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## **Nigerian English Usage and the Tyranny of Faulty Analogy III: Pronunciation**

We define ‘faulty analogy’ as the impulsive thinking by the vast majority of L2 users of English that if *B* is similar to *A* in a certain linguistic respect, then *B* can be treated exactly like *A* in that respect on account of this similarity. The data used in the study was collected from a wide range of sources – spoken and written – over a ten-year period from 2005 to 2015. Our theoretical framework derives from the Behaviourist theory of language acquisition through the process of *imitation* - and a major criticism of this theory. Additional theoretical insights benefitted from scholarly opinions from *contact linguistics*. The subsequent analysis of the data reveals that faulty analogy accounts for a large proportion of the errors and sub-standard forms typical of Nigerian English usage, and that wrong pronunciation is only one of the numerous categories of faulty analogy errors in Nigerian English. We conclude that *awareness* of faulty analogy as a linguistic phenomenon and a formidable source of error is the best way to overcome the problem that it poses to L2 users of English. And we recommend that this awareness can best be achieved through teaching faulty analogy *formally* in the school system and drawing attention to its various forms.

*Keywords:* Analogy, Behaviourism, Fossilization, Imitation, Pronunciation.

### **1. Introduction**

Several factors have been identified as responsible for the emergence of sub-standard forms in Nigerian English. Most prominent is *interference*, followed, in no particular order, by *inadequate motivation*, *poor teaching and learning* resulting from *lack of facilities*, and *crowded classrooms* – all of which possibly lead to early *fossilization*. Fossilization is a situation in which learning and further improvement cease, either because the learner feels frustrated or because he/she perceives no further need for such improvement. These factors have been well documented in numerous sources on Nigerian English (*cf.* Jowitt, 1991; Bamgbose, Banjo & Thomas, eds., 1995; Igboanusi, 2002; Awonusi & Babalola, eds., 2004; Dadzie & Awonusi, eds., 2004; Okoro, 2011a; Okoro, ed., 2011b, for example). Our focus in this paper, instead, is on another phenomenon, which is often overlooked as a strong contributory factor to the emergence of sub-standard forms in Nigerian English usage. This is the factor of *faulty analogy*. In this paper, we define ‘faulty analogy’ as the conscious or unconscious ascription to a lexical, syntactic, phonological or semantic item a linguistic characteristic that is present in another

similar or related item *within the same language* – on the logical *but faulty* assumption that the two items can be treated the same way on the basis of this perceived similarity. Simply put, it is the faulty reasoning that if *B* is similar to *A* (in whatever regard), then what goes for *A* in that regard can also correctly go for *B* – on the basis of this similarity.

This reasoning is logical enough and therefore appears to have its appeal to the logically ordered human mind. But what often eludes speakers of English, especially L2 users, even in the face of overwhelming evidence, is the fact that the English language (and indeed language in general) is not as logically ordered in all details as their minds project it to be. To illustrate this obvious but elusive fact, let us cite a paragraph from Oshima and Hogue (1983:61), which focuses on the illogical relationship between the spelling and the pronunciation of English words:

One of the most difficult and confusing aspects of the English language is its spelling system. There is often a discrepancy between the pronunciation of a word and its spelling. One cannot always tell how to spell a word by its pronunciation, nor how to pronounce it by its spelling. For example, there are twelve different ways to spell the sound *sh* in English: *shoe*, *nation*, *schist*, *ocean*, *sure*, *mission*, *machine*, *special*, *mansion*, *nauseous*, *conscious* and *anxious*. To give an opposite example, the vowel combination *ou* can be pronounced in at least five different ways, as in the words *through*, *although*, *thought*, *tough*, and *out*.

This inconsistency of course extends to other aspects of the language. For instance, nouns and verbs are not all inflected in regular patterns for number and tense respectively, for example:

#### *NOUNS*

boy : boys

man : *men* (not \*mans)

child : *children* (not \*childs)

#### *VERBS*

cook : cooked

see : *saw* (not \*seed)

go : *went* (not \*goed)

Again derivational affixes do not operate consistently in similar morphological processes. For example, someone who teaches or sings is a *teacher* or *singer*, but someone who cheats or gossips is a *cheat* or *gossip*, not a \**cheater* or \**gossiper*. There is no logical reason why this should not be the case, but it just happens that word formation processes in English are not bound by any consistent logical patterns. Yet many Nigerians continue to say \**cheater* and \**gossiper* on the basis of a faulty comparison to correct forms like ‘*teacher*’ and ‘*singer*’. This is an illustration of what we have termed ‘the tyranny of faulty analogy’.

## 2. Literature Review

It is useful to start by mentioning that some of the challenges that young or adult learners of a second language usually face may be traced to perspectives documented by scholars within the

field of *contact linguistics*. Several studies have emphasized the central influence of contact between two or more languages as a significant factor in language interference and associated language behaviour. Matras (2010:66) considers language contact as 'the way in which linguistic systems influence one another' as a result of their coexistence. The study of language contact is called contact linguistics. As a theoretical framework, Winford (2003) describes contact linguistics as the interdisciplinary study of the ways in which languages influence one another when people who speak two or more languages (or dialects) interact. It is connected with notions such as language interference or linguistic interference. Both the theoretical insights and analytical tools from contact linguistics provide the underpinning perspectives for exploring some of the challenges often found among bilingual speakers.

Scotton's (2002) views on contact linguistics are germane to the study of the contact between English and local Nigerian languages. Since the languages in contact do not share similar linguistic features and structures, interference occurs at all the levels of linguistic analysis. Pronunciation challenges are usually the most prominent and obvious impact of languages in contact. Learners of the target second language who have low proficiency levels are often betrayed by the 'strange' accent or awkward pronunciation that embattled language teachers and linguists try so hard to correct, often with minimal success.

Bowern (2008:2) observes that language contact is all the linguistic interaction especially in multilingual communities. 'We use the term language contact to refer to situations where groups of people who speak very similar varieties are in contact with people who speak rather different varieties (cf. Thomason and Kaufman 1988, Thomason 2001:2)'. He argues further that 'Language contact is not, of course, a homogeneous phenomenon. Contact may occur between languages which are genetically related or unrelated, speakers may have similar or vastly different social structures, and patterns of multilingualism may also vary greatly' (p.4). This position explains the various varieties of English in Nigeria discussed below.

Language contact leads to the transfer or integration of foreign elements from one language into another. Scholars believe that language contact has not only inter-linguistic relationships but also intra-linguistic considerations. Within the framework of modern societies that are primarily or secondarily multilingual, speakers of these different languages interact and their languages influence one another. With a target language like English, the differences in grammar, pronunciation and spelling pose serious challenges that often result in a yawning competence gap. It is therefore not surprising that the vast majority of Nigerian learners of English, young and old, may tend to resort to faulty analogy at all levels of usage to make up for this competence gap in their use of English.

We now turn our attention specifically to pronunciation. Characterizing Nigerian English phonetics and phonology has over the years received its own fair share of attention from linguists, whose preoccupation has naturally ranged from issues of their shortcomings vis-à-vis native English speech models such as Received Pronunciation (RP), to issues of their domestication, codification and standardization, whether a monolithic standard is possible, or there are broad regional accents, and so forth. Two broad categories of investigators appear to

have emerged, but relative to the volume of this monograph, our literature review is understandably representative and not exhaustive.

First, there are those who have accounted for the shortcomings in terms of interference, that is, in terms of differences between the systems of the local languages spoken in Nigeria (L1) and the language system of the target language, English (L2). Dunstan (ed., 1969) sets the tone when she presents a discussion of the sound systems of British English and American English, and then contrasts them with the sound systems of twelve Nigerian languages, and proceeds to identify problem areas that require attention in teaching English to Nigerian students.

With consonants, two major problem areas are identified as follows:

(a) There are no dental fricatives in any Nigerian languages, as a result of which many Nigerian speakers of English substitute /t/ for /θ/ and /d/ for /ð/, thus confusing words like 'taught' with 'thought', and 'order' with 'other'. The alternative substitution of /s/ for /θ/ and /z/ for /ð/ has also been observed, leading to the confusion of such words as 'sick' and 'thick', 'breeze' and 'breathe'.

(b) Many Nigerian languages lack some voiced/voiceless contrasts, that is, they have sounds in the voiced or voiceless version, while the other voiceless or voiced counterpart is missing. The most significant contrast here is /ʃ/ and /ʒ/, with the second consonant generally lacking in the local languages.

With vowels, the problems are legion, some of which are that:

(a) Few Nigerian languages have more than seven vowels; some have even fewer. The result is that many Nigerians have difficulty learning the new English vowels not present in their native language, and take the easy way out of substituting for these the closest vowels in the mother tongue. Notable casualties here are the central vowels /ə/, /ɜ:/ and /ʌ/.

(b) Distinctions are rarely made between certain vowel pairs, notably /ɪ/ and /i:/, /ɒ/ and /ɔ:/, /æ/ and /ɑ:/, and /ʊ/ and /u:/. The result is that word pairs such as 'sit' and 'seat', 'pack' and 'park', 'shot' and 'short', 'full' and 'fool' are hardly distinguished in pronunciation.

(c) Syllable structures also present some difficulties: (i) Because many Nigerian languages either do not have syllable final consonants, or have only a restricted number of such consonants, this often influences speakers of such languages to add an intrusive vowel after such syllable final consonants in English words. Thus, especially at the lower levels of usage, words like 'beg' and 'wood' may be rendered as /begɪ/ and /wu:du/. (ii) Again, because many local languages have simple syllable structures in which vowels alternate regularly with consonants (that is, CVCVCV...), many speakers are unable to pronounce initial or final consonant clusters

correctly, but often insert vowels within these clusters. For example, /sɪpɪk/ for /spɪk/ 'speak', and /vɑɪtæɪl/ for /vɑɪtl/ 'vital'.

(d) When it comes to stress and intonation, many words are stressed on the wrong syllables, while the proper English stress-timing is replaced with syllable-timing, which is so obviously transferred from the mother tongue. Correct intonation forms also remain largely elusive.

Bamgbose (1971) observes that the major differences between Nigerian English and other varieties of English occur mostly in the spoken form of the language. According to him, the sound system of the vernacular languages exert the greatest influence on the English pronunciation of Nigerians, leading to the claim by many that they can tell a speaker's part of the country from the way he/she speaks. Bamgbose writes (p. 42):

This kind of skill, in so far as it exists, is due to the recognition of typical interference features in the pronunciation of English by the speaker involved. One example of such a typical feature is that Igbo speakers of English, even well-educated ones, tend to transfer the vowel harmony system of their language into English. They say [fɒlɒ] instead of [fɒləʊ] for the word 'follow' because the sequence of /ɒ/ and /o/ in two successive syllables is not permissible in Igbo. Hausa speakers of English tend to insert a vowel between a syllable-final consonant and the initial consonant of an immediately following syllable; for instance, [rezɪgɪneɪfən] instead of [rezɪgneɪfən] for the word 'resignation'. Yoruba speakers of English generally nasalise English vowels which are preceded by nasals. For example, they say [mɔ̃nɪ̃n] for English 'morning' [mɔ:nɪŋ].

Bamgbose goes on to point out that in addition to these regional characteristics, there are numerous other features that cut across the vast majority of Nigerians, and concisely presents some examples (p.42):

- 1 there are certain characteristic stress patterns for certain words, *eg: ma'dam, main'tenance, ɾri'balism, 'circumference:*
- 2 English is spoken with a syllable-timed instead of a stress-timed rhythm;
- 3 compared with most varieties of English, the Nigerian variety has a more restricted system of intonation and a smaller number of vowel distinctions;
- 4 there is generally an absence of word-final syllabic consonants since a vowel is usually inserted before such consonants, *eg: [bɒt<sup>u</sup>l]* for 'bottle', [*lɪt<sup>u</sup>l]* for 'little', [*les<sup>i</sup>n]* for 'lesson';
- 5 unstressed syllables which have vowels such as /i/ or /ə/ in British English generally have other vowels in Nigerian English, *eg: [kɔ̃n'sɪst]* for [*kən'sɪst]*, 'consist',

[<sup>1</sup>*braitest*] for [<sup>1</sup>*braitist*], 'brightest', [<sup>1</sup>*draiva*] for [<sup>1</sup>*draivə*], 'driver', and [<sup>1</sup>*d'raival*] for [<sup>1</sup>*ə'raivəl*], 'arrival'.

Bamgbose concludes that such widespread features are standardizing factors that could yield an educated Nigerian variety of English pronunciation.

While many more have written along similar lines, there are those who have turned their attention to issues of codification and standardization. Acknowledging that in every language contact situation (such as that between English and indigenous Nigerian languages) the emergence of a distinct variety of the target language is inevitable, these latter linguists have moved on to address the issue of what should be regarded as the standard on the different levels of usage - *phonetics and phonology, morphology and syntax, and lexis and semantics*.

Using level of education as his major criterion, Brosnahan (1958:99) identifies four levels of Nigerian English as follows:

Level I: Pidgin; spoken by those without any formal education.

Level II: Spoken by those who have had primary school education. Most speakers belong to this level.

Level III: Spoken by those who have had secondary school education. Marked by increased fluency, wider vocabulary, and conscious avoidance of Level I usage.

Level IV: Close to Standard English but retaining some features of Levels II and III. Spoken by those with university education.

By implication, Level IV, being closest to standard (British) English, is posited as the acceptable standard Nigerian English.

Banjo (1971:169-70) makes a similar classification of Nigerian English into four varieties, and introduces variables of international intelligibility and social acceptability. These are:

Variety 1: Marked by wholesale transfer of phonological, syntactic, and lexical features of Kwa or Niger-Congo to English. Spoken by those whose knowledge of English is very imperfect. Neither socially acceptable in Nigeria nor internationally intelligible.

Variety 2: Syntax close to that of Standard British English, but with strongly marked phonological and lexical peculiarities. Spoken by up to 75 percent of those who speak English in the country. Socially acceptable, but with rather low international intelligibility.

Variety 3: Close to Standard British English both in syntax and in semantics; similar in phonology, but different in phonetic features as well as with regard to certain lexical peculiarities. Socially acceptable and internationally intelligible. Spoken by less than 10 percent of the population.

Variety 4: Identical with Standard British English in syntax and semantics, and having identical phonological and phonetic features of a British regional dialect of English. Maximally internationally intelligible, but socially unacceptable. Spoken by only a handful of Nigerians born or brought up in England.

Banjo goes on to propose Variety 3 as the only plausible candidate for a standard Nigerian English, including a modification (1996) that "home background and the quality of education at the primary and secondary levels" are very important factors that affect Variety 3 performance.

More recently, Udofot (2004:109) presents a reclassification of varieties of spoken Nigerian English, again using the education parameter, as follows:

Variety One (Non-standard):

*Exponents:* primary and secondary school leavers, university freshmen, some second year university undergraduates, holders of Ordinary National Diplomas and National Certificates of Education, primary school teachers.

*Features:* inability to make vital phonemic distinctions, high incidence of irrelevant pausing, tendency to accent nearly every syllable, preference for the falling tone.

Variety Two (Standard):

*Exponents:* third and final-year undergraduates, university graduates, university and college lecturers, other professionals, secondary school teachers of English, holders of Higher National Diplomas.

*Features:* ability to make some vital phonemic distinctions and occasional approximations, reasonably fluent speech, many prominent syllables, preference for unidirectional tones (the fall and the rise).

Variety Three (Sophisticated):

*Exponents:* university lecturers in English and linguistics, graduates of English and the humanities, those who have lived in mother tongue areas.

*Features:* ability to make all phonemic distinctions, fluent speech, a few extra prominent syllables, flexible use of intonation.

Udofot recommends Variety Two as the standard spoken Nigerian English, first because it is already being taught at school, and secondly because it is the variety spoken by most educated Nigerians including teachers at all levels of education.

All told however, codifying standard Nigerian English usage has remained largely elusive, first because the most plausible criterion - educational attainment - does not in practice guarantee a uniformity of performance at the different levels of usage that have been identified, and secondly because English as generally spoken by Nigerians continues to display a strong ethnic colouring that usually tends to defy educational attainment.

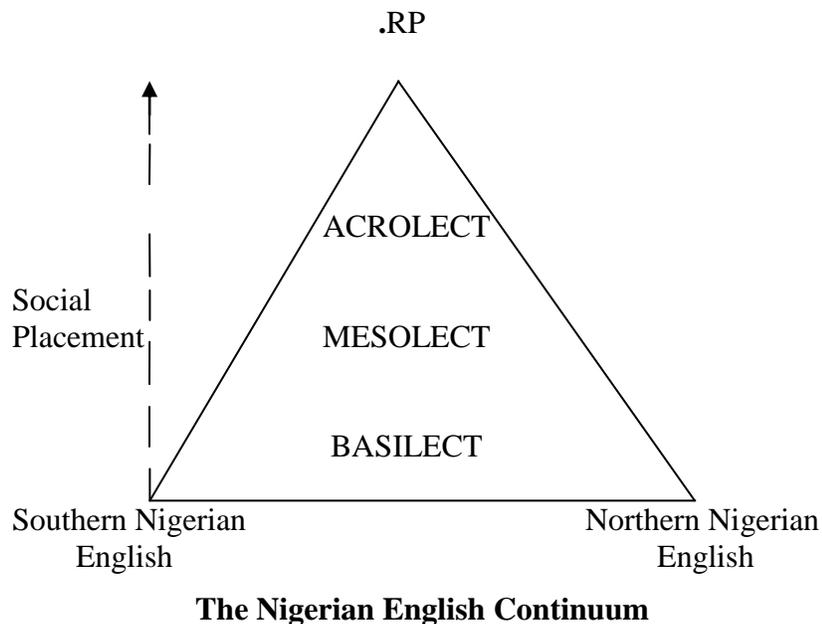
As a result, there are those who consider a monolithic standard Nigeria English impossible, especially at the phonological level, and go on to identify instead distinct regional varieties such as Efik English, Hausa English, Igbo English, Urhobo English, Yoruba English. We make selective mention here of Jibril (1986) and Awonusi (1987). After sketching out the respective vowel and consonant sub-systems of what he labels 'Basic Hausa English' (BHE), 'Basic Southern Nigerian English' (BSE), 'Sophisticated Hausa English' (SpHE) and 'Sophisticated Southern English' (SpSE), Jibril (1986:58-9) comments that:

The various types of English represented by the vowel and consonant systems outlined above interact with one another in a triangle-shaped NigE continuum. RP is at the top of the continuum, exerting its prestigious influence on sophisticated speakers, albeit from *outside* the continuum. At the right hand base of the continuum is BHE and at the left hand base is BSE. SpHE and SpSE are located near the top of the continuum on the right and left sides respectively. The English of young Northerners is located somewhere in the middle of the horizontal axis, the precise vertical point at which any particular variety is placed being a function of its speaker's relative sophistication. The middle space of the continuum generally represents the area in which convergence between Northern and Southern varieties is taking place. If the sociolinguistic and educational factors which favour this convergence continue to exist, a de-regionalized variety of NigE may well emerge in the future.

Awonusi (1987:47) observes that with the emergence of the new Englishes world-wide, linguists are now preoccupied with the controversial task of identifying the standard lects of these 'new' varieties of English. To identify the standard for Nigerian English, he like Jibril subscribes to the view of a continuum -

which is pyramidal in shape, socially and geographically motivated, having at its apex acrolectal Nigerian English, and, at its maximally broad base, basilectal Nigerian English. Mesolectal Nigerian English lies between the two extremes.

But the lects are not at all discrete since the continuum is dynamic, as speakers will be able to move upwards with improved competence. and down-shift for stylistic reasons if they have to. This continuum is represented diagrammatically as follows:



The diagram vividly shows that speakers of acrolectal Nigerian English - the desired standard - indeed form a minority, while speakers of the basilect are in the vast majority.

All told, there has been a formidable volume of literature on Nigerian English (and beyond) addressing four pertinent issues, pointed out by Josiah *et. al.* (2012:111), which pose several challenges to the English-speaking world as a result of the global spread of English and its inevitable contact with other languages. These issues are:

1. The desperate attempt by native speakers to retain the phonological intelligibility and acceptability of the mother-tongue variety of English, the RP, around the English speaking world.
2. The growing need of English as an International Language (EIL) to accommodate the expanding circles of L2 speakers.
3. The desire by speakers in L2 environments to evolve specific national varieties (an outgrowth of the World Englishes phenomenon) to complement the controversial standard, the RP; and
4. The compelling necessity for different ethnic groups within 'nuclear' English-speaking societies to set up intra-lingual standards that can serve as pedagogical

models or mutually intelligible phonologies within multilingual societies, such as Nigeria.

Notable sources include Adetugbo (1979, 1987), Kachru (1982), Eka (1985, 2000), Odumuh (1987), Atoye (1987), Udofot (2004, 2007, 2011), Jowitt (1991, 2006), Adegbite (2010), Josiah (2011), Anyagwa (2013), Olajide & Olaniyi (2013), Akinjobi (2015). A constant refrain in the literature is that mother tongue interference indeed plays a formidable role in causing the vast majority of Nigerians to fall short of the elusive standard in their spoken English, manifesting instead the regionally marked sub-varieties that easily reveal the speakers' ethnic identities. But, to the best of our knowledge, the insipid role that faulty analogy plays in the matter has not received as much attention. Yet our investigation reveals that faulty analogy accounts for quite a large proportion of the errors and sub-standard forms that are typical of Nigerian English usage, and manifests as significantly on the phonological level as it does on all other levels of usage.

Thus our objective in this series of papers is to investigate the formidable effect of faulty analogy on Nigerian English usage - with our focus in the present paper on pronunciation.

### 3. Theoretical Framework

Our theoretical base for this work derives from the Behaviourist theory of language acquisition through the process of *imitation* - and a major *criticism* leveled against this theory. Proponents of the theory observe that in the early years of a child's life, he/she is surrounded by family members who not only keep up a constant stream of communication with one another, but also consciously try much of the time to teach the child himself to speak. And with hardly any other preoccupation, the child is said to be able to memorize and imitate the speech patterns that he hears all around him.

This theory has however been heavily criticized by many scholars who argue that the language acquisition process goes beyond imitation. Reviewing the different theories of language acquisition, Crystal (1997:236) writes about imitation:

Language acquisition has long been thought as a process of imitation and reinforcement. Children learn to speak, in the popular view, by copying the utterances heard around them, and by having their responses strengthened by the repetitions, corrections, and other reactions that adults provide. In recent years, it has become clear that this principle will not explain all the facts of language development. Children do imitate a great deal, especially in learning sounds and vocabulary; but little of their grammatical ability can be explained in this way.

Crystal goes on to point out that two kinds of evidence have been adduced in support of this criticism of the theory of imitation. One evidence is based on the kind of language that children produce, while the other is based on what they do not produce:

The first piece of evidence derives from the way children handle irregular grammatical patterns. When they encounter such irregular past-tense forms ... as *went* and *took*, or such plural forms as *mice* and *sheep*, there is a stage when they replace these by forms based on the regular patterns of the language. They say such things as *wented*, *taked*, *mices*, *mouses*, and *sheeps*. Evidently, children assume that grammatical usage is regular, and try to work out for themselves what the forms 'ought' to be - a reasoning process known as *analogy* ... They could not have learned these forms by a process of imitation. Adults do not go around saying such things as *wented* and *sheeps*! (p. 236)

Crystal gives the second evidence as the way children often seem unable to imitate adult grammatical constructions exactly, even when they are being prompted to do this, as in this cited dialogue between a mother and her child, recorded by the American psycholinguist, David McNeill:

CHILD: Nobody don't like me.

MOTHER: No, say 'Nobody likes me.'

CHILD: Nobody don't like me.

(*Eight repetitions of this dialogue.*)

MOTHER: No, now listen carefully: say 'Nobody likes me.'

CHILD: Oh! Nobody don't likes me.

The first evidence presented above in the criticism of imitation as a theory of language acquisition is most relevant to us here: children do not imitate adults all the time, but sometimes try to work things out through their own initiative. Of great significance to us in this respect is Crystal's sentence from the second quotation above, which we reproduce here:

Evidently, children assume that grammatical usage is regular, and try to work out for themselves what the forms 'ought' to be - a reasoning process known as *analogy*.

Indeed, when for instance children say "wented", "taked", "mices", "mouses" and "sheeps" they are certainly not imitating any adults, but are working out for themselves what things 'ought' to be. We completely agree with this, but our contention is that what children do here is actually the *flip side* of the same imitation: no they are not imitating adults, but in "working out for themselves what the forms 'ought' to be" and ending up saying "wented", "taked", "mices", "mouses" and "sheeps", they are certainly *imitating* regular verb and noun forms like "travelled", "borrowed", "cats" and "goats"! Crystal observes that this is "a reasoning process known as *analogy*". And we have called it *faulty analogy* in this paper, and our evidence below shows that in L2 situations, many learners unconsciously carry this reasoning process far into adult language usage - and end up pronouncing many expressions wrongly.

As we have already pointed out, faulty analogy largely operates in an insipid manner: a linguistic item, *B*, is perceived to be similar in a particular respect to another linguistic item, *A*,

on account of which *B* is then treated exactly like *A* (that is, made to *imitate A*) in that respect on the basis of that perceived similarity. This is what we have called the tyranny of faulty analogy - 'tyranny' because of its largely unconscious and frequent manifestation.

#### 4. Sources of Data

The data for the study was collected from a wide range of sources – spoken and written – over a ten-year period from 2005 to 2015. As the research is qualitative rather than quantitative, the data collection methods employed were:

(a) *The direct participant and non-participant observation.* Here, a large corpus of data was surreptitiously collected in the formal context of undergraduate and postgraduate lectures at the University of Lagos, communication workshops for the organized private sector in the Lagos metropolis and other parts of the country, and in informal contexts involving interpersonal interactions with different categories of Nigerian speakers of English in different parts of the country.

(b) *The indirect non-participant observation.* The data-collection method above was complemented by indirect non-participant observation of scores of Nigerian radio and television programmes: broadcasts, interviews, news reporting, talk shows, documentaries, and so on.

(c) *The researcher's introspection.* The writer also drew from his personal experience as a Nigerian and an English teacher and researcher.

The quantum of data collected in this ten-year period of structured and random observation of different classes of Nigerians spread along the Nigerian English speech continuum from basilectal to acrolectal was considered adequate to establish the formidable influence of faulty analogy on the English usage of Nigerians in general.

The subsequent analysis of this data reveals the following categories of faulty analogy: *morphological/lexical; spelling; pronunciation; syntactic/collocational; semantic; and interference-induced.* The specific focus in this paper is on pronunciation.

#### 5. Data Presentation and Analysis:

The data presented below shows that what we have called the flip side of the imitation of adult speech by children, that is, *the imitation of regular patterns within the language itself*, evidently continues well into adult language usage. Here, many similarly spelt words or parts of words are impulsively pronounced the same way, *since it is usually assumed that words that have the same sequence of letters should logically have the same sequence of sounds.* The data, while not

exhaustive of the vast lexical repertoire of Nigerian English, clearly illustrates this widespread linguistic behaviour.

There are altogether 121 selected lexical items, divided up into 26 groups, and presented in column (B) of the table in each group (cf. 5.1 to 5.26). Each group relates to a particular feature of wrong pronunciation resulting from faulty analogy to (that is, *imitation* of) the model items in column (A), which correctly exhibit the feature in question. The resulting erroneous pronunciation of each item in (B) is then shown in column (C), and contrasted with its correct pronunciation, which is shown in column (D).

Following each of these wrongly pronounced groups of words is a detailed discussion to demonstrate the source of their mispronunciation as indeed faulty analogy to the (correct) pronunciation patterns of the more familiar words in column (A), which have -

1. simple, familiar and unmistakable forms of pronunciation; or
2. well known peculiar phonetic features

- all of which are then over-generalized and applied erroneously to other words that appear to share the same attributes, but actually do not.

### 5.1 Suite

<b>Pronunciation Model (A)</b>	<b>Wrongly Pronounced Word (B)</b>	<b>Wrong Pronunciation in Imitation of Model (C)</b>	<b>Correct Pronunciation (D)</b>
suit / <sup>1</sup> su:t/	suite	*/ <sup>1</sup> su:t/	/ <sup>1</sup> swi:t/

The correct pronunciation of 'suite' is /<sup>1</sup>swi:t/, exactly homophonous with the word 'sweet' /<sup>1</sup>swi:t/. But because of: (a) its strong resemblance in spelling to 'suit'; and (b) the fact that the letter 'e' at the end of many English words is silent (e.g., 'date', 'make', 'take' - see 5.24), many Nigerians proceed to erroneously pronounce 'suite' as /<sup>1</sup>su:t/, exactly the same as 'suit' /<sup>1</sup>su:t/. We have already mentioned spelling-pronunciation, which is a strong contributory cause of faulty analogy errors. Here, words which are similarly spelt are often similarly pronounced.

### 5.2 Flour

<b>Pronunciation Model (A)</b>	<b>Wrongly Pronounced Word (B)</b>	<b>Wrong Pronunciation in Imitation of Model (C)</b>	<b>Correct Pronunciation (D)</b>
pour / <sup>1</sup> pɔ:/	flour	*/ <sup>1</sup> flɔ:/	/ <sup>1</sup> flaʊə/

Placed between the two words 'pour' /<sup>1</sup>pɔ:/ and 'flower' /<sup>1</sup>flaʊə/, 'flour' appears more *logically* affiliated to the former than the latter - again on account of their similarity in spelling. Because

of this, many Nigerians also end up pronouncing 'flour' erroneously as \*/'flɔ:/ instead of the correct /'flaʊə/ (that is, as an exact homophone of 'flower').

### 5.3 Jeopardy, Jeopardize, Leopard, Leonard, Geoffrey

<b>Pronunciation Model (A)</b>	<b>Wrongly Pronounced Words (B)</b>	<b>Wrong Pronunciation in Imitation of Model (C)</b>	<b>Correct Pronunciation (D)</b>
geography /dʒi'ŋgrəfi/	jeopardy	*/dʒi'ŋpədɪ/	/'dʒepədɪ/
	jeopardize	*/dʒi'ŋpədəɪz/	/'dʒepədəɪz/
geometry /dʒi'ŋmətri/	leopard	*/li'ŋpəd/	/'lepəd/
	Leonard	*/li'ŋnəd/	/'lenəd/
geology /dʒi'ŋlədʒɪ/	Geoffrey	*/dʒi'ŋfri/	/'dʒefri/

Quite early at school, pupils get to know the subject called 'geography', correctly pronounced /dʒi'ŋgrəfi/; they soon become aware of the branch of mathematics called 'geometry', which is also correctly pronounced /dʒi'ŋmətri/; and perhaps soon after, they learn about an uncle or other family relation studying 'geology', again /dʒi'ŋlədʒɪ/, in some distant university. And so it turns out that to the pupils' logically ordered mind, if a word has the spelling sequence 'eo', then it must have the corresponding pronunciation sequence /-i'ŋ-/ too! Thus, 'jeopardy', 'jeopardize', 'leopard', 'Leonard', 'Geoffrey' are all respectively pronounced by far too many Nigerians as \*/dʒi'ŋpədɪ/, \*/dʒi'ŋpədəɪz/, \*/li'ŋpəd/, \*/li'ŋnəd/ and \*/dʒi'ŋfri/ in erroneous imitation of the cited pronunciation models, instead of the correct /'dʒepədɪ/, /'dʒepədəɪz/, /'lepəd/, /'lenəd/ and /'dʒefri/. The five words cited here are just a few examples.

### 5.4 Favourite, Pronunciation, Denunciation, Renunciation, Pedagogy, Sadist, Preferable, Maintenance, Mechanism, Machinations, Irreparable, Musician, Says/Said, Biblical

<b>Pronunciation Model (A)</b>	<b>Wrongly Pronounced Words (B)</b>	<b>Wrong Pronunciation in Imitation of Model (C)</b>	<b>Correct Pronunciation (D)</b>
favour /'feɪvə/	favourite	*/'feɪvəraɪt/	/'feɪvrɪt/
pronounce /prə'nauŋs/	pronunciation	*/prə'nauŋsɪ'eɪʃən/	/'prə'nauŋsɪ'eɪʃən/
denounce /dɪ'nauŋs/	denunciation	*/dɪ'nauŋsɪ'eɪʃən/	/'dɪ'nauŋsɪ'eɪʃən/
renounce /rɪ'nauŋs/	renunciation	*/rɪ'nauŋsɪ'eɪʃən/	/'rɪ'nauŋsɪ'eɪʃən/
pedagogue /'pedəɡɒɡ/	pedagogy	*/'pedəɡɒɡɪ/	/'pedəɡɒdʒɪ/
sad /'sæd/	sadist	*/'sædɪst/	/'seɪdɪstər 'seɪdɪst/
prefer /prɪ'fɜ:/	preferable	*/prɪ'fɜ:rəbl/	/'prefərəbəl/
maintain /meɪn'teɪn/	maintenance	*/meɪn'teɪnəns/	/'meɪntənəns/
mechanic /mi'kænik/	mechanism	*/me'kænɪzm/	/'mekənɪzəm/
machine /mə'ʃɪn/	machinations	*/,mæʃɪ'neɪʃənz/	/,mækə'neɪʃənz/ or

				/,mæki'neɪʃənz/
repair	/rɪ'peə/	irreparable	*/ɪrɪ'peərəbəl/	/ɪ'repərəbəl/
music	/'mju:zɪk/	musician	*/mju:'zɪkʃən/	/mju:'zɪʃən/
say	/'seɪ/	says / said	*/'seɪz/, /'seɪd/	/'sez/, /'sed/
Bible	/'baɪbəl/	Biblical	*/'baɪblɪkəl/	/'bɪblɪkəl/
enemy	/'enəmi/	enmity	*/'enəmɪti/	/'enmɪti/

The majority of English words retain their pronunciation when suffixes are added to them. For example:

quick	/'kwɪk/	→	quickly	/'kwɪklɪ/
good	/'gʊd/	→	goodness	/'gʊdnəs/
faith	/'feɪθ/	→	faithful	/'feɪθfəl/
function	/'fʌŋkʃən/	→	functional	/'fʌŋkʃənəl/
leader	/'li:də/	→	leadership	/'li:dəʃɪp/
judge	/'dʒʌdʒ/	→	judgement	/'dʒʌdʒmənt/
relent	/'rɪ'lent/	→	relentless	/'rɪ'lentləs/
normal	/'nɔ:məl/	→	normalize	/'nɔ:məlaɪz/
terror	/'terə/	→	terrorism	/'terərɪzəm/
land	/'lænd/	→	landing	/'lændɪŋ/

But in many cases, the addition of a suffix significantly alters the pronunciation of the stem. But largely unaware of these exceptions, the average Nigerian speaker tends to retain the original pronunciation of the base word while pronouncing the word derived from this base by suffixation. In other words, the trend with the vast majority of words mentioned above is over-generalized, as the speaker considers it only logical to retain the original pronunciation of the stem since its spelling has also largely remained unaltered! The words in our data are just a few examples:

The wrong pronunciation of 'favourite' appears to be caused by faulty analogy to not only the stem word 'favour' /'feɪvə/ but also the word 'rite' /'raɪt/, yielding \*/'feɪvəraɪt/ instead of /'feɪvrɪt/.

In the case of 'pronunciation' /prə,nʌnsɪ'eɪʃən/, 'denunciation' /dɪ,nʌnsɪ'eɪʃən/ and 'renunciation' /rɪ,nʌnsɪ'eɪʃən/, the change in the pronunciation of the stem is obviously the result of the omission of the letter 'o' after the first 'n' in each stem word, that is 'pronounce' /prə'nʌʊns/, 'denounce' /dɪ'nʌʊns/ and 'renounce' /rɪ'nʌʊns/. But many are unaware of this omission, and therefore not only erroneously retain this letter 'o' in their spelling when they add the suffix '-ation' but also fail to adjust the pronunciation of the stem in the derived words.

As shown in the table, the hard /g/ at the end of 'pedagogue' changes to the soft /dʒ/ in 'pedagogy'. But surprisingly, even some Nigerian educationists in tertiary institutions pronounce this word wrongly as \*/'pedəgɒɡɪ/ - obviously erroneously retaining the hard /g/ in the stem - instead of the correct /'pedəgɒdʒɪ/.

The stem 'sad' /sæd/ retains its pronunciation in its *comparative* and *superlative* inflections ('sadder' /sædə/ and 'saddest' /sædəst/ or /sædɪst/), and in the derivations 'sadly' /sædli/ and 'sadness' /sædnəs/. It is therefore somewhat surprising that the lone derivation 'sadist' should break ranks with the rest and be pronounced as /'seɪdɪst/ (or /'seɪdəst/) and not \*/sædɪst/, which is the popular pronunciation with most Nigerians - including the highly educated. This erroneous pronunciation is encouraged not in the least by the fact that the orthographically similar 'saddest' is also correctly pronounced as /sædɪst/.

By faulty analogy, many usually reason that 'preferable' must be pronounced like a combination of 'prefer' /prɪ'fɜː/ and a de-stressed 'able' /-əbl/, with a linking 'r' in between. In other words, the base of 'preferable' is pronounced to imitate 'prefer', from which it is coined. The result is the erroneous but prevalent \*/prɪ'fɜːrəbl/, instead of /'prefərəbəl/.

By the same token, 'maintain' /meɪn'teɪn/ + '-ance' /əns/ yields up the erroneous \*/meɪn'teɪnəns/, which is heard much more frequently than the correct /'meɪntənəns/. The stress pattern of the stem word is also naturally imitated in the wrong pronunciation.

The correct pronunciation of 'mechanic' /mɪ'kæɪnɪk/, complete with its stress pattern, is also retained in 'mechanism', yielding the faulty \*/me'kæɪnɪzəm/ instead of the correct /'mekənɪzəm/.

'Machinations' is also popularly patterned after its stem word 'machine' /mə'ʃɪn/ and pronounced as /,mæʃɪ'neɪʃənz/. Although the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* enters /,mækə'neɪʃənz/ or /,mækɪ'neɪʃənz/ as the usual correct pronunciation, and concedes /,mæʃə'neɪʃənz/ as also a possibility, it is this latter form that predominates in Nigerian English - at the expense of the former!

And if 'repair' is correctly pronounced as /rɪ'peə/, then that which cannot be repaired must be logically pronounced as /ɪ - rɪ'peə - rəbəl/. After all, 'repair' remains the stem in the word 'irreparable'! However, this analogical reasoning is as faulty as all the earlier cases in this section, and the correct pronunciation of this word is /ɪ'repərəbəl/.

Surprisingly, or perhaps not so surprisingly, not a few Nigerians refer to someone who plays music /'mjuːzɪk/ as a \*/'mjuːzɪksən/, instead of the correct /'mjuːzɪʃən/. We say not so

surprisingly because the same process of faulty analogy that we have been discussing so far is clearly at work here too.

If 'say' is pronounced /<sup>1</sup>seɪ/, then there is no logical reason why 'says' and 'said' should not be pronounced as \*/<sup>1</sup>seɪz/ and \*/<sup>1</sup>seɪd/. So goes the conscious or unconscious reasoning that produces these wrong variants at the expense of the correct /<sup>1</sup>sez/ and /<sup>1</sup>sed/.

While the majority of Nigerians do pronounce 'biblical' correctly as /<sup>1</sup>bɪblɪkəl/, quite a number, including pastors, lay preachers and other religious folks, continue to wrongly pronounce the word as \*/<sup>1</sup>bʌɪblɪkəl/. And once again, the source of this erroneous version can so obviously be seen as the stem 'Bible' /<sup>1</sup>bʌɪbəl/, whose pronunciation is unconsciously retained (that is, imitated) in the subsequent pronunciation of 'biblical'.

Finally, it is clear that the popular but faulty pronunciation of \*/<sup>1</sup>enəmɪti/ instead of /<sup>1</sup>enmɪti/ for 'enmity' is also the result of faulty analogy to (that is, imitation of) the stem 'enemy', which is correctly pronounced /<sup>1</sup>enəmi/.

### 5.5 *Filth/Filthy, Health/Healthy, Wealth/Wealthy*

<b>Pronunciation Model (A)</b>	<b>Wrongly Pronounced Words (B)</b>	<b>Wrong Pronunciation in Imitation of Model (C)</b>	<b>Correct Pronunciation (D)</b>
worth/worthy / <sup>1</sup> wɜ:θ/, / <sup>1</sup> wɜ:ðɪ/	health / healthy	/ <sup>1</sup> helθ/, */ <sup>1</sup> helðɪ/	/ <sup>1</sup> helθɪ/
	wealth / wealthy	/ <sup>1</sup> welθ/, */ <sup>1</sup> welðɪ/	/ <sup>1</sup> welθɪ/
	filth / filthy	/ <sup>1</sup> filθ/, */ <sup>1</sup> filðɪ/	/ <sup>1</sup> filθɪ/

When it comes to the pronunciation of the adjectives 'filthy', 'healthy' and 'wealthy', the trend just discussed in 5.4 above is reversed. That is, many Nigerians, including even newscasters, erroneously change the voiceless dental fricative sound /θ/ at the end of the nouns to the voiced dental fricative /ð/ in the derived adjectives, thus:

filth /<sup>1</sup>filθ/ → filthy \*/<sup>1</sup>filðɪ/ (*instead of* /<sup>1</sup>filθɪ/)  
 health /<sup>1</sup>helθ/ → healthy \*/<sup>1</sup>helðɪ/ (*instead of* /<sup>1</sup>helθɪ/)  
 wealth /<sup>1</sup>welθ/ → wealthy \*/<sup>1</sup>welðɪ/ (*instead of* /<sup>1</sup>welθɪ/)

This change appears unexplainable at first, until we discover a plausible cause as faulty analogy to the all-too-familiar - and frequently occurring - words 'worth' and 'worthy', which also stand in a noun/adjective relationship, and in which /θ/ in the noun 'worth' *correctly* changes to /ð/ in the adjective 'worthy':

worth /<sup>1</sup>wɜ:θ/ → worthy /<sup>1</sup>wɜ:ðɪ/

### 5.6 Chocolate

Pronunciation Model (A)	Wrongly Pronounced Words (B)	Wrong Pronunciation in Imitation of Model (C)	Correct Pronunciation (D)
coconut /'kəʊkənʌt/	chocolate	*/'tʃəʊkəʊlet/	/'tʃɒklət/

This two-syllable word, which deceptively looks like a three-syllable word, is widely pronounced wrongly as \*/'tʃəʊkəʊlet/, obviously after the pattern of 'coconut', instead of the correct /'tʃɒklət/. Coconuts are common marketplace items grown domestically or growing in the wild. They are also a popular tourist attraction, featuring prominently in many a tourist resort in Nigeria. As a result of all these, the word 'coconut' occurs quite frequently in the vocabulary of Nigerian English. And when 'chocolate' appeared on the horizon in the local confectioner's vocabulary, it was willy-nilly assigned the pronunciation pattern of the 'similarly' structured 'coconut'!

### 5.7 Chef, Chauffeur, Champagne, Chauvinist, Charade, Chic, Architect, Architecture, Archangel, Archetype

Pronunciation Model (A)	Wrongly Pronounced Words (B)	Wrong Pronunciation in Imitation of Model (C)	Correct Pronunciation (D)
church /'tʃɜ:tʃ/	chef	*/'tʃef/	/ʃef/
cheat /'tʃi:t/	chauffeur	*/'tʃəʊfə/	/ʃəʊfə/
chief /'tʃi:f/	champagne	*/'tʃæm'peɪn/	/ʃæm'peɪn/
chair /'tʃeə/	chauvinist	*/'tʃəʊvənɪst/	/ʃəʊvənɪst/
cheer /'tʃiə/	charade	*/'tʃ æ'reɪd/	/ʃə'ra:d/
chain /'tʃeɪn/	chic	*/'tʃɪk/	/ʃi:k/
charcoal /'tʃɑ:kəʊl/	architect	*/'ɑ:tʃətɛkt/	/'ɑ:kətɛkt/
archbishop /'ɑ:tʃ'brɪʃəp/	architecture	*/'ɑ:tʃətɛktʃə/	/'ɑ:kətɛktʃə/
archenemy /'ɑ:tʃ'enəmi/	archangel	*/'ɑ:tʃeɪndʒəl/	/'ɑ:keɪndʒəl/
archery /'ɑ:tʃəri/	archetype	*/'ɑ:tʃɪtaɪp/	/'ɑ:kɪtaɪp/

In English, the spelling sequence 'ch' is pronounced in three different ways, namely: /tʃ/ as in 'chapter' /'tʃæptə/; /k/ as in 'character' /'kærəktə/; and /ʃ/ as in 'chef' /ʃef/. Of these three, /tʃ/ is by far the most widespread, followed by /k/, while a number of words, mostly of French origin, have retained the /ʃ/. With /tʃ/ as the predominant variant, many Nigerians then over-generalize it, frequently at the expense of /ʃ/, and occasionally at the expense of /k/. Thus 'chef', 'chauffeur', 'champagne', 'chauvinist', 'charade' and 'chic' are usually pronounced \*/'tʃef/, \*/'tʃəʊfə/, \*/'tʃæm'peɪn/, \*/'tʃəʊvənɪst/, \*/'tʃ æ'reɪd/ and \*/'tʃɪk/ (in imitation of the words that

correctly have the /tʃ/ sound), instead of the correct /ʃef/, /ʃəʊfə/, /ʃæm'peɪn/, /ʃəʊvənɪst/, /ʃə'rɑ:d/ and /ʃi:k/. And 'architect', 'architecture', 'archangel' and 'archetype' are often erroneously pronounced as \*/ɑ:tʃətekt/, \*/ɑ:tʃətektʃə/, \*/ɑ:tʃeɪndʒəl/ and \*/ɑ:tʃɪtaɪp/, instead of the correct /ɑ:kətekt/, /ɑ:kətektʃə/, /ɑ:kəɪndʒəl/ and /ɑ:kɪtaɪp/ respectively.

**5.8 Mirage, Camouflage, Fuselage, Montage, Reportage**

<b>Pronunciation Model (A)</b>	<b>Wrongly Pronounced Words (B)</b>	<b>Wrong Pronunciation in Imitation of Model (C)</b>	<b>Correct Pronunciation (D)</b>
courage /'kʌrɪdʒ/	mirage	*/'mɪrɑ:dʒ/	/'mɪrɑ:ʒ/
outrage /'aʊtreɪdʒ/	camouflage	*/'kæməflɑ:dʒ/	/'kæməflɑ:ʒ/
age /'eɪdʒ/	fuselage	*/'fju:zələ:dʒ/	/'fju:zələ:ʒ/
luggage /'lʌgɪdʒ/	montage	*/'mɒntɑ:dʒ/	/'mɒntɑ:ʒ/

The vast majority of English words that end in '-age' regularly have the consonant /dʒ/ as their last sound. Just a few examples:

- |                     |                            |
|---------------------|----------------------------|
| age /'eɪdʒ/         | bondage /'bɒndɪdʒ/         |
| courage /'kʌrɪdʒ/   | village /'vɪlɪdʒ/          |
| outrage /'aʊtreɪdʒ/ | marriage /'mæɪrɪdʒ/        |
| luggage /'lʌgɪdʒ/   | drainage /'dreɪnɪdʒ/       |
| haulage /'hɔ:ɪdʒ/   | miscarriage /,mɪs'kæɪrɪdʒ/ |

By sheer faulty analogy then, the majority of Nigerians proceed to pronounce /dʒ/ at the end of every word ending in '-age' in imitation of these model words. Thus 'mirage', 'camouflage', 'fuselage' and 'montage' (just some examples) are willy-nilly wrongly pronounced as \*/'mɪrɑ:dʒ/, \*/'kæməflɑ:dʒ/, \*/'fju:zələ:dʒ/ and \*/'mɒntɑ:dʒ/, instead of the correct /'mɪrɑ:ʒ/, /'kæməflɑ:ʒ/, /'fju:zələ:ʒ/ and /'mɒntɑ:ʒ/ respectively. As for 'reportage', although the dictionary gives both /rɪ'pɔ:tɪdʒ/ and /,repɔ:'tɑ:ʒ/ as variants, only the first pronunciation predictably predominates.

**5.9 Castle, Hustle, Bustle, Pestle, Whistle, Wrestle**

<b>Pronunciation Model (A)</b>	<b>Wrongly Pronounced Words (B)</b>	<b>Wrong Pronunciation in Imitation of Model (C)</b>	<b>Correct Pronunciation (D)</b>
bottle /'bʌtl/	castle	*/'kɑ:stl/	/'kɑ:sl/
kettle /'ketl/	hustle	*/'hʌstl/	/'hʌsəl/
mettle /'metl/	bustle	*/'bʌstl/	/'bʌsl/

settle	/ <sup>1</sup> setl/	pestle	*/ <sup>1</sup> pestl/	/ <sup>1</sup> pesl/
hurtle	/ <sup>1</sup> hɜ:tɫ/	whistle	*/ <sup>1</sup> wɪstɫ/	/ <sup>1</sup> wɪsəl/

Quite a number of English words that have the spelling sequence '-tle' or '-ttle' also have the distinct 't' sound. The following are just a few examples:

brittle	/ <sup>1</sup> brɪtɫ/	bottle	/ <sup>1</sup> bɒtɫ/	little	/ <sup>1</sup> lɪtɫ/
title	/ <sup>1</sup> taɪtɫ/	mettle	/ <sup>1</sup> metɫ/	kettle	/ <sup>1</sup> ketɫ/
beetle	/ <sup>1</sup> bi:tɫ/	battle	/ <sup>1</sup> bætɫ/	spittle	/ <sup>1</sup> spɪtɫ/
subtle	/ <sup>1</sup> sʌtɫ/	mantle	/ <sup>1</sup> mæntɫ/	rattle	/ <sup>1</sup> rætɫ/
settle	/ <sup>1</sup> setɫ/	hurtle	/ <sup>1</sup> hɜ:tɫ/	turtle	/ <sup>1</sup> tɜ:tɫ/

But the 't' is clearly *silent* in a handful of other words that have the same spelling sequence. These include the following:

castle	/ <sup>1</sup> kɑ:səl/	whistle	/ <sup>1</sup> wɪsəl/	wrestle	/ <sup>1</sup> resəl/
pestle	/ <sup>1</sup> pesəl/	hustle	/ <sup>1</sup> hʌsəl/	bustle	/ <sup>1</sup> bʌsəl/

However, since many Nigerians are unaware of any formal features for telling the two groups apart, they are simply overwhelmed by the phenomenon of spelling-pronunciation to erroneously sound the letter 't' in the second group of words the same way they would do for the first group - whereas this 't' should correctly be silent. Thus 'castle', 'hustle', 'bustle', 'pestle', 'whistle', 'wrestle' (and many more of such words) are wrongly pronounced as \*/<sup>1</sup>kɑ:stɫ/, \*/<sup>1</sup>hʌstɫ/, \*/<sup>1</sup>bʌstɫ/, \*/<sup>1</sup>pestɫ/, \*/<sup>1</sup>wɪstɫ/ and \*/<sup>1</sup>restɫ/ respectively, instead of /<sup>1</sup>kɑ:sɪ/, /<sup>1</sup>hʌsɪ/, /<sup>1</sup>bʌsɪ/, /<sup>1</sup>pesɪ/, /<sup>1</sup>wɪsəl/ and /<sup>1</sup>resəl/.

As a useful guide, let us observe that when the spelling sequence is '-ttle' (as in 'bottle') or when '-tle' is preceded by any letter other than 's' (as in 'subtle', 'mantle') the 't' is sounded, but when the sequence is '-stle' (as in 'castle', 'hustle') the 't' is silent.

**5.10 Singer, Singing, Ringing, Wrong, Song, Among, Hang, Banger, Gang**

Pronunciation Model (A)	Wrongly Pronounced Words (B)	Wrong Pronunciation in Imitation of Model (C)	Correct Pronunciation (D)
anger / <sup>1</sup> æŋgə/	singer	*/ <sup>1</sup> sɪŋgə/	/ <sup>1</sup> sɪŋə/
finger / <sup>1</sup> fɪŋgə/	singing	*/ <sup>1</sup> sɪŋgɪŋ/	/ <sup>1</sup> sɪŋɪŋ/
hunger / <sup>1</sup> hʌŋgə/	ringing	*/ <sup>1</sup> rɪŋgɪŋ/	/ <sup>1</sup> rɪŋɪŋ/
angle / <sup>1</sup> æŋgəl/	wrong	*/ <sup>1</sup> rɒŋg/	/ <sup>1</sup> rɒŋ/
bangle / <sup>1</sup> bæŋgəl/	song	*/ <sup>1</sup> sɒŋg/	/ <sup>1</sup> sɒŋ/
bungle / <sup>1</sup> bʌŋgəl/	among	*/ə <sup>1</sup> mʌŋg/	/ə <sup>1</sup> mʌŋ/
wrangle / <sup>1</sup> ræŋgəl/	hang	*/ <sup>1</sup> hæŋg/	/ <sup>1</sup> hæŋ/

linger	/ˈlɪŋɡə/	banger	*/ˈbæŋɡə/	/ˈbæŋə/
single	/ˈsɪŋɡəl/	gang	*/ˈɡæŋɡ/	/ˈɡæŋ/

When an English word *ends* in '-ng', the letter 'g' is usually silent. This is a useful and easy-to-remember guide for the correct pronunciation of such words. Even when the words subsequently take on suffixes, the 'g' still remains silent. But many Nigerians are usually unaware of this. And because the 'g' is clearly pronounced when the '-ng-' sequence occurs within words (as in 'anger' /ˈæŋɡə/, 'finger' /ˈfɪŋɡə/, 'hunger' /ˈhʌŋɡə/, 'angle' /ˈæŋɡəl/, 'bangle' /ˈbæŋɡəl/, 'bungle' /ˈbʌŋɡəl/, 'wrangle' /ˈræŋɡəl/), the consequence is to extend the same - by faulty analogy - to the words where the '-ng' occurs at the end. Thus the words below are all wrongly pronounced as indicated:

singer	*/ˈsɪŋɡə/	instead of	/ˈsɪŋə/
singing	*/ˈsɪŋɡɪŋ/	instead of	/ˈsɪŋɪŋ/
ringing	*/ˈrɪŋɡɪŋ/	instead of	/ˈrɪŋɪŋ/
wrong	*/ˈrɒŋɡ/	instead of	/ˈrɒŋ/
song	*/ˈsɒŋɡ/	instead of	/ˈsɒŋ/
among	*/əˈmʌŋɡ/	instead of	/əˈmʌŋ/
hang	*/ˈhæŋɡ/	instead of	/ˈhæŋ/
banger	*/ˈbæŋɡə/	instead of	/ˈbæŋə/
gang	*/ˈɡæŋɡ/	instead of	/ˈɡæŋ/

Other words ending in '-ng' are also similarly mispronounced.

**5.11 Bomb, Climb, Climber, Comb, Dumb, Numb, Plumber, Tomb, Womb**

<b>Pronunciation Model (A)</b>	<b>Wrongly Pronounced Words (B)</b>	<b>Wrong Pronunciation in Imitation of Model (C)</b>	<b>Correct Pronunciation (D)</b>
assemble /əˈsembəl/	bomb	*/ˈbɒmb/	/ˈbɒm/
emblem /ˈembləm/	climb	*/ˈklaɪmb/	/ˈklaɪm/
humble /ˈhʌmbəl/	climber	*/ˈklaɪmbə/	/ˈklaɪmə/
nimble /ˈnɪmbəl/	comb	*/ˈkəʊmb/	/ˈkəʊm/
number /ˈnʌmbə/	dumb	*/ˈdʌmb/	/ˈdʌm/
shambles /ˈʃæmbəlz/	numb	*/ˈnʌmb/	/ˈnʌm/
slumber /ˈslʌmbə/	plumber	*/ˈplʌmbə/	/ˈplʌmə/
chamber /ˈtʃeɪmbə/	tomb	*/ˈtuːmb/	/ˈtuːm/
	womb	*/ˈwuːmb/	/ˈwuːm/

Again, when an English word *ends* in '-mb', the letter 'b' (just as in the case of letter 'g' in '-ng') is usually silent - another useful and easy-to-remember guide for correct pronunciation. But many Nigerians, including even students of English in tertiary institutions, are again unaware of this - and go on to wrongly make the terminal letter 'b' audible in such words as:

bomb	*/'b <b>omb</b> /	instead of	/'b <b>om</b> /
climb	*/'klai <b>mb</b> /	instead of	/'klai <b>m</b> /
climber	*/'klai <b>mbə</b> /	instead of	/'klai <b>mə</b> /
comb	*/'kəu <b>mb</b> /	instead of	/'kəu <b>m</b> /
dumb	*/'dʌ <b>mb</b> /	instead of	/'dʌ <b>m</b> /
numb	*/'nʌ <b>mb</b> /	instead of	/'nʌ <b>m</b> /
plumber	*/'plʌ <b>mbə</b> /	instead of	/'plʌ <b>mə</b> /
tomb	*/'tu: <b>mb</b> /	instead of	/'tu: <b>m</b> /
womb	*/'wu: <b>mb</b> /	instead of	/'wu: <b>m</b> /
lamb	*/'læ <b>mb</b> /	instead of	/'læ <b>m</b> /
limb	*/'li <b>mb</b> /	instead of	/'li <b>m</b> /
thumb	*/'θʌ <b>mb</b> /	instead of	/'θʌ <b>m</b> /

This again is obviously the result of conscious or unconscious faulty analogy to (that is, imitation of) the numerous other words that have the '-mb-' sequence in which the 'b' is pronounced. A few examples are:

assemble /ə'se <b>mb</b> əl/	emblem /'e <b>mb</b> ləm/	humble /'hʌ <b>mb</b> əl/
nimble /'ni <b>mb</b> əl/	number /'nʌ <b>mb</b> ə/	shambles /'ʃæ <b>mb</b> əlz/
slumber /'slʌ <b>mb</b> ə/	chamber /'tʃe <b>mb</b> ə/	tumble /'tʌ <b>mb</b> əl/.

### 5.12 Pensioner, Questionnaire

Pronunciation Model (A)	Wrongly Pronounced Words (B)	Wrong Pronunciation in Imitation of Model (C)	Correct Pronunciation (D)
pioneer /,pɪə'niə/			
mountaineer /,maʊntɪ'niə/			
auctioneer /,ɔ:kʃə'niə/	pensioner	*/penʃə'niə/	/'penʃənə/
mutineer /,mjʊ:ti'niə/	questionnaire	*/,kwestʃə'niə/	/'kwestʃə'neə/
musketeer /,mʌski'tiə/			
overseer /'əʊvə'siə/			

These two words are typically mispronounced as \*/penʃə'niə/ and \*/,kwestʃə'niə/ respectively by many Nigerians, instead of the correct /'penʃənə/ and /,kwestʃə'neə/, obviously because of

the bandwagon effect of the consistent /-ɪə/ ending in the pronunciation of the following frequently occurring words:

auctioneer /,ɔ:kʃə'niə/	mountaineer /,maʊntɪ'niə/
musketeer /,mʌskɪ'tiə/	mutineer /,mju:ɪ'tiə/
overseer /'əʊvə'siə/	pioneer /,piə'niə/.

The difference between the regular '-eer' ending in the spelling of these words on the one hand and the respective '-er' and '-aire' endings in 'pensioner' and 'questionnaire' on the other hand, which obviously accounts for the difference in pronunciation, is usually not noticed or reckoned with!

### 5.13 *Envelop (v), Rebel (v), Record (v)*

Pronunciation Model (A)	Wrongly Pronounced Words (B)	Wrong Pronunciation in Imitation of Model (C)	Correct Pronunciation (D)
record (n) /'rekɔ:d/	record (v)	*/'rekɔ:d/	/rɪ'kɔ:d/
rebel (n) /'rebl/	rebel (v)	*/'rebl/	/rɪ'bel/
envelope (n) /'enveləʊp/	envelop (v)	*/'enveləʊp/	/ɪm'veləp/

Each of these words has a noun equivalent, with both pronounced differently, thus:

envelope (n) /'enveləʊp/	envelop (v) /ɪm'veləp/
rebel (n) /'rebl/	rebel (v) /rɪ'bel/
record (n) /'rekɔ:d/	record (v) /rɪ'kɔ:d/

In terms of their overall frequency of occurrence in English, the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* ranks 'envelope' (n) as one of the 3,000 most frequently used words in English. 'Envelop' (v), on the other hand, falls outside this range, that is, occurs less frequently than the noun. The dictionary also ranks 'record' (n) as one of the top 1,000 most frequently used words, while 'record' (v) only ranks among the top 3,000.

Thus, with the noun forms of these words occurring more frequently than their verb forms, it is not surprising that many Nigerians are more familiar with the correct pronunciation of these noun forms - which pronunciation is then wrongly imitated and extended to the verb forms as well by faulty analogy.

In the case of 'rebel', although both the noun and the verb fall outside the top-3,000-word range, the noun form predictably occurs a lot more frequently, since it is also regularly used adjectivally (with no change in pronunciation), as in: 'The **rebel** leader was killed in the air raid.' Thus, the more frequently heard and so more familiar pronunciation for the noun and the adjectival is also wrongly extended to the verb.

### 5.14 Porpoise, Tortoise

Pronunciation Model (A)	Wrongly Pronounced Words (B)	Wrong Pronunciation in Imitation of Model (C)	Correct Pronunciation (D)
noise /'nɔɪz/			
poise /'pɔɪz/	porpoise	*/'pɔ:pɔɪs/	/'pɔ:pəs/
poison /'pɔɪzən/	tortoise	*/'tɔ:tɔɪs/	/'tɔ:təs/
choice /'tʃɔɪs/			

A number of very familiar English words with the spelling sequence '-ois-' or '-oic-' have this segment regularly pronounced /-ɔɪz/ or /-ɔɪs/. Some of these are:

noise /'nɔɪz/	boisterous /'bɔɪstərəs/	voice /'vɔɪs/
poise /'pɔɪz/	hoist /'hɔɪst/	moist /'mɔɪst/
poison /'pɔɪzən/	choice /'tʃɔɪs/	moisture /'mɔɪstʃə/

However, 'porpoise' /'pɔ:pəs/ and 'tortoise' /'tɔ:təs/ are notable exceptions. But again, by predictable faulty analogy to (that is, imitation of) the other '-ois-' words listed above in this section, these two words are erroneously pronounced as \*/'pɔ:pɔɪs/ and \*/'tɔ:tɔɪs/ respectively by the vast majority of Nigerians.

### 5.15 Laudable

Pronunciation Model (A)	Wrongly Pronounced Words (B)	Wrong Pronunciation in Imitation of Model (C)	Correct Pronunciation (D)
cloud /'klaʊd/			
proud /'praʊd/	laudable	*/'laʊdəbəl/	/'lə:dəbəl/
loud /'laʊd/			
clout /'klaʊt/			

Impulsive spelling-pronunciation, which is forever at work because of its compelling logic and appeal, usually misleads many into pronouncing 'laudable' as \*/'laʊdəbəl/ instead of the correct /'lə:dəbəl/. Faulty analogy too plays a significant role in the matter, because at a glance the base word 'laud' does have a strong orthographic resemblance to 'loud' /'laʊd/, and the phonetic transcription of this word, as can be seen, is even closer to 'laud' in orthographic appearance! Other words, like 'cloud' /'klaʊd/, 'proud' /'praʊd/ and 'clout' /'klaʊt/, all of which have the same letter and sound sequence as 'loud', simply reinforce the faulty analogy.

### 5.16 *Orchid*

<b>Pronunciation Model (A)</b>	<b>Wrongly Pronounced Words (B)</b>	<b>Wrong Pronunciation in Imitation of Model (C)</b>	<b>Correct Pronunciation (D)</b>
orchard /'ɔ:tʃəd/	orchid	*/'ɔ:tʃɪd/	/'ɔ:kɪd/ or /'ɔ:kəd/

There is the word 'orchard' (a place where fruit trees are grown), and then 'orchid' (a plant that has brightly coloured and unusually shaped flowers). The first word is correctly pronounced /'ɔ:tʃəd/ and the second /'ɔ:kəd/ or /'ɔ:kɪd/. However, 'orchard' is the commoner and more frequently heard word, and its correct pronunciation is therefore generally known. As a result, the same pronunciation is usually wrongly extended by many to the less familiar 'orchid', which is most probably considered close enough orthographically to 'orchard' for the two words to be treated as homophones!

### 5.17 *Country*

<b>Pronunciation Model (A)</b>	<b>Wrongly Pronounced Words (B)</b>	<b>Wrong Pronunciation in Imitation of Model (C)</b>	<b>Correct Pronunciation (D)</b>
count /'kaʊnt/			
counter /'kaʊntə/	country	*/'kaʊntri/	/'kʌntri/
counterfeit /'kaʊntəfɪt/			

If the frequently occurring words 'count' /'kaʊnt/, 'counter' /'kaʊntə/ and 'counterfeit' /'kaʊntəfɪt/ are all pronounced with the diphthong /aʊ/, many Nigerians find it logically compelling to pronounce 'country' as \*/'kaʊntri/ in imitation of these words, instead of the correct /'kʌntri/, since 'country', like all these words, also contains the initial syllable 'count-'.

### 5.18 *Legal, Fatal*

<b>Pronunciation Model (A)</b>	<b>Wrongly Pronounced Words (B)</b>	<b>Wrong Pronunciation in Imitation of Model (C)</b>	<b>Correct Pronunciation (D)</b>
leg /'leg/	legal	*/'legəl/	/'li:gəl/
fat /'fæt/	fatal	*/'fætəl/	/'feɪtl/

Again, if 'leg' and 'fat' are correctly pronounced /'leg/ and /'fæt/ respectively, then 'legal' and 'fatal', which appear as respective orthographic extensions of these two words, must also be logically pronounced after them as \*/'legəl/ and \*/'fætəl/. But this is of course one more

instance of faulty analogy or faulty imitation, and the correct pronunciation of these words is /'li:gəl/ and \*/'fertl/.

### 5.19 Book, Cook, Foot, Good, Hood, Hook, Look, Wood, Wool

Pronunciation Model (A)	Wrongly Pronounced Words (B)	Wrong Pronunciation in Imitation of Model (C)	Correct Pronunciation (D)
boot /'bu:t/	book	*/'bu:k/	/'bʊk/
boob /'bu:b/	cook	*/'ku:k/	/'kʊk/
root /'ru:t/	foot	*/'fu:t/	/'fʊt/
food /'fu:d/	good	*/'gu:d/	/'gʊd/
pool /'pu:l/	hood	*/'hu:d/	/'hʊd/
fool /'fu:l/	hook	*/'hu:k/	/'hʊk/
cool /'ku:l/	look	*/'lu:k/	/'lʊk/
	wood	*/'wu:d/	/'wʊd/
	wool	*/'wu:l/	/'wʊl/

There are no overt rules that determine when the spelling sequence '-oo-' in an English word is to be pronounced as /u:/ or /ʊ/. So, it is rather difficult for the average Nigerian to understand why the following words:

boot /'bu:t/      boob /'bu:b/      root /'ru:t/      food /'fu:d/  
 pool /'pu:l/      fool /'fu:l/      cool /'ku:l/      noon /'nu:n/

are pronounced with the vowel sound /u:/, while these others:

book /'bʊk/      cook /'kʊk/      foot /'fʊt/      good /'gʊd/  
 hood /'hʊd/      hook /'hʊk/      look /'lʊk/      nook /'nʊk/  
 wood /'wʊd/      wool /'wʊl/

are pronounced with /ʊ/. Another inexplicable discovery is that while a good many of the local Nigerian languages (Hausa and Igbo inclusive) *do have* the two vowels /u:/ and /ʊ/, the majority of Nigerians are usually unable to distinguish between them in their English speech. They have no difficulty articulating /u:/, but /ʊ/ generally remains elusive. And this, coupled with the correct /u:/ in the first set of words above, is what causes the second set of words, by unconscious analogy, to be wrongly pronounced respectively as: \*/'bu:k/, \*/'ku:k/, \*/'fu:t/, \*/'gu:d/, \*/'hu:d/, \*/'hu:k/, \*/'lu:k/, \*/'wu:d/ and \*/'wu:l/, instead of the correct forms shown in column (D) in the table in this section.

### 5.20 Gross, Greenwich

Pronunciation Model (A)	Wrongly Pronounced Words (B)	Wrong Pronunciation in Imitation of Model (C)	Correct Pronunciation (D)
cross / <sup>1</sup> kɹɒs/	gross	*/ <sup>1</sup> grɒs/	/ <sup>1</sup> grəʊs/
green / <sup>1</sup> grɪn/	Greenwich	*/ <sup>1</sup> grɪnwtɪʃ/	/ <sup>1</sup> grenɪʃ/

'Cross' /<sup>1</sup>kɹɒs/ is indeed a frequently occurring word in English. According to the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, it ranks among the 2,000 most frequently used *verbs* in both speech and writing; among the 3,000 most frequently used *nouns* in both speech and writing; and among the 2,000 most frequently used *adjectives* in speech. This altogether adds up to an awful amount of frequency! The consequence is that the correct pronunciation of this word is so familiar and so pervasive that it is simply extended by faulty analogy to the orthographically similar but much less frequently occurring 'gross', which is then notoriously mispronounced as /<sup>1</sup>grɒs/ instead of the correct /<sup>1</sup>grəʊs/.

In like manner, the pronunciation of the familiar words 'green' /<sup>1</sup>grɪn/ and 'witch'/'which' /<sup>1</sup>wɪtʃ/ influences the faulty pronunciation of 'Greenwich' as \*/<sup>1</sup>grɪnwtɪʃ/ instead of /<sup>1</sup>grenɪʃ/ or /<sup>1</sup>grɪnɪdʒ/. After all, the word *does* look like an amalgamation of 'green' and 'witch' or 'which'!

### 5.21 Boys, Pens, Dogs, Cars, Is, His, Churches, Children's, Washes, etc

Pronunciation Model (A)	Wrongly Pronounced Words (B)	Wrong Pronunciation in Imitation of Model (C)	Correct Pronunciation (D)
cats / <sup>1</sup> kæts/	boys	*/ <sup>1</sup> bɔɪs/	/ <sup>1</sup> bɔɪz/
cocks / <sup>1</sup> kɒks/	pens	*/ <sup>1</sup> pens/	/ <sup>1</sup> penz/
cups / <sup>1</sup> kʌps/	dogs	*/ <sup>1</sup> dɒgs/	/ <sup>1</sup> dɒgz/
rats / <sup>1</sup> ræts/	cars	*/ <sup>1</sup> kɑ:s/	/ <sup>1</sup> kɑ:z/
nuts / <sup>1</sup> nʌts/	is	*/ <sup>1</sup> ɪs/	/ <sup>1</sup> ɪz/
clocks / <sup>1</sup> klɒks/	his	*/ <sup>1</sup> hɪs/	/ <sup>1</sup> hɪz/
chick's / <sup>1</sup> tʃɪks/	churches	*/ <sup>1</sup> tʃɜ:tʃɪs/	/ <sup>1</sup> tʃɜ:tʃɪz/
kicks / <sup>1</sup> kɪks/	children's	*/ <sup>1</sup> tʃɪldrens/	/ <sup>1</sup> tʃɪldrenz/
coughs / <sup>1</sup> kɒfs/	washes	*/ <sup>1</sup> wɒʃɪs/	/ <sup>1</sup> wɒʃɪz/
<i>etc</i>	<i>etc</i>		

English nouns take on the plural (-s, -es, -ies) and the possessive (-'s) morphemes or markers, while verbs take on the third person singular present tense morpheme (-s, -es, -ies), as in the following examples:

<i>plural morpheme</i>	<i>possessive morpheme</i>	<i>3rd pers. sg. pres. tense morpheme</i>
cats /'kæts/	chick's /'tʃɪks/	coughs /'kɒfs/
cocks /'kɒks/	Pat's /'pæts/	kicks 'kɪks
cars /'kɑ:z/	boy's /'bɔɪz/	kills /'kɪlz/
pencils /'pensəlz/	men's /'menz/	retains /rɪ'teɪnz/
buses /'bʌsɪz/	church's /'tʃɜ:tʃɪz/	washes /'wɒʃɪz/
witches /'wɪtʃɪz/	George's /'dʒɔ:dʒɪz/	tries /'traɪz/

Each of these morphemes, all of which orthographically end in letter 's', is however pronounced in three different ways, namely as /-s/, /-z/ or /-ɪz/ depending on its phonetic environment. These variants are called *allomorphs* because they are semantically similar (they mean the same) but occur in complementary distribution. That is, where one occurs the others cannot:

/-s/, which is voiceless, occurs after words ending in similarly voiceless sounds, except sibilants (hissing sounds), e.g., cats /'kæts/, chick's /'tʃɪks/, coughs /'kɒfs/;

/-z/, which is voiced, occurs after words similarly ending in voiced sounds, except sibilants, e.g., cars /'kɑ:z/, boy's /'bɔɪz/, kills /'kɪlz/;

/-ɪz/, which is also voiced, occurs after words ending in sibilants (that is: /s/, /z/, /ʃ/, /ʒ/, /tʃ/ and /dʒ/), e.g., wishes /'wɪʃɪz/, churches /'tʃɜ:tʃɪz/, judges /'dʒʌdʒɪz/.

However, usually unaware of this simple but somewhat technical point, the majority of Nigerians are simply motivated by *spelling-pronunciation* in the first instance to correctly pronounce the first allomorph, /-s/, when it occurs, and subsequently by *faulty analogy* to pronounce /-z/ as \*/-s/ and /-ɪz/ as \*/-ɪs/. Thus words such as the following are wrongly pronounced in the indicated manner:

boys	*/'bɔɪs/	instead of	/'bɔɪz/
pens	*/'pens/	instead of	/'penz/
dogs	*/'dɒgs/	instead of	/'dɒgz/
cars	*/'kɑ:s/	instead of	/'kɑ:z/
churches	*/'tʃɜ:tʃɪs/	instead of	/'tʃɜ:tʃɪz/
children's	*/'tʃɪldrens/	instead of	/'tʃɪldrenz/
washes	*/'wɒʃɪs/	instead of	/'wɒʃɪz/

By the same token, the frequently occurring 'is' and 'his' are both wrongly pronounced as \*/'ɪs/ and \*/'hɪs/ respectively instead of the correct /'ɪz/ and /'hɪz/.

5.22 *Expect, Examine, Employ, Employer, Employee, Employment, Enable, Encourage, etc:*

Pronunciation Model (A)	Wrongly Pronounced Words (B)	Wrong Pronunciation in Imitation of Model (C)	Correct Pronunciation (D)
elephant /'eləfənt/	expect	*/ek'spekt/	/ɪk'spekt/
engineer /,ɛndʒɪ'nɪə/	examine	*/eg'zæmən/	/ɪg'zæmən/
elegant /'eləgənt/	employ	*/em'plɔɪ/	/ɪm'plɔɪ/
excellent /'eksələnt/	employer	*/em'plɔɪə/	/ɪm'plɔɪə/
energy /'enədʒi/	employee	*/em'plɔɪ-i:/	/ɪm'plɔɪ-i:/
engine /'endʒən/	employment	*/em'plɔɪmənt/	/ɪm'plɔɪmənt/
extra /'ekstrə/	enable	*/e'neɪbəl/	/ɪ'neɪbəl/
enter /'entə/	encourage	*/en'kʌrɪdʒ/	/ɪn'kʌrɪdʒ/
<i>etc</i>	<i>etc</i>		

Very many English words that begin with letter 'e' *do* have this letter distinctly pronounced as /e/. For example:

elephant /'eləfənt/	engineer /,ɛndʒɪ'nɪə/	elegant /'eləgənt/
excellent /'eksələnt/	energy /'enədʒi/	engine /'endʒən/
extra /'ekstrə/	enter /'entə/	elbow /'elbəʊ/

But our careful observation has also revealed that, on the other hand, if an English word beginning with letter 'e' has more than one syllable, and the *first* syllable is completely unstressed (that is, has neither primary nor secondary stress), the letter 'e' is then clearly pronounced as /ɪ/, and not /e/, thus:

enable /ɪ'neɪbəl/	expect /ɪk'spekt/	encourage /ɪn'kʌrɪdʒ/
example /ɪg'zɑ:mpəl/	examine /ɪg'zæmən/	engage /ɪn'geɪdʒ/
employ /ɪm'plɔɪ/	election /ɪ'leɪʃən/	empower /ɪm'paʊə/
enjoy /ɪn'dʒɔɪ/	extend /ɪk'stend/	elaborate /ɪ'læbərət/

However, the ill-informed average Nigerian speaker of English, unaware of this constraint, is first impelled by spelling-pronunciation or coincidence to pronounce the first set of letter 'e' words correctly, and then by faulty analogy, to wrongly pronounce the second set, in the same fashion as the first, as /e/ instead of /ɪ/.

### 5.23 Conclusion, Confusion, Derision, Illusion, Occasion, Provision, Vision, Decision

<b>Pronunciation Model (A)</b>	<b>Wrongly Pronounced Words (B)</b>	<b>Wrong Pronunciation in Imitation of Model (C)</b>	<b>Correct Pronunciation (D)</b>
association /ə,səʊsi'eɪʃən/	conclusion	*/kən'klu:ʃən/	/kən'klu:ʒən/
correction /kə'rekʃən/	confusion	*/kən'fju:ʃən/	/kən'fju:ʒən/
concession /kən'seʃən/	derision	*/dɪ'rɪʃən/	/dɪ'rɪʒən/
confession /kən'feʃən/	illusion	*/ɪ'lu:ʃən/	/ɪ'lu:ʒən/
nation /'neɪʃən/	occasion	*/ə'keɪʃən/	/ə'keɪʒən/
recession /rɪ'seʃən/	provision	*/prə'vɪʃən/	/prə'vɪʒən/
session /'seʃən/	vision	*/'vɪʃən/	/'vɪʒən/
<i>etc</i>	<i>etc</i>		

The vast majority of English words ending in '-tion' and '-ssion', and some of those ending in '-sion' have this ending pronounced as /-ʃən/. For example:

association /ə,səʊsi'eɪʃən/	correction /kə'rekʃən/
concession /kən'seʃən/	confession /kən'feʃən/
nation /'neɪʃən/	recession /rɪ'seʃən/
session /'seʃən/	education /,edʒu'keɪʃən/
information /,ɪnfə'meɪʃən/	mansion /'mænʃən/
tension /'tenʃən/	pension /'penʃən/

On the other hand, many of the words ending in '-sion' have this ending pronounced as /-ʒən/, without any obvious reason accounting for this difference in pronunciation. These include:

conclusion /kən'klu:ʒən/	confusion /kən'fju:ʒən/
derision /dɪ'rɪʒən/	illusion /ɪ'lu:ʒən/
occasion /ə'keɪʒən/	provision /prə'vɪʒən/
vision /'vɪʒən/	decision /dɪ'sɪʒən/
division /dɪ'vɪʒən, dɪ'vɪʒən/	invasion /ɪn'veɪʒən/

However, because of: (1) the bandwagon effect of the preponderance of words with the /-ʃən/ ending in comparison to those ending in /-ʒən/; (2) the absence of an overt clue to tell when '-sion' should be pronounced as /-ʃən/ or /-ʒən/; and (3) the general absence of the voiced palato-alveolar fricative /ʒ/ in the local Nigerian languages, many Nigerians simply over-generalize the /-ʃən/ ending and wrongly apply it to the second group of words above.

5.24 *Bona Fide, Epitome, Cliché, Machete, Coupe*

Pronunciation Model (A)	Wrongly Pronounced Words (B)	Wrong Pronunciation in Imitation of Model (C)	Correct Pronunciation (D)
make / <sup>1</sup> meɪk/			
take / <sup>1</sup> teɪk/	bona fide	*/ <sub>1</sub> bəʊnə 'faɪd/	/ <sub>1</sub> bəʊnə 'faɪdi/
date / <sup>1</sup> deɪt/	epitome	*/ɪ'pɪtə <b>m</b> /	/ɪ'pɪtə <b>mi</b> /
tide / <sup>1</sup> taɪd/	cliché	*/'kli:tʃ/	/'kli:ʃeɪ/
ride / <sup>1</sup> raɪd/	machete	*/ <sup>1</sup> mætʃet/	/mə'ʃeti/
bake / <sup>1</sup> beɪk/	coupe	*/ <sup>1</sup> ku:p/	/'ku:peɪ/
etc			

The letter 'e' at the end of the vast majority of English words is silent, as in the examples:

make / <sup>1</sup> meɪ <b>k</b> /	accelerate /ək'seləreɪ <b>t</b> /	cake / <sup>1</sup> keɪ <b>k</b> /
take / <sup>1</sup> teɪ <b>k</b> /	shake / <sup>1</sup> ʃeɪ <b>k</b> /	wade / <sup>1</sup> weɪ <b>d</b> /
date / <sup>1</sup> deɪ <b>t</b> /	bathe / <sup>1</sup> beɪ <b>ð</b> /	rake / <sup>1</sup> reɪ <b>k</b> /
tide / <sup>1</sup> taɪ <b>d</b> /	quake / <sup>1</sup> kweɪ <b>k</b> /	nape / <sup>1</sup> neɪ <b>p</b> /
ride / <sup>1</sup> raɪ <b>d</b> /	hate / <sup>1</sup> heɪ <b>t</b> /	precede /prɪ'si:d/
bake / <sup>1</sup> beɪ <b>k</b> /	snake / <sup>1</sup> sneɪ <b>k</b> /	joke / <sup>1</sup> dʒəʊ <b>k</b> /

But a handful of words ending in letter 'e', especially words of foreign origin, have this last letter pronounced. This is called the accented 'e':

bona fide      epitome      cliché      machete      coupe

However, by faulty analogy to the words with the unaccented terminal 'e', many Nigerians pronounce these words wrongly by not accenting the 'e', as:

bona fide	*/ <sub>1</sub> bəʊnə 'faɪd/	instead of	/ <sub>1</sub> bəʊnə 'faɪ <b>di</b> /
epitome	*/ɪ'pɪtə <b>m</b> /	instead of	/ɪ'pɪtə <b>mi</b> /
cliché	*/'kli:tʃ/	instead of	/'kli:ʃeɪ/
machete	*/ <sup>1</sup> mætʃet/	instead of	/mə'ʃe <b>ti</b> /
coupe	*/ <sup>1</sup> ku:p/	instead of	/'ku:pe <b>ɪ</b> ./

5.25 *Chassis, Précis, Debris*

<b>Pronunciation Model (A)</b>	<b>Wrongly Pronounced Words (B)</b>	<b>Wrong Pronunciation in Imitation of Model (C)</b>	<b>Correct Pronunciation (D)</b>
axis /'æksəs/			
analysis /ə'næləsəs/	chassis	*/'tʃæsəs/	/'ʃæsi:/
emphasis /'emfəsəs/	précis	*/'preisəs/	/'preisi:/
oasis /əv'eisəs/	debris	*/'debris/	/'debri:/
crisis /'kraɪsəs/			
lexis /'leksəs/			

The letter 's' is sounded in the majority of words that have the '-is' sequence of letters at the end, as in the following examples:

axis /'æksəs/                      analysis /ə'næləsəs/                      emphasis /'emfəsəs/  
 oasis /əv'eisəs/                      crisis /'kraɪsəs/                      lexis /'leksəs/

But by faulty analogy once more (that is, imitation of the model words in column A above), the three words 'chassis', 'précis' and 'debris', in which the 's' happens to be silent, are popularly pronounced wrongly as \*/'tʃæsəs/, \*/'preisəs/ and \*/'debris/ respectively, instead of the correct /'ʃæsi:/, /'preisi:/ and /'debri:/.

5.26 *Aged (adj.), Blessed (adj.)*

<b>Pronunciation Model (A)</b>	<b>Wrongly Pronounced Words (B)</b>	<b>Wrong Pronunciation in Imitation of Model (C)</b>	<b>Correct Pronunciation (D)</b>
aged (v) /'eɪdʒd/	aged (adj.)	*/'eɪdʒd/	/'eɪdʒəd, 'eɪdʒɪd/
blessed (v) /'blest/	blessed (adj.)	*/'blest/	/'blesəd, 'blesɪd/

The past and progressive tense forms of the majority of English verbs can be used adjectivally to pre-modify nouns (and are then called participial adjectives). When this happens there is usually no change in pronunciation, for example:

a *trusted* friend                      a *dying* tradition  
 an *educated* man                      the *crumbling* house  
*imported* goods                      my *ageing* parents

However, 'aged', 'blessed' and 'learned' are notable exceptions, and have the following variations in their pronunciation:

- 1a. aged (*v*) /'eɪdʒd/ → He had *aged* overnight.  
 b. aged (*adj*) /'eɪdʒd/ (how old someone is) → She was *aged* ten at the time.  
 c. aged (*adj*) /'eɪdʒəd, 'eɪdʒɪd/ (old; elderly) → I live with my *aged* parents.
- 2a. blessed (*v*) /'blest/ → The priest *blessed* the wine.  
 b. blessed (*adj*) /'blesəd, 'blesɪd/  
 (made holy; revered) → the *blessed* Virgin Mary
- 3a. learned/learnt (*v*) /'lɜːnd, 'lɜːnt/ → He *learnt* about the interview.  
 b. learned (*adj*) /'lɜːnəd/ or /'lɜːnɪd/  
 (widely read and knowledgeable) → a *learned* professor

With the exception of 'learned' (*adj*) - the correct pronunciation of which is generally known because lawyers are forever making reference to their '*learned* colleagues' - many Nigerians are again compelled by faulty analogy to wrongly pronounce the adjectives 'aged' and 'blessed' as \*/'eɪdʒd/ and \*/'blest/ respectively, exactly like their past tense equivalents.

## 7. Conclusion

Our analyses above clearly reveal that indeed a lot of the pronunciation errors in the English of many Nigerians result from faulty analogy to (that is, *imitation of*) other words related to or resembling the errant words in one way or another. This is also the case with the numerous other types of errors yielded up in the data (but discussed elsewhere). These are *morphological/lexical; spelling; syntactic/collocational; semantic; and interference-induced*.

The pronunciation errors resulting from faulty analogy fall into the following broad categories:

- (1) Those that involve different groups of similarly spelt words, in which the familiar and correct pronunciation patterns of one group are erroneously transferred to the second group. This is by far the predominant category (see 5.1, 5.2, 5.3, 5.7, 5.8, 5.9, 5.10, 5.11, 5.14, 5.17, 5.18, 5.19, 5.20 and 5.21).
- (2) Those that involve a change in the pronunciation of the stem word when a suffix is added to it. But many are largely unaware of this change and therefore do not effect it (see 5.4).
- (3) Those in which the pronunciation of the word changes with a change in word class (from noun to verb or from verb to adjective). But again most speakers are unaware of this change - and so fail to effect it (see 5.13 and 5.26).

We conclude that lack of *awareness* of faulty analogy as a linguistic phenomenon and a formidable source of error ranks prominently as part of the bane of correct usage among L2 users

of English in general (with our focus on Nigerian English). This view was first emphasized at the conclusion of our detailed discussion of the tyranny of faulty analogy on the morphological/lexical level (Okoro, 2011c):

Our view here is that faulty analogy and the resulting errors have persisted because the majority of Nigerian users of English are not overtly aware of the inappropriateness of applying its inherent logic to something as illogical as (the English) language. And on this account, matters are not at all helped by the fact that – to the best of our knowledge – faulty analogy is not listed formally as a topic in any classroom curriculum at any level of teaching in Nigeria. Therefore, it hardly receives any mention, and thus continues to operate as an unacknowledged – even unrecognized – source of error at all levels of language use among Nigerians.

Creating this awareness right from the early stages of the formal learning of the language is most certainly the necessary first step in addressing the problem. We therefore recommend the *formal* teaching of faulty analogy in the school system and drawing attention to its various forms from the first year of secondary school - by which learning stage pupils would have become receptive enough to clearly understand the phenomenon and its manifestations.

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