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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

PREFACE

This special issue of *Legon Journal of the Humanities* contains papers presented at the SPCL (Society for Pidgin and Creole Languages) conference held at the University of Ghana, Legon from 2nd to 6th August 2011. We have selected papers that reflect research into Pidgins and Creoles (PCs) with a focus on West Africa, and which reflect the spread of PC studies that pertain to this part of the world.

We have arranged the articles into four broad subject areas, each with two submissions:

The Common Features:	Christine I. Ofulue; Micah Corum
The Atlantic Connection:	Malcolm Awadajin Finney; Audene S. Henry
Nigeria:	David Oshoenoya Esizimetor; D. Ugochukwu Mbagwu and Cecilia A. Eme
Ghana:	George Kodie Frimpong; Kari Dako and Helen Yitah

To emphasize what the West African pidgins have in common, we have chosen to begin the volume with a sociolinguistic overview of the three major West African pidgins: the Ghanaian, the Nigerian and the Cameroonian, by Christine Ofulue. In our view this article sets the scene for the others in this volume. Ofulue's is followed by Micah Corum's study on the possible origins of the locative *for* in West African pidgins. The Atlantic connection is

demonstrated in Malcolm Awadajin Finney's theoretical exposition on declarative and procedural memory in the process of creolization. This article is relevant as it deals with the Sierra Leone connection that brought the Atlantic creoles back to Africa whence they originated, and thus refertilized the West African pidgins. Next is Audene Henry's intriguing article on possible remaining traces of an Akan dialect among the Eastern Maroons in Jamaica. The next two articles deal with Nigerian pidgin. Davidson Ugochuwu Mbagwu and Cecilia A. Eme's collaborative work is on the question of the superstrate and the substrate in Nigerian Pidgin, while David Oshorenoya Esizimetor's article deals with the history of selected Naija words. Finally, in the two articles that deal with aspects of pidgin in Ghana, George Kodie Frimpong looks at how gospel songs in Nigerian pidgin are finding their way into Ghanaian churches, while Kari Dako and Helen Yitah examine the way the pidgin speaker has been treated in Ghanaian literature over the years.

Kari Dako

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Nigerian Pidgin and West African Pidgins:
A sociolinguistic perspective

Christine I. Ofulue[1]

Abstract

Sociolinguistic factors play a significant role in the emergence and development of pidgins and creoles, and their role in the development of West African Pidgin English based (WAPE) varieties is not an exception. Nigerian Pidgin (NP) along with Ghanaian Pidgin (GP) and Cameroon Pidgin (CP) form a continuum of mutually intelligible WAPE varieties spoken as lingua francas along the West African coast. While previous studies provide sociolinguistic descriptions of the individual varieties, there is no comprehensive comparative study of the WAPE varieties. This study aims to fill the gap by providing a comparative analysis of similarities and differences in current domains of use, functions, and attitudes that have shaped their current status in the context of their socio-historical inter-relatedness. The study shows that while the WAPE varieties share similarities in their demographic and sociolinguistic contexts, they differ in status. It observes a more rapid development and expansion in NP. The findings of this study contribute to a holistic understanding of the role of sociolinguistic factors in evaluating the status of the mutually intelligible WAPE varieties to inform its future development.

Introduction

The emergence of pidgins and creoles has been described as one of the sociolinguistically significant outcomes of European contact in Africa (Adegbija 2004:14, Echu & Obeng 2004:12).

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[1] Christine Ofulue teaches at the National Open University of Nigeria.

In West Africa, English pidgins and creoles are found from the Gambia in the northwest to Cameroon in the southeast (Holm 1988: 406). The term 'West African Pidgin English' (WAPE) has been used in the literature to refer to a variety of related pidgins 'that range from rudimentary to highly expanded, creole like varieties' spoken in the coastal countries where English is an official language - the Gambia, Sierra-Leone, Liberia, Ghana, Nigeria, and Cameroon (Holm, 1988: 426, Sebba, 1997:126). However, this study focuses on the varieties of WAPE that are spoken in Nigeria, Ghana, and Cameroon because they have the most substantial population of pidgin speakers among West African countries (cf. Peter & Wolf 2007). WAPEs are classified under the Atlantic group of English based pidgins and creoles according to historical, geographical and linguistic factors (Holm 1988).

There is a general consensus in the literature that WAPEs emerged from trading contacts between Europeans and indigenous peoples along the coast and later spread into the interior of the coastal countries (Holm, 1988). Huber (1999a) is of the view that many of the similarities shared by WAPE varieties are largely a result of the influence of Krio through a diffusion process along the West African coast. Although WAPEs share common origins, socio-historical, sociolinguistic and structural similarities, such that they are mutually intelligible to a large extent, they also exhibit sufficient differences to make them distinct varieties (cf. Sebba 1997, Peter & Wolf 2007).

The West African varieties being examined in this study are identified variously in the literature as *Nigerian Pidgin [English], Ghanaian Pidgin [English],* and *Cameroon Pidgin[English]* (also called Kamtok),and will be referred to as Nigerian Pidgin (NP), Ghanaian Pidgin (GP), and Cameroonian Pidgin (CP) respectively. Studies have also shown that the three

varieties share structural features that distinguish them, as expanded pidgins, from other varieties like the more developed Krio creole variety of Sierra Leone (e.g. Huber 1999: 6).

Although these varieties share a common sociohistory, they have evolved into three sociolinguistically distinct varieties in terms of use, functions and attitudes towards them. Since several detailed studies have been carried out on the sociolinguistic aspect of individual varieties, to conduct another investigation will not only amount to repetition, but will also be too much for a single paper. The present study will be limited to presenting an overview which will form the basis for a comparative analysis.

In this paper therefore, we shall first briefly review the literature drawing on available detailed sociolinguistic research in the three varieties. Then, we shall present an overview of the sociolinguistic contexts of their emergence. The overview forms the background for sociolinguistic descriptions of language use, functions and attitudes towards WAPE varieties. The paper also discusses language development efforts and the implications for language planning. In the next section, we carry out a comparative analysis of the similarities and differences, and the factors that have impacted their development and spread in their current social contexts. The final section of the paper will examine the patterns that characterize the status of the WAPE varieties and the implications for future developments.

2. Previous Studies

Peter & Wolf (2007) provide the first comparative account of the structural features that distinguish the WAPE varieties from one another. They note that while WAPE varieties share structural similarities, they also display some distinctive structural features 'given the different linguistic situation in each country and their close interaction, if not sociolinguistic continuity, with the national varieties of WAE (see e.g. Simo Bobda and Wolf, 2003), whose structural differences are in turn the outcome of a number of factors peculiar to each country' (p. 4). Peter & Wolf (2007) observe that a number of structural features set GP[i] apart from NP and CP on the one hand, while NP and CP, on the other hand, are more similar structurally. They also found that most of the differences are at the level of pronunciation, followed by the grammatical and lexical levels[1]. Similarly, it is expected that the WAPE varieties will have sociolinguistic similarities as well as some differences. Of interest to the present study, therefore, is Peter & Wolf's observation that the structural features that set GP apart from NP and CP are attributable to the social parameters of GP's geographical distribution, low functional load, and low social prestige.

Of the three varieties of WAPEs, Nigerian Pidgin (NP) is perhaps the most researched, with studies on the historical, structural, and sociolinguistic aspects. Faraclas (1996) describes NP as the most widely spoken variety in Africa and the most extensively used Pidgin form in the world, with an estimated population of over 60 million second language speakers (Faraclas et al 2005) and more than 1 million first language speakers. It is in the light of its increasing population of first language speakers that NP is viewed by some as a variety that is creolising, especially in coastal parts of the country (cf. Mafeni 1971, Marchese & Schnukal 1982, Elugbe & Omamor 1991, Ofulue 2004. The findings of the various studies represent major research in NP and their findings illustrate NP's sociolinguistic development over a period of about thirty years.

Mafeni (1971) provides an overview of NP's historical background, functions and structure. In his view, the development and spread of NP is a result of the process of urbanization which facilitated the growth of many multiethnic towns and cities where

NP is the lingua franca along with a dominant indigenous language. Based on a sociolinguistic survey conducted in a speech community in Warri in the Niger Delta region, Marchese & Schnukal (1983) observe that NP has become a lingua franca and it is creolising in view of its expressive functions and acquisition as a first (primary) language of the speech community. In a study of NP's social and linguistic history, Barbag-Stoll (1983) examines NP's emergence and development as a variety of WAPE. The study shows that NP is a developing language that fulfils a social function as a medium of communication and plays an integrative role within Nigeria's multiethnic context. Agheyisi (1984) examines the widespread use of NP and its changing role resulting in the development of social varieties of the language. She notes that although NP is spoken by all socioeconomic classes of people, the social negative attitude towards it is due to its association with the uneducated and the lower socioeconomic class.

Elugbe & Omamor (1991), in the first book length study that covers historical, structural and sociolinguistic aspects of NP, confirm Marchese & Schnukal's view of NP's creolising status. They take the position that NP should be treated as a language in its own right, distinct from English, in view of its creolised status in some sections of the country. They note its spread into more informal and formal domains of literary writing, media, religion and education. From a broader perspective of speakers' social experience, Oloruntoba (1992) in a doctoral study, examines how NP speakers negotiate its status and social identities for themselves in the Western Niger Delta region. She observes that speakers' usage practices are framed by their social experiences within the larger context of the region's social history. She also notes that the functions of NP have changed over time from serving purely communicative purposes to indexing social identities. Similarly, its status, which was previously associated with the uneducated and lower class during the colonial era, has been redefined in the post-colonial era. Deuber's (2005) is the most recent sociolinguistic study that investigates the relationship between NP and English, its lexifier language, among urban, educated NP speakers in Lagos, a metropolitan city in the southwest of Nigeria. Her findings also support Elugbe & Omamor's view of NP as a language that is separate from English. In her view, NP functions as an 'unofficial national language' and its vitality resides in its role of indexing 'a culture' (2005:208).

The studies reviewed above were conducted in the South, where there are large concentrations of NP speakers. In their studies, Igboanusi & LOTHAR (2005) and Mann (2011) include data from the northern parts of the country. Igboanusi & LOTHAR (2005) focus on conflict and competition among Nigeria's major languages (Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba), English and NP. They hold the view that English and NP pose a threat to the major Nigerian languages due to the spread of NP into areas where the major languages are predominant. Based on a survey of language attitudes and loyalties covering southern and northern states, they report that NP does not rank highly in comparison with the other languages. In his survey of southern and northern states that investigates attitudes toward NP, Mann (2011) observes that attitudes are based on the socioeconomic benefits and perceived prestige which the use of NP accords speakers. Results from both studies show that while NP is used in both the south and the north, attitudes towards the language are more favourable in the south than in the north.

Empirical sociolinguistic research in Cameroon Pidgin [English] (CP) is comparatively minimal (cf. Schröder 2003:22). Detailed studies include Koenig et al's (1983, cited in Schröder 2003), which provides a sociolinguistic profile of urban centres in Cameroon; Mbassi-Manga's (1973, cited in Schröder 2003),

which describes CP in its historical and sociolinguistic context; and, more recently, Schröder's (2003) book length study on the status, functions and prospects of CP. Schröder (2003:82) confirms the view in previous studies that CP is the most widely spread language in Cameroon spoken by about 2 million speakers. In view of a twenty year gap between Schröder's and the last major sociolinguistic study before it, she observes that, 'the situation of CamP [CP] can be assumed to have changed considerably' (Schröder 2003:23). He reports that while Mbassi-Manga's study reports that CP's general function is mainly that of communicative purposes, his findings (2003: 182) indicate that CP has acquired more functions as an intra-group and inter-group language for both anglophones and francophones. CP is associated with the anglophones, even though it is also used by francophones living in anglophone areas of Cameroon. While it has a strong hold in domains it is traditionally associated with, Schröder observes that its acquisition of more functions in other domains is generally impeded by the spread of English and French.

Amoako's (1992) and Huber's (1999) are the most comprehensive studies on Ghanaian Pidgin (GP), though there are several other scholarly publications (e.g. Dako 2002). Huber (1999) observes that very   little work has been done on the sociolinguistic aspect of GP, and a detailed systematic study of the sociolinguistic aspects is yet to be conducted. In Ghana, two varieties of GP have been identified according to the demographic context of use, age, gender, and socioeconomic class of the speakers. The variety that is associated with urban, informal use by young educated male speakers is variously referred to in literature as the *student, educated, institutionalised or acrolectal* variety (e.g. Dolphyne 1995, Huber 1999, Dako 2002). The variety that is associated with informal use by the uneducated

lower socioeconomic class of speakers is variously referred to as the *uneducated, non-institutionalised or basilectal* variety. However, the student variety is the more researched of the two and will be referred to in this study as the student variety of GP (cf. Huber 1999). It is the variety spoken by secondary school and university students, perhaps informed by its predominant spread in educational contexts (Huber 1999:3). Amoako's study (cited in Huber 1999) examines GP from historical, structural and sociolinguistic perspectives. He holds the view that GP is historically a derivative of NP aided by social factors of migration, which explains NP's notable influence[2]. Huber (1999) investigates the diachronic and synchronic aspects of GP within its West African context. His view differs from that of Amoako with regard to GP's diachronic development and its relationship with NP. Huber devotes a chapter in his study to GP's sociolinguistic aspects.

While these studies provide sociohistorical and sociolinguistic descriptions of the individual varieties, the present study will analyse the sociolinguistic similarities and differences that have shaped their status within their social contexts. The findings of these individual studies will therefore constitute data for a comparative analysis of WAPE varieties in this study.

3. Socio-historical Contexts of WAPE varieties

Fig.1: Map of West Africa showing the West African coast

The emergence of WAPE varieties has been traced to trade contacts with Europeans, beginning with the Portuguese, the Dutch and then the British (and Germans in Cameroon) along the West African coast from as early as the 15th century. Other participants who played significant roles in the formation phase include Krio speakers and Krumen from the 18th century onwards (Holm, 1988).There is some debate, however, with regard to how, where, and when the early forms of Pidgin English (restructured English Pidgin) replaced Pidgin Portuguese, which is believed to have been in existence as an established lingua franca prior to the formation of the WAPE varieties. According to Holm (1988), the use of restructured English increased dramatically in West Africa as the British came to dominate the slave trade during the 18th century, while recaptives and others from Sierra Leone introduced Krio to Ghana, Nigeria and Cameroon during the 19th century.

The influence of English on the three WAPE varieties, which was facilitated by British presence within a context of geographical proximity, intermingling and migration of the various participants occasioned by trading and administrative exigencies, can be traced to early contacts with the British along the Gold Coast and Slave Coast around the early 17th century, followed by Nigeria and Cameroon in the 18th century. The British took over from the Portuguese as major trading partners along the coastal shores of Nigeria and had established two trading ports in Bonny and Calabar on the Bight of Biafra by the end of the 18th century (cf. Holm 1988).

Holm (1988) and Huber (1999) attribute the similarities among the three varieties to interregional connectedness that was occasioned by geographical proximity, British administrative influence and structure. The relationship was aided by the fact that the Gold Coast and Lagos had once been governed from Sierra Leone. This situation changed and they were governed under the Gold Coast Colony. West Cameroon was governed by Britain from Nigeria from 1919,thus facilitating interconnectedness through inter-regional migration. These administrative arrangements provided a context for extended contacts and interaction among the various groups. Furthermore, Huber (1999:129) notes that NP and CP share more core grammatical features that originated in Krio than either of them has with GP, and concludes that the relationship predates the period of any influence NP may have had on GP. In his view, NP and CP can be regarded as one and the same variety. However, while the evidence supports a closer relationship between NP and CP than with GP, there is also sufficient evidence of structural (cf. Peter & Wolf 2007) and sociolinguistic differences to distinguish them.

4. Demographic profile and sociolinguistic context of WAPE varieties

According to Adegbija (1994:15), 'the language situation in sub-Saharan Africa is generally characterised by a type of dense multilingualism composed of indigenous languages, exogenous languages, and in many cases, Pidgin languages'. This observation is illustrated by the demographic profile of the three countries where WAPE varieties are spoken. The contexts are also characterised by different language policies and language situations.

Nigeria

Demographic profile: Of the three countries, Nigeria has the highest number of languages (510) spoken by a population of over 160 million, over a land area of 923,768 km with a population density of 153 persons per square kilometre (NBS 2010, Lewis 2009). Population size is a key criterion for the classification of major versus minority languages. The three 'major' languages, Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba are spoken as first or second languages by about half of the population, and they function as regional lingua franca and Languages of Wider Communication (LWC). The other languages, which account for the bulk of indigenous languages, are viewed as 'minority' languages and they function as languages of immediate community. About 58% of the population comprising second language speakers are literate in English (NBS 2010). Adegbija (1994: 16) aptly surmises the linguistically diverse nature of Nigeria's population when he notes that 'although precise statistics are not available, one can safely conclude from the evidence available that no language in Nigeria is spoken by as much as 50% of the entire population as a first language'.

Language policy: The language policy as outlined in the country's policy on education assigns the functions of an official language to English, which therefore is the language of government (cf. NPE 2004), education, the media, and business. While the major languages, Igbo, Yoruba and Hausa, are national languages, the indigenous languages, as 'languages of the immediate community', are meant to serve as languages of instruction for the first three years of schooling. The policy is however not strictly adhered to as English or NP is often used in heterogeneous contexts where it is predominant (cf. Bamgbose 1991).

Language situation: English was introduced into Nigeria twice at different times and in different ways, first as spoken by the British traders in contact with indigenous groups from which NP emerged, and second as a language of education in the colonial era (Mufwene 2009). NP, which coexists with English and the indigenous languages, functions as a lingua franca and is predominantly spoken in the southern region

Language Situation: English was introduced into Nigeria twice at different times and in different ways, first as spoken by the British traders in contact with indigenous groups from which NP emerged, and second as a language of education in the colonial era (Mufwene 2009). NP, which coexists with English and the indigenous languages, functions as a lingua franca and is predominantly spoken in the southern region and in urban contexts, although with speakers that cut across Nigeria's geographical, multiethnic and socioeconomic class terrain. Deuber (2005:208) describes NP's position in relation to the other languages as a triglossic language situation in which it is in a 'broad diglossic' relationship with English, but it is also distinct

from the indigenous languages. NP is used for communication alongside indigenous languages and regional languages at the local/regional level as a language of the immediate community, and as a lingua franca in certain geographical locations. At the national level, NP has parallel functions with the national languages, and it is used as a lingua franca among Nigerians at the international level.

Cameroon

Demographic profile: Cameroon has about 286 languages spoken by a population of 18 million over a land area of 475,440 km^2, and a population density of 37 persons per square kilometre (Lewis 2009). The most widely used indigenous languages that function as languages of wider communication for inter-ethnic and regional communication are Bulu (South), Duala (Littoral), Ewondo, and Ewondo Populaire (Centre/South), Fulfulde (North), Mungaka (North-West), and CP (Schröder 2003). Even though it is viewed as an Anglophone based language, it is spoken by both Anglophone and Francophone people. Given the number of indigenous languages, the Cameroon linguistic situation has been described as a 'highly complex' one. However, the situation is made even more complex by the presence of two official languages, English and French (Schröder 2003: 42).

Language policy: Cameroon's language policy of official bilingualism makes it the only country on the continent with two exogenous languages as official languages. Schröder (2003: 47) reports that although Cameroon can hardly be described as a bilingual country in practice, there is evidence of relative openness to English/French bilingualism and interest in the other official language among educated Cameroonians.

Language situation: The first contact between the indigenous population and Europeans in Cameroon occurred in the 15th century (1472), first with the Portuguese, and then with the British (1850 – 1884),followed by the Germans (Schröder 2003). CP is believed to have grown out of the 18th century Pidgin English used around Calabar on the Bight of Biafra (Holm 1988). Igboanusi and LOTHAR (2005) attribute the mutual intelligibility between NP and CP to this sociohistorical relationship. CP is used at all levels of informal and religious communication, except at the international level. CP co-exists with the two official languages and the indigenous languages in the sociolinguistic context described above. Schröder (2003:148) confirms that CP follows the official languages in order of importance and is used more often than the indigenous languages to serve the role of a common language, especially in the Anglophone part of the country.

Ghana

Demographic profile: Ghana has about 80 languages[3] spoken by a population of 23 million, over a land area of 238,000 km^2 with a population density of 79 persons per square kilometre (Huber 1995, Lewis 2009). The major languages, namely Akan, Ewe, Dangme, Ga, Nzema, Dagaare, Gonja, Kasem and Dagbani, are national languages. Five of the languages, Akan (43%), Ewe (10%), Ga-Dangme (7%),Dagaare (6%) and Dagbani (3%) (Huber 1995) are spoken by about 70% of the population. Akan is a major lingua franca spoken in the southern region and in some urban contexts. Hausa[4] is also a lingua franca spoken in the northeast and in Hausa speaking communities located in the southern region.

Language policy: The language policy, which required that educational instruction should be conducted in an indigenous language for the first three years of schooling, was replaced in 2002 with a law that stipulates the use of English from the first year (Owu-Ewie 2006). Prior to the policy reversal however, English has been in use because of the heterogeneous nature of the schools, particularly in the urban centres (Huber 1999). English is Ghana's official language and it is the language of government, administration, the media and other formal situations, while the indigenous languages are predominant in traditional contexts and in the regions, including Ga in Accra and Akan in southern Ghana.

Language situation: Although not officially recognised, GP co-exists with English, which is its major lexifier language, and the indigenous languages. According to Huber (1995), 'Ghana's [socio]linguistic situation is best described as diglossic with English dominating formal situations and Ghanaian languages dominating the informal, traditional, and in less heterogenous areas'. GP is used mainly in informal contexts along with indigenous languages at the local level of communication, and following English and major indigenous languages at the national levels of communication.

5. Findings

This section provides a comparative analysis of sociolinguistic similarities and differences that characterise the sociohistorical, demographic, and sociolinguistic contexts of WAPE varieties.

The patterns that characterise the sociohistorical contexts of the WAPE varieties include: 1) their parallel emergence within the same period; 2) their contact with similar groups of people; and 3) the linguistically diverse nature of the contexts of the

individual contact situations. Krio played a significant role in the emergence of the WAPE varieties and the factors that facilitated its influence directly and indirectly through NP include interregional connectedness and large scale migration. The individual contact situations differed with regard to the indigenous languages that were involved as well as the sources of Krio influence. It is worth noting that NP's influence on GP and CP appears to be unidirectional in nature as there is no evidence of similar transmissions from GP and CP to NP. It is also possible that NP's direct access to Krio influences may have contributed to its advanced development ahead of CP and GP.

Demographically, Nigeria, Ghana and Cameroon are a reflection of sub-Saharan Africa's linguistic diversity and dense multilingualism. Such linguistically complex contexts engender language contact, which facilitates the development of pidgins (Adegbija 2004). The demographic patterns, in terms of high population density vis-a vis number of languages, show that the three countries have highly complex and linguistically diverse contexts in common. The pattern suggests that the higher the population density and number of languages, the greater the complexity of the linguistic landscape. Consequently, the propensity for pidgins to be used predominantly in linguistically heterogeneous areas is a characteristic shared by the WAPE varieties. Their sociolinguistic contexts confirm this observation as the WAPE varieties thrive in linguistically heterogeneous locations like urban centres and regions (e.g. Lagos, Port Harcourt, Southern region in Nigeria; Accra, Southern region in Ghana; and Yaounde, Western region in Cameroon).

The sociolinguistic contexts of the WAPE varieties are defined by the configurations that characterise their language situations and the type of language policies adopted. All the three

WAPE varieties are similar in their use at all levels of communication except for international communication. NP and CP share similarities in their roles as lingua franca, which places them in a competitive stance with the indigenous languages that have similar functions. The use of NP and CP as lingua franca at all levels of communication is an indication of the relatively strong position NP and CP varieties of WAPE occupy in their individual language situations; a factor that has positive implications for their future development. The analysis shows that while NP and CP share similarities with regard to the prominent positions they hold, GP is characterised by its restricted and limited use across the levels of communication in their individual linguistic systems.They also have the dominant presence of exogenous languages in common. As is the case in many African countries, the language policies of these countries favour and promote the exogenous languages. The language policies of Ghana and Nigeria are similar in that they promote one exogenous language, English, as official language and major indigenous languages as national languages, while Cameroon's policy promotes two exogenous languages as official languages. The presence of two exogenous languages in relation to CP is a factor that has significant implications for the status of CP and distinguishes it from NP and GP. Table 1 summarises the language situations of the WAPE varieties using Bamgbose's (1991)[5] three-language model to illustrate the position of the varieties in relation to the other languages in their sociolinguistic contexts.

Table 1: Summary of status of WAPE varieties

LEVEL	NIGERIA	GHANA	CAMEROON
Local	Indigenous languages Nigerian Pidgin	Indigenous languages Ghanaian Pidgin (mostly uneducated variety)	Indigenous languages Cameroon Pidgin (in towns)
Regional	Indigenous languages Regional languages (Fulfulde, Nupe, Kanuri, Idoma, Tiv, Ibibio, Efik, and Ijo Nigerian Pidgin English	Indigenous languages Ghanaian Pidgin	Indigenous languages Cameroon Pidgin (language of wider communication) Other LWCs: Duala, Bulu, Ewondo, Ewondo populaire, Mungaka, Fulfulde, English French
National	English National languages; Yoruba (lingua franca in southwest) Lingua franca in southwest Hansa (lingua franca in north) Nigerian Pidgin (lingua franca in south zone, urban linguistic heterogenous contexts)	English National languages: Akan (lingua franca in southern region) Ewe, Dangame, Ga, Nzema, Dagaare, Gonja, Kasem, Dagbani, Hausa (lingua franca in the northeast, Hausa speaking communities in southern region) Ghanaian Pidgin (educated variety in urban contexts)	English and French Cameroon Pidgin
International	English	English	English and French

Sources: Bamgbose (1991), Deuber (2006), Huber (1999), Schröder (2003)

Language Use and Functions

WAPE varieties are examined in terms of major domains of use and functions using Smith's (1972 cited in Barbag-Stoll 1983) approach which identifies three language functions: communicative, integrative (and/or instrumental), and expressive. The communicative function marks transmission of referential, denotative information between speakers, e.g., inter-ethnic communication; the integrative function marks a speaker's use of the language as a member of a particular *social* group, e.g., in-group communication; and the expressive function marks the speaker as a valued member of a particular *linguistic* group (or speech community).[6]

NP has spread into virtually all domains of use even though its primary domains are informal contexts (e.g. Elugbe & Omamor 1991, Oloruntoba 1992, Deuber 2005). NP is gradually finding its way into more formal domains of use. Recent developments include literacy primers and a Bible translation that is in progress.[7] Worthy of note is its expansion into the non-traditional domains of Information Communication Technology (ICT) and the new media (e.g. the Internet and social media). For example, the establishment of the WAZOBIA radio station which broadcasts only in NP and which is now widely accepted with stations in four metropolitan locations, Lagos (southwest), Abuja (the Federal capital), Port Harcourt (south) and Kano (north) (cf. wazobiafm.com 2012), is a reflection of the extent of NP's use. There is also an attendant expansion of NP into the written medium on social media platforms by a predominantly young literate audience. Speakers, therefore, not only use NP to perform communicative, integrative and expressive functions; they are expanding NP's functions to meet needs in the written medium within ICT and the new media.

CP is still an informal register that is used in a wide range of domains and features prominently in discussions expressing humour, intimacy and secrets (Schröder 2003), except in a few formal domains like the religious domain. Todd (1984:96) attests to its use as a major liturgical language of the Catholic Church in the Anglophone part of the country. The translation of the New Testament, *Gud Nyus fo ol pipul* (2002) in CP is further evidence of CP's role and importance in the religious domain. CP performs a communicative role in its use for anglophone-francophone communication, for mass mobilisation by politicians (cf. Ayafor 2000, cited in Schroder 2003); and an integrative role in its use among anglophone university students (cf. Atechi 2011). Only the use of CP to express intimacy and secrets comes close to fulfilling an expressive role. This is expected, particularly in view of the fact that there are speakers who acquired CP as a first or primary language, which suggests that CP is being used to mark their identity as members of speech communities where CP is predominantly used as a first language. Indeed, the results of a survey carried out by Alobwode (1998, cited in Atechi 2011) reveal that between 10% and 30% of the respondents who live in areas within the anglophone part of the country and urban cities (e.g. Mamfe, Kumba, Limbe, Buea, Bamenda, Douala, and Yaounde) acquired CP as a first language. Simo Bobda and Wolf (2003) also confirm the expansion of CP into domains that were the 'preserve of the official languages, English and French'.

GP's most prominent domain of use is among the educated young male population, especially secondary school and university students in informal urban contexts where it functions as an in-group language (cf. Dolphyne 1995, Huber 1999, Dako 2002). Huber (1999) observes that the student variety of GP[8] is spoken mainly in secondary and tertiary institutions as an

in- group social register, while the other [uneducated] variety functions as a lingua franca that is spoken in urban multilingual contexts. The student variety of GP is used by speakers with high educational attainment, e.g., secondary school and university students. It gained wider currency in educational institutions in the 20th century with functions of signaling peer group/in-group identity and solidarity. Huber (1999) also notes that GP is restricted to a small but growing section of the society and is less widespread in terms of area and number of speakers than it is in other Anglophone West African countries. The functions that these varieties of GP fulfill constitute one of the parameters that are used to identify and distinguish them. It is assumed that this variety of GP, which is gender specific, has also spread among the educated adult urban male population aged up to 45 years in urban informal contexts (Huber 1999: 151). Dako (2002) estimates that about 80% - 90% of the educated male population who are below the age of 50 years use this variety of GP.

From the foregoing, it is clear that GP is not used extensively across major domains. Consequently, its functions are limited. The use of the varieties of GP is determined by a number of variables: 1) domains of use in terms of urban/rural, contexts; and 2) speakers' status in terms of education, age, and gender (cf. Huber 1999: 159). While the variety associated with the less educated performs a communicative function, the student variety of GP fulfils an integrative function for its speakers in that it serves as a social group identity marker.

A comparative evaluation of the status [vitality] of WAPE varieties is presented based on domains of use and identified functions. Eight major domains of use are compared across the three varieties: administration, education, mass media, political campaigns, religion, literature, and entertainment.

Table 2: Summary of Domains of use and Functions of WAPE Varieties

Domains of Use	NP	GP	CP
Administration/work **(Government, Parliament, National/State Assemblies**			
Formal	X	X	*
Informal	***	X	***
Education			
Formal (in class)	*	X	*
Informal (outside class)	***	***	*
Mass Media (Print and Electronic)	****	*	*
New Media (Internet and Social Media)	***	X	X
Political Campaigns	****	X	***
Religion (Churches)	****	*	***
Commerce / Trade	****	***	***
Literatures (novels, drama , poetry)	***	*	*
Entertainment			
Music	****	*	*
Humour (Comedy)	****	*	***
Roles and Functions			
Ethnic/ Cultural Identity	X	X	X
National Identity	***	X	***
Lingua Franca (Communicative)	****	***	****
Social Identity (integrative)	****	***	***
Group Identity (expressive)	****	X	***

Key: **** high *** medium * low frequency/degree of use
Sources: Elugbe & Omamor (1991), Oloruntoba (1992), Deuber (2005), Adekunle (1995), Dolphyne (1995), Huber (1999), Dako (2002), Chumbow & Simo Bobda (1996), Schröder (2003

Table 2 shows that although WAPE varieties are quite varied across the eight selected domains, there are some patterns that characterise their use and the functions that they perform within the different domains of use. These patterns will be analysed in terms of restriction/ expansion and degree of use. NP is the most widespread of the three varieties in view of its comparatively high degree of use in a greater number of formal and informal contexts (cf. Elugbe & Omamor 1991, Oloruntoba 1992, Deuber 2005, Taiwo & Babalola 2009). NP is followed by CP which, though also widespread across the domains, is used mostly in informal domains and, to a limited degree, in some formal domains (cf. Schröder 2003, Simo Bobda & Wolf 2003, Mbangwana 2004, Atechi 2011). GP shows the least spread across the domains and the degree of use is equally low (cf. Dolphyne 1995, Huber 1999, Dako 2002). The above shows that there is a correlation between the patterns that characterise their spread and their degree of use.

Table 2 also reveals that NP and CP are more similar compared with GP which is restricted in terms of spread across domains of use and degree of use within domains. The use of NP and CP is more widespread because they are used in more domains than GP. NP and CP also show a higher degree of use (medium to high) than GP which, apart from the informal context of the education domain and the commerce domain, shows a comparatively low degree of use across the domains. The restricted and limited use of GP is a result of the factors that determine the use of its two varieties. The student variety of GP is therefore a functionally marked variety while the variety associated with the uneducated is the unmarked variety of GP.

Age is an important factor that characterises the use and functions of WAPE varieties. Various studies have observed a more widespread and higher degree of use of WAPE varieties among the younger generation (e.g. Deuber 2005, Schröder 2003, Huber 1999). For NP, its spread into non-traditional

domains like the new media as well as expansion in social identity functions is attributed to the younger generation. Similarly, Huber (1999: 159) and Schröder (2003: 113) observe that GP (educated variety) and CP are used in a wider range of contexts by the younger generation than by the older generation.

In table 2, WAPE varieties mark three of the five identities. None of the varieties was observed to mark cultural identity, which is a function of the mother tongue. The functions comprise marking different identities and fulfilling certain communication needs. The role of WAPE varieties as lingua franca in inter-ethnic communication remains their most prominent function, even though GP performs that role in more restricted contexts. GP is the most restricted of the three varieties in use and functions. All three varieties are also similar in marking social identity. NP and CP are more similar in comparison with GP in marking national, group and social identities. The group and social identities fulfil integrative and expressive functions respectively. GP, on the other hand, performs communicative functions in inter-ethnic communication, and in limited contexts, integrative functions for in-group communication. Factors that affect their use and functions include age, speaker's socio-economic status and the context of use. Huber (1999) and Schröder (2003) report a difference in the use of GP and CP respectively by the younger generation who use them in a wider range of contexts than the older generation; the latter use them mainly in informal contexts and to communicate with non-literates.

Attitudes

According to Adegbija (2004: 133), 'Generally, languages acquire value, prestige, and esteem commensurate with their perceived utility in different domains of life'. In sub-Saharan Africa, attitudes towards languages are shaped by a variety of

factors including socio-historical forces, especially the effects of colonialism; pressures for upward social mobility as a result of the imposition of European languages and colonial/post-colonial language and educational policies; and people's perceptions about the kinds of functions particular languages can fulfil. From a broad perspective that accounts for the sub-Saharan African context, therefore, Adegbija's (1994: 255) view of language attitudes 'accommodates evaluative judgements made about a language, its variety or its speakers towards efforts at promoting, maintaining, or planning a language, or even towards learning and teaching it'.

Pidgins and creoles have a history of being viewed as socially-marked varieties of language and wrongly perceived as inferior languages (e.g. Mann 2011). Factors that have contributed to this view include the circumstances of their emergence, their association with the lower socioeconomic and non-literate sections of society, and their co-existence with European lexifier languages within their post-colonial contexts (e.g. Elugbe &Omamor 1991, Oloruntoba 1992). However, studies have also observed changing attitudes towards the use of WAPE varieties (e.g. Agheyisi 1984, Oloruntoba 1992, Deuber 2005, Huber 1999, Bobda & Wolf 2003).

Since attitudes are evaluated on the basis of the kind of functions languages fulfil, we examine particular functions that have added value or prestige to WAPE varieties, as well as the acceptability of WAPE varieties as lingua franca, national languages and medium of instruction. The three WAPE varieties are characterised by patterns of covert prestige and varying degrees of stigmatisation which derive from functions that mark in-group identities and fulfil group solidarity. The findings show that the three varieties share a high degree of covert prestige, particularly among the younger generation who derive a group identity value from their use (cf. Marchese & Schnukal 1983: 218, Deuber 2005:51, Schröder 2003:210, Huber 1999:159). However, the varieties differ with regard to the range of contexts, with NP having the widest range of contexts in which the high value attached to its use accords it high covert prestige, and in some cases, overt prestige. It is followed by CP in a number of contexts in which the high value attached to its use gives it high covert prestige in a number of contexts; and GP in which the value associated with its use accords it high covert prestige in certain restricted contexts.

The studies examined show that attitudes towards the use of WAPE varieties for in-group communication are more favourable than attitudes towards their use if they are to function as official languages/ lingua franca. Mann's (2011) survey shows that 33.5% of respondents in southern states and 17.5% of respondents in northern states are in favour of NP's adoption as an official lingua franca (official language), 'in spite of its sociolinguistic vitality as *the* urban *lingua franca* in Nigeria'. However, Mann considers these results favourable in the light of the fact that NP is 'a non-formalized, non-graphized, socially-marked variety of language which is still not recognized in any official government document as one of the languages in Nigeria'. For CP, Schröder's (2003: 204) survey shows that only 4.5% and 6.7% of respondents said they would like to know CP and to improve their knowledge of CP respectively. Conversely, Atechi's (2011: 19) survey among university students shows a more positive trend, in which 85% of the respondents agree that CP is a

lingua franca in the Anglophone part of the country as well as in most sections of the Francophone part of the country, and about 49% of respondents agree that CP should be made one of Cameroon's official languages. For NP and CP, geographical location is a factor, as attitudes in northern Nigeria and in the Francophone part of Cameroon are generally less favourable towards NP and CP as official languages/lingua franca (cf. Mann 2011, Bobda & Wolf 2003). With regard to GP, negative attitudes towards it as an official language/lingua franca constitute one of the effects of comparatively exceptional positive attitudes towards English (cf. Huber 1999).

Attitudes towards the WAPE varieties as national languages follow similar patterns of covert prestige. Studies (e.g., Elugbe 1995) observe that NP meets the various criteria for national languages which include neutrality, population, geographical spread and acceptability. Various studies (e.g., Elugbe 1995 and Deuber 2005) also show that NP is the most ethnically neutral language in Nigeria. However, the result of a survey conducted by Deuber (2005) in Lagos, an urban context among educated speakers of NP, shows that the number of respondents who agree that NP is a corrupt form of English is equal to the number of respondents who disagreed (22% each), while 53% of the respondents opted for a middle ground response ('Pidgin is similar to English, but it does have its own grammatical rules'). In comparison, of the languages in Schröder's (2003:196) survey of which languages have acquired the status of a national language, CP ranked the highest with 29.1% . Both NP and CP fulfil the major criteria for national languages, except in terms of the acceptability criterion where attitudes are not as favourable

(cf. Elugbe 1995, Deuber 2005, Schröder 2003). However, the fact that NP is viewed as an 'indigenous' language (Elugbe 1995: 291), and CP as more African than the official European languages (Schröder 2003:196), shows that attitudes towards them are favourable. GP is the least eligible, as it is yet to acquire the status of a predominant lingua franca as a prerequisite.

Findings of attitudes towards WAPE varieties as a medium of education are also varied. For NP, location is a factor, as attitudes towards it as a medium of education are more favourable in parts of the country where NP is the lingua franca. In their survey of the Delta region, Schnukal & Marchese (1983) report that 40% of their respondents (under 15 years) responded positively; Oloruntoba's (1992) survey of Benin, Sapele and Warri reported a positive response from 52% of the respondents. Mann's (2011) survey of northern states had positive responses from only 18.3% of the respondents compared with 28% from the southern states. Gani-Ikilama (1990: 225) notes that the most common basis for objection to the use of NP in education is the notion that it will interfere with the acquisition of English. In comparison, attitudes towards CP as a medium of education are less favourable, while they are negative for GP. Atechi's survey of attitudes towards CP as a medium of instruction shows that only 31% agree that it should be used in schools. Schröder's (2003: 245) results are similar to Atechi's (2011), as a greater majority (89.6%) do not think CP should be used in schools.

The findings confirm that *attitudes* towards appropriate use of codes in a speech community have a high correlation with their *functional* distribution and the relative *social status* of their speakers (e.g., Saville-Troike 1982:185).While NP and CP's predominance in terms of their function as lingua franca

contributes to the more positive attitudes towards them, GP's non-dominant inter-ethnic communication function contributes to the less positive attitudes towards it (cf. Simo Bobda & Wolf 2003).

The most relatively favourable attitudes are towards NP, both as an official language/lingua franca and as a national language.It is followed by CP, while GP shows the least favourable attitudes. The findings of this study corroborate Huber's (1999: 160) observation that there is a positive perception among Ghanaians that Nigeria has 'the best and real Pidgin', and that it stems from the belief that the development of GP in Ghana is a result of the influence of NP. They also substantiate his observations 1) that attitudes towards GP are more negative than those towards NP in Nigeria, particularly among the educated elite; and 2) that attitudes towards NP and CP are more similar than those towards GP. The higher degree of stigmatisation observed in GP, in comparison with NP and CP, is a reflection that GP is still in the early stages of development, thus corroborating Huber's assessment of GP that (1999:158) 'the position of pidgin in Ghana mirrors that of Nigeria in the 1960s'. These observations indicate that there is a correlation between predominant functions and attitudes towards the WAPE varieties.

A comparative analysis of attitudes towards WAPE varieties therefore confirms Peter & Wolf's (2007:2) observations that there are 'different attitudes towards Pidgin English that prevail in Ghana, Nigeria and Cameroon. Researchers agree that in Ghana WAPE is held in the lowest esteem, while it has the widest acceptance in Nigeria; WAPE in Cameroon seems to range somewhere in the middle'. The expanding functions of NP and CP are a positive indication of a concomitant shift in attitudes towards greater acceptability of WAPE varieties.

Language development

WAPE varieties function mainly as spoken languages. However, the expansion of their functions and the evolvement of attitudes towards them has made language development necessary. Ferguson (1968, cited in Deuber 2005: 52) distinguished three dimensions for evaluating language development (corpus planning activities):graphisation, standardisation and modernisation. Indeed, language in written form is considered a significant factor, and consequently the next step in the maintenance and development of spoken languages (cf. Bendor-Samuel 1996), since codified languages attract higher status and functions. However, none of the WAPE varieties enjoys official recognition or has accepted standardised orthographies, even though they all have a history of literarydevelopment and an increasing literate population who have facilitated the expansion of their functions into more domains. For example, NP is characterised by etymological-based writing practices that follow the English writing system, while linguists have proposed phonemic based writing systems that depict NP as a language in its own right, independent from its English lexifier (e.g., Mafeni 1971, Elugbe & Omamor 1991, Faraclas 1996, Literacy International 2007, and *Naija* Language Academy (NLA)[9] 2010).The issues that arise from non-standardisation include inconsistent and highly variable writing and spelling systems. Another aspect of language development, which refers to status planning activities, involves making decisions to expand, restrict or assign particular functions to a language. Currently, these decisions evolve from speakers' usage practices, but are not officially guided in any coordinated fashion.

The issues highlighted in previous studies confirm Sebba's (1997) observations about four major problems that make it difficult for pidgins and creoles to become standardised languages, namely their low status; their similarity with their lexifiers (which causes them to be perceived as inferior); their variable nature; and the adoption of a model/variety for their standardisation. In view of negative perceptions by the greater majority towards the use of WAPE varieties in schools, any language development effort to promote their use will have to take into account the various concerns expressed about the perceived detrimental effects of their use on the acquisition of languages of upward social mobility. Simo-Bobda &Wolf (2003) note that many, especially the elite and teachers, will need to be convinced of the benefits to be accrued from developing the pidgin to function as an official language or as a medium of education. However, Elugbe & Omamor (1991) argue for a broad view of literacy that includes other languages apart from English for communicative purposes and national development. Since 'people are best reached in their language or that of the immediate community', they recommend the inclusion of NP for programmes that are designed to promote literacy, such as Adult Literacy (1991: 137). The current realities in Nigeria, for example, show that the government and its agencies engage intranslating information from English into the local languages and Nigerian Pidgin. Similarly, Gani-Ikilama (1990) and Schröder (2003) recommend the development of NP and CP respectively as tools to facilitate the acquisition of the languages of education, at least at the basic/primary levels. In line with lessons from the African American Vernacular English (AAVE)

experience, this study advocates the adoption of a curriculum that incorporates the differences between WAPE varieties and Standard English to help children transit from the language of the home or community to the language of formal education (cf. Migge et al 2010).While NP, and to a fair extent CP, has enjoyed a greater degree of development as a result of extensive research, attitudes towards GP have largely impeded its development. Hence, GP is the least developed of the three varieties with regard to corpus and status planning research activities.

6. Conclusion

Drawing on previous studies that provide socio-linguistic descriptions of three WAPE varieties, the major goal of this study has been to account for the similarities and differences in domains of use,functions and attitudes that have shaped their sociolinguistic status. The study confirms Adegbija's (1994) observation that 'there is a close link between history, language policies, social interactions and the functions and uses of languages in the shaping of the socio-linguistic' status of WAPE varieties. There is a vertical connection within each variety and a horizontal relationship across the varieties in the socio-histories, demographic profiles and language policies of the WAPE varieties shaping their use, functions and attitudes towards them and their subsequent development. Despite the similarities in their socio-histories, demographic and sociolinguistic contexts, the observed differences in the outcome in their use, functions and attitudes towards them confirm 'the unpredictable nature of socio-historical forces which cause a pull in different directions' (Adegbija 1994: 47).

Taken together, the findings of this study show that a combination of sociolinguistic forces and factors has shaped the current status of the WAPE varieties. For example, the effects of NP's earlier and direct exposure to Krio influences for aconsiderable period of time; its more heterogenous linguistic and demographic context; a pluralistic language policy; a triglossic language situation; and the larger population of speakers who use NP as a first/primary language, have contributed to its being the most developed of the WAPE varieties. In contrast, under similar sociohistorical, demographic and sociolinguistic contexts, a diglossic language situation and a particularly high value attributed to English have contributed to GP's status as the least developed of the WAPE varieties. While CP shares similarities with NP and GP in terms of sociohistorical, demographic and sociolinguistic contexts, and with NP in terms of a growing population of first language speakers, it also differs from NP and GP with regard to its language situation which is affected by its bilingual language policy, thus influencing its status as a developed WAPE variety.

In line with Lanehart's (2001: 4) observations about language and African American English compared to WAPE varieties, this study has provided a holistic view of the interrelatedness of the various aspects of their sociolinguistic development and why speakers of WAPE varieties 'continue to speak it despite antagonistic pressures socially, economically, educationally, and otherwise'. While official recognition in their current sociolinguistic contexts will certainly increase positive attitudes towards WAPE varieties, the nature of their expansion indicates that it is the speakers and their communication needs that determine the direction of development. For example, NP and CP have continued to expand into more formal domains and functions, and attitudes towards them are changing in spite of stigmatisation, lack of codification and official recognition.

Age or generation are primary variables that affect the use, functions and attitudes towards WAPE varieties. The study shows that generally, the younger generation had more positive attitudes and attributed more prestige to the use of WAPE varieties than the older generation, especially the educated conservative elite, who had more negative attitudes. The younger generation are also the primary agents of expansion into more domains of use. Wolf (2001: 192) confirms the importance of the youth as a major factor when he states that linguistic usage of children [and youth in general] reflects current developments and is the best indicator to predict future trends. Future research should focus on this section of the population, as their patterns of language behaviour constitute a point of reference for future spread and expansion of the WAPE varieties. Huber (1999: 156) notes for GP that 'a comparison of the status of GhaPE [GP] with that of Pidgin in Nigeria reveals interesting similarities and differences. It may also point to future sociolinguistic developments of Pidgin in Ghana'. By extension, a comparison of similarities and differences in the status of the WAPE varieties also offers interesting indications of their future sociolinguistic developments. By focusing on the sociolinguistic aspect of WAPE varieties, this study contributes to a greater understanding of the nature and sociolinguistic status of the WAPE varieties that make up the continuum to inform its future development.

Notes

The use of postpositional dʧm as a plural marker; the use of *na* as a copula, as focus marker, and as intensifier; the use of *dʧn* as retrospective marker; the use of *bin* as tense marker are found in NP and CP, but not in GP. In pronoun system: *Ji* as the third person singular pronoun is found in CP, but not in GP and NP. *una* as the second person plural pronoun is found in NP and CP (as *wuna*) but not in GP*mi* as (unmarked) subject pronoun and *mi* as possessive pronoun are found in NP, but not in GP and CP (cf. Peter & Wolf 2007: 17).

[2] Reviewer's comment: There was a strong Nigerian influence through the police and the military – often referred to as Abongo brofo (the English of the military/police). Today the barracks are still pidgin speaking. There was also a considerable presence of Nigerian traders – from the riverine states and Yoruba speaking areas. Accra had a 'Lagos Town' where pidgin was used.

[3] Unlike NP and CP, GP is not listed in Ethnologue as one of Ghana's languages (Lewis 2009).

[4] Reviewer's comment: Hausa is actually more prevalent and spoken by more people today in the big zongos of the southern cities.

[5] The model is based on the fact that, in multilingual situations, speakers learn another language apart from their first language for instrumental or integrative purposes. At the local/regional level therefore, several indigenous languages will be in use with one regional language as a second language. The language use at different levels of communication is dependent on a number of factors including the heterogenous nature of the context, the functional load, the participants, setting, topic etc. In general, NP is used alongside the other languages at these levels of communication.

[6] This function is best understood in the light of Marchese & Schnukal's 'functional' definition of a creole as a 'language of pidgin origin which must fulfil an 'expressive' function for individuals in a speech community'. This definition is meant to replace the traditional definition of a creole which requires identifying a speaker's first language and as M&S have pointed out, it is difficult to determine a child's first language in a multilingual setting where several languages are acquired at the same time, .e.g., similar functions that a primary or first language fulfils.

[7] Ehrihabor's (2011, 2012) collection of poems was published using *Naija* Language Academy's ethnophonemic based writing system. Mercy Ministries Bible Translation project is in collaboration with Literacy International. Literacy International has produced two literacy primers for the learning and teaching of NP.

[8] The reviewer of this paper confirms this distinction and refers to the educated variety as 'Ghanaian Student Pidgin'.

[9] The *Naija Langwej Akademi* (NLA) was inaugurated in July 2009 in collaboration with the French Research Institute (IFRA). **The academy was established to** coordinate research in NP for the promotion and standardisation of NP, produce a reference grammar and a dictionary. The academy is currently engaged in corpus development.

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On the origins of locative *for* in West African Pidgin English: A componential approach

Micah Corum[1]

Abstract

This paper discusses possible origins of locative **for** *in West African Pidgin Englishes. The development of* **for** *is framed componentially, that is, in terms of deriving its constructional meaning from different components that sustained linguistic and cultural contact along the Upper and Lower Guinea Coasts during the Early Modern Period (1500-1800) among West African, Portuguese, Afro-Portuguese, British and Afro-British populations and the sailing populations of both official naval vessels of the British and Portuguese Empires and privateering ships.*

1. Introduction

This paper investigates traces of contact in the emergence of locative *for* in West African Pidgin English. We take a "componential approach" to the formation of the construction in various West African Pidgin Englishes (Hancock 1986, 1993, 1994) and discuss how the construction would have developed in the Early Modern Period from prolonged linguistic contact with Upper and Lower Guinea Coast languages, the Portuguese Creoles and the regional varieties of English that were spoken on board both the official naval vessels of the British Empire and privateering ships. Thus, following Hancock, a division of the linguistic components is made as follows: the creole component, the Guinea Coast component, and the English component. Convergence among the three components led to the formation of *for* as the prototypical locative construction in West African Pidgin Englishes.

1.1 The general locative construction

In all West African pidgin and Creole languages, there exists a polysemous locative construction that conveys a general concept of space. Today the construction is realized as *na* in Portuguese-lexifier Creole languages and certain English-lexifier creole languages spoken from Guinea Bissau to Equatorial Guinea, and as *for* in West African English-lexifier *pidgincreoles* in Ghana, Nigeria and Cameroon (Bakker, 2008). Apart from pidgins and creoles, the general locative construction appears in Niger-Congo languages. Table 1 lists locative constructions in some Lower Guinea coastal languages and West African Pidgins and Creoles.

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Table 1. West African Coastal Languages and Their Locative Constructions

Language	General Locative Construction	Locative Copula Construction
English-lexifier Pidgin/Creole		
Ghanaian Pidgin English	for	dé
Nigerian Pidgin	for	dé
Kamtok	for	dé
Pichi	na	dé
Kwa		
Akan	wʧ	wʧ
Ewe	le	le
Fon	dò	dò
West Benue-Congo		
Yoruba	ní ~ n', l'	wà
Igbo	na	ibì, ọ̀nọ̀
East Benue-Congo		
Efik	ké ~ k'	du
Ijoid		
Kolokuma	ọ	tími, emí
Bantu		
Duala	o	bé
Mpongwe go	ni~na~ne	ne, (a)re

As Table 1 shows, the general locative construction derives its form from an identical locative copula in Kwa languages. In other languages, including the pidgin and Creole languages, the origin of the general locative construction is not as transparent. It can be stated with confidence, though, that the general locative construction in West African Pidgin and Creole languages is not derived from the locative copula construction. In addition to the obvious differences in form between *for* and the locative copula *de*, the historical uses of the two constructions are incompatible. The general locative construction appeared in Pidgin English more than two centuries before the first attestation of the locative copula *de* in 1897 (Huber 2011: slide 16). The emergence of *for* should not be argued for in terms of internal linguistic motivation then. The general locative construction is assumed in this paper to have been modelled on uses of similar constructions in languages that contributed to the development of West African Pidgin Englishes. Both Portuguese and Guinea Coast languages contributed to the formation of *na* in Portuguese-lexifier Creoles. This paper implies that *na* in the Portuguese Creoles would have served as a springboard for a general locative construction to emerge in the English-based pidgins of the Lower Guinea Coast. The orthography and abbreviations used in the linguistic examples below appear as they do in the works from which they were taken. The authors' glosses are retained so that the meanings that had been assigned to a morpheme, lexical item or other construction would not be lost. Portuguese and Guinea Coast languages contributed to the formation of *na* in Portuguese-lexifier Creoles. This paper implies that *na* in the Portuguese Creoles would have served as a springboard for a general locative

construction to emerge in the English-based pidgins of the Lower Guinea Coast. The orthography and abbreviations used in the linguistic examples below appear as they do in the works from which they were taken. The authors' glosses are retained so that the meanings that had been assigned to a morpheme, lexical item or other construction would not be lost.

2.1 Portuguese-lexifier Creole component

Portuguese-lexifier Creoles could be found along the Lower Guinea Coast throughout the Early Modern Period (Barbot 1732; Atkins 1735; Protten 1764). In reference to the linguistic situation on the Gold Coast in the mid 18th century, Christian Protten remarked on:

> Fante-eller Aming-Sprog, som strax sagt er, fra Axim lige indtil Riovolta, Crepe eller Popo, naest det Neger-Portugisisk, forstaaet, talt og af alle Sorte som et General-Sprog. Fante or Amina language which, quickly said, is understood and spoken from Axim even to River Volta, Crepe or Popo, next to the Negro- Portuguese [pidgin, i.e.] by all sorts [of people] as a general language (Trutenau, 1971: 5-6, original brackets).

Merchants on the Lower Guinea Coast would have carried over remnants of the Portuguese varieties when they interacted on a more regular basis with English and Dutch traders at the beginning of the 18th century. Even the Asante traders from inland would have used elements of the Portuguese variety when dealing in English, as Huber surmises:

> After about 1700, the hinterland Akanists must also have started to use this English-lexicon variety when coming to the coast, perhaps by relexification of their traditional Portuguese jargon. (1999: 45)

It cannot be said with certainty that *na* was the general locative construction *par excellence* in 17th century Portuguese Creole–there is no documentation of the Creole during that time; the first documents of Kriyol, for example, are from the 19th century (Bocandé 1849; Schuchardt 1888). However, the construction occurs in many of the Atlantic creoles that are believed to have an Upper Guinea origin (Hancock 1986; Martinus 1997; Jacobs 2009). If features of the core grammar of Papiamentu can be linked to language (Jacobs 2009: 27-31), then one can assume those grammatical features were in place much earlier in the Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde varieties. Taking this as a point of departure, we infer that persons on the Gold Coast who were familiar with the "Negro- Portuguese" language that Protten refers to, would have used *na* in locative constructions when referring to space in a general way. In fact, by Protten's time at least, it had already emerged as the prototypical marker for locative relations in the Surinamese Creole varieties.

The construction was recorded in a court deposition in 1745 and glossed as a preposition meaning "in, up, at," in early Sranan (Van den Berg 2000: 92). No Creolist would suggest that the Portuguese-lexifier Creoles inherited *na* from the importation of creole languages from the Americas to West Africa, an issue that seems to be certain for Krio (Huber 1999a). On the contrary, the locative construction *na* was carried across the Atlantic to the Caribbean and across the Indian Ocean to Asia, where it survives in various forms in Afro-Caribbean creole languages, Philippine Creole Spanish, and Indo Portuguese creoles (Forman 1988). The issue at hand, then, is to identify possible local sources for the general locative construction *na* in the Portuguese-lexifier

Creoles. These same sources could have potentially influenced the formation of locative *for* in Pidgin English.

Kihm believes that *na* in the Portuguese-based Creoles is derived from an item in the lexifier language (1994: 69):

> Na, from Portuguese *na* 'in the (feminine)', appears as the locative preposition *par excellence,* encoding as it does the spatial relations BE-INSIDE (*i sta na kwartu* 'S/he's in the room'), BE-ON-THE-SURFACE (i sta na mesa 'It's on the table'), BE-AT-A-LOCATION (*i sta na fera* 'She's at the market'. Concerning the first of these relations, na has a broader meaning than *dentru di* as it is not limited to clear-cut containers or locales. For instance, one may say *dentru di kwartu* or *dentru di kasoti* 'inside the box' as well as *na kwartu orna kasoti*. But *ị̀ i na dita dentru di kama* 'She's lying inside the bed' is not a proper alternative to i *na dita na kama* 'S/he's lying in bed.'

Many Atlantic and Mande languages, however, have lexical items that are similar in meaning and sometimes identical in form (e.g., Sérèr, Bambara, and Susu) to the locative construction *na* in the Portuguese-lexifier creoles. Even more, there are polysemous items in languages of the Lower Guinea Coast and one of the functions of those items is to convey a general notion of spatial relations between entities. Igbo, for example, uses *ná* in this general locative construction, which is "one of the few words in Igbo that can be called prepositions…translatable as 'at, on, in, to'" (Lord 1993: 14). The example in (1) shows the particle *ná* as a preposition in Igbo (ibid), which is similar to the locative item in example (2) taken from Kriyol (Kihm, 1994: 69):

1) *ó bì ná oká*
he live at Awka
'He lives at Awka.'

2) *Omi sinti kusa ngata i na garganti*
man feel thing attach him at neck
'The man felt that something was attached at his neck.'

Taylor (1971) has argued that *na* in Creole varieties holds a broader semantic range than the preposition in Portuguese. In addition to Igbo, though, there are numerous locative structures from Guinea Coast languages that have functions resembling the locative construction in the Portuguese-lexifier creoles. We begin with those that are identical in form and then move on to items that are different in form, but mirror the construction in the creoles in terms of function.

2.1.1 Guinea Coast contributions to locative *na* in West African creole languages

Lord suggests that a Proto-Niger-Congo verb *na* meaning *be at* is the source for many of the conjunctions, comitative prepositions, locative verbs/prepositions, incompletive aspect particles, and structures used in possession constructions that are found in Benue- Kwa languages today (1993: 30, 50; see also Welmers 1973: 312). Traces of the Proto-Niger-Congo verb can be found in locative verbs/prepositions, possessive verbs, and aspect particles in West African languages spoken along the Guinea Coasts as far as Gabon.

Mpongwe, a coastal language of Gabon, uses both *na* and *go* as two polysemous locative particles (Wilson 1847). In Douala, a coastal Bantu language of Cameroon, there is a lexical

construction similar in form and meaning to the general locativeconstruction *na* in the Portuguese creoles. Saker calls *na* in Douala a dative case marker (1855: 37). He glosses the dative case marker *na* as *according to*, *concerning*, *with*, *from*, *for*, and *towards* (ibid). Saker also notes that adverbs in Douala can be constructed by prefixing *na* to an abstract noun. Saker provides the following example, "Na janwa, 'Wisely,' lit. with wisdom. He speaks truly, A makwala na mbadi" (1855: 35). Yoruba has a similar construction with *ni* and West African Pidgin Englishes use *for* in this way.

Moving west along the coast, the same construction can be found in Ọ̀hanọ̀ an Ijoid language of Nigeria. Blench lists only two items in the dictionary of Ọ̀hanọ̀ that he compiled: ṅ*i̱* , which means *on* and *in*, and *na,* a conjunction meaning *and* and a preposition meaning *with* (2005: 70). In Ga, *na* functions as an adposition. Zimmerman (1858: 70) described it in one entry as *mouth*, which serves as "a postposition and adverb expressing the relation of place and by tropic use also that of time and manner (§ 29) as: at, to, near, according, according to; at the point of; along etc."

In Susu, an Atlantic language spoken on the coast of Sierra Leone, *na* is the copular verb *to be* (Houis 1963: 114). Duport recorded instances of the language almost a century earlier. He glossed a postposition *ra* meaning "with, or for," which becomes *na* in certain linguistic environments (1865: 15). As an adverb, the *na* construction means *there* in Susu (Duport 1865: 24). Similarly, certain Kru languages employ *na* as an affix that roughly means "place" (Koelle 1854).

The fact that there are remnants of various forms of the Proto-Niger-Congo verb *na* in Guinea Coast languages and those structures resemble the functions of *na* in the Portuguese Creoles does not prove substrate influence on the emergence of the general locative construction in Portuguese creoles, though it does not hurt the argument either, which had been made early on by Taylor (1960: 157). This paper does not argue that those identical structures were the sources from which the Portuguese developed their general locative construction. The fact that thoseconstructions exist in the languages that came into contact with the "Negro Portuguese" that Protten refers to provided the motivation for the use of a multiple meaning-function construction in the Portuguese varieties that were used by speakers of Douala, Igbo, Ga, Kru languages, Susu, Bambara, and Sérèr. Aside from identical forms of the locative construction in Portuguese creoles and Guinea Coast languages, there are also numerous semantic similarities in the use of locative structures in the Upper and Lower Guinea Coast languages. Those locative structures are used as general locative constructions and can be considered an areal feature of the languages of the Guinea Coast.

3. The general locative construction as an areal feature of Guinea Coast component

The languages of the Guinea Coast contain items that can be considered general locative constructions. The following sections explore how the constructions are similar to locative *na* and *for* in West African Pidgin and Creole languages.

3.1 The Upper Guinea Languages

Hancock (1986) provides a map that illustrates the location of early *Lançado* settlements along the Upper Guinea Coast in the 17th and 18th centuries where an early creole English emerged. The language called Guinea Coast Creole English was used alongside Atlantic and Mande coastal languages, as seen in Figure 1 below. Table 2 provides the general locative constructions that appear in the languages that Hancock lists as pertinent to the areas where the early *Lançado* settlements were located. Interestingly, a polysemous locative item exists in the majority of the languages that Hancock includes in his map.
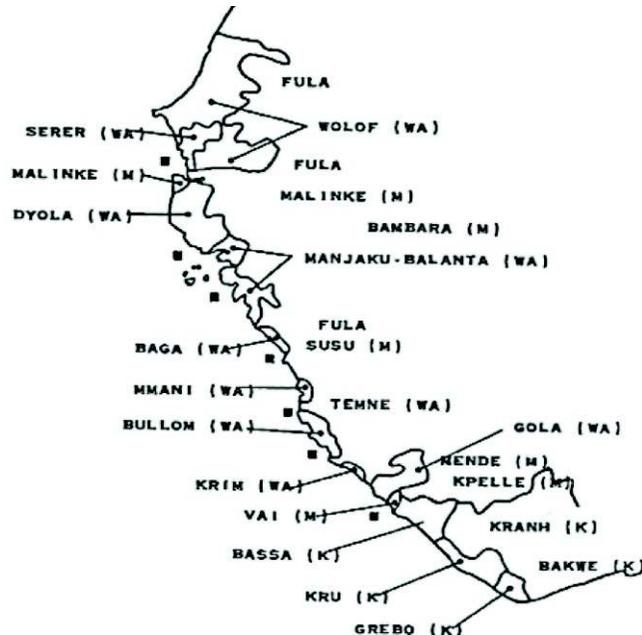

Figure 1. Distribution of languages along the Upper and Lower Guinea Coasts. 17th & 18th Century settlements Indicated with ■ (Taken from Hancock 1986: 89)

Table 2. General locative constructions in Upper and Lower Guinea Coast languages.

Niger Congo Languages	General Locative Construction
Wolof (Gamble, 1963)	*Chi*: at, in, to, etc. (Gamble, p. 154). *Chi* is often omitted in sentences like "he is at home" (Gamble, p. 155).
Sérèr (Senghor, 1963)	*na, nɔ* : (Senghor, p. 291)
Malinke (Abiven, 1906)	*to* : *to* occurs in postnominal position and can mean "en, dans, sur, pendant….Syn. *la, ma, na*" (Abiven, p. 169)
Dyola (Diola Fogny) (Sapir,1965)	*di* : "indicates proximity and can be glossed…as 'on', 'in', 'with', etc." (Sapir, p. 88).
Papel (Pp), Manjaco (Mj), Mancanha (Mc) (Wilson, 2007)	*rʂ* (Pp), *tʂ ~ d* (Mj, Mc) : locative markers meaning "place" (Wilson, 2007, p. 72). Mc contrasts prepositions *tʂəə* "at (here)" and *dəə* "at (there)", while Pp uses *rʂəə* "at (here)" (ibid).
Balanta (Wilson, 2007)	*a-* : "at" (Wilson, p. 83)
Susu (Duport, 1865; Houis, 1963)	*ma*: "on, upon, at" (Duport, 1865, p. 14). Duport claims that "*ma* is often used after the place to express 'at'" (p. 27)
Fula (Swift et al., 1965)	*to, he* : "spatial relations in Fula are commonly expressed by a phrase with *to* plus a noun. Instead of *to*, other words such as *he* 'on, with' are also used" (Swift et al., p. 303).
Temne, Baga Sitemu (Schlenker, 1864; Wilson, 2007; Kamarah, 2007)	*ka* : general locative marker (Wilson, p. 158; Schlenker, p. 241); *ro, nɔ*: locative morphemes glossed as "to, at, from, etc." (Kamarah, p. 135; Wilson, pp. 158-159).
Bullom (Nyländer, 1814); Mmani, Krim (Childs, 1995)	*ko~ku* : "to, at, in" in Bu (Nyländer, pp. 91-92). *ó* : general locative preposition in Kisi, a language closely related to Krim and moribund Mmani (Childs, pp. 129-130).
Vai (Koelle, 1854; Welmers,1974)	*bà'à, ti-nà, mái, 'à* : relational nouns that are strictly adverbial complements; *bà'à* (refers to 'inherent location'); *ti-nà* (refers to 'location' in a more temporary sense); *mái* (refers "basically to 'overall surface', but is also used with references to the area beside or near the possessor" (Welmers, p. 50); *'à* (expresses 'association ' or 'involvement' with a situation or action); Koelle includes *mani* as one of the "original postpositions" that has the meanings "by, at, on, about, around" (p. 38).
Grebo (Payne, 1860; Innes,1966)	*ke* : there ; Innes states "postpositional phrases are common in adjunct position; those denoting place are commmonly preceded by *ke* 'there'" (pp. 106-107)

Two basic assumptions are made concerning the linguistic situation in and around the *Lançado* communities. The first one is confirmed by sociohistorical research, but is common knowledge about West African communities in general: the *Lançado* communities that Hancock identifies would have had multilingual speakers of Portuguese-lexifier Creoles who would have spoken one or more of the languages that surrounded their communities (Kihm 1994: 4-5). The second assumption relies on outcomes of language mixing in multilingual settings: the Atlantic and Mande coastal languages spoken around *Lançado* communities would have influenced aspects of the emerging grammar in Portuguese-lexifier Creole languages and Guinea Coast Creole English. Since Mande, Atlantic, and Kru languages contained items that conveyed a general notion of location, it is not surprising that the Portuguese varieties and Guinea Coast Creole English inherited similar constructions as well. The Upper Guinea coastal languages were not the only linguistic source for the Portuguese varieties. The contribution of the Lower Guinea Coast languages on the Upper Guinea Creoles must not be underestimated. General spatial grams in Lower Guinea Coast languages could have influenced locative *na* in Portuguese creole varieties and Guinea Coast Creole English too, as briefly mentioned in section 2.1 above.

Portuguese Creole varieties were in use along the Upper and Lower Guinea Coasts by the end of the 17th century. Barbot, a 1685 French Huguenot refugee, remarks on language use on the Gold Coast:

> The Fetu [Afutu] language being most generally understood at the Gold Coast amongst the Blacks, as I have said before; I have made a collection of some familiar words and phrases, which shall be found in the supplement.... besides the other languages, in which we

> can talk to them: for many of the coast Blacks speak a little English, or Dutch; and for the most part speak to us in a sort of Lingua Franca, or broken Portuguese and French. (1732: 249)

The Lower Guinea coastal languages indigenous to the areas where Europeans had recorded a Portuguese Creole language should be included as an ingredient of the Guinea Coast component as well. In addition to their influence on locative *na* in the early Portuguese varieties, those languages would have motivated locative *for* in Pidgin Englishes after Portuguese Creole had lost linguistic strength in those areas at some point in the 18th century.

3.2 The Lower Guinea languages

The attention is now turned away from the semantic and formal similarities in the use of locative particles in Atlantic and Mande languages and the locative construction *na* in creole varieties of the Upper Guinea Coast, to focus on locative structures in the Lower Guinea coastal languages that could have influenced the use of locative *for* in West African Pidgin English.

3.2.1 Certain Bantu and East Benue-Congo languages

In addition to *na*, which provides a wide range of meanings, Douala has a spatial gram *o*. Kolokuma, an Ijoid language of Nigeria, contains the same grammatical morpheme (Williamson 1965: 38). The semantics of *o* in Douala and Kolokuma matches the general meanings that *for* expresses in West African Pidgin English. Saker translates it as *about, around, in, into, to,* and *unto* (1855: 37). The locative compound is also used in more complex constructions in Douala. For example, the deictic adverb *there* is a compound word *une* or *one*, which means *at yonder place* (Saker 1855: 35). The *o* + *ne* construction in Saker's grammar looks similar to the *for* + deictic *de* constructions

that are often used in Nigerian Pidgin and Ghanaian Pidgin English.

Ibibio and Efik have a lexical item *ke* that serves a multipurpose locative function (Anyanwu 2010; Una 1900), though Efik also has a construction *ye* that has a general locative meaning as well (Una 1900: 29). With regard to *ke*, Una states, "'ke' seems to be infinite in its capacity for producing prepositional   meanings. It is sometimes combined with nouns or verbs to form prepositions" (1900: 29). The same combination occurs with *na* in the Portuguese-lexifier Creole languages and in Saramaccan and Sranan. Similarly, *for* combines with nouns to form "complex prepositions" in the pidgincreoles, for example *for on top*, *for inside*, and *for im side* (Faraclas 1996; Mann 1993). The constructions discussed in this section support a case for the domestic origin of locative *for* that were used in the Pidgin English in the Calabar area or in Cameroon by the end of the Early Modern Period (Fayer, 1982).

3.2.2 Some West Benue-Congo languages

Yoruba contains a locative-relational marker that is similar to the associative function of *for* in West African Pidgin Englishes when the construction co-occurs with the locative copula *de*. In Yoruba, as in many Benue-Kwa languages, possessive constructions share semantic and syntactic characteristics with locative structures. Lord provides the following example (1993: 13):

3)   *ó ní owó*
          he have money.
          'He has money.'

Historically, this could be derived from a construction that meant *Money is at him*. That would be compatible with Lord's argument concerning the development of the Yoruba locative

structure *ní*, which she believes is "historically derived from a former locative verb *ní*, related to the homophonous verb of possession" (1993: l13). Crowther also provides an example of possession in his grammar of Yoruba: "'to have money', *lówo*; 'to have or possess heaven', *lị run*'" (1852: 8). In Yoruba, /l/ and /n/ are variants of the same locative construction. Crowther and Lord's examples demonstrate the close relationship that exists for constructions of possession and location in Yoruba. Similar to the Douala example above, the spatial gram *ní* in Yoruba can also be used before adverbs, as shown in the following example (Lord 1993: 20, originally in Awobuluyi 1978: 77):

4)   Ayé ń lǪní m.èlǪm.èlǪ
          Life PROG go at smoothness
          'Life went on smoothly."
A similar construction is found in Nigerian Pidgin (Faraclas 1996: 145):

5)   A byud haws fòr smol-smol
          Isp buildF house p be small/nR
          'I built the house slowly.'
Temne can form the same construction using locative *ka*, as seen in the more than 100 examples that Schlenker lists in his grammar (1864: 48-60).

3.2.3 Gbe influence
In Ewe, *pé* serves as a relational noun for *place* or *area*. It has grammaticalized into a possessive marker, according to Heine (1997: 93):

6)   Kofí pé xtʃ
          Kofi of house
          'Kofi's house' (Historically: 'The house at Kofi['s place]')