



SPOKEN ENGLISH IN NIGERIA: A STUDY OF ỤKWỤANỊ PEOPLE IN DELTA STATE, NIGERIA

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Abstract

The long period of co-existence of English with Nigerian languages and its use for communication among Nigerians has yielded peculiar linguistic features in different aspects of language. This paper examines the peculiar features of spoken English in Nigeria with particular reference to the articulation of English phonemes. It uses the Spoken English of Ụkwụanị people in Delta state as a case study. It answers the following questions. Does spoken English in Nigeria meet the standard of RP? Is spoken English the same in every part of Nigeria? Does it impede international intelligibility and what is the way forward for Nigeria with respect to spoken English?

Keywords: Language, Contrastive Analysis, Phonotactics, Syllabic Structures, Phonology and Phonetics

Introduction

The phrase 'spoken English in Nigeria'¹ refers to the English language expressed in speech which Nigerians use from time to time in the course of communicating with one another. As Wolf (2001) notes, 'Nigeria is the most populous state [country] in Africa'. Her numerical superiority in Africa makes the English spoken by her citizens a prototype of West African English. Nigeria has a very complex multilingual setting. This is why English language is useful to her citizens as it is one of the languages used as lingua franca.

Spoken English in Nigeria

For many years, education authorities in Nigeria placed priorities on the teaching of the semantic and the syntactic aspects of English and ignored the phonological aspect which is very important (See Omodiaogbe, 19). Spoken English can only be clearly understood if the speaker and the listener understand the phonology of English language. Van Weason and Theunissen support the above view of ours when they assert that: Good pronunciation make for intelligibility and it gives the speaker's oral production 'a certain redundancy' which enables him to put his message across effectively and effortlessly. Good pronunciation has 'high pay off' since deviant pronunciation marks one out as a non native abroad (109)

While commenting on the problems of pronunciation nationwide, Amayo (1986) explains the linguistic difficulties of L₂ users of English. He regrets that pronunciation is poorly taught in Nigerian schools as the teaching of phonology suffers from lack of motivation for the teacher and for the learner. He also laments the high degree of incompetence of many teachers of English who have neither a grasp of the subject nor the methodology of imparting the knowledge. This unsatisfactory situation has given rise to a situation whereby, many English words are wrongly pronounced by many Nigerians. Some of such wrong pronunciations are cited in the following table.

Table 1. Some Phonological Features of Spoken English in Nigeria

S/Nos.	Words	PNE	RP
i	Thing	/tin/	/θɪŋ/
ii	Them	/dem/	/ðəm/
iii	Whore	/wɔ(r)/	/hɔ:(r)/
iv	Visitor	/visito/	/vɪzɪtə(r)/
v	Architect	/ætɪtɛkt/	/a:kitekt/
vi	Worm	/wɔ:m/	/wɔ:m/
vii	Worst	/wɔst/	/wɜ:st/
viii	Worship	/wɔɪp/	/wɜ:ɪp/
ix	Wicked	/wɪkɛd/	/wɪkɪd/
x	Turn	/tɔn/	/tɜ:n/

NOTE: 'P N E' stands for "popular Nigerian English", (See Jowitt.151), 'RP' stands for 'Received Pronunciation' see Matthews (2007) and the above deviant pronunciations are occasioned by the inappropriate articulation of the sounds involved.

Some Phonological Features Peculiar to Ukwuani Tribe

Williamson identifies Ukwuani as 'a minority language' (139) and notes that 'Ika, Ikwere, Izi ezaa, Ikwo Mgbo, Ogbah and Ukwuani form a language cluster with Igbo (141). Collins *et al.* note that Igbo belongs to the kwa branch of the Niger Congo family (725). 'Bendor, however, notes as recalled by Anyanwu that 'Igbo is a reclassified Benue Congo language (41). From the above classification and re-classification of the Igbo language, it can therefore be concluded that Ukwuani, which forms a language cluster with it and other languages, can be viewed as a

member of the Benue Congo family. Ụkwụanị is spoken in Ndokwa West, Ndokwa East and Ụkwụanị Local Government Areas of Delta state as an indigenous language. The language is largely homogenous in the above areas. However, dialectical varieties are noticed in some boundary towns and villages. Ụkwụanị language also serves as a mother tongue in Orogun, Ugbelli North Local Government area of Delta state and Ndoni in Ahoada Local Government Area of Rivers state. As Okolugbo notes, "the geographical position of Ụkwụanị places the country (i.e the entire Ụkwụanị land) within two belts. Deltaic swampy forest and the South Eastern coastal towns (1)."

Ụkwụanị Vowels

Ụkwụanị has nine vowels as Uti and Iloh (6), Enubunniga (11) and Ogude et al. (33) note. The vowels are illustrated below.

Table 2

S/Nos.	Ụkwụanị Vowels	Ụkwụanị Words	Glossary	i [i] as in
	Ite/ite` ` /	Pot/pot/ ii	[I] as in	/Igbana` ` ki` Trick/trick/
iii	[e] as in	Ego/ego` ` /	Money/mΛni iv	[ε] as in egu/`
	εgu` /	Hunger/hΛη Jə/ v	[a] as in	Akai/akai` ` Suffering/'sΛfəriJ/
vi	[ɔ] as in	ogo/ ɔgɔ` `	Bottle/bɔtl/ vii	[o] as in
	Ogo/ogo` `	Farm/fa:m/ viii	[u] as in	uta/uta Bow/bəu/ ix
	[u] as in	Ugu/ugu` `	Hill/hill/	

Ụkwụanị Vowels with Examples of Words That They Appear In and English Language Words as Glossaries

The syllable structure of Ụkwụanị is mostly closed type since most Ụkwụanị words do not permit a consonant to end a word. The above Ụkwụanị words and the following ones support this fact.

Table 3 S/Nos. Ụkwụanị (Efa Anụ Na Nọdi Ni English Glossary (Names of Domestic ụnọ) Animals)

I	Ewu/ewu/	Goat/gəut/
Ii	Ezhi/ezii/	Pig/pig/
Iii	Atulu/atulu/	Sheep/si:p/
Iv	Efi	Cow/kau/
V	Awa/awa/	Dog/dɔg/
Vi	Onogbo/onogbo/	Cat/Kæt/ Vii Bụsu/bụsu
	Cat/Kæt/	
Viii	Ekite/èkitε	Dog/dɔg/

and cat/kæt./ as /kæt/. For them, there is no pronunciation difference between the words that is, ‘cart’ and ‘cat’ which is not true according to R.P standard.



As shown above, the L₂ users of English in question are not able to differentiate between the long central vowels /3:/ and the short front vowel /e/. A linguistically uninformed Ukwuanı L₁ speaker of English as L₂ pronounces ‘bird’ and ‘bed’ as /bed/ whereas in RP standard, bird is pronounced as /b3:d/ while ‘bed’ is /bed/. Similarly, an average Ukwuanı L₁ speaker of English as L₂ pronounces ‘death’ and ‘dearth’; /det/ whereas according to R.P English, the appropriate pronunciations are dearth/d3:t/ and death /deθ/



A careful examination of the spoken English of the average Ukwuanı L₁ speakers of English as L₂ indicates that the above monophthongs are collapsed into the monophthong /ɔ/ or /D/. These approximations obviously give rise to some non-standard pronunciations of English words by the set of L₂ speakers of English in question as indicated below.

	RP	UE
i.	Sports/spɔ:ts/	*/spɔts/
ii.	Love /lʌv/	*/lɔv/

/
/ɔ/

iii. Visitor/'vizitə(r)/ */visit/ iv. Conductor\k kən'dʌktə(r)
 */kɔndʌkt/ It is further observed that the approximation of /ə/ as /ɔ/ is
 dependent on its phonological environment. The set of L₂ users of
 English under investigation also approximates /ə/ as /æ/ in other words
 as shown below.

RP	UE
Sister/ 'sistə(r)/	* /sista/
Teacher /'ti:tʃə(r)/	* /tɪtʃa/
Mother/'mʌðə(r) /	/mɔda/

v. /ei
 _____ → /e/ Before any other
 comment, it is hereby explained that vowel /e/ in Ukwuanɪ, which is No. 3 only has the same
 phonetic form with vowel No.3 of English which is also transcribed as /e/: They are not exactly

Ukwuanɪ L₁ speakers of English as L₂ approximate the diphthong /ei/ as the Ukwuanɪ /e/, the

RP	UE
Wait/weit/	* /wet/
Waist/weist/	* /west/
Way /wei/	* /we/

vi. /əu/ _____ → /o/

Following the above observed approximation by the English as a second language set of
 speakers being studied, the following non -RP compliant pronunciations are noticed among
 them.

RP	UE
No/nəu/	* /no/
Go /gəu/	* /go/
Soap /səʊp/	* /sop/ etc

vii. RP UE
 /u/ _____
 /u:/ _____

of the same quality. While English vowel No.3 is found between half close and half open position, the Ụkwụanị vowel No.3 (/e/), is located in the half open position of the tongue. In other words, the Ụkwụanị /e/ is more open than the English /e/ and their articulations do not lead to the production of the same sound. Based on the observation that

following non RP standard pronunciations are observed among them. RP

/u/

An observation of the Ụkwụanị L₁ speakers of English as L₂ shows that they collapse /u/ and /u:/ into /u/.

Consequently, the following non RP standard pronunciations are observed among them.

RP	UE
Pool /pu:l/	* /pul/
Fool/ fu:l/	* /ful/
Food/fu:d/	* fud/

The set of L₂ speakers of English are blind to the fact that there is a difference between the short back vowel /u/ and the long back vowel /u:/. This is why they pronounce full /ful/ and fool/. fu:l/ in the same manner as /ful/. Similarly, they are not able to differentiate between the pronunciations of ‘pool’ / pu:l/ and pull/pul/. This is caused by the fact that the concept of long vowels is non-existent in Ụkwụanị vowel system.

Since there are no diphthongs and triphthongs in Ụkwụanị, Ụkwụanị L₁ speakers of English as L₂ only try to approximate the English diphthongs and triphthongs to the nearest vowels in their language. This often leads to many non RP standard pronunciations observed among them. Some of such wrong pronunciations are stated below.

RP	UE
Power /'pauə(r)/	* /pawa/
Fire /'faɪə(r)/	* /faja/
Tyre/'taɪə(r)/	* /taja/
Oil /ɔɪl/	* /ɔjɛ/
To /tə,tu or tu:/	* /to/ etc.

The above approximations would make the average Ụkwụanị speaker or learner of English pronounce the following English words as shown in table 4 below.

Table 4

S/Nos.	Words RP Standard Transcription	Ụkwụanị English (UE) Approximation
I	Cart/ka:t	Cart/kæt/
Ii	Bird/bɜ:d/	Bird/bedi/
Iii	Seat/si:t/	Sit/sit/
Iv	Love/lʌv/	lɔ ve/lɔ vu/
V	Pool/pu:l/	Pool/pul/
Vi	Tree/tri:/	Tree/tri/
Vii	Cup/kʌp/	Cup/kɔ p
Viii	Grace/greis/	Grace/greshi
Ix	Janet/dʒnit/	Janet/dʒneti/
X	Deborah/debrə/	Deborah/debora/

The above pronunciations of English words by the average Ụkwụanị speaker of English indicate that there is no distinction in vowel length in Ụkwụanị. Most Ụkwụanị nouns end in vowels e.g. ọzọ/ɔzɔ/ ‘chimpanzee’/tɪmpaenzi:/, Awa/awa/’Dog’/dɔg/, ogo/ogo/’Farm’/fa:m/, Nwunye/ Juʃe/ ‘wife’/waɪf/, onyeke/oJেকে/‘Man’/mæn/ etc. (see Uti and Iloh, Enubunniga, and Ogude et al. as in cited earlier). Many English words on the other hand, end with consonants Eg. Love/lʌv/; Name/neɪm/; Steal/sti:l/ etc. English language has a syllabic structure that an uneducated Ụkwụanị speaker will be unable to produce. For instance, most English words

begin with consonants. In some cases as Omodiaogbe notes, they begin with consonant clusters as in 'sprints', 'strengths', 'sprang' 'thrash etc. (126).

In Ụkwụanị, only few words that are used as common greetings begin with consonants, E.g Dele? How is it?, 'Nua', 'Welcome', Mbene, 'thank you' etc. Very many Ụkwụanị words begin and end in vowels. In fact, there are cases of vowels preceding vowels in Ụkwụanị words which in some cases stand as examples of vowel clusters as shown in the following examples. 1. Olise Abiaeme, 'God'; Mmili-Ozuzue, 'Rainfall'; Ifee, 'moon' Obienweigoni, a name, meaning 'there is no key to the mind', Afia, market; Zaa (ezhi) 'Sweep outside'; Azuogbom, 'Canned fish' etc. Based on this syllabic structure of Ụkwụanị and English illustrated in the above, words, this researcher finds out that uneducated and semi educated Ụkwụanị speakers of English as second language pronounce the following English words (wrongly) in the manner below.

Table 5 S/Nos. English RP Standard Uneducate/Semi Educated,

Ụkwụanị Speakers wrong pronunciations	English RP Standard	Uneducate/Semi	Educated,
I	Motor/'məutə(r)/	*Motor/omoto/	
Ii	Comfort/'kʌmfət/	*Comfort/kɔmfɔtu/	Iii Bicycle/'baisikl/
			*Bicycle/basikoro/
Iv	Ball/bɔ:l/	*Ball/bɔlu/	
V	John/dʒɔnsn	*John/dʒɔnu/	
Vi	Johnson/dʒɔnsn	*Johnson/dʒɔn□ini/	

The above wrong pronunciations occur as a result of interference at the phonological level of language. There are many other words in English that the average Ụkwụanị speakers of English cannot pronounce correctly because of the difference in the permissible sound arrangements between the two languages. While in most cases vowels begin and end words in Ụkwụanị, consonant clusters are noticed at the beginning of many English words as earlier pointed out. Vowel clusters are also noticed in Ụkwụanị words, this is not so in English. For instance, in English, there is sprint/sprint/ with CCCVCC, sound arrangement while in Ụkwụanị, there is Afia/afia/with VCVV sound arrangement, where 'V' stands vowel and 'C' for consonant.

Ụkwụanị Consonants

- i. [p] as in ọpia /ɔ'pi'a/ 'cutlas?/
kɔtləs/ ii. [f] as in ifa /ɪf'a/ 'Hoe'/həu/
- iii. [b] as in obi /o'b'i/ 'chest'/tʃest/
- iv. [n] as in ona/ɔ'n'a/ 'Iron' /'aɪən/
- v. [g] as in Igu/ɪg'u/ 'Louse' /lɑus/ vi. [t] as in Tụ /t'u/
'contribute' kən'tribju:t/ vii. [d] as in Dụ ọkụ /d'ʊ ɔ'k'ʊ/
'Burn' /bɜ:n/ viii. [k] as in kụ /k'ʊ/ 'plant'/ plænt/
(verb) ix. [z] as in za/ z'a/ 'sweep'/ swi:p/ x. [s] as in
sụ /s'ʊ/ 'Wash'/ wɔʃ/

- xi. [v] as in idemeḗvu/ i`d`m`v`v`/ 'Cray fish' / 'kreifi]/
- xii. [ʒ] as in ozhi/o`ʒ`i/ 'Message' / 'mesidʒ/ xiii. [j] as in shi /j`i/ (nne) 'Grow' /grau/ xiv. [ʃ] as in Nyi / ʃ`i/ (enu) 'Climb/ klajim/
- xv. [h] as in oho /o`h`o/ 'An exclamation' / ən eksklə'mei]n/
- xvi. [l] as in oLo /o`l`o/ 'a shout for alarm' /ei ʃaut fə ə`la:m/ xvii. [tʃ] as in oche/o`t`ʃ`e/ 'chair' / t`ʃeə(r)/ xviii. [kp] as in ukpo /u`kp`o/ or / u`k`po/'Room' /ru:m/ xix. [gb] as in /o`gb`e /o`gb`e/street/ 'street' /stri:t/ xx. [gw] as in Egwa / ε`gw`æ/ 'Beans' /bi:nz/ xxi. [ɾ] as in Agha /æ`ɾ`æ/ 'War' / wɔ:(r)/ xxii. [dʒ] as in Eja /ε`dʒ`æ/ 'sand' / sənd/ xxiii. [kw] as in /ε`kw`æ/ 'Egg' /eg/ xxiv. [m] as in ɔma /ɔ`m`æ/ 'Good' /god/ xxv. [ʃ] as in ɔnya /ɔ`j`æ/ 'sore' / sɔ:(r)/ xxvi. [w] as in ɔnwa /ɔ`j`w`æ/ 'month' / mɔnθ/ xxvii. [j] as in oyi / ɔj`i/ 'Gold' /kəuld/ xxviii. [w] as in Uwa /u`w`æ/ 'No' / nəu/ xxix. [] as in Ori /o`i/ 'cream' /kri:m/

A careful examination of the entire Ụkwụanị consonants indicates that it Ụkwụanị lacks /θ/, / ð/, and /r/ consonants which are in English language. Similarly, consonants /gb/, /gh/ /gw, /kp/, /mm/, /nn/ /nw/ and /ny/ are peculiar to Ụkwụanị language. The Ụkwụanị speaker of English language must find a way of articulating the consonants that are not in his language to enable him communicate in English. This need often occasions the following approximations of English consonants by the Ụkwụanị speaker of English language. English Ụkwụanị Consonants approximations

ENGLISH CONSONANTS APPROXIMATIONS

Consonants: There are 24 consonants in English while Ụkwụanị has 29. However, there are three consonants in English which are not in Ụkwụanị. Consequently, these consonants which are not in Ụkwụanị make it difficult for Ụkwụanị people to pronounce English words correctly in the contexts that they occur in. These non-existent consonants in Ụkwụanị are: /θ/, / ð/ and /r/: The L₂ users of English under study substitute for the above consonants with the consonants in their language closest to the English consonants in order to communicate in English with the resources of their language. The following diagrams illustrate the substitutions in question.

RP	UE Substitutes
/θ/	→ /t/
/ð/	→ /d/

The above substitutions usually lead to observed incorrect pronunciations among Ukwuani L_1 speakers of English as L_2 as shown below.

RP	UE
Thing/θiŋ/	*/tiŋ/
Thirst/θɜ:st/	*/test/
Them/ðem/	*/dem/
They/ðei/	*/de/

From the illustrated substitution, an average Ukwuani speaker of English as L_2 has no pronunciation difference between day/ dei/ and they / ðei/. as far as he is concerned the two words are pronounced as */de/. Similarly, this set of English L_2 speakers of English has no pronunciation difference between Thin /θin/ and Tin/tin/. As far as they are concerned, the two words are pronounced /tin/

i. ii.

iii. RP

UE

Substitute

/r/ → [ɹ]

[ɹ] is used as a substitute for the RP /r/ by Ukwuanı L₁ speakers of English as L₂. [ɹ] is actually an r-like sound but it is not the type of /r/ that is found in the RP English. This r-like sound is a member of the rhotic family of sounds which are also called retroflexed sounds. A retroflex, such as [ɹ] is a consonant made with the tongue tip curled up and back so that its sound is obviously different from the RP /r/.

The above type of substitution is responsible for the following RP non-compliant pronunciations observed among linguistically naïve Ukwuanı L₁ speakers of English as L₂:

RP

UE

Storey/'stɔ:ri/

*/'stɔ:ɹi/

Rain/rein/

*/ɹen

Radio /'reidiəu/

*/ɹedio/

It is also observed among the Ukwuanıs that often, they use [ɹ] in the place of the RP /l/ giving rise to incorrect pronunciations as shown below.

RP

UE

Live/liv/

*/ɹiv/

Clause /kla:z/

*//kɹɔ:z/

Price/prais /

* pɹaiz/ etc

Besides the above problem areas for the Ukwuanı speaker of English as L₂, another problem area is the articulation of English consonantal allophones. An allophone is a phonetic realization of a phoneme in a particular phonological environment. There are two types of voiceless stops (plosives) in English. Phonetically: the aspirated voiceless stops namely: [p^h, t^h, and k^h] and the unaspirated ones namely: [p, t and k]. The aspirated stops occur at the initial and end, positions of words. This is why 'pin' is pronounced (p^hin) in standard RP English. Contrarily, the unaspirated stops occur after /s/ in word initial positions. Consequently, 'spoon' is pronounced [spu:n]; that the stop consonant in 'spoon' [p] is phonetically different from the one in 'pin; [p^h] can be proved by placing a lit match in front of the mouth: pronouncing

‘spoon/spu:n/ makes the flame flutter less than pronouncing ‘pin’ (p^h in]. These two (p^s) occur in different phonological environments. The fact that one p is aspirated and the other is not can be predicted from their positions of occurrence within the word. Thus given the environment:

HH – in

HHS – u:n

Where ‘HH’ indicates the beginning of a word, it would sound un-English to pronounce [p] in the first blank above instead of [p^h] and [p^h] instead of [p] in the second blank.

The same type of distribution pattern is noticed in

Tick [t^hik] and stick [stik] and Kin [k^h in] and skin (skin).

The linguistically naïve Ukwuani L₁ speakers of English as L₂ pronounce the above words without obeying the rule of aspiration which is the period of voicelessness following a consonant usually accompanied by a greater air pressure. The non-compliance with the rule of aspiration gives rise to the following non RP standard pronunciations as observed among the L₂ speakers of English under study

RP standard

UE Pronunciations

Pin [p^h in]

*[pin]

Tick [t^hik]

*[tik]

Kin [k^h in]

*[kin] etc

Articulation of the clear [l] and the Dark l [ɫ]

Another aspect of difficulty observed for the Ukwuani speakers of English as a second language is in the pronunciation of the two allophones of /l/ in English. The phonetic inventory of English includes a clear l [l] and a dark ‘l’ [ɫ]. To pronounce both types, the tip of the tongue is pressed against the teeth ridge, but there is a difference in the shape of the main body of the tongue. To pronounce a clear ‘l’ [l], the front of the tongue, behind the place of contact is raised towards the hard palate while the back of the tongue is raised towards the soft palate in the course of pronouncing the dark ‘l’ [ɫ]. The clear ‘l’ [l] is what is used in Ukwuani language. The clear ‘l’ [l] is used at the beginning of a word before a vowel. The dark ‘l’ [ɫ] is used in the middle of a word before a consonant and at the end of a word if a pause follows. ‘l’ is clear in lake [leik] and spelling [‘speliʃ] but it is dark in build [bitɫ] and spel [spetɫ]. Research shows that the inability of the Ukwuani L₁ speakers of English as L₂ to keep in tune with the principles of phonology with respect to the articulation of the clear ‘l’ [l] and the dark ‘l’ [ɫ] often give rise to the following substandard and pronunciations on the part of the Ukwuani people.

RP

U.E

Build [bitd]

*[biuld]

Spelld [spet]

*[speld]

Conclusion

From the findings in this paper, the various forms of the pronunciation approximations of the uneducated and or average Ukwuani speakers of English as a second language and probably by implication some other Nigerians deviate from the R P standard. This suggests that international intelligibility is not guaranteed by such approximations. According to Crystal quoted in Ogunsiji, "English has attained the status of a global language" (135). English by the manner it is now used, is a world language. Nigeria is part of the world. As a way forward for Nigeria on the issue in question, the present researcher recommends that the authorities concerned should make efforts for Nigerians to attain the R P model of pronunciations. The most practicable way of achieving this is for Nigerian students at all levels of education to be taught by competent teachers of English language. It has been observed that some teachers know next to nothing about the subjects they teach their students. This situation, it seems, will occasion the re-training of some teachers at the primary and secondary school levels of education. This should be done fast by school managements, local, state and federal governments without minding the cost.

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