

FEDERAL UNIVERSITY OTUOKE

'PERMISSION ME, *BIKO,* TO MAKE *DIS SPOKAGE*:' THE BEATIFICATION OF A BEAUTIFUL BEAST?

8th
Inaugural Lecture

By Dirikon Iniebio Teilanyo

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DEDICATION

To

my parents

Late Hon. Elder **Iniyebiyo Michael Teilanyo-Eremaingo (Papa)**

and late Mrs. **Mammie Ayebabebara Teilanyo (Mama)**

for demonstrating that literacy is not necessarily

the ability to read and write (in English)

but in appreciating the value of literacy and the attendant knowledge, exposure, skills and understanding.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS AND RUMINATIONS

'At times, our own light goes out and is rekindled by a spark from another person. Each of us has cause to think with deep gratitude of those who have lighted the flame within us.'–Albert Schweitzer

Firstly, I thank you the Vice-Chancellor, Professor Teddy Charles Adias, for giving me the opportunity to present this lecture in this University. I equally thank the immediate-past Vice-Chancellor, Professor Seth Accra Jaja, who had wished me to give this talk right from his early days and right up to his last days in office.

I also thank the pioneer Vice-Chancellor of this University, Professor Mobolaji Ebenezer Aluko, for inadvertently providing the original impetus for the presentation of this inaugural lecture here in Federal University Otuoke.

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I reminisce on the memory of the late Ken Saro- Wiwa, prominent literary artist, academic and frontline environmental rights activist. His novel in experimental, non-standard, 'rotten' English entitled *Sozaboy: A Novel in Rotten English* fueled my interest in studying the use of non-standard English for artistic expression.

I owe an eternal debt of gratitude to my late parents, Elder Iniebiyo Michael and Mrs. Mammie Ayebabebara Teilanyo who, while being completely non-literate, are more 'literate' than most literate persons in appreciating the value of literacy through me.

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The ultimate thanks go to the Almighty God from Whom all blessings flow. 'Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and comes down from the Father of lights, with Whom there is no variation or shadow of turning' (James 1: 17, NKJV). Indeed, I am one person whose life and career remain a testimony of God's faithfulness. This is because anyone who knows my background and career growth would not but believe that it is only the grace of God that could have led me this far. For, it is only 'of Him, and through Him and to Him are all things to Whom be glory for ever and ever' (Rom. 11:36). Amen!

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Abbreviations

AmE – American English
BrE – British English
BrkE – Broken English
EFL – English as a Foreign Language
ENL – English as a Native Language
ESL – English as a Second Language
IL – Interlanguage
JAMB – Joint Admissions and Matriculation Board
JNESA – Journal of Nigeria English Studies Association
L1 – First or Native Language
L2 – Second language
NECO – National Examinations Council
NESA – Nigeria English Studies Association
NP – Noun Phrase
NigP – Nigerian Pidgin
NN – Non-Native
NNE – Non-Native English(es)
NS – Non-Standard
NSE – Non-Standard English
NTA – Nigerian Television Authority
SL – Source Language
ST – Source Text
TL – Target Language
TT – Target Text
VP – Verb Phrase
WAEC – West African Examinations Council

Preamble

I thank God and the Management of the Federal University Otuoke for giving me the opportunity to present this inaugural lecture, being the 8th in the series. This lecture is a much-belated one. Coming eleven years after I assumed my full professorial chair, this lecture can hardly be said to be inaugural, going by the primary definition of the term. Several factors delayed the delivery of this lecture. Ordinarily, it should have been delivered about eleven years ago at the University of Benin, Benin City where I assumed the chair in 2011. It had to join the long queue of pending inaugural lectures. Even when it was to be listed in 2016, it suffered some vicissitudes such that it took almost a year to track the submission of title. When I assumed duty on secondment to this University, I proposed to the former Vice-Chancellor that I present it as the first inaugural lecture here. The Vice-Chancellor was agreeable to it personally, but it could not be materialised because I had not transferred my service fully to this University. In 2019, it was formally suggested for presentation at this University. Again, that could not be because the lecture had already been listed for presentation at the University of Benin which I remained a part of. It is only with the transfer of my service to this University that it has come to see the light of day. All things work together for good…

The lecture I present today is not the same lecture that I had prepared as my inaugural lecture. That lecture was largely a report of the research I had done that culminated in my becoming a professor. Presenting that same lecture eleven years after I became Professor would give the impression that I have been intellectually unproductive since I assumed the chair. I do not intend to add to the statistics of academics who are said to have attained what may be called their intellectual menopause once they become professors in that they no longer do research or publish. Today's lecture is a fairly different one. While, after much thought, I have retained the title of the original lecture, the contents have been reorganised and updated to include some of my post- professorial work as well as further statements and adumbrations in my field of research.

I am also mindful of the fact that an inaugural lecture is expected to bring town and gown together, implying that the content and presentation pattern should be such as would benefit both the academic community and the larger society.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Beautiful Beast

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Ladies and Gentlemen Permission me, *biko*, to make *dis spokage*. Story,
Story!
Once upon a time,

Once upon a time, there came a beast from the wild into a previously unknown village and rustled the serenity of the villagers. It was indeed a beast as all its ways were different – in complexion, in attires, in gait, in sound. The villagers were caught unawares as they tried to grapple with this monster. They tried to resist it and its users: it was to no avail. They tried to embrace it; the results were both negative and positive. But should they resist it, or should they embrace it? It was a beast, a monster, but it was beautiful. The village was the West Africa coast and the beautiful monster was the English language!

In the sub-title of this lecture we find an oxymoron: 'a beautiful beast.' But the sub-title in its entirety is also paradoxical, at least controversial – the idea of beatifying a beast, even if the beast is a beautiful one. For the oxymoronic 'beautiful beast' our minds readily go to the fairy tale and television series 'Beauty and the Beast' (French: *La Belle et la Bête*). The Nigerian comedian Gordons has also used it to refer to Bianca and Odumegwu Ojukwu as well as Stella and Olusegun Obasanjo (Gordons n.d., Ward 2, 3). The difference between our structure and th.e fictional work is that in the referenced works the beast is a being different from the beauty; only that they appear in a *discordia concors*. In our case, however, the beast itself is beautiful. The title also echoes Wole Soyinka's (1995) play *The Beatification of Area Boy*.

But how was [and is] English a beautiful beast? To answer the question, we must first answer why it was a beast. It was beastly because it was strange. Why was it strange? Because its users were strange to look at, with a white colour that could only be associated with ghosts or extraterrestrial beings as we knew. (It is believed that some of our ancestors ran on sighting white men for the first time.) Because the language was atypical of the linguistic cosmology in the West African sub-region. This is an intonational language, unlike the tonal languages around here. Because of the narrower vowels and consonants comparati vely reduced in voicing, its speakers were considered as speaking through the nose.

But how was this beast beautiful? Because its users were beautiful at least in their ghostly colour. But more than that because its users had manufactured goods that amazed and awed us – the glassware
, the clothing, the alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages that delighted our taste buds, mirrors that enabled us to see our own faces for the first time ever! The language itself was beautiful –in a functional sense – because proficiency in it opened doors of social and economic opportunities to the user. With it one could work for the white man and earn a monthly income that was more than the annual income of the most prosperous farmer or fisherman [in the village]. Even without paid employment, one could earn enough by just writing and reading letters for the majority that were completely ignorant of the language, since English was the main language of literacy (Teilanyo 2011a).

Again, how has English been beatified? The term 'beatification' is a metaphor derived from the Roman Catholic practice of recognising a dead person as being in heaven and having the capacity to intercede for the faithful who pray in his or her name (intercession of saints). The word is derived from Latin *beatus*, meaning 'blessed,' and *facere*, meaning 'to make.' Hence, to 'beatify' is to 'make blessed.' Therefore, a beatified person is considered 'blessed' and, in English, the title 'Blessed' is prefixed to his or her name (Beccari 2014: 190).

The metaphor is used here, first in the broad sense, to suggest that English, while in origin and nature was a strange arrival, has occupied a position of both indispensability and reverence in many ESL societies. It is indispensable in multilingual ESL societies where it serves as a lingua franca in public and even private relations like inter-ethnic marriages; as an official language (in governance, in dispensation of justice, etc); as an instrument of national integration and cohesion; as the chief language of literacy, the mass media, education and formal business; as the chief language of diplomacy and international citizenship (Teilanyo 2012). The narrower sense of 'beatification' with reference to structural patterns of English will be addressed presently.

The idea of English being a beautiful beast is suggested in the alliterative parallelism, '**b**eatification of a **b**eautiful **b**east.'

In this presentation, I intend to answer the question whether or the extent to which the patterns in which the structure of English has been extended, narrowed or otherwise modified in ESL societies, particularly Nigeria, is a case of beatification. I highlight the peculiarities in majority usage of English in Nigeria, the extent to which these peculiarities can be considered legitimate enough to be recognised as a variety of English, the picture the use of such peculiarities paints of the settings in which it is used and the implications such usage has on the teaching and learning of English. I also consider the application of English in its various forms in specific life domains.

1.2 Non-Standard English and I

The main title of this lecture exemplifies Non-standard English
(NSE). NSE is one feature in the study of English as a Second Language (ESL). ESL is that area of applied English linguistics that studies all issues associated with the acquisition, learning, use and planning of English in societies where it is not indigenous but has come to perform very important functions. It studies the factors leading to the advent of English in such societies, the patterns of and the challenges in the acquisition and/or learning of English, the interaction and patterns of mutual influence between English and the indigenous languages and cultures, the evolution of non-native varieties of English,

the issues of artistic or literary expression with English as the medium, efforts at language planning and language development in such societies, attitudes to English and other languages, and more.

While my research is far wider than ESL, I have, in this presentation, taken a cross-section of my research to ask questions about the status and colour of English from its global standing to its phases and faces in Nigeria.

How did I come to develop interest in ESL and NSE? One factor that inspired my interest was a group of three curious women. One was my mother, late Mrs. Mammie Ayebabẹ̀bara Teilanyo (nee Markson-Sonkey). The second was her friend, late Mrs Ikiodigha Ethel Black- Atari (nee Igwe). These non-literate women were not really speaking English; indeed, they spoke only rudimentary Pidgin. But they spoke it with so much fervour to each other in the rural community of Atubo and its environs in Nembe Local Government Area that others in the community admired and even envied them. The common utterances one heard from them included Nembe-interference-laden expressions like 'I tell give you,' 'Wonderful and wonderous!' etc. The third woman is still alive, an octogenarian: Mrs. Ayebabaraghotaribiyo Jane Jacob Omusuo (nee Ina-David). She is so 'adept' and enthusiastic in speaking Pidgin that, in the Nembe-speaking communities, she is commonly called 'English woman.'

The second main source of my curiosity, the immediate motivation for me to take academic interest in NSE, is Chief Zebrudaya Okoroigwe Nwogbo, alias 4:30, His Royal Palmwine Powerless, Talkative Number One of Africa Limited. The fictional character is created by James Iroha in the television series *Masquerade* and cast by Chief Chika Okpala. The effectiveness of the Broken English he speaks is attested to by the numerous roles he is made to play in commercial advertisement, government propaganda and general entertainment. In fact, the main title of this lecture is taken directly from his utterance when as part of the field work for my MA work I had an interview with him on 01 February, 1992 at his residence in Enugu. When I asked him to make a statement that typified the English he spoke, he said, 'For instance if I say "**Permission me, *biko*, to make *dis spokage*. My happiness are very much in the grandiose for your visit. Just because you was have the patient to wait for me from afternoon tele- e this time of your cronometre.**'" Even as a Graduate Assistant, I knew from that day that this sentence would form the nucleus of my professorial inaugural lecture.

But twin to Chief Zebrudaya was the literary writer and environmental activist, Ken Saro-Wiwa. His book *Sozaboy: A Novel in Rotten English* made me realise that this NSE could survive beyond mass media comedy and be used for formal literary expression. But Saro-Wiwa did more by inspiring my scholarship (Teilanyo 200a, 2007a, 2008a).

The notion of NSE includes the notion of 'Broken English.' Broken English is also distinguished from English-based pidgins and creoles like Nigerian Pidgin (NigP), which is often popularly but unprofessionally called Pidgin English. After Onitsha Market Literature, *Icheoku* and *Masquerade,* Broken English has recently witnessed a resurgence in Nigerian TV sit coms, notably *Do Good* with Kate Henshaw as Eme, *Jenifa's Diary* with Funke Akindele-Bello as Jenifa, and *Professor Johnbull* with Mercy Johnson as Caroline.

The term 'non-standard' (nonstandard) is preferred to the term 'sub-standard' because the latter is considered judgmental. Modern linguistics operates on the principle that no variety of a language should be considered inferior to another. In this wise, even the term 'non-standard' is frowned upon by some linguists who argue that no one is in a position to determine standards, especially in relation to English since the language, as a globally owned commodity, no longer has a determinant of standards. Therefore, the term 'non-native English' (NNE) is considered most objective. I have retained the term 'non-standard' here mainly because it has been much established in the literature.

1.3 English in a Global Perspective

All natural human languages are subject to variation. The study of language variation belongs to the realms of sociolinguistics and is often technically called 'variationist (socio) linguistics.' One individual that is reputed to have done some pioneer work and promoted variationist linguistics is the American linguist William Labov. His pioneer work demonstrates that the two principal factors leading to language change are time and clime. This means that a language undergoes changes as it shifts from one period of time to another and as it moves from one geographical space to another and encounters new speakers and new phenomena. It is readily argued that the language which has undergone the greatest change in living memory is English. More than any other language, English has survived as a language for nearly two thousand years from its Germanic origins through Old English, Middle English, Modern English and Present-Day English. Factors like military occupation, warfare, exploration, commerce, colonialism, and most recently information and communications technology have all conspired to spread English in the globe more than any other language.

The situation is such that has led to English being declared the most important language in the world (Quirk et al, 1985; Teilanyo 2012). The criteria used in appraising the world's languages and holding up English as the *primus inter pares* are population of speakers, geographical spread, vehicular load and the relative importance of the native-speaker societies. While English is far behind Chinese, Hindi and even Spanish in terms of the number of native speakers, it dwarfs them when the total number of those who use the languages as second languages and foreign languages are considered. English is also by far the language

that has spread the most beyond its ancestral home such that there is hardly any country in the world, cutting across the different continents, where English is not used in some way. In terms of vehicular load, English stands taller than any other language in today's world in terms of the range of activities conducted on a global scale, whether it is science and technology, academia, sports, beauty pageantry, diplomacy, trade, the entertainment industry, etc.

In all this, Nigeria has been a major bene□ciary. Indeed, the term 'English' is far older than the term 'Nigeria' in this part of the world. This is so because while English came with the English-speaking Europeans to the West African coast as far back as the fifteenth century, it was only in the early twentieth century, precisely 1914 that 'Nigeria,' meaning 'Niger Area' or 'Negro Area' came to be coined by Flora Shaw, Lord Frederick Lugard's spouse with reference to the proposed country. While English has gone through changes over time in its homeland as well as during its spread to other parts of the world, it has equally metamorphosed within Nigeria itself through different stages into what has been labelled 'Nigerian English' with such phases as Contact English, School English and Standard Nigerian English (Bamgbose 1995). The contentions surrounding this notion, its real-life manifestations and artistic applications have been the subject of much of my scholarship. While every language changes with time and space, English, more than any other human language today, has become so diverse that there has been a plethora of literature on its typology. One that requires to be cited here is Braj B. Kachru's (2006) popular typology of world English varieties in which he identifies three concentric circles of English-using societies, namely the Inner Circle, Outer Circle and Expanding Circle. This typology coincides roughly with the classical classification of English as a Native Language (ENL) societies or English as a Mother Tongue (EMT) societies, English as a Second Language (ESL) societies, and English as a Foreign Language (EFL) societies. The distinguishing linguistic and sociolinguistic credentials of English of these categories are established in the literature and need not be spelt out here.

One reality about NN settings is that while a native-speaker dialect serves as an ideal norm, there also emerge local variations of English. The elements of these varieties may be considered as errors (when a purist view is adopted) or as indexical markers of the varieties if an accommodating view is adopted. Some forms of these NS uses of the target language constitute 'pidgins' (e.g. NigP) which technically speaking are not varieties of the TL (English), while some become 'broken English' which would be attempts at the target standard but accompanied by errors arising from several factors.

1.4 Non-Native 'Englishes': Pro and Contra

The other issue that arises is whether societies in which English is not a native language or mother tongue can be said to have evolved their own dialects of English. For example, can it be rightly argued that an ESL or EFL community has its own variety of English? In speci□c terms, does it make sense to talk about Nigerian English, Ghanaian English, Singaporean English, Russian English, Japanese English, etc? A segment of scholars argues that the issue of dialects arises mainly or even solely with native speakers of a language since dialectal isotope itself refers to how an originally homogeneous linguistic (native- speaker) community gradually dissolves over time and space into communities with differences in aspects of the language, but still sharing enough of the linguistic properties to ensure mutual intelligibility. The proponents of this approach believe that only native-speaker societies like Britain, Australia, New Zealand, the USA, and Canada can be said to have their own dialects, that is BrE, AmE, Canadian English, etc. They argue, indeed, that NN societies have only native societies to look up to such that all deviations from those target native-speaker norms is to be considered as errors rather than as markers of a distinct dialectal variety.

This purist view has been challenged by an accommodationist view which holds that dialects of a language are not the exclusive preserve of native-speaker societies. Indeed, the idea of native-speaker society has become amorphous in today's complex world where not many communities can be said to be linguistically monolithic. Come to think of it, even several of the societies that we consider to be native- speaker societies were hardly ever really homogeneous. These include the US, Australia, or even the UK with its chequered linguistic history over the ages. Again, it is argued that while there are some international dialects, BrE and AmE are the predominant international dialects adopted in NN settings. The pattern is largely that former British colonies tend towards BrE while others tend towards AmE.

The argument has been swayed so much in favour of the existence of these NN 'Englishes' (yes, 'English' pluralised) that volumes have been written of each dialect in the form of books, chapters in books, journal articles and even whole journals. Thus we have such books as *New Englishes* (Pride 1982), *New Englishes* (Platt, Weber and Ho, 1984), *New Englishes*: *A West African Perspective* (Bamgbose, Banjo and Thomas 1995). In these volumes, the indexical markers of these intra-national dialects have been documented at the different levels of linguistic organisation, such as pronunciation, grammar, lexis (vocabulary), meaning and style. The climax at such efforts at codi□cation and legitimisation is the compilation and publishing of glossaries and ultimately, dictionaries of such dialects. This is the role that was executed by Noah Webster for American English. This is the present stage where there are at least two dictionaries of Nigerian English, curiously both bearing the title *Dictionary of Nigerian English Usage*. The □rst is an individual effort by Herbert Igboanusi (2002) whose main shortcomings include its non-inclusion of pronunciation. The second is a group effort under the auspices of the Nigeria English Studies Association (NESA), now renamed English Scholars Association of Nigeria (ESAN), having contributions from experts on the subject and edited by Adegbite, Udofot and Ayoola 2014). I happen to be one of the experts invited to compile this dictionary (Teilanyo 2014a). But skeptics have not surrendered completely, pointing out contentious cases in the publications.

In all these, certain factors have resulted in the NS features in NN settings. Some of these are interference or negative transfer from the indigenous languages; the peculiar flora, fauna and cultural phenomena in the new environments and the inconsistency in the structure of English its self. Other factors are the poor qualities of English teachers; the imperfect social models; negative social reinforcement (where too close an approximation to native-speaker variety, especially in pronunciation, is frowned at and even mocked) and tacit fossilisation where some learner-speakers sub-consciously decide that the quality of English they have acquired is enough and refuse to make progress. Equally culpable are the contributions of social media with its short forms and colloquialisms, as well as individual and corporate linguistic creativity such as we find in the Nigerian telecommunication industry (using Nigerian parlance - *Brekete, Borrow Me Data, Awuf for You, Over Jara, Nyafu-Nyafu*, etc.) for advertisement and slang such as the different names for different brands of cars in the informal automobile industry.

2. 'PERMISSION ME, *BIKO*, TO MAKE *DIS SPOKAGE*:' THE COLOUR OF ENGLISH IN NIGERIA

2.1 '*Dis*': Pronunciation

The spelling *Dis* is used to reflect the NS pronunciation of 'This.' It serves as a specimen of the pronunciation challenges faced by many Nigerian speakers of English at both the segmental and the suprasegmental levels. The segmental elements are principally the consonants and the vowels. Certain English consonants constitute challenges for ESL speakers largely because such consonants are absent in the speakers' MT repertoire. No Nigerian language is known to have the inter-dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/. Therefore, the Nigerian speaker of English suffers from interference such that s/he tends to substitute for them consonants that approximate to them in terms of place of articulation and voicing, namely /t/ and /d/ respectively. Therefore, 'the' is often realized as /di/ and 'think' as /tink/. Pronunciation in a TL is recognised to be the area that is most difficult for L2 learners to master such that features of interference are persistent even in the speech of acrolects. Hence, 'the literature on second language acquisition and language teaching is replete with descriptions of the difficulties that learners encounter in trying to pronounce sounds in a foreign language…' (Odlin 1989: 112). With respect to English, Quirk *et al* state: Pronunciation…is the type of linguistic organisation…which distinguishes one national standard from another most immediately and completely and which links in a most obvious way the national standards to the regional varieties. (1970: 18, 19; Schmied 1991: 57))

A major psychological impetus to the persistence of NN pronunciation among African speakers is the negative attitude Africans have towards native accent. It has been established that most Africans do not aspire to, nor consider it wise to aspire to, a native British (RP) or American accent. Thus, Variety IV of Banjo's (1969: 170) categorisation of spoken NE is locally unacceptable. Also tagged 'linguistic schizophrenia' by Kachru (1983a: 44), and 'hyper-correctness' by Sey (1973: 8), such *oyibo* pronunciation, 'especially the type that strives too obviously to approximate to RP, is frowned upon as distasteful and pedantic' (Sey, 1973: 8) and is 'not accepted without reservations' (Kachru 1983a: 44). It is considered to be affected in that the speakers 'often twist their tongues when talking to imitate whites, but they exaggerate and are ridiculed for speaking in a mannered foreign way' (Schmied 1991: 173). Kofi Yankson puts it poignantly:

> What African students and, in fact, the socio-cultural setting mock at is an affected English accent, not a natural, polished modified Received Pronunciation. Only very few Nigerians or Ghanaians would like to surrender their African personality and speak the prestigious English R.P., that is, if R.P. can be taught by non-R.P. speaking African language teachers, who form the bulk of the teaching staff. (1989: 149)

2.1.1 The Phonemes

Besides sound elements that do not exist in our local languages that result in deviant pronunciation, there are also cases of sounds that are in free variation among dialects of a language or within the language. Thus, speakers of some dialects of Ijo tend to have difficulty articulating the English affricates /ʧ/ and /ʤ/, mainly because the English consonants are either absent in their indigenous dialects or they are in free variation with the fricatives // and /ʒ/ or even /z/ respectively. Accordingly, subordinate Nembe- or Izon-English bilinguals would pronounce 'church' //as 'shosh' or /sɔs/ and 'judge' as /ʒɔʒ/. S/he may also substitute the palato-alveolar 'ch' for /s/, thus realising 'south' as 'shæut'. In other words, these sibilants tend to occur in free variation in the speech of the Ijo-English subordinate bilingual with voicing being the main distinguishing feature. Urhobo/Isoko and other language backgrounds in the Niger Delta region present similar patterns.

Among Igbo speakers of English, and depending on the Igbo dialect, the lateral sounds /l/ and /r/ may be swapped, such as between *mmiri* and *mmili*, *Ebere* and *Ebele*. Such phonemic under-differentiation can result in the incident Adeniran cites (Teilanyo 2003a) about an East African air hostess who wrecked her otherwise good mannered polite communication when she said: 'Radies and gentrumen, we hope you have enjoyed your *fright*. We hope to have the *pressure* to *fry* you again some time.' This is not the only case recorded. A priest is said to have nearly ruined the solemnity of a burial event when just before interring the remains of a dear one, the officiating Igbo Catholic priest who in inviting the mourners to *pray* said: 'Blethlen, let us *play*.' Even in their sorrow, some mourners burst out laughing.

Other issues at the segmental level are:

(a) the absence of the central vowels (/ʌ/, /ɜ:/ and /ə/ as in 'cut,' 'bird' and 'caller' respectively), resulting in substitution with familiar vowels, and

(b) non-observance of vowel length contrast ('live' and 'leave,' 'cot' and 'court/caught,' 'full' and 'fool').

At the suprasegmental level, the most conspicuous feature, more than syllabic structure and rhythm, is word stress. Word stress is one principal element that majority of NNE speakers are unable to attain full mastery of. Thus, even some of the most exposed Nigerians are unable to completely master this feature and so are readily betrayed by it. The general trend in Nigerian speech is to shift the principal stress from an earlier syllable to a later one (Kujore 1985: 1-20). A contributory factor is the transposition of the tonal system of the local languages unto the English words. Thus while the words 'challenge,' 'colleague,' 'madam,' salad' and 'terrorism' are each spoken with the stress on the first syllable by native speakers (BrE, AmE), the stress is shifted to the second syllable by most Nigerian speakers of English.

While shifting the stress ahead is the more common pattern, the reverse (bringing it closer) also obtains. Thus, in 'advice,' 'mistake' (verb and noun) and 'success,' BrE and AmE has the stress on the second syllable, but most Nigerians shift it to the second syllable. In these cases, Nigerians have over-generalised the principle of contrastive stress where the stress shifts from one syllable to the other when the class of the word changes from a verb to a noun or adjective, as we find in words like 'frequent,' import,' 'export,' 'object,' 'rebel' and 'subject. But this does not apply to words like 'mistake' (noun and verb), 'advise/advice' and 'succeed/success' above. In the case of 'advise/advice' the difference is not that of stress shift but solely that of voicing: the verb 'advise' is pronounced with the 's' realised as /z/ [hence /advaiz/] while for the noun 'advice' the 'c' is realized as the voiceless /s/ [hence /advais/].

2.1.2 *Spelling Pronunciation*

Another part of the pronunciation peculiarities in Nigerian interlanguage is the tendency to pronounce words as spelt. Indeed, it is one of the challenges in learning and using English that, unlike many other languages, English spelling is sometimes non-phonemic, meaning that there is often no correspondence between the way words are pronounced and the way they are spelt. Several factors account for this. These include regional orthographic variation in earlier England the printing press and the translation of the Bible.

Another factor is the eclectic nature where English has borrowed words from numerous languages. While some words are now an English word, the spellings have not been anglicised, and so remain as they were in the source language like French. To cap these factors, we have the case of many Nigerians, especially in earlier times, coming in contact with English first through the written medium, in books and other written materials. Hence, they pronounce the words as they see them spelt. The deficient rule of realizing the past tense morpheme (-ed) as /t/ and /d/. For example, there is the rule in English that verbs ending in the alveolar plosives /t/ and /d/ have the past tense morpheme 'ed' realized phonologically as /id/. The rule is extended here to the labio-dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ realized orthographically as 'th.' Similarly, the the vowel in the last syllable in 'animal,' 'palace' and 'stomach' would be pronounced with the /a/ fully realized as in the spelling when native speakers realize them differently. The non-realisation of some orthographic symbols such as the 't' in 'listen,' 'satchet,' and 'raport' is also difficult to imbibe. Similarly, the realization of 'Wednesday' without the /d/ and second /e/ are confounding. So also is the dissonant phonological realization of the 't' in 'fortune,' and the 'd' in 'procedure' and 'schedule.'

These manifestations have been parodied on social media (clearly with significant exaggeration).

2.2 *'Dis':* Graphology (Writing)

The spelling of the demonstrative *Dis* is used to depict the deviant spelling that has characterised impaired users and NS social media use of English in Nigeria. There has been the tendency to spell words to reflect their faulty or NS pronunciation.

Spelling is one area where NNES do not evolve peculiarities. The only two acceptable patterns of spelling are the BrE spelling and the AmE spelling patterns. Therefore, one wonders at the tendency by Nigerians to give spellings to some lexical items that deviate from both standards. The deviant spellings are often reflections of defective pronunciation.

Some of the frequently misspelt and confused words, even among otherwise competent users of English, are *loose/lose, being/been, saloon/salon, in order to/ in other words*. The tendency has been to use the first one ('loose,' 'being,' 'in order words') where the second ('lose,' 'being,' 'in other words') is intended. Pictures (parodies?) of the challenges with spelling abound on social media.

In word division, there is often the tendency to amalgamate or cramp phrases as single words (lexical cramping) or faulty separation of the elements in common compounds:

Infact* in fact Inspite of* in spite of Some thing* something

2.3 'Permission Me:' Grammar

The expression 'permission me' is used to represent the NS features in grammar in non-native Englishes. The term grammar is used here in the fairly strict sense to embrace morphology and syntax, i.e. the patterns of rules governing the structure and formation of words, phrases, clauses and sentences.

Unlike pronunciation and lexis, grammatical aberrations are usually not tolerated even in NN settings such that they are generally stigmatised. In particular, Schmied (1991:64-65)) has observed the problems in discussing the grammatical properties of AE:

> An outline of the grammar in African English varieties is even more difficult than that of their pronunciation: first, because there is no easily available and generally acknowledged descriptive system of grammar (or of language-learning

strategies if the acquisitional aspect is stressed); second, because it is never quite clear whether grammatical alternatives really express the same meaning (or even style); and third, because deviations in grammar occur in much lower frequencies than those in pronunciation [and vocabulary], not only because there are many more categories, but also because grammatical deviations are more stigmatised.

2.3.1 False Functional Conversion/Category Rule Violation

'Permission me' exemplifies the common feature of category rule violation in that a nominal 'permission' is used in a slot that requires a verbal form 'permit.' This violation is exemplified in other cases. The regular direction is often from other word classes to the verb class. Thus, one frequently hears expressions like 'to naked somebody,' 'to on/off the light/TV,' 'to jealous someone,' 'to wicked someone,' 'to be opportuned,' 'to gossip someone,' etc. This is largely influenced by NigP and/or is a product of L1 interference where the concept is expressed in the verbal category. Some are overgeneralisation of normal English conversion principles (e.g. 'to *sanction* it,' 'to *up* the game'). They also arise from deliberate bending and parodying of English rules, not interference and Pidgin.

2.3.2 *The Noun Phrase*

In the NP one of the most common violations is in the number system:

(a) where there is the use of mass nouns as count nouns. This is manifested in
  (i) pluralisation of non-count nouns – e.g. machineries*, stationeries*, luggages*, damages* (harm)[Compare invariable plural 'damages' for compensation in legalese
  (ii) use with the indefinite article – e.g. an advice, an information, a news.

The violation might have arisen from the idea that the concept is probably countable in the speaker's indigenous language or that the speaker is being logical while English structure is not always logical);

(b) the use of plural forms as singular ('My teeth is…'*); 'The Police is your friend.*'

(c) use of invariably plural nouns as singular–
  (i) with pluralisation ('staffs'* [referring to individuals, rather than to groups], 'personnels,'*'cattles,'* etc, or
  (ii) use with the indefinite article ('a staff,'* 'a personnel,'* etc) (iii) use as a singular subject noun ('The staff is…'* when
  referring to an individual, contrasted with the grammatical use to refer to a group of workers).

2.3.3 *The Verb Phrase*

The verb phrase presents a lot of challenges to NN speakers, both because of its complex and irregular nature and because of the differences between its structure and those of most indigenous languages. Added to these is the trend of American usage and some online dictionaries which are making acceptable what in strict usage would be unacceptable. The issues range from tense and aspect to transitivity, voice and mood.

The third person singular morpheme (one other use of 's') appears to be problematic to several users. An explanation may be that the addition of 's' to a verb makes it singular and is used to indicate concord with a third person singular subject in the simple present tense; it is omitted when the subject is plural:

The student **attends** lectures daily. /The students **attend** lectures daily.

This confuses a lot of users who tend to generalise the 's' verb form with even plural subjects: 'The students **attends** lectures daily.'*

Another issue with the verb phrase is the use of the past participle form. It is used either in the perfective aspect in combination with HAVE: 'Religion has **reformed** them;' or in the passive voice in combination with BE 'We are the **reformed** youth.' The tendency is to use the base form 'reform' rather than the *-ed* form. The confusion for many NN users arises because they confuse it with the regular past tense morpheme *-ed* with which it is identical in form ('Religion **reformed** them.')

In **transitivity**, American usage is putting some pressure on Nigerian usage. Strict English grammar specifies some verbs as obligatorily transitive; some are obligatorily intransitive, and yet some others can be used both transitively and intransitively. The variation in Nigerian usage is in the tendency to use obligatorily transitive verbs intransitively. Some of these have AmE influence. Thus, the words 'comprise,' 'discuss' and 'enjoy' which are essentially transitive in BrE or AmE usage are used intransitively (with prepositional elements). These structures probably arise from overgeneralisation from similar grammatical structures like 'consist of,' 'think about,' 'ask for,' etc.

2.3.4 *Prepositional Usage*

Prepositional usage is very tricky, largely because there are very few rules to apply. Their use is largely illogical, at least from the perspective of NN speakers. While prepositions have certain semantic imports (time, space, instrument, agent, etc), place prepositions often have idiomatic meanings while others are simply used in collocations with specific verbs and nouns without being subject to semantic justification. Therefore, while 'congratulations' would take 'on' before nominal elements, it tends to be used with 'for' by many Nigerians. Again, we hear the standard 'in' being substituted with other prepositions in 'confidence reposed **on'**, 'action result **to'**, to 'walk **under** the rain/sun' and someone being 'on a blue dress.'

2.3.5 *Prepositional Complement*

Another important issue is the form of the prepositional complement. It is said that the prepositional complement is 'object territory,' and is sometimes called the 'object of the preposition,' such that any pronoun functioning therein is expected to be in the objective case form rather than the subjective case form. But this rule is often violated by non-native users, especially where 'I' or 'We' comes as a coordinate element after another pronoun: the subjective-objective invariable second person pronoun 'you'.

This matter is between you and I. [?] (me) He relies on them and I. [?] (me)

The Nigerian movie industry (Nollywood) is a major perpetrator of this NN grammatical structure.

2.3.6 Question Forms and Responses

(a) There is the practice of using 'isn't it' as an invariant question tag for different types of statements, regardless of the auxiliary in it. In standard usage, the auxiliary in the tag is the same as that in the statement. Where there is no auxiliary, the dummy 'DO' is used. Similarly, the pronoun in the tag agrees in person, gender and number with the noun or pronoun in the statement. Therefore, we hear 'The man will come, isn't it?' or 'The man came, isn't it?'

(b) Answers to Negative Polar (Yes/No) Questions. In responding to negative questions, there is the tendency by many Nigerians to respond to the form of the question rather than to the overall logic as native speakers do. Thus, a Nigerian would use the affirmative 'Yes' to express agreement with the negation expressed in the question where a native speaker would use the negative 'No' to negate the content of the negative question.

SN	Statement	Nigerian	BrE/AmE
1	Didn't you see him?	Yes, sir. (Suggesting 'I didn't see him.')	No, sir. (Meaning 'I did not see him.')
2	Didn't you see him?	I saw him.	Yes, I did. (Meaning 'I saw him.')

Question Forms and Responses

2.3.7 Determiner Number Collocation/Concord

There is equally the matter of ungrammatically breaching the number concord rule between a determiner and a noun phrase head:

This boys lack manners.*

This is possibly a case of mispronunciation where both 'this' and 'these' are pronounced alike, and are consequently confused in writing. The corollary is that in

May God answer *every prayers* we make.*

The problem with these issues in grammar is that intelligibility is impaired in these cases because we cannot tell whether it is one boy/prayer or more than one boy/prayer that is/are under reference.

2.3.8 Sequence of Grammatical Persons

Native-speaker English (BrE and AmE) has a fixed pattern in which the grammatical persons appear when more than one type of person are coordinated in an NP. The grammatical persons refer to the reflection of the participants in a communicative context, where the first person is the speaker, the second person is the addressee and the third person is the referent. It is usually the third person (*He/She/It/They*) before the second person (*You*), and before the first person (the speaker: *I/We*). Conversely, most of the Nigerian indigenous languages have the reverse sequence of the first person coming before the second person and the third person coming last. This is illustrated below:

English: 'You and will travel tomorrow.'

Most Nigerian languages: 'I and You will travel tomorrow.'

Ejele and Teilanyo (2015) have noted how this difference has not only resulted in unifying several Nigerian languages but also reflects interference since Nigerians tend to impose the sequence of persons in their local languages on their use of English. They have also demonstrated this in the song of the Nigerian singer, Onyeka Onwenu (2021), whose proficiency in English has helped her to cleverly dodge this trap in her Igbo-English bilingual song 'You and I.'

'You and I' by Onyeka Onwenu

You and I will live as one...

Mu na gi ga-ebi ooo onyeoma.

Where we observe the switch from English 'You and I' to Igbo 'mu na gi' ('I and u').

Ejele and Teilanyo (2015) have equally linked this to the malaise of corruption, nepotism and self-aggrandisement that has plagued Nigeria, especially in the management of public resources. We suggest that the idea of putting oneself (the first person) before the second and third persons in that order is entrenched in the psyche and DNA of the Nigerian as encoded in the structure of their languages. Could this explain the endemic and persistent nature of corruption in our nation: the I-First phenomenon and thinking?

While arranging the grammatical persons in the sequence of third-second-first is the norm in English, an exception is made in the English translations of scriptural texts. In the attempt to retain reverence as is done in ancient Hebrew where references to God, even in the third person, always come before other persons. We find this in the Bible: 'And I will establish my

covenant between **Me and you** and your descendants after you in their generations…' (Genesis 17: 7a). Here the first person *Me* is mentioned before the second person *you* (like in the Nigerian languages) rather than the regular English syntax of *you and me*. According to Revd Dr. Chika Ossai-Ugbah (2016), 'the Adonai syntax will never allow the Jew to put themselves or anybody first before God.'

2.4. 'Biko,' 'Spokage': Vocabulary

In our title, two lexical items, *Biko* and *Spokage*, represent the variations in vocabulary and meaning which attend the use of English in NN settings. The presence of two lexical items rather than one suggests the prevalence of features in this area. The elements here include loanwords, code-switching and code-mixing, etc.

2.4.1 *Linguistic Loaning*

Loaning is a major process by which English (and indeed most languages) enlarge their lexical stock. Words that are readily incorporated into our English utterances include those that refer to unique flora, fauna and cultural traits (which have no equivalents in English. These include plants (*iroko*), food items/menu (*akara*), custom (*omugwo, tiri-paga*). There are also those lexical elements which have some equivalents but still give some peculiar African nuance or connotation beyond the English equivalents. Therefore, the word *agbero* goes beyond being a lout ('tout') to connote the rough and ruthless loader of a commercial vehicle in an illegal location. The idea of *omuguo* is not just a caretaker of a woman that has just given birth to include some other pleasant and unpleasant associations. Similarly, *gele* is not just any scarf or head dress but a particularly flamboyant type.

But there are also indigenous language words which are often freely taken into English, even with the ready availability of English equivalents, because of habit or for phatic communion, that is, to retain or maintain rapport or ethno-linguistic affiliation. Therefore, *biko* is a courtesy subjunct (Quirk et al 1985: 569) that has the ready equivalent 'please,' but it is freely code-mixed into the English structure. Other lexical items include the greetings *Doo*, *Nua*/*Alua*, *Daalu*, etc.

2.4.2 *Neologism*

In my research (Teilanyo 2008) I have devoted attention to studying some developments in lexical neologism or word coinage. It might still surprise some of us to realise that the words *corper* (member of the NYSC), *insultive* (adj: 'insulting') and *talkless* ('He did not leave the house *talkless* of attending the meeting') are still not SE words. Similarly, there is also the use of *reoccur*/*reoccurrence* in place of 'recur'/'recurrence,' formed by hyper-correction in the ignorant belief that the time and order prefix *re-* added to 'occur' should not drop the *o* in 'occur.' We also have the words *trickish* ('tricky') and *pepperish* ('peppery'). Again, the commonly used word 'convocate' (verb) is still NS and is formed from the nominal 'convocation' in false analogy with words like 'implicate/implication,' and 'duplicate/duplication.' The standard word is 'convoke;' and it is the educational institution that *convokes* its members for the purpose of awarding degrees and diplomas and some other functions. Several Nigerians use *convocate* with reference to the graduand: 'Are you convocating'?* It is just possible that over time, the backformed 'convocate' may be encoded in the lexicon, just as it has happened with the similar backformed word 'coronate' (from the noun 'coronation') which as a verb was and still is *to crown* ('The king was *crowned* last year.').

There are also special compositions or phrasal coinages like *next tomorrow*, *chewing stick*, *August-break, half-current, head-tie, bush meat*, *pepper soup*, *high table*, *official age*, and *white wedding* ('The white wedding will take place later in the year in the United States…') are not native English words but have become quite popularly used in Nigeria even in official circles. Others that are established in standard or popular Nigerian use are *federal character*, *Ghana-must-go, market women, motor park*. As it is with English, some of these words may eventually find their way into standard dictionaries of English. That has happened with words like 'followership' ('following' in BrE and AmE: 'The man has a large following') which have now been encoded in the online *Wiktionary*, although not yet in the more standard/authoritative dictionaries. The same thing applies to *authentication* and *authentification, relevance* and *relevancy*. The word *supervisee* is in several online dictionaries, but not in other more hard-core dictionaries.

The authoritative lexicalisation of NS words is reflected in the recent inclusion of twenty-six (26) words and expressions from Nigerian usage into the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the greatest authority on English lexicology, on 26 January, 2020. The codified Nigerianisms are *agric, barbing salon, buka, bukateria, chop, chop- chop, danfo, to eat money, ember months, to flag, flag off (n), guber, Kannywood, K-leg, mama put, next tomorrow, non-indigene, okada, to put to bed, qualitative, to rub minds, sef, send-forth, tokunbo,* and *zoning*. It is, therefore, out of ignorance of the flexible and dynamic nature of every language that some observers tried to make issues out of the legitimisation of these words. This is not the first time Nigerian words have been so encoded. Similar to Kannywood (the Hausa movie industry in Kano), *Nollywood* and several other terms had been legitimized in the *OED* previously. The only thing to be borne in mind is that these terms would have some notation attached to them in the dictionary, such as 'Nigerian,' 'colloquial,' 'informal,' etc which enables the English user to know the appropriate context in which to use them and derive the required intelligibility. The critics also forget that Nigerian languages have equally been incorporating words from English and other languages into their vocabulary.

More recent neologisms include *Chibok girls* and *Dapchi girls* (not just any girls from the towns of Chibok or Dapchi but the secondary school girls that were abducted by the Boko Haram insurgents in those communities on 14/15 April, 2014 and 19 February, 2018 respectively).

2.4.3 *Loanblends*

Loanblends are predominantly compound words with one element taken from English and the other from an indigenous language and communicating some complex meaning. These include *bukateria*, *kpo-fire* (local crude oil refining). Others have the principal word being English but an English affix is attached to it: *amanyanabos* (English plural marker 's' attached to Eastern-Ijo 'king,' *missism* (my missis -- Igbo). There are also frequent instances of code-switching and code-mixing where words and phrases are freely mixed by the bilingual almost as a matter of habit (code-mixing), or where whole clauses and sentences in one language and other clauses and sentences in another language are swapped, either in one speech situation (conversational code-switching) or in different discourse contexts (metaphorical or situational code-switching).

2.4.5 *Idioms and Proverbs*

The terms 'idiom' and 'proverb' have often been confused such that what some sources would cite as idioms are cited by other sources as proverbs. But we have established the similarities and distinctions between these two concepts (Teilanyo 2014b).

The peculiarities in the Nigerian use of idioms and proverbs are classified into three: invention, modi□cation (Teilanyo 2008b) and extension. (a) Coinages/Invention of Idioms

Several idioms have evolved in Nigeria, expressions that are largely unknown in other (native) settings. Some of these are

to spray money (to spread cash on someone dancing in celebration),
long leg (influence, especially one tending towards nepotism),
to branch (to stop over briefly)
'Let me land' ('Let me finish making my point.')
to do school run (to take children to and from school),
to be on seat (to be at one's duty post),
to show somebody pepper (to give someone trouble, or to punish somebody severely),
to look for trouble (to be troublesome)
a big man (an influential man)

(b) Modification of Idiomatic Form

One of the characteristics of idioms is that they are fixed in form such that their words and syntax are fixed; one cannot substitute some other word in an idiom or change the arrangement of the words without losing the meaning. Therefore, in the idiom 'to kick the bucket' one cannot substitute the word 'carry' for 'kick' to derive 'to carry the bucket' and still be understood to mean what 'to kick the bucket' means. Similarly, one cannot bring 'basin' to replace 'bucket' to read 'to kick the basin.' Furthermore, to passivise the structure and say 'The bucket was kicked by the man' cannot mean the same thing as 'The man kicked the bucket.'

However, there are several cases where Nigerians have made alterations to SE idioms, in defiance of this restriction. The following are examples:

SN	Nigerian Version of Idiom	British or American Version
1	*Half bread* is better than none.	*Half a loaf* is better than no bread.
2	You cannot *eat* your cake and	You cannot *have* your cake and *eat*
3	from frying pan to fire	Out of the frying pan and into the fire
4	It will pay off *on* the long run.	It will pay off *in* the long run.
5	What is *good* for the goose is also	*Sauce* for the goose is *sauce* for the gander.
6	A beggar has no choice.	Beggars can't be choosers.

Modification of Idioms

(c) Modification/Extension of Idiomatic Meaning

The third pattern is the tendency to alter or extend the meaning of normal English idioms. For example, the idiom *for good* in BrE or AmE simply means 'forever' or 'permanently,' but many Nigerians employ it to mean 'in a good direction' ('Everything will end up for good.') Similarly, *to put up with* does not only mean to tolerate but also means, among Nigerians, 'to stay brie□y with.'

(d) Intelligibility of Idioms

The intelligibility of idiomatic expressions is a trying matter, especially in NN settings where the challenge is intensified. Indeed, idioms 'constitute the most difficult part of a language for any foreign learner' (Longe and Ofuani 1996: 116). While idioms almost always have metaphorical or figurative meanings, the NN speaker often does not realise this figurative texture of idioms and tends to comprehend them literally (Teilanyo 2003a; 2009). This challenge with idioms is dramatised in *Icheoku* and *Masquerade*:

D.O. I'd like to know from her which of the two men is ***the apple of her eyes.***
C.C. Master, you know that apple is in the tree… not in the eye. How the apple go to his [her] eye?- - NTA (1988)

D.O. Unless he reveals everything he knows about the activities, he will ***face the music.***
C.C. [Ochudo, O. if you don't reveal everything about the secret society you will come out and dance.] – NTA (1992a)

MR. BUTLER. Chief, your name **rings a bell** in this town
ZEBI. Bia, my friend, why are my name ring bell in the town? I am sell hair-die or I am make the advertise of *okirikpoto*?
MR. BUTLER. I am sorry you misunderstand me I am implying that you are very popular in this town.
ZEBI Yes. But how can the popularity, which I am popularize, come to be interfere that my name are ring bell? – I roha 'Aba'

Besides the fictional presentation, the scriptures tell us about a classical case of misinterpretation of idioms. A Pharisee, Nicodemus, had in the Bible (John 3: 1-21) visited the Master about his desire for the Kingdom. Jesus Christ as a master literary artist uses the idiom 'to be born again:'

Jesus answered and said to him, 'Most assuredly I say to you, unless one is **born again**, he cannot see the kingdom of God.'
Nicodemus said to Him, 'How can a man be born when he is old? Can he enter a second time into his mother's womb and be born?' (John 3: 3,4)

But Nicodemus is not alone in this dilemma. We find a live case in the following audio-visual interview:

Respondent: No, I can't born again.
Questioner: Why?
Respondent: Because, you know we Ghanaians, we're facing problem. If, if I want to born again, I have to ask my wife before I born again. Because last two years we went and did family planning, because we're planning about our family. So I can't born again.
Question: No, I mean like are you born again? You must be born again.
Respondent (*emphatically*): I can't born again, please. I have five children. I should born again? Oh!

The respondent in the above excerpt faces the same dilemma as Nicodemus did. Except that this case has an L2 tinge to it. While the questioner uses the idiom *to be born again* in the SE sense, the respondent interprets it in the Pidgin sense. In English to *be born again* is a passive construction (a person is born); but in the Pidgin sense, the construction is active where one gives birth to or 'borns' a baby.

2.4.5 Malapropism

I have studied the incidence of malapropism in NN settings. Malapropism is the 'ludicrous misapplication of language; an instance of this' (*OED*). It is a verbal blunder in which one word is replaced by another similar in sound but different in meaning or a humorous confusion of words that sound vaguely similar… The term is traced to the English writer, R. B. Sheridan who adopted a character named Mrs. Malaprop, itself a name that is concocted from the Greek roots *mal-* ('bad') and the French *a propos* ('to plan or purpose'). Some of the malappropriated words are 'contagious' (contiguous), 'superstitious' (superior), 'maleveolence' (benevolence), 'derangement' (arrangement), and 'precede' (proceed).

My research discovered and developed a typology of malapropism, taking cognisance of SL settings. The primary division is between **intralingual** and **interlingual** malapropism. It is intralingual when there is confusion of lexical items or expressions in a single language. On the other hand, in interlingual malapropism an individual confuses lexical items in two different languages, lexical items that share some phonological feature(s). For a monolingual - like Mrs. Malaprop – only intralinqual malapropism is to be expected since the individual has no knowledge of any other language from which to transfer linguistic habits, but interlingual malapropism (along with the intralingual) would obtain for subordinate bilinguals who have inadequate mastery of one of the languages they use. Both intralingual and interlingual malapropism may be **expressive** or **perceptive** (or **receptive**).

While Sheridan's Mrs. Malaprop does not display it, intralingual malapropism may be perceptive if the monolingual, rather than express a malapropriated word, speaks or acts in a manner suggesting that s/he has understood the word wrongly to mean something different but which has some sound resemblance to it. The instance of the interpreter who relays 'peace' as 'piss' (to urinate) is a clear case of perceptive intralingual malapropism since he does not express 'piss' himself but understands the speaker's word as such. Some of us may also recall that the late President Idi Amin Dada of Uganda is reported to have reacted to a sumptuous meal abroad by saying he was 'fed up' and promised to 'retaliate' when his hosts visited him in Uganda. A live example is taken from a newspaper:

'**Beside**, she said she was neither queried nor **court-marshalled** before her compulsory retirement from the army.'[**court- martialled**] (Philips 2012).

In an interlingual perceptive malapropism, the language user understands a word in one language (say English) to be another word in his/her language because the words share some phonological pattern. For example, when the Court Clerk understands the English word OK (Okay) to be referring to mean the shortened Igbo name *Okey*, then this is perceptive interlingual malapropism. If the user goes ahead to call *Mr. Okay* as he had understood it, it becomes expressive interlingual malapropism. In effect, expressive interlingual malapropism could also be a by-product of perceptive interlanguage malapropism (Teilanyo 2011b; 2020). 2.4.6 *Bombast*

The word *spokage* in our title is suggestive of bombastic English. It is chosen in preference to the normal and simple word 'speech,' 'remark' or 'comment.' Bombast is a prominent feature of English in Nigeria, as in several N N settings. I devoted some energy to study this phenomenon. Bombast involves the unnecessary and/or insincere use of pompous, high sounding, highfalutin, over-elaborate or grandiloquent words and expressions (Teilanyo 2003a; 2003b). I noted that bombast has generally received negative responses and connotations and is viewed with suspicion among scholars (Longinus 1974; Pope 1973; Mazrui 1975). Yet it has thrived over time and clime.

I attribute this endurance of bombast in NN settings to such factors as the social status and ego that is associated with English (especially in Africa where 'big words do make an impact' – Mazrui 1975:151), pragmatic transfer where the speaker uses bombast as an alternative to traditional oratorical devices like proverbs and the users' ignorance of or failure to appreciate the essential communicative function of language. I have further identified linguistic elements of bombast to include polysyllabic and polymorphemic words; unwarranted scientific jargon; loanwords from foreign languages, especially Latin, and the indigenous languages; semantic reduplication and other NS features. I also note that political bombasters were known to give further para-linguistic effect to their elaborate language with their high pitch of voice and added volume to the concerned words and phonemes, their equally elaborate regalia (a long-□owing robe or *agbada*, a bogus hat, etc). With a huge hand fan, a walking stick or some other hand-dress, the bombaster also gesticulates up and down, left and right, so that the effect is never missed.

Further to my findings in 2003, I here produce a typology of bombasters. There are at least five categories of bombasters: the pedagogic bombaster (the teacher, the professor), the political bombaster (the politician, including student politicians), the romantic bombaster (the lover-boy in the early 1960s and 1970s), the linguistically schizophrenic bombaster (e.g. Chief Zebrudaya in *Masquerade*, the Court Clerk in *Icheoku*) and the comic bombaster.

The teacher has been much parodied in Onitsha Market literature (Bombabily in Ogali A. Ogali's *Veronica, My Daughter* and Bambulu in James Ene Henshaw's *This Is Our Chance*, Lakunle in Wole Soyinka's *The Lion and the Jewel* and Professor Johnbull in the TV sitcom of that title. Notable Nigerian political bombasters include Nnamdi Azikiwe, Chief Gbadamosi Adegoke Adelabu (who authored the phrase 'peculiar mess' that got Yorubanised to *penkelemes* and used by Wole Soyinka in his memoir *Ibadan: The Penkelemes Years, a Memoir, 1946-65*). Chief Kingsley Ozumba Mbadiwe (who gave us expressions *man of timber and calibre*; *I have been an escapee, a refugee but now a returnee*; *political anyigafuism,* etc). Students in tertiary institutions also employ bombast in their electioneering in unionism. I consider Hon. Patrick Obahiagbon, the Igodomigodo, as the quintessential reincarnation of the political bombaster and studied his English with his permission and cooperation. Of recent, Rochas Okorocha has joined the fray with his *iberiberism*. As a Professor and Governor of Cross Rivers State, Ben Ayade may be considered a criss-cross between the pedagogic and the political bombaster with such annual fiscal budget titles as *Budget of Infinite Transposition* (2017), *Budget of Kinetic Crystalisation* (2018), *Budget of Quabalistic Densification* (2019), *Budget of Olympotic Meristemasis* (2020), *Budget of Blush and Bliss* (2021) and *Budget of Conjugated Agglutination* (2022).

The lover-boy bombaster was often the teacher himself such as Lakunle. However, many of us remember that in earlier times in this country, a major element of a winning love letter from a young man to his (would-be) lover-girl was a significant dose of bombast. Specimens of such love letters have been trending on social media.

The schizophrenic bombaster is so labelled because he is generally an incompetent speaker of English but tries to boost his ego by employing highfalutin but often ungrammatical words and expressions to cover his linguistic inadequacy.

The comic bombaster is typified by the stand-up comedian Gordons:

> Fellow Nigerians, how is your ministry moving? I hope the church is moving to the permanent sight. And the bishop, the pope, the catechist and the archbishop they are all moving in the direction and frequency in the conglomeration of a mamalid that lead to an upquiver in a sentimental direction that can bring a rotational blockade in a charismatic wawa. I hope you understood what I said. Just in case you didn't, neither do I. Halleluiah! (Gordons n.d. Ward 2)

While bombast has generally been effective in achieving the desired effect of drawing applause, boosting the speaker's ego and mesmerising the audience into submission, we follow previous scholars to consider the use of bombast in Nigeria a feature of NS language, especially when it meets conditions like expressing nonsense or communicates no sense, when it is accompanied by some ungrammaticality and or when it employs a technical register not appropriate to the context.

In all, we argue that besides often being an indicator of inadequate mastery, such bogus language is often a product of linguistic ostentation, of false erudition, of a pretentious and over-bloated sagacity, or of schizophrenic megalomania - to mimic the quintessential bombaster.

Bombastic language would need to be distinguished from elevated prose which orators and some other linguistic connoisseurs may employ. The distinction often obtains in the suitability of the vocabulary to the context, the intelligibility of the expressions and the absence of NS features.

Bombast is also to be distinguished from jargon or specialised terms in medicalese, legalese, scientific discourse and even linguistics which may sound bombastic to novices in the respective disciplines.

2.5. 'Permission Me, *Biko*': Meaning

The expression 'Permission Me, *Biko*' is used to depict the peculiar meaning elements that are found in NNE usage. The expression may be considered as exemplifying semantic redundancy since 'permit me' is a politeness or courtesy maker just as '*biko*' ('please') does.

2.5.1 *Tautology/Semantic Redundancy*

A predominant issue in Nigerian usage is the NN duplication of meaning in the same grammatical structure or utterance. It is 'a kind of semantic anomaly in rhetoric in which an argument or proposition is repeated in the same or different words in the same utterance' (Wales 2011: 455). Other terms associated with it are pleonasm and periphrasis, and all could be literary devices serving the purposes of emphasis and memory aiding (Leech 1969: 136-40; Wales 1989: 455). But tautology without any apparently deliberate aim has long been recognised as a feature of AE (Schmied 1991: 86-87), where the suggested psychological prompting for its employment is that it is 'a second language strategy of playing safe by saying rather too much than too little' (Shmied 1991: 87). Here, a single meaning is repeated in two or more words or expressions with no obvious intention of reinforcing a message.

Some common cases are *more better* (double comparative)*; can be able* (modal and non-modal expression of ability)*; reverse/revert back* and *return back* (verb plus adverb)*; some of them include* (subject and verb); *so therefore* (double conjuncts), *excellently/creditably well* (a superlative modifying a degree adverb); *According to the author, he says that* ('according to' already implies the idea of saying)*, safe haven* (a haven is a safe place)*, the youths of today are the* ***future*** *leaders of* ***tomorrow****, resultant effect, secret ballot* (Schmied)

While the above are commonplace, there are others which one expected would be avoided in strict and formal academic use. Yet they are getting institutionalised even in the university system. One instance is *sabbatical leave*. The word *sabbatical* already has the meaning of leave implicit in it. It is the Sabbath, the period a worker takes from his work to rest. The common trend of using the period to get another full- time pay is a notion not anticipated in the original concept of the word. Most Nigerian universities make it a condition that you produce a letter of offer of a sabbatical place in another institution or agency in order to release one, and that one should also give an account of how one spent one's sabbatical productively. But the original notion is that it is one's Sabbath and one could decide what to do with it, even if it is merely to idle away. The use of the term at issue here is that internationally standard usage would say one is on *sabbatical*, not *sabbatical leave*. More is to be said about this term in relation to other terms.

The expression *return back* has been cited as a typical case of African tautology alongside *reverse back*, *extreme end*, etc. This is because the prefix *re-* actually means 'again' or 'back.' However, there seems to be an archaic element in such constructions as we find them in the King James Version of the Bible

'And he *returned back* from him…' (1Kings 19:21)

Neither let him which in the field *return back* to take his clothes. (Mat. 24:18)

…and he went up into the ship, and *returned back* again (Luke. 8:37b)

…and he that is in the field, let him likewise not *return back*. (Luke.17: 31b)

Could it be that the KJV influenced this structure in Nigerian usage since it is noted that our English is often influenced by the language of the KJV Bible and the hymnal (Bamgbose 1995)? This semantic duplication has been removed in translations after the KJV.

Besides tautology, I (Teilanyo 2006) investigated how our peculiar culture has contributed to the extension or modification of English as used in Nigeria. I predicated the study on the Sapir-Whorfian principles of linguistic relativity (that people who speak different languages think differently and so language determines thought and worldview) and linguistic determinism (that languages and thought patterns are so culture-bound), suggesting that it is impossible to translate a thought pattern from one language to the other. The compromise position is the recognition of both linguistic universals and culturally unique concepts which may be translated through calques (loan translations) or for which some approximate word can be borrowed from the source language (SL) into the target language (TL) but the meaning would be 'nativised' through meaning shift, expansion or narrowing to suit the circumstances in the receiving culture.

Our study contributed to knowledge in this essay in at least two ways. First, while some of the lexical items and their NS use have been identified by some other scholars, the 'non-standardness' has often not been linked to the influence of the peculiar Nigerian culture, what in the literature is called 'cultural interference' where the NS meaning results from 'an effort to express new phenomena or new experience in a language which does not account for them' (Mackey 1968: 573). We fill this gap by tracing the link. Secondly, many more shifts or modifications have taken place in Nigeria since those uses were identified, as more and more Nigerians use English as an L2 and with greater audacity to express some culture-bound concepts which were previously expressed mainly in the indigenous languages. Thus, we update the literature on this subject by codifying these more recent entries.

The other patterns of meaning peculiarities are discussed under semantic shifts, semantic narrowing and semantic extension.

2.5.2 *Meaning Shift*

It is observable that certain words and expressions mean something different from what they mean among native British or American users. For example, some Nigerians use the term *marriage* to mean wedding. Or *marriage* is used to mean traditional wedding and *wedding* is used for registry or church wedding. Similarly, what the term *soup* means among native speaker (a cooked liquid used as an appetiser) is not what the term means to most Nigerians (to whom a soup means a mixture of numerous ingredients cooked together and used to swallow some food item like *eba*, pounded yam, etc). To a cross-section of Nigerians an *academician* is a lecturer/researcher in a tertiary institution, but to the native speaker the word *academician*

means a member or product of an academy. Therefore, I am an academician, not because I am an academic, but because I belong to the Nigerian Academy of Letters.

Certain practices in formal education have brought about certain semantic shifts. For example, a *class* is often used in the sense of a lecture or lesson. On its part, a *lesson* often denotes some extra-mural or private lesson that is taken outside the normal classroom or after school hours. Thus, candidates preparing for some external examinations often attend *lessons* which are teaching courses offered by some private coaches in *lecture centres*. In addition, the teaching sessions that are given during the regular school hours are *classes*, but any other teaching done after the regular school hours and paid for by the candidates, even if in the same school premises and by the same teachers (who usually get the extra remuneration) are *lessons*.

2.5.3 *Meaning Extension*

The most common form of meaning modification is semantic extension where a term is used to refer to concepts that are beyond that or those that it used to refer to in British or American usage. Probably the most fertile area for such semantic modifications is in kinship terms (Akere 1982: 91; Akindele and Adegbite 1999: 8). First, there is semantic extension in the use of such terms as *mother, father, brother, sister, uncle* and *auntie*. The extensions arise mainly from the extended family tradition of Nigerians as contrasted with Western cultures which use these terms in more specific terms owing to the greater recognition of the nuclear family and less emphasis on extended family relations. Thus, the expressions *my mother* and *my father* are often used to refer to people beyond the primary degree of one's immediate biological progenitors to include varying degrees of relations. In the secondary degree they are used to mean one's aunts and uncles as well as other extended collateral relations of about the same age range as one's parents. In this respect, the case is told of a Nigerian who lost his job in the USA for 'dishonesty' because he claimed two persons as his 'mother.' He had obtained permission to travel to Nigeria a few years back to bury his 'mother' who was actually his aunt, his mother's elder sister who reared him. His biological mother has now died and he applied again for permission to come to Nigeria to bury his 'mother.' Someone was curious enough to remember that he had obtained permission to bury a 'mother' previously. His file was checked and his 'dishonesty' was confirmed! The question is, should he have mentioned 'foster mother' or 'aunt' in his previous application? If he had done so, would he have got the permission? Was he really dishonest?

Being so straightforward or honest in such circumstances could have dire detrimental consequences. This presenter recalls an event when a man introduced his mother's elder sister to his friends as his 'aunt' and his mother as his 'mother.' The aunt flared up in protest at the slight and summoned him before the elders. The elders who knew that the aunt had been more of a mother to him than the biological mother actually judged the case in her favour and imposed an appropriate fine on the offending young man.

Similarly, *my brother* and *my sister* are used primarily to denote one's blood brothers and sisters and secondarily to denote one's cousins and other blood relations of the same age range or filial generation. This secondary degree of use is accentuated by the limited lexical stock of Nigerian languages which lack separate lexical items for the English concept 'cousin'. The same factor often makes 'brother' and 'sister' include one's nephews and nieces which have no lexical equivalents in most Nigerian languages. In sum, the difference between lineal and collateral relationships is neutralised in the use of these terms in NE usage. The terms are also extended in the tertiary degree to include not just any individual of the most distant blood relationship but also any individual of one's age generation, one's locality or ethnic group. This tertiary use is common, particularly among people of the same ethnic origin who find themselves in some other ethnic environment or country. In informal conversation, a quaternary degree of use is observed: an individual may exclaim *My brother!* or *My sister!* towards one's friend or acquaintance, sometimes even towards one's spouse, to express shock, wonder and oneness. In like manner, a man or woman may use the expression *My son* or *My daughter* to include his or her nephews and nieces as well as children of some other distant relation.

The words *uncle* and *auntie* are also used, first in the Western sense in reference to one's parents' primary collateral relations -- a parent's brother and sister respectively. They are, however, extended in reference in NE to all extended family relations of the parents' age- bracket and further also to any elderly or grown-up individual from one's village or ethnic group when they find themselves elsewhere. In the school system, pupils and students readily address their teachers and lecturers as *uncles* and *aunties*. On campuses of tertiary educational institutions, *uncle* often has an additional usage. The word is generally pronounced with the stress shifted from the SE position of the first syllable onto the second syllable in NE. But on campuses, female undergraduates often use the BrE/AmE pronunciation (*UNcle)* to denote an elderly blood or ethnic male relation and the NS pronunciation with the second syllable stressed (*unCLE*) to connote an elderly and wealthy lover who is usually already married to another woman. The terms *Daddy, Mummy/Mommy*, *Uncle* and *Auntie* are also used to address adult men and women generally in offices and in the open market place (Akere 1982: 98).

Furthermore, in addition to the coinages (*bride-price* or *bride wealth*), the term *dowry* is used in Nigeria to depict the largely peculiar African cultural practice. In British or American usage, the *dowry* is the 'property or money brought by a bride to her husband when they marry' (Hornby 1995). In Africa, it is the man who pays a 'price' to the bride's family. The word *dowry* is now used to refer to this reversed practice. Thus, a groom is said to have paid a *dowry* on the bridge's 'head' during the *marriage*. Interestingly, Hornby has recognised the two opposite uses from the 6th edition up to the current 10th edition of his dictionary where the two concepts are given thus: '1. money and/or property that, in some societies, a wife or her family must pay to her husband when they get married 2. money and/or property that, in some societies, a husband or his family must pay to his wife's family when they get married' (Hornby 2020).

Other usage differences are observed in some other areas in the social sector, that is, in general social interaction among Nigerians. For example, while in SE usage an 'applicant' is someone who has applied for a job, a loan, an admission into a

school, etc, in NE usage, an *applicant* is any individual who has finished school (secondary or tertiary) but has not been employed, whether or not he has applied for work.

The word *customer* is equally, in Nigeria, extended beyond its BrE/AmE sense of 'a person or an organisation that buys something from a shop/store or business' (Hornby 2020) to be used also to mean the seller. Strictly it is only the buyer that is a customer to the seller; the seller is not a customer to the buyer. But in Nigeria, the term is used mutually by either for the other. Again, the word *borrow* which involves receiving is used to include the sense of lend, which is to give: '*Borrow* me your pen.*' Cooked food is also said to be *sweet*, rather than being delicious or tasty.

Another case of semantic extension is that of the word *tea*. Many average Nigerians conceive the concept to include different food drinks and beverages, including brands like *Bournvita*, *Milo*, etc. But in its true sense a tea is a type of drink derived from a leaf. To Hornby (2020), it is 'the dried leaves, (called tea leaves), of the tea bush...2 a hot drink made by pouring boiling water onto tea leaves…' Some of the common brands in Nigeria are *Lipton* and *Top Tea*. Again, the term *wine* is applied by many Nigerians to include bottled non-alcoholic fruit juices, including such brands as *Eva*, *Pure Heaven*, *Veleta*, *Chamdor*, etc.

But by definition, a wine generally contains alcohol, 'an alcoholic drink made from the juice of grapes that has been left to ferment' (Hornby 2020). Therefore, the use of the term *wine* might have arisen from a desire to give the fruit juices some prestige. Incidentally, the manufacturers of these drinks do not give them the term 'wine.' They label them as 'pure grape juice' or some other similar term. Therefore, the expression *non-alcoholic wine** is semantically anomalous in being self-contradictory since *wine* implies some alcoholic content. Curiously, however, I have come across one brand, *Triple MW*, produced in Aba, that has used the term 'wine' to describe its non- alcoholic drink.

This indicates the rising popularity of this semantic extension. The question is whether we should as university people go about the streets and market places in Nigeria correcting people not to use the term 'wine' in referring to non-alcoholic drinks. Or should we rather keep the standard use of the term and simply note *non-alcoholic wine* as popular Nigerian usage? Sociolinguistic trends indicate that the latter would be the only realistic approach as the former would be an exercise in futility.

2.5.4 Semantic Narrowing/Restriction

The converse is semantic narrowing where a term is restricted to mean something less in reference than what it means among native speakers (standard British or American usage). A typical example is that of *light* used to mean electricity or electric power. Light is only one of the manifestations of electric energy, since it equally manifests for sound, heat, etc. Thus, a segment of Nigerians would say they have not had light for days rather than electricity. But light has more undertones, used to mean public power supply rather than self-generated power: 'There is no light, but generator…What we are using is generator, not light.'

Another example is the word *fuel* which a significant cross-section of Nigerians uses to mean only *petrol* (British English) or *gasoline* (American English). 'the... (PPPRA) suddenly jerked up fuel price from N65 to N141 per litre.' (Olayinka 2012: 13).But *fuel* in the real sense includes all the by-products of petroleum (kerosene, diesel, aviation fuel) as well as other sources of energy like other fossil fuels (e.g coal, gas) and even firewood.

Fuel is 'any material that produces heat or power, usually when it is burnt (Hornby 2020), or 'a substance such as coal, gas, or oil that can be burnt to produce heat or energy' (*Longman* 2009).

2.5.6 *Literal translation*

I realised the issue of literalism in my childhood in the 'English' of my own mother who used to say 'I tell give you,' a Nembe/Ijo rendition of 'I tell you.' Literal translation is the second level in translation (the other levels are lexical translation, free translation and figurative or idiomatic translation: Teilanyo 2000b) and involves the carry-over of the thought patterns of a source language (SL) into the lexis of the target language (TL). This means that the speaker thinks in one language and merely substitutes the words in the target language for the thought patterns in another language.

Many Nigerians would be heard saying 'I am coming' when they mean 'I shall be back shortly' because they are translating literally from their native languages: *A boyo* (Nembe); *Mo nbo* (Yoruba); *A nama bia* (Igbo); *I de* (Edo); etc. This has led a few Nigerians to be branded as dishonest by some Europeans in situations where the Nigerian is walking away while saying 'I am coming.' Other literalisms include a Benin speakers responding 'I hear' (*E hon*) when they are greeted 'Good morning' or 'Thank you;' 'You are looking for trouble' for 'You are troublesome.' It is also normal to hear the circumlocutory expression 'father and mother' rather than 'parents' among Nigerians since most Nigerian languages have no lexical items equivalent to 'parent'. Curiously, the Nigerianism *to eat money* (to embezzle or misappropriate funds) has been encoded in the *OED*.

2.6 Contextual Features

There are several other contextual utterances that have peculiar Nigerianness. These include Americanisms, honorifics and ceremonial mannerisms.

2.6.1 *Americanisms*

Nigeria has always claimed to have British English as its international target model. However, American English has, from the 1960s, impinged on Nigerians. I have investigated this influence of Americanisms in Nigerian usage in some detail at the different levels of linguistic organisation (Teilanyo 2000c) and conjectured the possibilities in the 21st century alongside 'Britishisms' and 'Nigerianisms.'

The factors that have led to the increasing place of American English in Nigeria include the electronic communication revolution (cable television, videotapes, movies), exposure through travel, pop music, increasing number and influence of American-trained professionals, and availability of printed material (magazines and technical manuals, e.g computer software materials) in American English. (Bamgbose 1995: 23, Igboanusi 2002: 4)

The differences between AmE and BrE in pronunciation and spelling are fairly well known, but the variations in vocabulary, grammar and style are less recognised. Meanwhile, the condemnation of American English is now largely old-fashioned. Thus, while they were rejected for some time, particularly for pedagogical purposes in Nigeria, they have now been accepted even in standardized educational assessment. Hence, the examination bodies in Nigeria state that American spelling, if consistent, should be accepted.

Many Nigerians may not recall that the words and expressions *kerosene*, *baggage, postgraduate studies*, *Associate Professor*, etc. are actually of American origin as contrasted with *paraffin*, *luggage, graduate studies* and *Reader*. Of course, for the last two, the American versions sound more flattering, and an attempt to insist on only the British terms may be unwelcome. My prediction that AmE will continue to overtake BrE in most parts of the world is lent further weight by the fact that the Heathrow Airport in London (the home of BrE) also bears the term *Baggage Claim* (AmE) instead of the BrE *Luggage Claim*.

Again, the word *celebrant* in BrE denotes a priest, usually a Roman Catholic, who leads a church service, especially where the Eucharist or holy communion is served, and by extension, the devotees who partake in it (Hornby 2020). But in AmE and NE usage, a celebrant is anyone who celebrates anything by organising a social party or event. Thus, a graduating student is a *celebrant* at a convocation or the party organised for it. At a wedding, a 'house-warning' ceremony, a birthday party or a party to celebrate any achievement, the celebrant is the one who is celebrating or is being celebrated. This semantic extension may be traced to over-generalisation of the *ant-* suffix as much as to the frequent tendency to celebrate even minimal positive occurrences or achievements among Nigerians.

2.6.4 *Honorifics*

The love of titles is a significant aspect of African life. In traditional society, people took pride in acquiring different titles arising from wealth or some other mark of greatness (number of wives, children, slaves, etc). While titles are also popular in several other parts of the world, the case in Nigeria and Africa in general has been compounded by the multiplicity of influences the African has had (traditional, religious, educational and political) each bringing along honorifics. The case is not only that many are not content being addressed as 'ordinary' *Mr* or *Mrs*, but also that there is often a concatenation of titles.

The importance placed on personal names and honorific titles can hardly be ignored in any discussion on African culture and lifestyle. People who are proud of their ancestry would normally chronicle their genealogy in public to indicate their nobility, royalty or 'rootedness' in their communities. Titles and epithets are invoked to mark the bearer's successes. The situation is such that hardly any 'important' persons, especially men, are contented being addressed as 'ordinary Mr.' Hence, most successful men manoeuvre their way to their ethnic communities to acquire chieftaincy titles, especially where they intend to contest elections into political offices.

Acculturation in Western lifestyles has complicated the trend: most professionals attempt to attach abbreviations of their professions as pre□xes to their names, viz: *Arch. Akana Olemu (for an architect), Pharm. Akana Olemu (pharmacist), Surv. Akana Olemu (surveyor), Engr. Akana Olemu (Engineer), Barr. Akana Olemu, Pastor Akana Olemu,* etc. We now also have *N. Dr.* ('Native Doctor'). Secondly, the multiplicity of titles has been heightened; for people now combine Western titles – including academic, occupational, religious and honorary titles – with native ones, including chieftaincy and personal achievement titles as well as aliases. The result is a long list of titular prefixes (preceding the bearer's personal names) and postmodifying honorific epithets. Funso Akere (1982: 93-97) and Igboanusi (2002: 36) have given a fair treatment of such titles in the address system as an integral part of SNE. The love for titles is so much that wealthy individuals offer huge sums of money to traditional rulers in order to have the title of *Chief* prefixed to their names (e.g Chief Ojimba Adewale). Others work their way into some universities in Nigeria or outside it, to be awarded some honorary doctorates so that they can prefix *Dr* to their names. (In native societies, it is mainly medical doctors and holders of academic doctoral degrees – M.B,B.S., Ph.D., D.Phil., D.Ed. -- that use the prefix). This is such that every political appointee into the state or federal cabinet or elected politician who had *Mr.* as his title prior to his appointment would in a few weeks be addressed as *Chief…* or *Dr*. The women have also joined the chorus of recent, being addressed as *Chief (Mrs.)…* even in communities where chieftaincy titles were the exclusive preserve of men.

Furthermore, people in other professions that were not known to append their professions as titles have been doing so in Nigeria in the past few decades. Thus, one hears *Barrister Offiong*, *Engineer Adamu*, *Architect Okonkwo*, *Pharmacist Oche*, etc. The clergy are equally in the forefront with titles unknown to standard western usage like *Pastor* and *Most Senior Apostle* before their names. The presidents and governors are addressed as *Your Excellency*. Heads of federal and state departments (called 'Ministers' and 'Commissioners') and all legislators, even in the local governments as well as their chairmen, are addressed as *Honourable*, except the members of the federal upper house who are addressed as *Senator…*

Akere (1982: 93-96) has given the algebraic cum syntactic formulae involved in the configuration of these titles when an individual has more than one. We may only add that in the southern part, it appears preferred for the traditional title *Chief* to appear before all others which are put in parenthesis (brackets). Of late, some individuals appear to be getting linguistically nationalistic as they now assume the titles as they appear in the indigenous languages, rather the English *Chief* or Arabic *Alhaji*. Thus, we

have the following real-life individuals: *Otunba* Gbenga Daniels; *Asiwaju* Bola Ahmed Tinubu; *Mazi* Okoye; *Alaowei* Broderick Bozimo; *Dim* Odumegwu Ojukwu. These are in addition to the well-established titles of paramount traditional rulers: the *Olu* of Warri, the *Obong* of Calabar; the *Oba* of Benin, the *Amanyanabo* of Nembe, the *Ooni* of Ife, the *Asagba* of Asaba, etc.

The underlying motivation is the fact that the acquisition of such titles is an inalienable aspect of Nigerian culture in the determination of social status. Thus, the title *Chief*... instantly places an individual in, at least, the middle class even if the individual has little wealth or educational qualification.

The literature has noted even the syntax of the titles in concatenation, usually the religious coming first followed by the traditional and then lastly the academic (often an honorary doctorate). In my studies (Teilanyo 2006; 2015), I have added that where there is a political title, it precedes all others while the academic degree is often enclosed in brackets, suggesting the relative importance attached to the sources of the titles (the political being the most important and the academic the least: *His Excellency Sir Chief (Dr)..., His Eminence Most Senior Reverend Apostle (Dr)...*

Even academics and religious personages are caught up in the frenzy with such titles as *Prof. (Sir.)..., Engr. (Prof.)...,, etc*.

Women are now finding their place in the worship of titles. Thus, we have *Chief (Mrs.), Prof (Lady)..., Lady (Dr./Prof.),* etc. One title that has gained ascendancy recently is 'Dame,' popularised by the former 'First Lady' Patience Jonathan.

I have since come to realise that my 2015 publication is in exhaustive of the patterns of honorifics. In this lecture, I update the patterns. Increasingly, several Nigerians have come to feel that the title *Chief* is too 'ordinary;' hence they have had to qualify it with *High*, such that one is *High Chief...*

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, sir, I have been addressing you as 'Mr. Vice-Chancellor' because that is the standard, British norm. But you would not be surprised if, in the very near future, someone, even an inaugural lecturer, stands on this podium and addresses you as 'Your Excellency.' And why not, when even local government chairmen and councilors may savour and believe they merit this honorific, although in native-speaker usage the title is applied only to certain high-level officers of a sovereign state, officials of an international organisation, or members of an aristocracy or the Roman Catholic Church.

Besides the prefixes, there are the suffixes, which are appended to the personal names (appellations). These are of at least four categories. One is the doctorate, *Ph.D*. Another set comprises national honours such as *GCON*, *GCFR*, *CFR*, *CON*, *MON*, etc. Then there are professional honours such as being Associates, Members or Fellows of professional bodies, such as *MNES*, *MNIM*, *FNIPR*, *FNAL*, *FNSE*, *FWACS*, etc. Included as suffixes are any specific chieftaincy offices occupied by the dignitary, such as *the Ikemba I of Umuofia*. Lastly, there is *JP* which could stand either for the legal 'Justice of the Peace' or the religious 'Jerusalem Pilgrim'! Thus, a fairly well-endowed Nigerian could have his cognomens spelt out as *His Excellency the Rt. Honourable High Chief Sir Dr. Adamu Emeka Ajibola, PhD, FNSE, JP, the Igirigi 1 of Otuoke*. The pattern of punctuation in this litany, such as where to insert a comma or what to enclose in brackets, is an evolving graphological issue and is being studied by me.

2.6.5 Ceremonial Mannerisms

Other Nigerian peculiarities include the expression 'All protocols (duly) observed' and 'I stand on the existing protocol(s)' where a native speaker would, considering it unnecessary to enumerate all dignitaries present, abbreviate the list and simply say 'Mr. Chairman, Ladies and gentlemen' or simply make one's remarks without such 'protocol(s).'

The abundance of greeting forms in Nigeria is also found in religious festivals, and these could be said 'in advance' (well before the festival dates) or 'in arrears' (well after the festival). These cut across the three major religious in Nigeria: Christians are greeted *Merry/Happy Christmas* or *Merry/Happy Easter*; Muslims are greeted *Barka de Sallah* at *Eid-el-Malud, Eid-el-Fitri* or *Eid-el-Kabir*. There is also vicarious salutation where one can be congratulated on the success of a relation. For example, a man could be congratulated where his relation or someone of his ethnic origin wins an election or has achieved something. Therefore, my immediate family and siblings have been receiving congratulations 'in advance' on this lecture presentation and will receive more 'in arrears' for quite a while after today's event.

There are several other expressions that have peculiar African character. In line with the aforementioned safety strategy among Africans to say more rather than less, Nigerians tend to extend the structure of certain expressions beyond their British or American boundaries. For example, Standard English dictionaries have the approbatory exclamation entered as *Hip, hip, hurray/hoorah!* This means the call element is uttered only twice *Hip, hip*. But in Nigerian usage, this call is uttered at least thrice: *Hip, hip, hip!* Indeed, from this minimum, it is usually built into a crescendo with the number of *Hip!* uttered in the third round countless times and for as long as the breath of the caller can go in order to heighten the tempo: *Hip, hip, hip, hip, hip, hip, hip!*

3. SECTORIAL MANIFESTATIONS

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, sir, in the above sub-sections I have presented some of the foibles and creative inputs that have accompanied the use of English in NN settings, typically in Nigeria. I shall now share with you some of the manifestations of these NS features in specific domains of life as revealed through my research.

3.1 English for Artistic Purposes

The dynamics and vagaries in the use of English for creative or aesthetic purposes in NN settings have been amply discussed. One dimension is whether English can or should be used at all. The other is what form of English should be so used or is being so used? In my research, I have considered these issues under two interrelated areas being English for general entertainment and English for literary expression.

The entertainment industry comprises several sub-industries such as singing, television soap operas and sit-coms, cinema/film, stand-up comedy, soft-sell magazines, etc. I have studied the parody of the challenges we have in using English in our NN setting as exemplified in two television sit-coms, namely *Icheoku* and *Masquerade* and the others mentioned earlier. My discoveries are numerous:

(a). Artistic Works as Parodies

The mass media comedies and sit coms tend to be parodies of the challenges we face in using the alien language English with its inconsistent and irregular structures. This parody is intended to entertain us, but also make us laugh at ourselves and to make us re-examine ourselves, our languages and their relationship in expressing ourselves. In addition, the parodies exhibit the place of paralinguistic features (pitch of voice, tone) and non-verbal props (gestures, facial expressions and dramatic performances) in aiding the communicative potential of a handicapped L2 user (Teilanyo 2010b). As is the usual practice, the parodies employ exaggeration of the features in order to reinforce the messages portrayed.

(b). Foregrounding. That NN, NS or bad English could occasionally function to foreground a message or communicate an intended message more vividly than native SE. This means that viewed from a stylistic angle, some deviations may have artistic merit in that they may succeed in conveying the speaker's intended meaning more than standard English may do. When employed in literature, they may be called neologisms (Leech 1969: 42-44). Coinages or calques are legitimized by Roland Langacker (qtd in Adekunle 1979: 30-31).

(i) Blending Occasionally, one can decipher a stylistic import in some coinages. Throughout the episodes studied, Zebi fondly addresses his wife as 'Ovuleria, my *dearling*.' Extra-textually, one may at first dismiss this word as a corruption of 'darling.' When it is viewed in the context of utterance, however, one notices some subtlety and ingenuity in it. The word is an instance of the word-formation process blending involving two words, 'dear' and 'darling' *-ling* being clipped from *darling* and appended to *dear*.

One then observes two advantages of this coinage. First, it is stylistically significant from the angle of verbal economy in that he has used one word in place of two. Of course, blending is essentially an abbreviating device. Secondly, the freshness of the coinage could also reinforce the idea of endearment being expressed in that it is approximate to 'My dear darling' rather than the simpler and more usual 'My darling.'

(ii) Derivational Coinages. While certain **coinages** in ESL contexts arise from ignorance and the desire for bombast, others appear stylistically motivated. Considered here are a few words which take affixes (suffixes) that they do not normally take; but the affixes have some sound that suggests some craftily intended meaning. This may be termed 'morphophonemic foregrounding,' meaning the invention of unusual sound-related morphemes (particularly affixes), in violation of the normal morphophonemic pattern, in order to reinforce a message.

From *Masquerade*, we take the word *gubernitorious* which Zebi uses as a noun in place of 'gubernatorial candidate' in referring to Chief Jegede Sokoya. This may at first be dismissed as an error springing from ignorance. But when heard in context, it assumes some artistic significance. The contempt evoked through the forceful intonation, with a strong stress on the penultimate syllable *–to* and the repetition of the word in relation to the situation in which it is uttered will leave few in doubt of the view that the use of this coinage serves to project the negative opinion, the disgust Zebi has, and which he wants the audience to have, for Jegede, the addressee. In the text, Zebi is admonishing Jegede and his fellow politicians for their inability or refusal to fulfill their bogus campaign promises. More specifically in the following excerpts, Zebi is vilifying the MPs for their loose morals:

> Senior wife, you are get it. Senior girlfriend, you are furnish flat for her in the London. Even *sef*, Jegede, you, look at you. People was saw you in Harrods. A whole *gubernitorious* like you -- a whole *gubernitorious* like you...egede, I am does not know what we have do *Chineke* God that He was punishment us with a *gubernitorious* like you. - Iroha 'Governor'

From the above quotation which gives an idea about the context and the emotional state of Zebi, one is urged to associate *gubernitorious* with other words ending in the same *–ious* denominal adjective suffix and conveying negative connotations such as 'notorious' (with which it seems to share a common import above), 'voracious,' 'vicious,' 'atrocious,' etc. Thus, the suffix has conferred an additional negative connotation to the neutral, even positive, official designation of gubernatorial candidate. It must be recognised, however, that there are other words with the same suffix but having neutral or positive meanings – 'victorious,' 'virtuous,' 'ambitious,' 'salubrious,' etc. It is the situation, the larger extralinguistic circumstances, in which this word is used that confer(s) the negative artistic colouring, in Jegede's own words, of 'outburst and outright condemnation of my [Jegede's] candidature as a gubernatorial for the next election'

(iii) Idiosyncratic Grammar

Idiosyncratic dialects may evolve. These are peculiarities with specific individuals such that some curious linguistic habits are associated with them. Therefore, in my research (Teilanyo 1995, 2013) I have been able to recognise and describe the idiosyncratic grammar of the fictional character, Chief Zebrudaya. Over the years Chika Okpala the actor of the role has so practised and implemented specific patterns of the verb phrase with its unique rules and generalisations that there emerges an idiosyncratic grammar. It is a grammar because it comprises a finite set of rules, the mastery of which would enable any speaker to generate and produce an infinite number of sentences.

3.2 English in Literary Texts

Another area in which I have studied the manifestation of English in literary composition is in terms of errors in literary texts. Literary works are expected to exemplify the best patterns in the use of a language. Thus, one way in which we improve our vocabulary, grammar and linguistic style is to read literary works. In the light of the fact that literary texts are among the best means of teaching language (English communicative competence), a colleague and I (Igene and Teilanyo 2001, 2012) identified deviant linguistic features (errors) in some literary texts recommended for use in the junior secondary schools. We submit that the use of such texts full of errors and other NS features (that may be accepted as Nigerianisms) jeopardises the linguistic development of junior secondary school students In another study (Teilanyo 2011d), I studied ungrammaticalities in some collections of 'new generation' Nigerian poetry, Poets often deliberately violate linguistic norms in the name of 'poetic licence' in order to achieve some aesthetic purposes. Such departures from linguistic norms are technically considered as 'deviations' rather than as errors.

And many a skeleton **shook his head**

"Instead of preaching forty **year**" My neighbour Parson Thirdly said,

"I wish I has stuck to pipes and beer." (Thomas Hardy, "Channel Firing")

Here personification and rhyme are achieved with the semantic and syntactic deviation.

However, my study discovered that many of the collections contained violations that were purely errors since no artistic motivation could be inferred for their use. Rather, they arose from gross incompetence in or ignorance of the knowledge of English structures as well as poor editing and proofreading by the poets and their publishers.

Mind the **Ghanians'** song,

"Life is short, death is certain." (Oronsaye 2010: 31) Give us your wisdom and some of your power

Grants our needs and even our wants. (Esedebe 2011: 18) Some toil much **more harder**. (Esedebe 2011: 24)

In the above, the spelling of 'Ghanaian' as 'Ghanian' is clearly an error.

Similarly, the use of the third person singular 'Grants' in an imperative environment requiring the base form is clearly an error, not a 'deviation,' just as the tautological 'more harder' arises from grammatical incompetence rather than 'poetic licence.'

Elsewhere (Teilanyo 2017), I have studied the peculiarities in the language of literary expression in NN settings and drawn attention to the inadequacy of Western literary-stylistic cannons in appraising African literary language. I have argued the need for a revision of the syllabi and textbooks on literary stylistics in order to accommodate the special African nuances which cannot be expressed in conventional English. Such revision would accommodate Chinua Achebe's 'new English' which is still at home with its Western norms but adjusted to express the unique cultural vision of the African, incorporating NS features like code-switching and code-mixing, loanwords, literalisms, proverbs, ideophones and pidgin.

3.3 English in Education

The English language plays numerous roles in the Nigerian educational system such as being the medium of instruction after junior primary education (National Policy on Education), the most compulsory school subject all through the educational ladder, a criterion for ascension in the educational ladder, a criterion for certification, an access subject, etc. (Teilanyo 1997, 2018). But in further research (Teilanyo 2003), I investigated some speci□c issues about the teaching and assessment of English. Pertaining to the secondary school level, I investigated the state of the English language in Nigeria both as a sociolinguistic reality and as a pedagogical subject. It is noted that there are different standards and models of English in the nation, but the planning authorities and the examination bodies have failed to specify the variety to be taught and tested. This factor is implicated in the poor performance of students in the 'standardised' questions set by the governmental and intergovernmental examination bodies such as WAEC, NECO and JAMB. I looked at the curricula, the course books, some controversial issues and test items in the examination questions. While recognising the normal gap between descriptive and pedagogical grammars, I concluded that there is an urgent need for the gap among the policy statements, the syllabuses, the course/text books, the teaching and the examination questions to be bridged or the ideas to be harmonised in order to actualise better performance by the student-candidates and come to terms with the socio(linguistic) realities in the country.

Again, Idegbekwe and Teilanyo (2019) interrogated the teaching of General Studies English in Nigerian tertiary education against the background of the general lack of interest by students in the course, the largely ineffective teaching and learning of the course, and the widely condemned poor command of English by graduates of tertiary institutions. The study underlines the fact that different disciplines have peculiar diatypic (or register) varieties in usage, viz English for journalism (journalese), English for trade and commerce (commercialese), English for diplomacy and international relations

(diplomatese), etc. Therefore, the study proposes a remodelling of the way General Studies English is taught and the adoption of the English- for-Specific-Purposes (ESP) approach whereby a separate course outline would be developed for each discipline, or at least a section is inserted in the current syllabus, such that students would be taught the peculiarities of English use (lexis and structure) in that discipline, viz English for Science and Engineering, English for Social and Management Sciences, etc.

3.4 English in the Mass Media

Another domain in which I have studied English use in Nigeria is in journalism, both in the print media and in the electronic media. Teilanyo (2010) studied the employment of certain lexico-semantic features in the news reports of selected national Nigerian newspapers. The data was collected through a random reading of the newspapers over a period of four years. The data analysed were limited to the linguistic levels of vocabulary and meaning. The speci□c features studied were the occurrence of un-English words and expressions, loanwords, loanblends, semantic extension (sorting, giraffe, chase – all in the slang of examination misconduct), tautology, malapropism, code- mixing and innovations in idiomatic structure ('water tight/sit-tight leaders,' etc.). The work was placed within the context of existing literature on 'Nigerian English' and the language of news reporting. It is argued that the consistency in use of these NNE features in formal news reportage in Nigerian newspapers lends further credence and weight to the existence, codification and elaboration of the functions of 'Nigerian English' as a language variety.

However, in a follow-up study (Teilanyo 2011c), I investigated certain grammatical and graphological features in Nigeria's major newspapers. The specific features include violations of concord (subject-verb, pronoun-antecedent), tense, punctuation, spelling, etc. While acknowledging that the constraint of time might have contributed to some of these non-standard forms, most of these ungrammaticalities would be dismissed as pure errors, as reflections of the questionable linguistic competence on the part of the reporters and the editors/proofreaders.

Pertaining to the electronic media, a colleague and I (Teilanyo and Chime 2008) studied the NS features in the English used in broadcasting in Nigeria. Excerpts were taken from news scripts and live broadcasts from three main broadcasting houses – one a federal government-owned national network (the NTA), one state-owned (Delta Rainbow Television, Warri) and one privately owned (Independent Television, Benin City). We also studied the provisions of the National Broadcasting Code. We discovered that there were significant deviant or NN features at the different levels of linguistic description such as phonology (pronunciation), vocabulary, grammar and meaning. Based on these findings, the paper, while recognising the notion of 'Nigerian English,' doubted the wisdom of considering such broadcast media as constituting a model for internationally intelligible English language competence in Nigeria.

3.5 English in Governance

That the English language is the principal language of politics and governance in Nigeria is well established. Indeed, the constitutional requirement of a Senior School Certificate for anyone going into any elective position in Nigeria makes proficiency in English a desideratum since English is the medium of instruction in the educational system from senior primary onward.

From colonial times English has played crucial roles in governance, with specific reference to the executive arm. For example, English was the main linguistic instrument for nationalism, that is, for the nationalists to communicate among themselves and to negotiate independence from Britain.

In my research, I have taken a look at the curious way in which English has featured in and been manipulated for governance in Nigeria. One general area is the variant way in which political Americanisms have been deployed in Nigeria (Teilanyo 2007b). As Nigeria abandoned the British parliamentary system and adopted the US presidential culture and traditions in 1979, it also borrowed American political jargons. Terms like 'gubernatorial,' 'Senate,' 'House of Representatives,' 'impeach,' etc are imports from American presidentialism and were largely unknown prior to 1979. Even when the same words obtained in British and American usage, the meanings were different. Thus, the word 'President' meant one thing when Nnamdi Azikiwe occupied the of□ce between 1963 and 1966 and when there was a Prime Minister. It meant something different from 1979 to 1983, and from 1999 to the present. One meant only a ceremonial head of state; the other means both a head of state and a head of government. The same variation in meaning has occurred in the use of the word 'Governor' between 1960 and 1966 (when there was a Premier) and what it means now. Similarly, the word 'lobby' is a noun referring to a large entrance hall in the House of Commons. But in American and Nigerian usage, 'lobby' is a verb to mean an attempt to influence a legislative house or its members. We have also generally experimented with the name of the politically appointed head of a federal department: 'Commissioner' (1960-1966), or 'Secretary' (1992-93?) or 'Minister.'

I have also drawn attention to the divergence in the way the imported Americanisms are used. In my publication I used the terms 'Disuse, Misuse and Abuse' of some Americanisms. With hindsight I might have been too prescriptive in using the term 'abuse' in referring to the cases where the meaning in Nigerian usage differs from the usage in American democracy. Probably, I should simply have referred to them a variant uses. One typical example is the use of the term 'impeach(ment).' The term is applied differently (and incorrectly) in Nigeria where it is conceived to mean the removal of a political leader from office. It had been applied in this sense in private and official discussions and in media reports about officers in the national and state governments, particularly in the legislative arm. In standard Western (American) usage, impeachment involves the accusation and prosecution of a person for treason and other high crime or misdemeanor before a competent tribunal; in great Britain 'the judicial process by which any man from the rank of a peer downwards, may be tried before the House of Lords at the instance of the House of Commons'…… in US, a similar process in which the accusers are the House of Representatives and the court is the

Senate. *(OED)*. The above definition means that to *impeach* a public officer is to accuse and try that officer; but this does not (necessarily) mean removing the said officer.

For example, in 1998 President William Jefferson Clinton was 'impeached' (accused and tried) by the House of Representatives because 'the President lied under oath, obstructed justice, and misused the powers of his office to cover up his sexual activities with [Monica] Lewinsky (Horn 1999: 35). But President Clinton was not removed from office, having been cautioned and pardoned by the Senate. Thus, any of the principal officers in the Nigerian central, state or local government may be impeached without the *impeachment* necessarily leading to removal from office and without impeachment meaning such removal. So also a leader may be removed from office without being *impeached*, for example, on the grounds of incompetence, ill health, etc.

In the end, I conclude that the variations in quantity and meaning of Americanisms in Nigerian politics and governance is a reflection of how much of American political culture Nigeria has adopted. They are also indexical markers of the dialect continuum among British, American and Nigerian political systems. We leave it to political pundits to debate whether Nigeria needs to employ and deploy such political jargon in the way they are used in the US. Nevertheless, we do not lose sight of the cryptic statement made by the Egyptian dramatist, Tawfiq Al-Hakim (1980:9), that 'when words lose their normal dimensions, then everything loses its seriousness.'

In another almost idiolectal study (Teilanyo 2002), I investigated linguistic craft and statecraft in Nigeria, specifically the way in which General Ibrahim Babangida (IBB) used English in curious and ingenious ways to his political advantage. I placed Babangida within the controversial principles enunciated by the Italian political philosopher Nicolo di Bernado dei Machiavelli in his popular treatise *The Prince* to the effect that in leadership, political expediency is to be preferred to common virtue or general morality. These principles have often been summarily expressed in the maxim or axiom 'the end justifies the means.' I also placed IBB's use of language within the general scheme of rhetoric and oratory by political leaders like Winston Churchill, Abraham Lincoln, John F. Kennedy, Adolf Hitler, etc.

In doing my attribution, I considered the fact that quite some of the words and expressions in speeches read by political leaders were actually chosen by their professional speech writers. Nevertheless, I demonstrated that the terms under reference would rightly be attributed to IBB himself since one of such writer, Professor Omo Omoruyi, claimed that he vividly discussed the contents and details of the speeches with IBB before finalising them.

I considered IBB's adoption of the labels for political offices. One of them is the term 'President.' This term is defined as 'the office in whom the executive power is vested in a modern republic, the **elected** head of the government, having during his term of office, some of the functions of a constitutional monarch in a monarchical state' (emphasis added). IBB is distinguished from his peers by his singular initiative of pompously assuming the title of 'president' in contempt of statutory etiquette since no military leader before or after him assumed that title. We argued that IBB's adoption of the label was to confer some false legitimacy on himself as a military leader. Another label IBB introduced into Nigerian military governance is 'Chief of General Staff' in place of the erstwhile 'Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters' borne by other deputies before him. 'Chief of General Staff' was later changed to the more pretentious 'Vice-President' when Vice-Admiral Augustus Aikhomu took over from Commodore Ebitu Ukiwe as the deputy, further entrenching the false legitimacy of the government.

Similarly, IBB's leadership changed what was previously called 'Supreme Military Council' to 'Armed Forces Ruling Council.' General Sani Abacha, while reverting to the traditional military labels for himself, continued with the linguistic experimentation by further renaming the organ 'Provisional Ruling Council' where the term 'Provisional' suggests an admission that the organ was abnormal and only temporary.

It is also noted that it was in IBB's regime that Nigeria adopted the American-style 'Brigadier-General' in place of the simpler British 'Brigadier.' We believe that IBB deliberately adopted the more elaborate designation to pamper that rank of military officers, to make them feel assured that they had ascended to the 'general' cadre in the army.

IBB's leadership also renamed some federal agencies: 'War against Indiscipline' (WAI) was replaced with 'Mass Mobilisation for Self-Reliance, Economic Recovery and Social Justice' (MAMSER). Abacha was to revert to the old name, but with an amendment: War Against Indiscipline and Corruption (WAI-C). What was 'Federal Electoral Commission' (FEDECO) in the previous civilian government became 'National Electoral Commission' as if there was any functional difference between 'federal' and 'national.' Abacha was later to seek his own approbation by prefixing 'Independent' to derive INEC from NEC. Other of IBB's inventions were the names of the two political parties 'National Republican Convention' (NRC) and 'Social Democratic Party' (SDP) while 'the constitution of the two political parties shall be identical,' one had a somewhat rightist orientation and the other a little leftist orientation.

Besides these, IBB is also credited with curious catch phrases as 'a little to the right, a little to the left.' We also noted that IBB, as his transition programme got elongated changed his refrain from his promise 'to hand over power to a democratically elected government **on August 27, 1993**' to 'This government will not stay in office **a day longer than necessary**' (emphasis added).

The last phrase we made reference to was from his last speech as President where he declared: 'Following lengthy deliberations with my service chiefs, I have offered as my personal sacrifice to step aside.' The terms we took issue with were the word 'sacrifice' and the idiomatic phrasal verb 'to step aside.' IBB considered his decision to leave office as a 'sacrifice,' suggesting that, as a 'President,' he ought to have stayed longer. The second expression 'to step aside' raised much dust since people felt that the more natural phrasal verb should have been to 'step down.'

In all, we submitted that IBB's linguistic craft in his state craft was an effort at linguistic legitimisation of political illegitimacy.

Furthermore, I (Teilanyo 2016) have studied instances where Nigerian Pidgin may serve some useful function in politics. While pidgin languages are generally marked and looked down upon as 'inferior' languages, and while Nigerian Pidgin has no formal recognition or role in formal discourse in Nigeria, certain Nigerian politicians have effectively used Nigerian Pidgin in electioneering and in governance, such as in addressing special audiences such as those with low Western education. However, I was able to capture a special rhetorical use of Nigerian Pidgin by former President Olusegun Obasanjo. On Monday 22 November, 2010, Atiku Abubakar had been declared the sole consensus candidate of the Northern region for the presidential ticket of the PDP in the 2011 presidential election. Atiku and Obasanjo had had a long-drawn rivalry since about 1993 when Atiku had indicated interest in contesting for the presidency in place of Obasanjo. A few days after the North's adoption of Atiku, Obasanjo was coming out of the Presidential Vila after a meeting of the Council of States. When asked by journalists of his opinion about Atiku's adoption, Obasanjo quips: '*Ah, I dey laugh-o*.' The *This Day* newspaper reports the scene this way:

> Confronted by State House correspondents on his response to Atiku, the former president laughed for a long time, wiping his nose and face in the process. When the news hounds persisted, Obasanjo used an inhaler which he sniffed for a long time. Then he launched into a mischievous smile, saying
>
> *'Ah, I dey laugh o!'*
>
> Every other question thrown at him elicited answers that did not correspond with the questions before he walked off saying 'I am full of joy and I wish you and Nigerians the fullness of joy, I wish you peace and joy always,' folding his flowing *agbada* dress.

In the publication, I devoted time to underline the effect of the theatries. But for our purpose here, it suffices to say that SE 'I am laughing would hardly achieved the purpose of the NigP version.

4. (LITERARY) TRANSLATION

4.1 Translatology and I

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, I wrote two Ph.D. theses in my doctoral programme, although I defended only one. I had almost completed the first one entitled 'Challenges of Translation in J. P. Clark's *The Ozidi Saga*' at the University of Benin, but I was advised to abandon it for the second one because the Department needed me to specialise more squarely in ESL. Fortunately, I was able to publish parts of it in some of the most reputable journals on translation in the world.

My interest in translation as a subject for research was heightened in 1999 while I was composing the obituary for my father that had passed on. I came to the point where I needed to express the Nembe concept *tiri-paga* in English. *Tiri-paga* is a cultural practice that is peculiar to the Nembe people (and imitated by a few adjoining peoples). It is the event where, after a night of funeral activities, the entire community congragate and present levies by the relations and voluntary donations by the community for the burial expenses. Because this is a culture-bound concept, I could find no lexical item, not even a calque in English to express it. In the end, I left it as a borrowed word in the obituary. I observe that it has remained so in obituaries among the Nembe people.

4.2 Equivalence, Fidelity and Translatabilty

Translation theory and practice has generally shifted from target-language (TL) orientation in classical times to source-language (SL) orientation in modern times. This means that fidelity has now shifted from the target language and target text (TT) to the original source language and source text (ST). This means that a translator is required to be as faithful as possible to not only the spirit but also to the letter of the original text and its community.

The pursuit of absolute fidelity to SL and ST has led to some linguists arguing that translation is hardly possible between languages. These principles are enunciated in the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis with its twin principles of linguistic relativity and linguistic determinism (Teilanyo 2006: 1). However, the extreme positions have largely given way to the moderate view that meaning can be translated between language more-or-less, that is with some gains and losses. In order words, there is almost always something lost when ideas are translated from one language to another.

It is in this light that I took on the study of John Pepper Clark(-Bekederemo)'s *The Ozidi Saga* a bilingual (Izon-English) text in which Clark recorded, transcribed and translated into English an epic narrative from Toru-Orua in Sagbama Local Government Area of Bayelsa State, Nigeria. My focus was an exercise in translational stylistics whereby I sought to find how much the English translation captured the nuances in meaning and style of the Izon original.

J. P. Clark, has won wide acclaim for the prodigious work as a product of both art and scholarship, especially in the dexterity with which the translation was done. However, we discovered that Clark's desire to render the translation in perfect English inevitably robbed the reader of the richness of the original Izon text mainly because of certain irreconcilable differences between the two languages and cultures in contention (Izon and English). There are also a few cases where the Izon is enriched in the English version. Indeed, it is true that 'Clark has laboured to recreate, **so far as the English language permits**, the actuality of the Ijo text in his translation' (Wren 1984: 93) (emphasis added). The actuality is that there are Ijo culture- and language-bound concepts which English is incapable of expressing and which would be expressed either by some calquing or wholesale lexical loaning into English.

4.3 Lexico-Semantic Equivalence

We demonstrated that Clark employed strategies like synonymous renditions, varied register, stock proper names and other strategies of translation which in varying degrees reflected or failed to reflect the spirit of the original/source Izon text (Teilanyo 2000b).

4.4 Ideophones

I also took on the translation of ideophones, a type of iconic words in African languages (Teilanyo 2001c). Ideophones constitute a special class of words that are often sound symbolic like onomatopoeic words, but are unique in that they also mimic 'color, smell, action, state or intensity' (*OED*) as well as texture, silence, condition, gait and posture (Finnegan 2012: 61). In grammatical classification, ideophones may be classified or function in various ways: as nouns, as adverbs, as adjectives, or particles. Ideophones often serve oratorical purposes in that they heighten narration. According to Kay Williamson (1968: 25), ideophones are prominent in Izon speech, amounting to about a fifth of the vocabulary.

Ideophones are largely culture-bound concepts and so have no translation equivalents in English or other non-African languages. Therefore, I reviewed various grammatical forms and strategies used by Clark in translating Izon ideophones such as adverb phrases, as prepositional phrases, as finite verbs, as whole predicates, as whole clauses and sentences. Lexico-semantically, Clark uses synomymic phrases or similes. Just a few examples:

1. ...kprobu kprobu kprobu **timi do pa...**
...**loud loud loud** he chopped away at it... (Clark 1977: 3)
2. Diri pake angore pa, ***giridi giridi giridi giridi***.
His bowels turned cauldron, **boiling boiling boiling, boiling**. (36)
3. Agbodo bolou ba yain kpamobo, lulou ba ede, agono be ***pengee pengee pengee, wuu wuu wu, wuu wuu wu***.
...into the sky it rang **first like a bell, then like wind**. (46)

In the end I submit that ideophones cannot be well represented in English. In my opinion, it would be better to retain the Izon expressions as loanwords in English and then use some annotations and glossaries to explain the sense.

4.5 Culture in Translation

In another work (Teilanyo 2007a), I took the challenge in translating other culture-bound terms, using Clark's *Saga*. These include objects of nature like *akpolokpolo* and *emonomono* which Clark translates as 'prophet-bird' and 'palm fronds' respectively. Other culture-bound concepts are *kile* translated as 'praises' or 'praise calls;' *are ware* translated as 'con nement;' *ogele* translated as 'dance' or 'song;' *engbese* as 'dance' as well as *agene* or *kene-kene-koro* translated literally as 'one- by-one you may draw.' In fairness to Clark, he recognises the inadequacy of his translations and does add copious annotations:

Sadly, those graphic and elegant explanations come only in the Introduction which the reader of the primary text may not observe, leaving him with only the poor renderings given.

Certain kinship terms in Izon constitute another class of items that defy translation into English. Thus, *keniyinboara* and *keniyinbo- owei* invoke the matrilineal practice that is known to be indigenous to all Ijaw groups. Indeed, all Ijaw groups were originally matrilineal before some shifted to being patrilineal as a result of influence from other patrilineal groups (Alagoa 1972:20; Clark 2006: xxxiv). Thus, translating *keniyinboara* and *keniyinbo-owei* as 'sister' and 'brother' respectively relinquishes the matrilineal connotation. While being born of the same mother alone would be translated as 'half-brother' or 'half- sister' in English and would suggest something weaker than 'brother' or 'sister,' the Izon terms depict that the two persons have the highest form of kinship since being born of the same mother is the closest relationship two people can have and since having different fathers means little in these matrilineal communities. Of course, Clark recognises this and occasionally uses the more approximate expression 'your father's brother by one mother' (2006: 40) which would sound awkward and tautological, almost ungrammatical, to the General English language user.

The last item to be relayed here is the concept of God. The notion of God as a female being is autochthonous to all Ijaw groups (Alagoa 1972: 20; Clark 2006: 20; Ifie 1994: 73). This femideism or the Creator as female (Creatrix) is reflected in all 'the twenty-five odd dialects that constitute the language of Ijo (Clark 2006: xxv) such as *Ayeba*/*Ayiba*/*Ayibarau*, *Tamara(u)*, *Tamuno*, *Woyengi*, *Zibarau*. Although the pre-Christian Teutonic origin of the word 'God' was essential neuter in gender (Izevbaye 1994: 15), the Christian notion of God is masculine. Thus translating the Izon words as 'God' eliminates this feminine notion. Clark struggles with this idea by adopting different forms. He translates *Tamara(u)* variously as 'God' (65, 82, 91, 157, 205, 215, 258, 365); 'God, the woman who bore us all' (159); 'Almighty Mother' (132); 'God herself' (337, 373); retained as *Tamara* (155). *Woyinghi* is translated as 'Mother' (83). *Oyin* (short for *Woyingi*) is translated as 'God' (314, 364) and retained as *Oyin* (155). The feminine pronominal *a* is rendered as 'She' (83).

Which would be best approximation? Sadly, it would be delicate to propose 'Goddess' as a translation equivalent. In written form 'Goddess' may serve with the capital 'G' to distinguish the Supreme Being from lower female deities, but in the spoken form this distinction would become blurred.

In all, we submit that ingenious as Clark has been in his translation in *The Ozidi Saga*, his desire to ensure felicity in the English translation resulted in some reduced fidelity to the source text, the source language and the source culture. Some closer approximations in calques, ungrammatical as such would be, would have done more justice even to the general reader who would have had a better feel of the source language and culture.

We compare this with Gabriel Okara's literal translation of Izon into English in *The Voice* (1964).

4.6 Figurative Language and My Inventions

The interlingual translation of figurative expressions and idioms is a particularly sensitive task, especially in literary texts where the figurativeness of the language is an essential part of the text as a literary piece. Since modern thinking on translation favours fidelity to the source text, the translator is required to maintain – rather than improve, reduce or otherwise alter – the figurative texture of the ST in the TT.

I investigated J. P. Clark's handling of figurative usage in The Ozidi Saga (Teilanyo, 2007b). I identified four different ways in which Clark handles figurative language. There are cases of enrichment, impoverishment, and alteration as well as full equivalence in the translation.

In the majority of cases Clark translates expressions that are in plain Izon in figurative terms in the English version, thereby making the English TT linguistically richer than the ST:

1. …amẹnẹ mu Odogu **yọ** la dẹ. […they reached Odogu's **place**]
…they had arrived Odogu's **den**. (232) – Hyperbole

2. 'E, yeiama wọ nana dẹ, o gbobo sẹ **korein'**
[Yes, the husbands we have, with shines **hard/prominent**]
'Yes, the husbands we have, with shines **like buttress roots**.' (233) – Simile

3. Owounbọ pakẹtebe bẹ **due, due, due due**. [ideophone]
Smoke clouds **belched** out of her head in regular curls. (299) - Animistic Metaphor

An extra-textual example would be to translate 'The man is foolish' in one language as 'The man is a goat' in another language.

As I found no existing term in English to express this conferment of figurative texture, I coined the term ENFIGURATION in analogy with existing English words like 'endanger' or 'enthrone.'

There are also cases where the English translation is expressed in plain, non-figurative terms when the original Izon is in figurative terms

4. *'Mu de dein bai were de seri yạ wo lee ke* **tei** *ye.*' ['play'] Go, and tomorrow we'll **make love in secret.** (235)

5. *Oreame gbade,* ***'E tiri pạ emi ye.'*** ['I'm staying outside'] But Oreame demurred.'***I'm menstruating.***' 250)

6. '*Kene e* ***bo ere dein de.***'[Literally 'Indeed I had become a woman **nighted**]"Indeed I was **already past childbearing**.' (256)

Extra-textually, a simple example of this would be to translate 'You are a goat' in one language as 'You are foolish' in another. This makes the English text poorer than the original Izon text. I coined the term DEFIGURATION to encode this removal of figurative texture, again in analogy with words like 'decompose' or 'dethrone.'

In the third case the expressions in both the Izon ST and English TT are figurative, but the figurativeness has been modified. I advanced the term ALTER-FIGURATION for this, that is the practice of substituting a figurative expression of a particular type or in particular terms in the TT for another figurative expression of a different type or term in the ST. For example, an instance of metaphor is translated with a simile, or a synecdoche translated with a personification. Alternatively, both are metaphor with the same 'ground,' but the 'vehicle' is altered.

7a. **Tu** kpọ are **bọnọgha**.
I've found **no woman to sleep with**. (41) […no vagina to have-sex-with]

8. …kilema tan Ofẹ peremẹne, Kẹmepara peremẹne
[Gathered praise names gave Ofe, gave Kemepara]
It **poured** praises upon Ofe, **poured** on Kemepara. (65)

9a. '**Sọlọ sọlọ** kẹmo'
'Such **harum=scarum**! (214)

The fourth and last method of translating a figurative expression is what I call LITERAL REFIGURATION. This involves identity in figurative texture, that is, the act of retaining or reproducing in the TT the very form and quality of a figurative expression in the ST.

10. AGBERI **AREYA APEI**MENEKE TON? IF YOU **SEE** A STORY
WILL YOU **LISTEN**? (295)

11. Bou ba **teri fa** dẹ
And again all the forest **cowered.** (161)

12. Kime koro ye bra.
… like a thing fallen in a storm. (306)

Excerpt 10 gives us a literal translation or 'relexification' of the synaesthetically metaphorical use of *are* ('see') to collocate with *egberi* ('story') which has the feature (-concrete) while 'see' would normally take an object that is (+ concrete). The normal verb would have been *na* ('hear'). Similarly, in 44 *teri* (to 'cover; close; shut' – as with a hat) which is in the passive voice as a concretising metaphor is translocated 'verbatim,' so to say, into the TT with the word 'cowered.' Extracts 12 is an instance where the simile in the English is a direct takeover from the Izon utterance including the comparative marker *bra* ('like,' 'as' or 'in the way of')

As would have been observed, I coined these four expressions, namely *enfiguration*, *defiguration*, *alter-figuration* and *literal refiguration*. After my coinage, several other scholars have followed suit in using these terms such that they have now gained institutional currency. These, indeed, are my contributions to the English lexicon, especially translatology, and an exercise in language engineering. Therefore, should you search for any of these terms in the Internet, my name and/or the title of my publication 'Figurative Language in Translation…' would be the first to appear.

5. A BEATIFICATION? THE QUESTION RE-EXAMINED

5.1 The Language Scholar and Teacher

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, you must have been worried at this presentation up to now. May I ask you: Would you like to speak this type of English? Or would you be proud to have me, as your Professor of English, speak this type of English? I guess not. Again, you must have been wondering if the utterance 'Permission Me, *Biko*, to Make *Dis Spokage*' and these largely ungrammatical structures I have been citing exemplify the model of English we have been teaching your children in the Department of English and Communication Studies. Does the curriculum of the English programme consist of such illegitimate features for impartation to the students?

Surprisingly, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, the answer is Yes, this is the type of English we teach your children! But we teach it as a typical example of **how NOT to speak English**. Very much on the contrary, the taught programme consists mainly of the ideal structures of the language. While we point out these questionable features as markers of some NS dialects of the language, they may be cited in the pure English linguistic courses only for the candidates to note and avoid. As is done in research in the natural sciences, this type of sentence serves as a control example against which the norms of the language are inculcated. In my usual metaphors to my students (which run the risk of being considered sacrilegious), I usually consider the Department of English as a holy nation, which is *in* the world but not *of* the world, as the salt of the English language as far as the Nigerian society, nay all NN-English societies, is concerned.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, may I remind you that the sub-title of this lecture is in an interrogative form, a question: 'The Beatification of a Beautiful Beast?' In the above sections, we seem to have answered the question largely in the affirmative; namely that some alteration of the native-speaker standard of English is not unusual in non-native settings, either for the expression of culture-bound concepts or due to linguistic experimentation or for comic effect. But this recognition does not suggest that irregularities constitute the norm even in NN societies. Of course, we have drawn attention to some deviant uses in literary texts and in the mass media that would be dismissed as clear errors. In this direction, David Jowitt has drawn attention to the linguistic scholar-teacher's two 'hats' concerning linguistic reality and his role as a teacher (Jowitt 2013: 7). As a scholar-researcher, the linguist, in line with the descriptive orientation of modern linguistics, admits the inevitability of the changes and aberrations in the language, documents them and publishes such findings. But as a teacher, his duty being largely to teach the ideal and insist on the ideal. Indeed, while modern linguistic scholarship is largely descriptive, pedagogical linguistics is largely prescriptive. Therefore, in our Department, we teach the ideal but draw attention to the preponderating egregious forms as the 'control' for their guidance.

It is now time to answer the question in the negative, to make the point that a lot of 'heresy' has been committed in the use of English in Nigeria and other ESL societies in the name of 'Nigerian English' or other non-native varieties.

Permit me, therefore, to use the next few minutes to draw attention to some deviant uses which are either purely errors and are reflections of the users' ignorance-cum-incompetence or which result in the obfuscation of meaning. I do this according to the different levels of linguistic organization.

5.2 Pronunciation

While, as we have stated previously, it is very difficult to master native speaker accent, there are still some egregious types of pronunciation that should not be, both because there is no logical basis for them and because they result in obfuscation of meaning. For example, one of the curious elements I nd in pronunciation by a cross-section of Nigerians is that of 'pensioner,' pronounced /penəniə/ making the last vowel a diphthong, rather than the simple and correct /penənə/ when the spelling does not even suggest it, except those adopting this pronunciation misconceive the spelling to be 'pensioneer.' The pronunciation arises from a false analogy with other words like 'engineer,' 'volunteer,' etc. or could it be out of a sub-conscious desire to be bombastic?

Another faulty pronunciation that has formed the basis for jokes is the adjective 'august' the noun 'August' (name of the eight month of the Gregorian calendar). Thinking that the two words are pronounced the same way, there are jokes about an 'august visitor' in a month other than August. There is no direct relationship between the two. The name of the month 'August; is a proper noun and is always written with an initial capita 'A.' Derived from Emperor Augustus of ancient Rome, it is stressed in the first syllable (AUgust). The adjective 'august' is written with a small letter (except in block capitalisation) and is pronounced with the stress on the august syllable (auGUST).

According to the *OED*, there is only a remote relationship between *august* and the Latin name *Augustus* from which, through Anglicisation the name of the month is derived. *Augustus* is derived from *august* (both stressed on the second

syllable,) meaning 'grand.' In the process of Anglicisation, the stress placement has shifted from the second syllable in *auGUST* and *AuGUStus* to the first syllable in the month *AUGUST*.

5.3 Graphology

In the writing system, wrong spelling could result, either in complete loss of meaning or in ambiguity.

The man may **loose** the rope. [The man may reverse the tightening of the rope.]

The man may **lose** the rope. [The man may no longer have possession of the rope.]

In punctuation, we draw attention to some significant errors in the use or non-use of the comma. The comma is most frequently used and the most frequently abused or omitted punctuation mark. One instance in which the comma is most frequently omitted is after a vocative. A vocative is a word or expression used to call or address someone's attention. A comma is always required in writing to mark off a vocative.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, permit me to make *dis spokage*.

The comma depicts the mandatory pause after the 'Mr. Vice-Chancellor' and is obligatory. Indeed, omitting it can result in structural ambiguity. One recent example from the FUO (Federal University Otuoke) Academics WhatsApp Group Chat:

Prof. Fela is a legend. (03 November. 2021) Compare: Prof., Fela is a legend.

The first sentence depicts 'Prof.' as a title for Fela, suggesting that Fela was/is a Professor. But the person intended the meaning in the second sentence: the person is actually addressing a professor whose utterance this speaker is referring to. He is actually addressing/telling the Professor that 'Fella is a legend.' (WhatsApp: FUO Academics Forum. 04/11/21).

Another area of importance in the use of the comma is with appositives. Appositives are nominal constructions that post-modify other nominals that refer to the same entity as the antecedent. There are two types of appositives: restrictive and non-restrictive appositives. Restrictive or defining appositives do not require commas to mark them off, while non-restrictive appositives require two (correlative) commas.

Restrictive: The lecturer Professor Diri Teilanyo is an African. Non-Restrictive: The lecturer, Professor Teilanyo, is an African.

The use of the correlative commas (in pairs) suggests that the element marked off by the commas can be removed and the sentence can stand:

The lecturer is an African.

The error arises when one uses one comma (usually the first) and omits the other.

The lecturer, Prof. Diri Teilanyo is an African.*

The omission of the second comma could result in an ambiguity. The following is taken from the scroll bar of the NTA:

SERVICE OF SONGS AND FUNERAL SERVICES FOR NTA VETERAN JOURNALIST, AKINLOYE OYEBANJI HOLDS AT NTA ARENA, AREA 11, ABUJA AT 4:00PM.

(NTA Scroll Bar, 07 Aug, 2019)

This may mean that the NTA veteran journalist is different from Akinloye Oyebanji since in the 'block language' adopted here for writing headlines, the comma is often used to replace and mean the conjunction 'and' (Quirk et al 1985: 845-847).

We also draw attention to the malaise gaining ground in Nigeria where some persons insert a full stop or dot before a name initial or abbreviation: 'Dirikon I. Teilanyo' where only the dot after the initial 'I' is required, not the one before.

5.4 Grammar

In the field of grammar, we have already emphasised that most deviations are readily dismissed as errors and are highly stigmatised. Thus, errors in number marking ('Christian/Muslim faithfuls,' 'Two staffs have been promoted,' 'a personnel,' 'personnels'), verb forms, concord of subject and verb or determiner and head remain dismissed as errors to be avoided.

Another dimension of plural marking is other 'pluralia tantums' (Quirk et al 1985: 301) in fixed expressions where the plural is obligatory, and the omission of the plural marker makes them unidiomatic (even incorrect). Thus, we say *Congratulations* (not 'Congratulation'); someone wanted to do something *at all costs*; someone could not do something due to *financial/health constraints*; a particular place could be *out of bounds*, and one gives one's *apologies*. Accordingly, the sub-heading under Attendance in Minutes of Meetings out to be *Absent with Apologies*, not 'Absent with Apology.'

5.5 Lexico-Semantics

Productive as this area is in NNEs, there are some usages that must be avoided since they compromise the communicative value of the utterances. For example, while we have mentioned some egregious collocations in Nigeria that have potential of getting formalised in standard lexicon, even with NS labels, there are a few that are clearly labelled as errors. We take the example of the verb collocations with the verb 'examination.' Several standard dictionaries (e.g. Hornby through its different editions) have stated that the expression 'to write an examination' is bad English. The dictionaries (e.g. Hornby; *Longman*) state three verbs that collocate with 'examination,' namely 'TAKE,' 'DO' and 'SIT for,' but they outlaw 'write an examination*.'

Again, while we have described the use of terms like *tea* and kinship terms in some permissive terms because of the cultural peculiarities, we must indict the extended use of terms like 'Secretary-General' in place of 'Secretary.' While a Secretary is the head of the secretariat of an organization, a Secretary-General is the executive head of an organization. Thus, where there is an executive president in an organization, there cannot be a secretary-general in the same organization. For example, the Secretary-General of the United Nations Organisation is the overall head of the UN. He is superior to the President of the General Assembly.

Conversely, a union or association that has an executive President as the chief executive officer, such as our labour and student unions, social clubs and community bodies which have Presidents as their executive heads would not have secretaries-general. The individual can only be called Secretary or, at the most flattering, 'General Secretary' (if the intention is to distinguish that office from, say 'Financial Secretary,' 'Publicity Secretary,' etc.) but not 'Secretary-General.'

To establish the point, definitions of the terms 'secretary' and 'secretary-general' are taken from two standard table dictionaries:

> **Secretary**: an official of an organisation who keeps records, writes official letters, etc. (*Longman* 2009) an official of a club, society, etc. who deals with writing letters, keeping records, and making business arrangements. (Hornby 2020)
>
> **secretary-general**: the most important official in charge of a large organization, especially an international organization.(*Longman* 2009) the person who is in charge of the department that deals with the running of a large international or political organization. (Hornby 2020)

Furthermore, we have drawn attention to the incorporation of several Nigerianised usages, including that of *severally* into the *OED*. But it needs to be noted that the use of 'severally' to mean 'several times' is marked by the *OED* as Nigerian usage. Thus, in a global audience *severally* still does not mean 'several times.' It would still mean 'individually' or 'separately.' Therefore, if the Vice-Chancellor with his principal officers visits the Queen of England and tells her 'We have visited London severally.' The Queen would not understand it to mean that they have visited London many times. She would take it that each of the principal officer has visited London separately rather than together!

5.6 Other Expressions

Of late, the expression 'My names are…' has become common. This arises from the fallacious thinking that since each individual has at least a first (given) name and a surname (last name, family name), as well as often a middle name, these constitute different 'names.' The fact of it is that the two or three components constitute a single semantic (referential unit) and is to be used in the singular and with a singular verb: 'My name is Dirikon Iniebio Teilanyo.'

Similarly, there is the increasing tendency, especially among the youth, to always mention or write the surname first, e.g. 'Odudu Beatrice.' This is a negative carry-over from school and office documentation where the surname is often entered first. But this hardly obtains in standard usage in general communication. Both in speech and in writing, the first name is generally mentioned before the surname. Thus, 'Chinua Achebe,' 'Muhammadu Buhari,' 'Donald J. Trump,' etc.

This is an overgeneralization from the practice in filling forms in official circles. But the propriety of the tendency to do so even in writing one's name as an author of formal publications like books and novels is doubtful. In some specialised writing, where the last or surname is put first, an acceptable practice is to have it marked off with a comma or to put in full upper case. This enables readers know it as the surname: 'Teilanyo, Dirikon Inebio' or 'TEILANYO Dirikon Inebio.'

6. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In the above sections, I have endeavoured to paint a picture of the dilemma facing the use of English in Nigeria where a non-native but now superordinate language has come to be coloured in diverse ways in its linguistic character. I have used the metaphor of beatifying a 'beautiful beast' in capturing this spectacle. I have also employed a single sentence 'Permission me, *biko*, to make *dis spokage* as a signature tune, an archetypal and prototype utterance, to indicate the dimensions and the extent to which the language has been manipulated in the environments where it is a second-language, using Nigeria as a case study. The conclusion we arrive at is that language change is inevitable and, indeed, enables the language to strive and acclimatise to its new environments and circumstances, thriving in that process. But care and effort must be made to maintain the identity of the language in order to ensure global intelligibility, and indeed not to distort the intended communicative import. In presenting these issues, I have provoked further talk and controversies. I have also left some questions unanswered. All this is deliberate.

The efforts being made to ensure improvement in the quality of English are fairly well known and need not be repeated here. To ensure the retention of the common core features, we offer or emphasise the following solutions which appear not to have been driven home enough:

1. Training of Teachers. There is need to improve the quality of teachers, especially of English. The current practice in Nigeria of admitting mostly second-rate applicants (those who are rejected in more 'prestigious' programmes/disciplines) into colleges and Faculties of Education in our universities ought to be stopped and reversed. The reason is that a young graduate of engineering, accounting, law, medicine or pharmacy often works under some tutelage for some period before gaining autonomy. But the trained teacher is supposed to have known enough about the subject content and methodology and so goes into the classroom and pass on knowledge and skills directly onto the consumers (the pupils/students). And where the wrong information is passed on, it is often extremely difficult to unlearn it.

This desire to have quality candidates admitted for training as teachers of English cannot be achieved unless the economic and social status of teachers improves significantly. For now teaching remains lowly in remuneration and social status. It is hoped that the professionalisation of teaching and the recent motivations doled out by the Federal Government to teachers (extension of retirement age, honorarium for teaching practice and motivational payment for teachers) would soon change the lot of the teacher positively.

2. Printing and Prescription of Textbooks. Ministries and departments of education, school heads, lecturers and teachers must all be wary of the linguistic quality of textbooks they recommend. One sure way is to ensure that such texts are 'published' in the right sense of the word rather than just being printed by some road-side printer. A reputable printer would subject a manuscript to some internal and external assessment and proofreading before going to print such manuscripts.

3. Authors: Writers of both literary and non-literary texts are enjoined to be patient and subject their writings to rigorous review, editing and proofreading before going to print such works.

4. General Studies English: Arising from our research, it is here recommended that the syllabus for teaching General Studies be revised such that at least one topic is devoted to teaching the special skills in English for the relevant discipline. This means that while the general principles of English will be to all students, at least one topic is devoted to English for Specific Purposes. Such would be topics like 'English for Science and Engineering,' 'English for Social and Management Sciences,' 'English for legal purposes' etc.

5. English for Mass Communication. Our journalists and practitioners of other fields of mass communication require more training in the mechanics of the English language, their main tool for wider communication.

6. Translatability. Bilinguals should realise that not all concepts are readily translatable from one language to the other. Therefore, they should not feel guilty or apologetic that they are unable to find ready equivalents for certain culture-bound concepts in their languages. Indeed, if they have to resort to calques, loan translations or some other coinages, or if they must lift a word wholesale from the indigenous languages into English, it is not abnormal. Thus, the attempt to, for instance, translate *akara* into English as bean cake or some other contraption is an exercise in futility. Gradually, some of such loanwords and calques become legitimised in the English lexicon. Indeed, lexical loaning is a major source of the enlargement of English vocabulary.

7. Scholars in and Departments of English. Scholars in the Departments of English in educational institutions are often not accorded significant respect and or recognition regarding the use and usage of the language. The thinking is that everyone speaks English and so everyone 'knows' English. Thus, their competence is often doubted. It is true that some persons in other disciplines can use English more efficiently than scholars in English, with 'better' pronunciation, 'better' lexis and better oratorical skills., But using English fluently is different from knowing English. Some scholars in English have devoted their time, energy and other resources to study the structures, uses, resources and dynamics of the language.

8. General Use. My ultimate recommendation is that users of English as a second language should feel free to use the language as much as possible without necessarily being over-conscious of errors. In any case, perfection in it is a tall order. But as we do so, let us be humble, knowing that our competence is often limited.

So shall I still say, 'Permission me, *biko*, to make *dis spokage*'?
No. That sentence is infelicitous, not only in form but also in content and in context.
Rather, I say,
'I thank you for giving me this opportunity to address you.'

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