African Adaptation Processes in English: A Comparative Analysis of Nigerian Pidgin English and Kenyan "Engsh"

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Abstract

The multilingual situation in Africa has led to the development of 'hybrid' languages in multi-lingual and multi-cultural situations. These hybrid languages are sometimes associated with urban youth born and bred in multicultural environments. In this category we place the Kenyan variety referred to as 'Engsh'. We compared this hybrid urban language with Nigerian Pidgin English to establish whether there are any sociolinguistic similarities between the two African indigenized varieties of English. This entailed analyzing the grammar of the two varieties then scrutinizing the semantic shift processes to assess whether the languages express any African world view in terms of semantic interpretation. The significance of this study is to demonstrate the extent to which African speakers have adapted the grammar and lexicon of English (a former colonial language) to reflect their unique African speech styles and cultural experiences

Key terms: pidgins, hybrids, adaptation, indigenization processes, Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE), Engsh, Sheng

1. Introduction

The sociolinguistic situation that gave rise to the development of Nigerian Pidgin English (henceforth, NPE) and Kenyan Engsh (henceforth, Engsh) varieties differ radically. Before we engage in a discussion of these differences, it is important that we distinguish between: (i) a pidgin; (ii) a lingua franca; and (iii) hybrid language. Reinecke (1938:108) provides a general term for pidgins, creoles, jargons, lingua franca(s*)*, and makeshift languages (including hybrid languages like Engsh) as: *"… marginal languages [that] arise in areas of pronounced culture contacts, in situations where, broadly speaking, it is impossible or impracticable for the peoples concerned to learn each other's language well. Their structure (…) is greatly broken down and simplified."*

De Camp (1971:24) defines a pidgin as: *"…a contact vernacular, normally not the native language of its speakers. It is used in trading or in any situation requiring communication between persons who do not speak each other's native languages. It is characterized by a limited vocabulary, an   elimination of many grammatical devices such as number and gender, and a drastic reduction of redundant features."* Trainor (1992:224) provides an exposition on the history and sociolinguistic development of renowned English dialects (which have been in existence long enough to be defined as creoles, and are now lingua franca

which he defines as follows: *"...a lingua franca...arises in order to facilitate communication between speakers of different languages, who are in sustained contact with each other, such as trade or plantation situations"*. Whereas NPE developed amongst people from different ethnic backgrounds with no common language (at the time), Engsh developed as an urban argot among youth who already had two established lingua franca(s) - namely, English (introduced by Britain and imposed during colonization) and Kiswahili (an East African lingua-franca). Kaviti (2013:254) explains the formation of the Engsh which she defines as a hybrid language as follows: *"...the development of hybrid languages attests to the innovativeness of a group of people who are faced with the need to break down language barriers and create a common means of communication."* This has been the case with the development of mixed urban languages in Nairobi. Kenya is a multilingual country where vernacular languages are associated with ethnic identity, cultural ties and traditional values. Kiswahili functions as both a national and official language and is the lingua franca of the masses living in the capital city of Nairobi. At the social level, English is generally perceived to be a prestigious language and mastery of it symbolizes refinement, good education and upward mobility. To reiterate, the primary distinction between a pidgin (NPE) and a hybrid (Engsh), lies in the sociolinguistic functions, how long they have been in existence, and grammatical structure of the two languages. Both pidgins and hybrids cannot be claimed as any single groups' mother tongue.[1] With reference to discourse and contextual aspects of use, pidgins are highly simplified contextually since they are limited in their social and primarily used in informal contexts. Hybrids too, are also limited in their social roles because not every speaker of English has performance and competence in it. Engsh evolved fairly recently in the late '70s, and still has not been generally accepted by language teachers, language policy makers and parents of the older generation who often dismiss Engsh as "bad English" and blame it for the falling standards of students' performance in English examinations.[2]

2. Key aspects on the origin of pidgins and hybrid languages

Numerous theories have been proposed on the origin of pidgins and creoles in the relevant literature. However, we have deliberately limited our discussion to highlighting the tenets of two theories which we considered most pertinent for the interpretation of data on the two varieties. Velupillai's (2015) provides useful definitions on pidgins, creoles and hybrid languages.[3] Of relevance to this study are the distinctions between the different terms of what defines the term "Language", the socio-historical settings and theories on the genesis of pidgins and creoles, as well as discussions on language variation. Wardhaugh's (1992) provides useful insights into the background sociolinguistic environments that give ride to the development of pidgins and creoles.[4] One interesting observation he makes is that *"...pidgins from very different parts of the world exhibit remarkable similarities in structure even when the Standard languages with which they are associated are quite different"*. (p.72).The implication is that all pidgins, regardless of their base languages, tend to share some morpho-syntactic and phonological simplification features. When pidgin

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[1] *The simplification processes will be demonstrated in the data analysis section. The examples of simplification processes apply to all the levels of linguistic analysis i.e. phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic levels as well as contextual aspects of discourse analysis.*
[2] *Sheng, which falls outside the scope of this study, is also blamed for the falling standard of Kiswahili-based examinations.*
[3] *Velupillai (2015) Contact Linguistics text presents a useful Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures and systematically includes extended pidgins and mixed languages of the world and a discussion of their linguistic features.*
[4] *Wardhaugh (1992) text entitled: Sociolinguistics*

grammars are compared at the level of their underlying matrix (base) languages, the pidgin grammars manifest characteristically simpler structures with regard to all levels of linguistic analysis (morphology, syntax, phonology and semantics). According to Sebba (1997:71), *"…this reduced structural system can be described using four principles or "design features" ascribed to pidgin grammars*. He outlines these features as follows: (i) The syntactic features of a pidgin reveal a lack of surface grammatical complexity; (ii) Pidgins lack morphological complexity; (iii) Pidgins have a preference for semantic transparency; (iv) Pidgins tend to have a reduced lexicon or vocabulary; and (v) Pidgins characteristically manifest a high degree of phonological simplicity.

Contact languages tend to share similarities even though they may be widely separated (geographically) and based on different lexifier languages which do not share the structural features that are common to pidgins and creoles. One explanation for this similarity could be because the majority of global pidgins and creoles owe their origin to an African sub-stratum. This in effect means that their structure tends to be similar because of the residues of specific features of ancestral African languages. This angle of reasoning regards the similarities as purely due to the influence from African languages spoken in the multi-linguistic area -either in the past or present day. Another explanation is that innate universal principles are involved in the formation of pidgins and creoles. For instance, grammatically they share the similarity of an absence of inflections, articles, tense markers, subordinate clauses, and other morphological markers found in standard languages. These grammatical similarities are referred to as 'universals' characteristically shared in the child acquisition of all languages. In essence, pidgins and creoles may be manifesting universal principles of language acquisition which are demonstrated in the development of 'adult' languages'. This explanation considers general language-learning strategies as universal, psycholinguistic processes that usually take place wherever a language is spoken non-natively. When commenting on the similarities of Africanized versions of English, Mesthrie (2006:114) proposed the following hypothesis about Black South African English: *"Black South African English shares a number of features with L2 English in other parts of sub-Saharan Africa….Such widespread similarities raise interesting questions regarding the role of a broad "living" Bantu substrate, complementary to, and integrated with other language processes involved in Second language learning and stabilization."*

A further position relevant to our discussion is the 'Linguistic Relativity Hypothesis', better known as the 'Sapir Whorf hypothesis first proposed by (Whorf, 1956) which, states that a language shapes the worldview of its users.[5] This hypothesis has been controversial ever since it was redefined by the American anthropologist and linguist Edward Sapir after his intense study of the Hopi language (an American Indian language), where he concluded that language has a strong influence on an individual and community's thought and perception. According to the Sapir Whorf hypothesis, speakers of different languages think and perceive reality in different ways and each language holds its own, unique world view. Using this hypothesis, the inference is that the evolution of urban codes and pidgins such as Engsh and NPE are largely influenced by the efforts and attitudes of its speakers – and for purposes of this study, both in Kenya and Nigeria – to reshape their variety of English to better express their local experiences, cultural orientations, thoughts and perceptions. Achebe (1975:62) alludes to this inevitable fact, especially if the

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[5] *This view was initially proposed by Humboldt cited in Whorf (1956) that there is a link between linguistics and formation of ideas.*

language was imposed on a group of people from a completely different environment and culture from where it was initially spoken as a mother tongue or First Language (L$_1$). He quite aptly expressed the motivation African speakers would have to adapt English to suit their experience for in his words: *I feel that the English language will be able to carry the weight of my African experience. However, it will have to be new English, still in full communion with its ancestral home but altered to suit its new African surroundings*.

In this study, we interpret this "altering process" to refer to the efforts by Kenyans and Nigerians to 'Africanize' English to better express their local worldviews.

3. The development of NPE and Engsh in Nigeria and Kenya

The difference between NPE and Engsh is that pidgins worldwide have been in existence much longer than hybrid languages and usually emerge from extended contact between groups of people who had no language in common, or whose languages were mutually unintelligible.[6] This was the motivation for the development of NPE. In such multi-linguistic situations, pidgins evolve because people from different ethnic backgrounds need to communicate with each other for instance, for work, or trading purposes. None of the ethnic groups learns the native language of the other ethnic groups for varied reasons such as lack of motivation, trust, or insufficient linguistic contact. On the other hand, hybrids start off as coded forms of communication formed by groups of people who more often than not, already have a lingua franca or alternative forms of communication but feel the need to have their own unique form of communication. Although a detailed analysis of the different varieties of English spoken in Kenya and Nigeria was not the primary purpose of this investigation, nevertheless, it is important for us to highlight some of the key studies that were reviewed and provided useful insights in the compilation of this paper.[7] One relevant study was conducted by Skandera (2003) which emphasized that whereas British missionaries arrived and initiated the teaching of English in East Africa as early as the 1850's, they did not start teaching English in West Africa until the 1880's. A large number of British settlers chose to settle in the British highlands of Kenya which were similar to the climate in the British Isles. Conversely, the climate in West Africa was considered "environmentally unfriendly" and less hospitable to the British settlers as compared to what the settlers were used to in the British isles. Consequently, fewer British immigrants settled in West Africa as compared to the huge numbers who settled in the cool Kenyan highlands. Skandera (2003:18) further argues that the large number of English native speakers in East Africa provided rich sources of English dialects to the East African natives. This was one of the reasons why the varieties of English used in Kenya remained relatively closer to the Standard forms of English used in England. During our data analysis, we justified this claim by examining the morpho-syntactic, phonology and lexicon of the two grammars to establish how far these forms of "African Englishes" had deviated from the British Standard.

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[6] *Holm (1988:4)*

[7] *Comprehensive studies on Kenyan English have been conducted by: Kembo-Sure (1991); Webb and Kembo Sure (2000); Abdulaziz (1991); Trudgill and Hannah (2002); Schmied (2004a); Michieka (2005); Okombo (1994); Kaviti (2013, 2015), etc.*

Hancock and Angogo (1982:305), in their comparison of the varieties of English spoken around East and West of Africa observe that the East African dialects of English did not deviate too far from the British Standard (particularly the Kenyan English dialects) because unlike the West African experience, East Africa already had a widespread lingua franca in the form of Kiswahili before the first European missionaries arrived. Hence, English did not have to be imposed to facilitate inter-ethnic or inter-racial communication which was the case in West Africa, where English had to be enforced due to the lack of any common lingua franca.

Not all varieties of English are spoken in the same way throughout Africa; this can be extended to the use of pidgins and hybrids as well. The terms *"Endogenous" vs. "Exogenous"* were originally coined up to distinguish between pidgins spoken around the world. According to Reinecke (1938): "*Endogenous pidgins are born from the contact between a native population and foreign traders, while exogenous pidgins develop from contact between non-indigenous populations, speaking mutually intelligible languages.*" Endogenous English-based pidgins like NPE developed over centuries with the primary purpose of trade languages amongst the native communities and foreign traders. These terms could also be used to distinguish between hybrid languages as well. One significant difference between NPE and Engsh is that whereas NPE developed amongst speakers of different vernacular languages with no lingua franca, Engsh developed in an environment where there were already two lingua franca(s) in use- namely, English and Kiswahili.[8] Hence, we associate Engsh with exogenous forms of communication since the people in question, though having different indigenous first languages, already had competence of mutually intelligible languages, though to different degrees of competence depending on variables such as background exposure and level of education.

4. Research Questions and Significant knowledge gaps

Linguists who have researched on the development of pidgins and creoles have documented the amazing similarities amongst them. Our research interest was to compare whether Engsh is in the early stages of evolving into a pidgin or is simply a random case of code-switching between two or more languages common in bilingual and multi-lingual settings.[9] Secondly, we sought to examine whether there were any similarities between the well-established Nigerian Pidgin English and the fairly recent Engsh, which emerged in the late '70s'-early '80s. This is the significant gap that our study sought to address. The research questions that guided the data collection and analysis process can be summarized as follows:

o   Do Engsh and Nigerian Pidgin English manifest any grammatical similarities?

o   Have Engsh and NPE been modified or simplified to reflect a distinct African world view?

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[8] *Before the enactment of Kenya's new Constitution in (2010), English functioned as the sole official language for conducting government business, the language of instruction in schools and universities and the language use by the English media. Kiswahili was the national language used by the common man in blue collar jobs and for national unity.*

[9] *In Kenya, the code-switching will most often be between the two official languages English and Kiswahili or between Kiswahili (which also functions as a national language) and indigenous African languages that serve as some of the over 40 mother tongues spoken in Kenya.*

5. Methodology

For purposes of this investigation, the data was collected from a class of forty (40) first year students attending a compulsory English Language and Communication class in an international university based in Kenya called Daystar University.[10] This s a private university, with most of the students having been born and bred in urban areas such as the city of Nairobi (Kenya) and thus, have been born and bred in middle-income households. The choice was deliberate because Engsh originated in the late '70s-early '80s in high and middle-income households. [11]The lower-income youth developed a coded language referred to as "Sheng"[12]. Daystar University also hosts international students including Nigerian students who proved useful in providing insights and data into NPE. The first task was to put the students in groups of 5 where they were expected to develop two short plays with an emphasis on communication rather than action - one play would be in Engsh, while the other would be in Standard (conventional) Kenyan English. The Engsh written and spoken data was then compared with NPE generated by five Nigerian students under the supervision of and one of the researchers authors of this study. Additional data on NPE was also gleaned from a literature review.

Each group was then given an assignment to develop two scripts on a topic of their choice. Once again, one script was to be in Engsh or NPE and the other in conventional Standard English. The purpose of this exercise was to demonstrate whether there was any regularity or underlying rules in the use of Engsh (similar to NPE) or alternatively, whether the language was simply a random case of code mixing.[13] The Engsh written and spoken data was then compared with NPE generated by five Nigerian students.[14]

6. Comparative Analysis of Engsh and NPE linguistic simplification and adaptation processes

The purpose of this section is to provide concrete data to demonstrate the efforts African speakers have made to mould a foreign language to make it lose some it "foreignness" and bring it closer to their indigenous African languages. This is achieved by substituting "unfamiliar" consonants, vowels and diphthong sequences with those that easily "roll off" their tongues – basically, those sounds identical (or at least similar) with regard to phonetically relevant parameters.[15]

We chose firstly, to compare the phonological simplification processes in the two languages vowel and consonant phonemic inventories, then next to compare them grammatically. Secondly we examined which of the two grammars had deviated furthest from the British Standard. Lastly, we looked at how the adaptation processes in the two languages expressed a distinctly African worldview as suggested in the

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[10] *In Kenya, first year students are commonly referred to as "freshers" – a term borrowed from the American reference to "freshmen".*
[11] *Abdulaziz & Osinde (1993, 1997) studies were the first pioneering investigations to recognize and distinguish the two urban codes Sheng and Engsh and the domains/areas of their use in low and high income neighbourhoods of Nairobi. .*
[12] *Sheng is an urban hybrid language spoken initially in the economically challenged neighbourhoods of Nairobi but now is spoken across Kenya. We did not include it in our investigation because unlike Engsh who's underlying (matrix) language in English, the matrix grammar for Sheng is Kiswahili.*
[13] *The lead researcher in this study was born and bred in Nairobi in the '70s-80's which was around the time that Engsh and Sheng were emerging as youth hybrid codes spoken in the Eastern (Sheng) and Western (Engsh) neighborhoods of Nairobi.*
[14] *The second researcher is a Nigerian and spent her early formative years in Nigeria and therefore has excellent competence and performance of NPE. Together with the Nigerian students, she was a rich source of data on NPE. Additional sources of data were gleaned from studies on Nigerian English documented in Literature.*
[15] *The phonetically relevant parameters include: place/manner of articulation, state of glottis (for consonants); tongue height features; front-central-back; degree of lip rounding (for vowels).*

Sapir Whorf hypothesis. For ease of reference, we have categorized the linguistic processes into the following categories:

- Vowel and Consonant Simplification processes;
- Grammatical (Morphosyntactic.),   Phonological and Semantic nativization processes;
- Loan words and Semantic Adaptation processes

Within each section, we have provided examples comparing forms in the two languages and explanations on the linguistic processes at work (phonological, morpho-syntactic, semantic and pragmatic levels of analysis).

6.1. Phonological Adaptation Processes in NPE and Engsh

The examples we have provided are evidence that consonant and vowel sounds that are not phonologically distinct or familiar in the phonemic inventory of the indigenous African languages of the catchment areas will eventually be deleted, replaced or substituted with more familiar sounds that bear some phonetic resemblance with the replaced sound. For instance, speakers of Engsh will replace and substitute 'foreign' sounding vowels and consonants with the phonetically closest sounds found either in the phonetic inventory of Kiswahili or their mother tongues.[16]

6.1.1. Vowel simplification Processes in NPE and Engsh

The number of vowels found both in Engsh and NPE are far less than those found in RP English. This is especially the case with regard to the lack of distinction between RP long and short vowels. In most cases, the long and short vowels are pronounced the same in both varieties. In other cases, some short vowels 'fuse' together into a single phonetic realization, whereas other vowels could have two phonetic realizations. Whereas in RP, the vowels are phonetically distinct, in Engsh and NPE many vowel qualities sound the same and only the discourse context can distinguish the words. Pidgins and hybrid languages typically simplify their phonemic inventories by reducing vowels and merging the long and short ones such as: '/i/vs. /i: / in *'bit' vs. 'beat'*; /ʊ/ vs. /ʊ: / in '*pull' vs. 'pool'*. Similarly, in NPE and Engsh, vowel length is not as distinctive as it is in RP. Compare the following examples:

1	word	RP	NPE	Engsh	word	RP	NPE	Engsh
	catch	æ	ɒ	ɑ	Hit/heat	i / i:	i:/i:	i:/i:
	cat	æ	a	ɑ	Pull/pool	ʊ/ ʊ:	ʊ:/ ʊ:	ʊ:/ ʊ:
	cut	ʌ	ɒ	ɑ	Caught/cot	ɔ:/ɒ	ɒ/ ɒ/	ɒ/ ɒ
	curt	ɜ:	ɒ	ɑ	Bird/bad	ɜ:/æ	o/ ɑ	ɑ/ ɑ
	colour	ɑ /ə	ɒ /ɒ	ɑ/ ɑ				

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[16] *Although there are over 40 indigenous languages spoken in Kenya, only 4-5 of these languages have had and/influence on the grammar and Engsh, They are mainly Bantu in origin and include Kiswahili (Kenya's National & 2ⁿᵈ Official Language, Kikuyu, Dholuo (a Nilotic language);Kikamba and   Luhya*

The vowels found in Engsh and NPE are greatly reduced when compared to the RP vowels. In Engsh and NPE, the vowels in the words" *sad, much, cat, hat, bat, hut, bird, cut, curt,* are not as distinct as they are in RP. IN NPE, they are pronounced with a vowel similar to the RP pronunciation of *pot /pɒt/* with a degree of lip rounding. In Engsh, they all merge into a sound similar to /a/. Moreover, there is no distinction for vowel length between vowels such as: /u: / vs. /u/; /i: / vs. /i/; /ɜ: / vs. /ə/ and the like. Notice the lack of distinction between long and short vowels in NPE and Engsh:

*1a) RP- I don't f**ee**l /fi: l/ well.   /i: /   1b) RP- F**i**ll /fil/ the bucket.   /i/*

*2a) NPE - I no/ f**ee**l /fi: l/ well. /i: /   2b) NPE- F**i**ll /fi: l/ da bucket /boket/. /i: /*

*3a) Engsh- I'm not f**ee**ling /fi: li: n/ well. /i: /   3b) Engsh- F**i**ll /fi: l/ the bucket /baket/. /i: /*

In addition, both NPE and Engsh do not reduce unstressed vowels to a "schwa" / ə / as happens with unstressed vowels in RP.

6.1.2. Consonant Simplification Processes in NPE and Engsh

Some consonants are pronounced differently in NPE and Engsh when compared with the RP Standard. In NPE, the voiced and voiceless inter-dental fricatives represented orthographically by the letters "*th*" are pronounced similarly to the voiced and voiceless alveolar fricatives /t/ and /d/ respectively. In NPE, the voiceless alveolar plosive /t/ and the voiceless inter-dental fricative orthographically represented by 'th-' as in "thing" are in free variation whereas the voiced alveolar plosive /d/ and the voiced inter-dental fricative similarly represented by 'th-' as in "that" have the same pronunciation. Engsh like Standard English clearly distinguishes between the voiced and voiceless interdental fricatives. Consider the following examples:

*4a) **Th**at **th**ing **th**at you were worried about….*

4b)   RP- **th**at *(voiced interdental fricative)* **th**ing *(voiceless interdental fricative)* **that** *(voiced interdental fricative) you were worried about….*

4c)   NPE-**D**at *(voiced alveolar plosive)* **t**ing *(voiceless alveolar plosive) you **de** (voiced alveolar plosive) worry about…..*

4d)   Engsh**- Th**at *(voiced interdental fricative)* **th**ing *(voiceless interdental fricative)* **th**at *(voiced interdental fricative) you were worried about….*

Another example is the distinction between the voiceless and voiced alveolar-palatal fricatives /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ respectively. In addition, compare the final plural suffix in the three varieties:

*5a) **RP** – The s**h**oe**s** /ʃʊ:-z/ don't fit him.   (5b)RP- Mea**s**ure /meʒə/his waist*

*5c)NPE- The s**h**oe (/ʃu:/) no fit am.   **(5d) NPE** – Measure/meʃa/ am waist.*

(5e) Engsh- The shoes /(/ʃu:s/)   don't fit him. (5f) Engsh – Measure /meʃa/ his waist.

Whereas in RP the two are always distinguished wherever they occur in a word, in Engsh and NPE, the distinction intervocalically is lost and both are pronounced as /ʃ/. In addition, in RP, when a noun ends in a voiced sound, the following suffix will be voiced. However, in Engsh, this rule does not apply for the plural suffix. In NPE, the plural marker is not marked at all.

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6.2. Syllable clipping/reduction in NPE and Engsh

A word-formation process occurs when existing English words undergo a reduction in the syllable structure, with the reduced forms described as clipped forms. The following are examples of clipped syllables in NPE. Notice the semantic shifts in meaning from the original unclipped forms:

Full form	NPE	meaning
6a). Fabulous	fabu	*An incredible story*
6b) Academics	acada	*Refers to a young, undergraduate student (usually female)*

In Engsh, the clipping usually involves deletion of final syllables sometimes to 'anglicize' the borrowed African word. Code-switched items allow for a word final consonant such as –sh /ʃ/ which makes the word sound English. In other cases, a vowel may be added to make the word end in an open syllable structure typical of Bantu syllable structure. This may probably be an attempt by speakers of Engsh to 'anglicize' the borrowed word.

Borrowed word	Meaning	Engsh
8a) mtu**mba** (sg)/ mitu**mba** (pl)	2nd hand clothes	mtu**sh** (sg)/ mitu**sh** (pl)
8b) Jang**'o**	Luo (ethnic grp)	jang
8c) Mach**aria**	male name	Ma**sh**

6.3: Morphological Adaptation Processes in NPE and Engsh

Morphological indigenization has led to the development in Engsh of the introduction of double plural marking. {Ma-} is a plural class noun prefix in Kiswahili as well as other Bantu languages. Notice that the English plural suffix {-S} is also added to the borrowed word that has already been inflected for plurality. The combination of these elements creates double marking for plurality, a feature that is not inherent in the morphological structure of either English or Kiswahili. In addition, the use of {Ma-} with English words has been over generalized to include even non-human class nouns. Some nouns which in Kiswahili would have had the same forms for both the singular and plural forms are inflected in English by adding the plural suffix /-s/.

6.3.1. Reduplication Processes in NPE

In NPE, this process involves a repetition of the stem form (either partially or complete) to express a related meaning. This is a common morphological process in African languages as well as pidgins with an African influence. The process is used for purposes of emphasis, repetitive action, etc. In NPE, the stem is reduplicated. The following examples illustrate this:

English	NPE	English	NPE
9a) Scatter	/kata kata/ .	*9b)to gossip*	*/Tok tok/*

The reduplicated elements just presented have not undergone any major semantic shifts as such. However, in many instances, the reduplicated forms endure a slight shift in meaning. Compare the following forms:

NPE	semantic shift	NPE	semantic shift
10a) different	assorted	10b) broda broda	nepotism

6.3.2. Reduplication to mark Augmentative/Diminutive Forms in Engsh

In Engsh, reduplication occurs when the same root is repeated, sometimes with the addition of a prefix to the reduplicated elements serve the same function that they would serve in Kiswahili.   Notice the addition of prefixes common in Bantu languages to indicate augmentative/ ki- / or diminutiveness /ka-/. This is a case of morphological borrowing of prefixes from African languages to adapt the words to fit into the morphological structure of African (mainly Bantu) words.

To act as an augmentative or diminutive prefix indicate size e.g.

*11a) A **ki-big-big** guy (A really huge man) (11b) She's a **ka-small small** chile. (A petite girl).*

To indicate intensity or repetitiveness of an action or behaviour e.g.

*11c)   He kept **laughing-laughing** for nothing (He kept laughing continuously)*

To indicate slyness or devious qualities

*11d)   She's a **ka-funny-funny** babe. (She's a sly young girl)*

6.3.3. Blended forms in NPE

A common morphological word-simplification process in pidgins occurs when two or more words are 'fused' into a single form.   The following examples illustrate this:

Words	**NPE**

12a)   Sit down   sidon

12b)   Come out   comot

6.3.4. Derivational affixes in NPE and Engsh

Adjectives often have the same function in NPE as they do in English. However, they do occasionally manifest uniqueness in use alien to English. For instance, gradable adjectives do not inflect for comparative and superlative forms through the addition of a suffix. Instead, the word 'pass' is used to express these two inflectional categories. A morphological characteristic of NPE lexicon occurs when a word changes its grammatical category, for instance, from Verb to Noun or vice versa. Consider the following examples:

13a)   verb to noun   The suffer wey you suffer (The suffering you went through)

13b)   verb to adjective   I just charge. (I lost my temper.)

13c)   noun to adjective   Adjectives as adverbials-Do am quick. (Do it quickly.)

Regardless of the conversion process the above words undergo, they still retain their original word category and will therefore be used interchangeably depending on the context of use. Another word-formation process used in NPE is when new words   are derived through the addition of English affixes. Often the derived forms have an analogical resemblance to existing English words.   Notice the semantic shift in meaning:

Word	**NPE**	**Meaning**

14a)   Arrange arrangee   Something pre-planned or setup

14b)   Innocentinnocenti   To be innocent or chaste. (analogy with refugee)

Engsh also has derivational affixes which it attaches to borrowed words. For instance, in Engsh, the word 'deadly' functions as an adjective meaning 'strikingly attractive'.   When the Kiswahili prefix /vi-/ is added it changes the adjective to a verb referring to the way something is done.

      Adj   **Verb**

15a)   deadly   **vi**-deadly (In a striking way/manner

      Adj   *Meaning*   *Adj*

15b)   *Bwogo*   *dholuo for 'fearless'* **un**-*bwog*-**able**

    *I am **un**-bwoga-**ble**. (I am unbeatable)*

Notice the efforts to anglicize the dholuo word by adding an English prefix and suffix.

6.6. Syntactic Nativization Processes in NPE

The syntax of NPE includes an absence of articles, conjunctions and some prepositions. In addition, the word order in phrases frequently violates the arrangement of elements in conventional varieties of English. In declarative sentences, the subject precedes the verb just like in Standard varieties of English   minus functional words such as conjunctions and prepositions. In addition, there is no tense marking. This would be inferred from context. For example:

16a)   *I go church every Sunday. (I go to church every Sunday.)*

16b) We don buy chicken. (We have / had bought chicken.)

6.6.1. Interrogatives in NPE

The two types of interrogatives found in Nigerian Pidgin English are similar in form to the "Yes/No" and "Wh-" questions found in Standard English. With reference to Yes/No questions, there is no subject-operation (verb) inversion. In addition, the interrogative particle 'shebi' and 'abi' can optionally precede the interrogative. For instance:

17a) *(Shebi) You wan go?*   *((Is it that) you want to go?)*

17b) (Abi) the petrol don finish?   *(Have you run out of petrol?)*

Wh-questions, often (though not always) end with the interrogative particle 'nko'. Consider the following examples:

18a) *Una teacher nko.*   *(How is your teacher / what about your teacher?)*

18b) Where your teacher de?   *(Where is your teacher?)*

Notice that although the Wh- words (or their deviated forms) occur at the beginning of the sentence, unlike Standard English there is no subject-auxiliary inversion due to the absence of forms of the auxiliary verb 'to be'. In addition, non-verbal clauses often characterize this category of interrogatives. For instance: 19) *How you dey?(How are you?)*The third category of interrogatives bear question tags having the same function as those found in conventional English. However, they differ in terms of the lexical that constitute the tag. Consider the following examples: *20) You de go, abi? /You de go, no be so? (You are going, aren't you?)*

6.6.2. Absence of Functional forms in NPE

A frequent occurrence in pidgins is the absence of articles (both definite and indefinite), conjunctions and prepositions. The preposition that occurs in NPE is 'for' which is used in place of several prepositions that express different relationships in English. Nouns phrases typically lack articles. Consider the following examples Consider the following examples:

21a) Put am for box. (Put it in the box.) 22b) I go for market. (I went to the market.)

A second aspect is that the pronoun 'one' is often used in place of the indefinite article. For examples: *23a) I come see one man. (I saw a man.) 23b) We get one pickin. (We have a child).* NPE also omits auxiliary verbs which are then replaced with the word 'dey' with the meaning 'is'. For example: 24) *How you baby be / How your baby? (How is your baby?).*Notice that the subject-verb inversion rules that apply to question forms in English do not seem to apply in NPE. In addition, the Wh- words are not moved to the end of the statement as is common in English Wh-words.

6.6.3 Absence of Tense affixes in NPE

Verbs in NPE lack inflection for the different tense forms found in English. In addition, the verb remains invariable for all person references.   Hence, there will be no subject- verb agreement for the third person singular in the present tense. Only from the context of the discourse would one be able to discern whether the 'market transaction' happened in the past or is happening in the present.   However, adverbials could also be used to indicate past tense. For instance:

25a)I see am. (I see it.)   25b) I buy am for market. (I bought it from the market.)

25c) When I dey small, I no like rice. (When I was young, I did not like rice.)

In the sentence presented, the word 'dey' stands in place of the auxiliary 'was' that would have indicated past tense. Notice also, the absence of the auxiliary verb 'did' that would have further reinforced that past tense of the sentence. The present perfect tense is indicated by the 'auxiliary' verbs 'don' and 'bin'. On the other hand, the past perfect tense is marked by only 'don'. A case in point: 26) *I don close the door. (I have closed the door.)* In NPE, sentences denoting future tense lack the presence of the auxiliary verb 'will' or any auxiliary verb for that matter. Consider the following form: *27) I go tell im papa. (I will tell his father.)*

Present and past progressive tenses are indicated by the presence of the 'auxiliary' verb *'de'* for all person references. For example: 28) NPE *I de eat. (I am eating.).* In addition, there is often a concatenation of verbs occurring with no conjunctions. The infinitive marker 'to' is omitted especially before the verb 'want'. In some instances, it is replaced with the word 'make'. For instance:

	NPE	**Gloss**
29a)	*Make you come carry go.- Come and take this away.*	
29b)	*Go get them.*	Go and get them.

In the second example, the verb 'make' functions as the relative pronoun 'that' which in English could also be categorized as a determiner.   In addition, the verb 'make' is semantically very productive and can be used to express a number of different meanings, including the past tense form of the verb. Engsh on the other hand, includes all the functional words.

6.7. Loanwords and Semantic Shifts in NPE

Words derived from the English lexicon as well as the dominant ethnic languages found in Nigeria continue to enrich NPE vocabulary. In addition to these languages, loanwords have also been sourced from other European languages such as Portuguese and French.   It must be remembered that NPE originated as a lingua franca used by different races and ethnic groups coexisting in colonial Nigeria.

Portuguese loanwords- Portuguese loanwords were borrowed into NPE during the early stages of the pidgin's development. These include the following:

Portuguese   NPE   meaning

30a) Savvy   sabi   know   I know sabi am. (I don't know him/her.)

30b) Pikini   pikin   child   Pikin de cry. (The child is crying.)

French loanwords- French words were also introduced during the early stages of development as an effect of the contact that the Africans had with French traders. Examples include the following words: ***French***

Word   -NPE   -   meaning

31a)beaucoup   boku   plenty   (Rice de boku (There is plenty of rice)

31b)encore   encore   repeat   Make you encore am.(Repeat it.)

Note that the French words have undergone phonological nativization processes; hence, the pronunciation of 'encore' is pronounced as /enko: / as compared to the French /ăkoɾ/.

6.7.3 Loanwords from African (Nigerian) Languages

The number of words from the indigenous languages found in NPE depends highly exactly where the variety is used. For instance, there are likely to be more Yoruba words and expressions in the NPE spoken in Lagos, while in Enugu, Ibo loan words dominate. Borrowings from the larger indigenous languages (Ibo, Yoruba) form a majority as compared to the loanwords from the smaller languages.

Yoruba loanwords- *32) Jare -This is a polite expression used at the end of an utterance to mean 'please'.'Leave me Jare'. (Leave me please/ don't bother me please).*

Ibo loanwords- *33) Chineke -God: Na Chineke go break him head. (God will break his head.)*

Hausa loanwords- *34) Wayo -To trick . I get plenty wayo for him hand.(He is full of trickery.)*

Many of the English words found in NPE maintain the same sense relationships as they express in Standard British English. However, a number of them, (though maintaining their original orthographic and phonetic form) have undergone semantic shifts. The following examples illustrate this phenomenon: Reign - To be in fashion. *That bag dey reign now. (That bag is in vogue)*

6.8. Loanwords in Engsh

Integration of a linguistic item from one language into another may entail adapting the borrowed item to the phonological, morphological, lexical and syntactic patterns of the borrowing language.   This process is referred to as the 'nativization' of a loan word (Kachru 1983). With reference to Engsh, the 'donor' languages for borrowing include Kiswahili and Sheng, Kikuyu, Dholuo, Luhya and Kikamba. (The listing reflects the degree of borrowing prominence). Interestingly, some of the 'borrowed' words were actually

originally borrowed from English into Kiswahili, then nativized into Sheng and then 'returned' back into Engsh, frequently in a form that hardly recognizable as an English word. Consider the following examples:

English	Kiswahili	Sheng	Engsh
35a)Driver	*dereva*	*dere*	*dere*
35b)Check	*Cheki*	*Cheki (look)*	*check out*

Notice how the borrowed items fit into the phonotactics of both Sheng and Engsh. Such loan words are sometimes mistaken for code switching because just like in code switching, linguistic units that would qualify as authentic "nonce" borrowings retain their original form (from a phonological and morphological perspective). According to Hasselmore (1972, p.180) this is a process of social integration as *"...a function with which linguistic items from one language are used in discourse in another language, in a given context"*. Hence, from this line of reasoning, nonce borrowing refers only to socially integrate linguistic items, whereas code switching refers to those that are not.

6.8.1. Loan Words from indigenous African languages in Engsh

36a) **Sheng**- *There were kathaa guys there. There were many people there.* ('kathaa' is Kiswahili meaning 'a number of...')

36b) **Kikuyu** -That chile has shanũkaad since she went to campo*! (*'That young girl has become worldly wise since she joined university.')

36c)   **Dholuo** *-) Prezzo is into Odieroz. His video didn't a   miro babe.*
       ('The singer named Prezzo likes White girls. His video did not have an African girl.')

36d)   **Luhya**- *I'm feelangaring free today. ('I am feeling good today'.)*

Notice the addition of the suffix /-ga/ to give the English word 'feeling' an indigenous Luhya pronunciation by making it feet into the phonotactics of the Bantu language. The words borrowed from non-African languages are mainly from English.

6.9. Conclusion

The dialects of English spoken in Kenya and Nigeria have diverged in many ways from the British Standard thereby, revealing efforts of the African speakers to indigenize English to suit their worldview and experience. Language acts as a symbol of both individual and group identity. In the multilingual and multi-cultural setting of Nairobi, this is arguably the most important function for the choice of language use. Engsh marks its users as members of a social-cultural group of 'urbanites', and competence in the language serves as a badge of group identity. In addition, it is often used for purposes of inclusion or exclusion, clearly distinguishing between the youth brought up in Nairobi, and those brought up up-country. It further distinguishes between the youth bred in upper and middle-class suburbs, and their counterparts from the low income areas. Consequently, when that the urban youth make the choice to speak Engsh, they often do so to evoke group solidarity and or to exclude those around them who are unfamiliar with the variety. Engsh defines its user's identity in background experiences in relation to others in various roles in the community.

The linguistic adaptation processes which both learners of English in Nigeria and Kenya face as they use the two varieties of English demonstrate "errors" that reveal the differences in sounds found in British dialects of English (particularly vowels) and those found in African languages. Hence the African speakers of English are forced to adapt the foreign words and English language to reflect their environment, worldview and experiences. In this case, Britain as the colonial power imposed its language both in Nigeria and Kenya. The indigenization processes most likely took place primarily because of the influence of dominant indigenous ethnic languages used in the multi-ethnic areas urban such as Lagos and Nairobi. This study has used linguistic evidence from two varieties that use English as their matrix (base) language but in ways that suggest that the speakers are imposing their own worldview. This is reflected in semantic shifts of loanwords, indigenous pronunciation and simplification of morpho-syntax in NPE borrowing heavily from their indigenous languages to adapt English to sound more "African". This is in line with the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. Engsh manifests some of the typical simplification strategies of a pidgin as seen in our comparative analysis with NPE. It would be erroneous to refer to it as an "authentic" pidgin since it still manifests complex grammatical features such as tense inflections which are absent in established pidgins like NPE. Both forms have simplified sound systems, such as reduction or merging of vowels and consonants and clipping of syllables. The point of departure between the two English varieties is that the morphological, lexical and syntactic structure of Engsh reveals complexities typically not associated with most pidgins. Engsh is a natural by-product of a multilingual setting and the efforts of the urban youth to indigenize English to express their worldview from an African perspective. The formation of pidgins and creoles as discussed, all falls under how languages change or adapt to the needs of the language users who find themselves immersed into situations where different languages and cultures come into contact.

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