A STUDY OF VARIETIES OF WRITTEN ENGLISH IN NIGERIA

BY

FESTUS A. ADESANOYE

B.A. (Hons) English (Ibadan)
Certificat d'Assiduité (Dakar)

A Thesis in the

Department of ENGLISH

Submitted to the Faculty of Arts
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
of the

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN

October 1973.

ABSTRACT

The study postulates three varieties of English performance in the writings of Nigerians, and examines these in detail for their "common core" features and their "indexical markers".

In the Introduction is discussed the role of English in present-day Nigeria with a theoretical cline of the varieties erected, the pivot around which the investigations of the later chapters are hung. The second chapter examines specifically varieties three and two in the performance of Nigerian judges, while the third deals with the use of English in the Nigerian newspaper press. Chapter IV examines first-variety usage in Literary Nigerian English and the fifth chapter undertakes an examination of the language ability of the low-grade workers of the University of Ibadan, exponents of the first variety. Chapter VI, the final chapter, summarizes the findings of the investigations, makes some concluding statements, and suggests four possibilities for further research into Nigerian English.

In essence, the study identifies the linguistic features common to all the varieties examined, and their indexical markers. The study also suggests that, from the evidence of the thesis, third-variety performances in written English in Nigeria be regarded as Standard (Educated) written Nigerian English.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I gratefully acknowledge my debt of gratitude to the following for their contribution, one way or the other, to the successful completion of this work:

The authorities of the University of Ibadan, first of all, who in the first place offered me the scholarship with which to undertake the research.

Secondly, Professor Michael Gregory, Visiting Professor of English Language (1972/73 session) from York University, Toronto, Canada, whose "visit" was a most opportune one to me. He came at a crucial stage of the study - the "drafts stage" - and, as a subsidiary supervisor, read through the drafts, made most useful comments and - not seldom - corrections, all of which have made the study, on the whole, a more satisfactory (so I would like to think) piece of work.

To Dr. Ayo Banjo, my supervisor - and his, no doubt, was a fulltime job! - I can hardly express in adequate terms my most sincere gratitude. He was a most energetic and, more importantly, sympathetic counsellor, always ready with very valuable suggestions with regard to content as well as to exposition. He read through the various drafts - at times, in manuscript forms - uncompla-

iningly (a tribute to his long-suffering nature as I do not write exactly the best hand in Nigeria!). It is to him that I owe the genesis and scope of the study, the progress of which he has followed, step-by-step, until its completion. I shall always consider myself in his debt for his understanding and sympathy.

Fourthly, my sincere thanks are due to the staff of the University Registry (Establishments and Labour) for allowing me access to the "private and confidential" personal files of the junior and intermediate workers of the University of Ibadan wherefrom the data for the penultimate chapter. I am also indebted to the Chief Registrar and the staff of the High Courts of Justice, Ibadan, for permission to go through the files and Records of proceedings of the different courts for the materials for the second chapter of the thesis. They were most helpful.

I should also like to thank 'Bamitale, my wife, for a great and seemingly endless typing job. She typed the numerous drafts most cheerfully, and I don't know where I would have been without her. She was most helpful and always ready with a word of encouragement which, not infrequently during the course of the study, I badly needed!

Finally, my thanks are due to Mr. A.M. Fagbenro of the University of Ife Faculty of Health Sciences who typed the final copies of the thesis. His was a marvellous job.

It is needless to add, perhaps, that the imperfections that still remain in the work are the sole responsibility of the author.

Festus A. Adesanoye

CERTIFICATION

I certify that this work was carried out by Mr. F.A. Adesanoye in the Department of English, University of Ibadan.

(Supervisor)

L.A. Banjo, M.A. (Glasgow), M.A. (UCLA), Diploma in English Studies (Leeds), Ph.D. (Ibadan). Reader in the Department of English, University of Ibadan, Nigeria.

October 1973.

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I

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN NIGERIA: ITS IMPLANTATION AND GROWTH.

This first chapter will attempt to trace the development and the present status and role of the English language in Nigeria, the way it has evolved from the time it was first introduced by the missionaries and the colonial administrators and used as the official language of government and administration, to its present position as the de facto national language. Some attention will be paid to the gradual but unmistakable emergence of a local variety of English which, for the purpose of this study, is given the title "Nigerian English".

But first, a very brief history of its introduction to, and propagation in, the country will be sketched; for this historical view I am heavily indebted to Banjo.[1]

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1. Ayo Banjo, "A Historical View of the English Language in Nigeria", IBADAN, No. 28, pages 63-68.

A. Implantation

Standard British English came to Nigeria with the advent of the missionaries and later of the British colonialists who, because of the linguistic situation of the country then (and now), namely that Nigeria was (and still is) a multilingual nation (rough estimates put the number of languages in the country at over three hundred and fifty[1]), had no other alternative than to introduce their language as the official one. There was Pidgin already, admittedly, but this trade language which had developed as a language of convenience between the former (and recently displaced) Portuguese explorers and traders on the one hand, and the natives of the West African coast on the other, was found to be unsuitable and unacceptable. Pidgin was then, as it still is, regarded as a kind of bastard form of English which could not serve as a proper language of government.

It was then the policy of the administration to train a handful of Nigerians, an elite, who would be able to help the administrators as well as the missionaries

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1. The most recent survey into the number of Nigerian languages carried out by the University of Ibadan Department of Linguistics and Nigerian Languages puts the number at between 380 and 400. I am indebted to Professor Kay Williamson of the Department of Linguistics and Nigerian Languages for this information.

in their work: they would disseminate the knowledge acquired in English to the illiterate masses, using their own local languages. These educated few, as could be imagined, enjoyed very high regard from the local population, who were very impressed at the sight of their kinsmen, 'black' as they were, speaking to white men in the latter's language. This proved a great incentive towards the acquisition of this skill, a skill that brought with it such a high prestige, and not least, 'white' jobs with the corresponding emoluments. This, unhappily, gave rise to some occasions where these fortunate literate few were not at all chary of being high-handed. An episode, reported in the Nigerian Sunday Times of May 16, 1971, page 4, is a good example of the high-handedness that these people were prone to, just because they could use English. The Lagos Weekly Record of January 12, 1901, page 3, column 1, was commenting on the incident of a police sergeant who, for no other reason than that of annoying the elders of Ikorodu township, ordered some women who had gone to fetch water from the communal spring to commandeer and break the pots of all other women who went there that day. This nearly led to a riot in the town.

According to the Lagos Weekly:

> The privilege of deciding matters affecting land and marriage in respect to which the native chiefs were best informed and qualified to deal with has been taken from them and instead of the chiefs and elders of the town being responsible, responsibility is virtually vested in the hands of a youth whose only qualification is that he can read and write, and is a subaltern in the Police Force.[1]
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> (My italics)

We can easily see, then, the truth in Banjo's assertion that English, then, must have quickly become the most prized status symbol in Nigeria and there was no question, in such circumstances, of adopting one of the existing Nigerian languages as 'Koine'.[2]

Be that as it may, there is nothing to show that the administration, then or ever after, envisaged that English should be made a lingua franca for the country; it was the most convenient language of government, to be used as such, and no more. Their aim was not to produce bilinguals, and 'up till 1927', for instance,

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1. Sunday Times (Lagos), May 16, 1971, page 4, column 2: "Going to Archives with Bayo Ademilehin; Police Terror in Ikorodu".

2. Ayo Banjo, op.cit., page 64. The term 'Koine' is used here in the sense in which it is used by Banjo in the article under reference, i.e. as an official language.

'nothing had been done to take the matter of a good English text-book in hand'.[1] The attitude of the government seemed to be the encouragement of the different vernaculars, while not much more than a handful of Nigerians - those to assist them - needed be given competence in the English language skills.

One important thing to note at this point is the lack of any uniform, countrywide language policy. This "laissex-faire" attitude was to produce, in the long run, an unwelcome situation. It has been remarked that the administration seemed to favour the unimpeded development of the various indigenous languages; the northern part of the country seemed to have taken the administration at their word, for they (in the north) were for the use of the Hausa language as the Koine at least for that part of the country and, if possible, a lingua franca for the entire nation. The south, on the other hand, was in favour of English, and was at this time expressing concern at the way English was being taught in the schools. This concern must have resulted from an awareness in this section of the nation

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1. Ibid.

of the vital position of English in the modern world, where it has become one of the most widely-spoken languages, and one used for education which was needed in the country in order to be in step with the developed nations of the world. The result of this was that the majority of the English-speaking Nigerians were produced in the south, with the further consequence that 'today there are millions of adult Nigerians who are completely incapable of communicating with one another'.[1]

It was the approach of independence, paradoxically enough, which brought this question into focus again. Nigerians, to be able to govern and be governed, needed to be educated, and the only form of formal education available was in English. This naturally gave a new élan to the study of the language. To be able to fight successfully against the colonialists, the Nigerian nationalists needed to present a common front, and the English language, in view of the fact that Nigeria is a multi-tribal and multi-lingual entity,

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1. Ayo Banjo, Ibid., page 65.

without a common indigenous lingua franca, was the most useful weapon in the arsenal of these nationalists, in more ways than one. First, they were thus able to communicate with one another in matters affecting their common destiny. Secondly, and according to Bruce Pattison, 'for those who have succeeded the colonial power, English has been a liberating force. It expressed liberal traditions as well as imperialism, and they fought the latter with arguments from the former'.[1] It is thus not easy to over-state our debt to English at this crucial moment: it served as a unifying force and proved the weapon with which the colonialists were ably and successfully fought. Even today, with the apparent disappearance from the country of the "colonial masters", the language inherited from them still serves as the most effective way by which Nigerians from different parts of the country can, and do, communicate and do business with one another.

B. The Problems of a National Language

We shall now try to examine the question of a possible national language for Nigeria. Is there, in the country,

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1. Bruce Pattison, "The Problems of a Common Language", INSIGHT, No. 5, page 21.

a need for a national language, and if so, which language should it be, English (the language of colonialism with all the unhappy connotations that attach to it), or one of the indigenous Nigerian languages? and if the latter, which out of the numerous languages in the country, and why that particular choice?

The answer to the first question is clearly yes; there is certainly a need for a national language, if only to enhance inter-personal as well as inter-tribal communications in the country, language having always been a most potent unifying and uniformizing force. Which language, then, can best serve in this role, the English language, a non-indigenous language but one already serving as a kind of de facto national language, or Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba, Edo, to mention just four of the indigenous languages?

Ideally, of course, such a dilemma of a situation should not arise; a national language for any country ought to be one of the indigenous languages of that country; more specifically, Hausa or Igbo or Yoruba or any of the other L1's[1] in Nigeria ought to be the lingua franca. The reality of the situation in the country,

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1. The term L1 means first language.

however, does not make possible at the moment, a realization of this ideal. To be able to view the situation objectively, one must eschew all nationalistic sentiments which otherwise might becloud one's judgement.

We shall now try to discuss the difficulties and problems that inhere in the possibility of the choice of one indigenous language as the national language for the country. We shall then try to make a case for the retention and continued use of English as the national language for at least some time to come,[1] if we are not, under sentimental urges, to cut ourselves off from the living stream of ever-growing knowledge (to borrow a phrase from Patel).[2]

What problems, then, are likely to arise if we choose, say, Hausa as the lingua franca? It seems certain that such a choice would create more problems than could be easily solved. As a hypothesis, if Hausa were chosen, there is first the political implications that would be involved; it is not easy to see

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1. See Ayo Bamgbose's Linguistics in a Developing Country (an Inaugural Lecture) for a discussion of the question of a national language for Nigeria, pages 8-12.

2. M.S. Patel, "Teaching in English in India", English Language Teaching (ELT), XII, III, 1958.

how the other non-Hausa-speaking parts of the country would take such a decision without protest. It would surely be taken as an affront to them, and a first step in the desire of the native-speakers of Hausa to impose their way of living, their religion, in fact their entire culture on those who are non-Hausa. Suspicion would be engendered and there would be, more likely than not, organized and violent reactions to any such imposition.

To show that this is a possibility, we may cite an instance from Ghana, quoted by Norman Mackenzie.[1] Over a century ago, and after a lot of careful deliberation on the part of the missionaries, one of the three Twi dialects, Akuapem, was chosen as the one best suited for literature and religious texts; for over a hundred years, books, religious and school-texts, were produced in Akuapem.

The scheme worked reasonably well until, in a wave of nationalism, the Ashantis began to resent the imposition of a strange dialect, which incidentally was not unintelligible to the speakers of the other dialects, upon their children, and they rebelled against the teachers

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1. Norman Mackenzie, An Outlook for English in Central Africa: An Inaugural Lecture, (London: Oxford University Press), 1960, page 16.

(largely from rival tribes) who persisted in describing all deviations from their own Akuapem forms as errors always to be condemned and corrected. This was the case in Ghana, and one could guess that much the same thing would happen in Nigeria if such a situation arose.

This apart, the practical difficulties of such a choice would be formidable. Brosnahan[1] writing on this problem rightly noted that "It would be quite impractical for a very long time to come to develop the teachers, the books, and the schools ... which would be necessary for the teaching of Hausa as a national language". The other Nigerian languages in fact fare worse than Hausa in this regard.

These, then, are the two major problems that would seem, at the moment, to militate against any thought of such a scheme: the resentment and inter-tribal suspicion that would be engendered, and the practical difficulties that would be involved in teaching any such language. What most realistic people see as a possible solution to the problem is the continued use of English as the lingua franca. It should be remembered

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1. L.F. Brosnahan, "The Linguistic Situation in Tropical Africa", LINGUA, Vol. 12, No. 1, March 1963, page

that the language can be used without any consequent loss of face since it is no longer looked on as being the especial preserve of the British people, but rather as a kind of international language. Moreover, as Brosnahan pointed out in the same article, the use of English as at present, however awkward and expensive in other respects, at least obviates the inequalities which would be unavoidable with the use of a Nigerian language, as it puts everyone, so to speak, at an equal disadvantage, but does not engender the emotional response which could lead to inter-tribal friction.

This is a brief summary of the position of English in the country, and there is in fact at the moment no serious antagonism towards it.[1] This may be due to the fact that responsible opinion is well aware of the immense advantage - educational, social, economic - that will accrue to the country if English is retained. This realistic attitude of Nigerians to the situation has

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1. It needs to be admitted, however, that there is a second current of cultural nationalism which wants a greater role for Nigerian languages, even though it is usually realized that it would be impracticable to impose any one of them at the moment.

been commented on by Moody.[1] Nigerians, he says, are very realistic about the problem, and they have been able to separate their rejection of former colonialism (together with various forms of neo-colonialism) from their whole-hearted, single-minded acceptance of the language. "Students, teachers, administrators, leading figures both in the traditional hierarchies and the modern echelons have all admitted, without any resentment or flattery the vital role of English ... I have not met, or heard of, a single Nigerian who would not speak and write good English if he could - in addition, of course, to his mother tongue". One may quite quickly cite the name of Chinua Achebe, the well-known Nigerian novelist, as one of these leading figures who are of the opinion that English is the national language for the country at the moment. (Vide his article: "The English Language and the African Writer" in INSIGHT, No. 14, October-December 1966, page 18 ff.)

More relevant to our point here is what one could roughly describe as the general good-feeling towards the

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1. H.L.B. Moody, "Some Thoughts on English as a University Discipline in Nigeria", Journal of the Nigeria English Studies Association, (JNESA), Vol. 2, II, 1968, page 123.

language as exhibited in the attitude of the general 'uneducated' populace to it. Here a bit of generalization may be pardoned. It is within the experience of this writer, (and this can be verified by anybody who may so wish), that most illiterate parents in our towns and villages are very enthusiastic about their children's acquisition of English. The present writer's father, as a rough indication, in spite of the fact that he understands not a word of English, would always insist that letters written to him in English be first read out in that language, after which it would be translated into Yoruba. And his is by no means a unique case. In the eyes of most illiterate parents, the index of their children's academic ability is more often than not 'oral', meaning that a child will be considered brilliant if he speaks frequently in English, and vice versa, no matter what the 'Report Sheet' of these children might otherwise indicate.[1]

If a reason were to be sought for this, it would seem to be the parents' awareness of the handicap they

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1. This whole paragraph is largely based on the impressions of the writer, impressions got as a result of some more or less careful observation. It is safe to say that this will apply to a large extent to many of the parents in the villages and towns of the Western State of the country.

have been subject to mainly as a consequence of their lack of literacy, and it is very likely that they find some psychological satisfaction and uplift when they see their children speaking the language. Of course, all this explanation is nothing more than mere conjecture. One is here reminded of the episode in Chinua Achebe's Arrow of God[1] where the provident Chief Priest Ezeulu would like to send his son to the white man's church (and school in effect) so the son could become his 'ears' there, and so that he would not have to say "'had we known' tomorrow". And when one remembers that English is at present in the country the language of commerce, of administration, of education and of culture at all levels above the local, an adequate knowledge of which is an indispensable requirement for anyone to rise above or to live in any wider context than the village,[2] one will not find it very difficult to sympathize with those parents.

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1. Chinua Achebe, Arrow of God, African Writers Series, 1965, page 55.

2. L.F. Brosnahan, "Historical Cases of Language Imposition; the position in Nigeria", in John Spencer (ed.) Language in Africa. Cambridge University Press, 1963, page 22.

It can thus be seen what reasons lie behind the fact that most well-informed Nigerians seem to have come to terms with the linguistic situation as it at present exists in the country. First, it is the outward emblem of our unity. The case could be put in a nut-shell: while it is recognized that 'tribe and tongue may differ', and that 'in brotherhood we stand', we are really united in the English language which has tended to counteract the differences in tribe and tongue. Secondly, for the purposes of education and employment opportunities, if one is to get on in the country, then English is indispensable.

In order to consider the other advantages that the use of English brings to us, the scope of the discussion will be widened a little to include the importance of the language in the context of Africa, and the present status of Nigeria as a leading country in the 'black' portion of the continent. There is at the moment a general groping for inter-African unity, and the importance of language in this search cannot be over-emphasized. Effective communication between the different states of Africa is naturally the first and most vital step to be

taken if this unity is to be achieved, and language, the most important means of communication known, comes very largely into the picture here. Most African states speak French or English or Arabic, but it seems that English is taking sure precedence among them. Bruce Pattison summarizes the situation thus:

> Since independence the emergent territories have felt a need to make contact with each other ... In Africa, English- and French-speaking territories are beginning to learn each other's languages ... The "non-aligned" forces in Africa and Asia have found English the most useful medium for discussion among themselves: it was the working language of both the Bandung Conference of 1955 and the Accra Conference of 1957.[1]

We can now see why the English language is so important in this quest for African unity; a common language is needed for communication between the different tribes of the continent (there are between one and two thousand languages in Africa)[2]. And, according to Chinua Achebe, "the only reason why we can even talk about African unity is that when we get together we can

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1. Bruce Pattison, op.cit.

2. Robert G. Armstrong, "Vernacular Languages and Culture in Modern Africa", in Language in Africa (ed.) John Spencer, page 65.

have a manageable number of languages to talk in - English, French, Arabic - if colonialism failed to give them [the different ethnic groups of Africa] a song, it at least gave a tongue for singing".[1]

That there is at the moment no single indigenous African language that can serve as a kind of inter-African lingua franca is very true.

There are in fact few languages in the continent with over ten million speakers.[2] Given such a situation then, there is urgent need for some external language(s) of wider communication. A sad commentary on this linguistic situation is provided by Pierre Alexandre, where he, a Frenchman, had to serve as an interpreter (French-English) between two black Africans. Here is his story:

> J'ai personnellement servi d'interprète franco-anglais, à Leopoldville, entre deux Bantu: un refugié xhosa d'Afrique du Sud et un leader nationaliste congolais. On pourrait multiplier les exemples analogues, qui tendraient tous à prouver

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1. Chinua Achebe, "The English Language and the African Writer", INSIGHT, No. 14, Oct.-Dec., 1966, page 18.

2. These languages are Swahili, Hausa, Yoruba, Amharic, Nguni and Fula.

> que l'anglais et le français sont actuellement les seules langues vehiculaires par-africaines et que leur emploi sera, longtemps encore, une necessité absolue pour les hommes d'Etat et diplomates négro-africains.[1]

Until it is possible, therefore, to take one of the African languages as the lingua franca for the continent, a possibility that is not easy to foresee, we must be content with using one of the already established world languages which have been bequeathed to us by our former colonial masters. It seems most likely that English is going to be the most obvious choice in this respect.

It has been remarked earlier on that the English language is steadily becoming the most important language

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1. I personally served as interpreter (French-English) in Leopoldville between two Bantu Africans: one a Xhosa from South Africa and the other a Congolese nationalist leader. Instances can be cited almost ad lib., which would all tend to prove that English and French are at present the only media of inter-African communication, and the use of these two languages will continue to be, for a long time, an absolute necessity for African statesmen and diplomats. (My translation).

   Pierre Alexandre: "Problems linguistiques des Etats négro-africaines à l'heure de l'independence", Cahiers d'Etudes africaines, 6 Vol. II, 2e Cahier, pages 177-195.

in the world. What has not been mentioned is that this importance is due, not least, to its role as the language of science. This is another strong reason for its present popularity in the country, as much premium is placed on the teaching and learning of science and technology on which will depend the development of the country into a viable modern state. The daily newspapers are full of reports of people from different echelons of society clamouring for science, and for more science.

And to really study science, in Nigeria as well as elsewhere, a good knowledge of English is a sine qua non. The matter has been well put by Van Cott: "... It may be said that English is the language of science and technology. The great majority of all the publications in any given scientific discipline are written in English. In physics, for example, over 60% of all publications are in English... Many scientific articles written in languages other than English are accompanied by an English abstract. Actually, more scientific material is translated into English than into any other language. Any scientist today who does not have a working knowledge of English is cut off from half or more of the literature

in his field".[1]

Thus Harold P. Van Cott, and his is a fair summary of the situation. With reference to Nigeria the situation is very clear: everybody wants economic progress for the country; this economic progress can only be achieved if we possess the scientific know-how; this know-how is in turn dependent on a sound knowledge of the English language.

Scientific education aside, there is in the world today a desire for mutual understanding and communication which will ultimately lead to international peace, a real ignis fatuus in recent years. For effective intermondial dialogue, then, a kind of common language is necessary, indeed indispensable, considering the multitude of language in the world. The English language appears to be satisfying this need at the moment. There are today over 260 million speakers of the language[2] to be found all over the globe; it is the language of civil aviation; it is one of the official languages of the

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1. Harold P. Van Cott: "The Role of English in Nigeria", English Language Teaching in Nigeria, edited by Robert Jacobs, Chapter III, page 35.

2. Albert C. Baugh, A History of the English Language, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., (London), 1951, page 4.

United Nations Organization; it has been said that in the world as a whole newspapers and periodicals printed in the language are nearly as numerous as all others put together, and, to cite one other example of its pre-eminence, films shot in most non-Anglophone countries - in France, Russia, Sweden, etc. - usually have English sub-titles to them, and this, of course, is to attract and capture a wider viewership than would otherwise have been possible. The Times Literary Supplement has commented on the fact that "Russia and other countries of Eastern Europe have most ambitious programmes of publishing in English "because by doing this they are able to reach with a single effort a vast audience, otherwise to be tackled piecemeal, with great difficulty".[1] To cite one final example; no less a figure than Prime Minister Nehru admitted, while addressing a meeting of the State Education Ministers held at New Delhi on 2nd September 1956, the importance of English (for his country and for the world): "English", he said, "is being taught to more and more people in

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1. The Times Literary Supplement, August 10, 1962, "A Language in Common".

countries like the Soviet Union and China. We are naturally driven to it principally because we know it a good deal, we have people who can teach it, and because it is the most important language in the world".[1]

All this is to suggest that English is already fulfilling the de facto role of a world language. There have been attempts to fashion some sort of artificial world languages, but the languages - Esperanto and Interlingua, to name two of these - have not met with unqualified success because they are artificial and hence not 'living'. To be really useful as a means of communication a language needs to be more than purely ad hoc, which these artificial languages are, and should have speakers who use it actively and continuously. It is thus not very difficult to understand why English, a living language with millions of speakers, is able to supplant any such artificial languages. English has, moreover, been described as possessing a Germanic skeleton with international flesh, a reminder of the fact that the language is an inveterate and prodigious borrower - from Latin, French, Greek, and many other

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1. M.S. Patel, op.cit.

languages. A copious vocabulary such as has English has its problems, Pattison admits, "but its resources and adaptability are without parallel. It has a much better chance of becoming the chief world language than others, if it is not that already".[1] (Italics are mine).

To bring the discussion back home to Nigeria, most informed Nigerians are well aware of all the above, and this is surely responsible for the fact that Nigerians in official positions are very cautious when there is any question or discussion on the problem of a national language for the country. There was, in fact, a debate in the University of Ibadan some years ago on this questions, and the Chairman was a then Cabinet Minister. At the end of the debate he was quoted as having said, and reiterated three times, that he was not to be quoted as having taken either side in the argument, as he definitely had not. A not exactly dissimilar situation to this was recorded by Alexandre, as a result of an interview he once had with a Mali minister. This, in Alexandre's view, is the attitude of most educated Africans to their second languages:

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1. Bruce Pattison, op.cit.

> 'Il reste que l'attitude dominante de beaucoup de responsables africains est assex bien résumée par la réponse d'un ministre du Mali auprès duquel je plaidais la cause des langues africaines. "Le français", me dit-il, "est bien assez bon pour nous"![1]

His remarks are quite apt, considering all that has been said earlier on in this study.

We may now summarize some of the points that have been made in greater or lesser detail in this chapter. English is recognised as absolutely essential to us in the search for internal unity in the country, in the quest for inter-African communication and, not least, in the hope for scientific education and economic progress which will make us cease from being always 'developing' and become the more positive 'developed'.

The whole discussion up to this point may be meaningfully rounded off with this editorial comment of the

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1. "It appears that the dominant attitude of many responsible Africans may well be summarized by the answer of a Mali minister when I was trying to plead the cause of African languages. 'French', he assured me, 'is good enough for us'.
(My translation).

Pierre Alexandre, op.cit., pages 177-195.

Nigerian Daily Express of 23rd November 1961 (a year after independence) when the wave of nationalism was still waxing strong in the breasts not only of the politicians of those days but of most Nigerians. There was a debate in the House of Representatives on the whole question of a national language for the country. The Daily Express commented:

> Parliament should be more careful about involving itself in the language tangle into which it is now being drawn. English is the accepted official language, the one outward expression of all that unites the various peoples of this country ... to seek to replace English with some vernaculars at a particular dateline is asking for more than the greatest nationalist of them all can handle.

The points expressed here seem to have been well taken, as there has not been since any sustained agitation for the jettisoning of English and for its replacement by an indigenous language.

C. Any "Nigerian English"?

It has been shown in the earlier section of the chapter that English has been with us in this country for quite some time now. The point is now being hazarded that this has been more than enough time for the language to start developing some marked characteristics of its

own which tend to make it distinctive from Standard British English and probably from all other Englishes. The question now is whether these characteristics are all strong enough to mark out, unambiguously, the English of Nigeria as a variety of World Standard English (WSE henceforth) in the same way, for instance, as it is possible to talk of an American English. Put slightly differently, the question is whether there is at this moment a variety of English in the country that can be given the name of "Nigerian English". This question has been touched on incidentally in an earlier section of the chapter. Here we intend to devote some time and space to it. It must be stated quite clearly at the outset that it is the assumption that there is such a thing as Nigerian English that underlies the entire study; this, however, may be to anticipate.

What, then, is "Nigerian English"? The answer to this question is what the succeeding chapters of the study will attempt to give. But to be able to do this well, we need to consider the role that English is playing in Nigeria's national life, the fact that it is

our second language.[1]

One may then begin by placing the whole concept of a Nigerian variety of English in the wider framework of a possible World Standard English. On this and the desirability of adopting one out of the many varieties of English existing in the world today as the one to teach as model wherever in the world the language is used and taught, be it as a second language or as a foreign language, much has been written and said. The benefits that will result if this WSE can be decided and agreed upon will surely be immense. But this, it is realized, is an ideal difficult to realise. Many people, in fact, feel that one variety of English is as good as another, and each should be allowed to develop in its own way and along its own line as long as inter-comprehensibility of all existing varieties is not in any way jeopardized. If it is necessary to prescribe one type of English as the WSE, says Paul Christophersen,

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1. By this term is meant a language that is studied not as a foreign language - the way, for instance, French or Russian, etc. may be studied in Nigeria - but as an all-purpose language, often as useful as, and sometimes more so than, the mother tongues of the people acquiring the language. It is thus the case in Nigeria that English is more important than any L1, and it is here a second language.

"we need not for that reason proscribe other forms of educated English, whether British or American ..."

He continues:

> At the present day, the language that offers the best prospect of becoming the international medium of our age is English; but if that is to happen we cannot expect the language to remain pure in the sense of conforming closely to one of the existing forms...
>
> Nothing could be further from my mind than to advocate or encourage unnecessary separatism in language, but we have to face the fact that a language develops variant forms to express variations in outlook.[1]
>
> (Italics are mine).

This quotation is Christophersen's statement of what has nowadays become a linguistic truism, that when a language is exported from its native abode to another place, (and is then used in this other place as the major vehicle of communication, an all-purpose language) there is bound to emerge, in its new place of operation, a kind of local variety of that language "to express variations in outlook".

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1. Paul Christophersen, "Towards a Standard of International English", ELT, XIV, III, 1960, page 127.

Such is the case with English in Nigeria, where it has become so important, as a matter of fact, that whereas one would certainly be at a disadvantage if one spoke (and wrote) all the major indigenous languages (L1's) of the country and was not literate in English, one would be a privileged person if one spoke it and knew nothing about the indigenous L_1's.

D. Varieties of Nigerian English

In this type of situation then, a kind of Nigerian variety of English is bound to evolve, and in fact, many Nigerian scholars of English (the views of some of whom will be examined in a moment) have started to discover and identify some characteristics of English in the country which are quite distinguishable from those of the other Englishes of the world; characteristics which render this English (in Nigeria) distinctive as a more or less independent continuum of dialects.

It seems necessary that the assertion which has been made that there are different varieties of English be qualified; this is to add that the differences which are to be apprehended in these different varieties are much more apparent in their spoken forms (phonology) than

in the written (graphics). The following quotation from David Abercrombie, which parallels as well as complements the earlier one from Christophersen, will serve as a springboard from which further observations can be made. He remarks, inter alia, that "it would be misleading ... to claim that Standard English is exactly the same wherever in the world it may be spoken or written. There are undoubtedly differences ... but they are really trivial and insignificant beside the astonishing homogeneity of Standard English the world over ..."[1] The stand taken in this study is that this basic homogeneity talked about is not to be disputed, and that, more importantly, the "really trivial and insignificant differences" that Abercrombie seems to be underplaying here are not always insignificant in view of the fact that these are the things that mark out and make distinctive the different varieties of English that are known in the world today.

To return to the question of a Nigerian variety of English and its distinguishing marks; it has already

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1. David Abercrombie (1955), "English Accents", The Speech Teacher, Vol. 14, pages 10-18.

been mentioned that not a few Nigerian scholars of English are of the opinion that it is not too difficult to isolate and discuss such marks of this new dialect of English. There is, as yet, no consensus of opinion about this; some scholars are rather sceptical about this phenomenon, and would see in the above-mentioned unique and distinguishing marks of Nigerian English nothing more serious than deviations from Standard British English, deviations which have resulted out of the very inadequate manner the English language skills have been imparted and acquired in the country. Of this view, for instance, is Adebisi Salami whose own strong objection is based on his contention that there is, as yet, no acceptable definition of an 'educated Nigerian', and until this is done there cannot be any discussion whatsoever as to the existence or otherwise of 'educated Nigerian English'. This contention will be refuted later on. Meanwhile, the discussion will be centred on one of the scholars who are of the opinion that a Nigerian variety of English is very much in evidence.

N.G. Walsh, (a British citizen but once resident in the country), has been able to identify some of the

features of 'Nigerian English'. Although it is not at all difficult to pick holes in a lot of Walsh's[1] assertions (Salami[2] has done this), it cannot be denied that some of these assertions cannot be easily controverted. According to Walsh, there are certain usages in those Nigerian newspapers published in English that occur nowhere else in the world. The first objection that can be made (which Salami did make) is that this observation sounds too complacently ex cathedra for one's liking, especially when Walsh produces no statistical evidence of any kind to substantiate his claim that certain usages "occur nowhere else in the world". And granted, for argument's sake, that such usages do occur, what evidence is there to show that these usages are 'educated Nigerian', in view of the fact that the majority of the journalists writing for these newspapers are not people one would consider particularly well-educated (at least, in the formal sense)? A large proportion of them, indeed, have

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1. N.G. Walsh, "Distinguishing Types of Varieties of English in Nigeria", Journal of the Nigeria English Studies Association (JNESA), Vol. 2, Nov. 1967, page 47.

2. Adebisi Salami, "Defining a 'Standard Nigerian English'", JNESA, page 102.

not gone beyond secondary level of education and while it may be the case that a few of them (and this is within this writer's experience) have passed one or two subjects at the Advanced Level of the London General Certificate of Education, it is usually the case that a pass in English language has eluded them, year after year. Can anybody then be right to take the peculiar usages that occur in the writing of such writers as educated Nigerian usages, which should form the basis of our own variety in the country? Walsh quotes as instances, the way a criminal usually 'fled into a bush for his dear life', and the way the collective noun 'equipment' is usually pluralized in a sentence such as 'All the equipments arrived', and he asserts, pontifically:

> This is what we really mean by 'Nigerian English': these two expressions and others like them have been used so widely and for so long in Nigeria that they have ceased to be merely imperfectly-learned British English and have now become part and parcel of the English language as it is known here ...1

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1. N.G. Walsh, op.cit., page 47.

Walsh's "two expressions" are very clearly errors and have not at all ceased "to be merely imperfectly-learned British English", as one is safe to assert categorically that the majority of educated Nigerians would not write this way. Here Walsh has found it difficult to distinguish between his 'imperfect English' and the genuine Nigerian expressions which should be regarded as Educated Nigerian English (ENE henceforth).

It is much easier, however, to be in accord with him when, in the same article, he makes the point that it is those forms employed generally by educated speakers and acceptable to them that should be the basis of, and be considered, standard regional variants, marking off the Nigerian type from other forms of English. This is a propitious moment for a resumption of our discussion of Salami's hypothesis.

After taking strong exceptions to most of the points raised by Walsh in his article (discussed above), Salami[1] submits that "until we have worked out a generally acceptable formula or criterion for determining an 'educated Nigerian', or have evolved a practical defini-

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1. Adebisi Salami, op.cit., page 102.

tion for 'ENE'[1] and for a 'Standard Nigerian English', any discussion of Nigerian English (NE) is bound to be meaningless ..." Interestingly enough, he has taken a stance earlier in the article which, pursued to its logical conclusion, would amount to an ipso facto denial of the existence in the country of an educated Nigerian; he lumps together people of various and very disparate educational attainments as possible (or, not impossible) aspirants to the epithet 'educated' - graduates, primary school teachers, standard-six-passed foremen, etc. - as all these, according to him, speak and write English. What is wrong with this concept is not the fact that all these people are described as 'educated' - they undoubtedly are, in the widest sense of the word - but the fact that Salami does not feel that, for the kind of thing he is trying to do, there ought to be a standard of "educatedness", however hypothetical.

He quotes, apparently with approval, Randolph Quirk's definition of an educated man as one who has a sufficiently wide and varied command of English to

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1. ENE is short for Educated Nigerian English.

converse intelligently with a farm labourer, a politician, a physicist, etc., to a certain degree. Making a paraphrase of Quirk's dictum, Salami defines the educated Nigerian as one who has sufficiently wide command of either Yoruba, Hausa, Igbo, Arabic, French or English to converse intelligently (in the language) with anyone to a certain degree. Quite sound reasoning. Salami has, however, unwittingly provided a definition of an educated Nigerian user of English as one who is able, like his British counterpart, to operate various registers of English that are to be found in the country, and able to switch effortlessly from one register to another. What this means in effect is that the user of educated Nigerian English must be able to converse intelligently with the night watch-man on the street, the office-cleaners at the numerous secretariats, the Cabinet Ministers [illegible], professors in the universities, etc., [illegible], using the appropriate registers; the operative word here is "intelligently" (or perhaps more appropriately, intelligibly). To speak to a night watch-man the same way as one would talk to a professor of English, for instance, would be considered inappropriate and hence 'uneducated'.

Salami's contention that although many indigenous Arabic scholars can neither speak nor write in English they are not for that reason to be classed as uneducated is a point well taken. But this contention vis-a-vis the concept of an educated user of English seems to miss the point at issue. The question can be asked whether it would be correct to call the French, the Russians, the Italians, etc. who may be professors and scientists in their different countries educated speakers of English. If Salami's indigenous Arabic scholars, against whom "very few professors, graduates, journalists or even language specialists can withstand in intelligent /perhaps not very intelligible, since they will be using Arabic in this/ sound and reasoned discussion on a number of subjects", cannot converse so intelligently in English, then they are educated Arabic scholars but surely not educated Nigerian users of English. Considering what has already been said earlier on that English and education in Nigeria have developed side by side, it can only be in the widest sense possible that somebody will be called 'educated' in the Nigerian context who has not got a good command or knowledge of English. Such a

person will be barred from the Bench of the country, from its Parliament, from its Civil Service, from its Clergy, from, in fact, all the essential services of the country. Wherein then lies his 'education' if he cannot fit into any of these social situations in the country? What we have come up with so far is two oppossing viewpoints: that of Walsh (and many Nigerian scholars) that there is already in existence at least one kind of Nigerian dialect of English, and Salami's view, on the other hand, that such a concept has to be viewed with a lot of scepticism. Some effort has been made to expose some of the weak points in the arguments of both with a decided bias in favour of the former's stand (with, of course, a lot of reservations).

It is the much more productive postulates of another Nigerian scholar of English which will be discussed now. Banjo[1] has been able to identify some of the features that characterize Nigerian English, although he is more concerned with the phonology of this than with the

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1. Ayo Banjo, "Towards a Definition of Standard Nigerian Spoken English". Paper read to the Congress of the West African Linguistic Society, Abidjan, March 1969. It is published in Actes du 8e Congrès de la Société Linguistique de l'Afrique Occidentale, Abidjan, 1971, pages 165-175.

written forms. It should be possible, however, to relate his postulates to written English in Nigeria.

Grosso modo, Banjo distinguishes four varieties of spoken English in the country. The first variety is that form of English spoken by semi-literate people whose educational level is not really much higher than they very elementary. Here, there is a great deal of linguistic carry-over from the speaker's L1 to English. Speech is complemented with a lot of gesticulations and other para-linguistic features, on which features may indeed depend the intelligibility of such discourses. There is as much problem with English syntax as with its phonology, and quite often this variety is not of much use as a means of communication within the country, let alone among English-speaking countries. It is, therefore, socially unacceptable (within the country) and internationally unintelligible.

The second variety is the form used by about seventy-five percent of Nigerian speakers of English. It is characterized by such features as passable syntactic constructions, although there is phonological negative transfer from the speaker's L1. This variety is largely

intelligible (and acceptable) within the country, but not very useful as a means of communication outside it. The speakers of this variety usually fail to make the vital phonemic distinctions between such pairs of words as the following, for instance,

hit - heat

hat - heart

spot - sport

pull - pool

ship - sheep, etc.

and also fail to make easily intelligible reproductions of such Standard British English vowels and diphthongs as those in lick, lark, luck, look, lurk, lake, poke and lain[1] with the result that instant intelligibility is impaired.

The third variety, used by about ten per cent of Nigerian speakers of English, is, according to Banjo, the best of the varieties to attempt to cultivate in the

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1. For these examples I am indebted to Peter Strevens: "Pronunciation of English in West Africa", in his Papers in Language and Language Teaching, (London: Oxford University Press), 1965, page 121.

country. The essential phonemic distinctions between such pairs of words as those above are made, and this makes for immediate intelligibility of the variety to educated speakers from other Anglophone countries. The major difference between this and Standard British English is that it has the same deep structures as the latter but with Nigerian surface structures. This variety, therefore, should form the basis of 'Spoken Nigerian English". It is intelligible both within and without; it retains the distinctive quality, a specific accent, which marks it out as really Nigerian; it is socially acceptable in the country.

The fourth variety is the form used by the people who affect the "Received Pronunciation" of Standard British English, and this usually by Nigerians who are often referred to in the country as "been-tos", people who, in the eyes of Nigerians, appear to be overdoing things, or who speak English as their first language either because they were brought up in England or one of their parents is a native speaker of English. The variety is internationally intelligible but is not acceptable within the country.

The above, in a nutshell, summarizes Banjo's analysis as it relates to spoken English in the country. An attempt will now be made to relate his varieties to written Nigerian English.

It is postulated in this study that there are three main varieties of written English in the country. The first is the form used by semi-literate users of the language who have passed Primary Six (or its equivalents) or Modern Three, whose only claim to formal education is the fact that they have attended any school at all. The English language performance of such people is quite clearly inadequate for any but the most trivial of purposes. In formal terms, this variety exhibits, both syntactically and lexically, a lot of L1-prompted features (which will tend to diminish as we ascend towards the two upper varieties). There are usually in this variety performance, a lot of maze (i.e. not easily intelligible) structures and also of orthographic deviations as a result of insecure visualization and confusion of similar words. An example of the exponent of this variety is the Nigerian author of The Palmwine Drinkard (Amos Tutuola) whose claim to fame is not a result of his impeccable command of Standard English.

The majority of the journalists who write for our second-rate Nigerian newspapers, such as the Daily Tribune, The Sketch, belong to this variety bracket.

The second variety, Banjo's most 'democratic', is that written by a large majority of English users in this country. It is characterized by such formal features as passable syntactic constructions exhibiting far fewer translations of mother-tongue structures than the first variety. It is therefore readily intelligible because of the non-deviance (in most cases) of the syntactic and lexical categories employed. This variety comprises, in the rank and file of its users, most secondary school leavers, sixth formers, many University students (especially those in their first year), the better office-clerks, the junior members of the Nigerian Bench, and so on. It is necessary to state here that this notional categorization into varieties cannot be too definite, as competence in English varies from one individual to another even if these are within the same variety column.

The third variety is the highest of our varieties of written English. Syntactically and lexically, there is hardly anything to distinguish it from educated written English from

other English-speaking countries. Deviant features (from Standard English) are, where they occur at all, very few and the phenomenon of L1 negative transfer is very rare. This will be represented by the kind of English as is used by university dons, senior members of the Bench, most lawyers, graduate teachers, the editors and feature writers of the better class Nigerian journals senior civil servants, and many final year students of the Universities.

In terms of written Nigerian English, the present writer feels that it is impractical to talk of a fourth variety usage not because there are no Nigerians who write with native-like competence in the language (there probably are a few) but because it has been found impossible to identify enough of such writers to provide material that could be analysed for the study. This is why Banjo's fourth variety of spoken English, discussed on page 52 of this thesis, will find no equivalent in the discussions of this thesis.

It is, therefore, our thesis in this study that the third variety should be the foundation of written Nigerian English, as Banjo's third-variety should be regarded as the

one to be cultivated as spoken Nigerian English.

The question now is whether this variety has got any distinctive quality that can be abstracted as constituting its special distinguishing features from all other forms of educated English. We have said earlier on that the grammar of our postulated Nigerian English (if variety three is to be the foundation) will not be very different from that of Standard British English.

What remains to be done now is to erect a kind of cline of varieties of written English in Nigeria, using our/ variation as the three components of the cline. This will, in a diagrammatic form, summarize most of the points already made with regard to this question. It is necessary to reiterate here that this attempt to correlate the competence and performance of a variety user with, among other things, his level of education, should by no means be considered as fool-proof or definitive.

On the cline (see Table below)are three points, each of which corresponds very roughly to one of the varieties of written English that can be observed in the country. Just slightly above the zero level of the cline are the exponents of the first variety, and at the

TABLE 1

Third Variety	Exponents: Most final year students of the Universities, University dons, professionals - the superior judges, lawyers, administrators (those in the administrative grade in the Civil Service), the editors and feature writers of the better Nigerian journals, Nigerian authors, etc. Formal features: Very few syntactic/lexical deviations from standard English; pellucid structures, adequate vocabulary.
Second Variety	Exponents: Secondary grammar school leavers, sixth-formers, many first-year university students, the magistrates, most journalists, etc. Formal features: Fairly faultless English; few occurrences of L1-prompted structures; little or no problem with English orthography; some cases of confused usage in lexis. Intelligible if not impeccable English.
First Variety	Exponents: Primary school leavers (or their equivalents in other parts of the country); Modern school graduates. Adults who have acquired some form of English somewhere. Amos Tutuola (the Nigerian novelist). Formal features: Many deviant features of syntax and lexis, mostly as a result of L1 negative transfer. Inadequate visualization leading to misspelling of words. Very inadequate vocabulary. A lot of translations from the mother tongue to English.
Zero	Performance in English is nil.

A CLINE OF VARIETIES OF WRITTEN ENGLISH IN NIGERIA

uppermost level of the cline are those third-variety users whose competence in English is not far short of the native speaker's. Between them lies the second variety. The formal characteristics of each of the varieties have also been included within each variety column.

E. Correctness and Nigerian English

One important question to which we shall now turn is that of "standard" and "correctness" in Nigerian English. We have observed already that there is not much difference between what can be called educated usage here and that of elsewhere. This means, therefore, that the standard to be taught as 'correct' in Nigeria should be very similar to Standard British English.

It is with the foregoing paragraph in mind that we should try to discuss D.B. Adegoke's[1] contention, in an article that appeared in Insight of April 1969, which, put crudely, amounts to a plea for linguistic anarchy in the country. After some more or less erudite quotations from a number of authors - George Eliot and

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1. D.B. Adegoke, "Standard English?" INSIGHT, April 1969, Vol. 24, page 21 ffg.

Baugh are two of these - Adegoke came to the conclusion that "such English as Amos Tutuola's Yoruba English, John Ploughman's proverb-infested English, clichés, journalese, Nigerianese ... are all 'correct'", and he asks, rhetorically, that if all these are correct "where lies the exclusive standardness of one type of English?" Nobody would seek to seriously deny that all the Englishes mentioned by Adegoke here have some right to the common label English. What one could not possibly accept as foolproof is his thesis that, because all these forms of English are 'functional' and have their proper places (he did not expatiate, but we may presume that he meant these forms can be appropriate under certain circumstances) they are correct. True enough, he made some effort to warn school-boy readers that his "argument should not be interpreted to mean that there is no standard at all to which young learners of English may/must aspire". How else he would want school-boy readers to take his argument is not very clear, when he could declare, in effect, that such passages as these two from Amos Tutuola:

> And it were these sixteen cowries were going to explain to the soothsayer in the code words of what Simbi wanted to

> know, and often he had studied the code words then he would explain it to Simbi in plain words.[1]

and

> In the evening, she sacrificed the cock to his head, so that she might be able to return safely to her mother having vanished for several years, thus the sooth-sayer has explained to her.[2]

are 'correct', when he had himself called it "Yoruba English". If these passages are correct, one wonders if there can be anything that may be justifiably called incorrect English. And when we remember that this stand is being taken in a country where English is not the first language, where, in fact, to ensure its intelligibility not only within the country but outside, it must not diverge too sharply from what is obtaining in other English-speaking areas of the world, it is then that the seriousness and implications of Adegoke's plea for "anything goes" (if it is 'functional') will be more easily realised. What should be done in the country is not to foster this kind of 'liberal' and ultimately self-defeating attitude to English

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1. Amos Tutuola, Simbi and the Satyr of the Dark Jungle (London, Faber and Faber), 1955, page 11.

2. Ibid., page 14.

(for the reasons already given) but we should be 'prescriptive' and, even, proscribe what forms are not considered standard English, and encourage learners to cultivate those which are regarded as correct. We may need to be conservative in our approach to the English-language situation of this country if we are not to be saddled before too long with a 'Nigerianese' that will be unintelligible anywhere outside Nigeria.

Impinging on this last point is the recent and indefensible attitude of the West African Examinations Council (henceforth WAEC) towards this whole question of the English language in Anglophone West African countries. In the past, before 1964 to be precise, a credit pass in the language was considered a pre-requisite for an award to any candidate of the Council's Division One or Division Two certificate. This decision must have had tangible effects on the general performance in the language at that time. English was then, in a very real sense, the most important (and feared, perhaps) of all the subjects; it was a subject to be tackled whole-heartedly, if not always enthusiastically. The result, in any event, was the

same: a fairly high standard of English language competence in those students who did manage to secure the certificates.

Since December 1964, however, the WAEC has taken what has been referred to as an indefensible stand, that a Division One certificate may be, and often is, given to any student who does creditably well in other subjects (especially in the Sciences), but who does poorly in English. The result is that there are now in the Universities many students whose competence in English is definitely miserable. The recent outcry everywhere in the country today is not completely unconnected with this attitude of the WAEC. It is heartening to note in this regard what one can call the "official" attitude to the whole question, namely, that most employers in and outside the Public Services of the country have been relentless in the enforcement of the former "No pass in English, no employment" rule.

The Universities, on the other hand, have taken a stance that can be described as middle-of-the-way. If a student is applying to read for an Arts degree, a

credit pass in English language is still obligatory; for a Science student (and not a student of the Social Sciences) this condition may be waived, and often is, if such a student has done very well in his Higher School Certificate Examination, or in the Entrance Examination to Preliminary courses (where such exist).

To judge by the new WAEC syllabus, it seems that the Council is reconsidering its stand on this question by reverting to the former more realistic position when a credit pass in English was required before one was issued a certificate of any worth at all. It is hoped that, as a result of this decision, standards in the English performance of students taking the examination will improve visibly before too long.

F. Aims

Before concluding this introductory chapter, it is essential to state clearly the method that will be adopted in approaching the study. The three postulated varieties will be distinguished mainly in terms of the frequency of occurrences of substandard features within each of them. This means that the variety with

the greatest number and diversity of deviations will be regarded as first-variety usage, that with the fewest substandard features, variety three, and second-variety performance, the one that lies between these two.

It seems convenient to let the varieties dictate the division into the different chapters. Chapters II and III will therefore each be devoted to varieties three and two, whilst chapters IV and V will examine variety-one performance in, respectively, Literary Nigerian English and the writings of the University of Ibadan low-grade workers. The last chapter will summarize the findings of the survey.

It is necessary to say something at this point about the place of Literary English in the study, especially the relationship between it and the more utilitarian (non-artistic) uses of the language which form the subject-matter of the major bulk of the thesis.

Ten authors[1] (novelists and dramatists) were examined in detail for the chapter on Literary English

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1. These are: Chinua Achebe, Clement Agunwa, Thomas Aluko, John P. Clark, Chukwuemeka Ike, John Munonye, Nkem Nwankwo, Onuora Nzekwu, Wole Soyinka and Amos Tutuola.

(Chapter IV) but it has been necessary to retain just one of them, Amos Tutuola, as a clear user of a particular variety of written Nigerian English: Variety one. The reason for the exclusion of the others is that they are clearly third-variety users although they make occasional deliberate departures into the lower varieties when it suits them, especially for the purposes of effect and characterization. The point, then, is that Tutuola's deviations are unwitting (variety-three usage is definitely beyond him, for instance) whilst those in the works of the nine other authors are usually conscious ones. In Chapter IV, we shall cite one or two examples of lower-variety passages written purposely for characterization. A few examples will be offered in the Appendix to the same chapter of the artistic use of English of some of the authors whose works have been excluded from the main body of the thesis.

G. Method of Analysis

We shall adopt, for the purpose of our analysis,

some of the categories used by Durojaiye[1] and some of Tomori's,[2] and these will be supplemented by the writer's own categories when those from the above-mentioned scholars have been found to be inadequate. (The writer acknowledges his debt to these two studies).

The classification will be based on the following categories. Those marked with one asterisk superscript are Durojaiye's, those with two, Tomori's, and the rest, with three asterisks, are the writer's own. One example to illustrate will be given in parentheses after each category.

***1. L1-prompted structures: (omitting those instances of these treated under (7) and (8):

(I worked over six years in the garden and there was no time I sold plants to people ... It is now that I have no hand in the Botanical Garden that I will go and take plants from there).

(My italics here and elsewhere except otherwise stated).

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1. Susan M. Durojaiye, "An Analysis of the Errors made in the English Essays of Fifty Western Nigerian Grammar School Pupils", West African Journal of Education (WAJE), Vol. XIV(2), June 1970, page 132.

2. S.H.O. Tomori, "A study in the Syntactic structures of the written English of British and Nigerian grammar school pupils", London University Ph.D. Thesis, 1967.

**2. Pattern failure: confusion between constructions.

(The question for me now to be decided is whether this application is too late to be granted ...)

*3. Visualization: the mis-spelling of a word as a result of insecure visualization and confusion of similar words.

(I had brought my camp bed in anticipation of this family palava)

***4. Excessive deletion of exponents.

(He know that he was the first defedant's bondsman but did not know or told the amount of his liability in the bond)

***5. Word-order misarrangement.

(Since I have become cook/steward, I have served single, married and with children masters and madams).

*6. Lexis:

(i) Confusion as to the meaning of words and hence as to the correct word for a particular context.

(I am hereby praying the Registrar to approve for me the rest few number of days).

(ii) Coinages: (... when he was going to his workplace ...)

*7. Function words (Determiners)

(i) Omission of definite or indefinite articles.

(I state here below as I was bitten as from 1951:

(1) Hyena bit me in 1951.
(2) Baboon bit me in 1952.
(3) Bush pig bit me in 1961).

(ii) Wrong use

(As regards experience in this work, there is no any other Domestic Warden in all other Hall who senior me (sic in the length or service).

*8. Function words (Prepositions)

(i) Omission

(This is to remind you of my letter dated 30th December which I applied for 2 weeks leave).

(ii) Wrongly used or superfluous.

(At present, I have been employed by Dr. Collis since on the 11th October, 1961 ...).

**9. Violation of mutual expectancy of exponents.

(Although I find that the plaintiffs have established their right to the land ... but I have not found enough evidence ...)

***10. Verb forms.

(i) Wrong tenses:

(At the police station, he identified the accused as wearing a pair of trousers similar to the one which the man who among the thieves dropped the machine wore).

(ii) Lack of concord:

(The nose of the sandals were asked to be nailed).

(iii) Dangling participles:

(After passing this test, the intermediate and Subordinate Staff Sub-Committee approved our promotion).

(iv) Error in the use of Be-structure:

(For the purpose of annual leave I should like my personal records be changed from Abeokuta to Ijaiye).

(v) Error in the use of Have-structure:

(I beg to apply for my annual leave which had long been overdue since December 1959).

(vi) Error in the use of other participial forms:

(I would like to proceeding on the 9th of January ...).

(vii) Infinitive forms:

(a) Omission of particle: especially with the verbs "to enable"

(There is sufficient evidence to enable the court hold that it was the defendant who commited the act).

(b) Wrongly used or superfluous:

(The fact that the accused denied the material part of his statement makes me to believe that he went with prosecution Witness 1).

***11. Modals:

(I should be grateful if my application be favourably considered and I must have to carry out duty or duties which should be alloted (sic)to me).

*12. Adverbs: one adverb substituted for another demanded by context or wrongly used:

(... his character is very good, and also his services during he (sic) staying (sic) with me is very satisfaction (sic) and respectfully and obediently and smartly).

***13. Formclass shift:

(example as in 12 above:... is very satisfaction ...)

***14. Strange collocations:

(Those slave-wars were causing dead luck to both old and young of those days)

***15. Conjuctions:

(i) Wrongly used.

(In view of this, however, I should be very grateful if you would please use your good offices to look into my case).

(ii) Misuse of the correlative and comparative structures.

(I love the girl dearly that I cannot do without kissing her picture).

*16. Pronouns: contextual non-agreement in case or number, or inconsistency in context:

(In all criminal cases, the onus is always on the prosecution to prove its case and if they fail in this regard, the accused person is entitled to be acquitted).

***17. Nouns: wrong marking for number.

(All document bearing my name still valid).

*18. Idiomatic: faulty expression due to confused grasp of idiomatic English.

(They stood their grounds).

**19. Maze (unintelligible) structures:

(One would have expected the defence if to be taken seriously would not find it difficult to get before the police those matter of the second Defence witness who saw the shirt on the latter while at work that night).

It is necessary to state at this point that the number references made later in the body of the thesis will be to categories as here set out. If, say, Maze structures are being quantified. it will be sufficient to refer to this category simply as 19. The same is true of all the other categories. Frequently, also, reference is made in the thesis to "structural deviations", a term that applied to all the categories above except to types (6) and (14), which are lexical deviances.

H. Conclusion to Chapter

So far, the stand has been taken that the English language is part and parcel of Nigerian national life and experience as at present, and is likely to remain so for an indefinite period of time. English, in its position as the most important world language, is indispensable to the

country in her search for economic and educational advancement. It is the outward symbol of our unity, and facilitates communication with other African states, as there is no indigenous African lingua franca at the moment. An attempt has also been made to trace the development of the language in the country, while the question of a Nigerian dialect-continuum of English has been discussed. It will be, as has been stated earlier on, the task of the other chapters of the study to attempt to quantify those features in the corpus examined which characterize the different varieties of written English in Nigeria and to identify such features that are "common-core" - that is, those shared by all three varieties - and the features that are the "indexical markers"[1] of each of the varieties. Some attention will also be paid to the appropriate use pf diatypic varieties.

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1. Michael Gregory: "Aspects of Varieties Differentiation" in English Patterns: Perspectives for Description of English. Gledon College 1972, section 10, page 9.

II.

THIRD- AND SECOND-VARIETY WRITTEN ENGLISH IN THE NIGERIAN LAW COURTS

It was postulated in the preceding chapter that the language performance of the higher members of the Nigerian Bench (High Court Judges, Judges of the Appeal Court, Supreme Court Judges) belongs clearly in the third-variety use of written English in Nigeria. We also said at that time that the Magistrates (the lower judges) have a second-variety performance of English.

This chapter will now try to confirm - or reject - the hypothesis put forward in that chapter that these two ranks of judges are exponents of these two varieties of written Nigerian English.

For the purpose of the chapter a wide range of legal records - mainly in the form of courts' proceedings and judgements - has been examined carefully, beginning with those of the Federal Supreme Court down to the proceedings of the Magistrates' courts. The customary courts have been left out of the exercise in view of the

fact that most of their presidents are illiterate and usually work through their clerks.

Third-Variety Performance in the Nigerian Courts

It could be said at the outset that the Supreme Court judges (henceforth FSCJ), the Judges of the Western Court of Appeal (JA henceforth) and the High Court judges (HCJ), write a clearly third-variety type of Nigerian English. These are all people who have had considerable experience in the use of English, both as practising lawyers and later as magistrates and then as judges.

It is still necessary, however, to state that the level of English performance of one cadre of judges differs perceptibly from that of another. This means that the language of the Appeal Judges (those of the Supreme Court and the Western Court of Appeal), who are usually the most experienced members of the country's Bench, is clearly superior to the language performance of the High Court judges, and much more so than that of the magistrates. In fact, a sort of cline of ascending excellence of language ability is to be observed from the magistrates' use of English right up to the Appeal judges', indicating that the more experienced and

educated the judge, the better is his command of standard English.[1]

Before going on to analyse the judges' use of English, it is useful to make the rather obvious point that the language activity that is being investigated in this chapter constitutes a distinct diatypic variety (sensu Gregory)[2] of English. Any reader going through the corpus examined for the exercise will observe that there are many linguistic features - both syntactical and lexical - that are idiosyncratic to this variety, and are normally not to be easily apprehended in any other diatypic variety of the language. The two citations below, both from Supreme Court judgements,[3] illustrate this point:

> (1) Learned counsel then contended that ... the learned trial Judge erred in leaving the jury the decision as to whether or not (the Prosecution Witnesses) were accomplices instead of himself deciding the question and thereafter telling the jury to so find in his summing-up ...4

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1. See Appendix A.
2. Michael Gregory: "Aspects of varieties differentiation", op.cit., page 33.
3. The Federal Supreme Court Judges (FSCJs) from whose judgements citations are made will be referred to in small caste letters beginning with 'a'. Hence, FSCJ(a) designates a Supreme Court Judge, FSCJ(b) another, and so on.
4. Federal Supreme Court (henceforth FSC) judgement No. SC.372/70; FSCJ(a), page 5.

There are a number of points to note about the language of the passage. The first [illegible] is structural, the omission of the deictic at the beginning of the sentence, an absence that is not usually tolerated in a more run-of-the-mill usage. Another point is the word-order arrangement in the group (italicised) "to so find", an ordering that will be viewed as slightly odd in any but this register of English. Some points of lexical interest are to be perceived in the use of "erred" and "summing-up", forms, though not exclusive to this variety, that are more common here than elsewhere in the language. Also, talking in terms of collocations, a counsel is usually referred to as "learned" and a judge (or a "trial judge") most often has the same epithet applied to him when a judge of appeal has to refer to him (he is "learned" even if his judgement appealed against is to be quashed in the next breath!).

To show that these features are not peculiar Nigerian usages, the next citation is taken from the judgement of a non-Nigerian FSCJ[1]:

> (2) Nonetheless in his submission, he did not so hold himself out and the learned judge did not specifically so find ...
> (My italics here and subsequently except otherwise stated).

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1. Federal Supreme Court judgement, SC.325/69, delivered by FSCJ(b), page 5.

There are scattered throughout the corpus examined specifically legal collocations and colligations which are not likely to be encountered elsewhere in other diatypic varieties of English. Such collocations, to mention a few random examples, are: "a number of points were urged upon us"; "the land was situate and lying at"; "costs should abide the event"; "the residuary clause had addemed"; Bakare Garuba "was seised or possessed of the land"; "they removed from the land"; and other similar structures.

These, yet, are not the sole pointers to the "restricted" nature of the language of the law courts. This register, in addition to what has been said above, seems to be at present the most Latin-studded in the language; it is difficult to go through a page of a court's proceeding or judgement without coming across such Latinisms as the following ones: "audi alteram partem", "prima facie" case, "ab initio", "quidquid plantator solo solo cedit", "litis contestatio", "qui prior est tempore potior est jure", "omnia praesuntum rite et solemniter esse acta donec probetur in contrarium", "in flagrante delicto" - all quoted from the texts examined for the chapter. Gallicisms, also, are quite many:

"autrefois convict", "autrefois acquit", "oyez", etc. are some of these. This is not to say that these borrowings are not to be found anywhere else in the language, but rather, that they are present in greater density in the "restricted" language of the Courts.

This preliminary point having been made, it is now left to examine what are the features, apart from those aforementioned, that characterize variety three written English in the Nigerian law courts. We shall deal first with the performance of the Federal Supreme Court Judges, clearly the most experienced judges in the country. These are people, as we have said, who have been using the language of law most actively over a long period of time. This must account in a large measure for their near-faultless command of standard English as will be demonstrated presently. Then will be examined, in that order, the performance of the Justices of Appeal (also, most experienced judges) and that of the High Court judges.

A. <u>The Language Performance of the Judges of the Federal Supreme Court</u>.

In all, about 2,000 pages of Courts' proceedings were examined, that is, from each of the four categories

of courts, 500 pages. This means that a corpus comprising over 500,000 words - there are roughly about 300 words to a page - was carefully gone through for the analysis that forms the substance of the present chapter. It is remarkable, therefore, that in the case of the Supreme Judges, only 18 cases of deviation (syntactical and lexical) were identified. The composition of deviations is as set out below.

(a) 8 are deviant verb forms (4 are of deviation type (10i), 3 of type (10iii) and one of type (10vii)

(b) 2 are cases of type (8) deviation (one instance of (8i) and the other of (8ii)

(c) There are in addition to the above 3 cases of type (1), 2 of type (2) and 1 case of type (4).

(d) The last 2 cases are lexical deviations, type (6).

The citations below illustrate the different deviations:

(3) The accused's wife ... gave evidence to the effect that she saw the accused struck her father cutting his head ...1 (Type 8ii)

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1. FSC judgement, SC.356/1971, page 3.

(4) In our view counsel fell into the same error as the learned judge in holding that he must first decide whether the legal right of the plaintiff had been established, and it was after such a determination before any consideration could be given to an application.[1] (Type 8ii)
(My italics).

(5) When the lease expired on 31st December, 1961, the land reverted as well to the plaintiff's family as ∧ the kola tenants...[2]
(The omission symbol "∧" is mine).
(Type 8i)

(6) Arguing the 6th ground of appeal, it was the contention of Mr. Bentley that as the respondent failed to obtain the declaration sought ... the documents were void..[3]
(Type 8iii)

(7) In this letter, the plaintiff again reiterated that the order of the Supreme Court ... still subsists, and the repercussion, if the amount is paid ... as ordered by the judge.[4] (Type 4).

(8) The case of the prosecution was that in (sic) the morning of 22nd November, 1969 on her way returning from church, Esther Ojuolape saw the appellant...[5](Type 1)

Returning here has been superflously included in the structure or analogy of L1 grammar.

All the six passages we have examined typify those

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1. FSC judgement, SC.284/1970, page 5; FSCJ(d)
2. FSC judgement, SC.82/1966, page 14; FSCJ(e).
3. FSC judgement, SC.266/1969, page 10; FSCJ(f).
4. FSC judgement, SC.246/1970, FSCJ(g).
5. FSC judgement, SC.94/1971, page 1; FSCJ(a).

deviations that are purely syntactic. There are, as was earlier pointed out, two deviations at the level of lexis. These illustrate Deviation Types (6i) and (6ii):

(9) He was asked about David Ona and he told that he would soon come back ...[1] (Type 6i).

(10) He passed by them and went home but the following morning when he was going to his work-place, he discovered the corpse of David Ona.[2] (Type 6ii).

Incidentally, work-place is the only instance of coinage in the whole corpus.

It is clear from the above citations that the cases of deviation are very minor ones. Most of them, it is suggested, are occasioned by the condition of rapid writing that the judges have got to work under in most cases, or by inadequate proof-reading of the proceedings. Rapid writing, however, can only explain and not excuse these deviations, for according to Tomori:

> It is well-known that efficiency in the use of any language demands a great deal of automatic response to the verbal and other contextual cues. It is quite common, therefore, to find correct use and misuse of the same linguistic device in a single sentence ... the explanation for this seems to be that

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1. FSC judgement, No. SC.169/1969, page 1; FSCJ(h).
2. FSC judgement, No. SC169/1969, page 3; FSCJ(h).

> the "rule" is known, but is broken when extreme care has to be thrown to the winds under conditions of rapid writing. That type of situation shows that the correct response is not yet automatic...[1]

The Supreme Court judges clearly are all very familiar with the "rules" - this is why there have been just eighteen cases of deviant forms in a corpus covering over 150,000 words - but under the stress of rapid writing, and as "the correct response is not yet automatic", some cases of deviation occur. (ie 1 error per 8333 running words)

B. The Performance of the Judges of the Western State Court of Appeal.[2]

This cadre of judges comprises jurists who are usually as experienced on the Bench as most of the Supreme Court Judges. It is worth remarking in this regard, for instance, that the current President of the Court was, until his appointment, serving on the Bench of the Supreme Court. This means, therefore, that there should be a similarity in the performance of the two different categories of Appeal judges - and there is - as will be demonstrated in a moment. There are, in fact, fewer instances of substandard features in the sample examined

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1. S.H.O. Tomori, op.cit., page 134

2. The judges of the Court of Appeal will be designated as JA(a), JA(b), JA(c) and so on.

for this section than there have been in the case of the FSC judges; only fourteen (14) cases (i.e. 1 error per 10,714 words) have been identified as against the 18 of the superior judges. The 14 cases are analysed below:

(a) 7 deviations of type (10) (excluding type (10iii) (i.e. about 50% of all errors).

(b) 2 of type (10iii).

(c) 1 case of type (5)

(d) 1 case of type (15ii)

(e) 1 of type (11)

and (f) 2 cases of type (6).

Concerning the verb forms, 3 of the deviant usages are cases of type (10i), 3 of type (10viia) and the last is a case of type (10viib). Here are the citations to illustrate the three kinds of deviation:

(11) The situation of 10th June ... permits of no other alternative but the very order that was made that day...[1] (Type 10i).

and (12) In Kanu vs. The King 14 WACA page 30, Coussey, J.A. delivered the judgement of the court said at page 32[2] (Type 10i).

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1. Judgement of the Western State Court of Appeal (CAW henceforth), No. CAW/119/68, page 10. Mr. Justice JA(a).

2. Judgement of the CAW, No. CAW/11/69, page 7, Mr. Justice JA(a).

(13) It was at this stage that counsel sought and was granted an adjournment to enable him bring the present application ...1 (Type ~~III~~ 10 VIIa)

This particular structure, "to enable" + verb without "to", is a very prevalent one among many Nigerian users of English. The newscasters seem to be particularly fond of it, to judge by the number of times the structure is heard over the wireless in a day. It seems that, in fact, some fairly well-educated Nigerians use the structure - the citation above attests to this - and it is certainly not too far-fetched to suggest that the form may in time become a constituent feature of the structure of Nigerian English.

(14) It was the accused who held the stick, grew unruly and made the crowd to disperse ...2 (Type ~~IIIII~~ 10 VIIb)

One might be justified to conclude that the learned writer of the two different passages is confused about the rules governing the forms: where he needs the infinitive marker he leaves it out, and where it is wrong to use it, he puts it in. The other deviations are illustrated below:

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1. CAW/90/69, page 1, Mr. Justice JA(a).
2. CAW/70/68, page 4, Mr. Justice JA(a).

(15) Being a confessional statement, we agree that there was need to look for corroboration before convicting the appellant upon it...[1] (Type 10iii).

(16) The plaintiff/appellants having not brought an application within the period ...2 (Type 5).

(17) The situation of 10th June permits of no other alternative but the very order that was made ...3 (Type 16ii).

(18) There is nothing on record as to what notice could be given to determine his employment ...4 (Type 11).

(19) What is before us for determination therefore is in our view simply this: Are the two appeals or any of them competent?[5] (Type 6i).

and (20) It was defendant's case ... that that area so built upon had been sold ... by the plaintiff, leaving nothing left of Oderanti's land.[6] (Type 6i).

These citations then represent the instances of substandard features found in the written English of the Court of Appeal judges. It is worth noting that the majority of the faults have been committed by a particular judge, though in different proceedings, underlining the fact that, by and large, the linguistic performance of

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1. CAW/28/67, page 8, Mr. Justice JA(b).
2. CAW/119/68, page 9, Mr. Justice JA(a).
3. CAW/119/68, page 10, Mr. Justice JA(a).
4. CAW/43/69, page 3, Mr. Justice JA(a).
5. CAW/119/68, page 5, Mr. Justice JA(a).
6. Ibid., page 4.

this category of judges is clearly above par. It is suggestive that of the twenty-five judgements analysed for this section of the exercise, more than eighteen have been written by the same judge (Mr. Justice JA(a)) and it seems quite reasonable that it is he who has been responsible for most of the deviations. The point can be put in a nutshell; this energetic judge, being the author of most of the judgements of the court, has to write very fast in order to be able to cope with his task. The consequence of this, especially when the correct response is not yet fully automatic, is the cases of deviation we have noted.

Talking more generally, it appears that from what evidence we have adduced so far, the judges' performance in English belongs undoubtedly in the third-variety usage of written Nigerian English. There have been 32 cases of a substandard nature in a corpus extending well over 1,000 pages of roughly 300,000 words, which works out at an error frequency of one per nine thousand running words (1: 9,000 words). This means, in effect, that one will have read through 30 pages of a Supreme Court or Court of Appeal judgement before one is likely to come across any form of substandard feature.

C. The Performance of the High Court Judges[1]

The performance of the High Court Judges is not quite on the same plane of excellence as that of the Appeal Judges we have just examined. This is probably the moment to state that within each of the postulated varieties of written Nigerian English, the performance of the different exponents is not usually the same. In other words, a variety usage is a continuum of usages, all of which, however, have enough "common core features" as will make it possible to group them together within the same category of usage. In the present instance, for example, it has been found that of the 150,000 words that form the basis of the present section of the chapter, there were identified exactly 56 substandard forms, i.e. about 1 error per 2,700 words (9 pages). The difference, no doubt, between this figure and the earlier one of the Appeal Judges is significant statistically. When considered per se, however, an incidence of one error per 2,700 words is to be viewed as negligible, and this is why one feels justified in regarding the performance of these puisne

1. The judges of the High Courts will be referred to as HCJ(a), HCJ(b) and so on, like in the earlier cases of the Appeal Judges.

judges as still that of variety-three users of the language in the country.

The deviations observed in respect of the judges are constituted as follows: 10 cases each of types (4) and (8); 9 of type (6); 11 instances of type (10), 8 of type (2); 3 cases each of types (7) and (9) and 2 cases of type (13) deviations.

The following citations illustrate the different kinds of deviation. In most cases, a single citation would suffice to do this.

> (21) Although I find that the Plaintiffs have established their right to the land ... but I have not found enough evidence...1 (Type 9).

This deviant feature, quite common with variety-one users of English in Nigeria, is to be encountered occasionally in the performance of the unwary handlers of the higher varieties.

> (22) The learned president seemed to have treated the matter as if he were trying the case himself whereas his correct and true role was to demand of the appellant before him should show clearly ... that the judgement appealed against was wrong...2 (Type 2).

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1. IK/233/65 quoted by FSCJ(f), then a Federal Supreme Court Judge, in Appeal No. SC.284/69, page 7.

2. CAW/103/68, page 3; Mr. Justice JA(a), quoting Mr. Justice HCJ(b), the Judge of first instance.

and (23) The question for me now to be decided is whether this application is too late to be granted...1 (Type 2).

Three illustrations of deviation type (4) will be given now.

(24) They told him that the machine was dropped by one of the thieves they saw and chased but escaped ...2

(25) He knew that he was the first defendant's bondsman but did not know or told the amount of his liability in the bond...3

and (26) Paragraph 6 does not show the capacity the first defendant was advanced with cash prior to the execution of Exhibits A, B, and C...4

Type (10i) Deviations:

There are 8 instances of these in the text, all of them of the (10i) type and three of these by the same judge (at that time an acting judge, that is, just one step ahead of the Magistrates). Here are the three cases:

(27) At the police station, he identified the accused as wearing a pair of trousers similar to the one which the man who among the thieves dropped the machine wore.5

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1. I/177/68, page 4, Mr. Justice HCJ(c), (High Court, Ibadan).
2. HIF/5C/71, page 7, Mr. Justice HCJ(d), (High Court, Ile-Ife).
3. I/197/66, page 2, Mr. Justice HCJ(c), (High Court, Ibadan).
4. Ibid., page 4.
5. HIF/5C/71, Mr. Justice HCJ(d), page 8.

(28) He inquired about what happened to them and he was informed that the child of the inmates died...1

The third citation, still by the same judge, is from a different judgement:

(29) The accused stated that he sustained injury which was bleedding up till the following day...2

As has been said earlier on, the three cases are provided by the same "informant", and one could therefore say that the errors are idiosyncratic to that extent. The fact that the author was an acting judge may have something to do with this; when, further on, we see how shaky is some Magistrates' control of the tense forms, the point being made here will be clearer. All that has been established to this point, about the verb forms, is that the judges, in general, have a good mastery of them, even if here and there they may be guilty of one venial deviation or another.

The judges, however, seem to be less sure of their prepositions than of the verb forms.

Deviation Type (8)

There are 10 instances out of the overall total of

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1. Ibid., page 10.

2. HIF/3C/71, Mr. Justice HCJ(d), page 6.

56 deviations, constituting about 18%. 5 of these are cases of (8i) and the remaining 5 of (8ii). The first two citations will illustrate (8i):

(30) It was a private letter and why it was kept in the Company's file by the plaintiff is difficult for me to speculate ∧ ...[1]

(31) After getting to Nigeria, she wrote him two letters ∧ which he did not reply...[2]

(Omission symbols are mine in both cases).

The following three illustrate (8ii)

(32) I therefore decide to show the utmost mercy on the accused.[3]

(33) ... he was going to report to the police that he had been falsely accused with killing the accused.[4]

and (34) The petitioner is a legal practitioner whilst the respondent is a Confidential Secretary under the NTC Ltd., in Ibadan.[5]

It might just be mentioned that the omission in citation (31) and the deviant form under in (34) are consequences of L1 transfer. In Yoruba (re: 31) one usually replies a letter (dáhùn létà) without a preposition, while under in (34) translates the Yoruba form lábé. Sísé lábé is literally 'to work under'.

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1. I/112/68, Mr. Justice HCJ(c), page 2.
2. I/74/69, Mr. Justice HCJ(a), page 4.
3. HIF/3C/71, Mr. Justice HCJ(d), page 11.
4. SC.220/71, Mr. Justice FSCJ(h) quoting a judge of first instance.
5. I/48/69, Mr. Justice HCJ(b), page 1.

Type (10vii) Deviation

There are 3 cases of type (10vii) fault: 1 of (10viia) and 2 of (10viib).

(35) There is sufficient evidence to enable the court hold that it was the defendant who committed the act...1 (10viia)

(36) I do not believe the accussed ... that both of them knocked themselves on a tin of kerosene .. which made the kerosene to spill on the bodies of both of them.2 (10viib)

and (37) The fact that the accused denied the material part of his statement makes me to believe that he went with prosecution witness.3 (10viib)

Type (13) Deviation

Of the two instances of this in the text, a citation will suffice to illustrate the fault:

(38) Indeed the first time they ever quarelled was in February ... and the facts which led to that quarrel and the only and irrevocably parting of ways are material to the present ruling...4

The use of the adverbial form in the citation above is possibly by attraction from the item only that immediately

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1. SC.284/69 quoted by FSCJ(f), Supreme Court Judge (then). The original suit is IK/233/65 from the Ikeja High Court.
2. SC.164/1971, page 5, quoted from the judgement of Warri High Court judge by Mr. Justice FSCJ(d).
3. CAW/33/68, page 7; quoted from the judgement of HCJ(e) by Mr. Justice JA(b).
4. I/211/69, Mr. Justice HCJ(f), page 2.

precedes it in the construction.

Deviation Type (7)

The citation below illustrates the deviation in the use of articles. It is a case of omission:

(39) The accused stated that he sustained injury...1

It is possible here that the judge sees "injury" as a non-countable noun in its legal sense as "hurt". If this is the case, then the structure is non-deviant.

Type (6)

It is the 9 cases that are deviant lexically that will now be examined briefly. 4 are cases of (6i) and 2 are of type (6ii). Below are five citations illustrating the first category.

(40) The men who made the report mentioned the name of a particular person to him and he followed them to the scene of accident.2 (Type 6i).

Succumbing to L1 pressure, the writer of the citation has used the item followed in place of the more appropriate form "accompany". In Yoruba, the two forms are usually taken to be semantically interchangeable and hence Mo bá won dé bè and Mo tèlé won dé bè are

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1. Ibid., page 6.

2. HIF/56/71, Mr. Justice HCJ(d), page 6.

possible translations of the English structure "I accompanied them there". To the unwary Nigerian user of English, therefore, "follow" and "accompany" are synonyms. More instances of this usage will be seen in the English performance of the Magistrates.

(41) The witness also arrested another hunter and took this hunter together with the accused to the police station.[1] (Type 6i).

(42) He blew his whistle to attract other hunters.[2] (Type 6i).

The use of the form hunter(s) in both passages is deviant, because what the writer is talking about here are "night-guards". These are definitely not hunters in the standard English sense; but Yoruba designates the two distinct professionals simply as ọlọ́dẹ literally, "hunter", whence has resulted the error.

The other cases of confused usage are illustrated below:

(43) More puerile reasons for denouncing the paternity of a child are hardly possible to imagine.[3] (Type 6i).

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid., page 8.
3. I/211/67, page 2, Mr. Justice HCJ(f).

(44) She gave me a changing of clothing as I had only one dress under my top coat...1 (Type 6i).

An illustration of Type (6ii) is this:

(45) Eventually the accused doubtedly and reluctantly stated that he was paying 30/- per room.2

The item doubtedly, non-existent in SE except in its negative form (undoubtedly), has been coined by the writer of the passage by analogy.

It will have been noted that up till this point in the examination about 1,500 pages of legal proceedings have been carefully gone through from which it has been possible to isolate just 88 cases of substandard forms.

It means, in effect, that there is one likely incidence of deviance per every seventeen pages. More delicately, one would, on the average, be unlikely to come across any substandard feature until one has read over 5,100 words.

The appellate jurists, as we have seen, have made fewer cases of deviance (36% of substandard features) than have the High Court Judges alone, (the remaining 64%) whilst, as we shall see in a moment

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1. I/74/69, page 3, Mr. Justice HCJ(a).

2. HIF/3C/71, page 5, Mr. Justice HCJ(d).

the Magistrates alone have almost twice the number of substandard features identified so far in the course of the chapter. The reason for this is what we shall be discussing in the next paragraph.

D. The English Language Performance of the Magistrates[1] - a second-variety usage.

The higher incidence of substandard features in the English of this cadre of judges can be explained, at least, partly, by one important fact. This is that the Magistrates, by the nature of their position as the lowest members of the Bench, are usually saddled with many more litigations than the other judges. It is quite usual to find on the "court list" of a Magistrate's court as many as, often more than, ten cases on any given day, while it is mainly on the occasions of Assizes[2] (four times in the year) that one is likely to find more than a couple of suits listed for hearing in the High Courts. This means that a Magistrate has to work very hard to be able to cope with his heavy schedule.

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1. Chief Magistrates will be designated CM(a), (b), (c), etc.; Senior Magistrates, SM(a), (b), (c), etc. and Magistrates as M(a), (b), (c) and so on.

2. On days of Assizes, there may appear on the High Court's list as many as twenty or more cases; usually more. They are meant, however, for "call over", whereby each suit is called and a date of hearing is fixed for it.

It is also relevant to point out that the High Court judge of a particular division is charged, inter alia, with the duty of supervising the Magistrates within his "Judicial Division", in respect of whom he is expected to forward, at the end of the year, Confidential reports. A magistrate, therefore, who dawdles unnecessarily over a case may incur the displeasure of his immediate boss (the High Court Judge), and may have to brave a non-too-favourable "confidential report" (with such concomittant effects as lack of promotion, etc.) at the end of the year. It is for this reason that Magistrates are usually very fast in the disposal of the cases before them, and the result, in most cases, is that their efficiency in English performance is impaired under the inevitable conditions of rapid writing.

Another important reason is that it is not usually the best lawyers that are enrolled as Magistrates. While there is little doubt that a few of them are quite good, it is equally true that it is often those lawyers that find it difficult to make the grade in their law practices that usually jump at the chance, when offered, to be magistrates. This appointment, apart from any other consideration, guarantees at least a regular income.

The point, then, is that when these rather mediocre ~~lawmen~~ lawyers have to write under the conditions earlier on stated, it is almost inevitable that cases of sub-standard structure will occur. It should now be clear why Magistrates usually write much less perfect English than the other categories of judges. If, as is most likely, the higher judges were mediocres at first, by sheer hard work couped with years of experience in the use of English, they have attained some measure of competence in the language that is comparatively high. That there are still occasional aberrations in their English performance is a pointer to the fact that not all the superior judges have quite overcome their earlier faults, and these deviations, few though they are, are due to what Tomori has called "inadequate habituation of the linguistic behaviour involved".[1]

The deviant features that have been identified in the written English of the Magistrates number 156. When it is recalled that 150,000 running words were examined, the error proportion would work out at about 1 per 3.2 pages, rather of a magnitude such as would demote, in this writer's view, this performance to the level of second variety usage.

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1. S.H.O. Tomori, op.cit., page 135.

Faulty Sentence Structures

This label subsumes the sub-categories of types (1), (4), (9) and (19) deviations. A further breakdown reveals that there are 35 cases of type (1), 13 of type (4), 3 cases of type (9), and 8 instances of (19). On the whole, thus, the deviations of structure are 59, that is, 35% of all substandard features identified.

Next to the above in frequency of occurrence are deviations of the verb forms (type 10) which account for (32) (roughly 20.5%) of the faults. This is followed by type (6), 28 of them, and the next major incidence of faults is with type (8), 21 cases, which constitute about 13.5% of faults.

Other minor areas of deviation, in descending order of frequency of occurrence are 7 cases of type (5), 6 of type (7), and 3 of type (14) deviations.

To deal first with the category of structural deviations, ten citations will be made, out of which five will be in respect of type (1), two of type (4) and three of type (19) deviations.

Type (1)

Fairly confident in the belief that they are writing nothing but idiomatic English, the writers are unaware

that they are in fact writing Nigerian versions of what the SE equivalents would have been; it is the structure of the L1 that surfaces, as the five citations that follow should illustrate clearly:

(46) We began to shout thief, thief on the accused. When we saw the knife we showed on the accused that he had drawn out a knife.[1] (Type 1).

The italicised structure is translating very literally the Yoruba sentence:

A bẹ̀rẹ̀ sí í kígbe olè olè lé ọ̀dárò ná l'ọ́wọ́

(47) On the night of 5/6/70 at about 2.30 a.m. the 1st and 2nd prosecution witnesses were sleeping together in one of their rooms when they began to hear some unusual noise.[2] (Type 1).

when they began to hear is clearly L1-based: nígbàtí wọ́n bẹ̀rẹ̀ sí í gbọ́. It is worth nothing, however, that though clearly L1-inspired, as we have seen, citation (47) is in that situation where it occurs quite acceptable in Standard English where the italicised structure would be viewed as an adverbial clause of specific time.

(48) I went to the hospital where I was given injection and medicine.[3] (Type 1).

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1. MI/361C/70, His worship, CM(a), page 7.
2. Ibid., page 16.
3. I/2CA/71, page 2, His Worship, SM(a).

Wón fún mi l'ábéré = "they gave me injection (I was given injection").

(49) The accused, I think, refused the balance of £5 because he must have learnt that I intended to arrest him with C.I.D.[1] (Type 1).

It is unusual to arrest somebody with CID, but that is exactly what the Yoruba man would say he has done if he is instrumental in the arrest of a suspect by members of the C.I.D. or the Police: mo fi "C.I.D." mú u is, literally, "I arrest him with C.I.D."

(50) We explained that we could not have gone to collect the medicine behind him.[2] (Type 1).

Type (4)

Two citations to illustrate the above category of structural deviation are set out below:

(51) I arrested, charged and cautioned the defendant in Yoruba language. He volunteered (a statement) in Yoruba, read it to him ... and signed it as correct.[3]

Here the structure is deviant as the predicate group beginning with read to the end of the sentence has no subject

1. I/3CA/71, page 9, CM(a).
2. Ibid., page 14.
3. I/2CA/71, page 6, SM(a).

(52) He explained that the 3rd and 4th Prosecution Witnesses must have believed that he was the person that caused them arrested.[1]

Type (19) ~~(20)~~

It will be noted that this kind of fault has been noticeably absent in the writings of the other cadres of judges. This is understandable because it is usually the more incompetent users of English who write structures that are not instantly intelligible.

The three passages below instance the deviation:

(53) One would have expected the defence if to be taken seriously would not find it difficult to get before the police those matter of the second defence witness who saw the shirt on the latter while at work at night.[2]

(54) We then went to look for the accused. The accused was not with the team I left from C.I.D. office.[3]

and (55) The defendant is charged with driving his commercial vehicle ... on the public highway in a dangerous manner along Eleiyele Road, Ibadan, on 11/8/69 at about 10 a.m. and collided with W.N.M.B. Volkswagen van having regard to all the circumstances of the case, punishable under Section 18, Road Traffic Law ... 1959...[4]

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1. I/3CA/71, page 24, CM(a).
2. I/1CA/71, page 19, CM(a).
3. I/3CA/71, page 16, CM(a).
4. I/2CA/71, page 44, SM(a).

This last is a rather long sentence which, even adequately punctuated (which it is not), would not have yielded to easy understanding.

Although there are 3 cases of type (9) fault, that is of the "although ... but ..." type of construction, they are not very important ones and it is not necessary to go into them again, as they are similar in nature to those others already discussed in connection with the Higher Judges.

Type (10) Deviations

Coming next to "structural deviation" in frequency of occurrence are type (10) faults. There are, as we said earlier, 29 instances of these, 23 of which deal specifically with type (10i), and the rest with type (10ii) deviations.

With regard to (10i), 4 citations will be made and 3 cases of (10ii) deviations will be cited. In all, therefore, 7 of the faults will be examined in this section, beginning with (10i).

The four citations illustrating type (10i) are:

(56) The accused did not tell me that he has been ill.[1]

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1. I/1CA/71, page 5, CM(a).

(57) I told the police in the statement I made that I saw the accused wear identification KII on the night...[1]

Here, the writer has written a perfectly idiomatic sentence; the form "wear", however, is aberrant in the situation in the sense that it is the participle form "wearing" that is appropriate. It must be mentioned, however, that this is not a common error. It is one most probably due to "over learning".

In the next, the tense sequence rule is violated:

(58) Mr. Agboluaje appears for the accused: Applies to court to recall the 1st P.W., Explained that after the Prosecutor has closed its case, certain things cropped up.[2]

(59) When I get to the Bleiyele-Dugbe Railway Crossing Junction, backing Dugbe, I can see as far as 440 yards all around.[3]

It would be more appropriate to use the past tense rather than the present tense forms of the italicised verbs in (59). This structure, however, is passable as historic present.

Type (iii) Deviation.

Deviation of this type are six in the text examined for this section. Three of them will be cited:

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1. Ibid., page 8.
2. Ibid., page 11.
3. I/2CA/71, page 7, SM(a).

(60) On the contrary one is usually tempted as to the veracity of an account of two witnesses that agree in all details...[1]

(61) The nose of the sandals were asked to be nailed...[2]

The third case must be due purely to careless writing:

(62) The 120 iron sheets stolen was valued £30.[3]

One could say, from the three cases above, that where these faults are not due solely to carelessness, they almost invariably are to the wrong identification of the subject component of a particular structure, especially where there are apparently two contiguous nominal forms capable, to the unpractised, of exercising the function of subject in such a construction. The verbs are made to concord with the qualifier elements of the group rather than with their heads. Speaking more generally, from the present writer's experience when teaching this particular grammatical feature, students find it very difficult to remember or, rather, they cannot give correct answers to questions relating to subject-verb congruence when this is taught specifically,

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1. I/3CA/71, page 23, CM(a).
2. I/6CA/71, page 7, CM(b).
3. I/10CA/71, page 9, CM(c).

but would usually forget the rules in the "fever and fret" of classroom composition writing. The reason is, of course, that the automatic response is still lacking. These errors tend to thin out, however, as a writer ascends from a lower variety to a higher one, which fact explains the relative dearth of this particular deviation in the writings of the higher judges.

Type (8) Deviations.

Type (8) faults are quite numerous in the text. Much the same thing can be said about this category as has been said about the (10ii) type, that the more experienced one is in the use of English, the lesser is his tendency to make mistakes of this type. There are, for instance, 21 cases here as compared to the 10 from the High Court judges and the 2 from the Federal Supreme Court judges (there is no occurrence of this feature in the case of the Court of Appeal judges).

Of the 21 cases - constituting 13.5% of all deviations - 5 are of (8i) type, and the rest of (8ii) type.

2 citations concerning type (8i) will now be given, and 6 of (8ii).

(63) The accused said that the 1st Prosecution Witness was the owner of the pair of shoes, but that the 1st P.W. gave her the pair of shoes to take photograph.[1] (Type 8i).

(64) We left the bundles iron sheets inside the lorry.[2] (Type 8i).

"With" has been omitted in (63) on Yoruba L1 analogy, while "of" required in (64) has been left out probably under the pressure of rapid writing. The following six instance type (8ii):

(65) Sub-inspector Arienghene says that his instructions were that he should comply by the order of court.[3]

(66) I know the accused. The accused is a Police constable under the Nigerian Police Force.[4]

(67) I am a motor driver under Mr. Fashoro.[5]

(68) Another vehicle was coming in the opposite direction.[6]

(69) When I got to the roundabout, I stopped there and looked at left and right and saw no vehicle.[7]

(70) At about twenty minutes later, I took the 1st P.W. to the scene and explained the sketch to him.[8]

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1. I/9CA/71, page 7, SM(b).
2. I/10CA/71, page 7, CM(c).
3. I/3CA/71, page 2, CM(d).
4. I/3CA/71, page 4, CM(a).
5. I/8CA/71, page 2, CM(b).
6. Ibid., page 7, CM(B)
7. I/2CA/71, page 2, SM(a).
8. I/8CA/71, page 5, CM(b).

Type (5) Deviation

A most important characteristic of present-day English is the prominent position it accords to its word-order arrangement; a slight interruption of its syntagmatic structure may result in a construction palpably different semantically from the one a writer intends. The cases of word-order misplacement in the text examined are of a minor nature and attributable, as the following citations will show, to L1 interference. A couple of citations will illustrate the point:

(71) I and the accused followed the driver in his lorry ...1

(72) I and the other did not feel...2

It is on Yoruba analogy that the judge has written the two sentences above: Èmi àti ọdaràn náà tẹ̀lé dẹ́rẹ́ba (I and the accused...)

The next one deals with the indirect statement. It still illustrates type (5):

(73) I then called the attention of my husband to it. 1st P.W. then woke up to see who was it ...3

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1. I/6CA/71, page 6, CM(b).
2. Ibid., page 10.
3. I/1CA/71, page 8, CM(a).

Type (7)

There are 6 cases, all of which are of type (7i). The following two citations illustrate this fault:

(74) The accused was wearing beard that day.[1]

(75) Mr. Oduwole objects to the admitting of the statement because the statement is not that of deceased person.[2] (My omission symbols).

In both cases, the articles have been omitted as a result of L1 (Yoruba) influence. As pointed out by Tomori, "The structure of Yoruba particularly allows 'I went to buy books' without 'the', 'a', or the signal of pluralism".[3] He goes further to conclude that it is mostly L1 interference that is responsible for the omission of articles in the writings of the unseasoned Yoruba user of English. That there is no single case of the intrusive article seems to lend weight to Tomori's thesis discussed above: in most cases, the Nigerian user of English will omit his article rather than bring in an unnecessary one. Where he does the latter, it is most probably a simple case of over-reacting to the fear that he may be under-using the articles.

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1. Ibid., page 7.
2. I/2CA/71, page 7, SM(a).
3. S.H.O. Tomori, op.cit., page 118.

The next citation illustrates deviation type (10iii):

(76) After giving the accused the sum of ₦5, it became dark.[1]

It is obvious here (76), as in the former instances of this particular deviation, that the participle group has no grammatical subject. Considering the relative regularity of its occurrence in the survey, this particular error should be viewed as due to an inadequate learning process or to carelessness in some cases. In the present writer's opinion, however, this deviant structure is not ever likely to emerge as a permanent feature of Educated Nigerian English in so far as the competent variety-three user would very rarely make this particular mistake.

Type (6) Deviation

This category constitutes an error proportion of about 18%, there being 28 cases out of the total of 156 deviations. They are all type (6i) deviations. 10 citations will illustrate:

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1. I/3CA/71, page 6, CM(a).

(77) About five to six policemen followed me to the house of the accused to arrest him...[1]

(78) I did not spend more than two minutes before the accused came to call me out ... The house in which we slept was an upstairs.[2]

This is a case of extended usage due to form class mixture; "upstairs", normally an adverbial form, has been used here as a nominal. The form is becoming so prevalent that one may begin to see it as a legitimate member of Nigerian English lexicon.

A literal translation of an L1 item is responsible for the deviation in the next citation:

(79) I was on top of my bicycle when I saw them. As I put down my motorcycle...[3]

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1. I/1CA/71, page 5, CM(a).
There are no fewer than 10 cases of the confused use of "follow" to do work for "accompany" in the writings of the Magistrates, and at least four different magistrates - CM(a) in I/1CA/71, page 5; SM(a), I/2CA/71, page 2; CM(b), 1/6CA/71, pages 6 and 7; 1/7CA/71, page 4, and 1/8CA/71 page 2; CM(c), 1/10CA/71, page 2 - make this mistake. Apart from L1 interference, one reason for this is a relative paucity of vocabulary at the command of the magistrates. It is significant in this regard that there is no single case of the misuse of this form in the writings of the Appeal Judges whilst there is just one in those of the High Court Judges. (See citation (40) above).
2. I/3CA/71, page 8, CM(a).
3. I/6CA/71, page 4, CM(b).

The witness who put down his motorcycle had not been carrying it! It is under L1 pressure that the Magistrate has translated the witness's mo gbé alùpùpù mi sílè - that is, "I put down my motorcycle".

(80) The vehicle carried his vehicle to the middle of the roundabout.[1]

Carried has here translated the Yoruba form: gbé.

(81) When I got there, the accused asked me to escort him to Dugbe to call a lorry to take tyres ...[2]

Call here also has an L1 origin; it refers here to the process of engaging a lorry, described in Yoruba as pe ọkọ, that is, "call (a) lorry", and hence the deviation above. This is most likely on analogy with the standard English collocations: "call a cab"; "call a taxi".

(82) When my debtors and I went to beg the 2nd defendant, he gave me money which reduced the amount due to £825:9s.[3]

The word "debtor" is here used deviantly to designate people to whom the plaintiff is owing some money. The confusion is clearly L1-based. "Debt" is gbèsè in Yoruba

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1. I/2CA/71, page 9, SM(a).
2. I/6CA/71, page 6, CM(b).
3. I/9A/71, page 5, CM(b).

and "debtors" are therefore onígbèsè. But onígbèsè may apply as equally to one's debtors as to one's creditors. In the present case, the magistrate, rather confused, writes "debtors" for "creditors".

The remaining four are the following:

(83) Although the accused looked clear each time he came to court, there is no doubt ... that he is hairy.[1]

(84) I met the two vehicles involved in the accident inside the roundabout...[2]

(85) When I got there, the accused asked me to escort him to Bode...[3]

In this case, "accompany" would be more appropriate than escort, and

(86) I felt that the driver was dead but found him alive.[4]

It is clear that "had thought" would be more appropriate than "felt" in the above citation, a straight-forward case of confusion.

Type (14) Deviation

There are 2 illustrations of this:

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1. I/1CA/71, page 19; CM(a).
2. I/2CA/71, page 6; SM(a).
3. I/6CA/71, page 6, CM(b).
4. I/8CA/71, page 2, CM(b).

(87) Although I find that the 1st P.W. voluntarily parted with the sum of ₦126, yet I find that the accused induced his mind.[1]

and (88) He said he issued out an exclamation in fear as the defendant was in speed and another vehicle was coming...[2]

The groups italicised in both cases are strange collocations in English. It is not clear in citation (87), how a mind is induced. In the other citation, to be in speed is a very strange collocation, and it sounds definitely non-standard.

Conclusion to Chapter

It has been established in this chapter that there are two clear varieties of written Nigerian English in the law-courts: third and second. The higher judges (Supreme Court judges, Appeal Court judges and High Court judges) belong in the third-variety bracket, sharing among them 88 deviant features out of the total of 244 observed in the entire corpus for the chapter.

We have also demonstrated that the fact that certain writers are put together in the same variety niche does not indicate that their English performance is identical in most cases. Thus, the High Court judges

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1. I/7CA/71, page 9; CM(b).
2. I/8CA/71, page 8; CM(b).

are alone responsible for 56 out of the total number of 88 deviations quantified in the writings of the judges, a clear 64 per cent.

The Magistrates, on the other hand, have been allocated a variety two usage because, from the variety and frequency of deviant features in their writings, their performance is clearly not at par with that of the higher judges. Reasons have been advanced for their inferior ability: the nature of their work coupled with the lack of experience in the use of the language that years on the Bench have bestowed on the other cadres of judges. A look at Table II below reveals, for instance, that whilst seven of the categories of deviation are shared by the High Court Judges and the Magistrates - types (10), (6), (8), (4), (7), (9) [illegible] deviations - the frequency of occurrences in all but one of the cases is usually higher for the Magistrates than for the High Court judges.

More significantly, there are certain types of deviation that are unique to the Magistrates: types (1), (~~20~~ 19), (5) and (~~15~~ 14). These categories of deviation, in our view, are in fundamental ~~uses~~ areas of the language. Types (1) and (~~20~~ 19), it may be recollected, are, respectively, L1-prompted structures (of which there are 38, forming

a proportion of 26% of all deviations in the writings of the Magistrates) and Maze structures, that is, structures not instantly intelligible. There are 8 cases of the latter, 5%, showing that 31% of the deviations in the case of the Magistrates are of a very important kind. We are justified in suggesting that, to the extent that a piece of writing in Nigeria features a large number of deviations of types (1) and (20), to that extent should that piece be regarded as automatically excluded from the third-variety column.

Concerning the High Court judges, deviation types (13), (10VII) and (2) have been found unique to them. There are 2 cases of type (13), 3 of type (10VII) and 8 of type (2). The 2 cases of type (13) can be quickly dismissed as resulting from careless writing or from attraction (see citation (39) above). Concerning type (2), of which there are 8 instances, it can be said that though absent in the case of the Magistrates, the 8 cases of type (19) already discussed as present in their writings are in fact much more advanced cases of type (2) deviations found in the writings of the High Court judges. Cases of maze structure are surely graver deviations, in terms of English syntax, than those of pattern failure.

It must also be remembered that High Court judges are often just a step ahead of the Magistrates hierarchically. It is therefore understandable that while the judges no longer write unintelligible structures, type (19), they are still not immune from writing those that, occasionally, deviate in pattern (type 2).

With regard to type (10vii), the present writer finds it difficult to explain its absence in the writings of the Magistrates while it has been present in those of the Court of Appeal and High Court judges. In any case, it seems a minor fault, and one that is easy to overlook.

The table below summarizes clearly the findings of the chapter as they relate to the two different varieties discussed in the chapter. And we have decided to use the High Court judges as our foil to the Magistrates because they (the judges) are the closest in rank to the Magistrates, the Appeal judges being obviously at a higher remove to them. This is to ensure, it is hoped, a more valid comparison between the two cadres of jurists.

II

TABLE XIV

Deviation Type No.	Category of Deviation	Number of occurrences			
		Magistrates (Variety-two)		High Court judges (variety-three)	
*(1)	L1-prompted structures	35	22.4%	-	-
(10)[others]	Verb forms	29	18.6%	8	14.3%
(6)	Lexis	28	17.9%	9	16.1%
(8)	Prepositions	21	13.5%	10	17.9%
(4)	Excessive deletion	13	8.33%	10	17.9%
*(19)	Maze structures	8	5.13%	-	-
*(5)	Word-order	7	4.49%	-	-
(7)	Determiners	6	3.85%	3	5.36%
(10iii)	Dangling participles	3	1.92%	-	-
*(14)	Strange collocations	3	1.92%	-	-
**(10vii)	Wrong infinitives	-	-	3	5.36%
**(2)	Pattern failure	-	-	8	14.3%
(9)	Violation of mutual expectancy	3	1.92%	3	5.36%
**(13)	Form-class shift	-	-	2	3.57%
Total		156	100%	56	100%

NB: * Deviations unique to Magistrates.

** Deviations unique to High Court judges.

DEVIANT FEATURES IN THE PERFORMANCE OF HIGH COURT JUDGES AND MAGISTRATES IN THE NIGERIAN COURTS OF LAW.

III.

THE VARIETIES OF WRITTEN ENGLISH IN THE NIGERIAN PRESS

This chapter will attempt to examine the chief linguistic features of the different varieties of English in the Nigerian newspaper press. The discussion will take into consideration only those journals published in English, these being the really national newspapers, distinct from those published in Nigerian languages.

Three Nigerian journals have been selected for the exercise, because of their more or less representative nature. The first is the elitist Nigerian Opinion, the brain-child of the University "intellectuals", illustrating in its linguistic features a competence and performance in English that is not far flung from the native speaker's. The second is the Modern Woman, designed primarily to cater for the relatively "low-brow" housewives, this being reflected in a rather pronounced fashion in the English performance of most of the contributions. The third is the popular,

widely circulated Daily Times, a cross between the first two. Ten issues of the Nigerian Opinion, 12 of the Modern Woman and a month's issue - thirty copies - of the last one were examined in detail.

The analysis will be based on three broad descriptive categories of tenor of discourse, syntax and lexis. It is, however, not practical to interpose a hard and fast line between tenor and lexis as the former is, at least for the purpose of this study, the synchronization of lexis and syntax to produce certain effects on the reader. We shall be using tenor (Sensu Spencer)[1] in this study as the dimension that accounts for the degree of formality (in its different manifestations) in the situation of the language event.

1. Tenor

The three journals will be discussed together under the three aforementioned descriptive labels; we shall first give three examples, one from each journal, of appropriate use of tenor.

(a) Nigerian Opinion

If the linguistic performance of the contributors to this journal is anything to go by, it should not be

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1. John Spencer et al (ed.) Linguistics and Style. London, O.U.P., 1964; page 86 following.

difficult to subscribe willingly to Abercrombie's enthusiastic remark (quoted earlier on) on the astonishing homogeneity of standard English the world over.[1] The language of the journal is usually unexceptionable. The reason for this is that the journal is edited by University dons, one of whom, in fact, is at present a Reader in English language. Furthermore, most of those who contribute articles to the journal, when not lecturers and professors, are postgraduate research students, people who should be considered as belonging to the rank of the most highly formally educated members of the Nigerian society. It is, therefore, not easy to find fault with the syntax, lexis, and usually, the tenor of their English language performance. Their competence and performance are clearly third-variety usage of written English in Nigeria. Their use of English is comparable to that of any educated user's wherever in the English-speaking world he may be. Theirs, therefore, is a language performance one should not hesitate to call "Educated Nigerian English", and whenever in the course of the study one linguistic form or another is said to be "substandard" or "deviant", we shall be implying that that particular item will be

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1. David Abercrombie, op.cit.

unacceptable to a user of the Educated Nigerian English.

Examining the tenor of the Nigerian Opinion, one finds that most of the contributions are normally very precisely written, and usually pellucid. There are rare exceptions, however, and these we shall be discussing in a moment. The citation below is a pssage which, grosso modo, is typical, in its linguistic features, of the language of the journal:

> (1) It is obvious that hundreds of years of contact between Africans and the outside world cannot but leave its mark on the Africans and their culture. When two cultures meet, each borrows from the other(;) the amount of borrowing of one from the other depends on the level of each culture and the nature and extent of contact. Where, for instance, the contact is peaceful, actual borrowing is almost imperceptible, almost unobtrusive.[1]

Here the language is simple, straightforward and easy to grasp. There is no unnecessary embellishment for effect, no tortuous structure, and no structural error apart from the minor orthographic detail of the lack of a semi-colon after other in the sixth line of the passage. This, in short, is lucid prose. We may now examine one of the "rare exceptions".

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1. Nigerian Opinion: (Ibadan), Nov./Dec. 1969. "Foreign Culture on African Heritage".

This exemplifies what we may roughly call the "Register of Polemical Writing". But before going on to examine the passage, we need to make an extrapolation that will serve as a point of departure for the discussion that will follow. In a recent Ford Foundation-sponsored survey into the problems of English Language Teaching in the country, Harold P. Van Cott, writing one of the reports, remarks, inter alia:

> While no quantitative data were available to the survey team on the quality of written English, frequent references were made by teachers at all levels about several distinct characteristics of English essays and compositions prepared by Nigerian students. They tend to be somewhat pedantic, making especially extensive use of rather flowery expressions.[1]

At the first blush, the extract we shall be examining seems to justify, to a large extent, Cott's remarks above in that it exemplifies what he has called the "somewhat pedantic" diction and other forms of "flowery expressions" that some Nigerians are prone to use when writing. A closer look, however, will reveal that there is a very good reason for this rather dramatic change from the usual tenor of the language of the

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1. Harold P. Van Cott: "Other Language Skills", in Harold P. Van Cott (ed.) ELT in Nigeria, page 57.

journal. It is that the writer's intention in this case is palpably different, and the field of discourse now dictates its functional tenor. Here, then, is the passage; it is from the May-July 1969 issue of the journal. Captioned "The 'Humanitarian' factor in Nigerian Affairs (4)", the first paragraph reads:

> (2) The phrenetic energy and abundant passion expended by the sanctimonious 'humanitarians' on an issue are not necessarily based on verified evidence. More often than not, the hue and cry and the interpretations made in Europe and the New World by individuals and organizations rest more on fancies than on facts, more on appearance than on realities. These 'humanitarian' barkers are not to blame for the frightful credibility gap between their pronouncements and the happenings in Africa; they are, in a sense, innocent victims of colossal ignorance about Africa whose latent humanitarian sentiment is being exploited and manipulated by astute and consciously mischievous neocolonialist agents and agencies in Africa ...

The writer's functional tenor in the citation above is clearly polemical. It is significant, for instance, that in the title to the article, the author has deliberately ~~enclosed~~ placed the item 'Humanitarian' between inverted commas (as he has done with the same form in the second and ~~ninth~~ tenth lines of the citation), suggesting that the term in the context here is a mis-

nomer when applied to the people with whom he is concerned in the article.

Stylistically, the passage is rhetorical. In the first sentence, the energy is phrenetic, and the passion abundant that is expended by 'humanitarians' who are sanctimonious and these /energy and passion/ are not based on verified evidence. The contributor seems to prefer words of Latin origin to the shorter and simpler everyday ones. In the sentence examined here, there are five nouns, four of which are modified.

The author's use of pairs of structures also contributes to this rhetorical effect: the hue and cry, by individuals and organizations, more on fancies than on facts, more on appearance than on realities, exploited and manipulated, astute and consciously mischievous, neocolonialist agents and agencies are some of these.

As was pointed out earlier on, it is the field of discourse, "humanitarians", that has dictated this particular functional tenor. The writer's intention, which is to attack the principle and the methods of operation of the humanitarian agencies in Nigeria during the civil war in the country, has been clearly reflected in the rather aggressive tone (and verbiage)

of his language.

(B) Tenor in the Daily Times

Whilst it could be said in general terms that the variety of English illustrated in the Nigerian Opinion is the postulated third (our suggested Educated Nigerian English), what we find in the Daily Times is a mixture of varieties three and two, the reason for which we have already suggested at the beginning of the chapter.

Another point is that one gets an impression, after a careful study of the language of the journal, of a pervasive formality of tone in it. What is meant by this is that in a number of cases, the style is not appropriate to the topic: the same formality is apparent in the high-brow articles as well as in those sent in by the semi-literate members of the society - those usually published in the Public Opinion column of the newspaper.

There is also a humourless quality in most of the pieces published in the journal, and this may be taken as contributory to the formality of its language. To illustrate this quality as clearly as possible, we need

to make a brief comparison of two passages, one from the journal and the other from The Times of London; both passages are similar in the situation they are reporting on. The first one is from the British journal:

(3) Hunters Bag 21 people and a bus in Italy

> The bag for the first day in the Italian hunting season included one man killed, 20 people injured and one bus winged.[1]

The humour here, if grim, is unmistakable. The hunters, surely, do not wish to bag such unusual game as "one man killed, 20 people injured and one bus winged". In this unpropitious moment for light-heartedness, therefore, one still finds some humour. The report is instantly interesting, and it is the humour here that enhances the readability of the passage.

The Nigerian Daily Times, in the extract below, describes a matchet attack on some villagers:

(4) Thirteen inhabitants of Afe Village ... were yesterday matcheted to death by an irate man described as a 'tax collector'. According to a police report at Ilesha last night, the assailant was reported to have matcheted the 13 villagers to death following a dispute between him

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1. London Times, September 1, 1970. "Hunters Bag 21 people and a bus in Italy".

and his victims over the collection of the current year tax in the area.[1]

The language of the passage is quite formally 'correct', rather impersonal, and humourless. Perhaps the sentence structures exhibited by each of the different extracts should be regarded as contributory to the effect each of them has on the reader. The passage from the London paper favours the run-of-the-mill actor-goal constructions, the subject followed by the predicator and its three complements. That from the Nigerian daily is more formal, chiefly because of its preference for the passive structures: "Thirteen inhabitants ... were ... matcheted to death by an irate man described as a tax collector ... the assailant was reported ..." which seem to have a somewhat distancing effect on the reader. While it may be objected that the passage from the London Times has treated a serious matter with unpardonable levity,[2] it can be equally said with regard to the Nigerian passage that it is too serious, and most readers would probably opt for the earlier passage.

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1. Daily Times, (Lagos), September 5, 1970. "13 killed in Matchet Attack in a Village".

2. The levity here, it must be admitted, is understandable since the British daily is reporting on something that happened in another country.

(C) Tenor in the Modern Woman

One important thing to mention at the outset when tenor is discussed in respect of this monthly is that of the "short stories" that are a regular feature in the magazine about two-thirds are expatriate in origin and content, being short stories from overseas contributors, who are not Nigerian. The illustration of inappropriate tenor is from one of the Nigerian stories:

> (5) However, we must swing into action at once. I shall soon see if he was used. Truth will unmask itself sooner or later. But now it's time for action.[1]

A private detective is here addressing his secretary. It is, one feels, rather unusual to address one's private secretary in these clearly formal tones. All the expressions are not very original ones: swing into action, see if he was used, truth will unmask itself, now it's time for action.

A brief word at this juncture as a kind of conclusion to the discussion so far on the tenor is in place, and this is that most users of English language in Nigeria have not been exposed, either through teaching or otherwise, to many registers of English. The one

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1. Modern Woman, October 1970, page 27: "Sent to Kill".

they are mostly familiar with is the formal "correct" English, so-called. The consequence of this in terms of performance in English is that whatever may be his purpose and whoever the audience he envisages, the average Nigerian user of English usually employs the same register throughout. One other important reason for this lack of versatility in our usage of the language is the fact that Nigerians do not often use English in familiar (familial) circumstances; it is pidgin or the L1 that is usually preferred in these cases. Most of the situations that require the use of English are formal ones, and inevitably, the language becomes formalized. More will be said about this in the last chapter of the thesis.

2. Third-Variety Performance in the Nigerian Press

We said at the beginning of the chapter that the language of the Nigerian Opinion represents very clearly variety-three performance in written Nigerian English, and we saw then that citation (1) typifies, in its linguistic features, the language of the journal.

It should not be taken, however, that the two other journals examined for the study are written uniformly in

substandard English. There are, as was pointed out, extracts from the journals that are clearly as third-variety in their linguistic features as the passages from the Nigerian Opinion. The six citations that follow - three from the Daily Times, and three from the Modern Woman - illustrate clearly this point:

> (6) The Daily Times ... is quite aware of the various methods which these strangers within our gates have adopted to dupe, swindle and exploit innocent Nigerians over the years. They have not only abused our traditional hospitality, but have also wantonly exploited our liberalism because of our open-door policy towards all would-be foreign investors and businessmen ...
>
> We dare say that the time has come when the government should spell out, unequivocably, its attitude towards foreign investors and firms so as to leave nobody in doubt about his limitations.[1]
>
> (7) Leaders of the non-aligned world found themselves sharing identical views on the two major issues of Southern Africa and economic progress on the second day of their summit in Lusaka yesterday. Speaker after speaker stressed in their public statements ... the need for uncommitted poor nations to co-operate economically if they were to make their political independence meaningful.[2]

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1. Daily Times, September 1, 1970, page 3; editorial comments, "Curb the Exploiters".

2. Daily Times, September 10, 1970, page 3: "Non-aligned Leaders Decry Racism".

(8) Free education at all levels has been suggested in some quarters as a recipe for promoting national unity and stability since it is an essential step if the educational imbalance between the northern states and other parts of the country is to be corrected. But while it cannot be disputed that free education is an important social objective for the country, we have to face reality and admit that it is not practicable at the moment; for as General Gowon has rightly pointed out "it is a very expensive exercise and we have to be guided by the economy".[1]

These three passages exhibit the same clarity of expression and easily intelligible structures as were pointed out earlier in the case of citation (1). This is not surprising, considering the fact that the daily, as said at the beginning, tries to cater for both the sophisticated and the not so literate members of the society. When we come to discuss variety-two usage in the paper, the point will become clearer.

Concerning the third journal, Modern Woman, although the point was made earlier in the chapter that it is designed primarily for the relatively low-brow house-wives, it is not intended to suggest thereby that there are nothing but substandard features in the journal.

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1. Daily Times, September 26, 1970, page 3: Editorial comments: "Bridging the Gap".

There are, rather, some passages that clearly exhibit third-variety characteristics; the three citations below are illustrations:

> (9) Perhaps, I should not sound so uncharitable. He has something he can truly call his own after all: the fat bank overdraft about which his bankers are considering taking court action; perhaps there is another. The bills on beer and tobacco from the shopkeeper next door. You may have to intercede between him and some impatient creditors ...[1]

One could see in the passage a few of the characteristics of a variety-three performance: the varying sentence length, the different sentence structures and, more interestingly, the sardonic humour that permeates the whole citation, evidence, clearly, of the author's ease with the language.

The other citations are essentially similar to the one above:

> (10) It was a big market by African standards and was bubbling with life. There were pedlars and hawkers and for a moment I felt as if I were back at home, except for the funny hum the language has in my ears. Women outnumber men greatly in the market, and they are full of enthusiasm and tricks just like at home..[2]

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1. Modern Woman, October 1970, page 33: "You be the judge" (by the Editor).

2. Modern Woman, November 1970, page 9: "Women dominate Men".

and, finally,

> (11) Tola thinks she is in a terrible fix and does not know what to do. She has been married to Olu for three months and they have been very happy.
>
> In their courting days, one cannot say Tola had any problems with the members of Olu's family. Except one person, of course, Olu's only sister, 'Toun. This didn't bother Tola much because everyone thought 'Toun a bad-tempered girl ...1

The six citations just made (6) to (11), clearly illustrate a highly competent performance in English. If all the passages in the respective journals from which these are excerpts had been written in this way, one would not have hesitated to consider the English language of the Nigerian Press as clearly undoubtedly variety-three usage.

This, however, is not the case, and in fact the Nigerian Opinion the "best" of the three in terms of language, still sports some occasional substandard features. These, however, are very rare occasions, there just being four instances in the twelve editions examined for the study. These will now be discussed before we move on to variety-two performance in English

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1. Modern Woman, October 1970, page 38: "You be the judge" (by the Editor).

of the Nigerian Press. The first is from the January - February 1969 edition of the magazine:

> (12) To avoid a similar eventuality and side by side with the war efforts of the Federal Military Government, it should enforce its decree on corruption. (Type (2) deviation).

The 'it' - the subject of this clause - seems to have some other referent than the Federal Military Government, which is the intended subject of the whole construction, resulting in some minor confusion. To be unambiguous, the sentence should read something like:

> "To avoid a similar eventuality and side by side with its war efforts, the Federal Military Government should enforce its decree on corruption".

A rather more serious case is the sentence that follows; it highlights the difficulty of many BL2[1] users with the indirect statements. Below is the sentence:

> (13) "So far we have not touched on the problem of who should determine the shares of the NGRF and 'on what basis' should the shares be determined".[2] (type 2).

---

1. BL2 means English as a second language.

2. Nigerian Opinion, Nov./Dec. 1969, page 486: "Reconstructing Nigeria's Revenue Allocation System".

The Standard English order for the last line of the passage above would be something like: "... and 'on what basis' the shares should be determined".

The next problem to be discussed is the one of tenses. There appears to be a consensus of opinion among TESL (Teaching of English as a Second Language) experts that the confusion of tenses is one of the greatest learning problems of an EL2 learner. This point is clearly evidenced in the next citation; and it should be recalled that virtually all the articles are the product of the highly educated users of the language in the country:

> (14) As they had to work under and understand their colonial masters, it became imperative that the language of their colonial masters have to be understood and spoken.[1] (type 10i).

There is one instance of deviation type (16):

> (15) As each state gets underway vested interests will spring up around them who may resist vehemently any attempts to reduce the powers and functions of the state.[2] (My italics).

"Which" rather than who would be more appropriate in the context above.

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1. Nigerian Opinion, Nov./Dec., 1969, page 481.

2. Ibid.

There is also the case of incongruence in the second line of the extract, (15), where the item "them", a plural form, is made to refer to a singular noun ("each state").

These four cases, then, are the only instances of syntactic deviation that have been observed in the journal. It will be clear that in all the cases, the errors are venial and do not mar intelligibility at all. This vindicates our earlier contention that the more (formally) educated a Nigerian, the better is one's English language ability.

When it comes to the Daily Times, however, we may find that the deviations may not be so venial.

3(a) Variety-Two Usage in the Nigerian Press:

the Daily Times

Peter Strevens, commenting on the language of the West African press has observed that:

> Even in the realm of the written language the process of learning is imperfect ... as reference to any issue of those West African newspapers printed in English will confirm. Nevertheless, even if the style is sometimes inappropriate, the product is always (at least, almost always) intelligible.[1]

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1. Peter Strevens: "English Language in West Africa; Pronunciation" in Papers in Language and Language Teaching; page 121.

This seems a fair summing-up of the situation with regard to the language of the Daily Times. The editorials, as we have seen, are very often in well-written prose, as is the case with some of the other features, especially those contributed by those already referred to as the elite of the society. What was said earlier on must be recalled here as particularly pertinent to what we shall be discussing soon, namely, that the countrywide outlook of the paper compels it to publish not only well-written third-variety articles but also those that are not so nearly learned. The heterogeneous nature of the contributors thus ensures a varying degree of English performance.

The next few pages will be devoted to those cases of syntactic deviations that are to be found in the newspaper. We shall first deal with the greatest number of faults - those concerning the function words (specifically, the prepositions and the conjunctions). With the EL2 learner, prepositions can be quite troublesome, as we saw earlier on in the case of even Nigerian judges. Banjo explains the case of the Yoruba learner thus:

> The difficulties of the Yoruba learner of English in the area (where we have an enormous split situation) are further

> aggravated by the idiosyncrasies of English usage shown in the semantic features of most of the prepositions. Thus, we have at Ikeja but in Lagos and in Nigeria, at Christmas but on Christmas day, not to mention in the air and on the air.[1]

Although this is said mainly in respect of the Yoruba learners of English, the other Nigerian learners of the language, mutatis mutandis, are usually in the same predicament.

Durojaiye[2] also found that prepositions and conjunctions constitute a great problem to the secondary school pupils whose compositions she examined for her error analysis exercise. These "idiosyncrasies of English prepositions" (Banjo's phrase) do prove troublesome to EL2 users and the faults that can be found in the Daily Times are therefore not completely unexpected.

Six cases of deviation type (15ii) and four of type (8) will be given below:

> (16) Planning is very important ... in a country which is expanding as rapidly like Nigeria.[3] (type 15ii).

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1. Ayo Banjo: "A Contrastive Study of Aspects of the Syntactic and Lexical Rules of English and Yoruba". Ph.D. Thesis, University of Ibadan, 1969; page 145, paragraph (5.4.2).

2. Susan Durojaiye: op.cit., page 132.

3. Daily Times, September 1, 1970, page 14.

(17) I would much like to address him ... as a clergyman than as a commissioner.[1] (type 15ii).

(18) The greatness ... depends much on the youths than the elders.[2] (type 15ii).

(19) Dr. Kaunda's strides in growth rate than Nyerere's Tanzania.[3] (type 15ii).

(20) Such events are manifest in such areas like the new deal ...[4] (type 15ii).

(21) Certain people still indulge in such indefensible practices like bribery, corruption and nepotism.[5] (type 15ii).

And the next four illustrate deviation type (8):

(22) A dutiful mother who devoted her life for the services of her children.[6]

(23) "The Arsenal is a different squad than ... six years ago".[7]

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1. Daily Times, September 3, 1970, "How dare you, a Clergyman".
2. " September 21, page 11, "Myth and a lie".
3. " September 29, page 21: "Multi-party system, an ideal".
4. " September 26, page 7: "Well done, Nigerian Musicians".
5. " September 29, page 17: "Nigerians told to eschew all evils".
6. " September 23, page 15: "In Memoriam".
7. " September 24, page 22: "Arsenal of Today".

(24) Facilities ... are more easily available to such people than others.[1]

(25) Sammy ... in a beautiful volley made their second goal amidst cheers.[2]

Deviations in sentence structures will now be examined. 10 are cases of type (2) deviation, 1 of type (4), 2 of type (10vii(b)), 2 of type (18), and 2 of type (10iii). We shall cite five examples of type (2) deviation:

(26) Mandillas Ltd. is based, controlled and serviced from Nigeria, for Nigeria and predominantly by Nigerians.[3]

(27) He said: As a matter of fact, we started the business together since the past 25 years.[4]

(28) The board should therefore be empowered to fix as low as possible brideprice to enable the many eligible bachelors in our midst who are inhibited by high dowry demands.[5]

(29) I should therefore like to suggest that your book reviewers, like the "German medicine" advertisers, to include the names of shops.[6]

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1. Daily Times, September 26, page 2: "Ideal concept of citizenship".
2. Sunday Times, September 19, 1970, page 23, "Mobile Police Record 3-1 Victory".
3. Daily Times, September 1, 1970 page 12: "Mandillas".
4. " September 10, 1970, page 11: "I have been a robber for 25 years".
5. " September 5, 1970, Public Opinion: "Peg brideprice too".
6. " September 1, 1970, page 1: "Where are the books".

(30) Later yesterday, detectives arrested a man whom they believed could give them a clue in connection with the daylight robbery.[1]

One could say about citation (28) that the fault is lexico-grammatical, the confusion of the form enable with "help" seems the reason for the deviant structure. The pattern failure in the case of citation (30) is a result of the "who-whom" confusion. Banjo, in his thesis, explains the cause of this problem thus:

> It seems that the Yoruba learner believes that whenever the relative pronoun is followed by a Noun phrase, whom is used, whereas when followed by a verb who is used.[2]

The sole instance of deviation type (4) is given below:

(31) This Torch of Unity will be carried to all the State capitals for the purpose of ushering in the second decade of our own existence as a nation - the decade of development and reconstruction - signify our determination to build a virile and free nation.[3]

This is a substandard structure as the form signify does not seem to have any grammatical subject.

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1. Daily Times, September 30, 1970: "Bandits strike at Ikeja Factory".

2. Ayo Banjo's Ph.D. Thesis, op.cit., page 129.

3. Sunday Times, September 26, page 1: "Nigeria's Torch of Unity on nation-wide trip".

(10viib)

The two cases of type [illegible] are these:

(32) The above quotations ... make us to understand...[1]

(33) The phenomenal strides ... have made some people to associate fast development rate with monopartism.[2]

The two citations below illustrate type (18):

(34) LCTS again! I think it is high time we have a rival transport system in the country.[3]

(35) It is high time we take pride in things of our own.[4]

The unsophisticated SL2 user will tend to write the above structures in an attempt to logicize the idiomatic expressions; his case is understandable as the import of the structure is usually potential, and definitely non-past.

And finally, the two examples of (10iii):

(36) After sitting in the bus for ten minutes, a driver gets in and gets down again.[5]

(37) After driving you to their garage, the passengers decided to register their protest.[6]

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1. Daily Times, September 3, 1970: Public Opinion: "How dare you, a clergyman".
2. Daily Times, September 30, 1970.
3. Sunday Times, September 26, page 7, "LCTS again".
4. Daily Times, September 29, "Why Dorina".
5. Sunday Times, September 26, page 7.
6. Ibid.

It may be noted, parenthetically, that instead of the passengers, in citation (37), simply 'protesting', they prefer "to register their protest". Many Nigerian learners of English, as we have earlier pointed out, think it is better to employ the verbose than the simpler "undignified" forms.

3(b) Second-Variety Performance in the Modern Woman

The language ability of most of the contributors to this monthly belongs clearly in the second-variety column of the postulated varieties of written Nigerian English. There are, of course, passages that are definitely third-variety in the paper as we demonstrated earlier on in the chapter. The point, however, is that it is almost impossible to read through a whole page of the Modern Woman without coming across some substandard form or another.

The deviations observed in the journal are exactly 88, constituted as follows:

(i) Deviation type (8): 24 cases, i.e. 27% of faults
(ii) " " (2): 13 " 15% "
(iii) " " (10vii) [11]: 9 " 10% "
(iv) " " (10ii): 8 " 9% "

(v) Deviation type (10i): 6 cases, i.e. 7% of faults.

(vi) " " (15ii): 6 " 7% "

(vii) " " (10iv): 5 " 6% "

(viii) " " (10vi): 5 " 6% "

(ix) " " (3): 4 " 5% "

(x) " " (5): 3 " 3% "

(xi) " " (11): 3 " 2% "

(xii) " " (16): 2 " 2% "

(i) Type (8) Deviation:

4 out of the 24 instances of this fault quantified in the journal will be cited:

(38) I have spent more money for her than for the other girl.[1]

(39) A girl may pretend to be in love with a boy for the money he is spending for her.[2]

(40) Imagine my surprise then on a few days later when it was my birthday ...[3]

(41) I am a 22-year-old man working under one of the big Corporations in Nigeria.[4]

In the first two citations, for has been deviantly used on Yoruba L1 analogy: ("Owó ti mo nó fún un = "the

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1. Modern Woman, August 1970, page 32: "Guideline to Successful Marriages".
2. Ibid.
3. Modern Woman, January 1970, page 40: "Dear Remi".
4. Modern Woman, September 1970, page 34: "Dear Remi".

money I spent for her"). Concerning citation (40), Banjo's explanation is quite valid:

> "...a great deal of adverbial phrases in Yoruba are introduced by ni: Thus last week is ni ose ti o koja which leads some learners to say in last week.[1]

This is the reason for the deviant on of citation (40).

(ii) Type (2)

15% of faults are of this type, and 3 citations will illustrate:

(42) No sooner had all anticipating applicants anxiously been waiting for quite over two hours ... then (sic) they suddenly hear /the Manager's/ calls.[2]

(43) This was rather than humiliation and disappointment on the part of School Certificate holders.[3]

(44) It was at last disclosed that only primary six holder services are needed.[4]

(C10VII)

(iii) Type (3)

The 4 examples below illustrate this deviation:

(45) I will also be the last person to allow her sit at home.[5] (C10VIIa)

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1. Ayo Banjo's Thesis, op.cit., page 145, paragraph (5.42).
2. Modern Woman, July 10, 1970, page 2: "Job trouble".
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Modern Woman, December 1969, page 40: "Letters".

(46) Children brighten the home, make the husband to shower love on his wife and the wife to be devoted in return.[1] (10VIIb)

(47) She should have the moral satisfaction to do this.[2] (10VIIb)

(48) See what chance you have to win the contract.[3] (10VIIb)

In the last two cases, the gerundive constructions would seem to be more appropriate than the infinitive structures.

(iv) Type (10ii)

There are 8 instances of this type, that is, 9% of faults. The two citations below illustrate:

(49) With it comes all kinds of things.[4]

(50) It is only when sanity and reason has returned to them ... that they start to have affairs.[5]

The incongruence in the first case is clearly a result of attraction: it attracts comes. We saw in Chapter II that this kind of attraction is usually at the root of

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1. Modern Woman, December 1969, page 24: "Be Grateful to Your Parents".
2. " December 1969, page 40: "Letters".
3. " September 1970, page 22: "From the fury of our women".
4. " July, 1970, page 2: "Letters".
5. " January 1970, page 41: "Is Legal Marriage Necessary?".

most faults of concord.

(v) Type (10i)

2 out of the 6 cases will be cited:

(51) No sooner had all anticipating applicants anxiously been waiting ... then they suddenly hear calls.[1]

(52) It was at last disclosed that only primary six holder services are needed.[2]

(vi) Type (15ii)

7% of all faults are those of the deviant use of the comparative or the correlative structures. The 3 cases to be examined are alike in nature to those earlier on quoted from the Daily Times (Cf citations (17) and (18) above):

(53) Women are to be blamed ... because they are too much for themselves and their jobs than the well-being of their husbands.[3]

(54) There is a lot to the meaning of happiness than what the present-day woman has for it.[4]

and (55) I love the girl dearly that I cannot do without kissing her picture.[5]

(vii) Type (10iv)

The next citation illustrates the fault with the Be-structure. There are five other cases in the journal.

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1. Modern Woman, July 1970, page 2: "Job Trouble".
2. Ibid.
3. Modern Woman, December 1969, page 3: "Readers' Views".
4. Ibid.
5. Modern Woman, November 1970, page 36: "Dear Remi".

(56) They haven't been giving the chance to matchmake.[1]

(viii) Type (10vi)

There are 5 cases of this in the text, forming an error proportion of 6%. Two citations are given below to illustrate the fault:

(57) Kindly help me in solving this problem[2]

(58) She was at least happy accepting Oye as their son-in-law.[3]

The infinitives would be more appropriate in both cases.

(ix) Type (3)

The four cases of wrong spelling are cited below:

(59) I had brought my campbed in anticipation of this family palava.[4]

(60) Money palava[5]

(61) The quotation ... might be unbenefitable (sic) to the up-bringing and maintainance of the left-behind family.[6]

(62) Teachers classify three principle degrees of ...[7]

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1. Modern Woman, August 1970, page 32: "Guideline to Successful Marriages".
2. " November 1970, page 36: "Dear Remi".
3. " June 1970, page 28: "The Intruder".
4. " December 1969, page 26: "Lagos Dame for Wife".
5. " November 1970, page 36: "Dear Remi".
6. " May 1970, page 2: "Your letters".
7. " May 1970, page 15: "Mainly for Children - The Art of Learning".

"Palaver" is the correct form in (59) and (60), "maintenance" in (61) and "principal" in citation (62); the confusion in the last case is a simple one of hyponymy.

(x) Type (5)

The 3 cases of word-order confusion are minor faults. The citation below is one of them:

(63) He had been a fool to have not taken notice of the popular game before now.[1]

(xi) Type (11)

Many Nigerian learners of English find some difficulty with the modals of the language; this is instanced in the next citation, one out of the three cases of such deviation in the Modern Woman.

(64) But what girl in her position, what girl is it who would not, when she was convinced that she has found and felt real affection won't want to 'grasp it'?[2]

The fact that the writer of the passage above feels that both forms - would not and won't - are interchangeable indicates clearly his shaky control of English verbal modality.

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1. Modern Woman, August 1970, page 32: "Guidelines to Successful Marriages".

2. Modern Woman, April 1970, page 5: "Had I known".

(xii) Type (16)

There are just 2 occurrences of this in the corpus; the one below illustrates the fault:

(65) At least any right-thinking woman should try to make the best use of their married time.[1]

Their in the citation is deviant, possibly as a result of attraction, the demonstrative any attracting the plural form their. The present writer has been told that this kind of structure sometimes crops up in the spontaneous speech of even educated EL1 speakers.

It should be clear from what we have said about the cases of syntactic deviations observed in the Daily Times and the Modern Woman that these examples typify the English language performance of a particular class of Nigerian users of English, those who would belong to our variety two. All the passages discussed in this section have, in other words, been written by people who still have noticeable learning problems. It might have been noted, in this connection, that the substandard features discussed in one journal are usually similar to those discussed in the other,

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1. Modern Woman, August 1970, page 32: "Guidelines to Successful Marriages".

indicating that the problems are real ones and not particular aberrant idiosyncractic usages. The next section will deal with the lexical features of the language of the Nigerian press.

3. Lexical Features

(a) Nigerian Opinion

It must be said at the outset that whatever we may have to say about lexis here is to be taken as complementary to some of the things already mentioned earlier on in the section on Tenor, as this latter feature is usually inextricably connected with a writer's choice of words. What, therefore, we shall be examining in this section are those lexical items that have been more or less deviantly employed. There are three cases of deviance in the Nigerian Opinion. The first is from the Editorial of the January/February 1970 issue of the magazine:

(66) With a jolt, Nigeria found herself at the cross-roads on January 12. The suddenness with which Ojukwu's rebellion petered out on that day magnified the proportion of the crossroads.[1] (Type no. 6i).

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1. Nigerian Opinion, Vol. 1/2, January-February, 1970, page 1: "Quo Vadis Nigeria".

The use of the phrasal verb petered out in the context of this passage is inappropriate; the two modifier groups (the suddenness with which; with a jolt) which precede the predicator (petered out) both denote abruptness and should not normally colligate with petered out, which describes something that gradually comes to an end. This, perhaps, is one of the reasons why the simpler forms of a verb are often preferred to the phrasal by learners of English. "Fizzled out" would have been more in order in the citation.

(67) But this is also because of the neglect of the necessary research, the discouragement by scholarship boards and others to finance historical education.[1] (Type no. 6i).

A more appropriate word for discouragement would be "unwillingness" (of), or "reluctance".

The final case is illustrated in the next citation.

(68) ... Be that as it may, few would dispute the fact that the tribunal found anyone guilty who was not so.[2] (Type no. 6i).

The confusion here is between dispute the fact and "argue that".

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1. Nigerian Opinion, Vol. 1/2, January-February, 1969, page 388: "History and the Nations".
2. Nigerian Opinion, November-December, 1969, page 488: "Wild, Wild, West".

(b) Daily Times

We have discussed, under Tenor, the way the choice of lexical items has been responsible for the formal nature of the language of the Daily Times. This section will therefore be devoted to an examination of the few cases of strange collocations and deviant usages that were found in the journal. The first is a case of "unusual collocation" (sensu Kachru).[1]

(69) Peg bride-price too.[2] (Type no. 14).

Bride-price is defined by the Random House Dictionary as the property and money taken to the parents of a bride-to-be by the suitor. It is clearly a case of a semantic shift.

The lexical confusion in the next citation is a result of L1 interference.

(70) His magical footwork ... and cultured headers - these never fail to marvel thousands of fans.[3] (Type no. 61).

The five other cases are deviant usages due to confusion. There is, for instance, the case of "job" used as a predicator in the sentence - a case of form-

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1. J. Kachru, "The 'Indianness' in Indian English", WORD, Vol. 21 (iii), December 1965, pages 391-411.

2. Daily Times, September 5, 1970, page 7: "Peg bride price too".

3. Daily Times, September 1970.

class shift.

(71) As a cover, all the women job as night club entertainers.[1] (Type no. 6i).

Here are the other four cases:

(72) Firstly, she did not take into account her own facial shape.[2] (Type no. 6i).

(73) The group performed marvellously and sang songs which were touching and melodramatic.[3] (Type no. 6i).

(74) The governor said the decision did not disturb any of the three states from having a bank...[4] (Type no. 6i).

and (75) They became quarrelous and attacked one another viciously.[5] (Type no. 6i).

(c) Modern Woman

There are cases in this journal of literal translations of L1 idioms into English. Here is an instance.

(76) Is it a girl who had read many books that you want?[6] (Type no. 18).

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1. Daily Times, September 2, page 12: "Beautiful Girls who toy with crime and death".
2. " September 2, page 15: "It was truly a woman's world on W.N.T.V.".
3. Ibid.
4. Daily Times, September 15: "East Assets for Team of Experts".
5. " September 22: "Overpopulation spells danger for international relations".
6. Modern Woman, December 1969, page 28: "Lagos Dame for Wife".

There are also cases of coinages like nammywagon, bride-price and some of extended usage like station, senior-service and so on.

There are, apart from these deliberate usages, two cases of type number (6i). The first is:

(77) They stood their grounds.[1]

The other one is:

(78) He even went so far as begging God to void our efforts.[2]

CONCLUSION TO CHAPTER

Two main variety usages of written Nigerian English - varieties three and two - have been examined in some detail in this chapter. Variety three performance has been instanced in the language performance of the contributors to the Nigerian Opinion, and in that of the editors, the feature writers and some of the journalists writing for the other two Nigerian journals examined for the study.

It has been shown that the major bulk of the writings of most of the contributors to the Modern

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1. Modern Woman, May 1970, page 31: "In the Mid-night Hour".

2. Modern Woman, October 1970, page 10: "From the Treachery of our Men".

Woman and the Daily Times - especially its Public Opinion columns - exhibits a second-variety performance. There have been observed in these two journals, as shown in Table III below, not fewer than one hundred and twenty-five substandard features, as compared with the mere seven in the Nigerian Opinion (see Table IV).

Some attention has also been given to the tenor of the language of the journals. Concerning the Nigerian Opinion, apart from the sole example of polemical writing discussed, there is no doubt that there is successful matching of tenor with the discourse. The other two journals, however, have been shown to fare worse in this regard as their language seems to exhibit, most of the time, a formality of tone, underlining the insufficient familiarity with the English language of the contributors. The chatty, conversational style that is lacking in these Nigerian journals is, in our opinion, one of their chief linguistic features.

The tables below show, respectively, those substandard features that have been observed in the Daily Times and the Modern Woman and in the Nigerian Opinion.

TABLE III

Deviation Type No.	Category of Deviation	No. of occurrences	Percentage (approx.)
(8)	Prepositions	32	26
(2)	Pattern failure	23	18
(15ii)	Wrong correlatives	12	10
(10vii)	Wrong/superfluous infinitives	11	9
(6)	Lexis	8	6
(10i)	Wrong tenses	6	5
(14)	Strange collocations	6	5
(10iv)	Be-structure	5	4
(10vi)	Participial forms	5	4
(3)	Visualization (orthography)	4	3
(5)	Word-order	3	2
(11)	Modals	3	2
(16)	Pronouns	2	2
(18)	Faulty idioms	2	2
(10iii)	Dangling participles	2	2
(4)	Excessive deletion	1	1
	Total	125	100

DEVIANT FEATURES IN SECOND-VARIETY WRITTEN ENGLISH IN THE NIGERIAN PRESS

DEVIATIONS IN VARIETY-THREE WRITTEN ENGLISH IN THE NIGERIAN PRESS (THE NIGERIAN OPINION)

TABLE IV+

Deviation Type No.	Category of Deviation	Number of occurences (per 100000 words)
(6i)	Lexis	3 (approx)
(2)	Pattern failure	2 "
(10i)	Wrong tenses	1 "
(7)	Preposition	1 "
Total		7

+ There are approximately 600 words per page and about 18 pages in an issue of the journal. 10 issues were consulted giving a total number of 108,000 running words.

IV.

FIRST-VARIETY USAGE IN NIGERIAN LITERARY ENGLISH

Amos Tutuola, as we said in the Introduction, is the only well-known Nigerian novelist who writes variety-one English; all the other authors whose works were examined for this study belong clearly in the third-variety column. The deviant features in their works are deliberate ones and are usually present for atmosphere. In the case of Tutuola, however, the deviations are unconscious and fairly represent his ability in the use of the English language. This chapter will therefore be devoted to quantifying those deviant features in the author's writing, using My Life in the Bush of Ghosts, that mark him out as a writer of variety-one Nigerian English.

It will be useful, however, to cite a couple of passages from one of the other authors whose deviations are made for artistic purposes. The citations are from Soyinka's works: the first is from The Road and the other from The Interpreters.

(1) Say Tokyo Kid: That's what would happen if your Professor came in. I don't give a damn for that crazy guy and he know it. He's an awright guy but he sure act crazy sometimes and I'm telling you, one of these days he's gonna go too far.[1]

The above citation clearly illustrates the point we have made that Nigerian authors usually make incursions into other varieties of English when this suits them. Soyinka here uses American English (or, perhaps, more accurately, Americanisms) to characterize Say Tokyo Kid, whose name is a pointer to his role and speech mannerisms in the play. The italicised forms are what have been referred to as Americanisms.

The other passage, a fairly long one, provides a good example of deliberate use of substandard language to create atmosphere. It is the inspired liturgical utterance of a member of the congregation in Lazarus' church. It is, as we said, from The Interpreters:

(2) The doctor in hospital he die. The rich man he die. The poor man, he die ... Jesus Christ himself, he die to prove to us that we must expect [illegible] favour ... On his wise head we rely on for so many advices, so many of our problem that we have to deal with, we are the foundation members who have been

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1. Wole Soyinka: The Road. London: O.U.P. (Ibadan), 1965, page 25.

> try to settle all quarrel, listen to the problems of our members and endeavour to do our best according to our poor wisdom of our disposal...
>
> And in his name ... I ask you to receive our brother Apostle, a sinner who is born again, a sinner who is wash in the blood of Christ and has choosing the path of righteousness.[1]

There are in all, eleven substandard features in the passage: error of concord, wrong pronominalization, superfluous preposition, wrong marking for plural noun, deviant tense forms and faulty idiomatic expression are all exhibited in the citation. It is evident that the speaker of the passage ~~was~~ belongs to the first-variety column of Nigerian English.

Besides these purely structural deviations, all the nine other authors use other forms of L1 locution for aesthetic purposes and local colour. There are, thus, many instances of proverb forms and other L1-inspired, syntactically non-deviant, features in their works. In the Appendix to this chapter we shall cite a few examples of these features from some of these authors.

We shall now examine the features in Amos Tutuola's novel, basing our quantification as usual on the classification of deviations formulated in the Introduction.

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1. Wole Soyinka: The Interpreters, African Writers Series, Heinemann, 1970, pages 170-171.

In the "Foreword" to his edition of My Life in the Bush of Ghosts[1], Geoffrey Parrinder wrote about Tutuola's English as "original and highly imaginative. His direct style [is] made more vivid by his use of English as it is spoken in West Africa ... The book has been edited to remove the grosser mistakes, clear up some ambiguities, and curtail some repetition. But the original flavour of the style has been left to produce its own effect". When we see in a moment some of the "lesser" mistakes in Tutuola's novel, it will then be clear why we have ascribed first-variety written Nigerian English to the author.

When quantifying the substandard features in Tutuola's English, one must constantly bear in mind French's warning that errors often defy easy categorization "for one kind merges into another as grey shades into blue".[2]

For the purpose of the analysis, the first nine chapters of My Life in the Bush of Ghosts (that is, pages 15 - 71), representing slightly over a third of the novel, have been studied in detail. This means that about 24,000 running words form the basis of the quantification

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1. Amos Tutuola: My Life in the Bush of Ghosts. (London: Faber & Faber) 1955. All page references are to this edition.

2. F.G. French: Common Errors in English. (London: O.U.P., first published in 1949), page 13.

of the deviances found in the work, there being roughly 350 words to a page. In all, 410 deviant features were identified, an error proportion of 1: every 60 words. In other words, one would come across a deviant feature after reading any five lines of any page of the novel.

The categories of deviances are as follows below:

Type (10i):	94
Type (6):	57
Type (2):	53
Type (1):	43
Type (9):	38
Type (8):	34
Type (4):	15
Type (12):	13
Type (15):	12
Type (14)	11
Type (7):	11
Type (13):	11
Type (19):	8
Type (5):	6
and Type (10iii):	4

These total, as we said earlier, 410 deviances.

The citations below instance the deviation types, beginning with type (10i) which constitutes about 23% of all deviances identified in the study.

(i) Type (10i)

15 illustrations - 10 of which instance the misuse, under L1 pressure, of the continuous aspect - will be given. They all underline Tutuola's shaky control of English tense forms:

(3) My father married three wives as they were doing in those days (17).

(4) These slave-wars were causing dead luck to both old and young of those days (18).

(5) But as my mother was a petty trader who was going here and there (18).

(6) But I was staggering about on this junction for about half an hour (25).

(7) All his body was ... wet with the rotten blood of all the animals that he was killing for his food (29).

(8) But when he threw me into the bag I was totally covered with the rotten blood of the animals which he was killing in the bush (30).

(9) Sometimes they were mistakenly biting me several times (31).

(10) ... but they gave me urine as their water which they were storing in a big pot (34).

(11) In the presence of the ghosts, my boss was changing me to some kinds of creatures (36).

(12) They were spending about four hours with me whenever they were coming to worship me, so I did not feel hunger again as I was eating all the sacrifices they were bringing to me (70).

In all ten cases, the simple past tense, rather than the continuous, would be more appropriate. Incidentally, all the citations above could as easily be regarded as illustrating type (10iv) deviances as type (10i), as they all deal with the misuse of the Be-structure.

The next three citations deal with the novelist's violation of the tense-sequence rule:

(13) He could not kill an animal unless it sleeps (31).

(14) I thought that perhaps he had forgotten me there and perhaps if he catches me again at that time he would remember to eat me (32).

(15) When I was baptised on that day, I was crying loudly so that a person who is at a distance of two miles would not listen before hearing my voice ... Then I told him to let me go away from their church and I do not want to marry again (60).

The final illustrations of this deviation type are the two citations below in which the preterite rather than the past perfect tense forms have been deviantly used:

(16) After he left these three ghosts and travelled till the evening, then he stopped suddenly (30).

(17) When it was about eight o'clock in the night my boss came out from that house together with some prominent ghosts ... and after they looked at me for some minutes he hung all the presents given to him on me ... (39).

(ii) Type (6)

57 cases of lexical aberration, that is 14% of the deviances, are present in the survey. 53 of these are of type (6i) and the remaining 4 of type (6ii). We shall cite seven examples of the former and three of the latter:

(18) Now it remained me alone in the bush (21).

(19) His bad smell was suspecting him that he was coming (31).

(20) Then I cast down inside the bag at the same moment (32).

(21) After the meeting had closed he got up (33).

(22) When I laid down to sleep ... (35).

(23) None of them talked a single word (36).

(24) But the butchers bought all the rest cows (45).

The three illustrations of type (6ii) are:

(25) I fell into the cow-men's hands (42).

(26) ... this good heard what the joke-man was saying (48).

(27) Some of these scene-lookers were clapping (62).

(iii) Type (2).

Cases of type (2) are exactly 53, forming 13% of all deviances quantified in the data. 10 citations will be given as illustrations:

(28) But as these enemies were approaching the town the lofty noises of their guns became fearful for us because every place was shaking at that moment (19).

(29) After I had travelled sixteen miles and was still running further for the fearful noises, I did not know the time that I entered into a dreadful bush ... because I was very young to understand the meaning of "bad" and "good". (22).

(30) But as the noises ... drove me very far until I entered into the "Bush of Ghosts" unnoticed, because I was too young to know that it was a dreadful bush or it was banned to be entered by any earthly person ... (22).

(31) I entered it and went inside it until I reached a junction of three ~~roads~~ paths which each led to a room as there were three rooms (23).

(32) Also it was this day I had ever seen ghosts without clothes on their bodies and they were not ashamed of their nakedness (27).

(33) This bag was so smelling and full of mosquitoes, small snakes with centipedes which did not let me rest for a moment (30).

(34) ... this plan means to escape from him (32).

(35) ... my boss would jump and kick me mercilessly, with gladness in the presence of these bystanders until he would leave the town (30).

(36) Having finished the corn another terrible ghost whose eyes were watering all over his body and his large mouth faced his back brought urine which was mixed with limestone to me (38/39).

(37) But as he ought to change me from the camel to a horse, because the camel is useful only to carry loads so by that he changed me to a person (40).

(iv) Type (1)

Of the 43 instances of this deviation type (constituting roughly 10% of all deviances), 8 examples will be cited:

(38) But as these wonderful creatures understood what my heart was saying they warned me not to choose any one of them with my mouth (27).

(39) ... then he stopped suddenly, thinking within himself with a loud voice either to eat me or to eat half of me ... (30).

(40) I noticed carefully ... that all the babies born the same day were also smelling as a dead animal (34).

(41) But if my head helps me ... I will change him from today to a permanent horse (41).

(42) One day, a famous ghost whose mother had died when all the eyes of the creatures were still on their knees invited all the ghosts (52).

(43) We are those babies and all the earthly people are calling such a baby "born and die" (55).

(44) When I was baptized on that day, I was crying loudly so that a person who is at a distance of two miles would not listen before hearing my voice (60).

(45) ... "by the way, how did you manage to enter into the 'Bush of Ghosts', the bush which is on the second side of the world between the heaven and earth..." (60).

The italicised structures in all eight cases are clear transliterations of Yoruba idioms and structures into English. Taking a few of the citations, for instance,

we see that in citation (41), if my head helps me is, in Yoruba, Tí orí mi bá ṣe é; when all the eyes of the creatures were still on their knees, (42) translates the Yoruba idiomatic expression: nígbàtí ojú wọn ì wà l'órúnkún, that is, "when they were toddlers"; the "born and die" of citation (43) is àbíkú (this, however, seems a conscious translation of Tutuola's which much cannot be said in respect of the other word-prompted structures). Finally, in the last citation, (45), the bush which is on the second side of the world between the heaven and earth is igbó tí ó wà l'ódi keji ayé lágbedeméji ayé àti ọrun.

It is in fact this feature in Tutuola that made a commentator, contributing to a seminar on the novelist's use of English,[1] remark that he (Tutuola) seems, often times, not to be writing English really but Yoruba which he then tries to render as best he could item by item into English. The novelist himself actually admitted as much in an interview he had with Peter Young and recalled by the latter in his article on the English Language of West African fiction published in John Spencer (ed.) The English Language in West Africa.

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1. Professor Ayo Bamgbose, Head of the University of Ibadan Department of Linguistics and Nigerian Languages, made these comments while contributing to the seminar on "Aspects of Tutuola's Use of English" presented by Ayo Banjo on the 10th February, 1971.

(v). Type (9)

Type (9) deviances form 9% of the total number of deviant features in the data, there being exactly 38 of them. Most of them are occasioned, as the citations below will illustrate, by the intrusive use of the particle or the other. 7 illustrations are given below:

(46) But as my mother was a petty trader who was going here and there, so one morning she went to a market ... (1).

(47) So when we could not bear it then we left our mother's room (19).

(48) But as the stroke of the enemies' guns was rushing to our view, then my brother left me on that road (20).

(49) But as I was very tired of roaming about before I reached there, so I bent down to see the hill (22/23).

(50) Of course, when the golden-ghost saw that I could not run two races at a blow successfully, so he quenched his own light (25).

The final citations of type (9) deviation are of the "Although ... but/so" type of construction; there are 2 of this:

(51) Although I appreciated or recognized these lights as the same, but I appreciated one thing more (26).

and (52) Although as he was carrying me along in the bush he was trying his best to kill the animals, his bad smell was suspecting him ... so they were running away before he could reach them (31).

(vi). Type (8)

8 illustrations of this deviation type will be given. 5 will illustrate type (8ii), of which there are 30 out of the 34 cases of this deviation type found in the text, and the remaining 3 will illustrate type (8i) - there are just 4 instances of (8i) in the data examined:

(53) When he tried all his power for several times (20).

(54) Everyone of them pointed his finger to me (24).

(55) But once I heard from him when discussing within himself (31).

(56) ... and it fell on to my head (31).

(57) They would kill me unfailingly on that day ... and I was not useful for them (45).

Type (8ii) deviation is illustrated with the three citations that follow:

(58) The town was also empty except ∧ the domestic animals ... (19).

(59) I fainted ∧ more than an hour before my heart come back to normal (30).

(60) ... he was punished in the fire of hell ∧ more than fifty years (59).

There is no doubt, from these illustrations, that most of the occurrences of deviation type (8) are the result of negative L1 (Yoruba) transfer.

(vii). Type (4)

4% of all deviances are of type (4). We shall cite 5 out of the 15 occurrences of this deviant feature:

(61) So it was at this stage I quite understood the meaning of "bad" because of hatred and had not yet known the meaning of "good" (17).

(62) At that time I was praying not to remember to present me to these ghosts (32).

(63) The highest prizes were given to one who had the worst smells and would be recognized as a king since that day (35).

(64) When heard so from me he started his story and also the story of that town as follows (53).

(65) But if it was not for this incognito lawyer who was very kind to me without knowing him elsewhere I would be imprisoned (63).

The fact that we have categorized these citations as belonging to type (4) deviation bears out clearly the truth in French's statement, referred to earlier in the chapter, that one kind of deviance merges subtly into another; all five citations above could, for instance, with equal validity be referred to as illustrating deviation type (2): pattern failure.

(viii). Type (12)

There are 13 instances of this deviation type (3% of all deviances). 5 citations should suffice as illustrations:

(66) Even as we were very young to know the meaning of "bad" and "good" (18).

(67) But when I had lain down flatly then I saw (23).

(68) he had carried it very far away before I woke (49).

(69) before the dawn I had travelled very far away from that town (56).

(70) so one day this my young ghost friend told me to accompany him to his mother's town which was about twenty miles away from that burglar ghosts' town (57).

In citation (66), very has been deviantly used for "too", in (67) flatly for "flat", and in the last three citations the adverbial form away has been used superflously.

(ix). Type (15)

There are 12 cases of this deviation type, constituting 3% of all deviances. 4 citations will illustrate:

(71) After that I asked him to give me food as I did not eat anything since I escaped from the "homeless-ghost" who was carrying me about, but as he was a kind ghost he gave me the food (53).

(72) But after he told me the story of their town ... I was very impressed and surprised (55).

(73) When we reached their church I saw that the Reverend who preached or performed the wedding ceremony was the "Devil" (59).

In the three cases "and", rather than but and or, is the appropriate conjunction. The contexts clearly show this. An instance of type (16ii) is given below:

(74) But as he himself was too young to carry such weight like me, so by that ... (20).

In (74) like is deviantly made to colligate with such.

(x). Type (14)

We shall also give 4 examples of this deviant feature. There are, in all, 11 of them forming 3% of the total number of deviances.

(75) These slave wars were causing dead luck to both old and young of those days (18).

(76) I became a tight friend with a young ghost (56).

(77) As I had already become tight friends with that young ghost (57).

(78) Of course, I did not shed tears at all on my eyes as I put hope that no doubt I would be easily captured (20).

In the first citation, dead luck seems to be Tutuola's version of "ill-luck". The collocation tight friend(s) in citations (76) and (77) is often, in

Nigeria, the equivalent of the Standard English form "fast friends". This is a carry-over from Nigerian pidgin. And in (78) put hope is a strange colligation in English. The author seems to be aiming at the Standard English idiom: "to pin one's hope on something or somebody".

(xi). Type (7)

9 of the 11 cases of this deviation type are of (7ii) and the remaining 2 of type (7i). Below are five illustrations of this feature, the first four will instance type (7ii) and the last, type (7i):

(79) Because if my heart speaks as a person my mouth would speak out the words in the cow's voice (47).

(80) This is how I escaped from the "homeless-ghost" who was carrying me about, and before the dawn I had travelled very far away (53).

(81) then he was expelled from hell to the "Bush of Ghosts" to remain there until the judgement day (59).

(82) It was in this doorless room which is in underground I first saw in my life that the biggest and longest among these snakes which was acting as a director for the rest ... (67).

(83) The highest prizes were given to one who had the worst smells (35) (Type 7i).

(xii). Type (17)

There are also 11 instances of this, out of which 4 examples will be given as illustrations:

(34) At this stage I had no chance to rest for a minute for all the periods that I spent with them (40).

(35) ... then he would go direct to the secret place where all the moneys and the sacrifices ... all would be alive... (55).

(36) Then he entered with bales of sewn clothes, sheep, goats, pigeons, fowls, all were still alive and moneys (56).

(37) ... no single hairs on his head (66).

In all these cases, the singular forms of the nouns are the appropriate ones.

(xiii). Type (19)

There are 8 structures that could be regarded as "maze" in the data examined for the chapter. It is, one feels, largely thanks to Parrinder, who has very considerately removed "the grosser mistakes, cleared up some ambiguities", that this deviation type forms just 2% of the deviances identified. Here are 5 illustrations:

(38) ... but when the golden ghost saw my movement which showed that I wanted to go to the copperish-ghost, so at the same time he lighted the golden flood of light all over my body to persuade me not to go to the copperish-ghost, as every one of them wanted me to be his servant (24).

(39) But as everyone of these three old ghosts wanted me to be his servant, so that the other two ghosts who were the golden-ghost and the silverish-ghost who gave me the

food that I preferred most, and both entered into the room of the copperish-ghost, all of them started to argue (26).

(90) This fight was so fearful and serious that all the creatures in that bush with big trees stood still on the same place that they were, even breezes could not blow at this time and these three old ghosts were still fighting on fiercely until a fearful ghost who was almost covered with all kinds of insects which represented his clothes entered their house when hearing their noises from a long distance (28).

(91) ... then he put reins into my mouth and tied me on a stump with a thick rope, after this he went back to the house and dressed in a big cloth which was made with a kind of ghosts' leaves which was the most expensive and he was only entitled to use such an expensive cloth as he is the King of all the smelling ghosts, but all these smelling-ghosts did not appreciate earthly clothes as anything (37).

and (92) It was not yet eight o'clock in the night before everybody slept in this town, and again when it was ten o'clock a heavy rain came and beat me till the morning, and also the mosquitoes which were as big as flies did not let^me^ rest once till the morning, but I had no hands to be driving them away from my body, although it^is^ only in this "Bush of Ghosts" such big mosquitoes could be found, and as I was in the rain throughout the night I was feeling the cold so that I was shaking together with my voice, but had no fire to warm my body (46).

(xiv). Type (5)

There are just 6 instances of this type in our data, out of which 5 examples will be given:

(93) But as I was too young to know "bad" and "good" I thought that it was an old man's house who was expelled from a town for an offence (23).

(94) ... then I tasted it as I was exceedingly feeling thirsty (39).

(95) Bvery early morning the cowmen would come (43).

(96) Whenever these ghosts met him and listened to my cry which was a lofty music for a few minutes (51).

(97) When it was about eight o'clock in the morning all the ghosts and ghostesses with their children of that town came to me (69).

In all five citations, the italicised portions have been wrongly placed resulting in some form of ambiguity in the structures where they appear.

Finally, we have three more citations to make concerning Tutuola's use of English, and these deal with the familiar type (10iii) deviation:

(xv). Type (10iii)

There are 4 occurrences of this and the following three citations illustrate the deviance.

(98) Having finished that, his wives who were all the while cooking all kinds of food, brought the food to them (36).

(99) Having finished the corn, another terrible ghost brought urine to me to drink (39).

and (100) Having reached there his mother gave us food and drinks (57).

Conclusion to Chapter

Tutuola, then, from the evidence of this chapter, is clearly a variety-one user of written English in Nigeria. The deviations quantified for this chapter - 410 of them - represent those identified in the first 56 pages of the novel, roughly a third of the text. This means that in all probability one would come across as many as 1,200 errors if one examined the whole text, which would be fairly formidable. This will seem to confirm our stand that the novelist is one well-known Nigerian writer who writes substandard English, on which, in fact, his fame rests.

It will also be seen, from the categories of deviation, that they are fundamental ones of English grammar. Aberrant tenses, prepositional misuse, excessive deletion, Li-prompted structures, etc. are abundant in Tutuola's works. And, perhaps, it is worth repeating that the grosser faults have been removed!

Banjo has suggested at least two reasons why Tutuola, in spite of all these deviations, still remains internationally intelligible. The first is that lexical deviations in the author's work, considerable as they are, are by no means excessive; they form just 14% of the deviances in My Life in the Bush of Ghosts.

Most of the faults are usually in the area of syntax, where, again, Tutuola does not tamper with one of its most important features: word-order arrangement in English. It is significant that this constitutes a mere 1% of the deviances quantified in this chapter.

The other reason is the fact, according to Banjo, that the question of intelligibility is a two-way affair, between (in this case) writer and reader, and it is always possible that a competent user of a language is able to understand imperfect sentences in that language "in the same way that parents are able to understand the baby-talk of their children".[1] Banjo's reasons, in our opinion, are quite valid, and we as readers are ready to meet Tutuola half-way in our desire to understand him. Very often, we succeed.

The Table below summarizes the deviations observed in My Life in the Bush of Ghosts. In the succeeding chapter we shall see again features of this particular variety usage in the more utilitarian writings of the University of Ibadan low-grade workers.

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1. Ayo Banjo: "Aspects of Tutuola's Use of English", op.cit., page 32.

TABLE V

Deviation Type No.	Category of Deviation	No. of occurrences	Percentage
(10i)	Wrong Tenses	94	23
(6)	Lexis	57	14
(2)	Pattern Failure	53	13
(1)	L1-prompted structures	41	10
(9)	Violation of mutual expectancy of exponents	36	9
(8)	Prepositions	34	8
(4)	Excessive Deletion	15	4
(12)	Adverbs	13	3
(15)	Conjunctions	12	3
(16)	Strange collocations	11	3
(7)	Articles	11	3
(17)	Nouns (words marking for number)	11	3
(19)	Maze structures	8	2
(5)	Word-order	6	1
(10iii)	Dangling Participles	4	1
	TOTAL	410	100

DEVIANCES IN VARIETY-ONE PERFORMANCE IN LITERARY NIGERIAN ENGLISH (EXPONENT: AMOS TUTUOLA).

V.

VARIETY-ONE PERFORMANCE IN WRITTEN ENGLISH IN NIGERIA.

This chapter will be devoted mainly to variety-one usage in written Nigerian English. The substance of the study is a result of an investigation carried out into the linguistic performance of the lower-grade workers of the University of Ibadan. The personal files of various grades of junior and intermediate University workers - from cleaners to Higher Executive Officers - form the material for the chapter.

From the investigation, it is hoped, it will be possible to quantify precisely what those features are that characterize variety-one usage in written Nigerian English.

To ensure as balanced an investigation as possible, the personal files have been very randomly selected. We have also made sure that as many cadres of workers as possible have been brought within the pale of the study. Clerk, typist, cleaner, gardener, security man,

zoo attendant, cook, steward, messenger, painter, porter, etc. - all have been well represented in the survey.

Before we proceed, some information as to the educational background of most of these workers will be in place as, according to our hypothesis, there is usually an easily detectable correlation between a Nigerian's English language performance and his formal educational attainment.

Most of the subjects, then, are often people who - from the evidence of their files - have not gone beyond the primary school level in their academic (as distinct from professional) education, and this applies as much to those who belong to the "Intermediate" class - Executive Officers, chief clerks, Departmental Secretaries, Technical Officers, etc. - as to the general run of the junior workers. There is this qualification to be made, though, and that is, that after many years of working in an office, which usually entails, among other things, the writing of a series of petitions for promotion or for increments in salary, letters asking for permission to go on one or the other of the different kinds of leave, answers to queries, the "Intermediate" officer has come to attain some form of "correctness" in his

written English, especially when the matters "pending" are routine and not outside his former clerical experience. But whenever there arises an occasion that calls forth a more or less deliberate, in the sense of "creative", use of the language, one finds that the higher officer does not usually fare much better in his linguistic performance than the other junior workers.

At any event, it is usually today's junior worker who, after putting in some years of service, is promoted to the higher rank of Intermediate staff tomorrow although, in most cases, there is no visible corresponding uplift in his English performance to reflect his new, higher status.[1]

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1. That this is a fair assessment of the situation as it applies to the University Intermediate workers is borne out by the fact that not a few of the participants in the intra-University Extra-Mural Course (arranged specifically by the University Establishment to improve the quality of its low-grade workers) are Confidential Secretaries, Stenographers and Executive Officers, that is, the Intermediate staff of the institution.

The present writer, who has had the privilege of teaching the English course of the programme for two years, knows very well that on most occasions, there was absolutely nothing to choose between the performance of an Executive Officer and that of, let us say, an enthusiastic messenger!

One other important point worth making at this point, and which bears more directly on the study, is that the situations that call forth most of the writings investigated in the chapter are relatively inelastic. As we intimated above, petitions, letters, answers to queries, etc. form the essential material for the chapter, and these are more or less "Register-bound" in so far as they are all categorizable under the general label of "Administrative English", the functional tenor usually being official. They are, for instance, almost always addressed to the chief of the University clerks, the Registrar, or to his assistants.

It is therefore clear that in the kind of situation described above there is little need to be creative in the use of the language, and ergo, one would have thought, a lesser possibility of substandard features in the language performance of the workers. The data, however, show that the deviations - syntactic and lexical - are profuse in spite of this inelasticity of the situation.

Finally, although more than five hundred files were carefully examined in the survey, not more than a hundred of these can really be said to be useful from our point of view. This is because in a large number of cases there

is hardly any information - in terms of written material - to be got from the files as most of them, usually slim in bulk, contain nothing more than one kind of printed matter or another - proformas for annual leave, for leave bonus, for sick leave, and so on - and often nothing much else.

The "useful" ones, on the other hand, belong to those relatively few workers who would be regarded (by their bosses) as the hard cases, those employees, in other words, that will not let an opportunity pass without writing some kind of petition asking for one thing or the other. These, one could guess, usually receive more than their fair share of queries from their superior officers. It is largely thanks to these more "productive" ones that we have been able to collect the data for the study.

It was pointed out in the last paragraph that the substance of this study had been provided by about a hundred informants. It is therefore remarkable that it is these few that have furnished us with the one thousand-and-eight (1,008) substandard features that will be analysed presently. And this large number of deviations does not even include cases of Register mixture and of "commercialese" and Civil Service clichés.

Here, for instance, are two random illustrations of what is meant by the latter term:

(1) Dear Sir,

With respect and humility, I am begging for your kind consideration to convert my present appointment ...1

and (2) ... I have the honour most humbly and respectively (sic) to apply for the post of Hall Porter Grade I ...2

These two citations are openings typical of most of the different kinds of application to be found in any file in the University Registry.[3]

These cases do not form part of the 1,008 identified deviant features analysed in this study. Nor are those of Register confusion, exemplified in the three citations below, where letters that are distinctly official have been inappropriately concluded with such endings as,

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1. PF. 5451: Typist Grade III, page 7.

2. PF. [illegible]: Head Porter, page 2.

3. The present writer remembers the interesting occasion when, as a junior civil servant, he had had to sign an Establishments circular to the effect that, under the pains of strong disciplinary action to defaulters, all letters addressed to Heads of Government Departments should conclude with the legend: "I have the honour to be, Sir, Your obedient servant", (in three separate lines), and after, your signature. Citations (1) and (2) above would be, one could guess, very much to the liking of the author of that circular letter!

for instance,

(3) I am,

Sir,

Your obedient applier
(W)

or (4) I am,

Yours (sic) servant,
(X)

or finally, this:

(5) Yours sincerely
(Y)

Those cases, therefore, that we shall be concerned with are the purely syntactic and lexical ones. It could be said at the outset that the large majority of faults belong in the category of syntax, which accounts for exactly 91.1% of all substandard features (918 out of the 1,008 identified cases). Lexical deviations constitute an inferior proportion of just 8.9%, there being exactly 90 cases of them. The relative paucity of lexical aberrations may be explained partly by a point we made earlier on concerning the restricted nature of the language activity being investigated here. This restrictedness is usually more apparent in the category of lexis than in that of syntax. For instance, to apply, say, for a leave, one is freer in one's choice

of possible syntactic structures (and, hence, more prone to errors if one is not particularly confident of one's language) than in one's choice of lexical items where such items as, for example, "casual", "annual", "sick", "maternity", "examination", "leave", "days", "five", "ten", etc. could be reasonably expected to occur. In this circumstance, one has a more or less ready-made fund of lexical forms and collocations to draw on - and this does not require too high a performance ability in English.

The lexical aberrations that have been found are thus the result, most often, of a more deliberate attempt to do something that is not quite as routine as, say, writing an application for annual leave. It is when there is a query to answer, a complaint to lodge, an explanation for a fight to give, an eye-witness account of an incident to render, a French leave to explain away - those occasions, in other words, that call for a "creative" use of the language - that the aberrations in lexis, as well, of course, as the other kinds of deviation, occur.

The categories of deviation are as set out below:

Type(10)*: 195 (19%)

Type (3): 130 (13%)

* excluding (10iii) & (10vii)

Type (2):	105	(10%)
Type (8):	98	(10%)
Type (6):	90	(9%)
Type (1):	80	(8%)
Type (19):	68	(7%)
Type (7):	47	(5%)
Type (5):	38	(4%)
Type (11):	32	(3%)
Type (4):	30	(3%)
Type (15):	25	(2%)
Type (10vii):	24	(2%)
Type (12):	23	(2%)
Type (10iii):	18	(2%)
Type (17):	9	(1%)

The citations that follow illustrate severally the deviances.

Concerning type (10) deviances, the Table below summarizes the nature of the deviations. 6 illustrations each of types (10iv) and (10i) will be given, and 5 of type (10v), 4 of type (10ii) and 2 of type (10vi) deviations.

TABLE VI

Deviation Type	No. of Occurrences	Percentage
(10iv)	72	37
(10i)	60	30.7
(10v)	32	16.4
(10ii)	21	10.8
(10vi)	10	5.1
Total	195	100

TYPE (10) DEVIATIONS IN THE WRITINGS OF IBADAN UNIVERSITY LOW-GRADE WORKERS

Type (10iv)

There are 72 cases of this forming exactly 37% of type (10) deviances (see Table above). This is easily the most prominent of verb form misusage, as the six citations below illustrate:

(6) I did not absent from work intentionally...[1]

(7) I beg to apply for my annual leave which will due on 26th July, 1971.[2]

1. PF. 4721: Messenger Grade I, page 26.

2. PF. 6041: Electrician apprentice, page 12.

(8) At present I have been employed by Dr. Collis.1

(9) I have served the College Administration in different clinical capacities since 1960. I am spending the greater part of this period in the Academic Office.2

(10) For the purpose of annual leave, I should like my personal records be changed from Abeokuta to Ijaiye.3

(11) I have the honour ... to apply for my annual leave which was due since March 11th.4

Type (10i)

There are 60 cases of this deviation. 42 of them have been marked for past when the language event described is clearly non-past, and the remaining 18 unmarked where the situations demand that they be so. The first three citations illustrate the former kind of deviance and the other three, the latter:

(12) I would like to say that I badly needed some rest following some strains sustained from the Undergraduate Admissions Division...5

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1. PF. 1891: Clerk Typist, Grade II, page 7.
2. PF. 1459: Assistant Executive Officer, page 6.
3. PF. 2426: Senior Accounts Assistant, page 33.
4. PF. 374: Porter Grade II, page 21.
5. PF. 1459: Assistant Executive Officer, page 57.

In the case above, the author of the passage still "needs" some rest.

(13) Sir,

A climax has reached when I shall no longer run errands. I regretted this fresh development.[1]

(14) We the undersigned ... respectifully (sic) beg to appeal to you and lodged our complaint before your high sence (sic) of justice.[2]

(15) I was educated in St. Andrews Catholic School, Apena where I obtain my Middle II certificate in 1958.[3]

(16) I deputised for the Head Steward when he is not around.[4]

(17) Then in the year 1960, I was promoted to the post of a Head Cleaner. I hold this post till 1970 March.[5]

Type (10iv)

Of the 32 instances of this in the corpus, forming a proportion of 16.4% of verb form deviations, we shall give five illustrations:

(18) I have to submit with due deference to your authority that I have devoted the whole of my time to the service of the University as required from Monday, the 14th February ... to Saturday, 19th February ...[6]

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1. PF. 2418: Porter Grade III, page 29.
2. PF. 822: Workshop Supervisor, page 35.
3. PF. 1755: Cook Grade II, page 1.
4. PF. 2438: Head Steward, page 2A.
5. PF. 1196: Head Cleaner, page 57.
6. PF. 1734: Porter Grade II, page 21.

(19) Before I left the service of the Council in 1959, I have served in different capacities.[1]

(20) Since I have joined University service (sic) I have been posted to about three departments ...[2]

(21) I beg to apply for my annual leave which had long been overdue since December 1959.[3]

(22) Since I have become cook/steward, I have served single, married and with children masters and madams.[4]

It should be clear from the eleven citations illustrating types (10iv) and (10v) deviations that many first-variety users of written Nigerian English are not particularly confident of them. The fact that between them the two forms constitute a high proportion of 54% of all verb deviances means that any productive attempt at improving the language ability of this category of users will need to give more than a passing attention to these forms, and more especially to type (10iv), which can, as suggested earlier in the thesis, be a source of trouble to even variety-three users of English in the country.

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1. PF. 1459: Assistant Executive Officer, page 25.
2. PF. 2860: Department Secretary Grade III, page 35.
3. PF. 374: Head Field Staff, page 24.
4. PF. 1639: Cook Grade I, page 1.

Type (10ii)

4 out of the 21 instances of type (10ii) deviation will be cited as illustrations:

(23) I think my Head (sic) and every staff probably, (sic) is aware of my conduct so far.[1]

(24) I shall be grateful if the travelling expenses is paid me.[2]

(25) Kindly help me, Scale M12A were normally given to every member of our Grade II candidates ...[3]

and (26) On every Sunday, every cleaner enjoys his off-duty and besides the sabath (sic) must be kept holy by every Christian though where the exigency of the service so demand ...[4]

Plural noun forms, in the first two of the citations have been made to concord with singular predicators whilst in the other two citations singular subject nouns have incongruently selected plural verb forms. It may be remembered that this deviation type has been identified in the performance of even third-variety users of Nigerian English as was demonstrated in the last chapter.

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1. PF. 4721: Messenger Grade I, page 24.
2. PF. 2099: Clerk/Typist Grade I, page 17.
3. PF. 5034: Artisan (Plumber) Grade III, page 21.
4. PF. 1734: Porter Grade II, page 21.

Type (10vi)

About 5% of verb forms deviations are of type (10vi). 2 illustrations of the deviance are given below:

(27) I would like to proceeding on the 9th of January.[1]

(28) I have the honour most respectful (sic) in sending an application for the post.[2]

The next category of deviation to be discussed is type (3).

Type (3)

The average Nigerian user of English is not particularly famous as a bookworm. In the case of the writers whose linguistic performance is being examined in this survey, it could be said that most of them read nothing in their leisure hours apart from the simplified editions of some "classics" which they might have had to read as literature texts in their primary school days. The result of this is that a large number of the words they use when eventually they have to write are not those they have come across in their readings but those they have probably heard some people pronounce sometimes, and their spellings of such words are inevitably an approximation at best of these over-

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1. PF. 374: Head Field Staff, page 29.

2. PF. 835: Porter Grade I, page 22.

heard pronunciations of the words.

This seems to explain why there are at least 130 cases of type (3) deviances in the corpus, an error frequency of 13.9%. We have, in passing, indicated three instances of this: in citation (2) respectively for "respectfully"; in citation (14) sence for "sense", and in citation (26) sabath for "sabbath".

Other examples from the corpus are dodging (dodging); live (leave); commander me (command me); truely (truly); refrence (reference); Your's (yours); admited (admitted); procced (proceed); strainious (strenuous); tax assement (tax assessment); nissen (missing); befal (befall); faithfull (faithful); and in page 1 of file PF. 1755, the following: Controid for "control"; alart for "alert"; alk for "act"; refree for "referee"; proved for "approved"; and dischang for "discharge". The piece de resistance, however, is from this short application in page 11 of file No. PF. 2167:

(29) The Registra (sic)
U C (sic)
I (sic)

Sir,

I apply for my annual leave Comacing (sic) from 30th January 1965 ... I am Under Department (sic) of Chemical Pathlogy.

Yours obedienty
(Signed)

There are, besides the other orthographic errors, (the indiscriminate use of higher caste forms of letters "C" in Comacing, "U" in Under and "O" in Obedienty), four deviant spellings in the short passage: Registra, Comacing, pathlogy and Obedienty for, respectively, "Registrar", "Commencing", "pathology" and "obediently".

Tomori[1] has explained this phenomenon in terms of the wrong speech habits of the writers, and this explanation, coupled with the suggestions made at the beginning of the discussion, seems to this writer a valid assessment of the source of the problem.

Type (2)

10% of deviations - 105 of the total cases of 1,008 - are due to pattern failure. They are all without exception a result of an imperfect mastery, on the part of the University workers, of some particular structure of English. Citations (30) - (39) are illustrations of

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1. S.H.O. Tomori, op.cit., page 123.

this category of deviation:

(30) ... I will be grateful if this my application will be accepteds and approved for the date mentioned above.[1]

(31) When P.Z. /a company/ needed a correspondence clerk, I resigned and joined P.Z., but sooner I joined, I became P.Z. Salesman. This section I was (sic) for five years possessing good experience. At present I am just learning shorthand typing, which I hope in due course I will soon be a shorthand typist.[2]

(32) ... his character is very good, and also his services during he (sic) staying (sic) with me is very satisfaction (sic) and respectfully, (sic) and obediently and smartly (sic)...[3]

The failure in pattern in the above citation consists mainly in Form Class confusion: he for "his", staying for "stay", satisfaction for "satisfactory", respectfully for "respectful", and obediently and smartly for, respectively, "obedient" and "smart".

The next citation instances another case of Form Class Mixture where due, normally an adjective form, has been deviantly used as a predicator:

(33) I humbly and respectfully beg to apply for my annual leave which dues on the 1st of August 1964.[4]

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1. PF. 6041: Electrician Apprentice, page 12.
2. PF. 6: Higher Executive Officer, page 1.
3. PF. 339: Porter, page 5.
4. PF. 2248: Laboratory Assistant Grade I, page 14A.

The writer is so sure of himself that he rightly marks the "verb" for number and makes dues concord with annual leave.

(34) I have worked under many masters which I possessed a testimonial from everyone of them.[1]

The use of the relative pronoun "which" as a co-ordinating conjunction is very common in variety-one performance of English in Nigeria. It is to be noted, for instance, that this is one of the causes of the deviance noted in respect of citation (31) above: ... I am just learning shorthand typing which I hope in due course I will soon be a shorthand typist.

(35) I should be grateful if the correct mileage is observed in preparing my annual leave paper and rectify the past error by payment of an arrear (sic) of leave bonus that may involve...2

(36) ... this has been necessary for me to do so owing to some unavoidable family problems facing me right now.[3]

There is a clearly perceptible confusion here of two structures: "It has been necessary for me to do so" and "This has been necessary for me to do".

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1. PF. 1583: Head Cook, page 3.
2. PF. 5307: Head Cook, page 18.
3. PF. 3108: Messenger Grade I, page 19.

(37) ... I shall be faithful and honest to do my work diligently and vigorously.1

(38) During the time of my previous appointment as a teacher and my present appointment, I had never a day reprimanded for any misdoing.2

(39) I beg to apply for my annual leave which I should like it to commence on the 10th of November, 1969.3

This sentence embodies two clearly distinct though related structures: "I beg to apply for my annual leave which I should like to commence on the 10th of November..." and "I beg to apply for my annual leave; I should like it to commence on the 10th of November ..." It is deviant to merge the two possibilities into one structure by simply employing a handy relative pronoun, which, a most over-worked device by variety-one users of Nigerian written English. (Cf citations (31) and (34) above).

Type (8)

A significant proportion of all substandard features - 9.7% - pertains to this category of deviations. That the problem with prepositions is a real one indeed

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1. PF. 1554: Clerk Typist Grade II, page 11.
2. PF. 2418: Sec. III of Application Form, Page 2A.
3. PF. 2729: Laboratory Assistant, page 27.

to an EL2 user has already been remarked upon previously in the thesis; to a Nigerian variety-one user, the problem could be an acute one.

In the present survey, 80 instances are of type (8ii) deviation and the remaining 18 of type (8i). The first ten citations will illustrate type (8ii), and the other five, type (8i):

(40) I humbly apply for the above balance of my leave bonus arrears, in which I am entitled ...1

(41) I am very grateful to you for absorbing me in the permanent establishment of the University library.2

(42) Since the time of my appointment ... I have been directly responsible to correspondence.3

(43) I have very great interest for the career and have a considerable interest for sports ...4

(44) They accumulated mainly from annual (sic) as a result from recalls from leave.5

In (43), one usually, in Standard English, has an interest "in" something and not for it. There is no

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1. PF. 1872: Steward Grade I, page 17.
2. PF. 2982: Library Attendant Grade I, page 4.
3. PF. 5451: Typist Grade III, page 7.
4. PF. 1459: Assistant Executive Officer, page 98.
5. PF. 1459: Assistant Executive Officer, page 98.

doubt that the error in this case has an L1 origin: Mo ní ìsírí fún isé nón òn, where fún is the Yoruba translational equivalent of the English form for. Another possible reason for the deviance is that the writer of the passage might well have confused the correct English idiom "to have a liking for" with "to have an interest in" which semantically are quite similar.

The case of (44), where from has been deviantly employed for "of", seems to be a clear one of confusion between the two structures: "resulting from" and "as a result of".

(45) As a cleaner I have got more experience which will no doubt be of great help if your favour can befal (sic) on me.[1]

(46) At present I have been employed by Dr. Collins since on the 11th October 1961 ...[2]

(47) With reference to your letter dated on 4/6/65, about Mr. Adams for the confirmation of his appointment ...[3]

(48) Regarding (sic) to my educational qualification, I am possessing the First School Leaving Certificate since 1950.[4]

(49) I am 21 years of age and I attended St. Briged (sic) School at Owerri where I pass (sic) in Standard five in 1958.[5]

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1. PF. 1734: Porter Grade II, page 1.
2. PF. 1891: Clerk/Typist Grade II, page 7.
3. PF. 339: Porter, page 5.
4. PF. 835: Porter Grade I, page 13.
5. PF. 1632: Steward Grade II, page 3.

(50) I have just received a telegram ... informing me ∧ the death of my mother.[1] (type 8i).

(51) ... but sooner I joined I became PZ salesman. This section I was ∧ for five years.[2] (type 8i).

(52) This is to remind you of my letter dated 30th December ∧ which I applied for 2 weeks leave.[3] (type 8i).

(53) I worked ∧ over six years in the garden and there was no time I sold plants to people.[4] (type 8i).

(54) I have the honour ... to apply for my annual leave ∧ which I have been already due.[5] (type 8i).

These fifteen illustrations (citations (40) - (54)) show that, to improve the English language performance of most first-variety users of written Nigerian English more than passing attention must be given to prepositional forms: it is well-known, in fact, that the question of prepositions, even to an EL1 user, is not always an easy proposition and the problem is compounded in the case of the unwary EL2 user who may unwittingly substitute inappropriate forms from his first language.

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1. PF. 2297: Head Messenger, page 9.
2. PF. 6: Higher Executive Officer, page 1.
3. Ibid., page 7.
4. PF. 842: Head Porter, page 23.
5. PF. 835: Porter Grade I, page 13.

Though clearly the next to type (8) in frequency of occurrence, type (6) deviances will not be quantified until after we shall have dealt with the other deviations - those, that is, that are purely structural.

Type (1)

7% of all deviations (there are 80 instances) are of this type; 15 citations will serve as illustration. Of the 80 instances of this deviation, 20 (25%), are of the nature: "If this my application ..." where the form my is superfluous in the structure although quite in order in the L1 (Yoruba) equivalent: Ti iwé èbè "mi" yí ... Citations (55) - (57) illustrate this form:

(55) I promise to discharge my duties nicely ... if this my application is ... considered.[1]

(56) I have the honour most humbly to forward this my application.[2]

(57) Would this my humble application be considered, I shall ...[3]

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1. PF. 172: Head Book Binder, page 15.
2. PF. 374: Head Field Staff, page 17.
3. PF. 842: Head Porter, page 49.

In the second and third chapters, we saw that the incompetent user of English in Nigeria usually works "under" somebody or some organization when in fact, he works "with" that person or that organization. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that not fewer than 17 instances of this deviant usage have been found in the writings of the University workers, as evidenced by the following four citations:

(58) I have the honour ... to apply for the post of Hall Porter Grade I which I learnt is vacant under your control.[1]

(59) I have worked under A.G. Finch as a telly clerk and under the U.A.C. as a store boy respectively.[2]

(60) I have been working under the Chief Magistrate's Court Registry, Ibadan over (sic) five years.[3]

and (61) I humbly and respectifully (sic) beg to apply for the post of a clerk/typist now vacant under the College.[4]

Eight other instances of type (1) deviation are:

(62) ... About Mr. D. (sic) for the confirmation of his appointment, (sic) his Character (sic) is very good ...[5]

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1. PF. 1127: Head Porter, page 2.
2. PF. 1734: Porter Grade II, page 1.
3. PF. 1803: Clerical Assistant, page 2.
4. PF. 1459: Assistant Executive Officer, page 25.
5. PF. 339: Head Porter, page 5.

When in Nigeria one's character is good, a literal translation of the L1 structure (Yoruba) ìwà rè é dára, this could mean any of the following in Standard English; that such a person is well-behaved; that he is honest; that he is good-natured; or a combination of all three qualities.

(63) I worked over (sic) six years in the garden and there was no time I sold plants to people ... It is now that I have no hand in the Botanical Garden that I will go and take plants from there ...1

(64) ... Secondly, I thought it wise too to continue working here till such a time when this hot atmosphere would cool down ...2

The hot atmosphere in this citation is an L1-based metaphorical allusion to the rather charged atmosphere that prevailed in most parts of the country during the Nigeria civil war.

(65) But when I asked the paymaster why he paid me the same salary, he was unable to answer he said (sic) that I should write to the Registrar to see about it ...3

(66) Sir, I shall be very glad if my request can be done to me ...4

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1. PF. 842: Head Porter, page 29.
2. PF. 214: Senior Driver, page 28.
3. PF. 561: Head Porter, page 17.
4. PF. 921: Porter Grade I, page 27.

In Standard English "request" does not collocate nor colligate with the verb "do". The citation here, however, translates the Yoruba structure: tí e bá lè se ìfé́ mi ìyí fún mi, where the form se is the Yoruba word that translates the English one do. The fault can also be seen as resulting from lexical confusion of "do" for "grant".

(67) I beg most humbly to apply for the post of a Washerman ... I have my certificate at hand ...1

The group at hand is a translation of the Yoruba structure l'ówó. Thus, I have my certificate at hand is literally (in Yoruba) Mo ní ìwé èrí mi lówó, that is, in SB, "I have got the requisite paper qualification". The next one is:

(68) ... I walked from Orita-Merin to Mokola University taxi park, wether (sic) I can see lift which can carried (sic) me to campus (sic) that was around 11.30 p.m. in the night ...2

(69) ... when we are (sic) coming on the way we met some driver's (sic) who are coming from Ibadan here ...3

on the way (translating the Yoruba idiom ní ònà) is again superfluous in the quotation above, although

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1. PF. 841: Head Washerman, page 1.
2. PF. 16: Porter Grade III, (Azikiwe Hall), page 12.
3. Ibid., page 19.

quite in order in the writer's language: Gégé bí a se ńbò l'ónà.

These fifteen citations, it is hoped, should suffice to give an inkling of the high incidence of this particular substandard feature in the present survey. It only need be stressed that all fifteen cases are random citations.

Type (19)

The point was made in the previous chapter that it is often the more incompetent users of English who write structures that can be referred to as maze or unintelligible; unintelligible here is to be seen not in absolute terms but as meaning "not instantly intelligible". It is therefore quite understandable that the incidence of this deviation type, while quite rare in the "upper varieties", is a relatively common feature of a variety-one performance in English. In fact, 68 cases, roughly 7% of all deviances, are of this deviation type.

Below are six illustrations of the deviance:

(70) ... The position here is tempting and we believe you will agree that in such a situation it is rather difficult for me to write without employing the appropriate, which if employed, one will be regarded as being impertinent more especially in view of the recent event ...

there is evidently no change ... in the conversion or upgrading of the old cleaners and that of the rest of us who because they were not interviewed by the Manageress it is now known that they have not been recommended for promotion, this borders on victimisation ...1

(71) ... I beg to apply (sic) 10 days casual (sic) leave owing to the death of my father, which the telegram was just received on Saturday and today.2

(72) Sir,

A climax has reached when as from Monday ... I shall no longer run errands ... I regretted this fresh development.

However, my reasons for this sinister development are best known to the Hall Authorities. If the Hall Authorities are prepared to agree with this new development of mine, I myself shall have no objection.3

The next passage, a fairly long one, is, in part nearly incomprehensible:

(73) It is pity (sic) that I was unable to return back (sic) when my annual leave, which started on the 7th August expired on 26th August 1967 because of heavy fighting between Nigerian troops and Rebel (sic) which turned Mid-West (sic)

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1. PF. 339: Porter, page 17 - re a joint petition by 5 Nnandi Azikiwe Hall workers to the Warden of the Hall.

2. PF. 583: Washerman Grade I, Application for Casual Leave addressed "To the Establish (sic) Officer, University of Ibadan", page 21.

3. PF. 2418: Porter Grade III, page 29.

> into a battlefield, of which, there was no means of transport and communication all over the Region, not until Nigerian troops had recaptured from my town Agbor to Asaba, that I found it possible to travel from my village to Agbor ...
>
> As my annual leave started on 7th August, fight started in the Mid-West on 9th August and I was unable to come back to receive my salaries of August, September and October which I shall be happy if I am paid as I am one of the staff under Warden-in-charge, humbly need Warden's help which will make it possible. I shall be happy to hear better Sir.1

There is no question as to the passable intelligibility of the major bulk of the passage. But the case is a little more doubtful as it applies to the latter section of it.

> (74) ... I trust my application may be entertained I should be prepared, to call upon you at any time to suit your convenience.2

and

> (75) Should you think to fit (sic) me, you may rest assured that it will be my favourate (sic) endeavor (sic) to punish (sic) your confidence.3

Speaking more generally, if we were to suggest a reason for the incidence of these maze structures, it would seem to be the inability to give articulate expression to one's thoughts, that is, the tendency to

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1. PF. 2437: Cleaner Grade I, page 15.
2. PF. 561: Head Porter, page 10.
3. PF. 841: Head Washerman, page 1.

put these down on paper exactly as they occur without any attempt at "editing" them. There is occasionally some effort made to give coherence or logic to these constructions but this is usually by way of the specious use of structure such as "of which" or "which" (to which attention has earlier on been drawn). As was pointed out at the beginning of the discussion, the fault is more prevalent with the less competent operators of written English in Nigeria - the first-variety writers.

Type (7)

There have been observed in the investigation 47 cases of the misuse of the determiners and most of them - 33, that is, 70% - are of type (7i) and the remaining 14 (30%) of (7ii). The first five examples will illustrate the first type and the last five citations will illustrate the other type:

(76) ... and apart from ∧ typing duties involved, I have also served in different clerical capacities.[1]

(77) I wish to apply for five days casual leave to enable me attend ∧ funeral ceremony of my grandmother.[2]

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1. PF. 1459: Assistant Executive Officer, page 5.
2. PF. 5486: page 15.

(78) I state here below as I was bitten as from 1951:
(1) ∧ Hyena bit me in 1951
(2) ∧ Baboon bit me in 1952
(3) ∧ Bush pig bit me in 1961.[1]

(79) I was also assisting ∧ UAC Bookkeeper to keep his account.[2]

(80) I shall be very grateful if I could be given pro-rata leave on 25 April, 1958 to see my family matters (sic) which has (sic) affected ∧ lives of many of us.[3]

In all five cases the deictic "the" or "a" has been omitted where this has been indicated by the symbol "∧".

We saw in the last chapter - and concurred with Tomori's suggestion in his own thesis - that the average Nigerian writer is very much likely to leave out an obligatory deictic rather than use an intrusive one; the reason for this is the fact that most indigenous languages of the country are not particularly fastidious about their articles, where these exist at all. This is why for every three cases of intrusion there are seven of omission of the determiners.

The five citations to illustrate type (7ii) deviance are:

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1. PF. 404: Menagerie Keeper Grade I.
2. PF. 6: Higher Executive Officer, page 1.
3. PF. 1911: Steward Grade I, page 23.

(81) I will be grateful for your kind and an early approval.[1]

(82) I want to resign my appointment as the head cook with the University for personal reasons.[2]

(83) As regards experience in this work, there is no any other Domestic Warden in all other Halls who senior me (sic) in the length of service.[3]

(84) When I told the doctor that I fell when in the school.[4]

(85) I have worked in the various Departments of the University and I have been well acquainted with their administrative procedures.[5]

The italicised forms in the citations are superfluous in Standard English. The writers probably have over-reacted to the fear of under-using the forms and, consequently, have gone to the other extreme of over-using them.[6]

The next area of deviance to be considered concerns

Type (5) Deviations

This occurs when "one or more members of one constituent class (are) placed in the structural position

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1. PF. 374: Head Field Staff, page 32.
2. PF. 5307: Head Cook, page 26.
3. PF. 516: Domestic Warden, page 55.
4. UI/HB2/PF/16: Porter Grade III (Azikiwe Hall), page 25.
5. PF. 6143: Departmental Secretary, Grade III, page 2.
6. S.H.O. Tomori, op.cit., page 129.

of a member of another constituent class".[1] This kind of fault, as could be seen from the relatively small number of its occurrences, is not very common in the performance of the workers; there are only 38 cases in the entire corpus for the chapter, a mere 4%. As we noted in the previous chapter, even Tutuola, whatever may be his other violations of the structural rules of English, very rarely tampers with its word-order arrangement and this is why it is possible at all, in most cases, to understand him.

Here are 5 citations to serve as illustrations:

(86) I have the honour most humbly and respectively (sic) to apply for my annual two weeks leave.[2]

(87) Since I have become cook/steward, I have served single, married and with children masters and Madams.[3]

(88) I shall try to perform my duties well assigned to me.[4]

(89) The salary though I accept does not reflect the seniority I have already ascertained (sic).[5]

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1. Susan Durojaiye, op.cit., page 132.
2. PF. 215: Senior Driver, page 5.
3. PF. 1639: Cook Grade I, page 1.
4. PF. 1879: Cook Grade I, page 1.
5. PF. 3176: Nursing Officer, page 15.

(90) ... I have taken my R.S.A. Exam in Typing last November of which the result is not yet out.1

The italicised structure in (90) would be, in Standard English, arranged differently as "the result of which..."

All these citations confirm that this fault is not of an earth-shaking importance, and that however inadequate his performance in English, the Nigerian writer seldom disturbs the syntagmatic structure of the language. Where, occasionally, the error occurs, it is usually in the shape of wrong placement of adjuncts, and this fault, even to somebody well-versed in the language (as L2, it must be added), could be quite a troublesome one at times. The case of the form "only" readily comes to mind here which could change the signification of a sentence almost at will depending on its structural position in that sentence.

Type (11)

A very common feature in the writing of the moderately sophisticated writers of English in Nigeria is the use of the conditional clause beginning with the modal "should" for the ordinary conditional clause of the "if"-type. The three citations below make clear

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1. PF. 1196: Head Cleaner, page 15.

what is being said here:

(91) Should this my humble application be favourable (sic) considered ...1

(92) Should this my humble application be granted ...2

(93) Should my application meet your kind approval ...3

In all three cases, the should could very well be replaced with "if" and the sentences would read less formal. This may seem, however, rather a question of style than one of syntax. In the next citation, however, the use of the should is definitely substandard:

(94) I should be grateful if my application be favourably considered and I must have to carry out duty or duties which should be alloted (sic) to me.4

(95) I wish you could approve it /7 days casual leave/.5

In (95) could has been inappropriately used for the modal "will". Incidentally, there is probably some lexical confusion here: between wish and "hope". "I hope you will approve it" sounds much better than the sentence of citation (95).

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1. PF. 5451: Typist Grade III, page 2.
2. PF. 1276: Head Porter, page 17.
3. PF. 1391: Clerk/Typist Grade II, page 7.
4. PF. 835: Porter Grade I, page 22.
5. PF. 4721: Messenger Grade I, page 26.

The two passages that follow instance the use of the past tense would where the present tense form is more usual in Standard English:

(96) ... With humility and due respect, I beg to submit this petition hoping that it would meet with the Registrar's sympathetic consideration.[1]

(97) I hope you would not fail to give this petition a careful consideration.[2]

The final illustration is the use of shall where "will" will be considered more appropriate in modern English:

(98) In the circumstances, it shall be very much appreciated if you would arrange the two to run concurrently.[3]

Type (4)

This deviation type is illustrated with the 6 citations below:

(99) ... My grandfather lived, died and buried in Ijaiye-Ojokoro where my father erected a storey building.[4]

It is clear that this is a deviant structure because my grandfather could live and die in Ijaiye but could not bury in Ijaiye. It is, of course, possible if he

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1. PF. 6: Higher Executive Officer, page 8.
2. PF. 49: Telephone Supervisor, page 43.
3. PF. 758: Domestic Warden, page 25.
4. PF. 2426: Senior Accounts Assistant, page 33.

buried people but illogical in citation (99).

(100) I should be very grateful too, (sic) for your early and sympathic (sic) consideration of this petition, which in its contents very clear ...1

The ambiguity in the quotation that follows is a direct result of excessive deletion:

(101) May I humbly apply for fifteen days annual leave to proceed on the 6th day of July 1964.2

(102) ... If I can given the due consideration, (sic) to appear before you for an interview at anytime I am requested to do so.3

(103) I beg to withdraw my next of kin Miss F, and to be replaced with Master H.4

The ambiguity in (103) is also the result of deletion. The sentence, to be acceptable, should be re-written: "I beg to withdraw my next of kin and wish her to be replaced with Master H".

(104) Mr. G. was around by that time. When is talking to me and I could not be able to say anything...5

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1. PF. 374: Head Field Staff, page 69.
2. PF. 1459: Assistant Executive Officer, page 13.
3. PF. 1803: Clerical Assistant, page 2.
4. PF. 1113: Workshop Supervisor, page 71.
5. UI/NAH/PF/16: Porter Grade III, page 35.

Apart from the redundancy in the structure could not be able to, the italicised structure is a subject-less clause.

Type (16)

Occasionally, the Nigerian user of English, especially the low variety user, would use the subordinating conjunction "but" when in fact he needs the co-ordinating form "and". According to Gowers, "In using but as a conjunction, an easy slip is to put it where there should be an and, forgetting that the conjunction you want is one that does not go contrary to the clause immediately preceding, but continues in the same sense[1] ..." The 3 citations below are evidence of this confused usage in the writings of the University workers:

(105) The above were serious bites but I have ignored to refer to other bites ...[2]

(106) Since joining the UAC in 1941, I had worked in various sections of the Company's Accounts Department. But since I joined the Junior Salaries Section of the University ... I have collected such wealth of experience.[3]

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1. Sir Earnest Gowers, The Complete Plain Words. (The English Language Book Society and Penguin Books) 1954, page 175.
2. PF. 404: Managerie Keeper Grade I, page 62.
3. PF. 6: H.E.O., Application Form, Sec. 13, page 56.

(107) In view of this, however, I should be very grateful if you would please use your good offices to look into my case.[1]

The form, however, in citation (107) is deviant; the right conjunction should be, from the context, "therefore". Below is the immediately preceding clause:

(107A) From the foregoing sir, and up till today, you will observe that the last time I was promoted was on 1st July 1957, when I was given Senior Catering Assistant.

As the line of thought has clearly not been turned from (107A) to (107), however should not have been used.

Type (IDVII)

The 24 occurrences of this deviation type are all of type (IDVIIa) and concern the structure "to enable - to + verb", a structure which is clearly a common-core feature of the three varieties of Nigerian written English. It is worth remarking that in the corpus examined for the chapter, there are 25 instances of the structure with "enable" and all but one of them are of the neutral infinitive type.

The 4 citations below instance this particular deviance:

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1. PF. 516: Domestic Warden, page 55.

(108) I will like to start /the leave/ on 26th of March. This will enable me see my father ...1

(109) This is necessary and to enable me deal with certain domestic matters ...2

(110) I humbly beg to apply for five days Excused Duty to enable me attend a very serious family trouble.3

(111) I wish to apply for five days casual leave ... to enable me attend funeral ceremony (sic) of my grandmother.4

Type (12)

Often this deviance consists in the wrong placement of the adverbial forms, some instances of which have been cited, incidentally, when quantifying type (5) deviations earlier on in the chapter. Another source of error in the use of the forms is redundancy probably as a carry-over feature from spoken English; the following three citations illustrate this:

(112) The Secretary in particular knows obviously that I am not the type that plays with my (sic) work.5

(113) I was employed by the College on January 4, 1960, and obviously have had no leave ever since.6

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1. PF. 6139: Kitchen Attendant, page 10.
2. PF. 1459: Assistant Executive Officer, page 19.
3. PF. 222: Senior Driver, page 31.
4. PF. 5486: Clerical Assistant, page 15.
5. PF. 4721: Messenger Grade I, page 26.
6. PF. 1459: Assistant Executive Officer, page 20.

(114) At present I am just learning shorthand typing...1

Obviously in (112) and (113) and just in (114) are clearly superfluous. It is likely, in the case of the redundant obviously of the first two citations, that the workers who have supplied the illustrations use the form rather indiscriminately when they speak and this has been transferred to their writings. This, however, is mere conjecture on this writer's part.

The final citation is an interesting illustration of Form Class Mixture: an adverbial form used for an adjective and, in the same structure, an adjective for an adverb:

(115) Should this my humbly application is (sic) favourable considered ...2

The present writer is at a loss to explain what is really responsible for the confusion here. It is possible that the writer of the citation is familiar with the two forms - humbly and favourable - but not familiar enough to know which is appropriate in what circumstances.

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1. PF. 6: Higher Executive Officer, page 1.
2. PF. 1755: Cook Grade II, page 1.

Type (10iii)

Examples of this particular fault have been given quite often in the earlier sections of this thesis, and it is a structural error that can be regarded as "common core" to all three varieties of written Nigerian English. There are, in the present survey, 18 instances of this deviant structure which constitute, roughly, an error proportion of 2%. As the fault is a very familar one, three citations will amply do as illustrations in this chapter.

(116) Being the eldest male member of the family, my presence would be of much importance ...[1]

(117) After passing this test, the Intermediate and Subordinate Staff Sub-committee approved our promotion.[2]

Here (117) it is the writer of the passage and not, as the structure denotes here, the Intermediate and Sub-ordinate staff sub-committee that had passed this test.

(118) We would, however, like to point out that in paying this Retired Benefit (sic) we had grously (sic) been cheated.[3]

Type (11)

There are very few cases of this fault in the corpus examined: 9; six of these (about 67%) are

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1. PF. 2099: Clerk/Typist Grade I, page 66.
2. PF. 49: Telephone Supervisor, page 43.
3. PF. 822: Workshop Supervisor, page 35.

nouns unmarked for plural while the rest are deviantly marked for plural. The first three citations illustrate the former kind of deviance and the fourth the latter:

(119) This will enable me see my father who has been admited (sic) to the Akure State Hospital for the past eight month.[1]

(120) That I was one of the foundation member of junior staff of the zoo.[2]

(121) All document bearing my name still valid.[3]

It seems that sheer carelessness is responsible for the deviance in citations (119) and (121). In the case of (120), however, the writer may have left the form member unmarked for plural as a result of attraction; one in the citation having attracted the singular form member.

The final case is one where there is a wrong marking for plural.

(122) I hereby promised (sic) to perform my duty with every due respects to any superior officers.[4]

In Standard English, the modifier every usually collocates with a singular noun form. The deviance here seems to have arisen out of the writer's desire to

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1. PF. 6139: Kitchen Attendant, page 10.
2. PF. 404: Menagerie Keeper Grade I, page 61.
3. PF. 1666: Field Assistant Grade I, page 60.
4. PF. 728: Porter Grade I, page 1.

emphasize the fact that he will be very respectful to his bosses if he is employed, and this he can only show by employing the plural form: respects; quantity in English is usually signalled by the plural form!

These one-hundred-and-seventeen cases (citations (6) to (122)) are therefore some illustrations of the different kinds of syntactic deviation that the variety-one users of Nigerian written English are liable to commit sometime or the other. Some of the deviances are fairly prevalent - those of Faulty Structure, of Verb Forms, and of Prepositions, which constitute about 67% of syntactic deviations - while some are relatively minor.

Type (6)

We have suggested earlier on in the chapter that deviations of this type are relatively few in the corpus, and have explained this paucity in terms of the greater degree of restriction that the language situation under observation here imposes in the level of lexis than in that of syntax. Lexical deviations thus constitute just 3.9% of all faults. Of the 90 instances, 88 (over 97%) are of type (6i) and the remaining two are of type (6ii).

Type (6i)

The following eleven citations illustrate this type:

(123) I have to remind you that I have never had any casual leave since.[1]

The confusion here is between never and "not".

(124) I am hereby praying the Registrar to approve for me the rest few number of days.[2]

(125) The rest nine days will be taken together with my annual leave.[3]

In the last two citations, (124) and (125), the form rest has been confused with "remaining". We saw in the previous chapter that Tutuola often confuses these two forms - five times, in fact, in only two pages of My Life in the Bush of Ghosts (pages 169 and 170 of that novel).

(126) The mother is dead and his senior sisters are managing with their husbands.[4]

Most variety-one users of English in Nigeria would invariably use senior, as in the case above, for the Standard English form "elder", and, incidentally, describe a younger brother (or sister) as "junior brother".

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1. PF. 1459: A.E.O., page 19.
2. Ibid., page 42
3. PF. 1650: Executive Officer, page 82.
4. PF. 404: page 39.

Manage is another item in Nigerian English which is almost always inappropriately used to do duty for a number of other items. In the present instance, managing has been confused with "living" (with the oblique implication: "as best they could"). In citation (128) below, manage does duty for "live on". It appears that the item is a carry-over from Nigerian pidgin.

(127) As regards experience in this work, there is no any other (sic) Domestic Warden ... who senior me in the length of service.[1]

In this case senior has been deviantly used as a predicator form (another of the instances of Form Class Mixture) to mean something like "is more experienced". There is no doubt that, like manage, the deviance is a result of pidgin influence on English in Nigeria.

(128) That ... our family responsibilities are such that our present scale of salary is hardly sufficient to manage.[2]

(sufficient is here also deviantly used).

Wonder in the next citation has been incorrectly substituted for the appropriate form of the verb group "be surprised".

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1. PF. 516: Donestic Warden, page 55.
2. PF. 627: Higher Technical Officer, page 25.

(129) ... but I wonder when the paymaster wanted to pay me, he paid me the same salary £126 per annum which I was receiving since last year.[1]

The not-too-literate Yoruba user of English is often not very sure when to choose between the synonymous forms "wonder" and "be surprised" and this usually results in the kind of deviant structure like the one above. Both forms are simply Yà l'énu in Yoruba.

(130) If I am sympathised for this post, I will be greatful (sic).[2]

(131) I complained verbally several times that a change be affected but nothing done (sic).[3]

Sympathised has been deviantly used for "considered" in citation (130) and, in (131), affected for "effected".

(132) I beg to apply for the post to enable me to have more salary to feed me and my wife.[4]

This is another clear case of lexical confusion: have with "earn". It is very probable that the Yoruba structure, láti lè ní owó sí i, i.e. "to have more money" is at the root of the deviation.

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1. PF. 561: Head Porter, page 17.
2. PF. 4760: Steward Grade II, page 2.
3. PF. 841: Head Washerman, page 23.
4. PF. 4760: page 16.

Incidentally the group more salary is not standard colligation in English: "higher" would collocate better with salary in the context.

(133) The final year clinical students will be doing their PSM course as from January ending in which I should follow them to Lagos.[1]

A lot has been said elsewhere in the study on the tendency of Nigerian writers to overwork the item follow. We cited many instances of this in the writings of the Magistrates in the third chapter of this thesis, and further comments will therefore be superfluous.

The two instances of type (6ii) in the corpus are the following:

(134) The mother is dead and his senior sister cannot boarden this son ...[2]

and (135) I am,
Sir,
Your obedient applier.[3]

There are no such words as boarden (134) and applier (135) in the lexicon of English. The coinages must have resulted this way; for boarden:

light - lighten

quick - quicken

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1. PF. 516: page 34.
2. PF. 404: page 39.
3. PF. 1879: Cook Grade I, page 1.

dead - deaden; therefore

board - *boarden.

and, for applier:

read - reader

work - worker

play - player, therefore

apply - *applier.

The two forms, boarden and applier are deviant forms resulting from "logical" applications of some morphological process of English affixation, here.

CONCLUSION TO CHAPTER

From the evidence of the chapter, it seems that our working hypothesis that the English language performance of the junior and intermediate workers of the University of Ibadan is a variety-one usage has been abundantly validated. A reference to the discussion on Tutuola's use of English in the second chapter of the thesis will show that there is a great deal of similarity between the deviations - syntactical and lexical - observed at that time and those we have discussed in the course of this chapter. For instance, cases of excessive deletion of exponents, of maze structures, of deviant prepositions, of dangling participles, of wrong tenses

and of articles are as many in the earlier case as they are in the present chapter.

We have also been supplied with evidence in this chapter to support the view that however low a Nigerian's performance in English, he rarely tampers with the lexis of the language, and still less with its syntagmatic word-order relations. This is as true for Tutuola - see conclusion to chapter IV - as it is for the low-grade University workers, our informants for this present chapter.

There is no doubt, however - and it will be unfair not to admit as much - that there are some workers whose performance in English rises clearly above that of the general run of the other workers. In other words, not all the junior and intermediate workers in the University write unmitigably first-variety English, as the two citations below will illustrate:

(136) Dear Sir,
Because of a personal matter that requires my attention, I shall be grateful if you will kindly grant me two days' casual leave on the 11th and 12th instant.
Yours obediently,
(signed).[1]

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1. PF. 1093: Store Attendant, page 11.

and (137) Dear Sir,
I wish to resign from my position as Temporary Personal Secretary to the Dean, Faculty of Medicine, University of Ibadan as from Saturday, 17th August, 1963.
Yours faithfully,
(Signed).[1]

These two citations[2] are simply written and make their points concisely and clearly; in fact they exhibit a performance in English that would win them a place in a third-variety column of written Nigerian English. Passages of this kind, however, are few and far between as the specimen passages which we shall be quoting in Appendix A2 will clearly demonstrate.

The final chapter of the thesis - the next one - will be devoted, among other things, to some further observations of a more general nature on this particular variety performance, and, especially to the possible implications of the findings of this chapter for those indefatigable teachers always seeking for a way to improve the clearly inadequate language skills of the exponents of variety-one Nigerian written English.

The Table below summarizes the deviations found in the writings of the University workers.

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1. PF. 216: Departmental Secretary Grade I, page 14.
2. It is possible, though, that some thoughtful workers have their letters written for them!

TABLE VII

Deviation Type No.	Category of Deviation	No. of occur-rences	Per-centage
*(10)	Verb forms	195	19
(3)	Visualization (orthography)	130	13
(2)	Pattern failure	105	10
(8)	Prepositions	98	10
(6)	Lexis	90	9
(1)	L1-prompted structures	80	8
(19)	Maze structures	68	7
(7)	Determiners	47	5
(5)	Word-order	38	4
(11)	Modals	32	3
(4)	Excessive deletion	30	3
(15)	Conjuctions	25	2
(10vii)	Wrong infinitives	24	2
(12)	Adverbs	19	2
(10iii)	Dangling participles	18	2
(17)	Wrong marking for nouns	9	1
	Total	1008	100

MAJOR CATEGORIES OF DEVIATIONS IN THE WRITINGS OF IBADAN UNIVERSITY JUNIOR WORKERS: A VARIETY-ONE PERFORMANCE.

* This excludes types (10vii) and (10iii) dealt with separately for the purpose of emphasis.

VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

There are, in Nigeria, as we have tried to demonstrate in this study, three major varieties of written English. We shall be discussing our findings under the two broad headings: Syntactic features and Lexical features, beginning with the former.

Syntactic Features

Concerning the third-variety performance, or what the present writer has earlier suggested be regarded as Standard Nigerian English, it can be said unambivalently that there is hardly anything to choose between it, syntactically, and any other standard variety of the language written anywhere in the world. This means that Nigerian judges, most University dons, many postgraduate students, a very large proportion of Nigerian literary artists, the editors and other feature writers of the more competent Nigerian journals, and other well-educated Nigerians have a performance in written English that approximates to that of the native user of the language. Bamgbose, among others, has expressed the point

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1. See master table at the end of chapter.

thus, although notionally,

> ... the type of English one finds in government reports, learned journals, and the more sophisticated novels is hardly different in any way from Standard written English from any English-speaking country.1

This is not to say, of course, that third-variety written Nigerian English is perfect or impeccable compared to, say, Standard British English; there are, as the study has established, occasional deviations, but these constitute such an infinitesimal proportion of the overall linguistic features of the variety usage as to render them insignificant; they are, in the words of Strevens, no more than incidental variations which "arise from inadequate teaching and learning, so that we can disregard them. They are individual, not systematic".[2]

One could say of the second variety that a performance (like the one exemplified in the less competent passages cited from the Daily Times and the Modern Woman in the third chapter of the thesis) has been labelled as variety two when

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1. Ayo Bamgbose: "The English Language in Nigeria" in John Spencer (ed.) The English Language in West Africa (London: Longmans, Group Ltd.); 1971, page 40.

2. Peter Strevens: Spoken Language, (London, Longmans, Green and Co,)1956, page 29.

the bulk of it is clearly passable English structurally, although there are quite a number of deviations. For instance, it was said in respect of the two Nigerian journals just cited that, their editorials and some other features apart, they exhibit a second-variety performance to the extent that it would be difficult to read through a whole page of these journals without coming across one substandard feature or another. The whole point, then, is briefly that the difference between second-variety and third-variety performances is clearly a question of the relative frequency of occurrences of substandard features observable in both. While the deviations in a third-variety usage are usually minor ones and are few and far between and, moreover, concern what could be referred to as the more abstruse and subtler points of grammar, the faults in second-variety writing may be said to be in the area of the rather more fundamental (and elementary) points; cases of attraction, of faulty sentence structures, of wrong tenses, of preposition misuse, etc., are more prevalent in this usage than they are in the upper variety. (See Table II at the end of Chapter II).

It should not be difficult, however, for a second-variety user to graduate to a third-variety use; what is needed is

constant exposure to the language both productively and receptively. There is little doubt, for instance, that the average Nigerian entrant to the University has in most cases a performance in English that will secure him a place in the second-variety column; by the time he graduates, however, especially if he had been a student of the Humanities,[1] his performance in the language will most probably be considered a third-variety one; the reason for this uplift in his achievement is obvious; he has had to attend lectures, he has had to write tutorial essays, and, at time "long essays" - he has, in other words, been very much exposed to the language.

When, finally, we come to the lowest of the varieties, the first, exemplified, it will be recalled, in chapters IV and V of the study, we find that the substandard features in gravity and quality are more pronounced. All those cases of deviation observed to a smaller or greater degree in the other upper varieties with many others not observed in them, are present in this variety in a greater density and frequency. Moreover, it is here that cases of maze (unintelligible) structure and first-language carry-over are most

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1. This observation is based solely on the writer's own impressions.

prevalent.

As a summary to this section, Gregory's concept of the "common core" - "indexical markers" features as outlined in his "Aspects of Varieties Differentiation"[1] comes in handy as it relates to the different varieties of written English in Nigeria.

If we begin with the "common core" (syntactic) features - those features that are shared by all the varieties in, understandably, varying degrees of frequency of occurrences - we can say that such syntactic deviations as these certain uses of the prepositions, especially noticeable in the structures "to work under" (for "to work with"), "to reply letters" (omitting the preposition "to" before "letters"), the use of the neutral infinitive form in the construction "enable - to + verb" (for "enable + to + verb"), the incidence of the dangling participles, misuse of the tenses, to mention the most prominent, are common core features of all the three varieties of Nigerian written English.

Belonging in this same category also are some lexico-grammatical features, the result, usually, of the user's

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1. Michael Gregory: op.cit., page 9.

inability to choose from verb forms of a set the one that is appropriate to a situation. The case of "enable" + the base form of a verb mentioned above could be seen as an instance of this, as is that of the common fault in Nigerian English evident in the construction: "make # to + verb". These two are lexico-syntactical errors to the extent that in both cases the choice of the appropriate forms in the lexical set to which they belong would immediately remedy the faults. For "make + to # verb", if the form "lead" were subsituted for "make" in the construction, then the marked infinitive form of the sequent complementary predicator would be appropriate. So also with "enable": the appropriate form from the set would be "to help" and, if this were chosen, no error of syntax would result. This shows that the relative paucity of the active vocabulary of the Nigerian user of English not only may lead to errors in lexis but also to those in syntax.

Speaking more specifically on the "indexical markers" of each of the varieties, we can say very briefly that variety-three usage exhibits relatively few cases of the deviant features discussed above. It has been established in the thesis that this performance is not, at its best, easily distinguishable from an educated native speaker's

use of the language, and, where deviations do occur, they are few and far between and, usually, not of earth-shaking importance. It is significant in this regard, for example, that in seven instances no single case of deviation has been recorded for this variety (none, that is, in respect of types (3), (12), (15), (16), (17), (18), and (19), while in seven other instances just a case or two were recorded. (See the Master table). Furthermore the table also shows that there will be under 20 deviances in a text consisting of 100,000 running words. This is why one is justified in regarding this variety as the one to be taken as our model for Standard Written Nigerian English.

With regard to variety two, the deviation types, as we have seen, are more widespread in distribution and there are more instances of each in almost all cases. There are present in this (Adage examples of types (3), (15), (16), (18), and (19), completely absent in the upper variety, and while types (3), (15), and (16) could be regarded as rather minor faults, (18), and (19) types are quite grave errors in terms of English grammar.

The lowest variety in the cline, variety one, exhibits, as we have shown, as its indexical markers, very many

instances of a substandard nature; maze structures, a high incidence of faulty sentence structures due to L1 negative transfer, many deviations in the use of the verb forms, especially in that of the "be" - and "have" - forms, many instances of orthographic aberration due to wrong visualization (as amply demonstrated in the preceding chapter) and, perhaps the unerring indicant, the use of the structure with which or in which or of which to do duty for the co-ordinating conjuction. Instances of this are citations (31), (34), (39), (40), and (71) of Chapter V. Here, to refresh the memory, are three of these:

(31) I am just learning shorthand typing which I hope in due course I will soon be a shorthand typist.

(32) I have worked under many masters which I possessed a testimonial from everyone of them.

(39) I beg to apply for my annual leave which I should like it to commence on the 10th of November, 1969.

It seems clear, therefore, that where in any Nigerian writing, this kind of structure occurs, and where there are many cases of wrongly spelt words, that piece of writing is most certainly a specimen of first-variety usage of written English in the country.

One interesting thing to observe from the Master table is the drastic drop in the number of deviances in most cases, from a variety-one to variety-two performance, whereas that from a variety-two to three is not nearly so dramatic. This will tend to confirm our ealier suggestion that it should not be too difficult for a second-variety user of written Nigerian English to graduate to the upper variety. It is not going to be so easy, however, for the first-variety user to become a variety-two user.

Lexical Features

There are fewer occasions of lexical aberration in the writings of Nigerians than are there of syntactic deviations. Apart from those more or less natural ones of coinages to designate specifically Nigerian items that may not be very familiar to Standard English, those other cases spotlighted in the study are usually in the form of confused usages. This phenomenon, of course, is easily to be ascribed to the less than adequate reading propensity of the average Nigerian user of English, a point that was stressed in the preceding chapter.

The following are a few of the lexical items that the Nigerian user of English confuses with some others quite

often in his writing:

escort)
) accompany
follow)

vehicle: (variously) motor-car, lorry, motor-cycle

debtors : creditors/debtors

workplace)
) One's office or place of employment
station)

upstairs : two - or - three -(or more) storey building

dowry: brideprice

rest : remaining

tight friend : fast (close friends)

senior/junior: elder/younger (brother etc.)

to wonder : be surprised

senior service : top government official

(meeting) has closed: (meeting) has ended.

It is perhaps worth saying here that not a few of the items above have been taken from the writing of quite well-educated Nigerians: words such as 'upstairs', "senior service", "dowry", "station", etc., are as frequently "misused" by the educated man as by the average first-variety user.

What, to poach briefly on the preserve of the pedagogue, could be done to contain this problem of lexical confusion,

apart from the suggestion that the Nigerian user of English must be prepared to read much more than he does at present, is to encourage the use of such text-books as treat specifically this particular feature of the language, such a book, for instance, as Tomori's Lexis and Structure (with other similar books) which not only deals with the problem but also with the even more absorbing and difficult one of English idioms, among other things. This way the learner will not have to be forced to read novels or other works (though this would, needless to say, be a good thing) solely because of the need to increase his "word-power", as, anyway, it is not a very easy task to compel people to read books that are, as far as they are concerned, merely tangentially, if at all, relevant to their immediate needs.

Another solution to the problem, and herein lies the usefulness of exercises in error analysis, is to provide careful tabulations, wherever possible, like the one done in the case of Tutuola by Banjo[1] (where he computes the confused items vis-avis the appropriate ones), and something like we have done in the fourth chapter in respect of the same author, of words that are confused and the appropriate

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1. Ayo Banjo: "Aspects of Tutuola's Use of English", op. cit.

ones in the situations. This should be very helpful as it could underline the sources of confusion and, hopefully, lead to their being effectively tackled by teachers of English in this country.

Tenor

Perhaps it is not completely out of place to say a few words here on the appropriate use of diatypic varieties. The fondness of many Nigerian writers of English for the "impersonal turgid officialese"[1] has been remarked upon at various points in the study, especially in the third chapter where, in fact, some considerable space was devoted to this aspect of Nigerians writing. The whole question of inappropriate tenor is inextricably linked with choice of registers. We can say, from the evidence of the thesis, that Nigerian users of the language need to be exposed to more and different registers of English so that the errors frequently made in distinguishing between the various sublanguages that in their totality constitute what we know as English will to some extent be contained. As it is now, the average Nigerian, unused to these different sublanguages, would use the same correct formal English, no matter the

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1. Paul Christophersen, op.cit., page 127

circumstance that calls forth his use of language.

The reason for this, as we stressed in that same chapter, is that English to most people in Nigeria is rarely the language of inter-personal or inter-familial intercourse. It is used most often in official circumstances and for inter-tribal, hardly ever intra-tribal, communication. The result is the tendency to apply the usage appropriate to public utterances in every conceivable situation.[1]

It therefore follows from all that we have said in the last paragraph that no less attention needs to be paid to this problem of appropriate tenor and right choice of register in Nigerian written English than to those of syntax and lexis; the teacher of English in the country must be constantly aware of the fact that "when we teach a learner a language, what we are doing (or should be doing) is to prepare him to behave appropriately in a number of English-speaking situations, public or private, formal or informal, technical or everyday, in one part of the world or another,

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1. Ayo Banjo: "Standard of Correctness in Nigerian English", op. cit., page 123.

in writing or in speech".[1]

Closely related to this problem is the one also discussed in the third chapter, namely, the average Nigerian's predilection for using the prolix style. This is, it is suggested, because ~~of~~ words that "fill the mouth like the proverbial dry meat" (to borrow Achebe's simile) are regarded as more respectable, more learned and, ergo, are to be preferred to the "is's" and "was's" of everyday usage. There are, needless to say, occasions like, for instance, the case of polemical writing examined in Chapter III, when the prolix style could be appropriate. However, the simple run-of-the-mill language, the one that does not draw undue attention to itself, should be encouraged as it is usually more direct and more vigorous than the ebullient style. Once again, it is all a matter of appropriateness of tenor. The situation described by Thompson[2] whereby a Nigerian reception clerk is likely to accost a visitor thus: "May I ask if you will kindly reveal

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1. S.P. Corder: "Advanced Study and the Experienced Teacher" in G.E. Perren (ed.) Teachers of English as a Second Language. London, Cambridge University Press 1968, page 82.

2. Peter Drummond Thompson: "English in the Commonwealth: 6 - Nigeria', ELT, Vol. 19 (iv), July 1963, page 152.

your identity" instead of simply saying, "what is your name please" should be made less likely to occur in everyday written Nigerian English, and this could only be achieved through the effective teaching of appropriate tenor and register.

We would like to reiterate, at this point in the thesis, what we said at the beginning, that the raison d'etre of the whole study is that there is clearly such a thing as Nigerian English. After all, "what more natural than that each nation should have an English responsive to its soil and climate, an English that flowers out of the national experience, proclaiming it in its consequences and validity".[1] There is no doubt that at the moment Nigerian English could be said to be still developing, but then we are as a country still doing this: when Nigeria ceases to be referred to as "developing" and becomes "developed" maybe Nigerian English will have passed through its nascent stage and will have established itself as a distinct and respectable standard dialect of English in its own right, and the cynicism that is expressed by some people about the whole idea of a "Nigerian English" will no longer be justified.

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1. (Anon.) "English Highway - or Barrier? Some Reflections on the Use of English language in the Commonwealth", INSIGHT. No. 12, April-June 1966, page 22.

And finally, we would like to make the following suggestions about what further investigation needs to be done on Nigerian English.

(1) A more particularistic research into any one of the varieties examined in this study to spotlight the variables that determine the ranges of performance within it. To take the third-variety as an instance, it will be useful to investigate whether a long spell of study in an EL1 country will improve one's performance in English; in other words, will, say, an Honours English graduate from a Nigerian University write as competently (flexibly) as his peer who has received his University education in Britain, or America, or any of the other countries where English is the mother-tongue?

(2) Under what circumstances is the educated Nigerian likely to use English, and when his mother-tongue; this, if investigated, should shed some much-needed light on the question of inappropriateness of tenor raised in this study.

(3) Are there apprehensible in the other Anglophone countries of West Africa such varieties of written English as have been examined in respect of Nigeria? Is there, that is, a possibility of speaking more generally of Standard West African English, the answer to which question will depend on such a comparative study as outlined here?

and (4) As a complementary study to the present one, an investigation into the different varieties of spoken English in Nigeria will be very welcome; this could take the form of testing out Banjo's hypothesis, discussed in the first chapter of this thesis, for validation or otherwise in the light of the findings of such empirical research.

For the purpose of easy reference, all the three varieties of written English discussed in this study are represented in a master table which summarizes the deviations that have been quantified in them. The table is on the next page.

TABLE VIII (MASTER TABLE)

Deviation No.	Variety-one (over 1408 deviances)	Variety-two (over 275 deviances)	Variety-three (over 86 deviances)	Variety-one (per 100,000 words)	Variety-two (per 100,000 words)	Variety-three (per 100,000 words)
1	124	35	1	128	20	0.2
2	158	23	10	165	13	2.2
3	130	4	-	135	2	-
4	45	14	11	47	8	2.4
5	44	10	1	46	6	0.2
6	147	30	13	153	18	3
7	58	6	3	60	4	0.7
8	132	53	12	138	31	3
9	38	3	3	40	2	0.7
10*	289	45	19	301	26	4.2
10iii	22	5	5	23	3	1.1
10vii	24	11	4	25	6	0.9
11	32	3	1	33	2	0.2
12	32	-	-	33	-	-
13	-	-	2	-	-	0.4
14	11	9	1	12	5	0.2
15	37	12	-	39	7	-
16	-	2	-	-	2	-
17	20	-	-	21	-	-
18	-	2	-	-	2	@
19	76	8	-	79	5	-
Total	1408	275	86	1467	160	19

DEVIANCES IN THE THREE VARIETIES OF WRITTEN ENGLISH IN NIGERIA

* Excluding (10iii) and (10vii).

Note:

n^1 (number of running words considered for variety-one) = 96,000.

n^2 (number of running words considered for variety-two) = 171,600.

n^3 (number of running words considered for variety-three) = 450,000.

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APPENDIX A

We said at the beginning of the second chapter that the study provides evidence lending support to the view that the more experienced and educated the Nigerian judge (judge, again, being used here in a generic sense), the better, quite often, is his standard of performance in English. The list below gives the names (in symbols) and the educational qualifications of some of the judges who have been our "informants" for that chapter.

It will be clear, from the list, that there is an easily observable correlation between the judges' qualifications and their linguistic ability in written English. For instance, of the six magistrates: Messrs CM(d) (who has since been elevated to the post of a Justice of the High Court), CM(b), CM(c), SM(b), CM(a) and SM(a), four, the first and the last three, have no other educational qualifications than the professional: Barrister-at-Law. This, coupled with the fact that they (the magistrates) are the least experienced, being the most junior of the judges, explains why the bulk of the deviant forms (156 out of 238) observed in the writings of all the judges are from this category of jurists.

It is also significant that, with the sole exception of Mr. Justice FSCJ(f), all the Supreme Court Judges, in addition to their professional qualifications, are graduates. Indeed, and the present writer knows this for a fact, a few of them hold the doctorate degrees in law. Some of these are the present Chief Justice of the Federation, FSCJ(c), FSCJ(a) and FSCJ(h). The paucity, therefore, of deviant forms in their use of English is easily explained in terms of their professional as well as other educational qualifications and, of course, years of experience on the bench.

Much the same thing, not to belabour the point, is true in the case of the other "higher" judges.

Below, then, is the list of the names and qualifications of some of the judges, as supplied by the Chief Registrar, High Courts of Justice, Ibadan:

1. The Hon. Mr. Justice FSCJ(g) - M.A. (Cantab) Barrister-at-Law.
2. The Hon. Mr. Justice FSCJ(e) - M.A., LL.B. (Cantab) Barrister-at-Law.
3. The Hon. Mr. Justice FSCJ(f) - Barrister-at-Law.
4. The Hon. Mr. Justice JA(a) - M.A., LL.B., Barrister-at-Law.
5. The Hon. Mr. Justice HCJ(b) - M.A., B.C.L. (Dublin), B.Sc. Econ. (London); LL.M. (London), Dip. Ed. (Oxon), Barrister-at-Law.

6.	The Hon. Mr. Justice HCJ(e)	-	LL.B. (London), Barrister-at-Law.
7.	The Hon. Mr. Justice HCJ(a)	-	Barrister-at-Law.
8.	The Hon. Mr. Justice HCJ(F)	-	LL.B. (Hons) (London), LL.M.,(London), Ph.D. (London). Barrister-at-Law.
9.	The Hon. Mr. Justice HCJ(d)	-	Barrister-at-Law.
10.	The Hon. Mr. Justice CM(d)	-	Barrister-at-Law.
11.	His Worship Mr. CM(c)	-	LL.B. (Hons), (London), Barrister-at-Law.
12.	His Worship Mr. CM(b)	-	LL.B. (Hons), (London), Barrister-at-Law.
13.	His Worship Mr. SM(b)	-	Barrister-at-Law.
14.	His Worship Mr. CM(a)	-	Barrister-at-Law.
15.	His Worship Mr. SM(a)	-	Barrister-at-Law

APPENDIX A1

We intimated in the Introduction as well as in the fourth chapter that we should give some illustrations of the deliberate incorporation into their works of indigenous proverbs, idioms and other forms of locution by Nigerian authors.

The ten citations that follow, two each from five different writers, are the fulfilment of that undertaking. The authors are Chinua Achebe, Clement Agunwa, Chukwuemeka Ike, John Pepper Clark and Thomas Aluko.

The first two quotations are from Chinua Achebe's Things Fall Apart:

(1) You will have what is good for you and I will have what is good for me. Let the kite perch and let the egret perch too. If one says no to the other, let his wing break. (page 18).

(2) When we gather together in the moonlit village ground it is not because of the moon. Every man can see it in his own compound. (page 152).

The two that follow are from Clement Agunwa's More than Once[1]:

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1. In his prefatory note to the reader (of his novel), Agunwa specifically states: "It should be understood that although the book is in English, the characters speak (except where otherwise stated) in Igbo, and in perfect, idiomatic Igbo. An effort has therefore been made to render dialogue in acceptable English, but there are occasional intentional departures, especially where this best echoes the Nigerian idiom or figurative usage".

(3) They say that when you beat your breast too often for sorrow you are only teaching the spirits where your life lies. (102).

(4) It is said that the strongest weapon a son-in-law has against his father-in-law is "I am guilty".

Chukwuemeka Ike is also fond of using proverbs and local idioms for effect. The two citations below illustrate; they are both from his Toads for Supper:

(5) ... Like the lizard that fell from the top of the iroko tree without hurting itself, you deserve praise (page 42).

(6) People who coin proverbs say that another time another time is the other name for laziness. (page 58).

The next two are from John Pepper Clark's epic drama, Ozidi:

(7) Only the foolish hen shows/
The wind her behind. (page 29).

(8) When a fowl has been wrung by the neck, its wings beat/on ground. But only for a while; they cannot/gather wind to smother a fly. (page 101)

And, finally, these two from Thomas Aluko's Chief the Honourable Minister. They are, in this writer's opinion, very good renditions of mother-tongue idioms into English:

(9) Greetings to you, my child, Do get up, get up, son of the tiger, son of the famous hunter of the Black Forest, the forest in which elephants abound in plenty. (page 127).

and (10) We are already seeing the benefits of the appointment of our Principal as a Minister of State ... Minister, Minister, Minister. I ask you my people, was it not only the word Minister we heard in the past? How many of us have ever seen a Minister in the flesh?

Not only do we now have a Minister in our town, our own son; but see me now, an old man without a University degree, I am sitting among THREE Ministers of State. Is this not a great thing for us in Newtown? I ask, is it not? (pages 13-14).

It is, as we have said in the concluding chapter, such passages as these, written specifically for effect and local colour, that distinguish Nigerian literary works from others written elsewhere. They make the works distinctively Nigerian and eminently readable, justifying Banjo's[1] remarks, cited in the Conclusion, that Literary Nigerian English is already being accepted throughout the world on equal terms with other literary varieties.

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1. Ayo Banjo: "Standard of Correctness in Nigerian English", op.cit., page 125.

APPENDIX AII

The three passages below are accounts given by three different junior employees of Nnandi Azikiwe Hall of a fight between a woman and a man, both cooks in the hall's cafeteria. The passages are typical, as we hinted at the conclusion to Chapter V of the thesis, of the written English of variety-one users of English in Nigeria. They are all taken from Azikiwe Hall File No. UI/NAH/PF/37, and are all addressed to the warden of that hall.

(1) Mr. P's Account.

Thursday, January 26, 1967.

I remember on Friday, December 30 1966, at lunch-time, Mrs. V. ask W. to go and serve students because the students already on the lines ready to have their food. W. reply back to her, You are not right to ask me to go and serve.

After closed service at 1.30 p.m. I saw W. and Mrs. V. exchanging words which nearly result to fight in the kitchen, however I went and stop them.

Going away from kitchen to their home, Information reached us from a student that W. is fighting with a Lady on the road.

Lastly, before I could finish in the kitchen Mrs. V. have took her way to report to the Police, however, She never reach to the Police Office Yet before I got her and beged her to stop go to police, so, Also She obeyed me. January 2, 1967, Mrs. V. told W. to beg Mrs. V. by writing. Thanks that is all i know.

(Page 31 of file).

(Signed).

(2) F's account (undated).

Dear Sir,

This is to let you know what I had with V. and Mr. W. on the 20/12/66.

On that day after finishing our cooking and our madam, ask three of our to dish the food into the counter MRS. V. ask him to help all dishing the food when the student came to the counter, Mrs. V. ask him to be dishing the food and I said the same words to W. and Mr. W. reply to Mrs. W. that she had no right to commander him. From then the starting to be xchange words to each other Our madam called to me that baba G. and I should staying in the

counter and be giving student food That both of them should go home and live the Hall.

When both of them went away I was not there. I do not know more than that whether they were fighting on their way going or not.

(Page 32 of the file).

I am,

yours working.

(Signed).

(3) H's (Chief Porter's) report

To be frank and sincere, I saw Mr. J. holding Mr. W. not to fight Mrs. V., it was then I left my groundfloor where I was and went nearer to them, on the very spot, told Mr. J. that it is not very good to be holding one person alone, that whever you are separating people from fighting that he should always be in the middle. As I was just saying this Mrs. V. removed her slipper from her foot trying to flog Mr. W. with it, it was there somebody held her hand and told her that she must not fight any longer.

As a matter of fact, Mr. W. did not flog her but, there was no chance because people were coming more and more telling Mr. W. not do so. Both of them went away without fighting. Truely speaking, Mr. W. did not flog Mrs. V. and this is how I saw the fight that day.

(Page 33 of the file).

H.
(Signed)