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**FACULTÉ DES ARTS  
LETTRES  
ET SCIENCES HUMAINES**

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**DÉPARTEMENT  
DE LETTRES ANGLAISES**



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**FACULTY OF ARTS  
LETTERS  
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES**

\*\*\*\*\*

**DEPARTMENT OF  
ENGLISH**

**Movement Transformations in Non-Native  
Englishes: a Comparative Analysis of  
CamE and NigE**

**A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the  
Award of a Masters Degree in English Language**

**By**

**Leonel Tadjong FONGANG  
BA in Bilingual Studies  
(English and French)**

**Supervised by**

**Bonaventure M. SALA  
Associate Professor  
English Department  
University of Yaounde I**

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## **DEDICATION**

**This work is dedicated to my lovely parents,**

**Claudine NGAMGUEU**

**and**

**Enoch TADJO**

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## ABSTRACT

This study investigates the syntax of NNEs, with special focus on Cameroon English (CamE) and Nigerian English (NigE). It is a descriptive, comparative and contrastive analysis of movement transformations within the Minimalist Program (MP), initiated and developed by Chomsky (1993, 1995, 1998, 1999, 2001) and others. It is supplemented by the Contrastive Framework, initiated by Fries (1945) and further developed by Lado (1957). In order to do this, data was collected from selected Nigerian and Cameroonian films, and also from some Nigerian and Cameroonian novels. The analysis of the data revealed that the two Non-Native Englishes (NNEs) under study share many similarities but few differences. As far as similarities are concerned, it was observed that CamE and NigE make use of the “Subject and Auxiliary Deletion Rule”, together with the “Wh-in situ Strategy” for wh- questions. Besides, Sala’s (2003, 2014) “Super-ordinate Clause Deletion” was applicable to both CamE and NigE for echo-questions. Moreover, the avoidance of Chomsky’s Last Resort Principle on Do-support and T-to-C movement was licensed in the two NNEs for yes/no questions. All these processes were said to result from two phenomena, namely, the influence of other languages (local languages and French) and the simplification process, otherwise known as the process of Leveling out by Bloomfield (1984:500) and Jespersen (1948:316) as quoted in Sala (2003:230). Besides, covert movement (LF movement), it was observed, applies both in NigE and CamE for wh-questions, given the in situ nature of the wh-element. Furthermore, traces were considered quasi inexistent in the two NNEs because the tendency is to avoid overt movement in favour of covert movement, where the wh-element moves covertly to check the [+wh] features carried by the Complementizer position. As far as the differences are concerned, it was observed that unlike in CamE where Sala’s Unbounded “they” is used as a last resort for passivisation, NigE uses what has been called the Anaphoric/Cataphoric Pronoun Insertion as a last resort. These findings made it possible to make some assumptions on a possible West African English (WAE) that could enjoy widespread intelligibility in the sub-region. In this vein, it was assumed that the features CamE share with NigE are likely to be features of a more inclusive WAE, given many factors amongst which the position of Nigeria as the most populated and developed country in the region. Finally, the findings made it possible to stress the need for an International or Global variety of English that could enjoy worldwide intelligibility. It was then shown that only further comparisons of NNEs could help attain such an objective.

## RÉSUMÉ

Le présent mémoire étudie les traits syntaxiques des Nouvelles Variétés de l'anglais, avec un intérêt spécial porté sur l'anglais camerounais et nigérian. C'est une analyse descriptive, comparative et contrastive des transformations en anglais camerounais et nigérian suivant le Programme Minimaliste initié et développé par Chomsky (1993, 1995, 1998, 1999/2001) et bien d'autres. Celui-ci est supplémenté par la Théorie Contrastive initiée par Fries (1945) et développée par Lado (1957). Pour ce faire, les données ont été collectées de quelques films nigériens et camerounais, ainsi que quelques œuvres romanesques nigérianes et camerounaises. L'analyse de ces dernières montre qu'entre l'anglais camerounais et nigérian, il existe beaucoup de similitudes et peu de différences. Pour ce qui est des similitudes, il a été montré que les questions QU sont formées en appliquant la règle de suppression du sujet et de l'auxiliaire (*Subject and Auxiliary Deletion Rule*), ou la stratégie QU in situ. Les questions écho, quant à elles, en appliquant la règle de suppression de la proposition superordonnée (*Super-ordinate Clause Deletion*), tel que décrit par Sala (2003, 2014). En plus, les questions *directes* sont formées, dans les deux langues, en évitant l'application de ce que Chomsky appelle Le Principe Du Dernier Recours avec l'auxiliaire « do » (*The Last Resort Principle on do-support*), et, dans certain cas, le mouvement de l'Inflexion vers le Complémenteur. Tous ces changements résultent de deux phénomènes, notamment l'influence des autres langues (les langues locales et le français), et le processus de simplification. En plus, les questions QU sont formées en appliquant le mouvement implicite (*covert movement*) en anglais Nigérian tout comme en anglais Camerounais, étant donné la nature in situ du syntagme QU. Les traces, ont été considérées comme quasi-inexistantes dans ces deux Nouvelles Variétés d'anglais, puisque la tendance est d'éviter le mouvement explicite (*overt movement*) et d'embrasser le mouvement implicite, où le syntagme QU se déplace implicitement pour vérifier la propriété QU du COMP. En ce qui concerne les différences, là où l'anglais camerounais choisit d'utiliser le pronom indéfini « on » (*Unbounded « they »*) comme dernier recours pour la passivisation, l'anglais nigérian utilise ce qui a été appelé Insertion du Pronom Anaphorique ou Cataphorique (*Anaphoric or Cataphoric Pronoun Insertion*) comme Dernier Recours. Ces constatations ont permis de tirer des conclusions sur l'existence d'une variété d'anglais propre à la partie anglophone de l'Afrique de l'ouest qui pourrait être intelligible dans la sous-région. Dans cette optique, il a été montré que les similitudes qui existent entre l'anglais camerounais et nigérian pourraient être caractéristiques d'une variété plus inclusive appelée anglais de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (*West African English*), ceci à cause de plusieurs facteurs parmi lesquels la position du Nigéria comme le pays le plus développé et le plus peuplé de la sous-région, voir de toute l'Afrique. En plus, les mêmes constatations ont permis de mettre l'accent sur l'importance d'une variété internationale ou globale de l'anglais qui pourrait être intelligible au niveau international. Pour ce faire, il est nécessaire de multiplier les études comparatives et contrastives des Nouvelles Variétés de l'anglais.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AmE	American English
- BrE	British English
- CamE	Cameroon English
- CNPC	Complex-NP Constraint
- COMP	Complementizer
- CP	Complementizer Phrase
- CSC	Coordinate Structure Constraint
- D	Determiner
- Det	Determiner
- DS	Deep Structure
- ELF	English as a Lingua Franca
- EGL	English as a Global Language
- EIL	English as an International Language
- ENL	English as a Native Language
- EPP	Extended Projection Principle
- ESL	English as a Second Language
- EFL	English as Foreign Language
- GBT	The Government and Binding Theory
- INFL	Inflection
- IP	Inflectional Phrase
- LF	Logical Form
- MP	The Minimalist Program
- NE	New Englishes
- NigE	Nigerian English
- NNEs	Non-Native Englishes
- NP	Noun Phrase
- PF	Phonetic Form
- PP	Prepositional Phrase
- PPT	The Principle and Parameter Theory
- Q	Question
- SPP	Structure Preserving Principle
- SS	Surface Structure

- SSC                    The Sentential Subject Constraint
- T                      Tense
- UG                    Universal Grammar
- WA                    West Africa
- WAE                  West African English

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## INTRODUCTION

### 1. General Considerations

The English language has spread from its motherland (England) to new settings, and has become the language of almost everybody, a Global language, an international *lingua franca*. From this spread, it is nowadays used as a first language (by native speakers), as a second language, and, of course, as a foreign language. This international and widespread use of the Queen's language is not without effects, as in each and every new milieu in which it is spoken, it tends to develop new features, that are either idiosyncratic, or society related. This is the main reason why we will hear of features of New Englishes, which have been studied, and are still being studied by linguists, at linguistic levels such as phonology, lexicology, pragmatics and syntax. It is therefore in this vein that the present study is carried out. This study investigates the syntax of Non-Native Englishes in general, and movement transformations in Cameroon English and Nigerian English in particular. It is a descriptive and comparative analysis of transformations in Cameroon English and in Nigerian English, which according to Kachru's (1985, 1986) classification of World Englishes, are part of the Outer Circle. According to him, the spread of English to new ecologies can be schematised in three concentric circles: the "Inner Circle", which refers to native speakers of the language, the "Outer Circle" which encompasses former British colonies, which adopted English as official language alongside many other indigenous languages, and the "Expanding Circle", made up of those who speak English just as a medium of communication, for business or for their personal interest. Crystal (1997) ranges English-speaking communities in three different ways. He distinguishes between English as a Native Language (ENL), English as a Second Language (ESL) and English as a Foreign Language (EFL). He explains that native speakers of English use English as a Native language - former British colonies as a second language and foreign language users are those who use English for particular or specific purposes.

From the preceding explanations, it is obvious that Nigeria will be part of the Outer Circle from Kachru's point of view, and an ESL community from Crystal's. The situation in Cameroon is different, as a part of Cameroon was a protectorate of France, and the other part that of England. The Reunification of 1961 brought the two "Cameroons" together, and the Unification of 1972 made them to be considered a single country, with English and French as official languages. Therefore, while the Anglophone part of Cameroon falls within the Outer Circle and is an ESL community, the Francophone part is in the Expanding Circle and an EFL

community. The link then between Nigeria and Cameroon, at this level, is that both countries are, to an extent, part of the Outer Circle and ESL communities.

Given the geographical, historical and cultural relationship between Cameroon and Nigeria, there seem to be a relationship of similitude between their linguistic features at different linguistic levels. At the geographical level, Cameroon and Nigeria share boundaries together, and constitute, with other countries, what is referred to as West Africa (see Kachru: 2006, Simo Bobda: 2000b, Wolf and Igboanusi: 2003, Wolf and Peter: 2007) from a linguistic point of view. At the historical level, the two countries started speaking English as a result of colonisation and afterwards adopted the English language as one of the official languages in Nigeria, and in Cameroon. As far as the cultural aspect is concerned, it can be said that the two countries have in common what can be called African culture. All the things Cameroon shares with Nigeria make us wonder if they do not share similarities at the linguistic level in general, and at the syntactic level in particular.

## **2. Motivations for the Study**

Describing and comparing Cameroon English with Nigerian English was motivated by the observation that the two countries, where these New Englishes are spoken, have a common colonial history, share geographical boundaries and cultural realities. These motives were strengthened by Ngefac (2009) observation according to which

Nigeria and Cameroon have a common colonial history and West Cameroon was administered at some point during the colonial era as part of Nigeria. Besides, Cameroon shares the longest territorial boundary with Nigeria and citizens of both countries travel in and out of the two countries for commercial and educational reasons.

From this, Cameroon English seems, to a certain extent, influenced by Nigerian English, and vice-versa. The Nigerian film industry, through the so called *Nollywood*, has a great impact on the English spoken in Cameroon as they “can be used as an effective medium through which NigE and the Nigerian culture can be exposed to speakers of other Englishes” (see Ngefac 2009), especially Cameroon English. So, describing and comparing their syntactic features will help to better understand this issue.

## **3. Statement of the Problem**

Works such as Bamgbose (1992), Bamiro (1995), Igboanusi (2006), Simo Bobda (2002), Simo Bobda and Mbangwana (2008), Sala (2003, 2014), Ndzomo (2013) have



attempted a description of NigE and of CamE. As for comparative works on Non-Native Englishes in Africa, they are rare, and when they exist, they mostly focus on other linguistic areas like phonology, lexicology, morphology, but rarely on syntax (See Mesthrie 2004, Simo Bobda 1995, 2000a&b, Schmied 2006, Wolf and Igboanusi 2003, Wolf 2010). The problem therefore arises as it is observed that in the domain of syntax, not a great deal has been done to compare the syntactic features of Non-Native Englishes, as compared to other levels of linguistic analysis, though researchers such as Sala (2014: 24) recognised that the structures he described in his work were “heard in the English used in Nigerian and Ghanaian films, and could presumably be a feature of West African English”. This point of view is strengthened in works such as Schmied (2004), Igboanusi (2006). The scarcity of comparative works may be due to, as Igboanusi (2006) and Sala (2003) point out, the belief that while grammar seems to be static, other linguistic areas are considered to easily evolve.

The problem outlined in the preceding paragraph is worth being solved, as, on the one hand, for a language to be called a “standard”, its features must be well described at all linguistic levels so as to enable the teaching of that language to its speakers. On the other hand, awareness of the differences and similarities between the New Englishes under study will help create consistency in the variety we use, and facilitate international intelligibility.

#### **4. Research Questions**

The present research endeavour answers the following questions: what are the syntactic features of CamE from a movement perspective? What are the syntactic features of NigE from a movement perspective? What are their similarities and dissimilarities?

#### **5. Purpose of the Study**

The study revisits some aspects of the description of CamE and NigE syntax, and also draws a comparison of the two, since they are both part of Non-Native Varieties of English spoken in Africa in general and West Africa in particular.

#### **6. Significance of the Study**

The present research endeavour will be important in many respects. First, it will help to better understand the syntactic features of CamE and NigE. Second, it will facilitate the mastery of Cameroon and Nigerian English syntactic features and help in creating consistency in the varieties we use. Third, by establishing the differences and similarities between the two

NNEs under study, the desire for a more inclusive variety of West African English (WAE) and the need for international intelligibility – which is presently the topic of concern of linguists interested in New Englishes – will be facilitated. Finally, it will be of great importance to students who study grammar, as it will open up many more researchable areas.

## **7. Limitations of the Study**

The present research endeavour is limited in the sense that it does not tackle all the aspects of Movement Transformations. It is limited to questioning and passivisation.

## **8. Brief Methodology**

In this section, a brief overview of the method that will be used for data analysis is presented and explained. Though this is a comparative study, Chapter Four is mostly descriptive, as for there to be comparison, description has to be made. Besides, given the fact that the comparison involves two Non-native Englishes, reference will always be made to the native variety from which they are said to have developed. We will therefore start with the description of the method used for comparative analyses, and end with the description of the method that will be used for descriptive analyses.

### **8.1 Methods of Descriptive Analyses**

In order to describe the syntactic features of CamE and NigE, various techniques will be used. As stated above, reference will be made, at the beginning of each analytical attempt, to BrE, which supposedly is the “mother” of the two Non-native Englishes under study. The definition of the various constructions obtained as a result of transformations will therefore be done on the backdrop of BrE. Once defined, the notions and ideas developed in previous works will be re-examined using new data. Some of those will therefore be strengthened, supplemented or weakened on the basis of the new data. The new data will be analysed following a path created in works such as Sala (2003), for CamE, and Sala (ibid) and Igboanusi (2006), for NigE. The ideas postulated in Sala (2003) will be used to analyse NigE data, because, as stated in the introductory chapter of this work, the features we are to describe seem to be those of a more inclusive variety (West African English). Given the fact that Cameroon and Nigeria are both West African countries, and that Sala (2003) worked on the syntactic features of CamE, those features could also be those of NigE. After the description, some rules will be stated, which rules will account for question and passive

sentence construction for each of the New Englishes under study. Given the fact that, description alone is not enough, as the criteria of adequacy require, explanations accounting for the existence of new rules will be given. These could be contextual or grammatical. It should be further mentioned here that it will be impossible to avoid making reference to BrE rules, as there is no standard yet for the New Englishes under study. So, we may, at times, compare the rules that will be strengthened or weakened to BrE rules. In a nutshell, description, following the method that has been described above, will be done in Chapter Four.

## **8.2 Methods of Comparative Analyses**

As far as comparison is concerned, the features described in Chapter Four will simply be compared and presented, from the point of view of their similarities and differences. We will therefore start with the similarities that exist between the two languages, before getting to the difference, if at all there are any. Some conclusions will be then made, following what will be obtained from the comparison.

## **9. Structure of the Work**

This work is divided into five chapters. Chapter One is the background to the study. In this chapter, background information is presented to the reader. This is preceded by some brief introductory paragraphs. Chapter Two has to do with the presentation of the state of research on CamE and NigE syntax, together with the description of the theoretical frameworks that will drive the research endeavour. In Chapter Three the various methodological processes used to collect and analyse the data are presented to the reader. This is followed by the description of the syntactic features of CamE and NigE. This is done in Chapter Four. In Chapter Five, the similarities and differences between the two NNEs under study are given. This is followed by some conclusive paragraph through which the findings are discussed and some recommendations made.

## CHAPTER ONE

### BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

In this chapter, background information is presented to the reader. It starts with information on the spread of the English language to new settings, followed by the state of English in the West African context and ends with background information on CamE and NigE.

#### 1.1 The Spread of English to New Settings

The spread of English to new ecologies is no more arguable. This section is not intended to show that, as it is no more a topic for debate. Rather, the interest is to look at the factors that militated and still militate to the labels Global English, International English etc. A section like this is important, as it will help to better understand the context within which the English language became an international language. Various factors contributed to the spread of the English language, which spread led to the labels EIL (English as an International Language), ELF (English as a Lingua Franca), EGL (English as a Global Language). Before we have a close look at those factors, let's first define what is meant by International language or Global language. Crystal (2003) attempts a definition of Global English. According to him, saying that English is a global language does not mean that it is spoken by everybody. Neither does it mean that English is an official language in every country. What then is meant by global English? Is a language global in terms of the number of people that speak it? Crystal (2003:3) opines that when we say a language is Global, it means that nobody owns it any more, or that "everyone who has learned it now owns it". This is indeed the case with the English language, which has now become the language of who wishes to. It is this property of the English language that allows studies of this kind to actually exist. In other words, "global language" or "international language" here means that anybody who wishes to, speaks it "the way he wants". As concerns whether a language is global in terms of the number of its speakers, the answer will be no, as if it was the case, then Chinese would surely be a global language too. On this issue, Crystal (2003:7) opines that "Why a language becomes a global language has little to do with the number of people who speak it. It is much more to do with who those speakers are". In this vein, English is a global language because of who its speakers are. What then makes them wish to speak English and not any other language like, say, French? Many factors contributed – and some still contribute – to the global use of

English. But first, let's look at the factors that contributed to its spread. These include the effects of colonisation, the economic and military power of the USA and UK in the world, the "less involvement" of the British in colonialism, compared to other countries like France, the pride and communicative power one has when they are able to speak the language, the need for cultural contact and the development of technology. These factors shall be taken in turn below.

### **1.1.1 The Role of Colonisation in the Spread of the English Language**

Colonisation has had a very important effect on the spread of the English language in the world. This happened mainly in the mid-nineteenth century, mainly in Africa and South Pacific. This movement has greatly influence the English language in the sense that when the British, came to these new settings, there was need for communication with the local community. It is within this context that so many countries from Africa and the South Pacific struggled to speak the language. It cannot be said that it was their first contact with the language because that contact had already been made in the past, in the so called contexts of international trade and missionary expeditions. Unlike the French who, somehow, imposed their language on the local communities in which they set foot, the British tried, as much as possible, to let them speak the language the way they wished. This may be one of the reasons why there are so many varieties of the English language today. This said, though greatly reshaped and adapted to the new contexts, the "English language" became the language of communication between the local communities and the British in Africa, or the Americans in South Pacific. This path towards the Global use of the English language that was created with colonisation was strengthened at the beginning of the twentieth century with global decolonization. After this, many of the countries that were under the rule of the British and the Americans adopted the English language, either as official language or as one the official language. The English, spoken in these new settings, was bound to develop new linguistic features. This is exactly what happened to the New Englishes under study. It is within this context that the Queen's language crossed the boundaries of its motherlands to new settings. This can also be said to have favoured the Global use of the English language in the world, in the sense that any country which was under the British or American rule, started using it the way it wished, without constraints. But, this factor, taken alone, does not suffice to justify the spread of the English language. In fact, it only explains the transportation of the English language to new settings, and does not say why people became more and more interested in adopting the English language as official language or as one of the official languages in their

respective countries. Besides, what of those countries who had never had anything to do with the English language, but still adopted the English language as official language. Does it mean that English has something that other languages do not? These preoccupations shall be answered in the next sections.

### **1.1.2 The Economic and Military Power the USA and the UK enjoy**

If colonisation was actually what made the English language to become a global language, the languages like French, Spanish too would have the same status. Given the fact that this is not the case, one obvious way out would be to suppose that other factors contributed to the choice of English rather than other languages. The economic and military power of the USA and the UK has also played an important role in the spread of the English language to new ecologies. As was observed in the past, with languages such as Latin, the economic and military power of the speakers of a language can trigger people's interest towards that language. On this assumption, it is obvious that the English language will enjoy such a position as a global language, given the economic and military power of the UK and USA. It is a known fact that the USA is amongst the first most developed, both economically and militarily, countries in the world. Their position thus may have triggered people's interest towards the language, as it is obvious that many people will wish to travel across the Atlantic to the USA or the UK to better off their living conditions. For this to be possible, people who have never had contact with the so called language struggle to accommodate as they cannot travel without language proficiency. This is exactly what has happened with the English language over the years now. On this issue, Crystal (2003: 7) says that "there is the closest of links between language dominance and economic, technological, and cultural". In other words, the English language became a dominant language in the world because of the economic power the USA and the UK enjoy in the world. Reference was made to the military power because, as Crystal (2003:10) puts it, "it may take a militarily powerful nation to establish a language, but it takes an economically powerful one to maintain and expand it". This is confirmed with the English language, as in many countries, it was established through colonisation, which, of course, was militarily motivated, and maintained and expanded because of the economic power its native speakers enjoy. If this is so, then even French, Russian and German, which are spoken by militarily and economically powerful countries will also enjoy the same status. Given that it is not the case, one may conclude that economic and military power are not sufficient factors for a language to become global. Then other factors have to be taken into consideration. One may quickly say that the policies put in place

by native language users also have a great impact on the spread of their language. Given this, the many international scholarships and lotteries offered by the Americans and the British every year may help them in distancing the above-mentioned countries. This is so because, if we take Russian for example, no great effort is done in this sense for the language to enjoy international use. The same applies to French, which use is being constrained by the so called “Académie Française”. From this, one question arises. What has made a country like Rwanda, which is a former French colony to “completely” abandon French and embrace the English language in 1996? The same question goes for Algeria, which is also a former French, and which – according to Crystal (2003:5) – in 1996, replaced French as the chief foreign language in schools by English. Possible accounts for this will be given in the next section.

### **1.1.3 The “Less” Involvement of the British and the Americans in Neocolonialism**

After the colonial rule, some countries decided to “completely” abandon the governance in the hands of their “former” colonies. Others like France, gave the impression to do so, but were still involved in the governance in those countries. This made some of the countries which adopted the English language as official language or one of the official languages to develop a hatred for French as a language. When this happened, their goal was towards the English language, given its developing importance in the world. This is the case with a country like Rwanda, which, because of the “supposed” involvement of the French in the Rwandan Genocide that started in 1994, decided to rule out French in their language policy. This favoured the choice of English, at a time when it was progressively gaining ground in the region, because of the foreign aid the USA gave to local populations. Besides, at a time like that, what could be their target, if not English, which is the language of one of the most influential country in the world? Given this, the less-involvement of the British in neocolonialism, compared to other countries favoured the adoption of the English language in Rwanda as an official language. The case of Algeria is somehow different, though one may be tempted to say it is similar to Rwanda’s case. This difference lies in the fact that, unlike Rwanda, Algeria didn’t went through a conflict involving France, some years before it decided to go for English as was observed with Rwanda. What then may have triggered such a move, as Crystal (2003) observed. One may assume, following what was proposed in the previous section, that it was because of the economic and political power of the USA and UK at the time. In a nutshell, given the lack of evidence in support of the fact that Algeria adopted

the English language in 1996 because of the French phobia, we can conclude that she did it to enjoy the same privilege as the others who already had adopted the language. Still, as was mentioned above, there are other factors that may be said to have favoured the spread of the English language, which spread led to the labels English as a Global Language and English as an International Language.

#### **1.1.4 The Pride and Communicative Power one Enjoys when One Speaks the Language**

The economic and military power the USA and the UK enjoy in the world is not without effects. Because of this, speaking the English language becomes a prestige, as it is the language of mass communication. The prestigious nature of the English language then pushes others, especially those that have been ranged in the Expanding Circle of New Englishes, to do everything possible to speak the language. It seems like the more influential the English language becomes as language of international communication, the more people all around the world struggle to accommodate it. From this process, the expansion of the English language seems not to be stoppable. Even in France, where everything is being done to stop the development of the English language, it keeps on going at a very high speed. One may then conclude that because of the role of the English language as the language of international communication, the language of technology, people are more and more doing everything possible to speak it. This situation then contributes to the development of the English language as a Global and International Language.

#### **1.1.5 The Need for Cultural Contact and Technological Development**

As the English language is progressively developing, it is becoming the language of cultural and technological contact. In contexts where communication seems impossible because individuals speak different languages, the English language is used. It is a lingua franca, just as Pidgin English in Anglophone West Africa. In such contexts, it becomes the language of cultural contact. This is so because, if we take the context we mentioned above, those individuals who do not speak the same language have different cultures. These cultures are all expressed through the English language in the context of their conversation. This may trigger other people's interest, as they will be sure that if they speak the English language, they will easily communicate with people with different cultures. This is exactly what is happening to the English language. This, of course, facilitates its global use.



The fact that the English language is the language of technological development also has a great impact on its spread. At a period when technological advancement is no more a debate, people all try to accommodate. In accommodating with technology, they are compelled to try, as much as possible, to do the same with the English language as it is considered the language of technological development. This makes those who are used to the language not to preoccupy themselves. Those who are not used to it do everything to catch up. It becomes a race, where those who do not speak the English language are left behind. But since everybody wants to be first, everybody tries to accommodate.

But the use of the English language as a Global Language is not as easy as some people may think. It is good to say that English is being used as an International language. But, does it enjoy international intelligibility. In other words, since English is used by many people, and not the same way, as it was shown, do people always understand one another? The obvious answer will be no, as it has been proven that it is not always the case. If it was yes, then studies like this kind will prove unnecessary. From what precedes, it is important to look at the spread and state of the English language in West Africa, as it is closely related to the discussion at hand.

## **1.2 On West African Englishes (WAE)**

In this section, we look at the state of the English language in the West African context. To do this, the reasons that account for the existence and spread of the English language in West Africa will be examined. These include the refugee impact, the position of Nigeria as the most developed and most populated country in the region, and migration from one country to the other in search of better living conditions. All these factors shall be taken in turn below.

### **1.2.1 Factors that Militate for the Spread of the English Language in WA**

Various factors contribute to the development of a WAE. These factors can be said to facilitate the emergence of the features that were considered as being those of both CamE and NigE. This is so because the more people from various countries get in contact with others, the more they are likely to influence each other at the linguistic level. What then facilitate the contact between these people with somehow different cultures and ways of life?

### **1.2.3 The refugee Impact on the Spread of English in WA**

Omoniyi (2006:178) assesses the refugee impact on the spread of the English language in WA. The increasing number of refugees is caused by the frequent and recent political instabilities that were observed in the region. In this vein, as Omoniyi (Ibid.) assumes, refugee's direction is determined by the proximity of a country to the other and the "ease to adaptation to language and culture". It will then be obvious that, given the proximity between Cameroon and Nigeria, there is a tendency for people to move from Cameroon to Nigeria and vice versa. In the same vein, given the proximity between Ghana and Nigeria, it will be easy for people to move from Nigeria to Ghana and vice versa. This can account for the assumption that the features CamE share with NigE are features of WAE, given the fact that these features are likely to be found in Ghanaian English too, this because of the proximity between the two countries. So, given the increasing number of refugees who circulate every day in WA, WAE itself is influenced. And this influence moves towards similarities between the people of the region, not towards differences, as different cultures come together to make one. Similarly, different regional varieties of the English language come together to make one. This facilitates the move towards a unified WAE, which linguistic features are worth studying, as it is being done in this research endeavour.

### **1.3.4 The Role of Nigeria as the Economic and Demographic Big Brother in the Region**

It is a known fact that Nigeria is the most developed and populated country in WA. Recent statistics even consider Nigeria as the most populated country in Africa, and the most developed, in front of South Africa. These two peculiarities of Nigeria can be said to have a great impact on the English spoken in West Africa. This will efficiently be felt if we wish to talk about a unified variety of English in WA.

Assuming that the choice of a variety to be reflective of a whole region is determined by the number of its speakers, it is obvious that NigE will enjoy that place, as it is the most populated country in WA. Besides, she has close to half of the population of the region. Ethnologue estimates the number of inhabitants in Nigeria to be 172.7 million. In the same table, one can see that no country has even half of the Nigerian population. (See table below). The population of Nigeria and Cameroon are in bold print.

Table 1: Language pluralism in West Africa. (Ethnologue)

Country	Population	Number of Languages	Official Languages
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Benin	9.3m	55	French
Burkina	16.9m	70	French
Cameroon	<b>21.14m</b>	285	French/English
C. Verde	0.49m	2	Portuguese
Chad	12.8m	134	French/Arabic
Cote d'Ivoire	20.3m	82	French
E. Guinea	0.75m	14	Spanish/French
Gabon	1.6m	42	French
Gambia	1.8m	11	English
Ghana	26.4m	81	English
Guinea	11.4m	39	French
G. Bissau	1.7m	22	Portuguese
Liberia	3.8m	31	English
Mali	15.3m	66	French
Mauritania	3.8m	7	Arabic/Wolof/French
Niger	17.1m	21	French
Nigeria	<b>172.7m</b>	527	English/French
Sao Tome	0.19m	4	Portuguese
Senegal	13.5m	38	French
S. Leone	6.09m	25	English
Togo	6.8m	43	French

As can be seen from the table, the Nigerian population militates to the conclusion that WAE is likely to be NigE. This had already been predicted by Kachru (1995: IV), as quoted in Omoniyi (2006: 184), who pointed out that “The West Africans have over a period of time given English a Nigerian identity.” From what precedes, it follows that the features NigE share with CamE, as was observed above, are likely to be features of WAE.

Another important factor militates to the preceding conclusion. This is the economic power Nigeria enjoys in the region. This is so because, the more developed a country is, the more people engage in economic and commercial partnership with her. This is exactly what has been happening between Nigeria and Cameroon, and presumably between Nigeria and all the other countries we know off in WA. As such, cultural and linguistic contact becomes frequent and inevitable. It is what results from this type of contact that could be considered as WAE.

As such, the linguistic features NigE share with CamE can rightly be considered as features of WA, as those features result from the contact between the two cultures.

Moreover, the Nigerian film industry, through the so called *Nollywood*, can be said to facilitate the linguistic and cultural contact between WA countries. It is a known fact that mass media play a great role in cultural and linguistic contact. This is so because what people watch on television, especially the youth, they wish to practice it. This is exactly what has been happening in WA and even beyond the West African boundaries, with the influence of Nigerian films that have taken control in the region. Through those films, the Nigerian culture and ways of life are transmitted to people with different cultures and linguistic realities. This favours the development of WAE, and militates to the consideration of the features NigE share with CamE as features of WAE.

### **1.2.5 The Impact of Migration from One Country to the other in Search of Better Living Conditions**

Throughout the study of language contact and change, migration has always been considered as playing a great role. This is so because when people move from one place to the other, they go along with their culture and language. When they come into contact with the people of the settling land, two cultures obviously come into contact. From this contact, therefore, new linguistic features are likely to develop. As was stated above under the refugees impact, when people move from one country to the other, their choice of the country is determined by linguistic facilities. It will then be obvious that it will be easy for a Nigerian to settle in an Anglophone region of Cameroon, and for any Anglophone Cameroonian to settle in Nigeria. The same thing goes for Nigeria and Ghana, The Gambia and Nigeria, Ghana and Cameroon etc. But, given the demographic boom in Nigeria, people may be tempted to rather move from Nigeria to other Anglophone countries in WA. Seen from another angle, people will rather move from other WA countries to Nigeria, because of the economic power she enjoys. Given this, the impact of migration is very important on the spread of English in WA. This may be said to have favoured the existence of the similarities that were observed between CamE and NigE.

In a nutshell, all the factors that were presented above contribute to the development of WAE and the consideration of the features NigE share with other Englishes in WA as features of WAE. If this is so, then the features that were licensed to be peculiar to both CamE and NigE

are features of WAE. From the analysis of the preceding factors, one question is seriously begged. This concerns the situation of Liberia, which, unlike other WA countries has a different history, especially when it comes to the implantation of the English language in the various countries of the region. The historical context of Liberia makes the English that is spoken there to be mostly influenced by AmE. This is so because Liberia is a settler country for those former slaves who lived and worked in America. A close look at the history of Liberia shows that, unlike other WA countries, Liberia did not go through the so called colonisation. Liberian English is then likely to be influenced by American English. This is so because the language with which most of them grew up is AmE. This makes Liberian English to be different to the others in the region because the other countries were mostly influenced by BrE. But, given the supposed economic exchange and the refugees' impact we talk about earlier, Liberian English is likely to come into contact with the other Englishes in the WA, and, of course, develop new linguistic features. Let's now examine the linguistic situation both in Cameroon and Nigeria.

### **1.3 The Linguistic Situation in Cameroon and Nigeria**

The historical and cultural proximity between Cameroon and Nigeria makes one wonder if the two countries do not share linguistic features. The multilingual setting of Cameroon has, for many years now, sparked some important research (Echu, 2003; Mforteh, 2006; Rosendal, 2008) on the influence of those languages on one another. When two or more languages are used in the same cultural and social milieu, they tend to influence one another in one way or the other, to the extent that even the language(s) that is(are) official in that particular area, change(s) as time passes by and gain(s) new features at all linguistic levels. Cameroon is a very good example of such areas where, because of the influence of local languages, two main lingua franca (CPE and Fulfulde) and a hybrid code (Camfranglais), English and French that are official languages are changing and adapting, more and more, to the social, cultural and pragmatic realities of the country. These changes have led to what scholars call today Cameroon English or Cameroonian English (See Omoniyi 2006: 176), which, according to Mbangwana (1992), is English in form, but Cameroonian in mood and content. Sala (2003) defines it as English with a Cameroonian touch. Since then, a lot has been written on CamE, but scholars have paid little attention to syntax and have mostly focused on phonology, lexicology, and sociolinguistics.

As concerns Nigeria, it is a West African country where the English language is spoken alongside French, three main indigenous languages reflecting the three main ethnic groups (the Igbo, the Yoruba and the Hausa) and a major lingua franca which is Pidgin English. Nigeria, just like Cameroon, started speaking English as a result of colonisation. When Nigeria obtained her independence in 1960, she opted for the English language as her official language, i.e. the language of education and administration. The English language, therefore, used in this new ecology, adapted to the cultural realities of this country and became more of a nativised and an indigenised English. From this process, according to Ajani (2007:1), “the phrase ‘Nigerian English’ appeared in the last decades or so”. Walsh (1967) was among the first to draw attention to the existence of a variety of EL known as “Nigerian English” (NE). Ogu (1992: 88) quoted Walsh (1967) who said that “The varieties of English spoken by educated Nigerians, no matter their language, have enough features in common to mark off a general type, which may be called Nigerian English” (Ajani, *ibid*). According to Ajani (*ibid*),

Bokamba (1982, 1991) recognized the existence of a NE and referred to it as a variety of what he called “West African Vernacular English” (WAVE). Similarly, Jibril (1982) saw NE as part of the continuum of “West African English.” Akere (1982) likewise spoke of the emergence of a “Standard Nigerian English.” Odumuh (1987, 1993) recognized NE as one of the new Englishes and had this to say: “Our position is that there exists at the moment a single super ordinate variety of Standard English in Nigeria which can be regarded as “Nigerian English”. Several other linguists (e.g., Salami, 1968; Adekunle, 1974, 1985; Adetugbo, 1979; Balogun, 1980; Kujore 1985; Adegbija, 1989; Kachru 1986, 1992a, 1992b etc.) to mention only these few, have written about or made passing references to this variety of EL. But, just like in Cameroon, Nigerian linguists are still working towards standardizing Nigerian English, though, they share conflicting ideas as to what can be considered Nigerian English, on the one hand, and who speaks it, on the other hand.

### **1.3.1 Cameroon English and Nigerian English: Problems of Definition and Standardisation**

When languages move from one ecology to the other, they tend to get in contact with the language(s) that is (are) spoken there. This favours the birth of sub-standards of that particular language, which may become standards if used by many and well described. This is the case with the so called New Englishes that emerged as a result of the spread of The English language from its motherlands (Great Britain, The USA, Australia etc.) to other geographical areas, mostly due to colonization and international trade. This has led to the emergence of Singapore English, Ghanaian English, Nigerian English, and Cameroon English etc. But,

defining these new Englishes and standardising them pose serious problems, and have been one of the reasons why linguist torn apart. This is the case of the non-native Englishes under study. If non-native Englishes are difficult to define, then standardisation issues are far from being solved. The main objective of this section therefore is to clarify the fact that CamE and NigE seem to be difficult to define, and create a way amid the definitions that have been proposed - which way will help to state what the present work will consider to be CamE and NigE, since, it is believed, there is no standard yet.

### **1.3.1.1 What Is Cameroon English? Who Speaks it and Why?**

Defining The English spoken in Cameroon has been part of the concern of linguists inside and outside of Cameroon. Many of them have tried to not only say what they think should be referred to as Cameroon English, but also have given an account of who speaks it and why. The problem here is at four different levels: how it should be referred to, what can be considered Cameroon English, who speaks it, what has been said on standardisation and intelligibility issues, and what are people's attitudes towards it.

At the level of terminology, the term "Cameroon English" (CamE) itself triggers a lot of questions and preoccupations. It has become a custom for scholars and researchers to term the English spoken by Cameroonians as "Cameroon English", rather than "Cameroonian English" which can better suit the intended purpose. By terming it "Cameroon English", it seems like reference is being made to the English spoken in Cameroon, Cameroon here being taken from a geographical perspective, i.e. within the Cameroonian landscape. But, "Cameroon English" cannot be the English spoken in Cameroon per say, since, in Cameroon, there are Americans, Chinese, British etc. who speak English. Thus, saying "Cameroon English" may encompass the English of Americans who live in Cameroon. This is the main reason why the expression "Cameroonian English" should be used, rather than "Cameroon English". The expression Cameroonian English immediately entails not only that it is the English used by Cameroonians, but also that it is the English used in a Cameroonian way, that reflects Cameroonian cultural realities at all levels. This view itself, though better, is not preoccupations-free, as another question arises. This is: where will we range Cameroonians who grew up out of Cameroon and who, of course, have English as second language? An obvious answer will be to say that they cannot be speakers of CamE because what they speak will definately not reflect the Cameroonian ways of life and culture, given the fact that they have not (really) been exposed to them.

At the level of what is Cameroon English and who speaks it, opinions abound. The term Cameroon English was first coined by Kouega (1999). Before then, researchers referred to the English spoken in Cameroon as “Standard Cameroon English”. According to Mbangwana (1992), quoted in Sala (2003), Cameroon English is “English in form, but Cameroonian in content and mood”. This simply means that the English spoken in Cameroon looks like Standard British English, but is shaped by cultural, social, pragmatic etc. realities of the country. Sala (2003) is of the opinion that Cameroon English should be what is spontaneously and naturally spoken by Anglophone Cameroonians. Ubanako (2008) argues that there are varieties of Cameroon English, and that Cameroon English is a “macrocosm of microcosms”. From this, when referring to Cameroon English, we should bear in mind that, just like native Englishes, there are regional varieties of Cameroon English, and of course idiolects. Cameroon English becomes an umbrella under which different variations can be listed. According to Simo Bobda and Mbangwana (2008: 199),

The term Cameroon English (or Cameroon Standard English used by previous authors) is meant to contrast with four main kinds of speech. First, it stands in contrast to Pidgin English widely used in Cameroon. Second, it contrasts with the speech of the uneducated speakers of English... CamE further contrasts with the speech of Francophone Cameroonians; some of these speakers may have a high command of English, but they are regarded as users of a performance variety and can hardly serve as a reference. Finally, the term Cameroon English excludes the speech of a handful of Cameroonians who have been so influenced by other varieties (RP, American English, etc.) that they can no longer be considered representative of the English spoken in Cameroon.

From this explanation, it is clear that in defining Cameroon English, many Cameroonians are excluded. These include Francophone Cameroonians, uneducated Cameroonians and Cameroonians who live or who have lived abroad and have been really influenced by native varieties. Cameroon English therefore becomes a matter of others. Why should a Francophone Cameroonian who speaks good English not be included in the determination of Cameroon English? Does it mean that they are not Cameroonians? From the preceding explanation, Cameroon English therefore is not the English of Cameroonians, but the English of a handful of them, let's say the English of some educated speakers in Cameroon, who are, first from an Anglophone background, and second, live in Cameroon. The question to be asked is whether we can define the standard for country just by taking into consideration a handful of citizens. What then can be considered CamE? Still on the issue of who speaks CamE, other researchers are of the opinion that Cameroonians from a Francophone background speak a variety of English that is different from the ‘Anglophone-Cameroonians’ variety. These include Kouega



(2008) and Safotso (2012). Kouega (2008), in describing the English of Francophone Cameroonians, terms it “FrancoE”, an appellation which according to Safotso (2012: 2471) is inappropriate, as it may refer to “any non-native variety of English spoken by francophones anywhere in the world”. He therefore proposes the label “CamFE” (Cameroon Francophone English), which to him is appropriate, as it is “closely related to the parent CamE”. The word “parent” in the preceding quotation clearly entails that CamE is the father of CamFE, and that CamFE should be taken into consideration when defining Cameroon English. A solution to this problem, may therefore be to consider CamE as a broad variety, that has regional and linguistic variations. By linguistic variation here is meant the changes that arise as a result of the influence of mother tongues, lingua franca (pidgin, Fulfulde), and second language (which in this case is French). Cameroon English would therefore be Ubanako’s “macrocosm of microcosms”. In other words, CamE, just like BrE, for example, will have regional dialects.

As far as intelligibility and standardisation issues are concerned, they are worth mentioning, as there is no standard without national and international intelligibility, on the one hand, and as non-native Englishes should be standardized in order to be taught to their speakers, on the other hand. The intelligibility debate on CamE has been the topic of concern of many researchers amongst which Atechi (2004). It is obvious that CamE may be intelligible amongst Cameroonians, but what about its intelligibility at the international level? Atechi (2004) is of the opinion that apart from some differences in pronunciation that seem to create intelligibility failure between CamE speakers and BrE and AmE speakers, these Englishes are mutually intelligible. Besides, the intelligibility problem should not be, as has often been the case, seen only from the point of view of the non-native English speaker, as even the native speaker can learn non-native Englishes to be able to easily communicate with non-native speakers. The standardisation problem has also been touched by many researchers. The central question that is often asked at this level is why we are still relying of BrE norms, when we know that it is an impossible task to achieve. Besides, we still ask ourselves that if CamE was to be standardized, what should be the standard for the whole country? The second question, we believe, has somehow been answered, as it is closely related to what is CamE. Opinions on the first question are found in works such as Ngefac (2010, 2011). According to Ngefac (2010, 2011), Cameroon English should be standardized and taught, because it seems like, in Cameroon, “the blind are leading the blind”, that is, those who are said to teach BrE themselves do not speak it. How therefore, can they teach something that they don’t speak? He thus advocates the teaching of CamE to Cameroonians. On attitudinal concerns, it can be

said that no matter what is done, some people will always have a negative attitude towards non-native Englishes. This may be attributed to the fact they are native English speakers, and they wish to “preserve” their language. But, if a non-native speaker has a negative attitude towards non-native Englishes, it would sound incomprehensible, since you cannot condemn what you naturally and unconsciously speak and write every day. For the present research endeavour, CamE is considered to be what is spontaneously spoken and written (in the form of literary texts) by educated Anglophone Cameroonians who live in Cameroon. By “educated” here is meant those who have at least gone through secondary education.

### **1.3.1.2 What Is Nigerian English, Who Speaks it and Why?**

As far as Nigerian English is concerned, the same problems arise, and have been subject to linguistic debates, inside and outside Nigeria, amongst linguists. The issues raised here, just like it was the case with CamE, concern the definition of Nigerian English, who its speakers are, issues of standardisation and intelligibility, and, of course, attitudinal concerns. On the first issue raised (the definition of NigE and who speaks it), various opinions abound. Ogu (1992) opines that Walsh (1967) was among the first to draw attention to the existence of a variety of English language that could be called “Nigerian English” (NE). Since then, many scholars have been trying to describe what could be referred to as a “Standard Nigerian English”, (Walsh, 1967; Bokamba, 1982, 1991; Akere, 1982; Odumuh, 1987, 1993; etc.) given the fact that there are three main ethnic groups (Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa) in Nigeria whose English is likely to be influenced by their first language. Umumwango (2009: 26) expressed Akundele’s (1974) point of view on NigE by saying that there are three major dimensions of Nigerian English, namely “the ‘near native speaker variety’ which can be identified with the educated elite in Nigeria; the local color variety which is commonly found among the Nigerian literary prose writers; and the ‘incipient bilingual type’ that is characterized by local socio-linguistic factors. Akere (1982) defines Nigerian English as “an aggregate of the homogeneous grammatical structures common to Nigerian usages, having varying pronunciation peculiarities as well as socially constrained usage of some lexical items”. From this view, it is clear that Nigerian English is more of a local variety, which is built with reference to the Nigerian culture and ways of life. Odumuh (1987), still in an attempt to work out what NigE is, opines that NigE is a composite of three main dialects reflecting the three main ethnic groups in Nigeria; the Igbo, the Hausa and the Yoruba. He goes forward to posit that variety differentiation in NigE should be approached in two

different ways: the mode (written and spoken), and educational attainment (educated standard, semi-educated standard and non-standard). It is therefore clear, from Odumuh's point of view that NigE is a continuum of usages, on the one hand, and that it is both spoken and written, on the other hand. Besides, Jibril (1982) is of the opinion that Nigerian English should be viewed from the same perspective as native Englishes, because, just like them, it has regional variations. Bangbose (1982), one of the most prominent linguists that have worked on NigE, approaches NigE from three different approaches. These are "interference", "deviation" and "creativity approaches". By "interference" is meant the variety that arises as a result of the influence of local languages. This approach is weakened by the fact that local languages cannot be the only languages that have an impact on NigE. Pidgin, French and Fulfulde can have an influence as well. This approach, according to Ajani (2007: 3) also ignores the processes of language development such as semantic extensions. "Deviation", from Bangbose's viewpoint refers to the deviations observed, with reference to native Englishes. This approach, from Ajani (ibid), does not include the creativity means. The last one, "the creativity approach" refers to the creation of idioms with a Nigerian touch. Bangbose then affirms that in labeling NigE, all these three approaches must be taken into consideration. Moreover, Ajani (2007:2), in the same vein, is of the opinion that "each variety will also have various sub-varieties or dialects, reflecting its multilingual environment". This point of view can be linked to NigE, and it will become from Ubanako (2008) point of view, a "macrocosm of microcosm", since NigE will encompass the English of the Igbo, that of the Yoruba, that of the Hausa, etc. From the opinions we have outlined so far, it is clear that Nigerian English is not a single entity, but a composite of different regional variations. One question, at this level, seriously begs for an answer. This is: what should therefore be the standard that can be taught to Nigerians? Issues of standardisation and intelligibility have been tackled in such works as Ajani (2007). Here is what Ajani (2007: 3-4) has to say about this:

The issue of intelligibility has also been variously dealt with. The most representative opinion on this, however, is that NE is indigenous to Nigeria and its most basic usage is intra-national, which it does well. On the question of international intelligibility, the opinion is that standard NE is to a large extent intelligible and that whatever difficulties encountered along those lines are not peculiar to NE alone, but also to the users of all the other varieties of EL worldwide. The difficulties encountered by the NE speaker communicating with an American English speaker will be similar in many respects to that encountered by an Australian English speaker communicating with a New Zealander.

The interpretation of Ajani's point of view reveals that NigE is intelligible at the national level, and that, at the international level, it is also intelligible, though not completely.

Attitudinal concerns are tackled by works such as Olusola (2012), which study revealed that “the attitudes of the pre-service English teachers to the promotion of the Standard Nigerian English are generally positive” See Olusola (2012: 275). This means that in Nigeria, the majority of teachers, who are vehicles of knowledge, have a positive attitude towards the promotion of Nigerian English. Besides, it may be understood that native speakers of English have a negative attitude towards non-native Englishes, as they may be “preserving” their language and culture. But, it becomes problematic when a non-native speaker has a negative attitude towards what he speaks. It sounds “stupid” and incomprehensible. In the light of the present work, NigE, just like CamE, is considered to be what is spontaneously spoken and written (in the form of literary texts) by educated Igbo and Yoruba Nigerians who live in Nigeria.

## CHAPTER TWO

### **THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND LITERATURE REVIEW**

To actually comprehend what the Minimalist Program (MP), as outlined in Chomsky (1993, 1995, 1998, 1999) and others, is all about, one needs to visit the historical background against which it came to be known. This chapter addresses that issue. It is divided into three main parts. It starts with the Theoretical Considerations and ends with the Literature Review. The first part deals, in a progressive manner, with what syntax, and especially movement transformations, is all about from the Chomskian tradition, followed by the description of the frameworks that will be used in the analysis of the data. In the second part, we look at the syntax of some non-native Englishes in West Africa. The third part has to do with the presentation of the state of research in the domain of syntax, both in Cameroon English (CamE) and Nigerian English (NigE).

#### **2.1 Theoretical Considerations**

In this section, theoretical considerations are presented to the reader. As already mentioned above, it is important to revisit the background against which it came to be known. In this vein, an overview of the so called Generative grammar will be presented to the reader below.

##### **2.1.1 An Overview of Generative Syntax**

Studies in Generative Syntax fall within the field of Descriptive linguistics and Cognitive linguistics, as Chomsky, on the one hand, was a descriptivist, and as, on the other hand, he viewed languages from a cognitive approach, as opposed to the behaviourist approach. To him, every human being is born with what he calls the LAD (Language Acquisition Device) that permits them to have linguistic competence in any language, after exposure. In this vein, he defines linguistic competence as “the speaker-hearer knowledge of a language” (Chomsky 1965: 4). The term generative therefore refers to what generates from the mind of every speaker of a language, and which permits them to achieve performance in that language. He defines performance as “the actual use of language in concrete situations” (Chomsky, *ibid*). Syntax on its own as defined by Chomsky (1957:11) “is the study of the principles and processes by which sentences are constructed in particular languages. Syntactic

investigation of a given language has as its goal the construction of a grammar that can be viewed as a device of some sort for producing the sentences of the language under analysis". So, from the two definitions given above, Generative syntax has to do with the study of the rules underlying the construction of sentences in human languages, those rules being understood as inborn, or as endowed in each and every speaker's mind. Chomsky (1965) opines that:

Generative Grammar is a system of rules that in some explicit and well-formed way assigns structural description to sentences. An interesting Generative grammar will be dealing, for the most part, with mental processes that are far beyond the level of actual or even potential consciousness...It attempts to characterize in the most neutral possible terms the knowledge of the language that provides the basis for actual use of language by a speaker-hearer.

Therefore a grammarian from this school will be interested in analysing the productions of native speakers of languages in order to find out the rules that they follow, and which permit them to speak languages the way they do. It is worth mentioning here that those rules are, most of the time, mastered intuitively by speakers of languages, and that the grammarian's task is to describe them, so as to make them available to speakers of languages. Since everybody, from this viewpoint, can speak any language through the LAD, Chomsky thinks that languages have so much in common, and this permits him to adopt the theory of Universal Grammar (UG). According to Chomsky (1965: 5), the notion of UG started with Du Marsais in 1729. Du Marsais, according to him, distinguished between "Universal grammar" and "particular grammar". From Du Marsais' point of view, what he calls "la Grammaire Generale" (UG) are observations that are common to every language. "La Grammaire Particulière" refers to observations that are proper to a particular language (Chomsky 1965: 5). Chomsky (ibid) goes forward to say that the UG debate was further carried on by James Beattie, who, in 1788, compared languages to men. For him,

Languages, therefore, resemble men in this respect, that, though each has peculiarities, whereby it is distinguished from every other, yet all have certain qualities in common...Those things that all languages have in common, or that are necessary to every language, are treated of in a science, which some called Universal or Philosophical grammar.

(Chomsky 1965: 5).

Moreover, Chomsky (1986a: 23) defines UG as "the theory of human I-languages... that identifies the I-languages that are humanly accessible under normal circumstances". Radford (2004a:2) explains that "the expression 'are humanly accessible' means can be acquired by human beings". He goes forward to explain that "UG is a theory about the nature of possible

grammars of human languages: hence, a theory of Universal Grammar answers the question: What are the defining characteristics of the grammars of human I-languages?” Chomsky then moves from there to provide a number of criteria of adequacy that a theory of UG must satisfy, that is, the number of criteria that have to be met for there to be a theory of UG. He distinguishes between Descriptive adequacy and explanatory adequacy. He views Descriptive adequacy from the point of view of Universality, as “UG would be of little interest if it enabled us to describe the grammar of English and French, but not that of Swahili or Chinese”. (Radford *ibid*). Explanatory adequacy, on its own, must be satisfied as,

Since the ultimate goal of any theory is explanation, it is not enough for a theory of Universal Grammar simply to list sets of universal properties of natural language grammars; on the contrary, a theory of UG must seek to explain the relevant properties. So, a key question for any adequate theory of UG to answer is: ‘Why do grammars of human I-languages have the properties they do?’

To further explain his theory of UG, it is clear that if everybody has the capacity to acquire any language when exposed to, then, languages have so many things in common. Chomsky refers to them as “Principles of UG”. But, since languages cannot all have the same properties, he refers to the variations across languages as “Parameters of UG”. It is good to mention here that while Principles seem to be inborn, Parameters are most of the time acquired at the stage of exposure. Below are examples of Principles.

**The Structure-Preserving Principle (SPP):** In every human language, “structures established at D-structure” (Deep Structure) “must be preserved at S-Structure” (Surface Structure) (Haegeman 1994: 337). In other words, transformations are subject to the SPP in all human languages. So if at Deep Structure we have an NP position, that position must be maintained at SS.

**The Extended Projection Principle (EPP):** This principle requires that sentences have subjects in every human language. This subject can be explicit as in English and French etc. or implicit as in Spanish. Examples of such constructions are given in (1), (2) and (3) below. The items in boldprint are subjects.

(1) **I** am coming from France (English)

(2) **Je** viens de la France (French)

(3) **Vengo** de Francia (Spanish)

All these sentences, it should be noted, respect the EPP, though in Spanish (3), the subject is not explicit. We say this because the verb “vengo” in example (3) respects subject-verb agreement. It is in the first person singular, and that is the main reason why it ends with the morpheme “o”. Languages like Spanish are said to have strong present tense morphology, as

each personal pronoun in nominative case requires a different morphological feature. Thus, the inflection “o” in (3) of the verb “vengo”, shows that the subject is a first person singular nominative pronoun. On the contrary, English is said to have weak present tense morphology, as a sentence such as “\*Have money”, which is ungrammatical, will be ambiguous, in terms of the person having money. We would not know, for instance, if the subject is a first person singular nominative pronoun or a second person singular nominative pronoun.

Instances of parameters are given below.

**Null subject Parameter:** There are languages in which the subject may be covert, and others that require the subject to always be overt. Languages that can have an implicit subject are referred to in the literature as “pro-drop languages”. Some of such languages are Spanish and Italian. Consider sentences in (4), (5), (6) and (7) below. (5) and (6) are from Radford (2004a:8) and the others from our everyday experiences.

(4) Habla Francés (Spanish)

(5) Parla Francese (Italian)

(6) \*Speaks French (English)

(7) \*Parle Français (French)

While the Spanish and Italian examples are grammatical, the English and French examples are ungrammatical. This can thus be referred to as a parametric variation.

**Subjacency Parameter:** In works dating back to the 1990s, Luigi Rizzi proposes that subjacency is a parameter, with reference to his works on Italian syntax. Luigi Rizzi, as quoted by Haegeman (1994: 412,) proposes that bounding nodes are parametrised. To him, in English, bounding nodes are Inflectional Phrase (IP) and Noun Phrase (NP), but in Italian, they are IP and CP. This makes subjacency to be parametric (see Haegeman 1994 for further explanation). All what is mentioned above are just some examples amongst others.

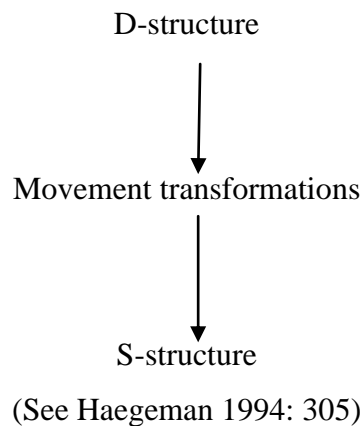
In a nutshell, the history of Generative Syntax can be divided into three different phases. The first phase started with the publication of *Syntactic Structures* in 1957, and expanded up to the publication of *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* in 1965. The second phase began in the 1960s. At this stage, Generative Grammar is referred to as “The Government and Binding Theory”. The last phase started in 1995, with Generative Grammar becoming “The Minimalist Program” (Chomsky 2002: Xii). By “Minimalist” here is meant the simplification of syntactic processes and rules so as to make them easily acquirable by native speakers of languages. This then brings us to look what the notion of movement is all about. This will be done in the next section.



### 2.1.2 An Overview of Movement Transformations

In the history related to the study of generative syntax, a very important theory has been developed, and up to now, is being applied by grammarians to other languages. This, in the literature, is called the “Theory of Movement”, which is the topic of concern in the present research endeavour. “Movement” from a general sense, as the name entails, involves the displacement of one element from a specific position to another. In the domain of syntax, as defined in the literature, movement entails a series of transformations that are summarised in three different operations: “merger”, “copy” and “deletion” (Radford 2004a: 85). From this view, syntactic operations such as questioning, passivisation, topicalisation and clefting are movement related. In the literature, these syntactic transformations are labeled under NP-movement (passivisation and raising), WH-movement (wh-questions), T-to-C movement (yes/no questions and wh-questions) and Vacuous movement (wh-questions). Haegeman (1994: 295), when discussing movement transformations, says that “each and every sentence is associated with two levels of syntactic representation: D-structure and S-structure”. What she calls D-structure here is the base structure, or as she terms it, “the underlying order” (Haegeman 1994:297), which is the structure of a sentence before transformations are operated. The S-structure, or as she terms it, the “derived order” is the structure of a sentence after transformations have been operated. These notions of underlying structure (D-structure) and derived structure (S-structure) are also found in Ross (1967: 3). In the GBT, added to these are two other levels of grammatical representations, namely “Phonetic Form” (PF) and “Logical Form” (LF). These, as Bassong (2010: 13) explains, are “two interface levels”, i.e. where there is “interaction between meaning and sound”, meaning being related to LF representation, and sound to PF representation. Adopting a GB approach, we can say that the distinction between D-structure and S-structure is important, as the Theta Theory and the Case Theory depend on them. To better explicate this, we can say that, in the case of the passive, theta roles are assigned at D-structure, whereas elements move to be case-marked at S-structure. The notions of D-structure and S-structure are schematised as follows:

Figure 1: The link between the DS and SS Levels of Representation.



To exemplify these notions, let's consider (8) and (9) below.

(8) Peter played football in the garden.

(9) Football was played by Peter in the garden.

(9) is the passive counterpart of (8). The D-structure representation of (9) is given below under (9a), and the S-structure under (9b).

(9a) [<sub>IP</sub> <sub>E</sub> [<sub>I'</sub> was [<sub>VP</sub> played [<sub>NP</sub> football [by Peter in the garden]]]]]

(9b) [<sub>IP</sub> football<sub>i</sub> [<sub>I'</sub> was [<sub>VP</sub> played [<sub>NP</sub> <sub>E</sub><sub>i</sub> [by Peter in the garden]]]]]

Passivisation, it should be noted, is an instance of NP-movement. In the preceding examples, the NP “football” moves from its base position, that is, the position outlined at D-structure (inside VP) to a derived position at S-structure (Spec-IP). It leaves an NP-trace, and the history of movement is shown through the coindexation “<sub>i</sub>, <sub>E</sub><sub>i</sub>”. Haegeman (1994: 297), on this issue, says that “coindexation encodes the derivational history of the sentence”. In other words, coindexation shows the history of movement within a particular sentence. Moreover, the theta roles are assigned at D-structure. In this case, it should be noted that passive verbs fail to assign external theta roles. Internal theta roles are therefore assigned at D-structure (The internal theta role of the verb “play” is “football”). The NP “football” moves from its base position at D-structure to a derived position at S-structure as a result of Chomsky’s “Principle of Greed” (move  $\alpha$  only to satisfy a *featural* requirement of  $\alpha$ ). But, from the GB perspective, A-movement (Argument movement) was motivated by case marking. In more recent works (e.g. Chomsky 2003), movement is motivated by three different, but related, minimal syntactic facts: the “Principle of Greed” (See Chomsky 1995), the “Checking Theory” and the “Theory of Attraction” (See Radford 1998), where, for the “Theory of

Attraction”, an element carrying “Strong Features” causes movement “of a set of features from one category position to another” (See Radford 1998: 254). From the “Checking Theory” perspective, elements move to check their features. Once these features are checked, they are “erased”. If not, the derivation “crashes”. As for the “Principle of Greed”, elements move only to satisfy their own morphological requirements. These notions will be further explained in the Chapter Four and Five. At S-structure, the NP “football” is assigned nominative case. This movement is referred to, in the literature, as “move- $\alpha$ ” or “move-alpha” (Haegeman 1994: 306). The moved element is the antecedent of the trace, and this movement creates a chain represented as  $\langle \text{football}_i, t_i \rangle$ , where “football” is the head of the chain, and “ $t_i$ ” (the trace), the foot. It is of great importance to mention here that when no movement occurs, D-structure and S-structure look alike. This is reechoed in Haegeman (1994: 300). Other types of movements include WH-movement (WH-questions), T-to-C movement (Yes/no questions), vacuous movement (WH-questions) etc. Let’s discuss vacuous movement, as it is an example where the D-structure and the S-structure almost look alike. Vacuous movement (under subject movement), as defined in Haegeman (1994: 398), is a type of “movement transformations whose effects cannot be observed”. Consider (10) and the question (11) formed from it.

(10) Peter took my pen.

(11) Who took my pen?

The D-structure and the S-structure of (11) are given in turn as (11a) and (11b) respectively.

(11a) [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> who [<sub>I'</sub> ed [<sub>VP</sub> take [my pen]]]]]

(11b) [<sub>CP</sub> who<sub>i</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> [<sub>I'</sub> ed [<sub>VP</sub> take [my pen]]]]]

In the preceding examples, the D-structure and the S-structure almost look alike, as the wh-element “who” does not move the same way as it was observed with the case of NP-movement above. On the contrary, it moves from IP to CP, to satisfy the requirement that wh-element should occupy [spec, CP], or the fact that Spec-CP has a “strong wh-feature” (Question feature) that “attracts” wh-elements and causes their movement. Besides, “Peter”, the external argument stays pre-verbal, and “my pen”, the internal argument stay in-situ. But, it is good to mention here that these transformations are not done haphazardly, they follow some constraints.

### 2.1.3 The Constraints on Movement

Research undertaken by John Robert Ross in the 1960s culminated in 1967 to *Constraints on Variables in Syntax*, in which most of the constraints on movement are

outlined. Before then, as Ross (1967) remarks, the only previous attempts to constraint transformations was Chomsky's A-over-A principle, which, he continues, was first stated to satisfy the unambiguity of transformations in sentences such as (12) below, which can have the two structures given in (12a) and (12b).

(12) Mary saw the boy walking to the railroad station

(12a) NP – verb – NP- complement

(12b) NP – verb – NP

(See Ross 1967: 12-14 for further explanations)

The A-over-A principle, as stated by Ross (1967:13), is formulated in (13) below.

(13) “If the phrase X of category A is embedded within a larger phrase ZXW which is also of the category A, then no rule applying to the category A applies to X (but only to ZXW).”

Chomsky himself explained this by saying that “only dominating, not dominated, nodes can be affected by the operation of a rule” (See Ross *ibid*). In a very simplistic way, we can say that, according to the A-over-A principle, an NP - for instance – included in a larger NP that dominates it cannot be questioned or relativized; only the larger NP, which dominates, can be questioned or relativized. To exemplify this, let's consider (14) below.

(14) The man who is standing in front of the door is my uncle.

With regards to the A-over-Principle, the NP “the door” which is dominated by the larger NP “the man who is standing in front of the door”, where “the man” is the head, cannot be questioned or relativized. A sentence like (14a) below is therefore ungrammatical. Its ungrammaticality can be explained in relation to the A-over-A principle, as the dominated NP “the door” is extracted out of the dominant NP by a question operation.

(14a) \*Where is the man who is standing in front of is my uncle?

But, just like Chomsky himself remarked, Ross (1967) sees this principle as “too strong” and “too weak”, as it does not always apply. He therefore sets out to fill in that gap. This will lead to the formulation of the constraints we know off today. It became obvious then that transformations should follow a series of rules, which themselves have to be constrained in order to avoid “non-sentences” (ungrammatical sentences). These constraints, it should be said, are embedded in native speakers of languages minds, and they permit them to have linguistic competence in their respective languages. They are labeled, in the literature, under the “Bounding Theory” (See Haegeman 1994: 400). Besides, some of these constraints “have roughly the same effect as the A-over-A principle” (See Ross 1967: 117), and others are set to complement it where it is considered too strong. These constraints, according to Ross

(1967:493) divide phrase markers into “islands”. The notion of “islands”, which was first introduced in syntax by Ross in the process of constraining the power of variables, refers to syntactic domains out of which movement is barred.

### 2.1.3.1 The Wh-Island Constraint

With reference to islands, which are like independent blocks of a whole ocean, a wh-island is like a portion of a sentence introduced by a wh-element. From a strict grammatical sense, a wh-island is an indirect question, that is, embedded CPs introduced by Wh-constituent. Example (15) below, which is drawn from Haegeman (1994: 401), is an illustration of what a wh-island is.

(15) I wonder [<sub>CP</sub>which problem<sub>i</sub>[<sub>IP</sub>John could solve t<sub>j</sub> this way]]

In example (15) above, the CP, introduced by the wh-constituent “which”, is what we refer to as a wh-island. As the constraint entails, extraction out of such a portion of a sentence is barred. This accounts for the ungrammaticality of (15a) below, which is derived from (15). In the ungrammatical example, the NP “this way” is extracted out of the wh-island to the matrix [Spec, CP1]. This movement poses a problem, as a constituent of the wh-island is moved out.

(15a) \*[<sub>CP1</sub>How<sub>i</sub> do [<sub>IP1</sub> you [<sub>VP</sub> wonder [<sub>CP2</sub> which problem C° [<sub>IP2</sub> john could [<sub>VP</sub> solve t<sub>j</sub>i ]]]]]]?]

This type of movement, we will see, also violates the Subjacency condition on movement (see Haegeman 1994 for further explanations).

### 2.1.3.2 The Complex-NP Constraint

The Complex NP Constraint, as the name entails, applies to NPs that are considered “complex”. The key term in the elaboration of this constraint is the phrase “Complex NP”. An NP, according to Ross (1967:49) “is complex if it dominates the node S”. By “node S” in the preceding is meant an IP. In a more simplistic way, complex-NPs are relative clauses. From the definition given above, the italicized portion of (16) below is a complex NP, where “the man” is the head NP, and the complement “who is responsible for the crime” is restrictive in nature, as it qualifies the head NP.

(16) John wants to talk to *the man who is responsible for the crime*.

This constraint, like the others, applies to “Reordering Transformations”, which Ross (1967:117) defines as “transformations which have the effect of moving one or more terms of the structural description around some other terms of it”. It is stated below.

“No element contained in a sentence dominated by a noun phrase with a lexical head may be moved out of that noun phrase by a transformation” (Ross 1967: 127).

This constraint accounts for the ungrammaticality of (17b) and (17c) below, which are both derived from (17a). (17b) and (17c) are non-sentences because the extraction of the NP “the crime” out of the complex NP “the man who is responsible for the crime” is prohibited by the Complex NP Constraint. So, violation of this constraint leads to ungrammaticality.

(17a) John wants to talk to the man who is responsible for the crime.

(17b) \* The crime that John wants to talk to the man who is responsible for.

(17c) \* What is responsible for the man John wants to talk to?

Besides this constraint is the Coordinate Structure Constraint, which will be explained below.

### **2.1.3.3 The Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC)**

The CSC is a constraint on reordering transformations, which applies to structures in which there are at least two conjuncts linked by a conjunction. Ross explains this in the following terms: “a coordinate structure contains at least two conjuncts, but may contain any higher number of them.” The CSC, as quoted in Ross (1967:161), is outlined below.

“In a coordinate structure, no conjunct may be moved, nor may any element contained in a conjunct be moved out of that conjunct”.

This constraint accounts for the ungrammaticality of (18b) and (18c) below, which are derived from (18a), where “John” and “Mary” are conjuncts, and “and” the coordinating conjunction. (20b) and (20c) are ungrammatical because an element of the conjunct “John and Mary” has been extracted. In doing so, the CSC has been violated, and this has led to ungrammaticality.

(18a) John visited Paul and Mary

(18b) \*Who visited Paul and?

(18c) \*John who played football yesterday in the garden and Mary is sick.

It is worth mentioning, as Ross himself remarks, that not all structures containing “and” are coordinate. To him, the CSC does not apply to sentences such as (18d) below, as, Ross (1967:170) explains, “it may be the case that none of these sentences contain coordinate structures at the time when questions, relative clauses etc. are formed, but only are converted into coordinate structures later, or that they never contain coordinate structures at all”.

(18d) She’s gone and ruined her dress now

For further explanations on the level of applicability of this constraint, see Ross (ibid).

### 2.1.3.4 The Sentential Subject Constraint (SSC)

The Sentential Subject Constraint is yet another constraint that applies to reordering transformations, as defined by Ross. Just like the label entails, this constraint affects subjects that are sentential. By sentential subject here is meant a clause that functions as a subject. To better explain this, we can say that a sentential subject is made up of elements such as NP or CP which dominate a node S (IP). The Sentential Subject Constraint, as quoted in Ross (1967: 243) is outlined below, and accounts for the ungrammaticality of (19a) and (19b), which are derived from (19).

No element dominated by an S may be moved out of that S if that node S is dominated by an NP which itself is immediately dominated by S.

(19) That Peter went to law school some years ago surprised everybody.

(19a) \*The law school where that Peter went to some years ago surprised everybody.

(19b) \*Where did that Peter go to some years ago surprised everybody?

In (19) above, the that-clause “That Peter went to law school some years ago” is considered a sentential subject, because it is standing in subject position, though it is a CP. A traditional analysis of that sentential subject reveals that it is a clause, which functions as a subject of the verb “surprised”. The verb “went” contained in that NP makes it to be considered, from a Generativist viewpoint, as a sentential subject, as the node NP (its nature) dominates a node S contained in that NP. The constraint formulated above prevents element of such NPs to be moved out by a transformation, and this accounts for the ungrammaticality of (19a) and (19b). In these two examples, “law school”, a constituent of the sentential NP, is moved out. This leads to ungrammaticality, as the SSC is violated. It should be noted that this constraint is believed to be a language-specific constraint (see Ross 1967). It has been outlined in the present study because it applies to the language under study, that is, English.

### 2.1.3.5 The Subjacency Condition on Movement

Haegeman (1994:402), in defining the notion of Subjacency, has this to say:

In analyses of wh-movement an attempt has been made to provide a more general treatment of Ross' island constraints. This has led to the formulation of the bounding theory, another sub-component of the grammar which defines the boundaries for movement and thus determines how far an element can be moved. It has been proposed (Chomsky, 1973, and later work) that the constituents S and NP are boundaries for movement. In our terminology (see chapter 2) S corresponds to IP. This constraint on the distance of movement is known as the subjacency condition.

From the above, we understand that the Subjacency condition is, first, meant to generalize Ross' island constraints, and, second, that it applies to the distance of movement, that is, how long an element may move. A third analysis of the previous quotation reveals that bounding nodes are IP and NP. It is outlined below, and can account for the ungrammaticality of (15b), repeated here as (20).

Movement cannot cross more than one bounding node, where bounding nodes are IP and NP.

(20) \*[<sub>CP1</sub>How<sub>i</sub> do [<sub>IP1</sub> you [<sub>VP</sub> wonder [<sub>CP2</sub> which problem C° [<sub>IP2</sub> john could [<sub>VP</sub> solve t<sub>i</sub>]]]]]]]?

In example (20) above, movement of the NP “this way” from lower clause to the matrix crosses two IPs, and the constraint clearly states that this type of movement is not allowed. This constraint, at times, may sound misleading, especially when we consider the notion of “Stepwise Movement”, otherwise known in the literature as “Successive Cyclic Movement”. To better understand this, consider (21) below, which is taken from Haegeman (1994: 403).

(21) [<sub>CP1</sub>How<sub>i</sub> did [<sub>IP1</sub> you say [<sub>CP2</sub> that [<sub>IP2</sub> Jeeves thinks [<sub>CP3</sub> that [<sub>IP3</sub> Lord Emsworth will solve this problem t<sub>i</sub> ]]]]]]]]?

At first view, one may be tempted to conclude that the extraction of “this way” out of the lower clause to the matrix is illegitimate, with regards to the Subjacency Condition. But, one needs to be careful, as example (21) exemplifies the notion of Successive Cyclic Movement. Example (21) below shows that the NP “this way” is successively moved from the lower clause to [Spec, CP3], then to the intermediate [Spec, CP2], and finally to the matrix [Spec, CP1]; leaving out what is referred to in the literature as “intermediate traces”. In (22), movement cannot be successive cyclic because there is no landing site at CP2, where [Spec, CP2] is already filled by a wh-element.

(22) [<sub>CP1</sub>How<sub>i</sub> did [<sub>IP1</sub> you say [<sub>CP2</sub>t<sub>i</sub> that [<sub>IP2</sub> Jeeves thinks [<sub>CP3</sub> t<sub>i</sub>that [<sub>IP3</sub> Lord Emsworth will solve this problem t<sub>i</sub> ]]]]]]]]?

In (21) above, [Spec, CP] is considered to be an “escape hatch”. Since our concern in this section is not to study Successive Cyclic Movement, it is kindly advised that the reader should read Haegeman (1994), or any other book or article for further explanation on this issue. This notion was stated here just to show the level of applicability of the Subjacency Condition.

In a nutshell, this section dealt with the constraints on movement transformations, which, it was shown, were first outlined by Chomsky as the A-over-A principle, modified by Ross, who adopted the notion of “islands, which notion was then generalized as the Subjacency Condition on movement. It is therefore clear that the CSC, the SSC, the CNPC



(Complex-NP Constraint), can all be summarised into Island Constraints and Subjacency. These constraints, it should be said, will be very helpful in the analysis of the data.

## **2.2 Theoretical Frameworks**

Just like the majority of recent works in the domain of syntax, the frameworks we intend to use in the present research endeavour is the Minimalist Program (MP) which, as said above, was outlined in Chomsky (1993, 1995, 1998, 1999) and others. Before we get to the description of the framework proper, let's look at how it came to be known. This will be supplemented by the Contrastive framework.

### **2.2.1 The Minimalist Framework**

#### **2.2.1.1 From the “Format Framework”, through the “Government and Binding Theory” to “The Minimalist Program”.**

The shift from Prescriptivism to Descriptivism with Ferdinand De Saussure's *Cours de Linguistic Generale*, brought in new ways to conceive and analyse languages. It is within this new tendency (what is referred to as Modern Linguistics) that the so called Generative Grammar started gaining ground. The whole idea behind this was to explicate language acquisition, that is, how children come to speak languages they are exposed to from childhood. As time passed by, it became descriptive, as grammarians (Chomsky and others) became interested in the statement of syntactic rules that could be embedded in speakers of languages' minds. From this view, it was obvious that humans, unlike animals, had something peculiar that permit them to be able to speak languages. This was called the “Faculty of Language” (Chomsky 1998, Hawes 2006). In the 1960's, language acquisition research was carried out against the backdrop of the “Format Theory”, which, according to Hawes (2006:1), relied on rules and constructions to explain grammar. It was assumed that children are born predisposed to acquire language through an innate UG, which should be kept somewhere in the human brain. This viewpoint was new, and complex to explain.

In the 1980's, the Principle and Parameter Approach was brought forward, in an attempt to demystify the complexity related to the “Format Theory”. The main difference between the two is that, while the former focused on rules and constructions to explain languages and language acquisition, the later brought in more general explanations of language acquisition. The rules and constructions of the “Format theory” were replaced by a set of UG parameters that differentiated themselves from a set of innate UG principles. Linguists were therefore

interested in finding out what those principles and parameters were, so as to make them available to language users. The simplification came from the fact that, as the PPT explained, language acquisition seemed easy and fast, as children are equipped with a set of rich innate principles. It is within this timeframe that the Government and Binding Theory (GBT) appeared, and, as Hawes (2006:2) explains, “it was widely accepted”, though it did not explain everything, and was, somehow, still complex.

In the 1990's, the MP came in to strengthen the PPT, which, in its turn, was thought to be complex. Linguists, therefore, sought to explain syntactic facts and present them in the most “minimal” way as possible, i.e., as simple as they could. From a pure PPT approach, linguists would be interested in stressing the fact that UG has Principles and parametric variations. But, from a strict MP perspective, linguists would look at how general those principles are. As Chomsky (2005) himself remarks, the MP seems to be the latest and most simplified form of the PPT, as it allowed the transition from the “Format Framework” to the MP (see Hawes 2006:3).

In a nutshell, one can say that the MP came to be known as a result of linguists' attempts to simplify language acquisition. It therefore falls within the field of cognitive linguistics, as it accounts for language acquisition; and in the field of descriptive linguistics, as it describes what generates from speaker's brains.

### **2.2.1.2 The Framework Proper**

As already mentioned, the data for the present study will be analysed from the backdrop of the MP, which, of course, is descriptive and explanatory in nature, as the criteria of adequacy (Descriptive and Explanatory adequacy) of UG require. In the previous section, a historical appraisal of how the MP came about was given. This section considers what have been proposed in favour of the MP, and tries to describe what it is all about. The MP, as quoted in Bassong (2010: 13) was initiated and developed in the works of Chomsky (1993, 1995, 1998, 1999/2001) and others. As the label entails, the MP came in to minimalise or, in a more simplistic way, to simplify syntactic processes and make them easily acquirable and learnable by native speakers of human languages. On this issue, Chomsky (1998: 92) opines that the MP is a Program which seeks to look for an adequate theory to explain linguistic facts. By so doing, it eliminates speculations on phrase structure (Chomsky 1998: 93). In this vein, many syntactic rules that were considered fuzzy had to be eliminated in favour of less complicated, more precise and concise rules. In the course of the miniaturization, as Chomsky

(1995: 389) – as quoted in Bassong (2010: 14) – points out, only interpretable and inevitable elements survive due to their relevance.

As far as the different levels of syntactic representation we know of are concerned, they have been reduced into two interface levels, namely PF (Phonetic Form) and LF (Logical Form). On this issue, as Chomsky (1998:95) remarks, the faculty of language (FL) generates expression (PF and LF). PF has to do with sounds and LF with meaning. If, in the course of a derivation, there is failure to assign a LF interpretation to a PF interpretation, then the derivation crashes. When there is no failure, the derivation is said to converge at LF. Thus, for a sentence to be grammatical there should be information assigning a phonetic and semantic interpretation to that sentence, as Bassong (2010: 13) rightly points out. In the GB framework, there were four levels of syntactic representation. These included the DS and SS representations, together with the PF and LF representations. But, from a strict MP perspective, these levels of representations are reduced to two, in the course of simplification. Moreover, in the MP, movement is motivated by what Chomsky calls Checking Theory, where elements move to check the features carried by other elements within a given sentence. In the process of simplification, syntactic facts should obey the Economy Principle. From this Economy Principle, result the notions of least effort (make as few movements as possible), Minimized Chain Movement (movement should be as short as possible) and Minimality (movement should be to the nearest landing site). (Bassong 2010). This notion of simplification and economy can be rightly expressed in the domain of NNEs syntax, given the belief that the syntactic features of NNEs, at times, result from the process of simplification. In this sense, the notion of Least Effort can account for the supposed wh-in situ strategy in CamE, as was read in Sala (2003). Thus, the MP can really be a genuine framework for the analysis of the syntactic features of New Englishes, as the notions postulated in favour of the MP can account for the departure from Standard English norms in New Englishes. But, for the sake of explanation, some of the concepts of the GBT or the PPT from which the MP emanated will be sometimes referred to. Besides, as this work is descriptive and comparative in nature; the MP, which – as said above – is descriptive and explanatory in nature, will be supplemented by the contrastive framework, which will help to establish the similarities and differences between the two NNEs under study. For further explanations on the MP, the reader can refer to the works such as Chomsky (1993, 1995, 1998, 1999/2001), Radford (1997), Rizzi (1997).

## **2.2.2 The Contrastive Framework**

Given the fact that the present research endeavour is – besides being descriptive – comparative, it was deemed important to adopt a theoretical framework that has been used by many (Vinay & Darberlnet 1958, for example) in the field of contrastive linguistics. In this vein, we thought it wise to use the Contrastive Framework for the comparative part of this work. But before we get to the description of the framework proper, let's first define what is meant by contrastive linguistics.

Many linguists have tried to define what contrastive linguistics is all about. According to Khansir (2004: 1027), contrastive linguistics is “a subdiscipline of Linguistics concerned with the comparison of two or more languages or subsystems of language in order to determine both differences and similarities between them”. From the definition given above, it is obvious that the present study can be ranged under contrastive linguistics, as it attempts to single out the differences and similarities that exist between CamE and NigE.

As far as the contrastive framework proper is concerned, it was first initiated by Fries (1945) and further developed by Lado (1957). The framework applies in the context of second and foreign language learning and teaching. Following the contrastive framework, awareness of the similarities and differences between a native language (source language) and a second or foreign language (target language) helps to better off people's knowledge of the target language they wish to learn or speak. To explain this, one can say, with reference to Cameroon, that, if a Cameroonian who has French as first language wishes to study or learn the English language as second or foreign language, awareness of the similarities and differences that exist between French and English will facilitate the achievement of his objective. In this vein, he tries, as much as possible, to master the differences between the source language (which is French) and the target language (which is English) because he intuitively knows the similarities between the source and target language and can already apply them. A contrastive linguist will therefore consider native language interference as the major source of errors in second language learning. As was said in the introductory paragraph to this chapter, the next section focuses on the state of research on CamE and NigE syntax.

## **2.3 Review of Literature**

This section deals with the presentation of the syntax of some non-native Englishes around the world, on the one hand, and with the state of research in the domain of syntax, both on Cameroon English and Nigerian English, on the other hand. This is done from the assumption that these New-Englishes share many similarities. It was realised that syntactic

features of non-native Englishes of the Outer Circle are easily perceived, as compared to those of non-native Englishes of the Expanding Circle. This may be due to the fact that the more the English language is used as a medium of communication in a society, the more it is nativised, and the more it gains new features.

### **2.3.1 Syntax of some Non- Native Englishes in West Africa**

This part looks into the syntactic features of some non-native Englishes, with the assumption that, as Todd (1982), Bamgbose (1992), Bamiro (1995) Point out, they share many things in common. (See Igboanusi 2006a: 393). We will therefore look at the syntactic features of non-native Englishes in West Africa.

#### **2.3.1.1 Ghanaian English Syntax**

Ghana is a West African country which, just like Nigeria and Cameroon, started speaking English as a result of colonisation. In this new setting, the English language has gained a great importance, as it is the language of education and cross-ethnic communication. In this vein, Adika (2012:151) opines that “English in Ghana, like in other West African countries, has shown formidable resilience as the language of formal education, and a medium of cross-ethnic communication in a predominantly multilingual environment”. English is therefore spoken alongside Akan, Nzema, Ewe, Ga, Hausa etc. According to Adika (ibid), the English language was implemented in Ghana in “the early part of the 16<sup>th</sup> century”. Ghana was then “the Gold Coast”. The nativisation of English in Ghana has made it to develop new features at all linguistic levels. At the level of syntax, features of Ghanaian English include:

- Dynamic use of stative verbs. Mahama (2012:59) opines that in Ghanaian English, there is a tendency for stative verbs to be used in a dynamic way (i.e. in the “ing” form). He gives the following examples, which were drawn from the data she collected:

“I was having a friend”.

“I am loving you”. (See Mahama, ibid)

- Reduplication for Emphasis. In Ghanaian English, emphasis is marked using reduplication, just as Igboanusi (2006) found out for NigE. Mahama (2012:59) gives the following examples:

“She made it fine fine”

“We are managing small small”

- Besides the preceding features, he made mention of tautology as a feature of Ghanaian English, and gave the following examples.

“The book *is red in colour*”

“*In my opinion, I think that* he is right” (See Mahama, 2012:60)

- The use of the affirmative (yes) for negative responses. The following example can be given.

“Is your mother not in the house, *yes*, she is not there.

(These features are from Mahama (2012))

### **2.3.2 The State of Research on Cameroon and Nigerian English Syntax**

The description of the features of Cameroon English dates back to when scholars actually pointed out that there could be a variety of English called Cameroon English. But, it was not long ago that scholars started to get interested in the syntactic properties of non-natives Englishes in general and of Cameroon English and Nigerian English in particular. The reasons for this are that grammatical features as a whole seem to be less common, as compared to phonology, lexicology etc. This situation started changing, as researcher observed that these features were becoming more and more common, and there was need to actually describe them, in order to create awareness of their existence. In the course of this description, we moved, as far as CamE is concerned, from stigmatization, in works such as Simo Bobda (1992), to description, with works like Sala (2003), Mbangwana and Sala (2009), Ndzomo (2013) and Sala (2014); and from description to the explanation of the reasons for the emergence of a CamE syntax, in works such as Ekembe (2011).

Early works on Cameroon English syntax were much more concerned with the stigmatization of the features that were produced by Cameroonians in the Cameroonian context. These features were considered to be errors, with reference to British English. Simo Bobda (1992), republished in 1994, and edited in 2002 is a good example of such works. The author does a wonderful study, using the error analysis approach, and comes out with the deviations from standard British English that, at first, he stigmatized. But in the 2002 edition of the book, he acknowledges the fact that continuing to stigmatize those features will do more harm than good, as they have become very common in the Cameroonian repertoire. He says that the features he describes have “become so much part of our linguistic reflex that any alternative might do more harm than good” (See Simo Bobda 2002: 5). From this view, it was therefore clear that a time will come when researchers will look at syntactic features of Cameroon

English as to be advocated, and why not promoted, since Simo Bobda (2002) himself recognised that the features he tried to advocate couldn't be systematically realised in a milieu like Cameroon, due to various reasons.

Some of these reasons are treated in Ekembe (2011). Ekembe (2011) looks at the reasons for the emergence of Cameroon English syntax, and links it to the theory of markedness. According to him, the more marked (i.e. the more difficult) a structure is in Standard British English, the more speakers of Cameroon English run away from it and this creates new syntactic structures that he considers to be part of Cameroon English. In other words, Cameroon English syntax, to him, emerges as a result of the fact that syntactic features of Standard British English are not easy to master, and therefore, speakers tend to look for avenues to facilitate their conversations, and this creates new features every day. It is therefore clear that in such an environment, the mastery of BrE syntactic norms becomes impossible, and those who even try to, just approximate them. But, it is good to mention here that markedness cannot be the only reason for the emergence of Cameroon English syntax, and that from this viewpoint, Cameroon English features are likely to be mistakes committed due to poor mastery of the language. There is therefore need for descriptive works that create awareness of these features, and encourage their teaching to speakers of Cameroon English in order to help them be consistent, at least in their write up.

Descriptive studies of Cameroon English syntactic features are carried out in works such as Sala (2003, 2014), Mbangwana and Sala (2009) and Ndzomo (2013).

Sala (2003) viewed deviations from BrE norms, as observed in Cameroon, as reflecting the sociolinguistic realities of the country, and did a descriptive study of its features the way he found them in society. To him, the features that he described were proper to Cameroonians and had to be advocated and even promoted. This permitted him to introduce the notion of "Trace guilt" as one of the peculiarities of Cameroon English syntax (See Sala, 2003: 284).

In the same vein, Sala (2014) analyses "that-clauses" in Cameroon English from a functional perspective. He deals on that-complement and echo-questions. His study continues to create awareness of the existence of a syntax that is proper to Cameroon English, in the sense that it provides an account of the use of what he calls "abuse verbs" and shows that "that clauses" are used to form echo questions in Cameroon English, unlike in British English. Yet, another issue was raised, and it concerned how spread those features he described were, as, though well spread, most of those features were peculiar to spoken English, on the one hand, and as there was need to find out whether those features were prominent amongst Cameroonians.

This need was covered in Ndzomo (2013), who, after describing movement transformations in Cameroon English, did a quantitative study in order to find out how spread some of the features he described were amongst Cameroonians. But his quantitative research itself was limited in the sense that the only features he quantified were those related to questioning and passivisation, leaving out other transformations such as relativisation, Topicalisation, Clefting, etc. Also, from the descriptive point of view, not all the transformations were treated by Ndzomo (2013), and he himself acknowledged it. This creates other research avenues for upcoming researchers.

As far as Nigerian English is concerned, the situation seems to be quasi similar to that observed in Cameroon, as at the early stages, the syntactic features of NigE were considered to be errors, with regard to BrE, and of course stigmatized. These features were then described as a variety as a whole, and the reasons for the emergence of this new variety were given. Besides, just like it was the case with CamE, not much has been done in the domain of syntax as far as NigE is concerned. Igboanusi (2006a: 393), explains this phenomenon by saying that the scarcity of works in the domain of syntax can be explained with reference to:

The general belief that grammatical features of national varieties of WAE are not exclusive, and can also be found in other varieties of New Englishes (cf. Peter – Wolf – Simo Bobda 2003: 44). For example, some scholars (notably Todd 1982; Bamgbose 1992; Bamiro 1995) observe that most of the syntactic patterns in educated WAE are similar to those of other new Englishes.

From this, two fundamental needs arise: the need for descriptive and then comparative studies of non-native Englishes, especially in Africa. Previous works on NigE syntax can therefore be classified in three different groups. The first group is made up of works that describe the syntactic features of NigE as deviations from Standard British English norms. The second group encompasses works that describe the syntactic features of NigE as a unique variety, or as a variety as a whole. The last, but not the least group is made up of works that portray the factors for the emergence of a syntax that is proper to Nigerian English.

Examples of such works that fall within the first group include Olushola (2013). It looks at Nigerian English syntax and usage from the point of view of deviance and deviation. Deviance, as quoted in Olushola (2013: 72) who himself quoted Crystal (1980), “is a term used in linguistic analysis to refer to a sentence (or its units) which does not conform to the rules of grammar, i.e. it is ill-formed”. In other words, the term deviance refers to grammatical errors that arise as a result of non-proper mastery of the grammatical rules of a given language. Deviation, on the contrary, “is an institutionalized error, which is widely



accepted, and it enjoys universal acceptance. It is an acceptable departure from the norm. In addition, it is a way of writing or speaking that is attributive of an individual or society". The first comment that can be made is that "deviation", on the one hand, cannot actually be put aside when discussing New Englishes, as, no matter the level of education, there are always going to be deviations from Standard British English. On the other hand, "deviance" as well cannot be relegated to the back because, when English moves to a new setting, not everybody can have linguistic competence in it. The question we can ask now is to what extent we can accept deviations from British English as part of the Standard for NigE, because it is clear that Olushola has a negative opinion vis-à-vis features that arise as a result of "deviance". But, it should be noted that what Olushola (2013) considers as "deviance" have been heard, especially in speech form, even amongst educated Nigerians. This therefore poses a problem of whether some features of what he considers as "deviance" (e.g. "Don't move with bad boys" for "Don't associate with bad boys") cannot also be considered part of NigE. To this issue, a yes-answer can be given if we consider NigE to be what is spontaneously spoken by educated Nigerians, without situational constraints. Besides, we realise that features of NigE, be it "the near-native variety", "the local color variety" or the "incipient bilingual variety" (See Olushola 2013:73 for further explanations), are still compared with Standard Englishes, and not with other non-native Englishes.

But, not all research works on NigE syntax see its features as resulting from "deviance" and "deviation" with regard to Standard British English. Others view these features as being peculiar to the Nigerian style, and consider them features of a variety as a whole. Examples of such works include Igboanusi (2006) and Ajani (2007).

Igboanusi (2006) does a syntactic description of Nigerian English - from the perspective that it has developed new features that makes it distinct not only from native Englishes, but also from non-native Englishes. This of course, proves that there is indeed a variety of English that can be referred to as NigE. This work lays much more emphasis on the description of NigE, and little on the comparison of this new English to others non-native Englishes, though the researcher himself acknowledges the fact that new Englishes have a lot in common, especially in the West African context.

The desire to prove that there is indeed a Nigerian English has also driven researchers to describe its syntactic features. Amongst these works is Ajani (2007), which, in an attempt to show that there is a variety of English that can be called NigE, describes its features as distinct to those of native Englishes. It is important to note here that this wish

could also be satisfied if the features of NigE were proved to be different or similar to those of other non-native Englishes.

Once these features have been recognised, there is need to actually comprehend how they develop, since anything has a beginning. The first assumption we could make is that the syntactic features of NigE emerge as a result of the influence of Nigerian local languages. This is re-echoed and explained in Okunrinmeta (2013) who explains the emergence of NigE with reference to the influence of Izon, a local language spoken by the Arogbo-community of Ondo State, Nigeria. From the observation that some features of NigE syntax seem to reflect the influence of Izon, Okunrinmeta carries out an investigation that has two purposes. The first aim is to trace this influence, and the second is to test their acceptability in terms of appropriateness, grammaticality, intelligibility and widespread usage amongst educated Izon (Nigerian) speakers. This test of acceptability is done by calculating the percentage of usage, and while features whose percentage ranges from 50 to above are “permanent” those with a percentage less than 50 are considered to be errors, and therefore “temporary”. “Permanent” here refers to those features that can be accepted as part of NigE, whereas “temporary” features are those that should be discouraged.

The first comment that can be made is that tracing the influence of local languages on NigE syntax is a good research endeavour, especially when we know that languages that are spoken in a multilingual setting (as it is the case now) are likely to influence one another. Besides, the criteria of acceptability that are used by the author to test these features are worth being taken into consideration, as it is not easy to differentiate erroneous features from features that arise as result of creativity. But, it should also be noted, as the author himself recognised, that Izon is just one language amongst others in Nigeria.

### **2.3.3 The Unexplored dimension**

As was seen above, researchers have, in one way or the other, paid interest in CameE and NigE syntax, though from different perspectives. Some, at the early stages, considered the syntactic features of the two Non-Native Englishes under study to be avoided. As time passed by, others were rather interested in describing those features as being part of the linguistic repertoire of both Cameroonians and Nigerians. Others came in to quantify those features and explain the reasons for their emergence.

So far, it has been observed that comparative studies of syntactic features of NNEs are rare. When they actually exist, they are carried out against the backdrop of either BrE or AmE.

Besides, though works like Todd (1982), Bamgbose (1992), Bamiro (1995) postulate that syntactic features of non-native Englishes are found in almost all the New Englishes inside and outside Africa, not much is being done to compare these features. This same idea is re-echoed in Sala (2014:24), who posits that the structures he describes “have also been heard in the English used in Nigerian and Ghanaian films, and could presumably be a feature of West African English. Most of the time, these features are taken as a whole, and referred to as features of West African English, but no clear cut comparison, we observed, has been made. This work therefore attempts to cover such a gap.

## CHAPTER THREE

### METHODOLOGY

This chapter deals with the presentation of methods of data collection for the present study, on the one hand, and the presentation of the data collected, on the other hand. The first part (Methods of Data Collection) is divided into three sections, namely The Spoken Data, The Written data and the Research Tools and Research Instruments. The second part, in which we present the data proper, is divided into two sections. It comprises the CamE data and the NigE data.

### 3.1 Methods of Data Collection

In order to collect the data that will be analysed for the present research endeavour, various techniques were used. We start with the methods of spoken and written data collection, and end with the instruments and the tools we used in order to collect the data.

#### 3.1.1 The Spoken Data

The data that will be analysed in the present research study comes from different sources. It is both spoken and written, as, though from De Saussure's perspective, speech prevails (writing being considered corruption), the standard for a country cannot just be what is spoken, but also what is written. The spoken data for Cameroon English came from a selected Cameroonian film that reflects the Cameroonian culture and ways of life, as CamE should. Only one film was selected because of the scarcity of Cameroonian films in English on the market, as opposed to Nigerian films. The choice of films rather than immediate conversations between Cameroonians was motivated by the desire for balance. Balance in the sense that as the NigE spoken data came from Nigerian films, CamE spoken data too had to come from films. It was considered non-scientific to get spoken data from films for NigE and not for CamE. The film that was selected is *They Way to Heaven*. The choice of this film was motivated by the fact that some of the students of the English Department of the University of Yaounde play a role in the film. This means that the data are from educated Cameroonians. One may be tempted to say that it was not spoken data, but rather written data, and that, on stage, actors reshape the way they speak language, making it not to be natural. We will answer by saying that, though the script is written, actors are free to say whatever they want on stage, provided that it follows the written script. Besides, if they try as much as possible to reshape what they say, then their target is BrE. And if in the course of doing that, some

features prove resistant, then they are real features of CamE. The data was therefore collected without sex distinction, as gender differentiation was not an issue. Besides, by collecting spoken data from films, ethical issues are avoided, as those films are made available to the public. Moreover, the Hawthorne effect or the reshaping of informants way of speaking when they know what they are saying is being tape-recorded is somehow avoided. This habit has been referred to by Bloomfield as “Speech Revision” and by Labov as “Observer Paradox” (see Sala, 2003). Furthermore, given the fact that we live in Cameroon and have had contact with speakers of Cameroon English, part of the data will come from our everyday conversations with Cameroon English speakers. Amongst the criteria of selection of our “informants” is the level of education. In other words, we will only bring in those features that have been produced by those who have gone through secondary education. Most of these are teachers in different disciplines including mathematics, physics, chemistry, history, English language.

As far as Nigerian English is concerned, we couldn’t travel to Nigeria due to financial constraints. Nevertheless, we were able to collect some spoken data from Nigerians. The spoken data came from some selected Nigerian films. In these films, we made sure that what we collected was actually from Nigerians, as some of these actors are from other West African countries like Ghana. We ensured this by collecting personal information on them on the internet. This, still, created an ethical problem, as the pieces of information we collected on them, were for academic purposes. But, this problem was solved by the belief that, if they actually posted information on them on the internet, it is because they want it to be accessed by anybody who wishes to. These films include: “*King of Ritual 1*” and “*War Queens 1*”. The choice of these was not done haphazardly. It was made sure that the films we selected were first produced on the Nigerian territory, and reflected the Nigerian culture and ways of life as Nigerian English should. The first film was produced in a village setting, and the second in a city setting; a university, to be precise. The problem of level of education was solved by the fact that those actors are carefully selected by film producers, and amongst the criteria of selecting is the level of education. So, this solves the problem of whether what we collected was from educated Nigerians or not. Moreover, given the fact that Pidgin is part of the Nigerian culture, it was made sure that in these films, we found conversations in Nigerian Pidgin English, this to exclude actors who may be so pretentious that they could say they have nothing to do with Nigerian Pidgin English.

Besides, it is true that, in most cases, what is said in a film is a reflection of what is written, so some people may consider the data we collected from these films to be written, not spoken. What we can say on this issue is that professional actors follow a script that is written, but what they say on stage is subjective, as it reflects the way they grew up and, as what they say on stage is personal, but should follow a given path that is created by the written script. So, we consider these to be spoken data, first as they are not written, but spoken on stage, and second, as they are spontaneous. This reinforces our view that the standard for a non-native country should be what is spontaneously spoken and written by educated speakers in those countries. Since the standard for a country cannot only be what is spoken, but also what is written, we also provided some written data for the present study.

### **3.1.2 The Written Data**

The need for a written data, as already mentioned, was motivated by the fact that the standard for a country cannot just be what is spoken, but also what is written, since language is both spoken and written. The written data, for both CamE and NigE, comes from selected literary texts, written, in the case of CamE, by a Cameroonian writer, and, in the case of NigE, by a Nigerian writer. We made sure that these writers either lived or had lived in Cameroon and, of course, Nigeria. Besides, as language evolves with society, we made sure that these novels were recent. By recent here is meant that they were published within the last decade. This was to avoid the data being considered as not reflecting the present use and state of the English language both in Cameroon and Nigeria.

As far as Cameroon English is concerned, these literary texts are all John Nkemngong's. They include: *Across the Mongolo*, first published in 2004 by Spectrum Books Limited, and *The Widow's Might*, published by Edition Clef in 2006. The choice of these texts is motivated by the fact they all portray the Cameroonian ways of life and culture. The first one is narrated both in a city (university) and village setting. The second one too, though mostly in a city setting, brings in characters that are from the village, and therefore presents their thoughts as if they were in the village. Moreover, given the fact that language and culture are interwoven, we made sure that all these two literary texts were tackling issues related to the Cameroonian culture.

As concerns the written data for NigE, it comes from some carefully selected literary texts written by a Nigerian writer. They are all from Akachi Adimora-Ezeigbo, and all portray the Nigerian culture and ways of life. All published by Lantern Books, They include *They*

*Last of the Strong Ones* (2006) and *Trafficked* (2008). The choice of these books was motivated by the fact the author is one of the most prominent writer Nigeria has known for the last decade. Besides, the author, via her works, makes a portrayal of the Nigerian culture and ways of life. The first is narrated in a village setting, and the second in both a village and city setting. Moreover, since we consider the standard to be what is spontaneously spoken and written by educated Nigerians, these choices were further motivated by the fact that the author was well educated. These books all have in common the fact that they are a mirror of the Nigerian culture, and of course can be adequate tools for the investigation of a variety of English that is proper to Nigeria.

### **3.2 Research Instruments and Research Tools**

In this section, the research instruments and tools that are used for the present study are presented and accounted for. The importance of such a section stems from the need for population sampling and data collection. For data to enjoy widespread acceptance, the methods and processes that were used to obtain them have to be made available to the reader. It is therefore to satisfy this need that a section like this was deemed important. Following this, the instruments and tools that are used include: observation, a DVD reader, earphones and a computer. These shall be taken in turn below.

As far as observation is concerned, it has become a custom for researchers to proceed through observation, before even formulating a research topic. But, in this case, observation was used for the selection of both films and novels. In an environment where Cameroonian and, especially, Nigerian films and novels abound, the use of a tool like that was inevitable. This facilitated the choice of appropriate sources of data that could actually reflect the English language as used both in Nigeria and Cameroon. As for the selection of the novels from which data was gotten, observation was used to choose the ones that were appropriate. Appropriate in the sense that they had to reflect the Cameroonian and Nigerian culture and ways of life, as CamE and NigE should. In this vein, the choice of *The Widow's Might* and *Across the Mongolo*, for CamE, and *Trafficked* and *The Last of the Strong Ones*, for NigE, was done through observation. A number of novels were observed following the criteria of culture and ways of life, and the preceding were selected amongst the numerous that existed. As concerns the selection of films, this was done following the same process. A number of films were licensed, then observed, and selected following the same criteria as for the selection of novels. From what precedes, it is quite clear that observation was helpful in the choice of the films

and novels out of which the data for the present study was going to be extracted. But, it is obvious that observation alone could not be sufficient in an endeavour of this kind. It was therefore compulsory to resort to some instruments.

Once the films were selected, there was need to watch them so as to get the data for the study. To do this, a DVD reader was used. In the world of technological development, it has become a custom for researchers to resort to instruments such as a DVD reader to retrieve data, especially spoken data. In this vein, the DVD reader was used to retrieve data from the films that were selected through observation. But, for the effective functioning of this procedure, it was made sure that it could actually read a DVD. Given the fact that DVD readers are not used alone, we resorted to a television, from which the context of conversations could be watched and examined. This process was therefore audio-visual.

For the sake of effective listening, there was need to use an instrument which could enhance audio performance, like a speaker or an earphone. Given the difficulty to get a good speaker, an earphone was used. This helped not only to get the words as clearly as possible, but also to avoid misunderstandings related to the “wrong” pronunciation of certain words or sentences. Besides, it has been proven that to really be concentrated in the course of an activity such as listening, the use of earphones is very important. This because they help the get the pronunciation of words as clearly as possible. The features that were heard from the DVD reader were then copied on a sheet of paper.

The computer was used for two purposes. First, it was used to watch one of the films that was selected through observation, as, at a certain time, the DVD reader had difficulties reading the DVD that was inserted. Second, it was used to type the data that was retrieved from the novels and films. To do this, the use of an appropriate software was important. Microsoft Word 2010 was used. The choice of Microsoft Word 2010 rather than 2007 was motivated by the updates done on the 2010 version. In a nutshell, the various tools and instruments that were given and described above helped to get the data that will be presented in the next section.

### **3.3 Presentation of the Data**

In this section, we present the data that will be analysed in the following chapter of this work. It is important to note here that only part of the data will be presented here. For the rest, see Appendix. It is divided into two parts. The first part present the data for CamE, and



the second part, that of NigE. In the course of the presentation, no distinction is made between the spoken and the written data, as they are all part of language. Besides, the data that will be presented is mostly made up of what is considered un-English, with reference to the BrE model; inspiration being directly drawn, in the case of CamE, from previous descriptive works such as Sala (2003, 2014) and Ndzomo (2013). In the case of NigE too, what is presented and will be analysed is what is considered ungrammatical in Standard British English. The focus is on those features that deviate, or do not exist from BrE because, on the one hand, the two countries in which these Non-Native Englishes are spoken are said to speak BrE. On the other hand, the focus is on the deviations and new forms because, it is those that gave room to the label New Englishes, and if they did not exist, there would be no such thing as CamE, NigE etc. In a nutshell, the procedures of error analysis will mostly be avoided, unless new features are found.

### 3.3.1 The CamE Data

As already mentioned, the sentences presented below are considered incorrect in SBrE, and presented, if already mentioned in previous works, following Sala (2003, 2014) and Ndzomo (2013). In the (1) sentences below, the Wh-element is in situ, that is, it does not overtly move. It stays at the position where it is generated. They are built following Sala (2003) Wh-in situ strategy.

(1) a- Doing what there? (*The Widow's Might*, p. 65)

c- You have agreed with your father to do what? (*Across the Mongolo*, P. 19)

d- To do what there? (*Across the Mongolo*, P. 82)

e- "I think he has succeeded", I said.

Succeeded in what way? Dr Amboh asked curiously. (*Across the Mongolo*, P. 129)

f- "Where is your friend, Ngwe?" ....

"Ah, my friend Nwolefeck, he is in Britain", I told her

Doing what there? (*Across the Mongolo*, P. 168)

The sentences in (2) are instances of lack of Do-support or traditional grammar's auxiliary inversion

(2) a- And you say he promised to be here by nightfall? (*The Widow's Might*, p. 86)

b- You mean the money will not be handed over to me? (*The Widow's Might*, p. 92)

- c- So you travelled to Besaadi to learn book, son, to become Babajaro? (*Across the Mongolo*, P. 31)
- d- You want to become a woman, Gwe? (*Across the Mongolo*, P. 82)
- e- My son, you mean that of all the people in the university you chose to be the leader of a bad group, my son? (*Across the Mongolo*, P. 148)
- f- You want to swallow me as you have done [sic] your father? (*Across the Mongolo*, P. 154)

The sentences in (3) illustrate lack of T-to-C movement.

- (3) a- So, all the money has been confiscated and not a franc given to the widow? (*The Widow's Might*, p. 94)
- b- So, you are leaving again so soon, my child? (*Across the Mongolo*, P. 16)
- c- And you say you will be leaving tomorrow morning? (*Across the Mongolo*, P. 17)
- d- You don't want to remain in mother's hut and eat fufu? (*Across the Mongolo*, P. 70)
- e- So all of you Anglohones have escaped to the villages? (*Across the Mongolo*, P. 148)
- f- And you have made up your mind to register at the Faculty of Arts? (*Across the Mongolo*, P. 172)

The sentences in (4) are instances of Sala (2003) "unbounded they for passivisation".

- (4) a- "M'menyika", they would tell my mother. (*Across the Mongolo*, P. 155)

The (5) sentences are echo-questions in CamE.

- (5) a- "Our teacher beat me", I told him.  
What? (*Across the Mongolo*, P. 12)

b- I didn't see any student student in class today.

That what? (*Data from a chemistry teacher*)

c- Is Prof in class?

That what? (*Data from a Master's I srudent at the Uiversity of Yaounde I*)

### 3.3.2 The NigE data

This section presents the data that was collected from the selected Nigerian novels and films. It is presented in the same order as the CamE data. The sentences in (6) present instances of wh-insitu constructions.

(6) a- “It’s very sad, but Elias did provoke the retaliation. It seems you haven’t heard “Heard what?” (*Trafficked*, P. 223)

b- The police are where? (*Trafficked*, P. 277)

c- At the door, Nneoma stopped and said, “Ma, remember...”

d- “Remember what? (*Trafficked*, P. 310)

e- “Nne, nothing is wrong?” I lied. “Maybe I am tired”

“Tired, doing what? (*The Last of the Strong Ones* P. 69)

f- I will pay for what? ( “*War Queens I* ”, 20:27)

The ones in (7) show instances of lack do-support and T-to-C movement.

(7) a- You still want to buy the book on estate management? (*Trafficked*, P. 32)

b- You want him to die? (*Trafficked, Ones* P. 46)

c- You wish to kill him as you killed your husband two years ago? (*Trafficked*, P. 46)

d- You want to come, Fola? (*Trafficked*, P. 58)

e- Papa, you mean you’ll eat the food if she brings it? (*Trafficked*, P. 85)

f- You mean you haven’t heard? (*Trafficked*, P. 91)

g- A man came to the salon? (*Trafficked*, P.94)

h- So you did his hair? (*Trafficked*, P. 94)

i- You want me to start?(*Trafficked*, P. 98)

j- You think I could get it by tomorrow morning? (*Trafficked*, P. 106)

k- So you went to Matron and reported me?(*Trafficked*, P. 120)

l- You think you’ll just live here indefinitely? (*Trafficked*, P. 157)

m- You think you will be able to pass?(*Trafficked*, P. 164)

n- You mean I haven’t told you? (*Trafficked*, P. 165)

o- You want to know who I am before you offer me some wine? (*The Last of the Strong Ones* P. 33)

p- You said he is from Agbaja? (*The Last of the Strong Ones* P. 78)

q- And you say you are surprised? (*The Last of the Strong Ones* P. 79)

r- And you want us to believe you? (*The Last of the Strong Ones* P. 79)

“Ukonwa, so you support Mgbeke and encourage her to disobey me? (*The Last of the Strong Ones* P. 95)

s- You mean that man manacled by *ibi*, the disease of the scrotum? (*The Last of the Strong Ones* P. 121)

“So he, too, went there with his heavy burden?”(*The Last of the Strong Ones* P. 121)

So you counted his yams? (*The Last of the Strong Ones* P. 139)

- t- You mean you are Rita? (*“War Queens I”*, 27:46)
- u- You want something from Chief? (*“King of Ritual I”* 4:55)
- v- You live around here? (*“King of Ritual I”* 7:56)
- w- You mean to tell me that your children are out of school because of money?  
(*“King of Ritual I”* 12:52)
- x- You want some man to bring *okada* here to marry your daughter? ((*“King of Ritual I”*, 15:22)
- y- You think it is possible? (*“King of Ritual I”* 22:51)

The sentences in (8) illustrate cases of lack of T-to-C movement.

- (8) a- And you don’t have any identification documents with you? (*Trafficked*, P. 16)
- b- “Oh, you’re still here? (*Trafficked*, P. 30)
- d- You are looking at those pictures? (*Trafficked*, P. 61)
- e- You are worried people will say we moved in too quickly or that we caused Lebechi’s illness? (*Trafficked*, P. 255)
- f- So this is where you’re hiding? (*Trafficked*, P. 266)
- g- So you don’t recognize my voice? (*Trafficked*, P. 269)
- h- The police are here? (*Trafficked*, P. 277)
- i- “So you are now the one who says or decides what will happen in this family?  
(*The Last of the Strong Ones* P. 93)
- j- You didn’t know? (*“War Queens I”*, 22:50)
- k- You didn’t notice? (*“War Queens I”*, 22:55)
- l- I would wait? (*“King of Ritual I”* 09:35)
- m- You don’t want my happiness or what? (*“King of Ritual I”* 16:03)
- n- So that is your problem? (*“King of Ritual I”* 27:40)

The (9) sentences are preferred to passivisation

- (9) a- My refusal to consider any of them stung them.

They warned me about the danger of looking for a lover outside the family. (*The Last of the Strong Ones* P. 58)

- b- She was dogged by her two daughters like a sheep by her lambs.

They carried bowls of food and other things that went with eating. (*The Last of the Strong Ones* P. 72)

- c- “They nicknamed him *ogologo ba njo*... (*The Last of the Strong Ones* P. 123)

The conversation in (10) presents how echo-questions are formed in NigE.

(10) a- One of your attendants brought a girl for me last night, and she stole my money.

What? (*“War Queens I”*, 12:25)

b- ... was murdered by ...

What? (*“War Queens I”*, 52:53)

Since the data presented has to be analysed. The next chapter of this work is devoted to that.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### TRANSFORMATIONS IN CamE and NigE

#### 4.1 Transformations in CamE

In this section, the relevant transformational features of Cameroon English are described, explained and accounted for, following a path created by Sala (2003) and further explained by Ndzomo (2013). It starts with questioning and ends with the study of issues related to empty categories. As far as questioning is concerned, it touches on Wh-questions, echo-questions and yes/no questions. As concerns passivisation, Sala's (2003) unbounded "they" for passivisation is strengthened, and explanations accounting for it are given. In a nutshell, some of the concepts postulated in Sala (*ibid.*) are strengthened, and others supplemented where necessary.

##### 4.1.1 Questioning

###### 4.1.1.1 Wh-questions

This section deals with the description of the processes governing wh-questions formation in CamE. Following the method that was given in the previous chapter, it starts with the description of the data, followed by the formulation of (the) rule(s), and ends with accounts of the reasons that contribute to the departure from BrE norms. For a thorough understanding of what this chapter is all about, there is need to first define what is meant by wh-question. A wh-question is one which is introduced by a wh-element, and which requires a [+constituent] answer. This answer is, most of the times, given in the form of a complete sentence. (2) below is an example of wh-question, obtained from the declarative sentence (1).

(1) Studies in Generative Syntax started in the 1950's.

(2) When did studies in Generative Syntax start?

In the example in (2) above, the prepositional phrase "in the 1950's" has been questioned using the wh-adverbial element "when". If one is asked such a question, an obvious and easy way to answer will be to say "it started in the 1950's", which is a full sentence that has the structure "SVA" (Subject-verb-adjunct of time). Wh-elements include words such as: how, when, what, who, whom, which etc. It should be noted that wh-elements are not used arbitrarily. Their choice is constrained by the nature and function of the element that is being questioned. In the (2) example above, in the course of questioning, the prepositional phrase

“in the 1950’s” cannot be replaced by an element like “what”, as it is related to time. Besides, wh-questioning may affect a single word, a phrase, a clause or even a whole sentence, as the examples in (3), with the question counterparts in (4) below show.

(3) (a) John studies syntax.

(b) John studies syntax in the garden.

(c) John went to Harvard University because he studied syntax

(d) “John studies syntax” said Peter

(4) (a) Who studies syntax?

(b) Where does John study syntax?

(c) Why did John go to Harvard University?

(d) What did Peter say?

In (4a), derived from (3a), a subject NP is questioned. In (4b), the post-verbal PP is questioned. In (4c), the question operation affects a clausal complement which expresses reason. In (4d), the whole sentence “John studies syntax” is questioned. From what precedes, it follows that wh-questions are formed by replacing an element of a given declarative sentence by a wh-element, and then moving it to a derived position. Besides, it is shown that wh-questioning may affect levels of lexical representation, beginning from a word up to a full sentence. One question then is seriously begged by such an analysis. This is: in what varieties of English are constituent questions formed that way? This is because in BrE, when an item within a sentence is replaced by a wh-element, it has to be moved from its base position to a position dominated by CP. To be more precise, it moves to (Spec-CP). Besides, as Sala (2003:228) points out, an auxiliary, whether overt or covert moves to the head C of CP, as a result of what has been referred to in the literature as attraction (Chomsky’s Theory of Atraction). To better explain this notion of attraction, it can be said that elements carrying strong features trigger movement of a set of features from one category position to another. Following this, the fact that the auxiliary moves from its base position (inside IP) to a position dominated by CP can be accounted for, if we suppose, following Radford (1998), that C of CP has a strong Q (question) feature that attracts the auxiliary, and makes it to move from its base position into a derived position. When a wh-element does not overtly move from its base position to a derived position, it is considered, in BrE, another type of question (an echo-question).

On the contrary, previous works on CamE (Sala 2003, Ndzomo 2013) have shown, using empirical evidence, that in CamE, when an item within a sentence is replaced by a wh-

element to form a wh-question, it is not overtly moved to Spec-CP. Rather, it stays at base position. In the literature related to the study of Generative Syntax, the term often used to describe such constructions is “in-situ”. It will therefore be said, following Sala (2003) and Ndzomo (2013), that the wh-element remains in-situ in CamE. Besides, as the previous authors point out in their works, no T-to-C movement occurs as in BrE. In this section, these ideas are going to be re-examined and strengthened where necessary.

As Sala (2003:229) shows, “wh-questions operate differently in CamE”. To better explicate this, consider the sentences below.

(5) Doing what there?

(6) You have agreed with your father to do what?

(7) To do what there?

(8) “I think he has succeeded”, I said.

Succeeded in what way? Dr Amboh asked curiously.

(9) “Where is your friend, Ngwe?” ...

“Ah, my friend Nwolefeck, he is in Britain”, I told her

Doing what there?

As can be observed in the sentences from (5) to (9) that were collected from speakers of English in Cameroon, wh-movement does not overtly occur. In the example in (5), the wh-element “what” remains where it is generated, that is, inside VP, and does not overtly move to Spec-CP as in BrE. To better explicate this, let's assume that (5) is derived from (10) below, which is declarative in force.

(10) John is doing laundry there.

Following Sala's (2003) analysis of wh-questions, the question deriving from (10) will be as (11) below.

(11) John is doing what there?

Following the example in (11), it seems that something has been deleted from our CamE question in (5), as (12) shows. The bracketed string represents what is missing.

(12) (John is) doing what there?

As (12) above shows, the subject “John”, together with the copula “is” have been deleted to form the wh-question in (5). The same process can be used to account for the formation of (7),



(8) and (9), repeated here as (13), (14) and (15), and which can be said to have emanated from (13'), (14') and (15') respectively.

(13) To do what there?

(13') (John is) to do what there?

(14) Succeeded in what way?

(14') (John has) succeeded in what way?

(15) Doing what there?

(15') (John is) doing what there?

From what precedes, one can see that the subjects and the auxiliaries of (13'), (14') and (15') have been deleted to form the questions in (13), (14) and (15) respectively. Besides, the preceding examples show that the wh-element has not overtly moved as Sala (2003) and Ndzomo (2013) rightly point out. To better strengthen their views, let's examine the case of (7), repeated here as (16).

(16) You have agreed with your father to do what?

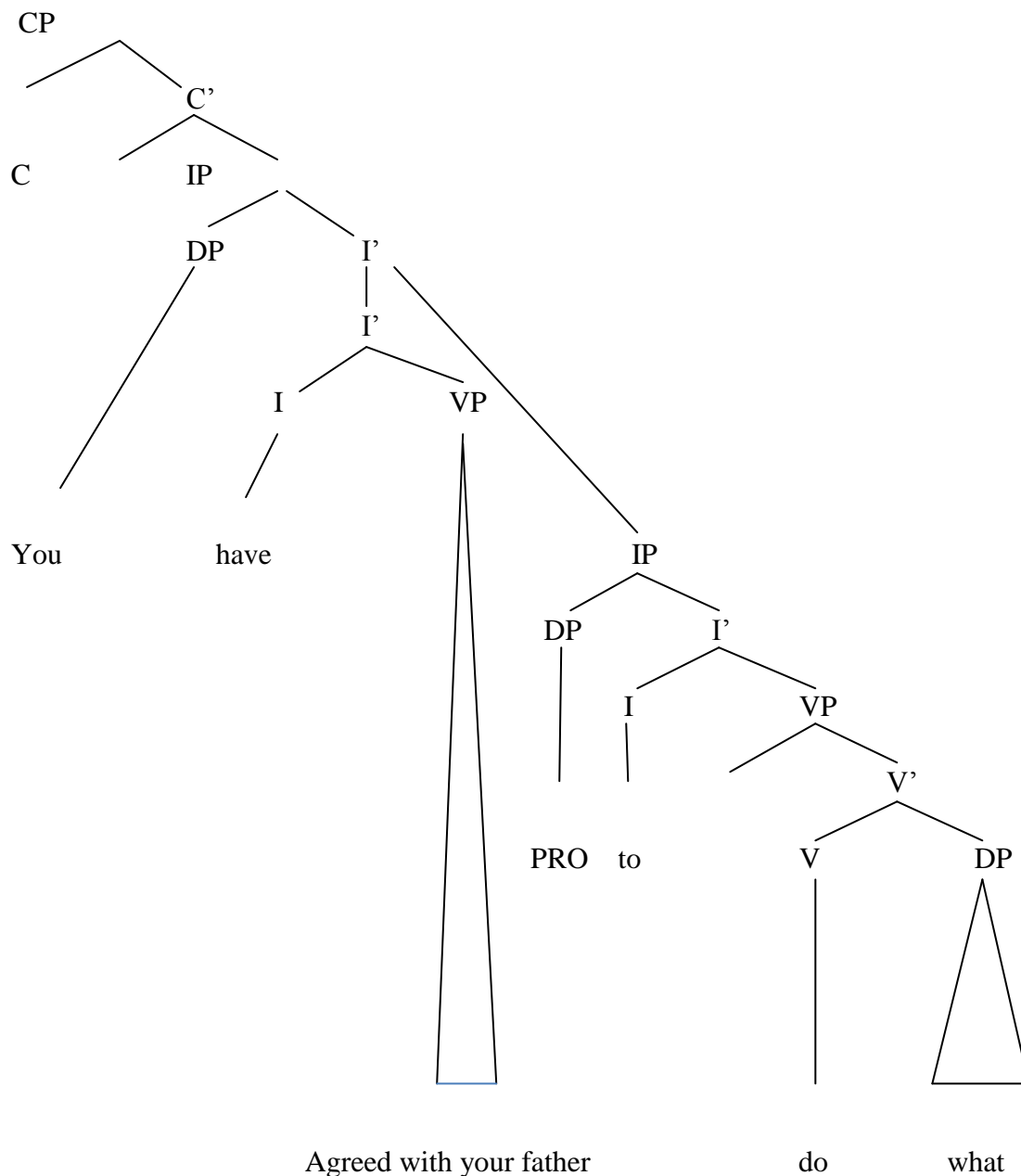
If one has to follow the rule governing wh-question formation in BrE, (16) would rather look like (17) below.

(17) What have you agreed with your father to do?

Unlike (16), which comes from a CamE speaker, in (17), two types of movements have occurred: wh-movement and T-to-C movement. The three diagrams in (16') and (17') represent (16) and (17) respectively.

Figure 2: Presenting the Avoidance of Wh-Movement and T-to-C Movement in CamE

(16')

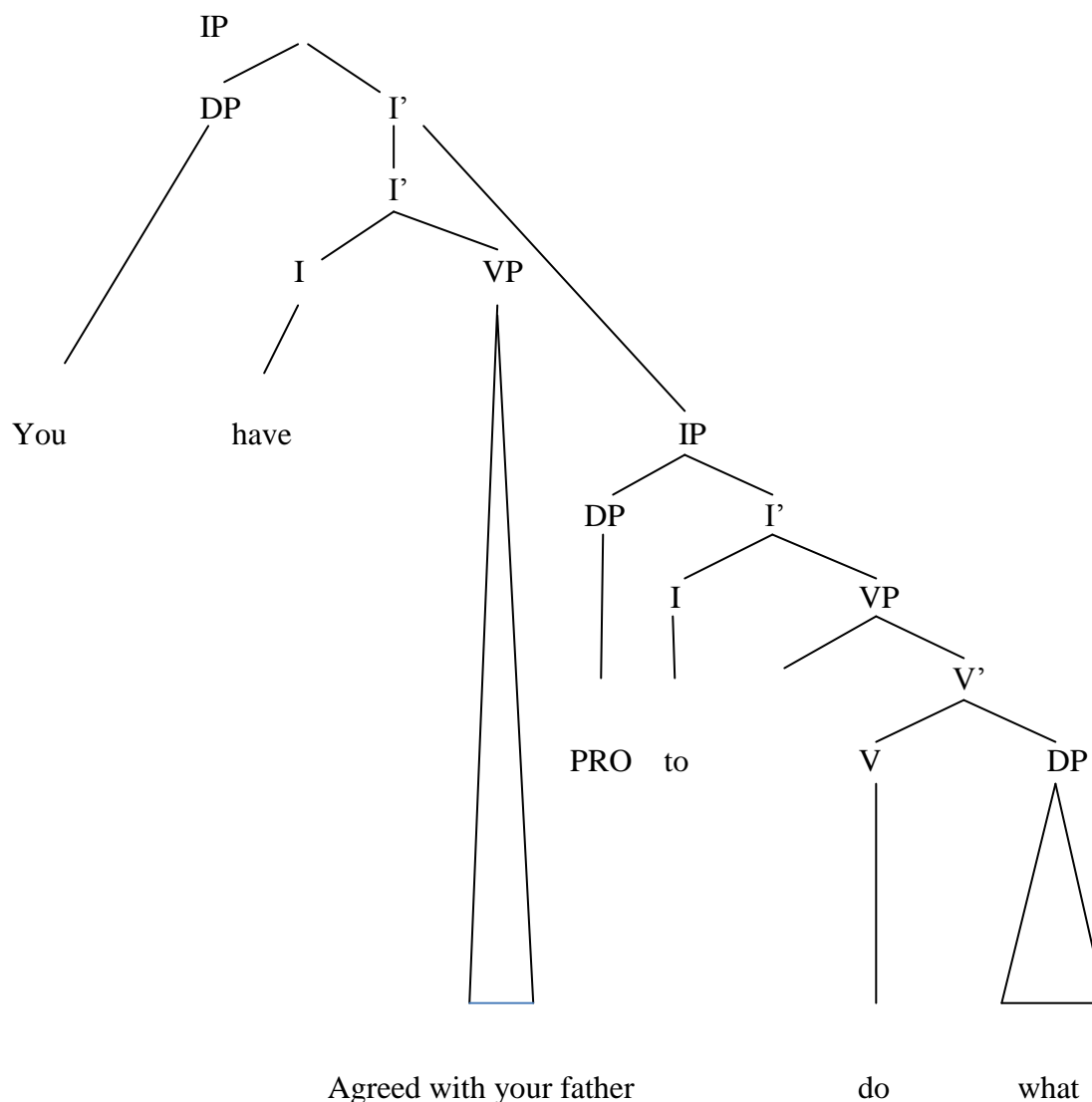


As can be seen on the tree diagram, no overt movement has occurred, as there is no coindexation. "What" remains at base position, as the complement of the lower infinite clause, with a PRO-subject. One may even be tempted to ask why the CP node has been generated, as no overt movement has occurred. Following what has been postulated in the literature (see Haegeman 1997, Radford 2004 etc.), one may think that the CP node will not be generated in CamE, as it is sometimes regarded as a host for moved elements. Given the fact that no overt movement has occurred in the CamE example, one may think the CP node

can rightly be deleted, and (16') will lead to (18) below, which clearly reflects the CamE example.

Figure 3: Representing the CP-deletion Hypothesis in CamE

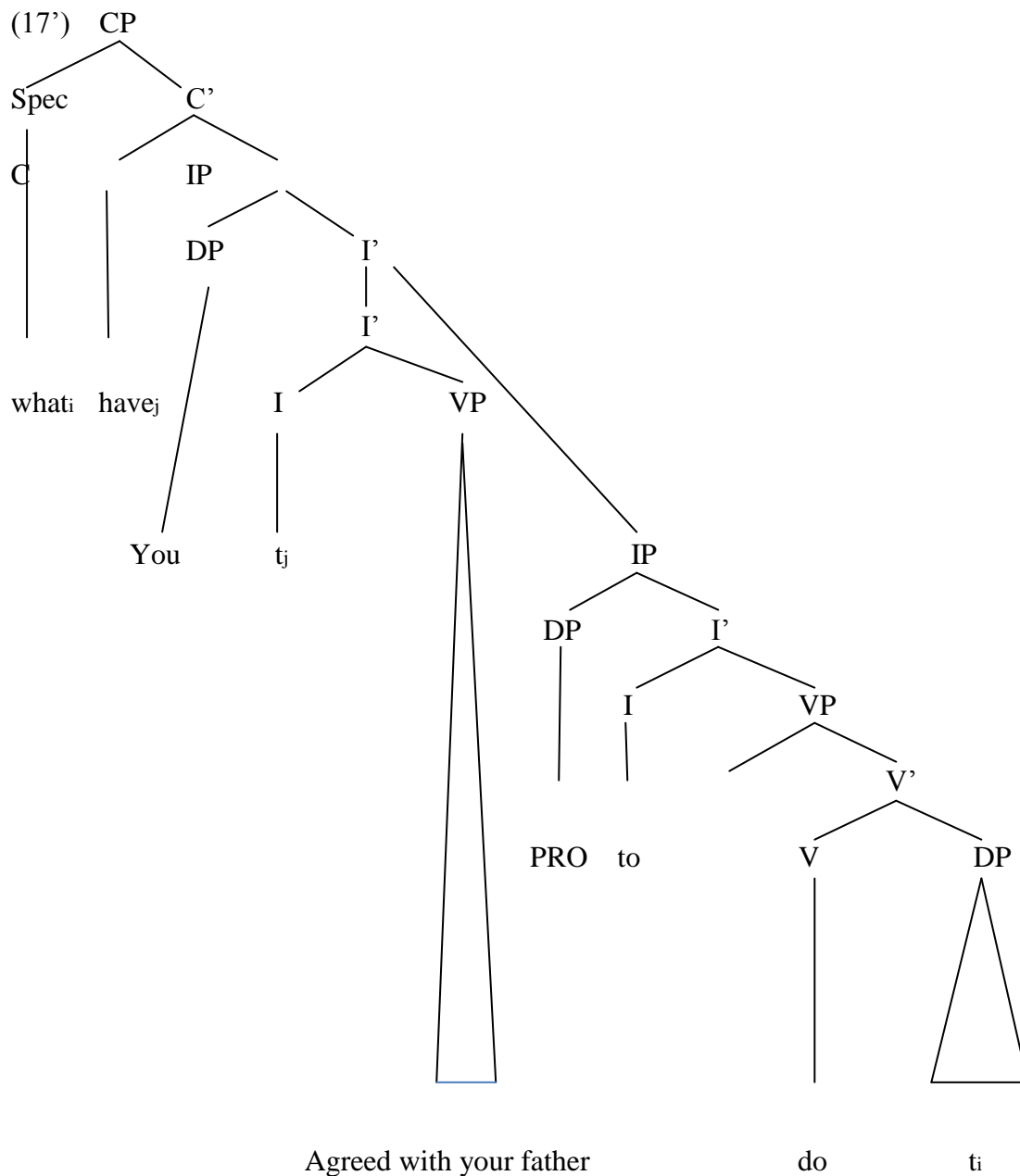
(18)



To better explicate this, it may be said that, the CP node should not be generated in CamE as no head moves from I of IP to C of CP, and as Spec-CP is unfilled. But, if we consider the literature on wh-in situ languages (see Huang 1987 and Watanabe 2001), then the CP node will be generated, as they argue that in wh-in situ languages (Japanese, Chinese, Medumba), there is covert or LF movement, triggered by the [+wh] features carried by C. Following this, the CP will, just like in BrE, be generated, and there will be feature movement. On the contrary, as can be observed on the tree diagram in (17'), which reflects BrE, two types of

overt movements have occurred. First, the head I of the first IP has moved to the head C of the generated CP. Second, “what” has overtly moved from its post-verbal position (inside the lower infinitival clause) to Spec of the generated CP.

Figure 4: A Representation of Wh-Movement and T-to-C Movement in BrE



It would therefore be said, following (17') and (16'), that while (17) is built following overt T-to-C and wh-movement, (16) is built following the wh-insitu rule.

It can be concluded, as the CamE examples show, that wh-questions in CamE rightly follow the wh-insitu strategy, and that the wh-element moves covertly to Spec-CP. This rule, as (13), (14) and (15) show, can be strengthened by another expressed in (19) below.

(19) Delete the subject and the auxiliary to form a wh-question

The application of the rule in (19) may be seen, by someone, as being ungrammatical and even unacceptable, as a part of the sentence, which surely carries information, has been deleted. Following the ideas postulated in Sala (2003), one may conclude that the application of (19) enjoys contextual recoverability. This is so because there is no communication failure between the speakers involved in the conversation within which the sentences in (13), (14) and (15) have been uttered.

But if wh-questions are formed following the wh-insitu strategy, what then would be the difference between CamE wh-questions and BrE echo-questions. It can be said, following the analysis of (13), (14) and (15) that the rule in (19) helps to account for the difference between the two. According to Sala (2003), wh-question formation in CamE is done following the same rule as echo-question formation in BrE, with only intonation showing the difference. But, given the fact that there is no pronunciation in written material, one is likely to conclude that wh-question formation in English is identical to echo-question formation in BrE, the difference being perceived, only in spoken English or if the speaker takes into consideration the context of the conversation. (6), repeated here as (20), for example, will sound like a pure British English echo-question (in written material), if one does not know what precedes.

(20) You have agreed with your father to do what?

But, in the context of a spoken conversation, (20) will be differentiated from a pure BrE echo-question using its supra-segmental features. There will be a rising of tone for BrE echo-question, and the CamE constituent question will sound like a declarative sentence, with only the wh-element making the difference. The rule in (19) can therefore be a strong argument to differentiate BrE echo-questions from CamE wh-questions. It is important to note here, just like Sala (2003: 230), that occasionally, the wh-element may move to CP in CamE. It is therefore possible to have a sentence such as “he ate what” and “what did he eat” in CamE. From Sala’s point of view, “move-wh” becomes optional in CamE. CamE will therefore make use of both the in-situ and ex-situ strategies.

Following the methodology we described in Chapter Three, one question remains unanswered. This is: what accounts for the departure from BrE norms? Sala (2003) accounts

for that using various arguments. According to him, Bloomfield's (1984: 500) and Jespersen's (1948: 316) process of leveling out can account for the choice of the wh-insitu strategy, as Cameroonians prefer to choose the simplest way to express themselves. Given the fact that – as Sala (2003:233) point out – movement seems to be complicated, as it follows a set of constraints (Subjacency, Binding etc.), the choice of Cameroonians falls on the less complicated syntactic processes. In other words, the choice of the wh-in situ strategy is triggered by the desire for simplicity. This idea can be strengthened using Ekembe's (2011) point of view on the emergence of CamE syntax. According to him, the more complicated a rule is, the more Cameroonians will run away from it. So, because the respect of the rules of Subjacency, Binding, etc. is not easy, Cameroonians go in for less complicated rules, and this leads to the wh-in-situ strategy and “the subject and auxiliary deletion” rule. It could therefore be said that the “wh-in situ strategy” and the “subject and auxiliary deletion rule”, as stated in CamE, are motivated by the desire for simplicity. This point of view can be further strengthened if we consider Chomsky's Minimalism, according to which syntactic rules have to be as minimal as possible to facilitate their acquisition by native language speakers. It could then be said that the processes governing wh-questions formation in CamE follow Chomsky's Minimality requirement, as, given their simplicity, they can easily be acquired by “native speakers” of CamE.

Sala (2003:231) further accounts for the wh-insitu strategy in CamE using data from Cameroon local languages. Given the fact that, as it was stated in Chapter One, CamE is likely to be influenced by local languages, it could rightly be said that the wh-in-situ strategy emanates from local languages in which the wh-in situ strategy applies. The example in (21) is from Sala (2003: 231), quoted in Sala (1999b:28)

- (21) Chin koŋ lá?  
 Chin love who  
 “Who does Chin love?”

As (21), which is from Lamnso', shows, overt wh-movement does not occur. The wh-element (lá) remains at base position (inside VP), and does not overtly move like in the BrE example.

The Wh-in-situ strategy can also be accounted for, using French, which is a very influential language in Cameroon. Following the works of Chang (1997) and Cheng & Rooryck (n.d) on wh- in situ in French, consider the examples in (22)

- (22) (a) Il a acheté un livre.

Il a acheté quoi?

He has bought what?

What has he bought?

(b) Elle vient de France

Elle vient d'où?

She comes from where?

Where does she come from?

As the French question examples in (21) show, no overt movement has occurred, and the sentences are still grammatical. This means, from a formal point of view, that – besides being an ex-situ language, French is also a wh-in situ language (See Cheng and Rooryck, n.d. and Chang (1997). But Cheng and Rooryck (n.d) propose, just like Huang (1987) and Watanabe (2001) who worked on Chinese and Japanese respectively, that there is covert or LF movement in wh-in situ French. Given the fact that we are not dealing with French syntax, let's simply look at the formal organization of the French examples and the CamE examples for the moment. But, we will come back to the covert or LF movement hypothesis in CamE. The wh-in situ strategy in CamE may therefore have been triggered by the influence of French on CamE, at least for those who speak both French and English in Cameroon.

From a strict Generative Grammar point of view, the wh-in situ strategy can be explained using Lasnik's Principle of Enlightened Self-Interest, according to which constituents move in order to "check" features carried by other constituent, so that movement is a form of Altruism. (See Radford 1998: 134). In this vein, it is said that the head C of CP, in BrE, carries a [wh] specifier-feature, and that the wh-element carries an interrogative head-feature. The wh-element therefore moves to check the interrogative specifier-feature of C in BrE. But, since no overt movement occurs in CamE, one may be tempted to conclude that neither the wh-element nor C of CP carry the features described above. But, considering what has been said in the literature on wh-in situ languages (Chang 1997, Cheng and Rooryck, n.d, Gambarage and Keupdjio 2014, Huang 1987, Watanabe 2001), it can be assumed that the wh-element, or – for some – the interrogative head-feature of the wh-element moves covertly to check the [+wh] features carried by Spec-CP. Following this, it can be concluded that CamE wh-questions are formed, for the most part, following the in-situ strategy. When they follow the in-situ strategy, there is covert or LF movement, just like in Chinese, Japanese, French and Medumba.

To summarise, wh-questions in CamE are formed following the wh-in-situ strategy, which is supplemented by “the subject and auxiliary deletion rule”. These rules emanate from the process of simplification, Ekembe’s (2011) markedness, Chomsky’s Minimality Requirement and the influence of Cameroonian local languages and French. Besides, it has been shown that, just like in other wh-in situ languages, there is covert or LF movement in CamE.

#### **4.1.1.2 Sala’s Super-Ordinate Clause Deletion for Echo-Questions**

In this section, another type of question is described. Like in the previous section, the description is done on the backdrop of what previous works (Sala 2003 and Ndzomo 2013) have done. It starts with the description, followed by the formulation of rules and ends with the explanation of those. But, before we get into details, there is need to define the notion of echo-question. An echo-question is one which is asked in a context where a listener wants a speaker to repeat what they have said, either because they didn’t understand at all or because they have doubts about what they have understood. Speaker B’ utterance in (2) below is an example of a BrE echo-question formed from what Speaker A has said in (1).

(1) Speaker A: I studied syntax in the University of Yaounde I.

(2) Speaker B: You studied syntax where?

Speaker B’s question in (2) is what is referred to as an echo-question because he is just expecting Speaker A to repeat what he said, since he did not get him well. As can be seen in the echo-question in (2), the PP “the University of Yaounde” has been questioned.

In BrE, as can be seen from (1) and (2), echo-questions are formed following the wh-in situ strategy. The main difference between BrE declarative sentence and echo-question, besides the insertion of a wh-element, is at the supra-segmental level. This is so because, in spoken English, there is a rising tone on the wh-element for echo-questioning.

Sala (2003, 2014) in his study of echo-questions in CamE, does not only present a rule for echo-question formation, but also differentiate between two main types of echo-questions. Sala (2014:23) distinguishes between yes/no echo-questions and constituent echo-questions. According to him, yes/no echo-questions are peculiar in the sense that they have a modal property, “as they show the speaker’s attitude either of surprise or disapproval”. Sala (2003: 245) defines a yes/no echo-question as “one which needs confirmation and the answer is either yes or no”. In constituent echo-questions, “what is echoed is a constituent of the



sentence uttered by the preceding speaker”. From Sala (2003, 2014) perspective, echo-questions in CamE are formed differently from BrE. Since we are not interested in the comparison of CamE and BrE, the ideas postulated in Sala (2003, 2014), on how echo-questions are formed in CamE, are going to be revisited in this section.

Echo-questions in CamE, from Sala’s perspective, are formed following a rule that can be stated in (3) below.

- (3) Superordinate-clause deletion: Delete the superordinate-clause to have an echo-question. (Sala 2014: 31)

To better understand (3) above, let’s examine (4) and (5) below, drawn from our CamE data.

(4) Speaker A: “Our teacher beat me”, I told him.  
Speaker B: What?

- (5) a- I didn’t see any student student in class today.

That what?

b- Is Prof in class?

That what?

In the (4) example, “what”, from “Speaker B”, can be said to be an echo-question because it is asked in a context where Speaker B wants “Speaker A” to repeat what he has said, either because he did not get him well, or because – as mentioned in previous works – he is surprised by what he has just heard, or he seems not to believe what he has just been told. (5) too can be considered an echo-question, as it is asked as a result of failure to transmit a whole message. The main link between Speaker B’s question in (4) and (5) is that, in the two cases, the person producing the echo-question requires some kind of repetition from the person who uttered the preceding statement in the context of the conversation. Though (4) seems to be constituent echo-question, it still has the modal properties of surprise and disapproval. This contrasts with Sala (2014: 23), according to which these modal properties are peculiar to yes/no echo-questions. It therefore follows that the modal properties of surprise and disapproval are carried both by constituent echo-questions and yes/no echo questions. Besides, as can be seen from the preceding examples, (4) and (5) are formed following a rule which is completely different from the rule governing the formation of (2) above; which is a BrE echo-question. To strengthen this point of view, let’s assume, following Sala (2014:32), that a “say-verb” has been omitted, together with its subject, to obtain (4) and (5) above, so

that they emanate from (6) and (7) below respectively, where the bracketed elements represent what is missing.

(6) (You say) what?

(7) a- (You say) that what?

b- (You say) that what?

As can be observed in (6) and (7) above, echo-questions in CamE are formed following Sala's rule formulated in (3) and repeated here in (8)

(8) Superordinate-clause deletion: Delete the superordinate-clause to have an echo-question

The "say-verb", together with its subject is what Sala refers to as "superordinate clause". Since the verb "say" and its subject "you" in (6) and (7) above are deleted, then a rule like (8) has been intuitively applied by speakers of CamE. It is good to mention here that (7a) and (7b) constitute what Sala (2014) refers to a "that echo-clause". If this is so, what then accounts for such a rule? If ellipsis apply to echo-question formation in CamE, does it not have an effect on the grammaticality of the sentence?

To answer the preceding questions we will, to an extent, still draw inspiration from Sala (2003 and 2014). Following Sala (2014:31), the rule in (8) can be accounted for using ellipsis. Ellipsis refers to the omission of a part of a sentence, without hampering its grammaticality. From Quirk et al (1994) point of view, as quoted in Sala (2014:31), ellipsis is governed by textual or contextual recoverability. If omission is permitted in other Englishes, say BrE, why not in CamE as well? Sala (2014), on this issue, is of the opinion that, in CamE, the omitted constituent, or as he calls it, "the ellipsed constituent" is contextually recovered. Given the fact that echo-questions are mostly conversational, one could say that the ellipsed or omitted constituent is contextually recoverable. Sala (2014:32) further strengthens his rule in (8) by saying that it helps "to avoid ambiguity, since wh-questions are realised in CamE using the same formal organization like echo-questions in BrE". Following what precedes, it can be said that a rule like (8) helps to avoid ambiguity in the interpretation of (9) and (10) and (11) below, which are CamE wh-question, BrE echo-question and CamE echo-question respectively.

(9) Speaker A: I have agreed with my father to do it.

Speaker B: You have agreed with your father to do what?

(10) Speaker A: I have agreed with my father to study syntax.

Speaker B: You have agreed with your father to do what?

(11) Speaker A: I have agreed with my father to study syntax.

Speaker B: That what?

Speaker B's utterance in (9) is a CamE wh-question. Speaker B's utterance in (10) is a BrE echo-question, and Speaker B's utterance in (11) a CamE echo-question. As can be seen in (9) and (10), CamE wh-question is identical to BrE echo-question, with the sole difference being related to context and supra-segmental features. A rule like (8) that accounts for the realization of (11) comes in to avoid ambiguity, as (9) (10) and (11) could have had the same formal organization. So, the rule that was stated in (19) for wh-questioning in CamE and repeated here as (12); and (8), repeated here as (13) below help to avoid ambiguity between wh-question realization in CamE and BrE, and echo-question realization in CamE and BrE.

(12) Delete the subject and the auxiliary to form a wh-constituent question

(13) Superordinate-clause deletion: Delete the superordinate-clause to have an echo-question

One may be tempted to say that (12) and (13) too create ambiguity in wh-question realization and echo-question realization in CamE. To answer such a preoccupation, it can be said that while (13) involves the deletion of a "say-verb", (12) involve the deletion of an auxiliary, as (14) and (15) below show. (14) is realised following (13), and (15) following (12)

(14) Speaker A: I have agreed with my father to study syntax.

Speaker B: (You say) that what?

(15) Speaker A: "Where is your friend, Ngwe?" ...

Speaker B: "Ah, my friend Nwolefeck, he is in Britain", I told her

Speaker A: (He is) doing what there?

As Speaker B's utterance in (14) shows, a "say-verb" is involved in the deletion. The second Speaker A's utterance in (15) rather involves the deletion of a primary auxiliary. So, the main difference between the rule governing wh-questions formation in CamE and that governing echo-question formation is that while the former involves the deletion of a primary auxiliary, the later involves the deletion of a full verb (say).

In a nutshell, echo-question formation has been described and accounted for in this section. Following the analysis of new data, Sala's (2003, 2014) "superordinate-clause deletion" rule

for CamE echo-questioning has been strengthened. His modal properties of “yes/no echo-questions” have been extended to “constituent echo-questions”, in the sense that both types of echo-questions, as shown above, could be asked as a result of surprise or disapproval. Besides, the rules involving “deletion” both for CamE wh-questioning and CamE echo-questioning have been differentiated on the basis of the elements involved in the deletion. For echo-questioning, a “say-verb” is deleted, while for wh-questioning, an auxiliary is deleted.

#### **4.1.1.3 Yes/no Questions in CamE**

This section re-examines yes/no question formation in CamE. It is shown that yes/no questions involve two main processes in CamE, namely lack of T-to-C movement and – in some cases – lack of do-support. Besides, some of the ideas postulated in Sala (2003) are re-examined and, of course, accounted for. But, before we get into the description proper, there is need to define what is meant by a yes/no question. As the label entails, a yes/no question is one which answer is either yes or no, as the examples in (2), formed from the declarative sentences in (1) below show.

- (1) (a) We can study syntax
- (b) Yes/no question formation in CamE is different from BrE.
- (c) I have been studying syntax
- (d) I study syntax at the University of Yaounde I
- (e) Chomsky’s Minimalist Program emanated from The GBT
- (2) (a) Can you study syntax?
- (b) Is yes/no question formation in CamE different from BrE?
- (c) Have you been studying syntax?
- (d) Do you study syntax at the University of Yaounde I?
- (e) Did Chomsky’s Minimalist Program emanate from the GBT?

As can be observed in the (2) sentences above, one obvious way of answering to those questions is either yes or no. Given the fact that the questions in (2) are pure BrE yes/no questions, one question is begged. This is: how were the sentences in (2) obtained? It can be said that yes/no questions are realised in BrE through what has been referred to as subject-auxiliary inversion. From the generativist point of view, yes/no questioning is realised in BrE following T-to-C movement. It therefore means – from a traditional grammar perspective –

that the sentences in (2) are realised by inverting the subject and the auxiliary. This may account for the formation of (2a), (2b) and (2c). What of (2d) and (2d)? It has been proposed that in cases where a sentence has a covert auxiliary, the dummy “do” is added in front of the verb, and then moved to Head C of CP, or inverted. This process has been referred to as “do-support”. (2a) and (2d) will therefore be represented by the tree diagrams in (3) and (4) respectively.

Figure 5: Illustrating T-to-C Movement in BrE for Yes/No Question Formation

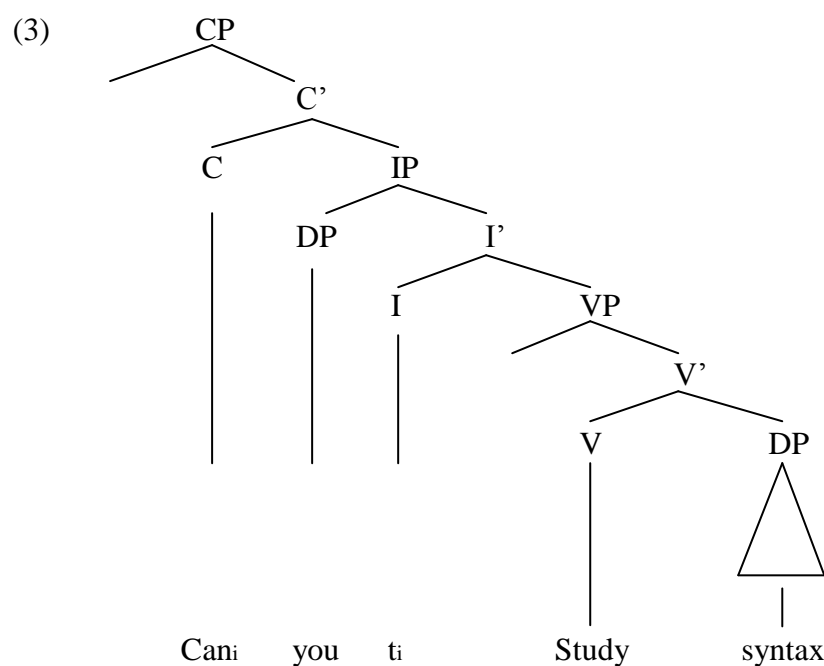
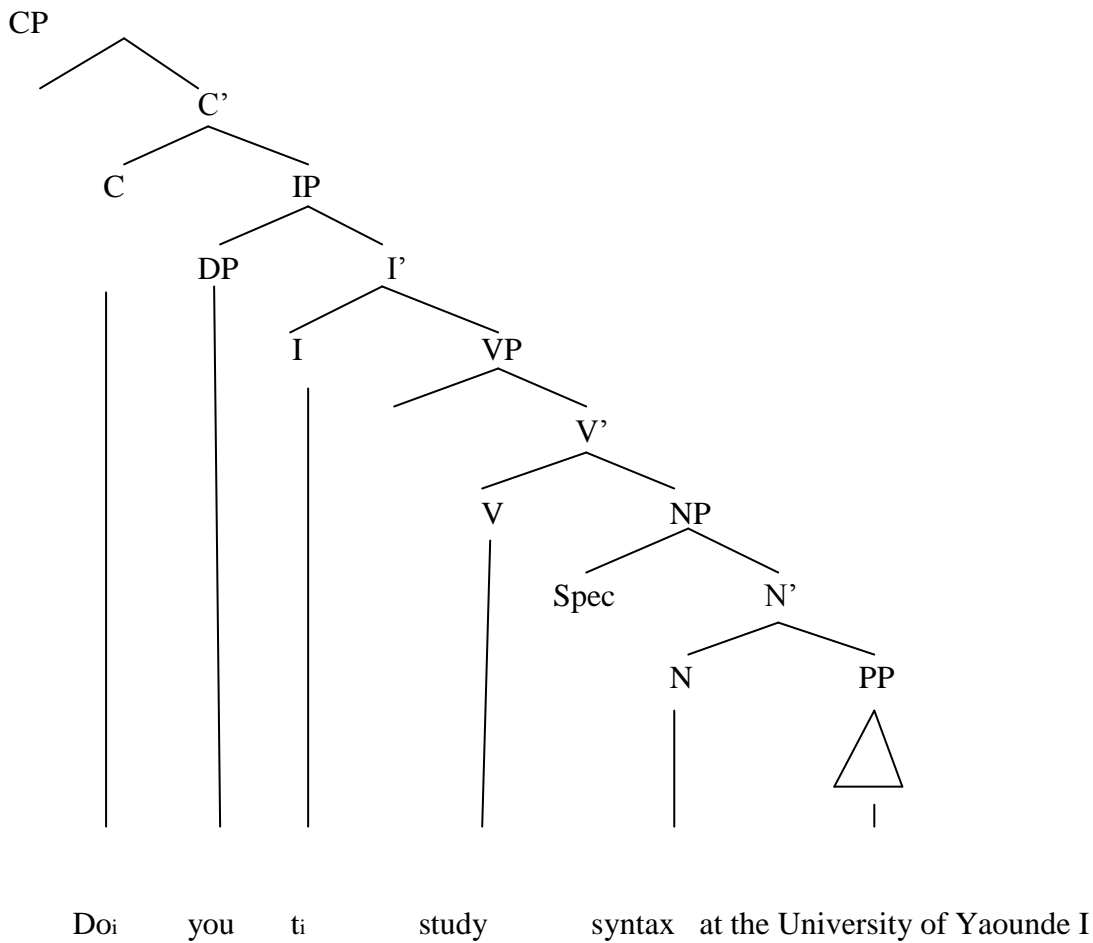


Figure 6: Illustrating Do-Support for Yes/No Question Formation in BrE

(4)



From what precedes, it can be concluded that yes//no questions are realised in BrE by moving an overt or covert (through the process of do-support) auxiliary from the head I of IP to the head C of CP. It should be noted that do-support is not done haphazardly. “Do” is called for in sentences in which there is no overt auxiliary. Besides, when “do” is inserted, it carries the tense properties of the main verb of the declarative sentence, and this verb takes the infinitive form. But, previous works on CamE (Sala 2003 and Ndzomo 2013) have shown that yes/no questions are realised in CamE following a process that is completely different from BrE. They have postulated the avoidance of T-to-C movement. This idea is going to be re-examined in this section.

For a deep understanding of this section, it is divided into three sub-sections. In the first sub-section, the avoidance of do-support is shown, under The Non-Application of Chomsky (1995) Last Resort Principle, and accounted for. The second sub-section has to do

with the presentation of arguments in favour of the existence of a Do-Deletion Hypothesis in CamE that applies to sentences in which there is no overt auxiliary. In the third sub-section, The Avoidance of T-to-C Movement is shown and, of course, accounted for.

#### **4.1.1.3.1 The Non-Application of Chomsky (1995) Last Resort Principle for Do-Support in CamE**

In the works of Chomsky (1995), as quoted in Radford (1998:110), he proposes that the dummy auxiliary “do” is inserted to form BrE yes/no questions like (5) below, obtained from the declarative sentences in (6) as a result of the application of the Last Resort Principle.

(5) I study syntax.

She travelled yesterday.

(6) Do you study syntax?

Did she travel yesterday?

As explained in the previous section, and as can be seen in (5) and (6) above, a dummy “do” is inserted to form a yes/no question in BrE. On the contrary, as the sentences in (7) below show, yes/no questions are realised, when there is no overt auxiliary, without do-support in CamE.

(7)

a- And you say he promised to be here by nightfall?

b- You mean the money will not be handed over to me?

c- You want to become a woman, Gwe?

d- My son, you mean that of all the people in the university you chose to be the leader of a bad group, my son?

e- You want to swallow me as you have done [sic] your father?

Since do-support is avoided in the CamE sentences in (7) above, it follows that the Last Resort Principle does not apply to CamE. From the preceding assumptions, one question arises. What accounts for the non application of Chomsky’s Last Resort Principle in CamE.

The avoidance of do-support in CamE may be accounted for using Chomsky (ibid.) Question Affix Analysis. Following Radford (1998: 108), if a COMP carrying strong Q affix (Strong Question Affix) features lures an overt auxiliary from INFL in IP to COMP in CP, and a COMP with a weak Q affix feature requires the insertion of the dummy auxiliary “do” as a Last Resort, then it follows – from our analysis of the avoidance of head-to-head

movement and do-support in CamE – that COMP does not have a Q affix at all. In other words, given the fact that neither T-to-C movement (triggered by a COMP with strong Q affix features) nor do-support (triggered by a COMP with weak Q affix features) apply to CamE, then COMP in CamE may not have a Q affix property at all. If this so, what then makes them to be considered interrogative sentences? In other words, what marks their interrogative nature? One way out of this will be to suppose that the COMP in Cameroon English has the above features and that, unlike in BrE, movement is covert, and therefore cannot be seen. It follows, given the fact that CamE uses the in-situ strategy (see the section on wh-questions), that there is feature movement at LF. The features are interpreted at the derived position, but realised in situ. But, the lack of do-support to form yes/no questions in CamE may be explained otherwise. This shall be done in the next section.

#### **4.1.1.3.2 The Do-Deletion Hypothesis**

In this section, the avoidance of do-support for yes/no question realization in CamE is stressed. A new rule for yes/no question realization in CamE is also stated and accounted for. To explain this, let's consider the sentences in (7), repeated here as (8), drawn from our CamE data.

- (8) a- And you say he promised to be here by nightfall?  
       f- You mean the money will not be handed over to me?  
       g- You want to become a woman, Gwe?  
       h- My son, you mean that of all the people in the university you chose to be the leader of a bad group, my son?  
       i- You want to swallow me as you have done [sic] your father?

As can be observed in the (8) sentences, one obvious answer to those questions could be yes or no. This makes them to be considered yes/no questions. These questions, as can be seen, are built without do-support, not to talk of T-to-C movement. If we assume, following the ideas posited in favour of the avoidance of T-to-C movement, that the original counterparts of the sentences in (8) are (9) below, then “do” has been deleted to obtain the sentences in (8).

- (9) a- And you (do) say he promised to be here by nightfall?  
       b- You (do) mean the money will not be handed over to me?  
       c- You (do) want to become a woman, Gwe?  
       d- My son, you (do) mean that of all the people in the university you chose to be the leader of a bad group, my son?



e- You (do) want to swallow me as you have done [sic] your father?

The bracketed elements in the (9) sentences above represent what has been deleted. From what precedes, it follows that, in CamE, yes/no questions in which there are no overt auxiliary are realised following a rule that can be formulated as (10) below.

(10) Do-deletion: Delete “do” to have a yes/no question.

As the preceding examples show, the sentences in (8) are obtained by applying the rule in (10) to the sentences in (9). Arguments in support of the existence of a rule like (10) in CamE come from the avoidance of T-to-C movement, known in traditional grammar as auxiliary inversion. To explain this, if it is assumed that there is a rule like the avoidance of T-to-C movement or avoidance of subject-auxiliary inversion which application permits to have a yes/no question in CamE, then that auxiliary exists before it is not inverted or moved. Following this, one question can be asked from the analysis of the sentences in (8) above. Where have the auxiliaries (“do” in this case) in the (8) sentences gone to? Two answers can be postulated for such a question. Either the auxiliary is covert and implicit, or it has been completely deleted. If we assume that it is covert and therefore implicit, then its effects will be felt and a sentence like (11) below will be grammatical, given the fact that when “do” is added, the main verb of the preceding declarative sentence takes the infinitive form. In the sentence in (11), “have” is in the infinitive form, following the idea according to which when “do” is added, the main verb takes the infinitive form.

(11) \*She have a friend?

Given the fact that (11) above is a non-sentence, “do” cannot be covert or implicit. The only answer we have left will be to assume that “do” is completely deleted, together with its effects on the sentence, and (12) below will be grammatical in CamE.

(12) She has a friend?

The grammaticality of the sentence in (12) strengthens the idea according to which questions in which there is no overt auxiliary are built following the rule formulated in (10). In this view, the sentences in (8) have as DS the ones in (9) respectively. But, it should be mentioned here that the do-deletion rule is just a hypothesis, that could be called “The do-Deletion Hypothesis” in CamE. Let’s now turn to the analysis of questions in which there is an overt auxiliary. To do this, Sala (2003) avoidance of head-to-head movement will be stressed.

#### **4.1.1.3.3 Sala’s (2003) Avoidance of T-to-C Movement**

Besides the rule stated in the previous section (which applies to sentences in which there are no overt auxiliary), Sala (2003) had postulated the rule involving the avoidance of T-to-C movement for yes/no question realisation in CamE. In this section, this rule will be re-examined using new data. Consider the sentences in (13) below.

(13)

- b- a- So, all the money has been confiscated and not a franc given to the widow?
- c- So, you are leaving again so soon, my child?
- d- And you say you will be leaving tomorrow morning?
- e- You don't want to remain in mother's hut and eat fufu?
- f- So all of you Anglophones have escaped to the villages?
- g- And you have made up your mind to register at the Faculty of Arts?

As can be seen from mere reading of the sentences above, there are only two possible answers to the preceding questions. It is either "yes" or "no". This makes them to be listed under yes/no questions. Besides, the sentences in (13) show that nothing has moved, as the case with the ones in (2) above. The DS and the SS of a sentence like (13e), as seen in (14) below, will therefore look alike.

(14) [CP [IP you [I don't [VP remain [IP to remain in your mother's hut and eat fufu?]]]]]

It follows, from the analysis of the sentences in (13), together with analysis of wh-movement, that move-alpha is optional in CamE. This idea is strengthened in Sala (2003:256), according to whom CamE, in the course of indigenization, has, through the simplification process, avoided movement transformations, in favour of more simple structures. Besides, some elements of sentences are deleted, as was seen with wh-questions, still in the process of simplification. It therefore means that CamE syntactic features arise as a result of the desire from simplification. This can be view from a positive angle, if we adopt Chomsky's Minimalism, which seeks to simplify syntactic processes so as to make them easily acquired by native speakers of languages. Besides, following the SS representation in (14), one may ask why the COMP position should be generated, if elements do not overtly move. This question will be of great importance, if – following what has been said in the literature – it is assumed that COMP is a host for moved elements. If COMP is generated to host moved elements, it can be deduced that in CamE, it is not generated, as no movement occurs, from first look. (14),therefore, will rather look like (15) below, where CP has been deleted, or better still, has not been generated at all.

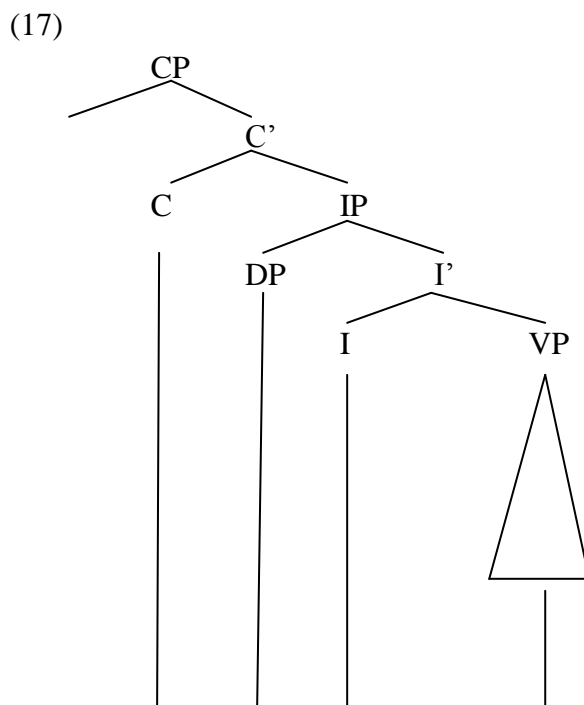
(15) [IP you [I don't [VP remain [IP to remain in your mother's hut and eat fufu?]]]]

But following works on in situ languages, we will simply consider that there is covert movement. We will not come back to this because an answer has already been given in the section dealing with constituent questions. We will simply conclude that the CP node is generated and that there is feature movement or covert movement. If auxiliaries, whether overt or covert, do not overtly move to head C of CP in CamE, there is likely to be a reason. Sala (2003) explains the avoidance of T-to-C movement in CamE, using the data from Lamnso'. We will not come back to that here, and simply refer the reader back to that work. Rather, new reasons will be postulated to account for that process.

Following Radford (1998) account of T-to-C movement in BrE using Chomky's (1995) Question Affix Analysis, one may be tempted to conclude that T-to-C movement is avoided in CamE because COMP has no affix feature. To better understand this, let's start by looking at Radford (ibid.) analysis of T-to-C movement in BrE. According to Radford (1998: 108), "a strong COMP node has the power to lure an auxiliary from INFL to COMP, thereby satisfying the requirement for a strong COMP to be filled. This can be illustrated in (16b) below, which is a yes/question formed from (16a). (16b) is represented by the tree diagram in

- (16) a- I can draw a three diagram  
b- Can you draw a three diagram?

Figure 7: Illustrating the Q Affix Features of COMP in BrE



Can<sub>i</sub>    you    t<sub>i</sub>    draw a three diagram?

Radford (1998: 108), following Chomsky (1995), says that

COMP in questions contains an abstract question affix Q: and since it is in the nature of affixes that they must be affixed (i.e. attached) to an appropriate kind of word, we could then say that Q must be affixed either to an interrogative complementizer like *if* or to an auxiliary like

“can” in a sentence like (16b) above. The auxiliary “can” in (17) “moves to COMP to satisfy the requirement for the question affix Q to be affixed to an appropriate kind of word”. If there is a Q affix that lures the auxiliary from I in IP to COMP of CP, then where has it gone to in CamE? If we assume that the COMP lack those features in CamE, then what marks their interrogative nature? Following Huang (1987) and Watanase (2001) we will conclude that the COMP has the above-mentioned features, and that they trigger movement as expected. The sole difference is that, unlike in BrE where they trigger overt movement, they trigger covert or LF movement in CamE.

Moreover, the avoidance of T-to-C movement can be accounted for, in CamE, using data from French. To explain this, consider the sentences in (18) that are not only acceptable in French, but also marks the variety of French that is spoken in Cameroon.

- (18)        a- Tu connais la définition de la syntaxe?  
              b- Elle est étudiante à l’université de Yaoundé I ?

The sentences in (18) are yes/no questions formed from the declarative sentences in (19) below.

- (19)        a- Je connais la définition de la syntaxe  
              b- Elle est étudiante à l’université de Yaoundé I

As the declarative sentences in (19) with their question counterparts in (18) show, no reordering of sentence structure has occurred, in the sense that no inversion has taken place. So, in what can be called “Cameroonian French”, yes/no questions are realised through intonation (a supra-segmental feature), as only tone marks the difference between the questions in (18) and their declarative counterparts in (19). If we assume that when two or more languages are spoken in the same milieu, they tend to influence each other or one another, then the avoidance of T-to-C movement in CamE results from the influence of “Cameroonian French”.

In a nutshell, yes/no questioning was described in this section. It was shown that, unlike in BrE, they were realised following three processes. These include the possible “do-deletion rule”, the avoidance of Chomsky’s Last Resort Principle and the avoidance of T-to-C movement. All these processes have been accounted for using grammatical assumptions, and using data from French.

#### **4.1.2 Passivisation**

In this section, the syntactic process of passivisation is analysed. Following the method that was given in the methodology section, some of the ideas postulated in previous works will be re-examined, using new data. Some rules will be postulated and then accounted for. But, let’s start by defining what is meant by passivisation.

Passivisation is a syntactic process through which active sentences are transformed into passive sentences. When this happens, as Sala (2003:251) points out, stress is laid on the action rather than the agent as is the case in active constructions. In an active sentence, the subject is said to do the action, whereas it suffers or receives the action in the passive construction. Besides, in the course of transformation, the auxiliary “be” is inserted, together with a by-phrase which is optional. In the literature related to the study of movement transformations, it is licensed under NP-movement as it is an NP which is involved in the movement process. The other appellation given to it is A-movement. Such movement leaves behind what has been referred to as an NP-trace, which is coindexed to the moved NP. Besides, passive verbs are said, in the literature, to have an empty subject position. It therefore means that they fail to assign an external theta role, or that they assign an external theta role to an empty subject position at DS. The NP, which is generated inside VP, and to which the passive verb assigns an internal theta role, moves at SS to be assigned nominative case, or to satisfy the EPP, according to which sentences should have subjects. This notion can be illustrated in the sentence in (2) below, with its active counterpart in (1). The DS and the SS of (2) are given in (3) as (3a) and (3b) respectively. The by-phrase in brackets is optional.

(1) John studied syntax

(2) Syntax was studied (by John).

(3) a- [I<sub>PE</sub> [I was [ VP studied syntax (by John)]]]

b- [I<sub>P</sub> syntax<sub>i</sub> [I was [VP studied t<sub>i</sub> (by John)]]]

As the DS representation of (2) in (3a) shows, the passive verb “studied” assigns no external theta role, and its subject position is left empty (represented by “e”). The same passive verb assigns an internal theta role to the NP “syntax”. At SS, as shown in 3b, the VP-internal NP moves from its base position to a position inside IP to be assigned nominative case or to fill the subject position of the passive verb. Besides, the by-phrase could be deleted and the sentence will remain grammatical. What precedes shows how passivisation is achieved in BrE. What then happens in CamE? In other words, how is passivisation achieved in CamE?

Sala (2003: 252) proposes that passivisation in CamE is realised through what he refers to as the unbounded “they”. This notion will be re-examined in the next section, using new data.

#### **4.1.2.1 Sala’s Unbounded “they” for Passivisation**

Sala (2003), in his study of passivisation in CamE, is of the opinion that passivisation is a feature of Indo-European languages like English and French. Through the study of the data from Lamnso’, a Cameroonian language, he shows that passivisation does not exist, and that Lamnso’ rather makes use of subject clefting (see Sala 2003: 252). Assuming that Cameroonian languages have a great influence on CamE, he puts forward the opinion that passivisation is likely to be avoided in CamE too, given its complexity. He then proposes that passivisation is achieved in CamE through what he refers to as the “Unbounded they”. To better explain this, consider the sentences in (4) and (5) below, taken from Sala (ibid.)

(4) a- The principal has published the results.

b- They have published results.

(5) a- The bank is paying salaries.

b- They are paying salaries.

In his explanation of the preceding sentences, he says that the closest counterparts of (4b) and (5b) in BrE will be the passive sentences in (6a) and (6b) below respectively, without the by-phrase.

(6) a- The results have been published.

b- The salaries are being paid.

According to him, the link between the CamE sentence in (4b) and its BrE counterpart in (6a) is that one question could be asked out of the two. This is: “who has published results”. In the case of the CamE example, the answer would be “the principal”. As far as the BrE example is concerned, the answer will still be “the principal”, which could be spelled out by the by-phrase. Besides, as can be seen above, “they” – in the CamE examples – has nothing to do with “the principal”, which it sets out to replace. This is because pronouns, in BrE, must carry the same properties as the elements they replace. Following this, given the fact that “the principle” is singular, “s/he” should be used rather than “they”. The preference of “They” over “s/he” shows that it has nothing to do with “the principal”. It is therefore assumed that “the principal”, which is a subject-NP has been deleted, and “they” added as a substitute. Given the fact that “they” does not have the properties of a pronoun, Sala (2003) calls it an expletive “they” (following Lyons 1987: 379), which can be compared to French “on”. “They” is therefore a non-referential slot filler like the expletives “it” and “there”. Following what has been proposed in the literature under the Binding Theory, Sala (ibid.) refers to “they” in such constructions as an unbounded “they”, as it is not linked to anything in the sentence. Why then is “they” selected, out of the many personal pronouns that exist in English. Sala (2003: 255) opines that the choice of “they” is motivated by the fact that “it has no gender implication and is more generalized”. It therefore follows that passivisation is realised in CamE through a rule that can be given under (7) below.

(7) Rule for passivisation:

- a- Drop the subject-NP.
- b- Insert an expletive “they” in subject position.

But, given the lack of data to strengthen this point of view, we are simply going to adopt Sala (2003) point of view, as it has proven explicable. No attempt is made to dismiss it, as – in research – new data always bring in new ideas. Besides, the data is just a representation of the many “varieties” of CamE. We will then conclude that passivisation is realised in CamE through the same processes as is BrE (NP-movement) and, when it is avoided, through Sala (2003) “Unbounded they”. A speaker will therefore choose one of the two (NP-movement or unbounded “they”) to express himself in CamE. But, given the complexity related to NP-movement, it may be assumed that speakers will go in for Sala’s “unbounded they”. If this is so, then move-alpha, for passive constructions, is optional in CamE. May we then talk of empty categories in CamE? This will be the focus of the next section.

To summarise, in this section, the processes underlying passivisation in CamE have been studied. Sala (2003) unbounded “they” for passivisation has also been examined. Given the lack of data to strengthen Sala’s point of view, it has been concluded, on the one hand, that Passivisation, when not avoided, was realised the same way as in BrE, that is, through NP-movement. On the other hand, when it is avoided, preference is given to Sala’s “unbounded they”.

### **4.1.3 Issues Related to Empty Categories**

In the literature related to the study of movement transformations, another important notion has been developed. This notion is referred to as Empty Categories and is studied under the so called Trace Theory. In this section, this notion will be defined, explained and related to CamE.

Empty Categories refer to phonetically unrealised sentence constituents that, though not pronounced, are important for the grammatical interpretation of such a sentence. Generative grammarians distinguish between two main groups of Empty Categories. The first group is made up of the ones that result from movement transformations, and the second group consists of subjects of what has been called “pro-drop languages” like Spanish. Our focus will only be on the first group of empty categories. With reference to the place vacated by a moved element, three different empty categories have been distinguished in English. These include NP-traces, for NP-movement, Wh-traces for wh-movement and PRO, subject of non-finite clauses. These are going to be examined in turn below.

#### **4.1.3.1 NP-Traces**

As the label entails, an NP-trace results from an NP-movement. Given the fact that passive sentences are constructed in BrE through NP-movement, it would therefore be said that an NP-trace results from the process of passivisation. According to the Trace Theory, a moved constituent leaves behind a trace which must be bound by its antecedent. The moved constituent is the antecedent of the trace. To better understand this, consider the sentences in (1), with their passive counterparts in (2). The sentences in (2) have the DS and the SS in (3) and (4) respectively.

(1) a- Peter studies syntax.

b- John played football.



(2) a- Syntax is studied

b- Football was played

(3) a- [IP<sub>E</sub> [<sub>I</sub> is [VP studied [<sub>NP</sub> syntax]]]]

b- [IP<sub>E</sub> [<sub>I</sub> was [VP played [<sub>NP</sub> football]]]]

(4) a- [IP syntax<sub>i</sub> [<sub>I</sub> is [VPstudied [<sub>NP</sub> ti]]]]

b- [IP football<sub>i</sub> [<sub>I</sub> was [VP played [<sub>NP</sub> ti]]]]

In the examples in (4), the places indicated by “ti” are what we refer to as traces. Given the fact that what have moved from those positions are NPs, they are referred to as NP-traces. “Syntax” in (4a) and “football” in (4b) are antecedents of the different traces. The traces and their antecedents are bound. A condition applies to their binding, and has been referred to as the C-command condition on binding. This condition requires a bound constituent to be C-commanded by its binder, that is, the antecedent. In a nutshell, NP-traces are empty categories that result from NP-movement. One obvious question is then begged. Do NP-traces exist in CamE?

From our analysis of passivisation above, we came up with the result that, in CamE, passivisation was achieved through two processes, namely NP-movement and Sala’s unbounded “they”. If we follow Sala’s point of view, then there will be no NP-trace in CamE. From the other point of view, there will, of course, be NP-traces in CamE that function exactly as in the BrE examples in (4) above.

#### **4.1.3.2 WH-Traces**

A wh-trace is one which results from a wh-movement. As constituent questions are realised in BrE through wh-movement, it follows that wh-traces result from the process of wh-questioning. To illustrate this, let’s consider the sentences in (5) below, with their constituent questions counterparts in (6). The sentences in (6) have the DS and SS in (7) and (8) respectively.

(5) a- John studies syntax at the University of Yaounde I

b- Mary saw her supervisor yesterday.

(6) a- Where does John study syntax?

b- Whom did Mary see yesterday?

(7) a- [CP[C [IP John [I does [VP study syntax [PP where?]]]]]]

b- [CP[C [IP Mary [I did [VP see whom [AdvP yesterday]]]]]]

(8) a- [CP Where <sub>i</sub> [C does <sub>j</sub> [IP John [I <sub>t<sub>j</sub></sub> [VP study syntax[PP <sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub> ?]]]]]]

b- [CP Whom <sub>i</sub>[C did <sub>j</sub> [IP Mary [I <sub>t<sub>j</sub></sub> [VP see <sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub> [AdvP yesterday]]]]]]

The syntactic positions indicated by “<sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub>” in (8) are what we refer to as wh-traces. Their antecedents are the moved Wh-constituents. The wh-traces and their antecedents are bound. The same principle on binding that applies to NP-traces applies to Wh-traces. The different antecedents C-command their traces.

Given the fact that overt wh-movement seems to be avoided in CamE, it will be assumed that wh-traces too do not exist, as for there to be a wh-trace, there should be wh-movement. It can therefore be assumed that empty categories are avoided in CamE. But, Sala (2003: 260), when describing trace management in CamE, came up with two important notions. He calls them “Post-Movement P-deletion” (P. 260) and “The Concept of Trace Guilt”. By “Post-Movement P-deletion”, he meant the tendency for the preposition to be deleted in the course of movement transformations. In the literature, two concepts have been introduced to describe the attitude of prepositions in transformations. Prepositions could be pied-piped, that is, moved together with their prepositional complements, which, most of the times, are NPs. They could also be stranded, that is, left at their base positions, with only their prepositional complements moved. (9a) below illustrate Pied-piping and (9b) P-stranding.

(9a) To whom did they submit the dissertation?

(9b) Whom did they submit the dissertation to?

But, as Sala (2003) noticed, none of these processes apply to CamE. In CamE, the preposition is neither pied-piped nor stranded, rather, it is deleted as (10) below, taken from Sala (2003: 262). (10) could have the BrE equivalents in (11) and (12)

(10) The state was pointed an accusing finger

(11) At the state was pointed an accusing finger

(12) The state was pointed an accusing finger at.

As can be observed, (11) and (12) are cases of Pied-piping and P-stranding respectively. But, in the CamE example in (10), the preposition has been deleted. Given our lack of data to strengthen this point of view, we would not go further.

As far as the concept of Trace Guilt is concerned, it has to do with the avoidance of traces by filling them with “resumptive” pronouns and, occasionally, with referential NPs” (see Sala 2003:295). To explain this, remember that it was said, when describing wh-questions in CamE, that move-wh was optional in CamE, and that, given the complexity related to overt wh-movement, the choice of Cameroonians mostly fell on the wh-in situ strategy. In CamE, as Sala (2003) shows, when movement occurs, traces seem to be avoided, as they are difficult to interpret. To run away from this ambiguity, CamE speakers use resumptive pronouns in cases of long movement and adjunction. Consider the cases of adjunction in (13a below, drawn from Sala (2003:287).

(13) a- What a white girl can do, a black can equally do (it).

b- What men can do, women can do (it) better.

The bracketed pronouns are what are referred to as resumptive pronouns. As for long movement, see Sala (ibid.) for further explanations. We will still not dwell on this given the lack of data. The conclusion that can be made is that in CamE, there is a tendency to avoid move-alpha, and in the course of avoiding move-alpha, empty categories are also avoided. Besides, when overt movement occurs, traces are avoided, as they are difficult to interpret. One way of avoiding traces in CamE is through Sala’s notion of Trace Guilt. Let’s turn to the last type of trace, just for the sake of explanation, as it is not directly related to the discussion at hand.

#### **4.1.3.3 PRO**

PRO is a trace that is created in subject position of non-finite clauses to satisfy the EPP. When we attempt to link it to movement transformations, we realise that PRO appears in the empty subject position of an non-finite clause out of which a subject NP has been moved in what has been referred to a raising. In the literature, the movement of an NP from a lower non-finite clause to a higher finite clause has been referred to as subject-to-subject raising. To

better understand this, let's look at the examples in (11) below. Their DS and SS are given under (12) and (13).

(11) a- John is believed to have a pen

b- John seems to study syntax.

(12)a- [IP<sub>E</sub> [I is [ VP believed [IP John [I to [VP have a pen]]]]]]

b- [IP<sub>E</sub> [I s [VP seem [IP John [I to [VP study syntax]]]]]]

(13) a- [IP John <sub>i</sub> [I is [ VP believed [IP PRO <sub>ti</sub> [I to [VP have a pen]]]]]]

b- [IP John <sub>i</sub> [I s [VP seem [IP PRO <sub>ti</sub> [I to [VP study syntax]]]]]]

As can be seen in (12) and (13), the NPs “John” are generated in subject position of the lower non-finite IP and is moved to the subject position of the higher IP. The vacated position is filled by PRO, to satisfy the EPP, which requires the subject positions of IPs to be filled. The movement from the lower non-finite IP to the higher finite IP is referred to as subject-to-subject NP, as the NP “John” is raised from a subject position to another. PRO is a trace that, in the preceding examples, has the properties of a subject NP.

#### 4.1.4 Summary of Section One

In a nutshell, this section dealt with transformations in CamE. It started with Questioning, followed by Passivisation and ended with Issues related to Empty Categories in CamE. As far as Questioning is concerned, some of the ideas postulated in Sala (2003, 2014) were re-examined. Besides the rules he postulated for wh-questioning is the “Subject and Auxiliary deletion”. This rule has proven to be acceptable because the meaning of the deleted constituents is contextually recovered. This rule, it was shown, results from the simplification process. Besides, this rule has been differentiated from Sala's “super-ordinate clause deletion” rule, with focus on the items deleted. It has also been shown that wh-questions are realised through covert or LF movement. Moreover, the wh-in situ strategy has been accounted for using data from French, in which both the in situ and ex-situ strategies are used.

As concerns yes/no questions, two different cases have been analysed, namely cases of overt auxiliaries and cases of covert auxiliaries. It has been shown, concerning cases of overt auxiliaries, that they move in a covert manner or that only their features move. As concerns

cases of covert auxiliaries, two processes have been analysed. These include the avoidance of Chomsky (1995) Last Resort Condition on do-support and the do-deletion hypothesis.

Concerning echo-questions, it has been shown, on the one hand, that they are built following Sala (2003,2014) “Super-ordinate Clause Deletion”, and that, on the other hand, the modal properties of surprise and disapproval attached to yes/no echo-questions in CamE, as explained in Sala (2014), extend even to constituent echo-questions.

A close look at passivisation in CamE has shown that two processes arise. In CamE, when passivisation takes place, it respects the rules governing passivisation in BrE. But, given its complexity, it has been assumed that when speakers run away from it, they resort to Sala (2003) unbounded “they”, as passivisation is a feature of Indo-European languages like English and French. Given the supposed influence of African languages on CamE, passivisation is likely to be avoided in favour of either Sala’s unbounded “they” or clefting, as Sala showed with data from Lamnso’.

Finally, traces that result from movement transformations were examined. Given the fact that there seems to be avoidance of move-alpha in CamE, it was assumed that traces are also avoided. Given our lack of data, some concepts postulated by Sala were explained. These include the post-movement P-deletion and the notion of Trace Guilt, which has to do with the filling of traces by resumptive pronouns or non-referential NPs.

## **4.2 Transformations in NigE**

In this section, the transformational features of NigE are described, explained and accounted for, following, as was said in the previous chapter, a methodology we gave in the methodology section of the work. It is divided into three different parts, namely Questioning, Passivisation and the Study of Issues Related to Empty Categories. As far as Questioning is concerned, it is divided into three sections. The first section has to do with the study of wh-questions, the second with echo-questions, and the third with yes/no questions. As concerns passivisation, Sala’s Unbounded “they” for passivisation is explained using the NigE data. In the last section, given the fact that move-alpha seems to be avoided in NigE as was the case in CamE, the seemingly non-existence of empty categories that arise as a result of movement transformations is stressed.

### **4.2.1 Questioning**

### 4.2.1.1 Wh-Questions

As the label entails, wh-questions – as defined in the previous chapter – are questions introduced by a wh-element. These types of questions, most of the times, require a [+constituent] answer, which is generally given in the form of a whole sentence, depending on the context of the conversation or/and the speaker's attitude. These types of questions are realised in BrE by moving the wh-element, which replaces the questioned element, to sentence initial position or to Spec-CP. Besides, the INFL is moved from inside IP to COMP, inside CP. These movements are what have been referred to as wh-movement and T-to-C movement respectively. It follows that, in BrE, wh-questions are formed through the process of wh-movement and T-to-C movement. A close look at our NigE data shows that wh-questions are realised in a way different from BrE. To explain this, consider the sentences in (1) below, from our NigE data.

- (1) a- “It’s very sad, but Elias did provoke the retaliation. It seems you haven’t heard  
“Heard what?”  
b- The police are where?  
c- At the door, Nneoma stopped and said, “Ma, remember...”  
“Remember what?”  
d- “Nne, nothing is wrong?” I lied. “Maybe I am tired”  
“Tired, doing what?”  
e- I will pay for what?

As the sentences in (1) show, wh-questions are realised using a rule that is completely different from BrE. From close observation, these variations can be explained following two rules, namely the subject and auxiliary deletion rule and the wh-in situ strategy.

#### 4.2.1.1.1 The Subject and Auxiliary Deletion Rule

In the previous chapter, a rule accounting for wh-question formation in CamE was stated and referred to as the “subject and auxiliary deletion rule”, which supplemented Sala (2003) wh-in situ strategy. It seems, from a close observation of our NigE data, that this rule extends to wh-questions formation in NigE as well. Consider some of the sentences in (1) above, repeated here as (2).

- (2) a- “It’s very sad, but Elias did provoke the retaliation. It seems you haven’t heard

“Heard what?”

b- At the door, Nneoma stopped and said, “Ma, remember...”

“Remember what?”

c- “Nne, nothing is wrong?” I lied. “Maybe I am tired”

“Tired, doing what?”

As can be seen from the sentences in (2) below, besides not overtly moving the wh-element to sentence initial position, there seem to be deletion of some constituents of the sentences. Let’s now look at what has been deleted. If we assume, that the sentences in (2) are derived from (3), then the bracketed string in (3) has been deleted to obtain the sentences in (2).

(3) a- (I have) heard what?

b- (I should) remember what?

c- (You were) doing what?

A close analysis of what is in the brackets show that “I”, which is the subject in (3a) and (3b) respectively, and “you”, that of (3c) have been deleted, together with the auxiliaries that follow them. If this is so, then the sentences in (2) are obtained by applying the rule given under (19) in the previous chapter, and repeated here as (4).

(4) Delete the subject and the auxiliary to form a wh-question

From what precedes, the sentences in (3) will have as DS the ones in (2). One question arises from the preceding analysis. This has to do with whether the application of the rule given in (4) does not hamper grammaticality and acceptability. One way out of this would be to suppose that the meaning of the deleted elements is contextually recoverable. This is so because there seem to be no intelligibility failure between the two speakers that are involved in the conversation, as (2) above shows. In (2a), (2b) and (2c), the application of the rule in (4) does not create a break in the flow of the conversation. Because of this, one can rightly point out that constituent questions are realised, in NigE, following (4). What then accounts for such a process?

To answer this preoccupation, one can say that the deletion of the subject and the auxiliary for wh-questions result from the simplification process. To explain this, let’s examine the case of (2a), repeated here as (5).

(5) Speaker A: “It’s very sad, but Elias did provoke the retaliation. It seems you haven’t heard

Speaker B: “Heard what?”

In (5) above, Speaker B is the utterer of the constituent question. It may be assumed that, in the course of the conversation, speaker B found it difficult to utter the whole sentence which looks like (3a) above and, therefore, decided to delete the subject and the auxiliary. The avoidance of the difficulty will then account for the choice of the rule formulated in (4) by Speaker B. Besides, following what previous works on non-native Englishes syntax (Sala 2003 Ekembe 2011, Igboanusi 2006) have said, the departure from BrE norms in Non-native Englishes arise as a result of the fact that Non-native English speakers find it difficult to follow BrE rule, and in the course of simplifying those, new features arise. This is exactly the case with NigE. But, the rule in (4) seems not to be the only one involved in wh-question formation in NigE. It should be noted that this rule is optional, as a speaker could apply it or not. As the preceding examples show, besides the subject and auxiliary deletion rule, there seem to be application of the wh-in situ strategy. This shall be shown in the next section.

#### **4.2.1.1.2 The Wh-in situ Strategy in NigE**

In this section, evidence for the application of the wh-in situ strategy for constituent question formation in NigE is presented and accounted for. To do this, let's consider the sentences in (6) below, drawn from our NigE data.

(6) a- The police are where?

b- I will pay for what?

As can be seen in the sentences in (6) above, no reordering of sentence structure has occurred, as no element has been moved from a base position to a derived position. In the literature, when nothing moves, the label given to such process is in-situ. It will be said that elements stay in situ in the sentences in (6). Let's provide the declarative sentence from which the question in (6b) is derived. It is given below under (7).

(7) You will pay for it

As (7) shows, “it” is the element questioned in (6b) above. In (7) “it” stands in post-verbal position, that is, inside VP, where it is assigned an internal theta role by the verb “pay”. As can further be seen the preposition “for” is stranded, together with the “NP” “it”, which is the complement of the preposition. Given the fact that “what” in (6b) stands in the same position as “it” in (7), it can be concluded that (6b) is obtained following the wh-in situ strategy. The DS and SS of (6b), given in (8) below, will therefore look alike.



(8) a- [CP [IP you [I will [VP pay [PP for what]]]]]]

b- [CP [IP you [I will [VP pay [PP for what]]]]]]

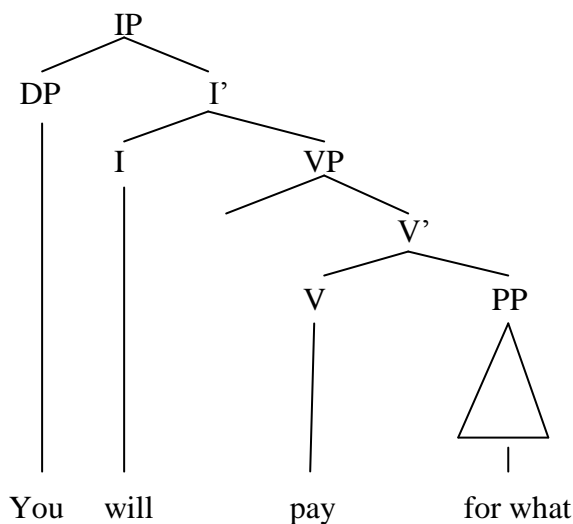
If nothing overtly moves, as the preceding analysis shows, then why is the CP node generated at all? If we follow what has been said in the literature concerning the importance of the CP node, we may be tempted to say that it is useless in NigE. Given the fact that the CP node is generated to host moved elements or complementizers, and that there is neither overt movement nor complementizer in the preceding examples, one may be tempted to say that the CP node is not generated in NigE in the derivation of wh-questions. (8) above would rather look like (9) below, with the tree diagram representation in (10).

(9) a- [IP you [I will [VP pay [PP for what]]]]

b- [IP you [I will [VP pay [PP for what]]]]

Figure 8: The CP-Deletion Hypothesis in NigE

(10)



A further explanation that accounts for the positing of the non-generation of the CP node in NigE comes from the fact the wh-questions we have seen so far look like their declarative counterparts. This is so because, even at the supra-segmental level, there is no difference. They all sound alike, with only the replacement of “it” by “what” showing the difference. But, if we consider the literature on wh-in situ languages (see Huang 1987 and Watanabe 2001), then the CP node will be generated, as they argue that in wh-in situ languages (Japanese, Chinese, Medumba), there is covert or LF movement, triggered by the [+wh] features carried by C. Following this, the CP will, just like in BrE, be generated, and there will be feature movement. What then accounts for such a phenomenon?

Previous works on Non Native Englishes syntax (Ekembe 2011, Igboanusi 2006, Ndzomo 2013, Okunrimeta 2013, Olushola 2013, Sala 2003,) have expressed the point of view according to which the birth and growth of new syntactic features in Non Native Englishes arise as a result of the process of innovation, simplification and the influence of mother tongues. Following their assumptions, it could be said that “the subject and auxiliary deletion rule”, together with “the wh-in situ strategy” for constituent question formation in NigE arise as a result of the process of simplification and that of influence of Nigerian local languages on the English language.

As far as the simplification process is concerned, it can be said that the deletion of the subject and the auxiliary results from the avoidance of the need to build a whole sentence that respects the basic grammatical structures we know of in English. Given the fact that constructions that follow the basic grammatical structures in English (SV, SVO, SVA etc.) should respect syntactic notions such as agreement, case-marking and theta role assignment, speaker of NigE tend to run away from them, so as to avoid the application of the preceding. To illustrate, it can be said that in a sentence such as (2a), repeated here as (11), the external theta role assignment properties of the verb “heard” are not felt, as the subject of the sentence is rather contextually expressed. Besides, the case-marking properties of the verb “hear” are not overtly expressed, given the fact that subject is not explicit. Moreover, given the fact that subject and the auxiliary have been deleted, the rules of agreement in number that exists between the two are avoided by the NigE speaker, in the sense that, for example, if the subject was “I” the auxiliary would be “have”, and if it was “he or she”, the auxiliary would be “has”. Given the fact that neither the subject nor the auxiliary is present in (11) below, that complexity is avoided.

(11)            Heard what?

Following what precedes, it may be concluded that the deletion of the subject and the auxiliary arises because the NigE speaker wants to avoid complications related to theta role assignment, case-marking and agreement.

As concerns the wh-in situ strategy, it has been shown in the literature that move-alpha is not done haphazardly, and should respect a number of constraints, most of which were stated in Ross (1967). It could be said, following this, that wh-movement does not overtly occur in NigE because the NigE speaker wishes to avoid, as much as he can, the intricacies related to what moves, and to what extent it moves. So, by leaving the wh-element

at base position, the constraints that apply to its overt movement are also avoided. This avoidance can be licensed from the point of view of their complexity. This makes the avoidance of overt wh-movement to be motivated by the process of simplification. But others like Igboanusi (2006), Okunrimeta (2013) and Sala (2003) – to cite only these few – have shown that the deviation from Standard BrE rules in Non-native Englishes could be as a result of influences of local languages. Stressing this point of view, though plausible, sounds complicated in the context of Nigeria, given the fact that more than 400 home languages (Aito 2005: 18) are spoken there. One way out of this would be to look at that influence from the point of view of the three main languages spoken in Nigeria (that of the Igbos, the Yoruba and the Hausa), the main lingua franca (Pidgin English), and why not French, which is one of the official languages spoken in Nigeria. But the French impact will not be well felt, given the fact that it is not widespread. Given the lack of data to prove that point, we will proceed by a series of assumptions. It has been shown (See Gambarage and Keupdjio 2014 and Sala 2003) that African languages have a tendency to choose the in-situ strategy. If this is the case, then the application of the wh-in situ strategy in NigE results from the influence of mother tongues on NigE. Besides, if we extend Okunrimeta (2013) point of view on the influence of “Izon” (a language spoken in Nigerian) on NigE syntax, then we can conclude that the wh-in situ strategy comes from the influence of Nigerian local languages.

Besides, the application of wh-in situ strategy in NigE for constituent questions could be accounted for using, as was the case for CamE, Lasnik’s (1995) Principle of Enlightened Self-Interest, which states that movement is a form of Altruism, in the sense that constituents move in order to “check” features carried by other constituent within a sentence. (See Radford 1998: 134). In this vein, it is said that COMP, in BrE, carries a [wh] specifier-feature, and that the wh-element carries an interrogative head-feature. The wh-element therefore moves to Spec-CP in order to check the interrogative specifier-feature of COMP. Since no overt movement occurs in NigE, one may jump to the conclusion that neither the wh-element nor COMP carries the features described above. But, one way out of this will be to suppose, just like was the case in CamE, that there is covert or LF wh-movement. The COMP will therefore have the above-mentioned features in NigE.

To summarise, this section focused on constituent question formation in NigE. It has been shown that constituent questions are formed following two rules, one of which is optional. These rules include “the subject and auxiliary deletion rule” and the “wh-in situ strategy”. It should be noted that the choice of one rule over the other is motivated by the

desire for simplicity and promptitude in the response. To be specific, while the choice of “the subject and auxiliary deletion rule” is motivated by both the desire for simplification and promptitude in the response, the “wh-in situ” strategy is motivated just by the desire for simplicity. These rules, it was shown, arise as a result of the process of simplification and the influence of Nigerian local languages on the English language. Moreover, it was shown, following the wh-in situ strategy, that NigE, just like CamE, is an in situ language, and as such, it goes for covert or LF movement.

#### **4.2.1.2 Echo-questions in NigE**

In this section, the processes of echo-questions formation are studied and accounted for in NigE. Given the fact that echo-questions have already been defined in Chapter Four, we will not come back to that. We will immediately get to the analysis of the data related to echo-questions formation in NigE. This analysis will be done following the methodology we described in Chapter Three of this work. In BrE, as explained earlier, echo-questions are formed following the wh-in situ strategy. The main difference between a declarative sentence and an echo-question is at the supra-segmental level, this in the sense that there is a rise of tone on the last word in an echo-question. Our NigE data shows that echo-questions are not only formed the same way as in CamE, but also have the same modal properties of surprise and disapproval as in CamE. To better explain this, consider the echo-questions in the conversation in (1) below.

- (1) a- One of your attendants brought a girl for me last night, and she stole my money.

What?

- b- ... was murdered by ...

What?

As can be seen from the above sentences, the echo-questions, “what”, to be specific, are formed following a procedure that is completely different from BrE, as we saw in Chapter Four. Rather, they look like the CamE echo-questions we examined in the same chapter. Thus, one may assume that they are formed following Sala (2003, 2014) “superordinate clause deletion”. Following this, the echo-questions in (1) will have as DS the sentences in (2) below, where the bracketed strings refer to what has been deleted at SS.

- (2) a- (You say) what?

b- (You say) what?

It therefore follows that echo-question formation is done the same way both in NigE and in CamE, through a rule that was stated in Sala (2014:32), and repeated here under (3). Besides, as one shows, the modal properties of surprise and disapproval attached to those questions are the same in both language varieties.

(3) Superordinate-clause deletion: Delete the superordinate-clause to have an echo-question

Two basic questions arise from the preceding analysis. What accounts for the application of the rule given in (3) in NigE? Besides, is it grammatical and acceptable to delete a part of a sentence?

As far as the first preoccupation is concerned, one could assume that the application of this rule results from the simplification process, as explained earlier in the case of wh-constituent questions formation. A speaker, finding it difficult to produce the whole sentence like the ones in (3) decides to shorten the sentence so as to make it easily pronounced and understood. But, in the course of a conversation, does that deletion not hamper meaning? In other words, when the superordinate clause is deleted, is the flow in the conversation not impacted? As (1) above shows, there seems to be no intelligibility failure between the two speakers involved in the act of communication. Given this, it could be said that the items deleted are contextually recovered and understood by NigE speakers, as was the case with CamE. The deletion is therefore acceptable. As concerns the grammaticality of the echo-questions that are built following this rules, one could say that ellipsis, as explain in Sala (2003) is a property of language. One way out of the grammaticality issue will be to range that deletion under ellipsis. For further explanations, see Sala (2003).

In a nutshell, echo-questions formation in NigE was described in this chapter. It was shown that they are formed the same way as in CamE, following Sala (2003, 2014) superordinate clause deletion rule. This rule, it was shown, arises as a result of the process of simplification. Besides, given the contextual recoverability of the meaning of the deleted items, it was assumed that the deletion was acceptable. We now turn to another type of question operation.

#### **4.2.1.3 Yes/no questions in NigE**

In this section, the processes underlying yes/no questions formation are examined. By examined here is meant described, explained and accounted for. As was done in the previous

section, there is no need to redefine yes/no questions, as it has already been done in Chapter Four. We will, therefore, go straight to the analysis. As was shown in Chapter Four, yes/no questions are formed in BrE following two processes, namely do-support (for sentences in which there is no overt auxiliary) and auxiliary inversion, known in Generative grammar as T-to-C movement. In CamE, they are realised through the avoidance of Chomsky's Last Resort Principle on do-support and head-to-head movement. How then are yes/no questions realised in NigE?

To actually be able to answer that question, let's consider the NigE yes/no questions in (1) and (2) below, drawn from our NigE data.

- (1) a- You still want to buy the book on estate management?  
b- You want him to die?  
c- You wish to kill him as you killed your husband two years ago?  
d- You want to come, Fola?  
e- A man came to the salon?  
f- You live around here?  
g- You think it is possible?
- (2) a- And you don't have any identification documents with you?  
b- "Oh, you're still here?"  
c- You are looking at those pictures?  
d- The police are here?  
e- You didn't notice?  
f- I would wait?

As the sentences in (1) and (2) above show, yes/no questions could be realised following the avoidance of do-support and T-to-C movement. Let's take them in turn under two different sub-headings.

#### **4.2.1.3.1 The Avoidance of Do-support or Chomsky's Last Resort Principle for Do-support for Yes/No Questions in NigE**

To stress this point of view, the sentences given in (1) above are going to be examined. They are repeated here as (3)

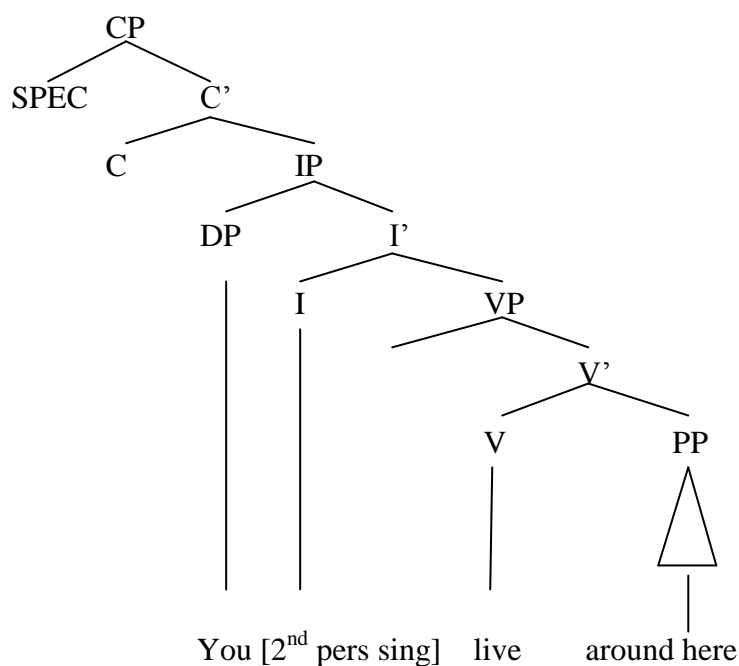
- (3) a- You still want to buy the book on estate management?

- b- You want him to die?
- c- You wish to kill him as you killed your husband two years ago?
- d- You want to come, Fola?
- e- A man came to the salon?
- f- You live around here?
- g- You think it is possible?

After a close observation of the sentences in (3), it seems like they are formed exactly as in CamE. Following this, one may conclude that the dummy “do” is not added, as expected in BrE. The DS and the SS of the sentences in (3) will look alike, as no reordering of sentence structure has occurred. The main difference between sentences in (3) and their declarative counterparts will be supra-segmental, as the sentences in (3) are pronounced with a rise of tone. From what precedes, one may be tempted to ask an important question. Since, from a grammatical point of view, there is no difference between the sentences in (3) and their declarative counterparts, is the CP node useful in (4) below, which is the tree diagram representation of (3f) above.

Figure 9: Illustrating the Supposed Uselessness of the CP Node in NigE

(4)

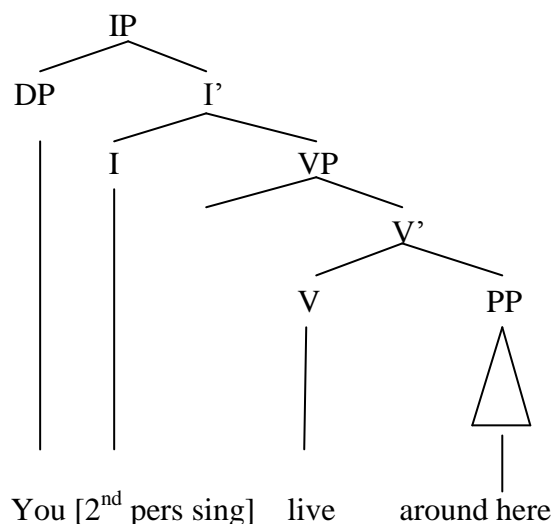


As can be seen on the tree diagram above, the CP node seems to be useless, as it does not host any sentence constituent. As we observed earlier on, given the fact that – as stated in the

literature – the CP node is a host for moved elements, it may be omitted, and (4) above may rather look like (5) below in NigE, as was the case in CamE.

Figure 10: The CP-Deletion Hypothesis for Yes/No Question Formation

(5)



But, if we consider the literature on wh-in situ languages (see Huang 1987 and Watanabe 2001), then the CP node will be generated, as they argue that in wh-in situ languages (Japanese, Chinese, Medumba), there is covert or LF movement, triggered by the [+wh] features carried by C. Following this, the CP will, just like in BrE, be generated, and there will be feature movement. What then accounts for the phenomenon of avoidance of do-support in NigE. When studying CamE, this process was explained on the backdrop of the influence on French on CamE and from a grammatical point of view. As far as NigE is concerned, explanation will come from the simplification process.

As far as the simplification process is concerned, it can be said that the insertion of do, as was seen in BrE, creates new agreement rules, as when it is inserted, the tense properties of the main verb are transferred to it, and the main verb takes the infinitive form. This difficulty has made Nigerians to produce sentences such as the ones in (6), taken from Abaya (2013: 94). He describes them as double marking for tense.

(6) (a) Did he went there yesterday?

(b) The girl did not slept with the boy.

As can be seen in (6) above, the insertion of the dummy “do” creates a lot of difficulties to NigE speakers. It could therefore be said that the do-support rule is not applied in NigE to



avoid the agreement complications related to (6) above. It therefore results from the simplification process.

#### **4.2.1.3.2 The Avoidance of T-to-C Movement in NigE**

As the data in (2), repeated here under (7) show, yes/no questions, in sentences with an overt auxiliary, are realised in NigE following the avoidance of T-to-C movement. In this section, this assumption is going to be examined.

(7) a- And you don't have any identification documents with you?

b- "Oh, you're still here?"

c- You are looking at those pictures?

d- The police are here?

e- You didn't notice?

f- I would wait?

Contrary to BrE, where, in a sentence like (7f), the auxiliary has to move from inside IP to inside CP as (8) shows, it stays at base position in NigE.

(8) [CP [Cwould [IP I [vpwait]]]]

This is the same thing that happens in CamE, where T-to-C movement is avoided. The DS and SS of the sentences in (7) will therefore look alike, as no reordering of sentence structure has occurred. What then accounts for such a process? This was explained, in CamE, through the influence of local languages, and French on English. Given the lack of data on Nigerian local languages, we will not go further.

Besides, the process of desire for simplification could be used to explain this process, in the sense that, as Sala (2003) point it, movement has to follow a series of constraints amongst which subadjacency. By avoiding overt movement, NigE speakers also avoid the complications related to its application.

To summarise, this section focused on yes/no questions realization in NigE. It has been shown that they are realised following two processes, namely the avoidance of do-support (in cases of covert auxiliaries) and the avoidance of T-to-C movement. Besides, it has been shown that this double avoidance resulted from the simplification process. Some assumptions were also made on whether the generation of the CP node is necessary in NigE, as no overt movement occurs. But these assumptions were weakened following works on in-

situ languages Huang 1987, Watanabe 2001 etc.). It follows that the CP node is generated in NigE, just like it was the case in CamE. The sole difference is that, unlike in BrE, where there is overt movement, CamE and NigE make use of covert or LF movement.

#### 4.2.2 Passivisation in NigE

As was explained in Chapter Four, passivisation is a syntactic process that converts active sentences into passive ones. Given the fact that passive verbs fail to assign an external theta role at subject position, an NP moves from inside VP to Spec-IP to satisfy the EPP or to be assigned nominative case. As it is an NP which is involved in the movement, this type of process is referred to as NP-movement. Besides, given the fact that an NP vacates an A-position to a derived A-position, it is otherwise known as A-movement. So, passivisation is achieved through the process of NP-movement. As it was already exemplified in the preceding chapter, there is no need to come back to it. We will then go straight to the analysis of passivisation in NigE. In this section, the processes involving passivisation are examined, explained and accounted for. As was mentioned in the preceding chapter, passivisation seems to be peculiar to Indo-European languages. Given its complexity, speakers of Non-Native Englishes tend to run away from it. They resort to other means to express themselves. In CamE, it was shown that they resort to Sala's unbounded "they", when they wish to avoid the complexity related to passivisation. What then happens in NigE? Can Sala's unbounded "they" be applicable to NigE as was the case in CamE.

First and foremost, one may be tempted to conclude that, given the relatedness CamE has with NigE, passivisation is achieved the same way, that is through NP-movement or, when it is avoided, through the unbounded "they". As only the second assumption in un-English, our focus will be on it. To do this, let's consider the sentences in (1) below.

- (1) a- They warned me about the danger of looking for a lover outside the family
- b- They carried bowls of food and other things that went with eating.
- c- They nicknamed him *ogologo ba njo*...

From a first look, one may be tempted to conclude that the sentences in (1) are built following Sala's unbounded "they". Following Sala (2003) analysis of passivisation in CamE, the closest equivalents of the sentences in (1) are ones in (2) below.

- (2) a- I was warned about the danger of looking for a lover outside the family.

b- Bowls of food and other things that went with eating were carried.

c- He was nicknamed *ogologo ba njo*...

The link between the sentences in (1) and the ones in (2) is that, for (1a) and (2a) for example, one could ask a question such as “who warned you?” The non-generation of the by-phrase in the BrE equivalents makes the sentences in (1) and (2) to be somehow interpreted the same way. But, if we consider the context within which (1a) and (1b) are uttered, as shown in (3) below, one realises that “they” in (1a) and (1b) refers back to either an NP or a pronoun in the preceding sentences.

(3) a- My refusal to consider any of them stung them.

They warned me about the danger of looking for a lover outside the family.

b- She was dogged by her two daughters like a sheep by her lambs.

They carried bowls of food and other things that went with eating.

In (3a), for example, “they” (in the second sentence) is a pronoun that replaces the accusative pronoun “them” in the first sentence. In (3b), it replaces the NP “her two daughters”. Given the fact that agreement between the pronoun and its antecedent is respected, “they” cannot be unbounded, it is rather anaphoric. It therefore follows that in NigE, when passivisation is avoided, an anaphoric “they” can be used. What of the sentence in (1c)? Contextually, the referent of “they” is not easily identified. After a serious scrutiny of the context of its utterance, it was realised that it refers to either “the village” or the “community”. Given this, one question arises. Is “they” unbounded? If, after a careful study of the context of the utterance, one realises that “they” refers back to “the village”, then “they” is bounded. Though its antecedent is not clearly expressed, “they” seems to be anaphoric, just like the other two. One can therefore conclude that an anaphoric pronoun could be used to express a reality when passivisation is avoided. From this, Sala’s unbounded “they” does not apply to NigE for passivisation. “They” therefore, in the NigE sentences in (1) functions like a normal pronoun, as opposed to the dummy “they”, which is neither anaphoric nor cataphoric. If this is so, then “they” in the sentences in (1) could be replaced by any other pronoun, provided that it is bound to its antecedent. Following this, if the second “them” in (3a) was replaced by “her”, then “she” would have been used rather than “they”. One interesting observation is that whether it is “she” or “they”, the form of the verb does not change in (1). This makes the

choice of (1) in NigE over (2) to be somehow related to the process of simplification. The link between (1) and (2) shows that a speaker could choose NP-movement or anaphoric pronoun-insertion to express the same reality. If one assumes that in the New Englishes, there is a tendency for complicated rules to be simplified, then the choice of, let's say, less educated Nigerians will fall on the anaphoric pronoun insertion. Following this, a rule such as the anaphoric pronoun-insertion could be proposed for passivisation in NigE. This rule is formulated under (4) below.

#### (4) The Anaphoric Pronoun-insertion

Replace the NP in an active sentence by an anaphoric pronoun to form a passive sentence.

The sentences in (1) will therefore have been construed following a rule like (4) above. To strengthen this, consider (5) below, with its possible counterparts in (6)

(5) Peter studies syntax.

(6) a- Syntax is studied

b- He studies syntax

Assuming that the processes of simplification and adaptation underlie the departure from BrE norms, if the sentences in (6) were proposed to a speaker of NigE as cases of passivisation, his/her choice is likely to fall on (6b). It may therefore be concluded that in NigE, passivisation, when preferred by a speaker, is realised through NP-movement. But, when a speaker wants to avoid the complexity related to its use, he can use an anaphoric pronoun ("they" most of the time) to express himself or herself. Given this, the application of the rule in (4) is done as a Last Resort, following Chomsky's Last Resort Principle. It is good to mention here that the same process applies to BrE. The sole difference may be contextual, as the NigE counterpart results from the simplification process, and as it somehow sounds like a passive sentence or it is considered a "passive" construction in NigE.

In a nutshell, this section has considered passivisation in NigE. It has been shown that Sala's unbounded "they" for passivisation does not apply to NigE. It may therefore be parametric. Rather, passivisation is achieved in NigE through NP-movement. But, as it has been shown, speakers – at times – resort to another process for the sake of simplification. This process has been referred to as "The anaphoric pronoun insertion" which could be said to apply as a last resort. This process entails the replacement of the subject-NP of the active

sentence by an anaphoric “they”, which is bound by its antecedent. This contrasts with Sala (2003) “unbounded they”, where, in CamE, an unbounded “they” is inserted to avoid move-alpha for passivisation. The link between the two processes is that they all result from the process of simplification. They may therefore be ranged under the creativity nature of New Englishes.

### **4.2.3 Issues Related to Empty Categories**

In this section, issues related to the management of traces that result from movement transformations are examined in NigE. Given the fact that in NigE – just as was the case with CamE – move-alpha seems to be avoided, we will simply make some assumptions. As empty categories were defined in the previous chapter, we will not come back to that. What we can maintain is the definition we gave in Chapter Four is that traces, for the majority, result from movement transformations. Given the seldom resort to transformations in NigE, we wouldn’t have much to say. As was shown above, when movement occurs in NigE, it respects the rules governing movement in BrE. Thus, the traces will function exactly the same way as in BrE. But, we will still stress the fact that NigE speakers rarely resort to movement transformations, as they are not easy to handle. This same idea is expressed by Abaya (2013). We will therefore conclude by saying that since there may be NP-movement in NigE, there may also be an NP-trace, which has the properties and functions the same way as in BrE.

### **4.2.4 Summary of Section Two**

To summarise, in this chapter transformations were examined, explained and accounted for in NigE. It started with Questioning, followed by Passivisation, and ended with the study of Issues Related to Empty Categories in NigE. As far as questioning is concerned, it has been shown that wh-questions were realised following two rules. These include the “Subject and Auxiliary Deletion” rule and the “Wh-in situ” strategy. The wh-in situ strategy was said to apply exactly as in other wh-in situ language, and, following this, it was assumed that NigE makes use of covert or LF movement. Besides, it was shown that these rules resulted from the process of simplification and the supposed influence of Nigerian mother tongues. Echo-question, it was shown, are formed through Sala’s “Superordinate clause deletion”. Those could carry the model properties of surprise and disapproval, as Sala (2003) found out in CamE. As for yes/no questioning, it was shown that two processes apply. In cases where there is an overt auxiliary, there is the avoidance of T-to-C movement. In cases

where there is a covert auxiliary, the do-support process is avoided. Yes/no questions differentiate themselves from declarative sentences using intonation, which is a supra-segmental feature. The lack of overt T-to-C movement and do-support made us assume that, in NigE, the COMP does not have a Q affix feature that lures the auxiliary from INFL to COMP as in BrE. But, this assumption was weakened by previous opinions on in situ languages. So, the COMP carries the above-mentioned features in NigE, with the sole difference that there is covert or LF movement. In the second section, it was shown that when passivisation occurs in NigE, it is through NP-movement. When it is avoided, which is most of the times the case, speakers follow a rule that has been called “The Anaphoric/Cataphoric Pronoun Insertion” which requires the subject-NP of an active sentence to be replaced by a pronoun to obtain a “near-passive sentence”. This, it was shown results from the simplification process. As far as empty categories are concerned, given the seldom resort to move-alpha, traces seem to be rare in NigE. When they actually occur, they function the same way as in BrE.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

#### 5.1 Summary of Findings

In this section, the various processes that were examined in this work are summarised. Following the analysis of the CamE and NigE data, this section is divided into two subsections, reflecting what was observed in the two Non-Native Englishes under study. It was observed that the tendency for CamE and NigE is to simplify transformations. This brings about the avoidance of overt movement transformations and the quasi-inexistence of traces. These shall be taken in turn below.

##### 5.1.1 Simplification of Transformations

###### 5.1.1.1 Avoidance of Overt Movement Transformations

As was shown in Chapter Four and Five, in CamE and NigE, the tendency is for transformations to be simplified, given their complexity. As such, given the fact that *wh*-movement, through which *wh*-questions are formed, respects a series of constraints amongst which subadjacency, the tendency in CamE and NigE is to simplify that process. This leads to the “*wh*-in situ strategy”. The *wh*-in situ strategy results from the influence of indigenous languages, as Sala (2003) showed, and from the influence of French which is the dominant language in Cameroon. Besides, it was shown that the fact that the *wh*-element remains at base position favours covert or LF movement. As such, there is feature movement, in which features are interpreted at the derived position, and the *wh*-element remains in situ. As for *yes/no* questions, it was shown that they are realised, in both CamE and NigE, by leaving the overt auxiliary at base position, that is, under INFL. This was said to result from the influence of indigenous languages and French (for CamE).

As concerns passivisation, which is done through NP-movement in BrE, it was shown, following Sala (2003), that Cameroonians, most of the time, prefer to use the unbounded “*they*” for passivisation, rather than NP-movement. This is because passivisation is said to be a feature of Indo-European languages like English and French. So, given the influence that indigenous languages have on CamE, the tendency is for passivisation to be also inexistent. As for NigE, it was shown that passivisation, which is rare, was done through normal NP-movement. But, given its complex nature, NigE speakers, at times, prefer to replace the

referential NP in the active sentence by an anaphoric or cataphoric pronoun. This process was said to apply in BrE, with the sole difference being contextual. So, the need for simplification calls for the application of the anaphoric or cataphoric pronoun insertion as a last resort. This is contrary to CamE, where a dummy “they” is used as slot filler, with the same properties as “on” in French (see Sala *ibid.*). But, on a general note, move-alpha is avoided in both CamE and NigE.

### **5.1.1.2 The Quasi-inexistence of Traces**

In this section, issues related to trace management are summarised in both CamE and NigE. As was explained in the last two chapters, given the fact that traces (for the majority) result from movement transformations, and that overt move-alpha is, most of the times, avoided in CamE and NigE, one obvious conclusion will be to suppose that traces are also inexistent. But, as previous works on CamE (Ndzomo 2013, Sala 2003) have shown, move alpha is optional in CamE. If this is so, then there is likely to be traces when overt movement occurs. On this issue, Sala (2003) shows that the tendency is for traces to be avoided in CamE. Given this, one can conclude that traces are quasi-inexistent in CamE. Besides, in cases where overt movement occurs in CamE, Sala (2003: 338), for instance, opines that the tendency is for traces to be filled by resumptive pronouns. It is in this vein that Sala’s notion of Trace Guilt was postulated. This strengthens the point of view according to which traces are quasi-inexistence in CamE as, first, overt movement is avoided, and as, second, when it takes place, the traces are, most of the times, filled by resumptive pronouns.

In NigE, the same processes apply. Given the fact that overt movement transformations are avoided, traces too seem to be inexistent. But, as was shown, if passivisation, when applied, is done through NP-movement, then there should be NP-traces in NigE. Since no data showed the contrary, NP-traces will function the same way both in BrE and in NigE. But, as transformations seem to apply only to passivisation in NigE, we could still talk of the quasi-inexistence of traces in NigE. This is so, given the degree of application of transformational processes.

### **5.1.1.3 Structures that Result from the Creative Nature of New Englishes**

Following the analysis of the data, some structures can be said to result from the creative nature of New Englishes. By creative nature here is meant the capacity of a language to develop new features that are neither from its “mother language” nor the languages with



which it has had contact. It is just normal for a language, through its development, to make use of its creative capacities so as to come up with new and interesting features. In the study of language development and language growth, various factors have been said to contribute to the development of a language, especially its vocabulary. Amongst these is language contact, through which processes such as borrowings result. Besides this, when new features generate from a language, and which have nothing to do with the languages with which the said language has had contact, those are said to stem from the creative nature of the language in question. In this vein, the “Subject and Auxiliary Deletion Rule” for constituent questions, together with “The Super-ordinate Clause Deletion Rule” for echo-questioning can be said to result from creativity.

As concerns NigE, the same observations can be made. Given the fact that NigE is a language of its own, it makes use of its creative nature to come up with new linguistic features. In this vein, the “Subject and Auxiliary Deletion Rule” for constituent questions, together with “The Super-ordinate Clause Deletion Rule” for echo-questioning can be said to result from creativity, just as was the case with CamE. It can therefore be concluded that both CamE and NigE make use of their creative capacities to develop new syntactic features. But, as languages cannot really develop by relying on their sole creative capacities, other factors come in to play. Amongst this, as was said above, is the influence of other languages with which it has had contact. This shall be explained below.

#### **5.1.1.4 Structures that Result from the Influence of Other Languages**

Other structures, through the analysis of data, were said to result from the influence of one language or the other. It is a known fact that when two or more languages come into contact, they tend to influence each other or one another. In the course of this influence, new linguistic features are bound to develop. At first, they may be considered as sub-standard. But when they become so much part of the linguistic repertoire that prohibiting their use does more harm than good, they can be considered part of the language as a whole. This situation is even more palpable in the context of Non-Native English-speaking communities because in these new settings, the English language is bound to interact with the home languages that it has found there. This is exactly the case with the New Englishes under study. From what precedes, it is obvious that no matter what is done, some of the features described in CamE and in NigE result from the influence of other languages.

In the case of Cameroon, this influence was said to be twofold. First, it was said, following Sala (2003), that they resulted from the influence of indigenous languages. Second, they were said to result from the influence of French, which is one of the official languages in Cameroon. In this vein, the wh-in situ strategy for constituent questioning, the lack of T-to-C movement and do-support for yes/no question formation, and the use of the unbounded “they” for passivisation were all licensed as resulting from the influence of either French or indigenous languages.

The NigE equation was somehow difficult to solve. This was due to the lack of data on Nigerian mother tongues. This difficulty was overcome through the reading of some works that focused on the reasons for the emergence of a syntax that was peculiar to NigE. Following this, it was assumed that since the tendency in African languages is for the wh-element to be in-situ, the avoidance of overt wh-movement and T-to-C movement, together with the resort to the insertion of an anaphoric or cataphoric pronoun to avoid passivisation all resulted from influence of Nigerian Indigenous languages on NigE. French too could be said to influence the English language used in Nigeria, as it is one of the official languages spoken there. But given the fact that not many people actually speak French in Nigeria, this point of view was weakened. In a nutshell, French and indigenous languages all contributed to the emergence of new syntactic features in both CamE and NigE. But, as was observed in Chapter Four and Chapter Five, besides the factors that have just been licensed, another factor, which has to do with the supposed parametric nature of the COMP position in CamE and NigE was licensed. This shall be explained below.

#### **5.1.1.5 Structures that Result from the Supposed Parametric Nature of some the Properties of COMP**

The grammatical account of the new features that were observed in CamE and NigE gave room to the possible conclusion that some of the structures described resulted from the parametric nature of the properties of COMP. In the domain of Generative grammar, a distinction has been made between the principles and the parameters of UG. By principle is meant those inborn features or properties that are identifiable in all human languages. Parameters on the contrary refer to those features that are acquired or learn through exposure, and that languages have in particular. In this vein, the features that apply to BrE and not to NigE or CamE are said to be parametric. As such, the wh-in situ strategy, together with the lack of T-to-C movement and do-support, both in CamE and NigE could be said to result from

the fact that, unlike in BrE, COMP neither has a [wh]-specifier features nor a Q affix property in CamE and NigE. This is so because it has been shown that in BrE, movement is triggered by the capacity of the COMP to carry [wh]-specifier features or Q affix property. Given the fact that overt movement does not occur, it was assumed that the COMP position carries none of the preceding features in CamE and NigE. But, this idea was weakened following the ideas postulated in the literature under wh-in situ languages such as Japanese, Chinese and Medumba.

## 5.2 Discussion of Findings

In this section, some conclusions are made on the basis of the findings of this research endeavour. Before we get into the discussion of findings proper, one has to remind the motives that triggered comparative studies and the context within which the investigation was carried out. Coming back to the above-mentioned will somehow help the reader to know exactly why some assumptions are made and others not, and the direct implications of the conclusions that will be made.

To start with, this study, before it is a grammatical analysis, is a sociolinguistic investigation. This is in the sense that it studies the way language is used, with special focus on syntax, in two non-native communities with a somehow similar history, especially when it comes to how they were introduced to the English language. Besides, we are in an era where calls are being made for scholars to facilitate the move towards English as an International Language, by carrying out comparative analysis that could help to draw the differences and similarities between New Englishes, which awareness could facilitate international intelligibility or, if not, widespread intelligibility. In other domains of linguistic analysis such as phonology, lexicology, pragmatics, etc. such works abound. Our attention was therefore caught by such an imbalance. It was observed that the syntactic description of non-native Englishes, not to talk of their comparison to other non-native Englishes, was rare. Given this, there was need for descriptive analysis, before comparative analysis. The choice fell on NigE because of the immediate relationship Nigeria has with Cameroon, and the influence the Nigerian film industry, through *Nollywood*, has on West African English, not to talk of the others. So, one should not be surprised if, at a certain level, the features that the two countries share together are considered to be features of West African English. This is so because, only Nigeria is said to have almost half of the population in West Africa. Given this, if language policy was based on the number of speakers, then what Nigeria has in common with other

West African countries will certainly be considered features of West African English. In other words, given the fact that the choice of a language for a whole community may be determined by the number of its speakers, the syntactic features NigE shares with other Non-native Englishes in West Africa could be rightly referred to as features of West African English. This point of view has already been expressed in Kachru (1995: vi), when he opines that “The West Africans have over a period of time given English a Nigerian identity.” (Omoniyi 2006: 184). If this is so, what then are the similarities and differences between CamE and NigE?

### **5.2.1 Similarities between CamE and NigE**

Given the fact that this research endeavour had as prime objective the comparison of the syntactic features of CamE and NigE, the similarities that were observed are going to be presented in this section. Following the analysis of the data, it was observed that CamE and NigE share the following syntactic features.

- \* The deletion of the subject and the auxiliary to form wh-questions.
- \* The wh-in situ strategy for wh-questions formation.
- \* The avoidance of Chomsky (1995) Last Resort Principle for Do-support for yes/no questioning.
- \* The super-ordinate clause deletion for echo-questions
- \* The avoidance of traditional grammar’s auxiliary inversion or generative grammar’s T-to-C movement for yes/no questioning.
- \* The use of NP-movement for passivisation

Besides the existence of covert or LF movement was licensed in the two languages as they both make use of the wh-in situ strategy.

### **5.2.2 Difference between CamE and NigE**

Though quite minimal, it was observed that the two Non-Native Englishes under study have features that make them distinct or peculiar. These peculiarities were licensed for the process of passivisation. It was observed that while CamE makes use of Sala’s unbounded “they” as a Last Resort for passivisation, NigE makes use of an anaphoric or cataphoric pronoun as a last resort for passivisation. These two processes were said to result from the

influence of African languages, given the supposed inexistence of passivisation in those languages. (See Sala 2003).

In a nutshell, as expected, CamE and NigE share more similarities than differences. This triggers a lot of questions and preoccupations. All These questions and preoccupations revolve around the area of the existence of a West African English that reflects the social and cultural realities of the region. By doing this, a move will surely be made towards the development of a variety of English language that could be said to be a lingua franca, an international language, a global language. But for this to happen, so many other research endeavours like this must be carried out.

### **5.2.3 Possible Accounts for the Similarities and Differences between NigE and CamE**

After looking at the similarities and differences between CamE and NigE, one question remains unanswered. This has to do with what accounts for the similarities and differences between the Non-Native Englishes under study. It was shown in the previous section that there are many similarities and few differences between CamE and NigE. What could possibly account for this? Why it is that both share many similarities and few differences?

As far as the similarities are concerned their account can be given with focus on historical facts. Following Wolf (2010: 198), when the British established themselves in Africa, there was need for communication with the local population. Unlike the French, emphasis was not laid on English as a medium of communication. Rather, they tried as much as possible to use the language that they found in the respective countries. In the Southern Cameroon and Nigeria, they used Pidgin English, unlike in other WA countries like Sierra Leone, where Krio was used. Given the fact that Pidgin English was spoken both in Cameroon and Nigeria, the English language can be said to have evolved the same way in the two countries. As such, both NigE and CamE are likely to share so many linguistic features in common. Besides, these similarities can be said to result from the contact the two languages have, through the economic partnership that exists between Cameroonians and Nigerians. In this vein, many are the Nigerians that live in Cameroon for commerce, and many are Cameroonians that live in Nigeria for the same purpose. Given their frequent business trips in and out of the two countries, the English language they speak is likely to be influenced. This influence makes

their speech to be reshaped towards a unified language that could enjoy widespread intelligibility amongst them. This facilitates the development of linguistic features that are common in the two languages. Moreover, the similarities we observed may be due to the economic power Nigeria enjoys in the region, together with the rapid development of the Nigerian film industry. These ideas are captured in Omoniyi (2006: 184), when he opines that

The increasing role of Nigeria as regional “big brother,” its dominance in the regional economy, and the spill-over of its population into countries in the region arguably indicate what the future might hold. The growth of digital media technology and the increasing pervasiveness of Nollywood, the Nigerian film industry, which has an estimated annual net income of 45 million US dollars, are added facilitators in the spread and continuing relevance of Nigerian English in sub-Saharan Africa.

From this, it is obvious that NigE is likely to influence the English language in other English-speaking communities in the region. This influence may be said to bring about the features that are common to both CamE and NigE, and even other NNEs in the sub-region and beyond.

Concerning the differences that were licensed between the two, one can trace their origin from the cultural peculiarity of each country, though they are said to have a common African culture. Besides, the linguistic realities of the two countries are different. This is so because in Cameroon, unlike Nigeria, French is a very influential language. To explain, this, in Cameroon, the number of people who speak French is higher than in Nigeria. Assuming that French has a great influence on the English spoken in Cameroon, and given the little influence it has on NigE, as it is not widely used, it may be concluded that the discrepancies we observed are from the influence of French. Besides, we will not jump to conclude that the features we licensed are really peculiar to each variety, as the data was only from a sample texts and films, amongst the many that exist. Given this, the features we considered variant may not necessarily be, following the analysis of another set of data.



## CONCLUSION

In this section, conclusive notes are presented to the reader. It is divided into two parts, namely: Recommendations and Prospects for Further Research.

### **1. Recommendations**

As explained above, the fact that CamE and NigE share much more similarities than difference make it somehow compulsory to make some recommendations that all revolve around the area of English as a West African Language and English as a Global or International Language. But before we get to that, let's look at the need for more descriptive works and further comparative studies of Non-Native Englishes.

#### **1.1 The Need for More Descriptive Studies of the Syntax of NNEs**

As was mentioned at the beginning of this work, there have been an imbalance of attention in study of the syntax of NNEs, as compared to other linguistic levels such as phonology and grammar. In this vein, as already mentioned in works such as Igboanusi (2006), Ndzomo (2013), Sala (2003). there is still need for descriptive studies to be carried out. This is so because for comparative works to actually exist, there must be descriptive studies. In other words, if we wish to compare the syntactic features of NNEs to be able to easily move towards an international and widely-intelligible variety of English, we must pass through descriptive studies. Descriptive studies therefore prove to be very important, as they permit speakers of a given variety to know the syntactic features of the language they speak, on the one hand, and as it makes comparative studies, which – by the way – are very important to be possible.

#### **1.2 The Need for Further Comparisons**

At a time when research in the domain of New Englishes has as main target the development of an English language that could be widely intelligible, the need for comparison arises. It is in this vein that the present study was carried out, and that the following recommendations are made. If we really wish the English language to be widely intelligible, then the peculiarities of Non-Native Englishes must be made available to speakers, who, in turn, will use them to be as concise and precise as possible. If the comparison of CamE and NigE syntactic features help move towards a West African English, then that of Kenyan English and Tanzanian English will surely help move towards an East African English. By so



doing, one could follow by comparing the features of West African English to those of East African English. It is assumed that Non-Native Englishes have a lot in common, no matter where they are spoken. This assumption is based on the fact that all these communities where the English language has landed have in common the so called context of implantation of the language. Besides, given the assumption that Non-Native Englishes syntactic features result from the simplification process, they are likely to have many things in common.

If we suppose, following our data analysis, that African languages do not make use of passivisation, for example, then the need for a last resort process will be peculiar to all Non-Native Englishes in Africa. Besides, supposing that there is a tendency for African languages to use the *wh-in situ* rule for *wh*-constituent questioning, then there is high degree of certainty that the *wh-in situ* rule will extend even to the English language, as was seen with CamE and NigE. But for such assumptions to become facts, further comparisons have to be made. Through observation, it has been said in works such as Igboanusi (2006) and Schmied (2006) that the use of “isn’t it” for tag questioning seems to be a particularity of all Non-Native Englishes. But for this to enjoy widespread acceptance, these New Englishes have to be compared to others. In the context of West Africa, the features that were recorded as being peculiar to both CamE and NigE could be further compared to Ghanaian or Liberian English features to find out if those are features of a more global West African English. But given the assumptions made in works such as Kachru (1995) one may suppose that the features of NigE are features of West African English. This is so because of the economic power of Nigeria in West Africa, on the one hand, and her increasing population, on the other hand.

In a nutshell, comparative studies of New Englishes will facilitate the move towards an international variety of English that will enjoy widespread intelligibility.

## **2. Prospects for Further Studies**

As was stated at the beginning of this research endeavour, a work like this cannot be exhaustive for many reasons. In this section, the prospects for further studies, within this same frame, is given. As was stated in the previous section, for there to be widespread intelligibility between NNEs, comparative studies of this kind prove very important. In this vein, somebody interested in this domain may compare the syntactic features of CamE or NigE to those of Ghanaian English, Gambian English and, why not, Liberian English.

Besides, somebody may, on the basis of the assumption that the similarities that we observed between NigE and NigE are likely to be features of a more inclusive WAE, compare these features to those of EAE.

Moreover, as this work didn't tackle all the various transformations, one may do the same, with special focus on topicalisation and clefting.

Furthermore, one may, using new data, still compare the same NNEs as the work did, or do a quantitative analysis of the features that were described in this work in order to see how spread they are.

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## APPENDICES

**APPENDIX A:** Data from Nkengasong, J. N. (2006). *The Widow's Might*. Yaounde: Editions CLE

- Doing what there?(p. 65)
- And you say he promised to be here by nightfall? (p. 86)
- You mean the money will not be handed over to me? (P. 92)
- So, all the money has been confiscated and not a franc given to the widow? (p. 94)

**APPENDIX B:** Data from Kkemngong, J. N. (2004). *Across the Mongolo*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited

- So, you are leaving again so soon, my child? (*Across the Mongolo*, P. 16)
- And you say you will be leaving tomorrow morning? (*Across the Mongolo*, P. 17)
- You don't want to remain in mother's hut and eat fufu? (*Across the Mongolo*, P. 70)
- And you have made up your mind to register at the Faculty of Arts? (*Across the Mongolo*, P. 172)
- "Our teacher beat me", I told him.  
What? (*Across the Mongolo*, P. 12)
- What? Nwolefeck exclaimed... (*Across the Mongolo*, P. 46)
- All this because of what? (*Across the Mongolo*, P. 14)
- You have agreed with your father to do what? (*Across the Mongolo*, P. 19)
- To do what there? (*Across the Mongolo*, P. 82)
- "I think he has succeeded", I said.

Succeeded in what way? Dr Amboh asked curiously. (*Across the Mongolo*, P. 129)

- I had to go. There was need to go. Go where? (*Across the Mongolo*, P. 138)
- "Where is your friend, Ngwe?" ....

"Ah, my friend Nwolefeck, he is in Britain", I told her

Doing what there? (*Across the Mongolo*, P. 168)

- "M'menyika", they would tell my mother. (*Across the Mongolo*, P. 155)
- So you travelled to Besaadi to learn book, son, to become Babajaro? (*Across the Mongolo*, P. 31)
- You want to become a woman, Gwe? (*Across the Mongolo*, P. 82)
- So all of you Anglophones have escaped to the villages? (*Across the Mongolo*, P. 148)
- My son, you mean that of all the people in the university you chose to be the leader of a bad group, my son? (*Across the Mongolo*, P. 148)
- You want to swallow me as you have done [sic] your father? (*Across the Mongolo*, P. 154)

**APPENDIX C:** Data from the Adimora-Ezeigbo, A. (2006). *The Last of the strong Ones*. Lagos: Lantern Books

- You want to know who I am before you offer me some wine? (P. 33)
  - You said he is from Agbaja? (P. 78)
  - And you say you are surprised? (P. 79)
  - And you want us to believe you? (P. 79)
  - “Ukonwa, so you support Mgbeke and encourage her to disobey me?(P. 95)
  - You mean that man manacled by *ibi*, the disease of the scrotum? (*The Last of the Strong Ones* P. 121)
  - “So he, too, went there with his heavy burden?”(P. 121)
  - So you counted his yams? (P. 139)
  - “So you are now the one who says or decides what will happen in this family? (P. 93)
  - You are his son? (P. 174)
  - “Nne, nothing is wrong?” I lied. “Maybe I am tired”
- “Tired, doing what? (P. 69)
- They warned me about the danger of looking for a lover outside the family. (P. 58)
  - They carried bowls of food and other things that went with eating. (P. 72)
  - “They nicknamed him *ogologo ba njo*...(P. 123)

**APPENDIX D:** Data from Adimora-Ezeigbo, A. (2008). *Trafficked*. Lagos: Lantern Books.

- You still want to buy the book on estate management? (P. 32)
- You want him to die? (P. 46)
- You wish to kill him as you killed your husband two years ago? (P. 46)
- You want to come, Fola? (P. 58)
- Papa, you mean you'll eat the food if she brings it? (P. 85)
- You mean you haven't heard? (P. 91)
- A man came to the salon? (P.94)
- So you did his hair? (P. 94)
- You want me to start?( P. 98)
- You think I could get it by tomorrow morning? (P. 106)
- So you went to Matron and reported me?(P. 120)
- You think you'll just live here indefinitely? (P. 157)
- You think you will be able to pass?(P. 164)
- You mean I haven't told you? (P. 165)
- And you don't have any identification documents with you? (P. 16)
- "Oh, you're still here? (P. 30)
- You are looking at those pictures? (P. 61)
- You are worried people will say we moved in too quickly or that we caused Lebechi's illness? (P. 255)
- So this is where you're hiding? (P. 266)
- So you don't recognize my voice? (P. 269)
- The police are here? (P. 277)
- "It's very sad, but Elias did provoke the retaliation. It seems you haven't heard
- "Heard what?" (P. 223)
- The police are where? (P. 277)
- At the door, Nneoma stopped and said, "Ma, remember..."
- "Remember what? (P. 310)

**APPENDIX E:** Data from the Cameroonian Film and the Everyday Conversations  
between Cameroonians

b- I didn't see any student in class today.

That what? ( *a chemistry teacher*)

c- Is Prof in class?

That what? (*Master's I student at the University of Yaounde I*)

## APPENDIX F: Data from the Nigerian Films

### Data from “*War Queens 1*”

- One of your attendants brought a girl for me last night, and she stole my money.

What? (“*War Queens 1*”, 12:25)

- You didn’t know? (“*War Queens 1*”, 22:50)
- You didn’t notice? (“*War Queens 1*”, 22:55)
- You mean you are Rita? (“*War Queens 1*”, 27:46)
- b- ... was murdered by ...

What? (“*War Queens 1*”, 52:53)

### Data from “*King of Ritual 1*”

- You want something from Chief? (“*King of Ritual 1*” 4:55)
- You live around here? (“*King of Ritual 1*” 7:56)
- I would wait? (“*King of Ritual 1*” 09:35)
- You mean to tell me that your children are out of school because of money? (“*King of Ritual 1*” 12:52)
- You want some man to bring *okada* here to marry your daughter? (“*King of Ritual 1*”, 15:22)
- You don’t want my happiness or what? (“*King of Ritual 1*” 16:03)
- You think it is possible? (“*King of Ritual 1*” 22:51)
- So that is your problem? (“*King of Ritual 1*” 27:40)