context heavily influences politeness strategies in Nigerian English. Spencer-Oatey concurs:

> Different cultures may have different conventions as to what is appropriate behaviour in what contexts. (Where are you going? Is a polite greeting among acquaintances in Chinese, but is an inappropriate explicit question in this context in English)". (Spencer-Oatey 1)

2.1.8 Nigerian English versus Nigerian Pidgin and Broken English

Broken English, popularly called Pidgin English, is a sub-standard attempt by illiterates to manipulate the English language. It is grammatically aberrant and defective. According to Elugbe, "broken English represents the level to which the speaker has acquired English. There are flashes of good English but also real

errors which are evidence of poor mastery." (29) Agheyisi concurs to the above when she posits that "the typical users of NPE are those that have little or no formal education" (30).

Broken English is "a somewhat pejorative label used by native speakers of English to describe the often hysterical violations of the basic rules of Standard English syntax by non-native speakers of the language (Lindeman, 2005)" (Kperogi 35). It is often used by people whom the English language is a foreign language (The Chinese and Japanese) and not by those to whom it is a second language (Nigerians). But the uneducated Nigerian may speak it in a faltering attempt to speak the Standard English. Broken English, commonly called Pidgin English in Nigeria, is an aberrant form of the English language.

A Pidgin language is

> A technical term in linguistics that refers to a "contact" or "trade" language that emerged from the fusion of foreign (usually European) languages and indigenous (usually non-European) languages. In this linguistic fusion, the European languages provide the superstrate or the structure, of the language (Kperogi 36)

Nigerian Pidgin is a language that emerged as a result of the contact between the English language and the indigenous languages in Nigeria. Nigerian pidgin's superstrate language is the English language and its lexicon is massively affected by the English language. It is English-based and not a result of an incomplete mastery of the English language. Nigerian Pidgin has a unique linguistic structure and identity and like every other language, it is dynamic and has evolved over time.

People tend to use Nigerian Pidgin and broken English interchangeably but Nigerian Pidgin is not broken English. Nigerian Pidgin is not a failed attempt at speaking the Standard English but it is English-based.

A good example of Broken English is Zebrudaya's special English in *The New Masquerade.*

Example

PE

How can I division myself into twice?

NP

How I go fit divide myself into two?

How I go take divide myself into two?

Nigerian Pidgin is a creative language with its own rich lexico-semantics and syntax. It is dynamic (same as other languages) and has evolved through contact. Equating Nigerian Pidgin with broken English which thrived many years ago is obsolete and inaccurate. Nigerian Pidgin is a language that has been accepted and recognized by Nigerians at all levels of education and class as an effective means of communication. According to Hudson,

> A pidgin based on language X is not just an example of 'bad X', as one might describe the unsuccessful attempt of an individual foreigner to learn X. A pidgin is itself a language, with a community of speakers who pass it on from one generation to the next, and consequently with its own history. Indeed, it has even been suggested that many Pidgins have a common origin in the Portuguese-based Pidgin which developed in the far East and West Africa during the sixteenth century, under the influence of Portuguese sailors, and that this Portuguese-based Pidgin might in turn have had its roots in the 'Lingua Franca' developed in the Mediterranean as early as the crusades (62).

Although Nigerian Pidgin is English-based, the substrate languages have contributed immensely to the evolution of the language.

In the words of Mafeni,

> I would claim that Nigerian Pidgin neither adheres to English (the base language) in grammar, nor is it entirely similar structurally to any of the indigenous languages which constitute its substrates. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that Nigerian Pidgin has a structure of its own with similarities at certain levels and in varying degrees to English and to the various substrates (103)

He reiterates:

> … although it has supplied the vast majority of the items that make up the Nigerian Pidgin lexicon, the various substrates also supply vocabulary items (however few) as well as the more important processes by which the English loan-words are made to acquire new or additional meanings (106)

Nigerian English, on the other hand, is neither Broken English nor Nigerian Pidgin. It is "a variety of English that is inflected by local Nigerian sociolinguistic quiddities, while strongly rooted in the basic grammatical traditions of Global English." (Kperogi XI)

He reiterates:

> When the existing semantic and syntactic resources of the English language are incapable of serving local communication needs, speakers are left with only two options: neologism (that is, invention of new words or phrases) and semantic extension (that is, encoding existing English words and phrases with meaning that are

> absent in the original but which encapsulate the speakers' distinctive sociolinguistic experiences and that is precisely what Nigerians have done. The result is the emergence of Nigerian English, which sprouts from diverse sources and inspirations. (5)

Nigerian English is one of the many varieties of world Englishes. The dynamic nature of language coupled with the advent of English language in Nigeria and its adaptation in the Nigerian society brought about the inventions in Standard English called Nigerian English. It is English that has adapted to culture and society in Nigeria because language cannot develop outside society. Nigerian English is not spoken by uneducated and barely educated Nigerians; it is broadly spoken and written by literary giants, politicians, media houses and many others.

English spoken in Nigeria is creatively done to capture and fit into the sociolinguistic and socio-cultural lives of its speakers which Standard English cannot do. Nigerians use it to express their Nigerian /African experiences. It is not bad English.

Kperogi warns:

> ... linguistic creativity is defensible only in situations where the existing lexical and idiomatic offerings in the English language are insufficient to capture Nigeria's unique socio-cultural thoughts, that is, Nigerian English is most justified where it invents or

> creatively contorts words to express Nigerian experiences that are not lexicalised in current standard English. Clear cases of usage errors that are the consequences of ignorance should not be dignified as Nigerian English (23).

In sum, broken English is bad English. Nigerian Pidgin is an English-based Pidgin, an emergent /contact/trade language that has English language as its superstrate language and the local languages as its substrate language while Nigerian English is a variety of world Englishes which emerged because of the language contact situation between English and the local languages. This variety of English has adapted itself to Nigerian People and their various cultures.

2.1.9 Lexical Improvisation/Innovations in Nigerian English

In meeting the cultural and communicative needs of the people that speak English in Nigeria, new words are coined daily to express the Nigeria socio-cultural realities. Lexical innovations, according to Udom, are “labels that have been used to describe many of the English words that have been nativised in new environments.” (48) Innovations are acceptable variants that are well differentiated from errors. Nigerian English is replete with many linguistic improvisations. Some lexical items acquire new meanings in Nigerian English

(semantic extension) while some words acquire meanings different from their meanings in Standard English (semantic shift).

Examples

a) to take in - pregnancy
b) wake keeping- wake
c) to take light- interruption of power supply
d) put to bed- give birth
e) eye service- lip service
f) motherless babies' home - orphanage
g) long legs - nepotism
h) head tie - scarf
i) k-leg - knocked knees
j) gap tooth - mild diastema
k) ease oneself – pee
l) poo poo – poop (child language)
m) pollute – fart
n) flashing/flasher – placing a momentary call
o) plate number – number plate
p) screen touch – touch screen
q) pepperish – peppery
r) cunny – cunning

s) isusu – daily loan scheme

t) ghost worker – a non-existent worker

u) mammy water – water goddess

v) keke marwa/napep – tricycle

w) palmwine – local alcoholic drink

x) cool down- calm down

y) a no go area – a restricted area

z) 419 – fraud/obtaining under false pretence

aa) pure water – sachet water

b) Palm greasing – bribe

c) men of timber and calibre – prominent/influential people

d) tokunbo – fairly used

e) side chick – a concubine

f) husband snatcher – a flirt

g) national cake – nationally generated funds

h) recharge card – call unit

i) naming ceremony – naming a new born baby

j) runs girl – a harlot

k) groundnut – peanut

l) big man – an influential man

m) sugar daddy – a rich old male lover

n) sugar mummy – a rich old female lover

o) panel beater – car repairer

p) half current – low voltage

q) head girl/boy – a student in charge of secondary school students

r) sure banker – certainty

s) expo – examination malpractice

These innovations are concepts specific to the culture of the nation. *To take light* and *half current* mirror the situation of power supply in Nigeria. Twenty four hour power supply has not been attained in Nigeria, so power is always being 'taken'. The voltage is sometimes low too. Motherless babies' home is what most orphanages are called in Nigeria. Due to the culture of nepotism in Nigeria, the act has been named *long legs.* Figuratively, the idea is that long legs are required to get to certain people that hold certain offices. Because of the space/gap between the left and right front teeth in diastema, it is called *gap tooth* in Nigerian English. *Isusu* is the daily loan scheme set up by a group of workers in an organisation. A certain amount of money is laid aside from the monthly salary and shared at the end of the year. This is practised in most organisations in Nigeria especially among teachers. Non-existent workers abound in Nigeria especially in the federal and state governments. They are called *ghost workers* because they receive their monthly salaries although they do not exist. Africans believe so much in the river goddess called *mammy water* which Americans and Britons do not believe in. Former President Olusegun

Obasanjo's government introduced a tricycle called *keke* as a means of poverty alleviation in the then NAPEP (National Poverty Eradication Programme) scheme. This tricycle called *keke napep* or *keke marwa* is still in use till date.

Palm wine is the local alcoholic drink in Nigeria got from the palm tree. Section 419 of the criminal code of the 1999 constitution in Nigeria means obtaining under false pretence. As a result of this, fraudulent practices in Nigeria are called 419. Fairly used goods in Nigeria are called *tokunbo.* In mirroring the level of moral decadence in Nigeria, words like *side chick, sugar daddy, sugar mummy, husband snatcher* and *runs girl* have been invented to make sexual immorality look good.

These analyses of the examples of lexical innovations in Nigerian English show that these words/phrases were invented to reflect the happenings in Nigeria. They are not usage errors.

Examples of Semantic Extension in Nigerian English

These words exist in Standard English but they have acquired meanings in Nigerian English in addition to the meanings they possess in Standard English.

a) body language
b) chairman
c) boss
d) carry over

e) port

f) tight

g) chase

h) expo

i) yellow

The phrase *body language* was popularised by President Muhammadu Buhari to mean the fear he instils in people due to his anti corruption laws. Body language in Standard English deals with gestures/movements of the body which people see and understand like a nod of approval or when someone beckons on another with the hand and the person sees it and comes. Buhari's body language is meant to be read even when he is not in sight. *Chairman* and *boss* in Nigerian English mean a rich person, someone of a superior status or a mentor. These ideas were popularised by Nigerian singers M.I Abaga and Naeto C in their songs titled 'Chairman' and 'Ten over Ten'. Naeto C has this signature prelude 'yes boss' which is also trending.

The term *port* was introduced by NCC in Nigeria and popularised by MTN through their portability advert with the slogan 'I don port'. This concept means to move from one network to another and still retain the same mobile number. Nigerians have extended it to mean leaving one relationship for another, relocating from one city to another and many others.

Chase in Standard English means to be in pursuit of something or someone especially an animal but in Nigeria it also means to woo a girl. Originally, *expo* is the short form of exposition. But in Nigeria it represents some forms of examination malpractice. People called *yellow fever* are traffic wardens in Nigeria. They represent the traffic section of the Nigeria police force which deals with the enforcement of road traffic rules and regulations. Originally, it means a kind of febrile rash found in Africa but it has a dual meaning in Nigeria.

These words/phrases mean one thing in America/Britain but more than that in Nigeria. The shift in meaning equally represents the situation of things in Nigeria. In sum, language and society are intertwined. The former should not be analysed outside society that uses it.

2.2 **Theoretical Framework**

The theories on which this research work is based are Giles and Coupland's Language Accommodation Theory and Grice's Cooperation Principle. Language Accommodation Theory, formerly called Speech Accommodation Theory, was developed by Howard Giles and Nikolas Coupland. It deals with language, context and identity and argues that people adjust their speech to accommodate other interlocutors. It is a process through which interlocutors adjust their diction, accent or other non-verbal behaviours according to the speech style of other interlocutors. "We tend to 'accommodate' our speech to the speech of the people we are talking to, in the hope that they will like us more for doing so" (Hudson 164).

People have specific/distinct ways of speaking to different groups of people. Human beings tend to adjust their speech/speech patterns. "When people interact they adjust their speech, their vocal patterns and their gestures to accommodate to others" (Giles 15). Wardhaugh concurs: "speakers often try to accommodate to the expectations that others have of them when they speak. *Accommodation* is one way of explaining how individuals and groups may be seen to relate to each other" (114). This theory explains why people change their communication styles. According to Giles and Coupland,

> Accommodation is to be seen as a multiply-organised and contextually complex set of alternatives regularly available to

> communicators in face-to-face talk. It can function to index and achieve solidarity with or dissociation from a controversial partner, reciprocally and dynamically (61).

Communication accommodation theory emphasizes the adjustments that persons make in conversations in order to minimise or maximise the social difference(s) between interlocutors. Virpi Ylanne asserts:

> Speakers are motivated to reduce linguistic or communication differences between themselves and their speaking partners under specifiable circumstances, principally when they want to be approved of and when they want their communication to be more effective. Correspondingly, speakers will be motivated to resist "accommodating", and will even accentuate differences between themselves and their listeners, when approval and effectiveness are less important to them, and they want to symbolize and emphasize difference and distance (Qtd in Spencer-Oatey 164)

These adjustments can either be done verbally or non-verbally. They help to control the social differences between interlocutors. The two accommodation processes are convergence and divergence.

Convergence

In communication, people manipulate their speech to sound like that of other speakers/listeners. Convergence is hinged on people's need for social approval and/or mutual intelligibility. According to Wardhaugh,

> One individual can try to induce another to judge him or her more favorably by reducing differences between the two. An individual may need to sacrifice something to gain social approval of some kind, for example, shift in behavior. This is convergence behavior." (114)

It can also be seen as "a strategy where individuals adapt to each other's communication behaviours in terms of a wide range of linguistic/prosodic/non-verbal features" (Giles, Coupland and Coupland 17). Convergence requires choosing a language variety that suits the other speaker; it is the process whereby individuals try to change their speech styles so they could be more similar to that of other interactants. It can be in terms of accent, vocabulary or tone. "We see convergence when a speaker tries to adopt the accent of a listener or that used within another social group or even in extreme cases gives up a particular accent, dialect, or language completely" (Wardhaugh 114). There is mutual convergence if the participants converge towards one another. Convergence comes into play when speakers wish to reduce the social differences or distance between they and other interlocutors.

People tend to accommodate to fellow interlocutors that are of higher standards/social status than theirs; for instance, a speaker might find himself/herself trying to match up with a fellow interlocutor in terms of vocabulary. If fellow interlocutors speak in high sounding words, the speaker converges with them by switching to high sounding words. In order to gain approval, a listener might hear someone pronounce /lip/ as /li:p/ and continues with the conversation instead of correcting the pronunciation.

Divergence

A divergent communicator exhibits characteristics that emphasize/highlight the social differences between him/her and other interlocutors. "Divergence is behind exaggerating differences" (Wardhaugh 114). He/she tries to be different from persons in a particular group. According to Giles and Coupland, divergence is "the way in which speakers accentuate speech and nonverbal differences between themselves and others" (259). In divergence, social distance is maintained and there is no intention of accommodating to others.

"If one desires to be judged less favourably the shift in behaviour is away from the other's behaviour. This is divergence behaviour" (Wardhaugh 114). Divergence can be a way of marking group identity. For instance, a teenager who decides to participate in a conversation with his/her parents or teachers by answering questions asked in English in Nigerian Pidgin knowing full well that

using the language will infuriate them. Holmes, the sociolinguist, gives a vivid example of divergence,

> A number of people who were learning Welsh were asked to help with a survey. In their separate booths in the language laboratory, they were asked a number of questions by an RP-sounding English speaker. At one point this speaker arrogantly challenged the learners' reasons for trying to acquire Welsh which he called a "dying language which had a dismal future." In responding to this statement, the learners generally broadened their welsh accents. Some introduced Welsh words into their answers, while others used an aggressive tone. One woman did not reply for while, and then she was heard conjugating Welsh verbs very gently into the microphone. (Holmes 257)

People assert their identities by speaking and acting differently from the other person/interactant. Generally, convergence and divergence deal with either speaking or eschewing identification with others. Communication Accommodation Theory analyses how relationships between individuals and social groups are negotiated through language and discourse.

Grice's Cooperation Principle

The second theoretical framework on which the research is based is the co-operative principle as phrased by Grice which states,

> Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage which it occurs, by the accepted purpose and direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged (qtd in Verschueren 32).

This theory describes how people interact with one another. Co-operative principle describes the effectiveness of communication as it is achieved in common social situations. According to Spencer-Oatey,

> Grice argued that human communication should be explained as a form of social interaction whose success depends on the interactants' presumption that communicative behaviour is driven by certain norms and rules. On his view, the most important of these norms is the generalisation that communicators are co-operative in that they aim to make their communicative acts appropriate to the situation of communication in content and form. (55)

Grice's co-operative principle is based on four maxims of conversation namely:

The maxim of quantity:

i. Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange).
ii. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

The maxim of quality

i. Do not say what you believe to be false.
ii. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

The maxim of relation

i. Be relevant

The maxim of manner

i. Avoid obscurity of expression
ii. Avoid ambiguity
iii. Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity)
iv. Be orderly (Johnstone 234).

These maxims "describe the particular expectations that shape how efficient, co-operative meaning-making is achieved" (Johnstone 235). The efficiency of these maxims in conversation is evident in speech acts that involve the nativised varieties of English. In such cases, the interactants share an underlying assumption that they mutually speak the same languages. Grice believes that co-operative principle is the overarching principle in conversation. These maxims

are characteristics of ideal exchanges and they are applied in conversations involving the nativised varieties as is epitomised in the literary texts under study.

2.3Empirical Studies

Empirical studies show a selection of contributions by leading scholars in the areas under study. It gives an account of past researches on the topic.

In 1998, Qiang Hu conducted a research on "*the Changing Tongues of Chinua Achebe: Language as a Developing Theme in Things Fall Apart*, *A Man of the People*, and *Anthills of the Savannah*." The study examined the development of three language strategies- modes of narration, Pidgin English, and African proverbs used by Chinua Achebe. It showed the different functions Achebe assigned to these language strategies in the three novels. These language strategies were used creatively to effectively and credibly reflect the changing realities of West Africa. The researcher concluded that the author Africanized the English language to depict African experiences.

The Need of Nativization or Decolonization of the English language in Indian perspective was researched by Dr. Sitaram Bhargava. The research explored the process of nativisation or decolonization in the poetry of some indigenous poets especially Nissim Ezekiel and A.K. Ramanujan. The purpose of the research was to capture the process and devices of the Indianness of the nativised variety of English used by the aforementioned Indian poets. The researcher analyzed the nativisation processes employed by these Indian poets in order to nativise the English language in their poems. Also, Peter Lowenberg conducted a research on *Non-native Varieties of English: Nativization, norms and*

Implications. The research demonstrated how non-native varieties are different from interlanguages or established varieties of English like British English and American English. The researcher equally carried out a survey of positive attitudes toward the non-native varieties of English among their speakers. He concluded that some nativised features are fast becoming new norms for the use of English in different countries.

A study on *English Nativization in China and its Implications for EFL Culture Teaching* was carried out by Zhoucongcong Liuzuo. The researcher believed that English nativisation is a reproductive process whereby the English culture is combined with the local culture. The researcher investigated the phenomenon of China English, adopted the qualitative and quantitative analysis and used them to analyse the characteristics and intelligibility of China English. Seventy five test papers were used as research sample. Questionnaires were also given out in order to find out the students' learning situation of Chinese culture. From the result of findings, the expressions of China English do not violate English grammatical rules and most of them passed the test of intelligibility. Charles Soren Boberg equally carried out a study on *variation and change in the Nativization of Foreign (a) in English*. The focus was on the phonological nativisation of foreign (a) - as in tomato and tobacco- in English and how it shows complex and intersecting patterns of diachronic, geographic, social and lexical variation. The aim of the research was to describe the variation, develop

a probable model of nativisation outcomes in British English and American English and give an explanation of the patterns observed in phonological terms. The researcher employed diachronic analysis which showed that modern nativisation patterns were established in the eighteenth century which involves two principal out comes _/æ/ fat, /a:/ calf, and variations between the vowel sounds.

In 2011, Christopher Anyokwu conducted a study entitled *Igbo Rhetoric and the New Nigerian Novel: Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's Purple Hibiscus.* Anyokwu believes that Adichie follows "the pragmatic example of Achebe, her elder compatriot, in constructing ... Igbo English" (80). "Adichian aesthetics" (80). is seen as one that points the way to the future of literature in Africa. The researcher concludes that in the literary text, "English cannot remain pure neither can Igbo, an osmotic interpenetration must result in their interaction. Thus, the resulting product is a most veritable pointer to the currents of globalization at work in contemporary culture and society" (89). Anyokwu studied the Igbo rhetorics in *Purple Hibiscus* but this present research work will look at the nativised variety and consequences of language contact in *Purple Hibiscus.*

In 2006, Daniel Nkemleke conducted a research on *Nativisation of Dissertation Acknowledgements and Private Letters in Cameroon.* Data for the study was composed of 200 dissertations and 222 private letters which were written

between 1990 and 1999. The dissertations were written by students of the Department of English of Ecole Normale Superieure, Yaounde. The researcher concluded that dissertations and private letters in Cameroon are significantly culturally contextualised. Background knowledge of culture is essential for one to understand texts produced in that setting. He asserts that "some background knowledge of "culture" (of Cameroonians and/or Africans) is essential in order to properly understand texts produced in this setting" (183).

Ebi Yeibo discussed *Nativisation of English in African literary texts: a Lexico-Semantic Study of Transliteration in Gabriel Okara's The Voice*. The aim of the research was to enhance understanding of the literary texts. The research paper highlighted how an African nativised the English language in order to interpret his sociolinguistic environment. A lot of socio-cultural and historical variables come into play while constructing an African literary text, that is, situating texts in their proper sociolinguistic environment. Bola Margaret Tunde-Awe also conducted a research on *Nativisation of English Language in a Multilingual Setting: the Example of Nigeria.* She discovered that the English language has adapted itself to the different exigencies especially the linguistic and cultural contexts of its use. She concluded that Nigerian English is a variety of world Englishes.

Nativisation of Arabic Names: the Yoruba Language as a Case Study was conducted by Dr. Jacob Oludare Fadoro. They noted that when words are

borrowed into Yoruba from other languages, the words get nativised. Thirty Arabic names were selected for the research. The researchers pointed out that Yoruba speakers apply phonological rules to Arabic names in an attempt to make them conform to the syllable patterns of the Yoruba language. They suggested that nativisation of these Arabic names should affect their spelling too. A name like *Sadiq* should be spelt as *Sadiku*. Tony Obilade discussed the nativisation of English in Nigeria. He suggested the need to adopt a polylectal approach so as to provide a thorough structural and functional description of the phenomenon of English language in Nigeria.

A Research on the Sociolinguistic Study of Language Contact in Ubolo Speech Community, Enugu State, Nigeria was conducted by Gabriella Nwaozuzu, Chris Agbedo and Crescentia Ugwuona. It was a preliminary report of the linguistic study of language contact in a rural speech community of Ubolo in Enugu State of Nigeria. Seven linguistic groups (Ubolo, Awka, Onitsha, Owerri, Idoma, Yoruba and Hausa) in Ubolo were selected as areas of study. Data were collected through oral interviews, direct observations, group discussions and interactive sessions and analyzed through Higa's directionality model. The researchers established five basic issues that influence language contact such as trade/historical antecedents, access roads, border areas, federal roads and migration. They also revealed the effects of language contact such as linguistic borrowing, code-switching and hyper adoption.

Shnukal and Marchese conducted a study on *Creolization of Nigerian Pidgin English: A Progress Report* in 1983. They concluded that adults that are not L1 speakers are responsible for most of the structural changes while young L1 speakers take the changes further. They found out an increase in tempo and fluency, change in tone and intonation plus a certain amount of phonological reduction between older and younger speakers of Nigerian Pidgin. The researchers believe that new forms of Pidgin English are emerging in many urban centres which may serve all communicative purpose. Also, in 1984, Peter Lowenberg studied nativisation in Indonesia in terms of form and function and concluded that even in a performance variety, English undergoes considerable nativisation in the contexts of the culture and situation in which it is used.

Paul Bandia did a research on *the translation of Pidgins and Creoles in African literature.* He believes that asides compensating for the lack of European-language equivalents, Pidgins and creoles are used in the works of African writers for local colour, to reflect the sociolinguistic background of West African society and equally to illustrate the extent to which African oral tradition has reshaped European languages. *A Research on Ben Okri's The Famished Road: A Case Study in the Translation of New Englishes* was conducted in 2004 by Roland Nkwain Ngam. Considering that the English language has revolved, he suggested a new approach to the translation of African literature in English. The aim of the research was to look into the

elements of New Englishes in *The Famished Road.* Ngam concluded that Okri's use of New Englishes is a reflection of socio-cultural reality. He made suggestions on how to translate the nativised forms of English into French.

Oyinkan Medubi looked at *the nativisation of English in Nigeria: a metaphorical typology of Nigerian English address terms*. He employed metaphor analysis in investigating the use of address terms in Nigerian English. He concluded that address terms in Nigerian English are socio-cultural, ideology-laden entities that reflect the belief system of Nigerians and they do not have correlates in the parent language. Address terms in Nigerian English may be borrowed but they, indeed, reflect the cultural perspectives and philosophies of the people. This research by Oyinkan Medubi studied nativisation of Nigerian English address terms but my work looks at the nativisation of English in literary texts.

Although a lot has been done on the nativisation of English in Nigeria and other countries, there is need for more researches to be carried out on its values and functions. This work is an attempt to assess the use of the nativised variety of English in literary works.

Summary

The English language is a global language. It is the language of international communication. English has spread to places where it is not spoken as a native

language. Language is dynamic and English, in its new habitation, has been heavily influenced by the culture of the people who speak it as a second language. The influence of culture on English has given birth to different varieties of the same language. These non-native varieties are institutionalized varieties that do not lack intelligibility. Since language cannot be studied outside society, these varieties are deeply rooted in society and culture. They are distinct varieties of world Englishes. It has been observed that the nativisation of English is viewed both positively and negatively by different scholars, so there is the need for more in-depth research work to be done on their uses in works of literature.

Chapter Three

3.0 Research Methodology

This chapter analyzes the methods and procedures used in carrying out this research. It is organized into the following subheadings_

3.1 **Research Design**

This research is a library research. Research questions were designed in such a way that the researcher obtained evidence which addressed the questions.

3.2 **Population of the Study**

Literary texts written in the nativised variety of the English language and other sociolinguistic outcomes of language contact constitute the population of the study. The nativised variety is Nigerian English while outcomes of language contact are Nigerian Pidgin, Code-switching and Code-mixing.

3.3 **Sample and Sampling Technique**

The samples for the study are four literary texts written by four bilingual Nigerian authors namely -

Purple Hibiscus (2006) Chimamanda Adichie

Yellow-Yellow (2006) Kaine Agary

On Black Sisters' Street (2009) Chika Unigwe

Fine Boys (2012) Eghosa Imasuen

These literary texts were purposively chosen because they are written in the nativised variety. The researcher discovers that none of the authors of the literary texts made use of all the outcomes of language contact in writing. Each literary text will be analysed based on the use of the nativised variety of English and outcomes of language contact it is written in.

Their dates of publication span through 2006-2012. While *Yellow-Yellow* and *Purple Hibiscus* are published the same year, Fine Boys and On Black Sisters' Street are published four years apart.

3.4 **Method of Data Collection**

Textual data was randomly collected from the instances of nativisation of English like Nigerian English and code-switching, code-mixing, and pidginisation in the literary texts under study. Significant excerpts in the literary texts that portray the nativised variety of English formed the data for the study. These excerpts are written in the nativised variety and other sociolinguistic outcomes of language contact.

3.5 Method of Data Analysis

The method of data analysis for this study was textual analysis. Textual data was analysed in line with the research questions and theoretical framework.

This study gave an in-depth analysis of the nativised variety of English and their use in the various literary texts. This method of analysis involved studying the literary texts, examining the use of the nativised variety of English in them, extracting excerpts from the literary texts and describing/analysing them using the research questions raised in the first chapter and the theoretical framework. The research questions/arguments are justified through the excerpts extracted from the different literary texts.

The nativised variety was extracted and analysed to establish if they have aesthetic values they add to these literary texts in terms of the functions of language.

Chapter Four

Data Presentation and Analysis

The presentation and analysis of data in this fourth chapter focus on the use of the nativised variety of English in *Fine Boys*, *Purple Hibiscus, On Black Sisters' Street* and *Yellow-Yellow.* Emphasis will be laid on the identification, examination and analysis of the nativised varieties and how the choice of code significantly adds aesthetics to the literary texts.

4.1 Research Question One

To what extent is the nativised variety of English in the literary texts a debased form of the English language?

English is a global language. In some regions of the world it is a first language, a second language in many regions and a foreign language in other parts of the world. One of the most notable results of the global diffusion of English is its indigenisation/nativisation which in turn has given birth to varieties of English.

The significant outcome of the globalisation of English is the birth of the varieties of this language like American English, Australian English, Ghanaian

English, Nigerian English and others. Braj Kachru's concentric circles give a clearer picture of the globalisation and nativisation of English.

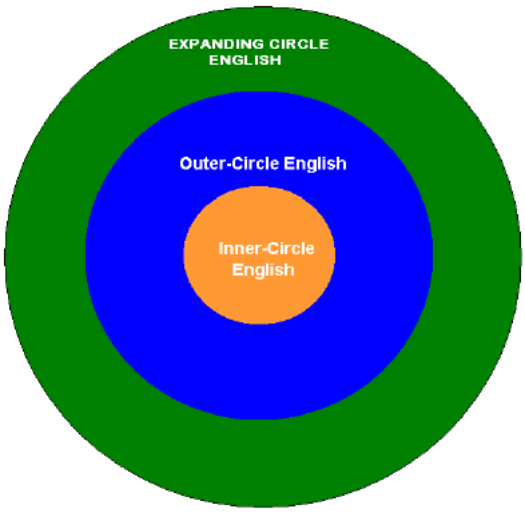

Table 1. Kachru's Concentric Circle

For a better understanding of English around the globe, Kachru developed three concentric circles of English. The inner circle represents countries where English is spoken as a first language like the United Kingdom, Australia, America and others. The outer circle represents countries where English is the second language like Nigeria, Ghana and others while the expanding circle represents countries where the language is a foreign language , for instance, China, Russia and Japan.

The English language in Nigeria clearly belongs to the outer circle. English in Nigeria has been influenced by culture and environment, it is a variety of world Englishes. English has interacted with indigenous languages for long and observing the present situation one can predict that it will continue to be so as

an adopted child nurtured in the cultural background of its new family. English is in Nigeria but it is not of Nigeria.

Focus is on language in literary works because of its significant effect in portraying the message of the writer and other aesthetics. Language is also a way of expressing culture because of its intertwined relationship with society. Writers that use the nativised variety do so as a sort of "pragmatic response to their peculiar situations and environment." (Owolabi 419) Modern Nigerian writers use the nativised variety to situate their works in their correct socio-cultural backgrounds. They portray the realities of the use of English in Nigeria thereby situating their literary texts in their correct sociolinguistic contexts.

Textual Analysis

Examples from *Fine Boys*

Nigerian English

Lexical/clausal level

a) Big men (3) (rich/influential men)

b) *Umunna* meeting (293) (kinsmen meeting)

c) Go-slows (6) (traffic jam)

d) *Jambite* (21)

(JAMB is the acronym for Joint Admissions and Matriculation Board while Jambite is a freshman at a Nigerian University. It can also mean one that keeps writing jamb examination.)

e) *Bukateria* (33) (a canteen)

f) Pepper soup place (75)

(Pepper soup is a Nigerian delicacy made of meat/fish, pepper, local spices and water. Pepper soup place is where this delicacy is sold.)

g) Big-for-nothings (60)

(useless, its big size notwithstanding)

h) Crazy half-caste (105)

(crazy bi-racial kid)

i) Goat skin seat (290)

(seat made from goat's hide)

Sentential level

a) NEPA had taken the light. (19) (interruption of power supply)

b) NEPA had 'brought light'. (31) (Power has been restored.)

c) He was making mouth (100) (bragging)

d) Escort me outside (111) (accompany me)

e) Tuoyo and Wilhelm moved into a series of *face-me-I-face-yous* in Osasogie (155)

(two blocks of non-self service rooms with one block facing the other.)

f) If you hear the odour (189) (smell the odour)

Nigerian Pidgin

Lexical/clausal level

a) *Yanga* (3) (showing off)

b) The yabis (20) (ridicule)

c) Ruggedity (25) (durability)

d) Liver (26) (courage)

e) *Oyibo* (29) (Americana)

f) Shorty (24) (a short person)

g) *Aje-butter* (42) (a rich kid)

h) Haba (57) (exclamation)

i) *Pikin* (57) (child)

j) Yansh (81) (arse)

Sentential Level

a) Your brother don come o. (10)

(Your brother has come.)

b) Your father sha, he no dey hear word (13)

(Your father does not listen to advice.)

c) How you go let this mumu win you? Just chill make I finish am for you. (15) (How will you allow this idiot win?)

d) Abeg comot your hand for my shoulder. You no dey fear? I go knock your head o! (23) (Please remove your hand from my shoulder.)

e) No mind Yibril, Ewaen. Na just big fool. Very fake guy those days for Dom Domigos; he enter university two years ago come dey blow hard guy. (24) (Do not mind Yibril. He is a fake guy.)

f) Ewaen, Willy. Make una no join confra o. (30)

(Ewaen, Willy, you people should not join any confraternity.)

g) I know one guy for Ekosodin wey fit help us get our stuff back. (38)

(I know a guy at Ekosodin that can help us recover our stuff.)

h) Because person quiet? because person quiet he feel say we be fools. Na by force to join confra? (52)

(Because I am docile you take me for a fool. Is it by force to join a confraternity?)

i) Follow me go my place na make we gist. Dude you dey fear? (122)

(Follow me to my house let us tell stories. Dude are you scared?)

Sociolinguistics/socio-cultural variables determine the development of English in a region. As the language spreads, it reflects and signifies the social and cultural contexts of the particular host region.

Eghosa's *Fine Boys* chronicles everyday Nigerian life of freshmen and sophomores at the University of Benin. The literary work is set in Warri and the University of Benin. It is imperative to situate literary works in their correct sociolinguistic context , so the writer of this literary work used Nigerian Pidgin and Nigerian English to capture the linguistic reality of the code choices made by these university undergraduates and residents of Warri. In examples *a* and *b* in the sentential level of Nigerian English, the acronym NEPA stands for National Electric Power Authority. Although it had been changed to PHCN before the work was published, the writer used NEPA to depict what was obtainable in the year the work was set in. NEPA is equally more popular than PHCN. Everybody knows it.

Nigerian Pidgin, a language of wider communication, is known for its widespread fame on Nigerian campuses and this writer used it creatively as a marker of solidarity and identity for Ewaen (protagonist) and his friends. It is their mark of friendship used to limit whatever social distance/differences there is between them.

These undergraduates use Nigerian Pidgin to accommodate to themselves and converge towards one another in speech. The efficiency of the four maxims of conversation is significant in the examples above. Nigerian Pidgin, as a simplified language with a simplified vocabulary, helps speakers obey the maxim of manner especially.

Examples from *Purple Hibiscus*

Nigerian English

Lexical Level

a) *Ofe-nsala* (23) (white soup)

b) *Okada (*135) (commercial motorbike)

Sentential Level

a) He opened his eyes before many of our people did. (75)

(He became exposed before others.)

b) They eat more and more shit every year. (82)

(They become stupider every year.)

c) I guess that's because your father is a big man. (101) (a rich man)

d) Another was fanning his wife, a woman with yellow skin. (102)

(a light skinned woman)

e) But I will not ask my brother to bend over so that I can lick his buttocks to get these things. (103)

(I will not be my brother's ass licker.)

f) This is not a good time for NEPA to take light. (165)

(Not a good time for power outage.)

g) That soup smells like something Amaka washed her hands well to cook. (162)

(smells like a well prepared food)

h) If some big man in Abuja has stolen the money ...(139)

(a rich/influential man)

The above examples are got from conversation involving Aunty Ifeoma and her household. Unlike Eugene and his household, Aunty Ifeoma and her children are liberal-minded; they represent freedom in the natural world. Eugene Achike, Aunty Ifeoma's brother, was very strict and rigid with his children while Aunty Ifeoma taught hers to be free minded.

Eugene always speaks with a British accent. He is very much comfortable with English and its prescriptive rules. Eugene rarely speaks his native language at home and does not use it in public. His whole life depicts rigidity. In assigning freedom of speech and expression to Aunty Ifeoma and her children, the writer makes a contrast between Standard English (Eugene and family) and Nigerian English (Aunty Ifeoma and family).

Nigerian English is seen as a language that is in tandem with happenings in society. Language use is in tandem with that of the majority of the populace in the real Nigerian society. The word *okada*, for instance, is what commercial bikes are called in Nigeria. But Jaja, Eugene's son, does not know what it means because he lives in a separate world created by his father.

Although NEPA has been changed to PHCN since 2005 before the publication of *Purple Hibiscus*, the writer chose to use NEPA because that is what it is still being referred to in Nigeria till date. Power outage is referred to as *taking of light* in Nigerian English. Rich men are called *big men.* The complexion of light skinned people is compared to the colour *yellow*, the very light skinned ones and albinos are nicknamed yellow.

Adichie simply used Nigerian English to mirror language use in present day Nigeria.

Examples from *On Black Sisters' Street*

Nigerian English

Lexical Level

a) *Akara* (138) (bean cake)

b) *Owambe* parties (220)

(A grandiose party thrown by the Yoruba ethnic group in Nigeria.)

c) *Suya* (222)

(spicy kebab prepared mostly by the Hausa ethnic group.)

d) *Eba and egusi* soup (69)

(The Nigerian egusi soup is prepared with ground melon seeds and vegetables. Eba is a staple food made from cassava and prepared with hot

water. Small lumps of it are moulded and dipped in egusi soup or any other choice soup.)

e) Chief bridesmaid (71) (maid of honour)

f) Okada (78) (commercial motorbike)

Sentential Level

a) I could have been a big man. (19) (a rich man)

b) Oyibo policemen are greedy. They have big eye ---. (40)
(They are greedy.)

c) Her new husband had taken her round Lagos, hopping on and off *danfo* buses to gaze at the high wonders that Lagos had in abundance. (90)
(commuter buses in Lagos State, Nigeria.)

d) This is eggzecutive bus. We don't want goats and rams shitting all over the place. Does this look like *gwongworo?* This is eggzecutive. (137)
(A trailer)

e) Remember when you always thought I had *Apollo*. (147) (conjunctivitis)

f) I am a big girl, *mama*. (169) (a grown up girl)

g) I bought one of her CDs from a hawker in *a go-slow*. (154)
(traffic jam)

Nigerian Pidgin

Lexical Level/Clausal Level

a) *Amebo (55)* (a gossip)

b) *Ashawo (70)* (a prostitute)

c) *Okada (82)* (commercial motorbike)

d) *Danfo* buses *(90)* (commuter buses in Lagos State)

e) *Jalabiya (190)*

(A traditional Sudanese garment mostly worn by the Hausas in Nigeria.)

f) Touch and follow *juju (253)* (charm)

g) *Oyibo* police *(289)* (American/British Police)

h) *Sisi eko (51)* (a young lady resident in Lagos State, Nigeria)

Sentential Level

a) I been dey call her granny but she be just dis woman wey live near our house wey I like well well. (8)

(I call her granny but she is just a neighbour.)

b) See as de day just dey like fine picture, and una wan spoil am. (6)

(The day is as fine as a picture yet you want to spoil it.)

c) You dey always get ant for your arse. Everyday na so so annoyance you dey carry around. (25)

(You are always grouchy.)

d) No try cross me o. Nobody dey cross Senghor Dele. (42)

(Do not double cross me. Nobody messes with Senghor Dele.)

e) You steal your licence? Oloshi! T'ief man. Mad man. You dey craze. (47)

(Did you steal your licence? Thief! You are crazy.)

f) Money wey full everywhere like san' san'.(49)

(Money is ubiquitous like sand.)

g) I swear! You don turn my head, dey make me like man wey don drink too much kai kai. (49)

(You are making my head spin like that of someone that took a hard drink.)

On Black Sisters' Street by Chika Unigwe has four different settings: Lagos, Enugu, Belgium and Sudan. The writer carefully assigns different code choices to each setting as is obtainable in the places in real life. Nigerian Pidgin is exclusively used by characters that are resident in Lagos State or recently migrated from it.

Lagos State, Nigeria plays host to different people from different places that speak different languages and Nigerian Pidgin functions as a linguistic bridge across the different languages spoken. The writer's use of Nigerian Pidgin in the

literary work simply places the work in its correct sociolinguistic context and captures the sociolinguistic reality of the setting of the novel, for instance, commuter buses in Lagos are called *danfo buses* while a young girl resident in the city is referred to as *sisi eko.*

The language is spoken by the majority of the populace (educated and uneducated) and lessens the social differences between characters in the novel. Characters converged at will using Nigerian Pidgin.

Nigerian English in *On Black Sisters' Street* is a code choice used in Enugu and Lagos but especially in Enugu. It was used to represent how language is actually used in that region of the country. The word *eggzecutive* in *example d* under sentential level shows the phonological differences between Standard English and Nigerian English. In Standard English, the word is spelt executive and pronounced /ig'zekjutiv/. *Eggzecutive* in the novel shows both spelling and pronunciation, the writer brings to the fore that Nigerian speakers of English do not speak like native speakers of the language. *Apollo* (*example e)* refers to conjunctivitis which is what it is called by the uneducated and ignorant while *go-slow (example g)* refers to traffic jam which exemplifies the traffic situation in Lagos most times.

Examples from *Yellow-Yellow*

Nigerian Pidgin

Lexical Level

a) *Okada (49), (69)* (commercial motorbike)

b) Johnny just come (52), A JJC (61) (a novice)

c) *Oyinbo* (53) (Americana)

d) Making *nyanga* (68) (showing off)

e) *Ogas* (70) (masters)

Sentential Level

a) You no go comot for there? You dey look like say na beta tin! Come on, leave dat place. (4)

   (Won't you leave that place? You act like it is a good thing.)

b) I no get money so I dey return de cloth. I neva cut am. (8)

   (I do not have money, so I will return the clothes. I have not cut them.)

c) I hear. I no join dis una women group again sef. I neva see any beta tin wey come out of am. Dey go. (8)

   (I will not join the women group again. Nothing good has come out of it.)

d) Anytime she come, even when I no dey house, keep her comfortable. (151) (Make her comfortable anytime she comes.)

Yellow-Yellow is set in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. This region is known for the multiplicity of languages in it. This linguistic situation gave rise to the use and creolization of Nigerian Pidgin in the states in the region. Because of the creolization of Nigerian Pidgin in the region, it would be strange for a literary work that is set in the region to be written without any trace of Nigerian Pidgin in it.

In *Yellow-Yellow*, the language is spoken by the uneducated and not-so-educated characters. But the educated use it to converge with the uneducated for easy comprehension and to also reduce the gap in social status and distance between them.

The nativised variety is a variety that has evolved due to the globalization of English. From the analyses, the nativised variety used in the literary works mirrors the sociolinguistic reality in Nigeria and comfortably puts the works of literature in their correct socio-cultural contexts. These literary works give an account of English as it is used in Nigeria.

According to Bamiro,

> The language used in African literary works can be judged to be representative of the sociolinguistic and political realities of the African situation. English use in African literature could then be

> taken as somewhat symptomatic of everyday language use and language variation in the African sociolinguistic continuum (15).

Emenyonu concurs:

> What many African writers seem to be doing is to take a European language and alter it to suit the African surroundings. The writer who knows how will always find the language flexible, the neophyte will find it stiff and unbending. This manipulation of language does not have to result in a debased form of expression, but rather should exhibit a language which has been opened up to artistic possibilities – a language which has been used in a way that brings out the message of the writer ---.this "new" language should be the language of modern African literature. It is neither totally British nor American English. It has partaken to both to enrich its African essence, tone and colour (3)

Nigerian English is not a debased form of English; it is English that has been domesticated in Nigeria. Having left its borders, English came to Nigeria and adapted itself to society and culture of its speakers in Nigeria. Use of Nigerian English and other outcomes of language contact in the literary texts studied epitomise how English is used in Nigeria with particular reference to how the language is used in the settings of the novels in real life. English, having been indigenized in Nigeria, has adapted to the culture and nuances of its speakers

unlike Standard English. In conversations involving the nativised variety of English, the nativised variety was used to shorten the social distance (class, education) between interactants thereby causing the interlocutors to converge to themselves unlike Standard English that would normally broaden the social distance and cause divergence among the interlocutors. Communication Accommodation Theory is applicable here.

On the other hand, other sociolinguistic outcomes of language contact were employed to reinforce and achieve the effectiveness of communication. Nigerian Pidgin, especially, was employed to avoid obscurity of expression and ambiguity because Pidgin languages are simplified. The maxims of manner and relevance have been obeyed. Cooperative principle is equally applicable here.

4.2 Research Question 2

To what extent do the authors employ nativisation of English in indicating the social class of characters?

Social status represents the status of a person in society; a division of society based on people's economic status. Persons are grouped into hierarchical categories like upper class, middle class and lower class. Classification can also be made based on education, politics, wealth, income, prestige and influence.

Linguistic peculiarities of major characters in *Fine Boys*

Ewaen

Ewaen is the first person narrator, the son of educated and rich upper middle class parents. He is a medical student at the University of Benin who speaks English and Nigerian Pidgin.

Ah! If I join una my papa go kill me. (45)

(If I join you my father will kill me.)

Where for Lagos you dey stay? (48)

(Where do you live in Lagos?)

“There’s this joint at your junction. It looks like a pepper-soup place. Have you ever had any there?”(75)

Na your papa na ‘im them deflower. I hate that word. (76)

(It was your father that was deflowered.)

“Wetin even dey this cigar?” I was irritated. “It’s not as if it makes you guys manlier”. I reached for Tuoyo’s lips and pulled the stick out of his mouth. “How them dey drag am?” I asked. (100)

(What’s the big deal in smoking a cigarette?)

Wilhelm (Ewaen's oyinbo friend)

Wilhelm is Ewaen's 'half-caste' (bi-racial) friend who is partly Nigerian and partly German. He adopted Nigerian Pidgin as his default language of communication although he learnt the language later in Nigeria having been trained abroad. Although Wilhelm cannot speak a word of Ishan (native language), he speaks Nigerian Pidgin comfortably.

Wilhelm, who was always uncomfortable around girls, replied in the Queen's English, "I'm fine and you?

Brenda caught on fast. See oyibo o. 'I'm fine and you', she mimicked

We all burst into laughter, including Wilhelm

"You no go change", he said, finally relapsing into the medium of language he was more comfortable with. (29)

Ewaen and Wilhelm's friends

Other undergraduates in the novel are Oliver Tambo, Yibril, Tuoyo, Odegua, KO and Ejiro. Their routine consists hanging out in the parking lot at dusk, discussing sex, attending parties, smoking and drinking, managing the staff strike actions and university life.

Ejiro you wan kill am? (52)

(Ejiro you want to kill him?)

Ha! You don see me finish! This na pure see finish. (53)

(This is a case of familiarity.)

Wilhelm nodded and flipped to the subject closest to his heart, “so how Val’s day wan be?” (How is Val’s day going to be?)

“I no know o” (I do not know.)

“Hurry up and know o. I am taking this girl, Mamode, to dinner at UPH.”

“Was the University Palace Hotel not fully booked already? From the gist I had heard everyone was going there”.

“Who’s Mamode?”

“Na one girl wey dey stay close to me for quarters. She lives with a politician uncle in Lagos.” (134)

(It is one girl that lives close to me at the quarters.)

Nene

Nene is Ewaen’s educated grandmother who was trained by the YWCA (Young Women’s Christian Association). She was schooled at Ghana. She switches between Standard English and Nigerian Pidgin.

Food don done o! Osaze and Ewaen, come to the table and eat. Nene shouted from the door of the kitchen. (62) (Food is ready)

Aha! Osaze you still can't cut starch? Come, let me help you. (63)

You're still his mumu, shebi? Omasan. Omasan (64) (You are still his lap dog.)

What kind of a man did you marry. I mean, your father, he was no saint. But he never raised a hand to me. God rest his soul, not even in anger. (64)

Eghosa Imasuen does not use language to distinguish the educated from the uneducated. Nigerian Pidgin (the proverbial rejected stone) is used mostly by the educated and highly placed in society. The undergraduates fluently use it as a code choice available on campus.

These undergraduates come from different social classes and Nigerian Pidgin is their language of convergence. It fosters their friendship and reduces the social differences between them. Coupland and Giles' Communication Accommodation Theory applies here.

Purple Hibiscus

Kambili

Kambili is the first person narrator. She is forbidden by her strict father to speak her native language in public although she uses it at home. She is disconnected

from her ethnic linguistic identity as she continues to live under her oppressive father's roof.

a) "God will deliver us", I said, knowing papa will like my saying that. (26)
b) "*Papa-Nnukwu* does not look as healthy as last year," I whispered close to Jaja's ear as we drove off. I did not want Kevin to hear. (68)
c) Bless me, father, for I have sinned,"I said, sitting on the very edge of the chair. I longed for a confessional, for the safety of the wood cubicle and the green curtain that separated priest and penitent. (105)

Eugene Achike

Eugene is the domineering head of his family who represents perfection. He represents British colonialism. Eugene was schooled in England with the help of missionaries and he has so much adapted the British lifestyle that he is called "colonial product" (13, 21) by his sister so, he is separated from his African culture.

At the beginning of the novel, Eugene was angry with the visiting Rev. Father for singing an Igbo song in the middle of mass. He rarely speaks his native language at home and does not speak it in public.

Papa was staring pointedly at Jaja. “Jaja, have you not shared a drink with us, *gbo*? Have you no words in your mouth? He asked, entirely in Igbo. A bad sign. He hardly spoke Igbo, and although Jaja and I spoke it with mama at home, he did not like us to speak it in public. We had to sound civilised in public, he told us; we had to speak English. Papa’s sister, Aunty Ifeoma, said once that Papa was too much of a colonial product. (13)

Aunty Ifeoma

Aunty Ifeoma is a lecturer in University of Nigeria, Nsukka. She speaks Igbo, English and Nigerian English. She exudes freedom, morality, independence and love. Aunty Ifeoma is very much at home with her culture and language.

d) Amaka, *ngwa*, show Kambili how to peel it. (142)

e) *O di egwu.* I hope fuel comes soon. (140) (This is outrageous.)

f) His recovery has been so swift, Father, *Chukwu aluka.* (170)

(God did a great job.)

g) *O ginidi*, Kambili, have you no mouth? (177) (What is it?)

h) *I mana*, you know, sucking fuel is a skill you need these days. (158) (you know)

i) Chima, *O zugo*. (196) (It is enough.)

j) They eat more and more shit every year. (82)
(They become stupider every year.)

Papa Nnukwu

Papa-Nnukwu is the heathen and illiterate father of Eugene and Aunty Ifeoma. He tells his grandchildren stories about the tortoise, masquerade and masquerade initiation ceremonies.

k) That is our *agwonatumbe*. (94) (masquerade)

l) *Nekene m.* Look at me. (91) (Look at me.)

m) Shhh! These are *mmuo*, spirits! (87) (spirits)

n) I joke with you, *nwa m*. Where would I be today if my *chi* had not given me a daughter?" (83) (my child, god)

Mama (Beatrice Achike)

Mama is Eugene's wife. Her sentences are often a mixture of English and Igbo utterances.

o) Maybe, *anam asi*, mama said, they should not visit Ifeoma's house empty-handed. (115) (I am saying.)

p) *Umu m*, she said. (42) (my children)

q) Cramps *abia*? (109) (You have cramps?)

r) *Nne*, this is your study time. (43) (a girl)

In *Purple Hibiscus*, Adichie uses language to critique society. She portrays the intertwined relationship between social identities/class, ethnicity, freedom and gender. The rigid and over principled characters speak English while the free and liberal characters have different code choices available to them depending on the situation at hand. Adichie uses these liberal characters to reflect the sociolinguistic reality of Nigeria.

On Black Sisters' Street

Sisi (Chisom)

Sisi is a graduate of Economics who was schooled at the University of Lagos. She speaks English and Nigerian Pidgin in the novel.

s) There is no room to breathe here! Chisom dropped the mirror and turned to Peter, her boyfriend of three years. (27)

t) The amount spun in Chisom's head and almost knocked her out. Was this man serious?'If I had that kind of owo, sir,I for no dey here. I for don buil' house for my papa and mama! She protested angrily. (34) – If I had that kind of money, I would have built a house for my parents.

u) But how I go make dat kin' money? Chisom asked (42) – But how will I make that kind of money?

v) This is it! How many people get opportunities like this? This is IT! (45)

Ama

Ama lived with her family in Enugu where she was awaiting admission into the university. When she revealed that she was being molested by her supposed father since she turned eight, her mother sent her to Lagos to live with her aunt (Mama Eko). She speaks English, and Igbo and often switches between codes. She learnt Nigerian Pidgin in Lagos.

w) I have proper *oyibo* hair. (126)
(My hair is like that of Americans/Britons.)

x) I'll never eat pap again! (132)

y) You call yourself my father? You call yourself a pastor? You disgust me! ina-aso m oyi. (147)
(You disgust me.)

z) *Mba*. No. I will not shut up. Mama, do you know what he did to me when I was little? He raped me. (147) (no)

aa) *Eziokwu*, papa raped me. (148) (true)

z) Did you get the promotion? Ah, we have to celebrate it oo. We go wash am oo! (161) (We will celebrate it.)

Efe

Efe's educational background is not known. She got pregnant as a teen for a married man. Having lived in Lagos, she speaks English and Nigerian Pidgin.

a. You can't leave me. You promised. Come back. You promised. Come back, *mama*. Remember your promise? Remember, Mama?' (53) (mother)
b. I am pregnant, Titus. (59)
c. Which kin' man go marry woman wey don get pikin already? (75)
   (Which man will marry a single mother?)
d. Mrs Alawo wey dey put nose for everybody business. Like rat, she dey sniff out person. Amebo! Tafia! (55)
   (She sniffs out people like rats. Gossip!)
e. Softly,softly, oga. Don't go too fast please. (79)
   (Take it easy.)
f. If I wan' go abroad, oga Dele? Anybody dey ask pikin if de pikin wan' sweet? (81)

(Nobody asks a child if s/he wants candy.)

Joyce (Alek)

Alek's family were killed by the janjaweed militia that invaded their home in Sudan. Her educational background is not brought to the fore but she speaks only English.

g. I'll be a good girl. I promise, Alek said (186)
h. In the night I couldn't sleep because of the cold. But also because we were leaving Daru for a refugee camp. (187)
i. Why did your mother's husband rape you? Joyce responds. (241)
j. You know, every day I go to work I wonder if Polycarp was in on this. I wonder if he knew all along what Dele had in mind for me. I don't want to believe that he's that heartless. But thinking of all the whys and how comes I can't sleep at night. (241)

Dele

Dele is the connection between Nigeria and Antwerp. He is the pimp that sends gullible girls abroad to prostitute for his own personal gains. His educational background is unknown and mostly communicates in Nigerian Pidgin.

k. You fit come here every Thursday? You fit come here before 7 a.m? you dey live close by? You be hard worker? (80)

   (Can you come on Thursday? Can you come here before 7a.m? Do you live close by? Are you a hard worker?)

l. Belgium. A country wey dey Europe. Next door to London. (81)

   (Belgium is a country in Europe.)

m. Mama, I dey declare today! For everybody. Even you! Eat! Drink! Senghor Dele is paying. (162)

   (Free drinks for everybody sponsored by Dele.)

n. If you wan' make easy money, if you wan' go abroad, come my office on Randle make we talk. But only if you dey serious. If you no dey serious make you no waste my time and yours. You hear me so? (163)

> (If you want to make easy money, if you want to go abroad, come to my office. But if you are not serious, do not waste my time and yours.)

In *On Black Sisters' Street*, the writer partially used language to show the social class of characters. English is spoken by both the educated and the lowly placed in society. A character like Joyce/Alek from a war torn area, whose educational background is unknown, communicates strictly in English though she migrated to Lagos and later Antwerp.

Dele (educational qualification unknown) is a rich man with an office at Randle Avenue, Ikeja. The girls in Belgium are the sources of his wealth. He belongs to the upper class yet he only communicates in Nigerian Pidgin.

Yellow-Yellow

Zilayefa

Zilayefa is the protagonist. She is a secondary school leaver that left her village for Port Harcourt in search of her essence in life and her father. She speaks both English and Nigerian Pidgin.

o. During my second to last year in secondary school, one of the crude oil pipes that ran through my village broke and spilled over several hectares of land, my Mother's farm was involved. (3)

p. Yellow Yellow. That is what most people in my village called me because of my complexion, the product of a Greek father and an *Ijaw* mother. (7)

q. I read because the books took me to other worlds and made me forget my own reality. (31)

r. Thank you, sir, I said. I was blushing red.(131)

s. Thank you. I sabi say I don disturb you plenty dis night. (139)

(I know I have disturbed you this night.)

t. Na lie! That's not possible. She looks so young. (54)

(That's a lie.)

u. So how she dey send de boxes. (53)

(So, how will she send the boxes.)

Admiral

Admiral belongs to the upper class in society, a retired navy man. He speaks English and only uses Nigerian Pidgin when he has to communicate with uneducated characters like his domestic staff.

v. She says you have adopted a young girl who is turning out just like you. Well, that's a good thing because you are a very smart girl. (117)

w. So you are going to be helping Lolo with my party? I trust you young ladies will organize something spectacular and surprise me. (118)

x. Before he drove me home that day, he introduced me to his cook. "Ifiye, dis na my small friend Laye. Any time she come, even when I no dey house, keep her comfortable". At the gate, he said to the security man, "My friend, you see dis face, make sure you let her enter dis house any time she come. (151)

Sisi

Sisi is a learned business woman, one of Zilayefa's guardians in Port Harcourt. She exudes success and speaks English often but she switches between English and Nigerian Pidgin while conversing with Zilayefa in order to converge with her and reduce the obvious social difference between them.

y. Well, I knew my father, but I didn't know him as a father. He never lived in the same house with us, but he and my brother were close. (100)

z. My brother had his looks. I can understand why my mother went for him; he was a handsome man. (101)

z) In any case, only mama sabi who her pickin papa be and because dey say, 'Married woman no dey born bastard', not all people wey get papa sabi dem true papa", she said and we both laughed. "My dear, papa story no begin wit you and e no go end wit you. Just look to your future. (102)

(It is only a woman that knows the biological father of her child. A married woman does not birth an illegitimate child. It is not everybody that knows his/her true father.)

aa. Our hearts are all hardened. You want to help but na, do me good, do me trouble, you fit enter", Sisi said. (114)

Lolo

Lolo belongs to the upper class in society. She speaks just English.

bb. Young lady, I asked what I can do for you. I didn't ask you to give me any notes. I am not in the mood to read notes right now. What do you want? (50)

cc. Clara, who is she looking for? (50)

dd. Lolo, please find out what this girl wants. I cant take any more aggravation this morning. Let me go and look for a taxi, because if I rely on this foolish mechanic, we will not go to Aba today. (50)

ee. Esther, this is Zilayefa; she will be staying here for some time. (61)

Bibi

Bibi is Zilayefa's uneducated mother who lives in the village. She only speaks Nigerian Pidgin.

ff. You no go commot for there? You dey look like say na beta tin! Come on, leave dat place. (4)

(Wouldn't you leave that place? You act like it is a good thing.)

gg. I hear. I no join dis una women group again sef. I neva see any beta tin wey come out of am. Dey go. (8)

(I will not join this women group again. Nothing good has come out of it.)

hh. I no get money so I dey return the cloth. I neva cut am. (8)

(I do not have money, so I am returning the cloth. I have not cut it.)

In Yellow-Yellow, language is clearly used to delineate *c*haracters. The highly placed like Admiral, Sisi and Lolo speak English while the lowly placed like Zilayefa, Binabei and Clara use Nigerian Pidgin at times. The writer used language to show the social class of character. Although Admiral speaks English always, he uses Nigerian Pidgin to converge with his domestic staff in order to reduce the social distance between them.

When English is in a diglossic situation with Nigerian English or Nigerian Pidgin, English becomes the high variety (H) while the nativised variety remains the low variety (L), the language of uneducated servants, waiters and others. In spite of this negative attitude, the authors of *Fine Boys*, *Purple Hibiscus* and *On Black Sisters' Street* did not assign English to the educated characters and the nativised variety to the uneducated characters. The uneducated use the nativised variety, the educated also use it alongside Standard English. There is a mixture of both varieties of English in order to make their speech as informative as is required while being relevant. The maxims of quantity and relation are observed here, so Grice's cooperative principle is applicable here.

In *Yellow-Yellow*, the lowly placed in society use Nigerian English and Nigerian Pidgin while the highly placed and educated use Standard English. But when they converse with the uneducated, they converge with them by using Nigerian

Pidgin to accommodate to them in speech. Communication accommodation theory is applicable here.

4.3 Research Question Three

To what extent do the authors nativise English to dismantle the hegemonic relationship between the English language and the indigenous languages in Nigeria?

When two languages meet, they kiss and quarrel and later on call a truce (Anyokwu 83) "The word hegemony might be traced to its root meaning in Greek, to lead" (Mustapha 83). Linguistic hegemony is the sociolinguistic outcome of giving superior status to a particular language while other languages are declared inferior. It has been defined "as what is achieved when dominant groups create a consensus by convincing others to accept their language norms and usage as standard or paradigmatic" (Mustapha 85). Suarez believes that it is a situation where

> Linguistic minorities will believe in and participate in the subjugation of the minority language to the dominant, to the point where just the dominant language remains (514)

English is a global language. According to Crystal, a language achieves a genuinely global status when its special role is recognized not only in the countries where it is spoken by a large number of people as their mother tongue, but also beyond (3). The global nature of the English language makes it stand out as the most prevalent language. In Nigeria, it is the dominant language while the indigenous languages remain relegated to the background thus creating communication inequality and discrimination between speakers and non-speakers of English.

Nigeria is culturally and linguistically heterogeneous. Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba are the major indigenous languages while the minority languages include *Kanuri, Tiv, Nupe, Idoma, Igala, Fulfude, Ibibio, Efik* and many others. The presence of these languages notwithstanding, English is the official language in Nigeria. It is the language of prestige and honour. Fluency in the English language is declared a mark of intelligence and superiority while non-speakers of English are termed illiterates and unintelligent.

The dominance of English in Nigeria has led to linguicide of some indigenous languages. Because no language is inferior to the other, local languages should be promoted as a lasting solution to linguistic hegemony and language endangerment.

Although most African writers do not write in indigenous languages, they find a way to infuse their language and identity into their works of art. Instead of

solely writing in English or local languages, these writers arrive at a compromise. In writing *Fine Boys* and *On Black Sisters' Street*, Unigwe and Imasuen employ code-switching and code-mixing in an attempt to dismantle the dominance of English in Nigeria.

The educated and highly placed characters in *Fine Boys* communicate in English and Nigerian Pidgin. In *On Black Sisters' Street*, the educational background of all the characters is unknown but almost all the characters switch and mix codes in accordance with the sociolinguistic reality of their speech communities. Because both languages are available to them, they often switch and mix codes. The use of English and Nigerian Pidgin/ English and indigenous languages in the same conversation shows the relevance of both languages.

Excerpts from *Fine Boys*

Code-switching

a) Your father sha, he no dey hear word. I queried him on the wisdom of hiring a fifty year old who couldn't drive. (13)

   (Your father does not listen to advice)

   a. Wetin dey do you, Ewaen? Where is your mind? You're not concentrating. (15)

      (What is wrong with you, Ewaen?)

b. Wilhelm wetin you dey do here? Isn't the prof supposed to be tucking you into bed now? (20)

   (Wilhelm what are you doing there?)

c. No play go there o. Those bastards are not very nice dudes. If they reach here them go naked you o. (24)

   (Do not joke with that.)

d. Because he dey follow you stay hostel? His father can put him in a suite at the University Palace Hotel if he wants. (31)

   (Because he stays in the hostel with you?)

e. Him and ee friends go fit help us. Look at them as a civil defence outfit. They know people. They go fit catch these guys. They go fit punish them. They go fit let us recover our stuff. We get to try this chance. I mean, I don't know about you but I can't let them get away with this. (39)

   (His friends can help us. They can help us recover our stuff.)

f. Where you dey go? Ewaen, I put myself on the line just to get you out of that place. Where you dey go? (112)

   (Where are you going to Ewaen?)

g. Guy no rush the cigar. You'll get dizzy. (143)

   (Do not rush the cigarette.)

Code-mixing

a. If I didn't know better, I go say you were dodging me. (23)

   (I would have said you were avoiding me.)

b. No mind the big fool, he was standing in front of Pharmacy department. (21)

   (Do not mind the big fool.)

c. I can't tell my father that kind of gist. (173)

   (I cannot tell my father that kind of story.)

Excerpts from *On Black Sisters' Street*

Code-switching

a. Girls, girls, it's a beautiful day. Make una no ruin am. (6)

   (Do not ruin the day)

b. Ah, the woman dey good to us. Which kin' granny pass dat one? Goodbye, Granny. Rest in peace. (8)

   (The woman was good to us. Which granny is better than that?)

c. De gin colour his eyes sotey him no even fit see him feet. He left it up to Efe to look after the house and her siblings. (58)

(The gin coloured his eyes that he could not see his feet.)

d. Maybe he just wants the photo for the snow. I sure say na de snow wey dey sweet am. (93)

(I am sure the snow makes him happy.)

e. *Oya*, chop. The food is ready. (104)

(Eat now)

f. L.I. is getting a good education. Dat one suppose dey enough for me. (114)

(That one should be enough for me.)

g. That day, you shall suffer more than Job. *I ga atakalia Job n'afufu*. (125)

h. *Nyenu m ego*. Give me money please. (138)

(Give me money.)

Code- mixing

a. I don't want to fight *abeg.* (6)

(please)

b. I just asked simple question and you start to foam for mouth. (38)

c. She felt somewhat cheated, like pikin wey dem give coin wey no dey shine at all at all. (49)

(Like a child that was given a coin that does not shine)

d. You remember him, *abi.* (84)

(right?)

e. I am your *madam*.(116)

(mistress)

f. *Nwa m*, my daughter, what is the matter? (133)

(my child)

g. *Mba*, no goats allowed on the bus. (137)

(no)

h. *Biko*, let me hear word. (139)

(please)

Purple Hibiscus

Adichie, mostly, infuses Igbo words/phrases into English sentences. "She allows her characters express themselves in words, ideas and images from her locale without bothering herself with endnotes, glossary and footnotes to explain to her foreign readers what she meant" (Asika 67). According to Anyokwu,

> The metier of Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's novel *Purple Hibiscus* is the largely adroit interweave of thoroughly domesticated English complete with Nigerianisms, slang, buzzwords, among others. Besides, we find in the novel an admirably successful over larding

> of Igbo words, phrases and expressions, which foreground unique sense of place and contextual realism. Indeed, Adichie's exceptionalism, it would appear, inheres in her deft and surefooted admixture of both the exoglossic and endoglossic codes, i.e., English and Igbo respectively in her work (83).

Excerpts

Code-mixing

a. Imakwa, my little one, Chima, does not even know Kambili's name. (85)

   (Do you know?)

b. *Nekenem,* look at me. (91)

   (look at me)

c. *Kunie,* get into the bathroom. (108)

   (Get up)

d. You sit there and watch her desecrate the Eucharistic fast, *maka nnidi*?

   (110) – (why)

e. *Nekwa anya*, what does that mean? (132)

   (look)

f. *Ekwuzina,* don't sound that way. (157)

   (Stop saying that.)

g. Jaja, have you not shared a drink with us, *gbo*? (21)

(right?)

h. They even said somebody has tied up my womb with *ogwu*. (28)

(thorns)

i. A light dust ikuku was blowing. (55)

(wind)

j. Lunch was jollof rice, fist size chunks of *azu* fried until the bones were crisp and *ngwo-ngwo*. (40)

(fish, goat head delicacy)

k. See if the stacks of *okporoko* will fit in too. (62)

(stockfish)

l. Kambili, you are so grown up now, a ripe *agbogho*. (72)

(a girl at puberty stage)

m. Papa would stop by our grandfather's house at our *ikwu nne*, mother's maiden home ---. (75)

(mother's maiden hometown)

n. Heathen festival, kwa? Everybody goes to Aro to look the *mmuo*. (82)

(spirits)

o. They need to know their father's homestead and members of their father's *umunna*. (82)

(kinsmen)

Code-switching

a. O joka! Eugene has to stop doing God's job. (104)

   (It is bad.)

b. *O di egwu.* I hope fuel comes soon. (140)

   *(*This is wonderful.)

c. *Chelukwa*. Wait a minute. (144)

   (Wait)

d. *O nkem.* It's mine. (215)

   (It is mine.)

e. *Igasikwa*! He will never agree to live here. (170)

   (You don't say.)

Code-mixing and code-switching are code choices available to bi/multilingual individuals. They are sociolinguistic outcomes of language contact. These authors employed these sociolinguistic realities to nativise English in their literary works while showing the relevance of the local languages and the nativised variety because "literary creativity involves a manipulation of language for beauty and signification" (Awa 53). Adichie, for instance, subtly and creatively infuses Igbo words and expressions into English sentences thereby nativising/domesticating English in her literary work.

In employing the switching and mixing of codes, these authors try to preserve the nativised variety (plus indigenous languages) and show its importance and aesthetics in speech. They converge with readers that speak these local languages and diverge with non-speakers. Non-speakers of these languages are excluded from the conversation since the authors did not bother with foot notes. Juxtaposing of sentences (Code-switching) was employed by the authors as a means of emphasis in order to avoid ambiguity and obscurity of expression. Communication accommodation theory and Cooperative principle have been applied here.

Research Question Four

How far does the nativised variety help authors in expressing their cultural heritage and African experiences?

> Every Nigerian who writes fiction in English today has his foundation in the oral heritage of his ethnic group. Every Nigerian who tells or writes a story today in whatever language is reflecting consciously or unconsciously something of his past, something of his people's or community's oral heritage. (Emenyonu 32)

Languages do not exist in isolation. They are connected to the culture of the people that use them. African writers that use English are largely faced with the problem of expressing their cultural heritage in an imperial language. According to Igboanusi,

> The problem with the use of English in creative writing by African writers is largely a problem of culture. It is, no doubt, a fact that a society's language is an aspect of its culture. African writers carry and transfer some of the cultural nuances of the indigenous African people into English. To be able to play its role effectively, the structure of native-speaker English has to be adjusted. It is on the basis of this postulation that this work supports Onwubu's 1976 view that for the English language to express, adequately, the way of life of a different culture, it must endure some internal structural changes (55)

Ibhawaegbele and Edokpayi concur:

> In a multilingual and bicultural society, literary artists are constrained in their literary works by many problems. One of such problems is the expression of African/Nigerian culture, experiences and worldview in English, the language of another culture. Nigerian novelists, like the poets and the dramatists, create literature deriving from Nigerian background, with varying local

> situation. To proffer solutions to language problems, the novelists modify English language and adopt various stylistic-creative strategies (12)

Some of these writers employ the nativised variety to make their literary works intelligible and socioculturally relevant. Language is indigenised and altered to create "a new English, still in full communion with its ancestral home but altered to suit its new African surrounding" (Achebe 100).

Adichie's *Purple Hibiscus* has a lot of the Igbo culture expressed in it. "She intersperses and dignifies her novel with Igbo expressions worked inimitably into the complex tapestry of her narrative" (Anyokwu 83). This author carefully projects the Igbo cultural heritage by situating it in its correct linguistic context, that is, the Igbo language. She nativises English by having Igbo words mixed up in English sentences. "Adichie herself talks about a kind of English that is rooted in a Nigerian (Igbo) experience and not a British or American or Australian one" (Onukaogu and Onyerionwu 298).

Cultural context of *Purple Hibiscus*

a. Heathen festival, *kwa?* Everybody goes to Aro to look the *mmuo*. (82)
b. Shhh! These are *mmuo*, spirits! (95)
c. I don't know how to do the *orah* leaves ---. (177)
d. Papa-nnukwu's *akwam ozu* is next week. (209)

e. Our yard was wide enough to hold a hundred people dancing *atilogu*, spacious enough for each dancer to do the usual somersaults and land on the next dancer's shoulders. (17)

f. --- the wives of the members of our *umunna* did the cooking. (64)

g. He would not throw away his *chi*; he had already told papa this many times. (69)

h. I honestly do not know how Ifediora came from an *umunna* like that. (82)

i. The *mmuo* had started to walk past, and often a long line of cars waited for an *mmuo* to walk past so they could drive on. (93)

j. You did not do the *ima mmuo*, did you? (95)

k. I thought the *igwe* was supposed to stay at his palace and receive guests. (101)

l. Aunty Ifeoma was silent as she ladled the thick cocoyam paste into the soup pot; then she looked up and said Papa-Nnukwu was not a heathen but a traditionalist, that sometimes what was different was just as good as what was familiar, that when Papa-Nnukwu did his *itu-nzu*, his declaration of innocence in the morning, it was the same as our saying the rosary. (173)

Igbo culture expressed in the above excerpts include masquerade (mmuo), initiation into masquerade cult (ima mmuo), akwa m ozu (burial), atilogu

(dance), umunna (kinsmen), itu nzu (prayer), igwe (king), chi(god), orah leaves (vegetable) and Papa nnukwu (grandfather). These examples do not have translation equivalence in English. Although these Igbo words have been transliterated into English, Adichie infused the original Igbo words into English sentences to nativise English while exhibiting her cultural heritage. Worthy of note is the phrase *orah leaves*. The English words *leaves* is attached to the Igbo word *orah* to show that a vegetable is being discussed.

Adichie clearly uses Igbo words to strengthen the cultural prowess of her literary text. These words do not have English equivalents but can either be transliterated or written in their original language which is Igbo. Socio-cultural meaning and relevance would have been lost in literal translation.

In identifying with her culture, Adichie converges with her Igbo speaking readers while diverging from non-speakers of the language. Non-speakers will have a problem comprehending the terms since the writer did not proffer explanations. Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie piquantly uses Igbo conceptual terms in order to underscore the practices and give a proper sense of local rootedness to what might seem to the ignorant outsider “airy nothings” (Anyokwu 87).

Yellow-Yellow

"Writers use language, the common middle ground and the writer's communicative tool, to convey or express their experiences as well as their cultures and backgrounds which they may not share with their readers." (Ajiboye and Ajiboye 115) Nigerian Pidgin has been creolised in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. *Yellow-Yellow* is set in Port Harcourt (Niger Delta) so, Agary uses Nigerian Pidgin to project Zilayefa's (protagonist) experiences in the city.

a) A bend down boutique (17)
b) Johnny just come (52)
c) *Mami wata* (71)
d) Go-slow-traffic(87)
e) Born-troway (87)
f) *Kilishi* (85)
g) father-unknowns (171)
h) Yellows (74)
i) Hit and run with a Portuguese trader (73)

A "bend down boutique" is where fairly used clothes are sold. They are also named after a town in Rivers State, Nigeria called Okrika. A JJC (Johnny Just Come) is a novice/ a new resident in a town. A "*mami-wata"* (mammy water) is a river goddess; this is prevalent in Nigeria especially in a riverine area like Port

Harcourt. “Go-slow-traffic” exemplifies the traffic situation in Nigeria where vehicles move slowly. Expatriates are ubiquitous in Rivers state because of its oil and these expatriates often woo women which leads to unwanted pregnancies, so “born- troway” and “father-unknowns” refer to the illegitimate children that are products of the love affair. Yellows refer to bi-racial kids. “Hit and run with a Portuguese trader” refers to the one-night-stand these women have with the expatriates.

Language is used to portray the protagonist’s experiences in the city and what other language is suitable if not the prevalent language in the city. The speech community in which the literary text is set is projected through language.

According to Ajiboye and Abioye,

> The lexical choices in *Yellow-Yellow* have been stylistically made to create a synergy between the language used in the text and the environment in which it is used. In other words, the linguistic inspiration and style of Yellow-Yellow is largely Nigerian. The inspiration is seen in the use of loan-words, loan blends and loan expressions ---. These choices are aesthetic and socio-culturally relevant to the linguistic composition of the text, as the culturally rich expressions are able to provoke vivid images the reader can readily identify with. (127)

This writer has actually decolonized her writing from any western influence. English is used in such a way that it is rooted in the African culture and experience. *Fine Boys* and *On Black Sisters' Street* do not have cultural contexts.

In nativising English to show their cultural heritage and African experiences, these authors strive to give adequate information with regards to culture, linguistic identity and society. They also nativise English to say the truth (give certain ideas and objects their actual names) about their culture since that which is obtainable in Nigeria (in terms of culture) does not exist among the Britons and Americans, so they obeyed the maxims of quantity and quality. These authors, on the other hand, converge with readers that understand their local languages and diverge with those that do not understand the languages. Grice's Cooperative Principle and Communication Accommodation Theory have been applied here.

Chapter Five

Observations, Recommendations, Conclusion and Suggestion for Further Studies

5.1 Observations

English has been nativised/indigenised/accultured in Nigeria. This sociolinguistic process is not a haphazard one but part of a process that has been taking place with regard to the interaction of English with the local languages and the cultures associated with them. Its spread around the globe has birthed many varieties of same language. The advent of English in Nigeria has produced sociolinguistic outcomes like pidginization, code-switching, code-mixing and others.

African writers who use the language have manipulated and tampered with it to project their African experiences. The nativised variety helps situate literary texts in their correct socio-cultural/sociolinguistic setting thereby giving the reader an insight into the African society. According to Emenyonu,

> Modern African writers see the need and admit a commitment for the restoration of African values, while at the same time accommodating those external influences and institutions which have become ineradicable (2).

Writers reclaim their identities through the use of the nativised variety and alterations of English, that is, building up their socio-cultural identities through language. Igboanusi asserts:

> Nigerian writers who use English as their creative medium do so in the consciousness of the fact that they are presenting a Nigerian experience, and most of them reveal in their works a specific mode of imagination which derives from the Nigerian background .(55)

African writers that employ the nativised variety use language to critique society. The intertwined relationship between language and society (social identities, ethnicity, gender) is brought to the fore. Altering the English language to add local flavour in literary texts is a way of promoting the indigenous languages, thereby curbing the hegemonic relationship between English and the indigenous languages.

5.2 Recommendations

The local forms of English should be accepted as a relevant variety of world Englishes and more African writers should use it to situate their works in their correct sociolinguistic contexts. Language is an integral part of culture and

writers can always alter English to project their culture and identity, that is, building up their socio-cultural identity through language.

> Proper linguistic codes should be assigned to characters in literary works. Writers should do away with stereotypical characterization of assigning Standard English to the educated and Nigerian Pidgin to the uneducated because in real life situations even the educated speak Nigerian Pidgin fluently whenever the occasion for it arises. “Assigning proper linguistic codes to characters is a way of capturing the sociolinguistic and socio-cultural realities of African life in the African novel.” (Bandia 93)

African writers should not strive to use the English language like a native speaker would. Nigerian literature should be written from Nigerian experience as a way of solving the linguistic problems (language dominance, language endangerment, linguicide) in Nigeria. Various stylistic and creative methods may be created to add aesthetics to works of literature. The nativised variety may be employed in literary texts to educate non-natives on the Nigerian cultures.

5.3 Conclusion

Languages are dynamic. Every language is nativised. English itself has grown from Old English - Middle English - Modern English and world Englishes and has borrowed extensively from languages like Latin, French, Greek and German.

English is existing and interacting with local languages and cultures in Nigeria and has acquired a local social meaning having adapted to the local and regional sociolinguistic conditions it finds itself in. Nigerian English is justified in cases where it invents or creatively forms words to express unique Nigerian socio-cultural experiences that are not lexicalized in Standard English. Usage errors should not be classified as Nigerian English since they are unintelligible in international communication.

The use of nativised English in literary works helps writers project their African experiences and culture while getting wide readership for their literary works. It is pertinent that a literary work should be situated in its right socio-cultural and sociolinguistic context and the nativised variety aids this process. Owolabi says:

> Nigerian writers use the English language for the specific needs of Nigerians, but which nonetheless will still pass the test of international intelligibility. In other words, these writers are rooted in Nigeria in the linguistic choice, but they spread their

> messages, like branches, to other parts of the world, where some of them have won one award or the other (489)

Suggestions for Further Research

This research was based on four literary works, namely *Fine Boys*, *Purple Hibiscus, Yellow-Yellow* and *On Black Sisters' Street* by four Nigerian authors. A similar study may be carried out using other literary works by other Nigerian/African writers.

The researcher worked on the nativisation of English in literary works (prose) and the outcomes of language contact in general, a research can be fully carried out on the use of deviant structures in poems, drama, newspapers and children's literature.

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