Nigerian English in Schneider's Dynamic Model

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Abstract

This study addresses the relationship between the formation and development of Nigerian English and the phases proposed in Schneider's (2007) Dynamic theory. In the present study, the propositions of the Model with respect to the formation and growth of Nigerian English are examined and evaluated in the perspective of the contact theory of the evolution of postcolonial varieties of English. It draws attention to properties associated with Nigerian English within the conceptualisation of the Model, focussing on the twin conditions of *sociolinguistic conditions* and *linguistic effects* proposed in the Model, indicating areas which need to be updated. The result critiques the theory and suggests new dimensions for future meta-theoretical development.

Keywords: Schneider's Dynamic Model; Nigerian English

Introduction

Research on Varieties of English continues to be stimulating, from the debates on ideologies, to tools and to case studies of individual varieties. At the centre stage is the concept of New Englishes, World Englishes or, in the model under study, Postcolonial Englishes. An interesting outcome of the intellectual debates associated with these concepts is that a new investigative paradigm of synchronic English linguistics is constituted; and it has grown rapidly. Schneider's (2007) Dynamic Model belongs to this paradigm, and addresses contact-induced changes as the basis of the developmental history of Postcolonial Englishes (See also Schneider, 2003). Thus, culture contact begins the history of these varieties of English. It correlates factors specifiable in terms of contact intensity according to Thomason (2001). It is considered that the structural effects of language contact depend on social conditions, and history (external to language); and the fate of speaker communities may induce linguistic changes as well. But the generalisations represent tendencies and not rules, such that subjectivity may not be ruled out especially when faced with applications to individual cases. In language contact ecology, a "feature pool" is composed; and "competition of features" is inherent (Mufwene, 2001, 2008). Which features are selected depend on a complex imprecise equation of complex and contingent factors; but selected features need time to stabilise (notwithstanding the continuing competition); and there are stages intermediate between selection and stabilisation. The mechanisms

for the composition of the "feature pool" may be referred to as "accommodation"; while "identity" may be the logical entity underlying the mechanism (cf. Schneider 2007, pp. 26-27).

Further to the foregrounding we provide in this introduction, it may be perceivable that an ever-present force in contact ecology is diffusion; and language and culture boundaries are semi-permeable, permitting osmotic forces. Diffusion might have vertical dimensions (from parents to offspring), and horizontal dimensions (from speaker to speaker). Dynamism may be about the changes which take place over time in both dimensions and with respect to contact and associated factors. In such ecology, the following may be considered major contributors: languages and/or dialects (with different degrees of language contact intensity; communicative economics (needs and demands); power/pressure – institutions and institutional bias to language and/or language user, prestige and status, direction of social mobility, attitudes – societal and institutional, etc.; and topography, demography and social and cultural stratification. In general, there's a priority of extra-linguistic determinants in contact situations. Contact situation or contact ecology, for linguistics, may therefore be made up of the totality of forms and variants brought by individuals; the aggregation of forms and variants brought by participating speaker communities; and, by implication, the totality and aggregation of individual and community worldviews and experiences, the cognitive minds. In such ecology, the number of participating language communities, in principle, ranges from 2 to n. it is concatenating the inter-determinisms, relationships, interplay and contributions of these complex of factors (noted above) that the framework undertakes, and highlights systematically the commonalities in the rooting and development of postcolonial Englishes.

The present task is to evaluate the stipulations of Schneider's (2007) Dynamic Model, paying particular attention to the applications made of the theory to the case of Nigerian English as well as the capacity of the theory to offer universal explications to postcolonial Englishes and contact linguistics. In this study, a synthesis of the proposed five phases is provided and effort is made to examine the properties of each of the two conditions uppermost in the scale, namely, "sociolinguistic conditions" and "linguistic effects" focusing on phases 4 and 5. The study demonstrates how they are instantiated in the Nigerian experience, and re-evaluates the positioning of Nigerian English on the developmental scale suggested by the Model. The research is substantiated drawing from documented sources and earlier research findings; and the outcome, among others, updates Schneider's submissions on Nigerian English and redefines Nigerian English within his framework.

Nigerian English: Historical Foundation

For the concern of this study, it appears pragmatic to provide notes on the historical foundation of Nigerian English. Such notes are important for two main reasons, among others; namely, to highlight the nature of the early contact situation that constitutes this New English and account for its heterogeneity. This makes it easier to perceive a relationship between this variety of English and the requirement for diversification enshrined in phase v of the Dynamic Model. It also corroborates the Model's standpoint on speech community – defined along ethnic lines – as against country or nation (cf. Schneider, 2003, pp. 242-243). More specifically, the Model does not target an entire country, as in the "Circles" model proposed in Kachru (1990), among others: also Kachru's model does not exhaust the list of countries critical to the theory and does not discuss the defining linguistic features.it is also noted that the model "does not overtly position social and ethnic varieties" (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008, p. 30).

Following archaeological evidence (Ogundele, 1995), people were already living in the South-western region of Nigeria by 9000 B.C. and in the Eastern region at some earlier date. They lived as independent states or autonomous kingdoms. The early kingdoms include the Igbo kingdom, with Nri as its centre; the Efik kingdom, with Calabar as its centre; the Yoruba kingdom, with its centre at Oyo; the Benin kingdom, the Hausa-Fulani states, Nupe, and Kanem-Bornu states. Each of these autonomous political entities had its own culture and language, which form the early platform upon which early European interest groups mounted – first, the Portuguese and later, the English – marking the beginnings and foundations of new culture and language contacts in what was then the Niger Area. Between the sixteenth and the nineteenth century, Britain had effectively occupied this area; and during the Scramble for Africa, the Berlin Conference of about 1885 had awarded it to Britain; so, it became known as a British Protectorate. Thus, the independent nations and kingdoms of Nigeria fell under the government of Britain. In 1914, these autonomous ethnic nationalities in the north and the south of the Niger Area were fused into one polity – and called Nigeria – by the British colonial masters. It is, thus, the amalgamation of the northern and southern Niger Area that marks the assumption of the Nigerian polity. It attained independence in 1960, and became a republic in 1963.

The early linguistic contact crucial to the formation of Nigerian English is dated at about the sixteenth century, as may be noted from the above paragraph. By this date Nigerian English was being founded. It evolved through the contacts of Englishmen with Nigerians living along the coastal regions, in respect to commerce, between European traders and Nigerians (see also Jowitt, 2008); and later, evangelisation and education, etc. Spencer's (1971, p. 9, cf. Banjo, 1995) report on this early contact with Nigerian coastal dwellers indicates that "as early as 1554 Africans were taken back to England to learn English, in order to assist future trading expeditions as interpreters".

It is notable that this early contact situation involved varieties of English, not monolithic English: native and non-native varieties, as well as standard and non-standard varieties were involved. Specifically, speakers of different accents, such as London, Cockney, Yorkshire, Birmingham, Irish, etc. were involved. Also involved are non-native speakers of English, such as Germans, Dutch, French, Danish, Greeks, etc., who were missionaries, technicians, doctors, sailors, traders, etc. (cf. Gut, 2004, Jowitt, 1991). In addition, speakers of standard forms that might be the precursor to RP were involved. There is therefore no doubt that the contact ecology was a complex one right from its inception. The contact equation gets rather fiendishly complicated when one considers the variables of the indigenous languages and their numerous regional dialects. In general, more than 400 indigenous languages are involved and contributing severally and corporately to the contact ecology, which itself spans a land mass of close to 0.95 million km^2; and the southern regions being very densely populated. In general, these Englishes, these ancestral languages, these factors, the participating variables in the formation of the new contact linguistic ecology – do, no doubt, conspire in the emergence, development and growth of what is now Nigerian English, the official language of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. This brief sociolinguistic history reveals a significant level of diversity in the Nigerian English experience. It must be taken as sociolinguistic realism that the period between the sixteenth and twentieth centuries in this experience is significant to achieve distinctive dialects formation. In other words, this period is obviously significant to give rise to sociolinguistically meaningful dialect differences. However, one totally agrees with Schneider (2007, p. 2) that

> what is perhaps even more interesting is that our virtual traveller will encounter *native speakers of English* not only in Canada and New Zealand, where this would be expected, but also *in Nigeria* and Singapore and many more parts of the world in which English is not an ancestral language [added emphasis]

Notes on the Dynamic Model

This section provides a synopsis of Schneider's (2007) Dynamic Model, highlighting the nature and structure of the framework, in two parts: first, an overview and secondly, the developmental phases.

An Overview

Schneider (2007) discusses the development of postcolonial varieties of English from the perspective of contact linguistics, and proposes a Dynamic Model as an investigative paradigm and for their explication (see also Schneider 2003). The theory is built around language contact induced change, within which the structural effects of language contact are largely dependent

upon social conditions, conventional history, and the fate of speaker communities, as earlier noted. The rationale for the Model is the belief that it captures the processes which underlie the development and growth of varieties of English, thus:

> the model which I am proposing here is more ambitious in claiming that there is a shared underlying process which drives their formation, accounts for many similarities between them, and appears to operate whenever a language is transplanted ... as is the very nature of the model, it is not intended to account for all observable details, nor does it apply equally to all individual instances of the process it describes. (Schneider, 2007, p. 29)

Even though the model makes no claims to the details of the development of individual instances, it does provide a basis for more insightful investigation of individual cases, with little modifications. In general, Schneider tries to demystify the complexity of the eco-linguistic disturbances and the correspondingly evolving of new equilibra by identifying the essential parameters implicit in the new linguistic ecology which act as stimuli driving the operation, construction and reconstruction of change; and scientifically articulates the dynamics of the changes in accessible phases plotted in points-in-time. Thus, as noted, he identifies the systematic commonalities in the rooting and development of postcolonial Englishes, viewing the interaction and interrelationship of the eco-linguistic parameters in terms of Mufwene's (2001) notion of "feature pool", a population of linguistic patterns (cf. Van Rooy, 2010). The Model does not only show capacity for explicating Postcolonial Englishes, it is also predictive of the ecology of contact linguistics in general: it indicates capacity to predict possibilities not instantiated. For example, its predictive potential includes that each time a language is transplanted the same processes might be expected to occur. The processes, on their part, are unidirectional and non-reversible. How the predictions may achieve precision appears a daunting challenge, which itself is intrinsic to the nature of the phenomenon it investigates, especially because the participating variables are rather numerous and the details of how they interact in the ecology defy quantitative enunciations[1]. That the model does not pretend this fact is obvious:

> All generalisations in the area of language contact...are essentially probabilistic in nature ...they are not firm rules ... whether as linguistic predictions and/or structural effects, but would refer to or account for the majority of observable cases. (Schneider, 2007, p. 22)

As noted, the standpoint of the Model is the speech community, not the nation (cf. Schneider 2003, pp. 242-243), as in earlier models, such as the more traditional ENL-ESL or the Circles model proposed in Kachru 1990, among others. The concept of speech community is defined along ethnic lines.

This is important to the Nigerian case, not only because of its ethnic diversity but because the contact experience can be shown to have occurred approximately along such lines.

The Model promulgates five phases in the development and evolution of Postcolonial varieties of English. These developmental phases are: Foundation, Exonormative stabilisation, Nativisation, Endonormative stabilisation, and Differentiation. The phases are linear or quasi-linear, such that these varieties of English progress(ed) from one stage to the next, in order, and on to the last phase – that is, Differentiation. Each of these phases is associated with four components; namely, socio-political background, identity construction, sociolinguistic conditions, and linguistic effects. The components also suggest hierarchical ordering and are contingent; but within each component, there are parameters; which, taken together, are like 'bundles of features', unordered, at least explicitly. The Model views the achievement or otherwise of the five phases as yardsticks or some form of indices for estimating the developmental history of postcolonial Englishes as well as assigning certain level of accomplishments to them in respect to their growth. It is on account of this perspective that the framework emphasises that Nigerian English is strongly nativised:

> Both English and Pidgin have acquired first-language *native speakers*. English is a family language, and thus becomes the *mother tongue* of children born to these families... (Schneider 2007, p. 207) [added emphasis]

In the section that follows, the highlights of the respective phases (and their components) formulated in the model are outlined.

The Developmental Phases

The five developmental phases in the growth of Postcolonial Englishes, according to the Model understudy, are presented in this section, outlining the main characteristics of each, beginning with the earliest phase, Foundation.

Phase i: foundation

The *Socio-political background* of this phase include that a significant group of settlers bring English to a new territory, which begins to be used in this non-English speaking territory/country. This owes to the founding of military forts and/or trading outposts or immigrant settlements, motivated by political and economic forces at home. The initial migrant population may be small but grow, especially as colonisation commences; and relationships between immigrant and indigenous groups may fall somewhere between friendly to hostile. Identity consciousness sets in, and both groups distinguish "us" and "others": while the immigrants see themselves as members of a British society

who are representing their homeland in a new territory, and may soon return or would stay and replicate their homeland culturally; the indigenous group, on their part, regard themselves as the only rightful occupants and owners of the territory.

Then "a complex contact situation emerges" (Schneider, 2007, p. 34) as settlers settle in a new territory where indigenous languages are spoken: the first type is dialect contact involving the immigrant population who have come from British dialect backgrounds. The second type arises from the interaction of settlers within the indigenous community; slaves and labourers in plantation colonies are as affected as the indigenous group. Communication between the groups may remain exclusively utilitarian and restricted, while intra-group communication thrives, due to the inability to understand each other; and cross-cultural communication is only required in few contexts, such as trading, or some topics, but only a few individuals are involved. Most members of the settler group may not bother to learn the language of the territory. Missionaries are exceptions to this. Instead, the task of learning the invaders language is laid on the invaded indigenous group. Settlers may compel indigenous groups to learn the settlers' language; and may train them as interpreters to use them for administration; and this may mark the emergence of marginal bilingualism among the indigenous population; especially as some items of the settler language begins to diffuse through daily contact and natural L_2 acquisition.

For the *Linguistic effects,* "...three processes are worth observing at this stage are Koineization, incipient pidginization and toponymic borrowing" (Schneider, 2007, p. 35). In the course of time speakers will mutually adjust their pronunciation and lexical usage to facilitate understanding – a process generally known as "koineization", the emergence of a relatively homogenous 'middle-of-the road' variety" (Schneider, 2007, p. 35). Settlers' language development at this initial stage may tend towards linguistic homogeneity. An interdialect may characterise this stage – and this shows in phonetic simplification, and grammatical focusing – a stage involving largely informal oral contexts. The process of koineization may be checked by the involvement of higher status settlers whose adjustment towards vernacular speakers may be minimal. A lingua franca is expected to emerge with the newly emerging contact between people who do not share a language. "Thus, in trade colonies, in particular, incipient pidginization is an option" (Schneider, 2007, p. 36). In general, indigenous languages may not influence the language of the settlers at the early stage of contact; however, the names they gave to places are borrowed, and such tend to stick even if the indigenous culture is annihilated.

Phase ii: Exonormative Stabilization

At the *Socio-political background* or this phase, settlers/or colonies stabilise politically, and their dominance begins to be asserted. English is formally established as the medium of education, administration, law, etc. and is regularly spoken in the new territory. In the course of time, geographical expansion follows to accommodate the expanding economic prosperity of the settlers and a growing number of natives seek to enhance their socio economic fortunes. Also the settlers retain a consciousness of belonging elsewhere (i.e. Britain) and not the new territory, with added consciousness of the difference which their experience of being abroad brings between then and their contemporaries in the homeland. "... it can be assumed that at this stage the identity of the local British community expands to encompass something like 'British plus'" (Schneider, 2007, p. 37) While they may retain Britain as "home", for example, an imagined "myth of return" has set in. Children of mixed ethnic parentage are born, who naturally "develop a hybrid cultural identity" (Schneider, 2007, p. 37) but children with only British parentage align themselves with the culture of their place of birth. Within the native group, things are no longer the same: their English-speaking/knowing locals are enriched with new worldview which their new contact provides, and gives them an edge over other locals, who may not be so "privileged". Some feeling of higher social status steps in, which may mark the beginning of "segregational elitism" (Schneider, 2007, p. 37) between the English speaking/knowing natives and other natives. Bilingualism begins to spread among the natives, through increased contact with the settlers and through education (especially in trade and exploitation colonies). The standard linguistic norms of Britain are maintained in education; and the learners group develop interchange characterised and enriched by indigenous vocabulary and interchange patterns.

Core *Linguistic effects* indicate that cross-cultural language contacts begin to add to vocabulary borrowing, syntax and morphological structures; and the settler group gradually modify their spoken English to accord with local realities. If the borrowing of names is taken to mean borrowing denotative entities, this time linguistically meaningful words are borrowed, which marks the "onset of linguistic transfer" (Schneider, 2007, p. 39). This begins with adopting names for objects which the settlers encounter for the first time in the new territory; a linguistic expression for their being "British plus". It is such borrowings that are characterised with 'isms', such as Americanism, Nigerianism, and so on. Among natives who know English, structural nativisation emerges slowly as they shift to a new language; and British settlers may classify the speech of locals as "more or less 'good' or 'broken' depending upon its communicative effectiveness" (Schneider, 2007, p. 40).

Phase iii: Nativisation

Schneider (2007, p. 40) surmises that this phase marks "... the central phase of both cultural and linguistic transformation."

For settlers, this marks a phase of striving towards increasing cultural and linguistic independence from Britain; that is, "when the 'mother country' is gradually not felt that much of a 'mother' any longer, that the offspring will start going their own ways, politically and linguistically ..." (Schneider, 2007, pp. 40-41). Characteristically, political debates emerge as the wind of independence – political and linguistic – gathers momentum. Parties that welcome the change are pitched against the conservatives who would campaign for a return to status quo ante.

In the former British Empire, this stage has found a conventional political expression, useful to both sides and conforming to the perception of their mutual relationship, in the form of the 'Common Wealth of Nations', especially in its early phase Schneider. (2007, p. 41)

"The movement toward psychological, political, and economic independence and its consequences significantly affects the identity constructions of parties involved, resulting in a kind of 'semi-autonomy'" (Schneider, 2007, p.41), and the gap between settlers and natives reduces; while "differences in cultural background, ethnicity, language, prosperity, and lifestyle ... are gradually reduced in importance" (Schneider, 2007, p. 41). Thus, contacts between both groups are common and regular, involving "significant portions of both groups in various situations, roles, and contexts" (Schneider, 2007, p. 42); and certain degree of accommodation is employed for effective or successful communication. The labour of accommodation may be heavy on the indigenous group – this occurs as acculturation for learner groups, essentially those indigenous groups; and the degree of acculturation varies from person to person, group to group and territory to territory. The pressure on natives to accommodate increases, leading to widespread second language acquisition of English; and, subsequently, to language shift. One consequence of this is the attrition or even death of local languages. Among the settler group, those who may be less conservative accommodate towards the English variety of the native group – an innovative variety, which borrows indigenous language vocabulary and other features. The conservative settler group may insist on metropolitan norms, rejecting the innovations, but the metropolitan norm at this stage is already clearly "an external one" (Schneider, 2007, p. 43). Complaints about deviations from the 'norms' take the centre stage and conflict of opinions arise over them - what was called "'complaints tradition' by Milroy (1985) – "the stereotypical statement by conservative language observers that linguistic usage keeps deteriorating, that in the new country 'corrupt' usage can be heard which should be avoided ... in any case, in the

course of time, the readiness to accept localised forms gradually also in formal contexts increases inexorably" (p. 43).

> ...This stage results in the heaviest effects on the restructuring of the English language itself" as "the acts of identity'... are not only a matter of perception, but they have formal realization in lexicalization, in syntax, and in discourse, styles and genres ... it is at the heart of the birth of a new, formally distinct PCE [Postcolonial English]. (Schneider, 2007, p. 44)

Changes are most conspicuous at the level of vocabulary "predominantly, loans from indigenous languages" (Schneider, 2007, p. 44). "The speech of indigenous groups show marked local accent, often identified as transfer phenomena from the phonology of indigenous languages ... with proximity to native speaker's pronunciation forms increasing in correlation with status, education, and frequency of interaction with them... In the course of time...some local pronunciation forms are adopted more wisely and begin to develop into a local form (not necessarily accepted as formal norm) of pronunciation" (Schneider, 2007, p. 44). Changes in morphology and syntax show constructions peculiar to a given territory (e.g., "instead of him to travel home" used in Nigeria; "two's bread" used in Fiji). "It is noteworthy that in this process speakers are not merely passive recipients of linguistic forms drawn from input varieties, exposed to processes of contact-induced change such as interference; in contrast, they function as "language builders" actively involved in the creation of something new. At this stage the gap between 1st language and 2nd language forms diminish gradually. The early stage of indigenisation may target modification of lexico-grammatical constraints; lexical chunks or bundles are built with characteristic collocations which include the emergence of phrasal nouns and phrasal verbs in the speech of indigenous groups, especially. The innovation may include changes in the pragmatics of language use, modifying cultural conventions of communication, usually by borrowing from indigenous languages in such contact situation. They may include "distinctive conventions for greetings, the expression of politeness and status differences..." (Schneider, 2007, p. 47) Mixing of codes occur not only as a marker of bilingualism as in codeswitching, but as an identity carrier. "Mixed codes apparently originate when native language of IDG strand [the indigenous group] is strongly rooted in the community (and possibly receives official support) and English also enjoys high prestige (but access to it is limited)" (Schneider, 2007, p. 48).

Phase iv: Endonormative Stabilisation

Typically this phase is marked with cultural self-reliance and associated new identity construction sequel to political separation and political independence. It presupposes political independence for a local linguistics norm to be accepted also in formal contexts, as it is necessary that a community is entitled
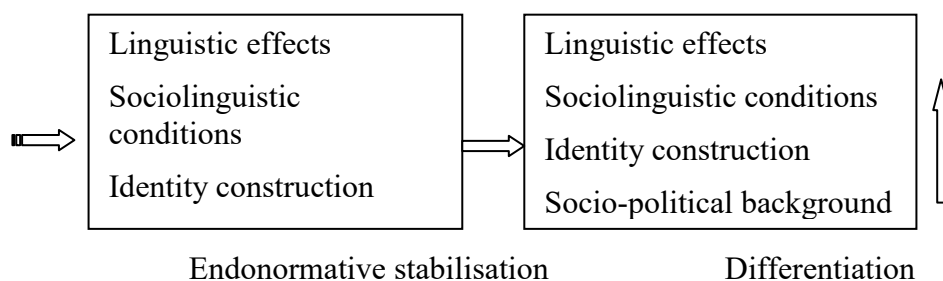
to decide language matters as affairs of its own. At this stage also the settler group perceives themselves as members of a newly born nation, which includes the identity shared by the indigenous group. This new identity thus emphasises the new territory and not historical background or settler history. Ethnic boundaries in the new identity/territory are also de-emphasised. "In a collective psychological sense, this is the birth of a new nation – [where nation is a mental construct] – emphasising shared traits and ignoring internal differences" (Schneider, 2007, p. 49). In multicultural young nations, this marks a phase of "nation building", often as an explicit political goal, which the society shares in general but it might be optional for individuals. The newly achieved psychological independence and acceptance of indigenous identity correlates "locally rooted linguistic self-confidence" (Schneider, 2007, p. 49) and gradual adoption and acceptance of local forms of English, as a means of expression of that identity; and local norms, once stigmatised by British norms, begin to gain acceptance even in formal usage, especially, with vocabulary items, and hesitantly with syntactic elements. However, traces of previous norms may remain, especially among more conservative groups; but such reservations, including the "complaint tradition" take a minority position. In terms of terminology, "English in x" is substituted with "x English", x a linguistic community. Following a high degree of cultural and linguistic independence, there's the emergence of "'literary creativity' in English, rooted in the new culture and adopting elements of the new language variety" (Schneider, 2007, p. 50). This is expressed in the emergence of new literatures in English as a major development, for more than five decades. Many of such writers have been extremely successful; and include Chinua Achebe, Wole Soyinka, and a host of others, who have distinguished themselves in Nigerian English literature and won various international prizes for their works. Also, "It is characteristic of this phase that the new indigenous language variety is perceived as remarkably homogenous, and that this homogeneity is in fact emphasised" (Schneider, 2007, p. 57). The acceptance of new linguistic norms implies codification "...it is a characteristic trait of this phase that dictionaries of the respective PCEs are produced... once such a dictionary is out, it strengthens the distinct national and linguistic identity, and also the forms used to signal it" (Schneider, 2007, p. 52).

Phase v: Differentiation

At the background of this phase *s*ociety evolves its own social categories in respect to status, social groupings, etc. and these assume prominence. Such internal stratification is perceived as a consequence of external stability, "the absence of an external challenge" (Schneider, 2007, p. 53). There is a feeling of secure self-existence of a young nation, which relies on its own strength – having no need to be compared with any other(s). Also within this phase "The citizens of a young nation no longer define themselves primarily as a single social entity in relation to the former colonial power but rather as a composite

of subgroups, each being marked by an identity of its own" (Schneider, 2007, p. 53). There is emphasis on internal heterogeneity. Internal diversity marked by language use flourishes but masked by collective identities. Thus, in a sociological light the internal heterogeneity is emphasised – as one which is masked by umbrella-like "collective identities" (Schneider, 2007, p. 53). There are social networks with which individuals strongly indentify; and such predominantly determine their contacts and interaction, such that individuals' communicative interchange is highest within their social networks. Thus, the main sociolinguistic conditions may be indicated by the fact that "... an individual's contacts are strongly determined by the individual's social networks, within which the density of communicative interactions is highest" (Schneider, 2007, p. 53). As a major *Linguistic effect* "New varieties of the formerly new variety emerge, as carriers of new group identities within the overall community: regional and social dialects, linguistic markers (accents), lexical expressions, and structural patterns which carry a diagnostic function only within the new country emerge" (Schneider, 2007, p. 54). "Irrespective of whatever variation may have existed ...Phase v marks the onset of a vigorous phase of new or increased internal sociolinguistic diversification" – a development which could not be dated in practically all cases but "may have been around earlier than we suspect..." (Schneider, 2007, p. 54).

It is earlier noted that the present study considers the Model a valuable tool for understanding the foundation and development of postcolonial Englishes. It also assumes that the account of the Nigerian case presented is insightful; and tries to evaluate the theoretical modelling of Nigerian English in this framework. Comments are therefore provided only on issues which do deserve comments. For this purpose, effort is directed at the sociolinguistic conditions and linguistic effects postulated for the two last respective phases, so as to re-evaluate how they are instantiated in the Nigerian experience and update the Model's characterisation of Nigerian English. Thus, the two components – sociolinguistic conditions, and linguistic effects, within the last two phases (as shown in Figure 1) – constitute the main areas of focus in this study. The arrows indicate the directions of advancement, as conceived by the Model, but the componental elements apply contingently.

Linguistic effects	Linguistic effects
Sociolinguistic conditions	Sociolinguistic conditions
Identity construction	Identity construction
	Socio-political background

Endonormative stabilisation   Differentiation

Figure 1
Directions of advancement according to Schneider's (2007) model

The rationale for this focus is simply that they are the phases within which there are issues which are not clearly decided with respect to Nigerian English. The goal of this study includes examining them with a view to resolving them. Within these, the distinguishing characteristics of the proposed stages crucial to a better definition of Nigerian English may be most clearly evinced. From this investigation, evidence for the Endonormative stabilisation of Nigerian English and a systematic history of its development emerge, as well as evidence for Differentiation. Such evidence indicates the nature of updates required and provides materials essential to the purpose. It also invariably questions the notion of linearity enshrined in the Model. These are discussed, among other issues, in the sections that follow.

Discussion

The model and the Nigerian experience

Among others, the Model indicates phase by phase certain properties of Nigerian English, based on its contact experience. It argues convincingly about the developments that constitute the foundation of Nigerian English, its exonormative stabilisation and nativisation. The arguments are expressed in very clear terms and are strong, especially for the latter, and would deserve no further comments here. In general, Nigerian English is shown to have clearly achieved the first three phases noted above. The following remarks by Schneider (2007) may therefore be noteworthy:

> All the ...evidence indicates that English in Nigeria has progressed deeply into phase 3, has nativized strongly, and is still gaining ground at rapid pace. The obvious follow up question is therefore whether there are signs that the country is moving onto phase 4. I believe that a number of such indicators can be identified, though somewhat shakily; i.e. endonormative stability has not yet been reached but it may be just around the corner. (p. 210) [but adds], one component of phase 4 is already reality in Nigeria: Nigerian Pidgin and English have gained respectively by having been employed in literary creativity, reflecting the African experience. (p. 212)

It thus follows from the above that, in addition to reaching phase 3, Nigerian English shows indications of reaching phase 4 as well, only that the relevant indicators are yet to be considered strong. The next section addresses this and similar issues and extends the research to provide an update.

The nature of the Model suggests certain essential properties. These include that the Model is linear or quasi-linear; its parameters are indexical and they parallel features perceived to be implicitly binary; they are unidirectional and developmental or incremental and may not be otherwise, as conceived.

We do assume for this section that the Model's account of the development of Postcolonial Englishes, including Nigerian English, is quite revealing. Comments are therefore provided only where necessary: specifically, our remarks address questions regarding psychological independence, which is coextensive with the achievement of local linguistic identity; issues on codification; literary creativity; homogenisation, and diversification - issues raised by the Model about Nigerian English, which appear yet undecided in the framework or require updating. For this purpose, our study examines the sociolinguistic conditions and linguistic effects postulated for the respective phases, within which these parameters occur. There is evidence for Endonormative stabilisation of Nigerian English, arising from the survey, a systematic history of its development, as well as evidence for differentiation. These, in general, appear to raise questions on the validity of the notion of linearity enshrined in the Model. To proceed, we examine each of the points which aim to characterise the two subcategories or components listed under Endonormative stabilisation and Differentiation respectively.

Endonormative stabilisation

Under this phase, we are concerned with the following aforementioned which we reproduce here for emphasis (sociolinguistic conditions and linguistic effects):

Sociolinguistic conditions. One main stipulation in this component of the development is ideological. It is associated with the achievement of psychological independence which expresses itself as acceptance of "locally rooted linguistic self-confidence"; that is, indigenous identity; and correlates gradual adoption and acceptance of local forms of English, as a means of expression of that identity. There are indications that this stipulation should be taken as accomplished in the development of Nigerian English. Evidence for this might be enormous; but the following may suffice to substantiate the point: the first president of the federal republic of Nigeria, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, expressed the Nigerian ownership of Nigerian English in terms of "our own" – the inclusive "our" that stresses communal commonalities and discriminates 'others'' with a near brutal blade. Kachru (1995, pp. vi –vii) captures and underscores this as a mark of the Nigerian socio-cultural ideology, as follows:

> The story of English in Nigeria is not new in a chronological sense. There is a long history of trade between Europe and Nigeria, essentially for precious metal and ivory, and for slaves. It is claimed that there were varieties of English used in Nigeria in the 16th century ... the newness may be characterised in terms of recognition of the African canon in linguistic and literary creativity by the 'Inner Circle'. This has been slow in coming, but it has finally come ... And more important [sic], there is newness *in*

terms of confidence in creativity and innovations. It is in this sense that *English writing in Nigeria has become 'our national literature'* as claimed by Nnamdi Azikiwe, the first president of Nigeria ... [added emphasis]

Furthermore, Professor Wole Soyinka underscores the cultural achievement in respect to Nigerian English as a canon of African Englishes, and points to the cultural aptitude underlying the development of Nigerian English as some form of cultural reprocessing, thus:

> black people twisted the linguistic blade in the hands of the traditional cultural castrator and carved new concepts into the flesh of white supremacy; the result is...the conversion of the enslaving medium into an insurgent weapon. (Kachru, 1995, p. viii)

Similarly, the ideology of "one Nigeria" is vigorously pursued since the 70s; and the ideology of 'unity in diversity' predates it, being enshrined in the old National Anthem, since the 60s. A relevant part of its first verse reads, "...though tribe and tongue may differ in brotherhood we stand...". Thus, "one Nigeria" and "unity in diversity" corporately make an essential psychological demand on the soul of the nation and its individual citizens to preserve the shared brotherhood – understood to host the shared single bio-cultural route expressed as a 'family' in the Nigerian cultures and worldview (cf. Wolff, 2007, Ugorji, 2009). Therefore, if national unity or stability fundamentally refers to national ideology, there seems to be no ground to deny this as realism for Nigeria. However, national conscience and consciousness must be divorced from prejudice at the level of individuals here and there, which nonetheless is attested in human societies in general. There is no doubt that, in Nigeria, ethnic loyalties are strong but national loyalty is understood to derive therefrom as an aggregation of such sub-loyalties; and much of the remaining political tensions in contemporary Nigeria are about questions of justice and governance, the global Islamic radicalisation apart.

We may turn next to the stipulation for the emergence of "literary creativity" built on "a high degree of cultural and linguistic independence". Here, among numerous others, the works of Professor Chinua Achebe are celebrated as being monumental. His foremost novel, *Things Fall Apart*, for which he won prizes, was published in 1958. Also, Professor Wole Soyinka is a Nobel Prize laureate. His works are celebrated; and they are Nigerian English literature. He received his honour in 1986. These dates are remarkable: whereas the stipulation requires five decades, these dates make it obvious that Nigerian English exceeds this standard.

The complex cline of varieties and linguistic diversities which characterise Nigerian English are no doubt evidence for internal heterogeneity; but there's a flourishing collective identity, which hosts a cognitive construct of Nigerianness of the English, commonly expressed as 'our own'; not to ignore the individual conservative nostalgia for the status quo ante remaining here

and there; but this minority conservatism diminishes by day. Research indicates the existence of several varieties of Nigerian English (see further details elsewhere: Jowitt, 1991, Banjo, 1995, Ugorji, 2010). For social Nigerian English varieties, for example, four or more typologies are identified. (Regional varieties are a lot more). Four varieties are suggested in Brosnahan 1958 (see Angogo & Hancock, 1980); Banjo, 1995; Jibril, 1986, Jowitt, 1991), to mention but a few. Banjo's classification which is most popular among scholars may specially be noted (cf. Ugorji, 2010):

1. mother-tongue based (associated with heavy mother tongue transfers characteristic of the semi- educated, generally below post primary education)
2. influenced by mother-tongue (shows mother tongue transfers and lack of vital phonological distinctions, associated with speakers who may have at least primary education)
3. close to RP (characteristic of some speakers with university education)
4. indistinguishable from RP (associated with speakers who may be more highly educated and some who have some training in the Humanities and phonetics)

Nigerian English is shown as a natural cline, ranging from the English of the semi-literate (variety 1) to the variety 4 which is equivalent to RP according to the analysis. As shown, variety 4 hardly differs from standard British English. Variety 3 may refer to near-native or near-RP forms and 2 and 1 show various degrees of mother- tongue influence. Banjo (1995) and Eka (1985), among others, further inform that varieties 2 to 4 are internationally intelligible, but that intelligibility increases towards variety 4. Variety 1, however, may not be intelligible abroad, and decreases in intelligibility the farther one moves from its regional base. The standard variety by scholarly consensus is estimated in Jibril's account as "a union of Sophisticated Hausa and Sophisticated Southern varieties" noting that there is pressure towards a southern- influenced model, estimated closer to Banjo's varieties 3 and 4. In other words, while homogenisation very clearly exists, there are mother-tongue influenced usage and L_2 usage co-existing with it. The latter two host ethnic and regional marks. Schneider (2003, p. 254) argues that this is also characteristic of Englishes elsewhere: in New Zealand, Canada, Australia, South Africa and Singapore.

In terms of terminology, "English in x" is substituted with "x English". Obviously, this stipulation is to be taken as part of the ideological achievements with respect to the growth and subsequent recognition of the independence of Postcolonial Englishes, in general. Kachru's (1995, p. vi) estimate suggests more than six decades for Nigerian English:

During the past 50 years – and much more before that – the achievements of Nigerian English education have been impressive and multifaceted. The

West Africans have over time given English a Nigerian identity. ... The authenticity and ultimate recognition of this canon were never in doubt, particularly after the 1950s.

However, the terminology, "x English" as against "English in x" more clearly belongs to the English linguistics of the 90s, and follows from the gains of the ideological debates apparently championed by Braj Kachru and his associates (cf. Kachru, 1985, 1990, etc). The award of the Nobel Prize in literature to Wole Soyinka must be taken to imply world recognition for the authenticity of Nigerian English. He became the first to win this prize from the Outer Circle Englishes. "x English" formula has for decades been attributed to Nigerian English apparently as part of the recognition. It also has accordingly been reflected in (the titles of) a host of research works, especially beginning from the 1980s: Atoye, 1991; Awonusi, 1986; Bamiro, 1991; Banjo, 1995; Blench 2008; Eka, 1985; Gut, 2004; Jibril, 1986; Jowitt, 1991; Simo Bobda, 1995; Udofot, 1997; Ugorji, 2010; Ugorji & Osiruemu, 2007. .

Linguistic effects

Here, the Model's main stipulation is stated as "It is characteristic of this phase that the new indigenous language variety is perceived as remarkably homogenous, and that this homogeneity is in fact emphasised" (Schneider, 2007 p. 57).

This stipulation appears to follow from the recognition of the Nigerian variety as an independent canon of world Englishes; and the appreciable research efforts represented by journal articles and books which bear Nigerian English as (part of) their titles indirectly evince homogeneity – a phenomenon expressed in Nigerian English linguistics research as "convergence" or more specifically 'convergence of educated usage' (cf. Bamgbose, 1995, Banjo, 1995). Educational goals target the convergence patterns as norms, in lieu of explicit policy, conservatism preferences apart. One must also appreciate the fact that the body of research that address this concern is rapidly growing. Thus, it is not only the ideological convictions that attest to the existence of Nigerian English; there are consistent patterns of structural and non-structural properties of the language which are taken to be typical. Jowitt (1991), for instance provides a glossary of Nigerian English lexical items; Igboanusi (2002) shows a larger body of lexical elements in a mini dictionary. Morphosyntactic materials appear in Bamgbose (1995), Jowitt (1991), Igboanusi (2006); phonological materials appear in Gut (2004), Simo Bobda (1995), Udofot (1997), Criper-Friedman (1990), Atoye (1991), and Ugorji (2010). Studies that address non-structural patterns include Jowitt (1991), Ugorji and Osiruemu (2007), Wolff (2007), Awonusi (1986), and Schneider (2007). As earlier noted, homogenisation exists alongside lectal differentiation in the Nigerian experience.

The requirement for codification appears fundamental and Schneider (2007, p. 212) complains that not appearing to have achieved this leaves a gap in the development of Nigerian English, "what is missing, however, is the stabilization of a more homogenous concept of a standard Nigerian English, i.e. an explicit codification."

The requirement for codification is hinged on the development of dictionaries. It is taken as a fundamental feature of this stage; and such dictionaries play the all important role of strengthening a distinct national and linguistic identity. He, however, notes Jowitt (1991), in particular, as one such evidence of codification; but that more is required, central to which are dictionaries. This requirement may, in the view of this study, be taken as accomplished, if one considers not only Jowitt (1991) in general terms but also in its inclusion of a glossary of lexical elements; and Igboanusi's (2002) dictionary of Nigerian English, in addition. But, more importantly, this Nigerian English dictionary has been around for about eight years, even though it might be regarded as a mini-dictionary. Others are under construction, and include Blench (2008). Ugorji (2010, 2013) also belong to the category of works critical to codification; especially as it characterises, among others, phonological properties of the clines and a model for pedagogical engagements. It is still possible to regard these achievements as an early stage of or rudimentary to "explicit codification" relatively, and glossed over, if the Dynamic Model conceptualises the stipulation in terms of degrees, which may not be the case. Rather, the stipulated properties might be binary valued, involving either presence or absence of a given feature or property. This conviction is implied in the Model: in qualifying Canadian English for "Differentiation", for instance, what might be taken as incipient lectal diversification is concluded as diversification indeed: it points out on page 250 that, for Canadian English, "new regional dialect distinctions are emerging" and cites Chambers'(1991, p. 99) hypothesis which states that "'In the course of time, one might expect that regionalisms will accumulate, ultimately diversifying Canadian urban accents;'" it adds that "some of these emerging regional markers are worked out by Boberg (2004, p. 360) and Labov, Ash and Boberg (2006, pp. 220-224). The point then is that, since the above account of emerging lectal diversification qualifies as diversification, then, the conception might be regarded as simply binary valued – that is, a given feature is either present or not present. This, therefore, leads one to safely conclude that (since a marginal presence of lectal differentiation qualifies Canadian English to participate in phase 5 category), Nigerian English which does attest to codification, including dictionary development, should be taken as codified[2] and participate in Endonormative stabilisation without further reservations. Considering these properties, it must be taken that the crucial indices for Endonormative stabilisation – phase 4 – stipulated in the Model are satisfied in Nigerian English. We may now examine Differentiation also, the final stage proposed by the Model.

Differentiation

As in the preceding section, our main concern under this phase is with the sociolinguistic conditions and linguistic effects:

Sociolinguistic conditions
"...At this stage an individual's contacts are strongly determined by the individual's social networks, within which the density of communicative interactions is highest..." (Schneider, 2007, p. 53). The possible indicators of this condition are the closer social ties and interaction of the educated and elite class across the country; they occupy higher positions in jobs and professions and are associated with higher social status. At the sociolinguistic level, they identify fundamentally with acrolectal patterns.

Linguistic effects
The core of the linguistic effects stipulated for this phase is that it "marks the onset of a vigorous phase of new or increased internal sociolinguistic diversification", expressed in two dimensions – regional and social lects – and observable in accents, lexical expression, and "structural patterns which carry a diagnostic function only within the new country" (Schneider, 2007, p. 53). In other words, the emergence and growth of lectal variants, at this stage, might simply refer to a more conscious interpretation of the observed lects (social and regional) and the assignment of sociolinguistic meanings to them – such that they are cognised as items of acceptable norms and of appropriateness, but bear meanings which call up social information, including speaker identity – social and ethnic and regional backgrounds; and appropriateness is judged with respect to cultural and sociological contexts. However, Schneider (2007, p. 54) remarks that "....in practically all cases we simply do not have evidence to tell when regional diversification may have started..." In view of this remark, there is indication that the Nigerian case may not have been taken into consideration, probably due to poor access to data. On the contrary, the commencement of lectal differentiation in the Nigerian experience can be specified. It is in fact demonstrable in the view of the present research. In general, it may be shown to have commenced with earliest contact inceptions. In particular, the Nigerian situation commenced on multiple culture contacts (evidence for this is already discussed in earlier sections), involving variant historical points in time as well; such that it appears rather more appropriate to talk about diversity and not necessarily "diversification" from Nigerian English foundations. The nature of the diverse cultures in the contact formation may be recalled for the present purpose: The Nigerian contact situation is such that while the northern contacts commenced with formal education and standard or RP-like norms, the west started with trade contacts, as well as the east. But while the eastern contacts involved speakers of Scots and Irish Englishes, logically without a reference pattern and a reference population to drive accommodation and acculturation (cf. Van Rooy, 2010),

the west had more of southern British speakers and professionals. Furthermore, while the local group in the west contributed from Yoruba ethnic background, the settler group provided more formal English predominantly. The eastern local groups contributed from the ethnolinguistic strand dominated by Igbo, and the settler group provided the ethnolinguistic stock of Scottish English and Irish English. The local strand in the northern region contributed ethnolinguistic entities dominated by Hausa and the settler group contributed formal and standard British English. These multi-varied foundations might therefore correlate the formation and emergence of regional varieties of English in Nigeria[3]. Furthermore, contacts in the south (including the west and the east) are dated from the sixteen century, and the north is dated around early twentieth century. Gorlach (1998, pp. 126-127), for example, specifies that by the 1840s English schools were already established in the south but the first European school in the north came by 1909 in Kano; and that English was adopted as a lingua franca in the south at a very early stage. Within the periods under review, distinct varieties were born within the distinct independent nation groups, prior to their amalgamation in 1914. Considering also the vast land over which the Nigerian English is spoken, it appears realistic to add that not only time but distance contributes to the diversification as well – combining two factors – the near sporadic non-contiguous founding and the geographical spread. Thus, if input materials contribute to the formation and development of linguistic varieties, the linguistic ecology described above must be taken to mark the formation of lectal differentiation of patterns. The origin of regional lectal differentiation therefore appears in general specifiable in Nigerian English; but the origin of social lectal differentiation appears largely obscure even though the inceptions of the contacts do imply social differentiation as well, especially when higher education commenced with associated elitism or a more subtle social stratification.

In view of these facts, the main characteristics of phase 5, diversification, has been around much earlier than homogeneity which characterises phase 4, and occurs at acrolectal levels, where it is often difficult to tell the regional background of its speakers from their speech. If the stipulations of Schneider's Model should be taken strictly, then, both phases 4 and 5 may be assumed to merge in Nigerian English; otherwise, it raises a question on the validity of the claims on linearity. While we observe homogeneity of acrolectal norms, differentiation remains, especially at regional levels in mesolectal norms and lower levels. Differentiation, as noted, is taken as part of the early features of Nigerian English; but homogeneity might be part of its 80s and 90s developmental history. In addition to wider educational engagements, the latter appears largely facilitated by the much larger number of university graduates who take up teaching jobs in the north and across regions as well as public service jobs and businesses. This is further facilitated by the National Youth Service Corps scheme (among others) which, following the Civil War, targeted national integration. The main linguistic evidence for this is

putatively the homogenisation of the English, achieved through a strong pressure to accommodate towards a southern (acrolectal) model. Using pronunciation as a guide, Jowitt's (1991, p. 71) survey sums the situation thus:

> There are three types of pronunciation used by Nigerians. One of them is RP; the others are two different types of PNE [Popular Nigerian English] ... Pronunciation everywhere in the country is influenced by the RP model, which – as in Britain – has no geographical base. The development of general proficiency in English tends to approximate to the RP standard...

Remarks on the tenets of the model

This section discusses some of the properties of the Dynamic Model which border on its robustness as a theory of language change and its objective operability. There are also ontological issues and meta-linguistic considerations.

So far, we have assumed that the parameters proposed in the Model for assessing the progress of postcolonial Englishes might be binary, permitting presence or absence of a parameter. This is however not explicit in the model. Instead, one gleans the binary possibility from comparing the applications of such parameters from one case study to another. A case in point (already noted above), for example, is with respect to diversification in Canadian English – where certain emerging diversification still marks presence of diversification. However true this is to the conceptualisation, it is not entirely consistent in application; since we find that the parameter of codification might selectively require scalar values, not binary values, when applied to Nigerian English, for example. Similarly, the use of expressions such as "nativized strongly" and "a high degree of cultural and linguistic independence", among others, suggest scalar values. The following questions therefore remain to be resolved: are the defining features or components merely relative and therefore provide for imprecision or subjectivity? Are they graduated, in degrees, and what degrees qualify the presence of a particular parameter for inclusion or exclusion? Could the features be quantifiable, in which case a certain percentage is to be considered reasonable; and what percentage could that be? Or are the features binary, suggesting only presence or absence of a feature, and therefore comparable to "distinctive features" in Generative linguistics?

Also, the Model conceptualises that the essential properties of growth or progression of postcolonial Englishes are linear or quasi-linear; that is, they are directional, but only unidirectional – progressing from phase i to phase v. They are also developmental or incremental and may not be otherwise, as conceived. However, from the evidence so far considered with respect to Nigerian English, it seems clear that phases iv and v might be indistinguishable or may have merged. The ontological basis of the phases therefore becomes questionable, especially when the parameters of homogenisation and diversification cannot readily apply in any perceivable

linearity; instead, the order appears clearly reversed, but might be simultaneous when the development of acrolectal norms and societal elitism are considered. It is apparently in view of observations such as this that Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008, p. 35) opine that Schneider's Model remains to be tested. Specifically, they remark that

> it seems possible ... that a territory could move from phase 3 to 5, bypassing phase 4; [specifying that] this could be a territory in which English became nativized and substantially differentiated into sub-dialects, without there being a commonly accepted endonormative standard; [and that] varieties of English in West Africa appear to follow this route.

The issue may be addressed possibly by relaxing the linearity condition, essentially by permitting parametric preferences; such that certain varieties of English (or indeed of any language) may prefer certain routes in their developmental processes. The other is for the Model to conflate the parameters enunciated in phase 5 with 4, thereby eliminating 5, especially as it appears rather redundant as shown in the Nigerian experience; and since the parameters proposed in the Model are not hierarchical, no ordering may be required in their operationalisation. Figure 2 shows a revised sketch of phase 4, as the new final phase, may be shown thus (all components being constant, and only unordered parameters indicated):

Endonormative stabilisation
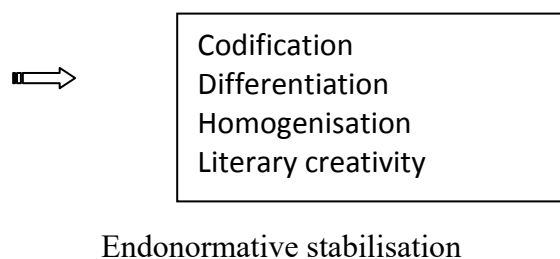
Figure 2
Revised model with phase 4 as the new final phase

Further to ontological issues is the conceptualisation of dynamism within the Model. If the concept of dynamism is about changes which occur in a given body, and brought about by forces in interaction, there is a clear sense in which it applies to language change as the Model has shown. Dynamism appears most practically observable in physical mechanics and related systems; and may be describable in terms of both directionality and dimensionality of change, which are usually measurable. Social phenomena such as language present a difficult challenge; but the Model has tackled this very elegantly: it indicates the changes which occur over-time to be unidirectional, and not otherwise. This latter property appears too strong,

however, given the fact that the framework acknowledges the possibility of radical changes, which may be occasioned by radical policies, citing the case of Australia after the World War II. Schneider (2007) gives further instances such as examples of wars, the outcome of social hostilities, a military coup by some radical group, a major cultural re-orientation, etc. and emphasises, "certainly such events would affect the attitude toward and hence the fate of English in a given community, and might change, redirect or lift the drift implied in the Dynamic Model" (cf. p. 57). If therefore the Model represents a model of dynamism in a general sense, not providing for this must be considered a gap in the theory, especially if its account of language developmental histories and contact linguistics anticipates the future as well. By considering more literally or broadly the ontological basis of dynamism this might be fixed. It may mean making provision for a fuller assessment of dynamism based on its potential to bring about change, any change, or to make new things happen. Thus, it includes, as parts of its potential paths, linearity and non-linearity, and bi-directionality; thereby providing not only for progression but also for stagnation, retardation or regression: whereas progression targets 'incremental development' or growth, regression targets the opposite direction, which may be occasioned by forces of retardation or inertia (illustrated in the model in terms of radical socio-political interventions adverse to growth). Stagnation represents a half-way between the two. For practical situations in general, progression may correlate language vitality – expansion of use domains and user demography – occasioned by favourable policies, favourable principles of sociolinguistic species selection and diversification, favourable use economics, and so on; while regression may correlate language attrition in use domains and user demography, and at its extreme, linguicide.

Eco-linguistic dynamism might impact human languages, their birth, growth, development, stability, vitality, decline, death and resuscitation. It is thus mutation in the ecology that marks the starting point for changes which introduce new properties into individuals, groups and any aggregations formed by them. It may therefore be summed in general that a dynamic model would provide for inertia, depression, growth, stability, etc and may identify short and long term changes in the ecology. Since contact ecology is inextricably tied to socio-cultural and linguistic variables, it would naturally involve a multi-dimensional or multi-directional dynamism – linear, non-linear, and haphazard. Variables may be complementary and interdependent. They interact in quest for balance, and may seek new equilibra when changes occur, introduced by contact with new variables and/or socio-cultural energy, definable in terms of both individual and institutional or corporate cognition; and spelt out as ideas, thoughts, emotions, values, technology, etc with different intensities.

Eco-linguistic dynamism might then be shown to be an essential investigative paradigm in the science of contact linguistics. Its concern is the mutations occurring in contact ecology, the participating variables – cultural

and linguistic – institutions, power structures, social energy and intensity. Others are factors which check, foster, destroy (or introduce catastrophes in) the ecology; and factors which host resilience and stability, as well as the mutual interactions of variables, the tensions and the competitions. If these properties are taken into account, the Model may be given greater capacity. Otherwise, it might be termed something like a "developmental transition model", if the entailments of the notion of 'dynamism' are not intended.

Notwithstanding the issues so far raised, the Model is insightful as an investigative paradigm for contact-induced language change and for postcolonial Englishes. The fact therefore remains that the purpose of the Model, which is "to provide a uniform description of a set of processes that have occurred independently of each other in reality – a generalization which abstracts from many complexities and details" (Schneider, 2007, p. 55) is not diminished (indeed, as Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008, p. 31) state, "none of the models are able to do justice to the intricacies of specific countries"). Instead, the Model would be further enriched and made more robust, taking these remarks into consideration.

Summary

Our study so far has examined the tenets of Schneider's Dynamic Model and re-evaluated its characterisation of Nigerian English to provide an update. The Model is an investigative paradigm and a research tool for Postcolonial Englishes from the perspective of contact-induced change. It proposes that the growth of these varieties of Englishes (have) progress(ed) along five developmental phases. The phases are linear, and constitute a yardstick for estimating the extent of growth or development of individual varieties. Nigerian English is shown to have achieved up to the 3rd phase, nativisation; and there are indications that certain properties of its 4th phase, endonormative stabilisation, may be noticeable, but are thought inadequate to merit any conclusive statements. Such inconclusive statements and gaps motivate the current research, which adduces research evidence to update the modelling of Nigerian English in Schneider's framework.

Following the survey of the foundations of Nigerian English and evidence from its much later development, evidence for both its 4th and 5th (Differentiation) phases do clearly emerge; however, not in the linear order posited in the Model. Instead, the linguistic differences between phases 4 and 5 may be blurred with respect to the Nigerian experience. More specifically, it is demonstrated that until 1914, there was no entity called Nigeria. There were rather numerous ethnic nationalities living in the then Niger Area who spoke different languages. These nationalities had contact with English at relatively different points, times, and intensities. But when in 1914 they were merged and called Nigeria, the varieties of English founded here and there and the different culture ecologies were, as it were, merged; thus laying the foundation for diverse Englishes. Since there were diverse Englishes already, what could

be expected is homogenisation and not diversification. Thus, following the amalgamation of the northern and southern British Protectorates in the Niger Area, the linguistic ecology with respect to English may be readily perceived as lectal varieties. The national pedagogical enterprise, through its target at the Received Pronunciation, undertook the task of homogenisation. The outcome is the existence of a variety identified in Nigerian English linguistics research as a convergence of educated English (usage/speech) – a development that indicates homogenisation, if not equate it. In general, there is want of specifiable evidence for a post-homogenisation diversification; but both diversification and homogenisation are well attested.

As part of endonormative stabilisation, the requirement for indigenous identity is evidently satisfied: English is 'our English', and literary creativity and innovation express it in literary scholarship. Similarly, the requirements for codification including dictionary development appeared evidently satisfied. In general, if the parameters proposed in the Model are binary valued, Nigerian English appears to make it on every count. If otherwise, there needs to be clearly defined scalar values or so. If left as they are, then, their inconsistency remains, and licence subjectivism; and they might be doubtful altogether or simply remain in want of objective operationalisation.

While still sympathetic to Schneider's (2003, p. 241) own emphasis; namely, that

> ... even if in specific circumstances some details may have developed somewhat differently and there may be apparent counterexamples to some of the trends worked out ..., on the whole the process is real, and is robust.

It is convincing to conclude that certain characterisations of Nigerian English in Schneider's Dynamic Model need to be updated: following the evidence so far examined and the discussions, it is on the part of realism to show systematically that Nigerian English participates not only in Nativisation (phase 3) but also in Endonormative Stabilisation (phase 4) and Differentiation (diversification), if the two are not conflated as simply phase 4. It may also need to be made more robust to account more adequately for contact-induced language change and probably for language change in general, by considering a broadened perspective of dynamism. Whatever growth or development Nigerian English (or indeed any other variety) has achieved, whatever the gains shown in research efforts and the updates provided, the fact remains that we are dealing with a continuing process, without buying the myth of 'maturation' (cf. Anchimbe, 2009).

Notes

[1]Blythe and Croft's 2009 recent proposal may be interesting for this purpose, but its focus is not contact-induced change. Its account of language change addresses mechanisms of language use and frequency of language tokens, coordinated by variant selection mechanisms and fitness values.

[2]Codification remains a process, nonetheless.

[3]In fact, in view of Schneider's 2003 emphasis on ethnolinguistic groups or language communities (not nations) as the domain for the developmental history of postcolonial varieties, it might be more revealing to investigate the contact experiences of individual ethnolinguistic communities in the Nigerian case.

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