

## **Study the different variations of English spoken on the African continent and make the thorough description of the common characteristics that those Englishes share beyond the ones pinpointed here**

**Prosper Mbuli Kinyamuguma**

*Assistant Lecturer at Nyiragongo College of Education  
The Democratic Republic of Congo*

---

**Abstract:** This article is an overview of the different varieties of English Spoken on the African continent.

Four types of English exist in Africa, identifiable in terms of history, functions, importance and linguistic characteristics. West African Pidgin English has a history going back to the fifteenth century, 400 hundred years before formal colonization. Creole varieties of English have history going back to repatriation of slaves from the Caribbean and the United States in the 19thC. Second language varieties which are the most widespread on the continent are the prototypically associated with British colonization and its education systems. L1 (First language) English occurred mostly in southern and Eastern Africa, and is best represented in South Africa. This essay helps us to know the varieties of English in Africa continent using documentary method.

**Keywords:** Varieties of English in Africa, Pidgin English, Creole English, Second language English, Colonial English.

---

**Resume:** Cet article traite sur les différentes variations de la langue Anglaise parlée sur le continent Africain.

Il existe quatre types de variation de cette langue en Afrique identifiées en terme de son histoire, fonction, importance et son système linguistique. Pidgin English est une variation Anglaise parlée à l'Ouest de l'Afrique, au delà du pidgin, il y a d'autres variations entre autre le Créole, Afrikans...

Nous utilisons la méthode documentaire pour la collection des données, A fin cet article nous aide à connaître les différentes variations de la langue Anglaise sur le continent Africain.

**Mots Cles:** Variations d'Anglais en Afrique, pidgin English, Creole English, Anglais comme seconde langue, Anglais colonial.

---

### **1. Introduction**

This article focuses on the different variations of English language spoken on African continent. As with most parts of the world, English continues to grow in Africa, long after the heyday of British trading, slavery, exploitation and colonization. The form and functions of English have long diversified on the continent, depending on the history of particular regions and the nature of the contact may be extended to include island of the mainland of Africa like Mauritius, Tristan da Cunha, and St Helena, originally uninhabited and then populated partially with enslaved people from Africa. The continent displays a wide range of forms of English-pidgin, L2, Creole, and "transplanted" L1. On the mainland the earliest significant presence of English was in the West Africa, then southern Africa, next Eastern African and Northern Africa. All these are predated by English on the Island of Tristan Ist. Helena, which Schreier (2008, p.xi) characterizes as the oldest southern Hemisphere variety of English in the world. The growth of English in the 20th century extended to all parts of the African continent, with areas that were under French, Portuguese, or German influence finding it hard to resist the globalization of English.

This historical background in this essay is the view and update of Methrie and Bhatt (2008, pp.-17), in relation to the foundations of English language in Africa.

English (in an Elizabethan form) was probably first heard in Africa in 1530S when William Hawkins the Elder passed there on his way to Brazil (Spenser, 1971, P.8) This was not the first European language to be used on the continent, as Portuguese and its simplified contact varieties take precedence here. A regular trade in spices, ivory, and slaves began in the mid-1500S when British ships sailed along the Guinea coast (Schimid,1991,p.6). with other powers following suit, European forts were built along the west African coast.

English became established as British supremacy in trade gradually grew. During this time West Africans were taken in small numbers to Europe to be trained as interpreters.

An account in Hakluyt (1598-1600, vol.VI) cited by Spenser (1971, p.8) suggests that by 1555 five West Africans had been taken to England for over a year for this purpose. In South Africa a similar development took place centuries before formal settlement by the English.

---

The cape was seen as a stopping place for European ships on the way to the East Indies before the 17th century. Trade and barter with the local coastal Khoesan inhabitants led to the development of small lexicon (or jaon) that included words from Dutch, Portuguese, and English (Den Besten, 1989). Moreover a few Khoesan people were taken on ships bound for the east to acquire English in the process and eventually serve as interpreters (Malherbe, 1990).

## 2. Material

### 2.1. English

The transformation of tribal language to the standard English in the 19th century is well documented (Platt et Al 1992, Burchfield 1994, Crystal 1995) Its spread is arguably the most striking example of language expansion" of this century if not in all recorded history. It has for exceeded that other famous case, the spread of latin during the Roman Empire (platt et al 1984, p.1) And now, at the dawn of the 21st century.

The global spread of English is popularly viewed in terms of two diasporas: In the first, English was transplanted by native speakers and in the second, English was introduced as an official languages along (Knowles 1997), Kachru 1992.

After the initial expansion toward wales in 1535, scotland in 1603 and Irland in 1707, the first diaspora of English took place the movement of English-speaking populations to Northern America, Canada and Australia and Newzealand. Each of these countries adopted English as the language of the new nation, which resulted in English becoming one of the major languages of the world, along with Arabic, French, German, Hindi, Russian, and Spanish, though it was still not as it is now, a global language, numerically or functionally.

The global status of English became established in its second diaspora. This diaspora brought English to un-English socio cultural contexts.

South Asia, Africa, and Latin America-which resulted in a significant alteration of the earlier socio linguistic profile of the English language. It was in this second diaspora that english came into contact with generatically and culturally unrelated languages:

In Asia with indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages, in Africa with languages of Niger-Congo family, and in southeast Asia with Altaic languages. The contact of English with such diverse languages resulted in the development of regional-contact varieties of english.

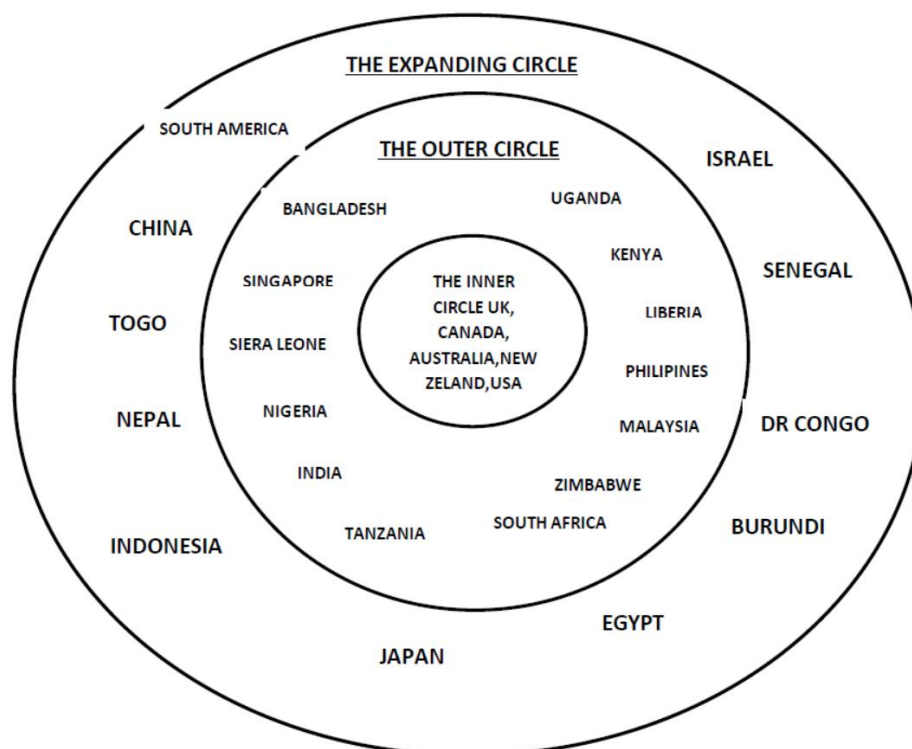
E.g : Nigerian English, Ghanan English, Kenyan English, Ugandan English, South African English...

The inner circle refers to traditional bases of English, where it is the primary language, with an estimated 320-380 million speakers (crystal 1997).

The outer circle represents the spread of English in nonnative contexts, where it has been institutionalized as an additional language, with an estimated 150-300 million speakers.

The expanding circle, with a steady increase in the number of speakers and functional domains, includes nations where English is used primarily as a foreign language with an estimated 100-1000 million speakers (Crystal 1997).

The concentric circle Model (Adapted from Kachru 1997)



The earliest contacts between locals and foreign English speakers were informal and sporadic. There was no expectation of a permanent settlement or of formal colonization until centuries later. In this early phase pidgins and broken English (i.e. early-fossilized inter languages) were the main outcomes of contact. These were not short lived : West African pidgin English, whose roots lie in the 17th and 18th centuries, is to day more wide spread ( in Nigeria, Cameroon, and Ghana) than English as a second language. Pidgin English was not the only code used, as the African interpreters returning from training in England would have acquired English as an L2.

Two varieties gained significance in West Africa (from about 1787 onward) were the forms of Creole English spoken by manumitted slaves who were repatriated from Britain, North America, and the Caribbean. Krio was the name given to the English Creole of slaves freed from Britain who were joined by slaves released from Nova Scotia and Jamaica. Thereafter, The Inner Circle UK, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, USA Indonesia Nepal Togo China The Expanding Circle South America Israel Senegal Japan Egypt Burundi Dr Congo Singapore Sierra Leone Nigeria India Tanzania Bangladesh The Outer Circle Uganda Kenya Liberia Philippines Malaysia Zimbabwe South Africa Liberia was established (in 1821) as an African homeland for freed slaves from the united states. The Creole English that the returnees brought with them was most likely related to the African, American vernacular English (Hancock and Kobbah, 1975, p.248, cited by Todd, 1982, p248). Today American rather than British forms of English continue to dominate in Liberia (Singler, 2004a, 2004b). in addition to these forms of English in West Africa, Todd describes two further types : Standard written west African English (Mostly oriented to the united kingdom, with the exception of places like Liberia) and francophone west African English)

English settlement in East Africa followed a slightly different course from that of West Africa. English ships began making trips toward the East Coast of Africa by the end of the 16th century, prior to the formation of the British East African Company.

An alliance was formed with the British Indian government in 1810, resulting in Mombasa being made a protectorate of crown. Where as in west Africa local people have very little exposure to native speakers of English, giving prominence to pidgin English, in east Africa native speakers were present in considerable numbers had great influence in government and filled a higher percentage of teaching posts (Hancock and Angogo,1982,P.306)

In North Africa, English was not as fluential as Arabic and French. However, given that places like Egypt had " protectorate" status in the British empire, English was not entirely foreign here.

South Africa provides the largest mother tongue Base for English in Africa, though even here the percentage was never more than 10%. The settlement was relatively late, first of administrators and military personnel in 1795 (in Cape Town), with civilian populations from 1820 onward.

## **2.2. Pidgin in Africa**

Pidgin Englishes of Africa have exhibited durability, and should not be mistaken as transient forms, associated with incomplete mastery of a target language.

Their historicity as outlined goes back to the initial contacts with European traders, sailors, and slavers. Huber (2004, p.42) emphasizes that trading contacts in the Gold Coast (Later called Ghana) date back to 1471. This phase lasted for almost 400 years before formal colonization by Britain in 1844. Menang (2004, p.903) notes that by the 18th century Pidgin English was firmly established throughout the West Africa coast. In addition to these early contact, some pidgins appear to have absorbed some vocabulary from the creoles brought back by freed slaves from the Caribbean and American, south (in 18th and 19th centuries). English based pidgins in West Africa fulfill a range of functions to day beyond their original historical role. One of these is a lingua Franca among equals when there is no other language available for the purpose. This pidgin can play a vital role in the multilingual urban.

Marketplaces of West Africa (see menang, 2004, p.205 for Cameroon). When new plantations were established within Africa, a pidgin variety proved useful in uniting diverse labor force it is also an important medium when young people gather, especially in schools and now and at universities (Huber, 2004, pp.869-870).

Menang elaborates four functions for Pidgin English (also known as kamtok) in the Cameroon: an ecclesiastical function (in evangelization and liturgy), a commercial function (as in the marketplaces), a technical function (for technological and knowledge transfers), and a lingua franca function (among urban dwellers and students). Menang shows how Cameroon (with more than 200 languages), functions in terms of four lingua Franca zones-French, Fulfulde, pidgin English and possibly a fang-beti-zone. Menang considers the Pidgin English zone to be matched only by the French zone in the zone in the size of its population (Menang, 2004, p.905). Although Pidgin English is often associated with lack of an advanced education in English, it carries an increasing symbolism of youth especially maleness and urban modernity.

Huber (2004, P. 870) proposes that Pidgin English is slowly becoming more acceptable within the universities of Ghana, where previously it was proscribed: "this is because unlike their senior and linguistically more conservative colleagues, young male Ghanaian lecturers did speak pidgin at the time they were students". All of these considerations mean that pidgin are likely to grow in West Africa, together with languages associated with traditional culture, formal education, and higher echelons of employment. Finally, it is necessary to stress that boundary between pidgin and Creole is not very clear-cut given that (a) the creoles of area (like krio) exerted an influence on the growth of pidgin, (b) pidgin are becoming acceptable as one of the languages of the home in places like Nigeria and Ghana, and (c) creolist today acknowledge the considerable overlap between pidgins extended use and a Creole in the sense of an L1.

West Africa pidgin share many phonological similarities with the L2 English in their area, but this is less true of the syntax (see Mesthrie 2004a, 2004b).

## **2.3. Creoles in Africa**

Also influential in West Africa (from about 1787 on ward) were the forms of Creole English spoken by manumitted slaves who had been repatriated from Britain, North America, and the Caribbean. Krio is the name of English Creole spoken in Sierra Leone, brought Creole manumitted slaves from Britain, Nova Scotia, and Jamaica. Liberia was established in 1821 as an African homeland for freed slaves from the united by Told, 1982, p.284) propose that the Creole English that the returnees brought with them was most likely related to African, American vernacular English (AAVE). This variety is today called Liberia Settler English and continues to be special within Africa, insofar as America rather British forms of English continue to dominate there.

Singler (2004a) distinguishes between Liberian English. The former is the language of the settler ethnic group, in which the effects of formal education can be seen. Never the less, it can still be considered a direct descendant of 19th-century African, American English that the immigrants brought to Liberia. The later, vernacular Liberian English is historically a variety of the pidginized English that had earlier developed along the West Africa coast, but which shows so much influence from settler English, as to diverge sharply from Pidgin English in the rest of West Africa. Singler, 2004b, p.875.

Singler (2004a, 2004b) Shows how an analysis of the settler variety can illuminate debates revolve around the early history of AAVE. The debates revolve around an Anglicist position that the core features of AAVE can be found in British English dialects of earlier times (Mc David and Mc David, 1951) and the creolist position that the AAVE began as a Creole, evolving features that were maximally distinct from the superstrate (Rickford 1975) Furthermore, Singler is able to posit that Liberia Settler English is more conservative than AAVE even, given that the frequency of the diagnostic features he identifies is greater in Libria.

#### **2.4. L2 English in Africa**

The second language varieties of English in sub-saharan Africa have been studied mostly from a synchronic perspective, within the paradigm of World Englishes (Kachru, 1983) in which the development of new norm features strongly in the face of language contact and transfer from the substrates feature strongly.

The terms "nativisation" and "indigenization" feature prominently in these descriptions. Meshrie and Bhatt (2008, pp10-11) propose a separation of these terms to indicate the psycholinguistic property of L2 onto its local physical and human context (indigenization). The substrates are potentially any of the major language of the Niger-Congo family. This family contains the large and influential West African and Bantus sub grouping. Varieties of English in sub-saharan Africa have been studied for their phonological and morph syntactic similarities, as well as differentiating features.

#### **2.5. L1 Englishes**

The main L1 Englishes in Africa, showing continuity with the L1 British English "matrilect" is the variety spoken by descendants of 19th-century English Settlers in the Southern Africa, Chiefly in the South Africa and (decreasingly) Zimbabwe. The variety now called "white south Africa English" is an important one on the continent, because it provided the input or was an influential model to L1 varieties that jelled in neighboring countries in South Africa (Zimbabwe, Zambia, Botswana, Namibia,...) and East Africa (especially Kenya).

As Lass (2002) observed, although the origins of 19th-century British Settlers in South Africa were diverse, the variety that emerged in South African showed the influence of the input from the south of England: in being largely non-rhotic, in distinguishing TRAP from BATH, and STUT from FOOT, and having lengthened before voiced stops, including /m/ and /n/ (as in bad, bag, man). Within South Africa there were originally three strands that merged into a continuum: (a) Cape town English dating to 1795, spoken largely by an administrative, sailing and military segment, (b) Eastern Cape English dating to 1820, spoken by a class of settlers of mainly upper-working class origins from the Home Countries (Buckinghamshire, Essex,...), and (c) Natal English dating to the 1840s, comprising a mixture of origins with a middle class segment perhaps dominating and a mixture of people from the North and South (Lanham and Macdonald, 1979).

Language contact has also played a role in the unfolding of L1 white South African English, with Afrikaans being a major source of influence in lexis (trek, veld, and apartheid), syntax (Eg1 : and them as an associative plural marker and phonetics) Eg2, voiceless velar fricatives in prosper names).

### **3. Results**

As a result, English underwent a process of a culturization in order to compete in local linguistic markets that were hitherto dominated by indigenous language.

Given the linguistic and cultural pluralism in Africa and South Africa and South Asia, linguistic innovations, creativity and emerging literary traditions in English in these countries were immediately accepted.

#### **3.1. Linguistic Creativity**

To understand the structural variation in English across cultures, two questions need to be answered (Bhatt 1995a) : What is the structure of normative Englishes, and how did they come to be the way they are ? with respect to these questions, beginning has already been made toward explorations into the structure of outer-circle varieties of English. Kachru (1995) has provided valuable methodological as well as theoretical insight into the structure of Indian English and Bhatt's (1995a,b,1997,2000). Bilingual's creativity in African Englishes, especially in outer circle, is best captured using the methodological premise that a descriptively adequate grammar of English in "nonnative" contexts, must address the relationship between the forms that English manifest and its speakers perception of reality and the nature of their cultural institutions.

#### **3.2. Socio Linguistic Creativity**

There is also a sociolinguistic dimension of bilingual creativity, viewed in term of acculturation and notarization of the use of English in the outer circle varieties resulted in the following types of cross-cultural and cross-cultural and cross-linguistic research : (a) discourse analysis, discourse strategies and stylistic innovations (Richards 1979, Smith 1981, 1987, Cumperz 1982, Magura 1984, An illustration of the sociolinguistic dimension of bilingual's creativity, the manipulation of linguistic resources in language use to generate new meanings-is best exemplified by code swithing (style shipting).

The cross-cultural attitudes about the forms and functions of African Englishes show a cline: from acquisitional deficit to programmatic success on one end of this attitudinal cline are the linguistic cassettes, members of the inner circle (Quirk 1990, 1996, Honey 1983, 1997).

### **3.3. Literary Creativity**

English is used as a medium to present canons unrelated to traditional Juseo-Christian associations or the European cultural heritage of the language. Thus the English language has become "Kulticanon" (Kachru 1991) a notion that attempts to accommodate the current sociolinguistic reality in African Englishes and generally in the World Englishes, where speakers of a wide range of first language communicate with one on other through English in many more fields such as: Politics, Business, Agriculture, Education, Social aspects, Religious...

Finally, the study of African Englishes resulted in the sacrifice of five types of sacred cows: They Acquisitional, Sociolinguistics, Pedagogical, Theoretical and Ideological.

## **4. Discussion**

The global spread of English has taken great place and values overseas in human communication and worth development;

Thanks to the compendium afforded by Kortmann and Lunkenheimer (2012) it is possible to examine the varieties of English in Africa in relation to their characteristic sets of morpho-syntactic features. Their Survey of 74 varieties, 30 regional varieties of L1 English, and 26 English-based pidgins and creoles. The 235 features were divided into 12 sections as follows:

Pronouns, Noun phrase, Tense and aspect, modal verbs, verb morphology, Negation, Agreement, Relativization, Complementation, Adverbial Subordination, adverbs and preposition, discourse organization and word order. The features analyzed are the most common ones reported in the world Englishes an English dialectology literature that differs from the grammar of Standard English.

Such features have come to be known as "Anglover sals" (Mair, 2003) Specialists in the different varieties contributed to a questionnaire and provided on overview article on each variety covered in the project. For the questionnaire they provided rating responses per individual item as follow:

Obligatory or pervasive, neither pervasive nor extremely rare, absent, no applicable, no information available. Figure 5 is an update of a Neighbornet diagram compiled by Kortmann and Lunkenheimer (2012, p.930), taking into account all 135 features of the 74 varieties originally studied in the project.

Neighbornet is a powerful statistical tool that arises out of bioinformatics and genetic modeling (Bryant and Moulton 2004) and has found in linguistic typological characterizations (Cysouw, 2007). In figure 5 the different branches (or clusters) of the "fallen tree" represent distinct subsets within the data, arrived out on the basis of similarities in linguistic features, rather than by geographical location.

Nevertheless, the main branches show a great deal of geographical cohesion. The 16 African varieties of English surveyed fall into clusters 1, 5 and 7 in figure 6.

1. South Asia, Africa Malta
2. U. S. Bahamas
3. U. K. Irland, Australia, New Zealand
4. U. S. Falkands, Jamaica
5. Caribbean, Liberia, Hawai
6. Caribbean
7. Africa, Caribbean
8. Australia, South Pacific
9. South East Asia, South Pacific

Figure 5, A Neighbornet comparison of 75 varieties of World Englishes, showing similarities in a set of 134 inguistic features.

Courtesy of Kortman and Lunkenheimer (2012)

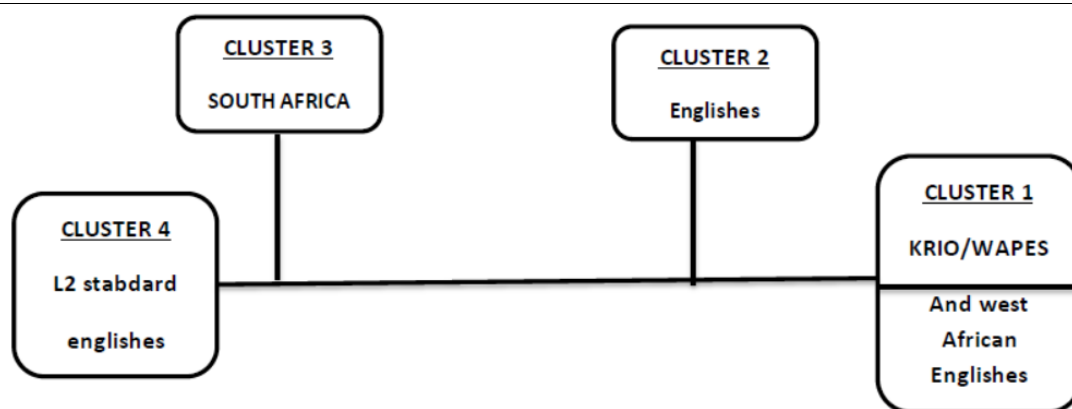


Figure 6 Neighbornet Clusterin of 16 African varieties of English. Based on Huber (2012 p.809).

Figure 6 shows the four different clusters for Africa Englishes in greater detail, which Huber (2012) lists as follow:

1. Krio and West African pidgin Englishes
2. Liberia Englishes
3. South Africa Englishes
4. L2 Standard Englishes (outside Southern Africa)

Clusters 1 and 2 involve the pidgins and creoles of Africa, with a split between American-oriented liberian varieties and the rest clusters 3 shows the coexistence of L1 and L2 varieties of English in southern Africa for over a century. Even though L1 and L2 varieties are distinct in Southern Africa; their coexistence has led to many similarities. An additional factor is the influence of Africans, which takes L1 and L2 varieties away from a strongly British orientation-see the overall diagram in Kortmann and Lunkenheimer (2012, back inside cover). From a more general theoretical perspective, the data from Africa up holds the traditional distinction between Creole and L2. It also upholds the more recent blurring of theoretical distinctions between extended pidgin and Creole.

It is also noteworthy that despite contact-induced and other changes in over two centuries the differences between Krio and Liberian Settler English Creole remain strong enough to place them through different Clusters.

## 5. Conclusion

This article focuses on the study of different variations of English spoken on the African continent and the common characteristics that those englishes share beyond the ones pinpointed here.

Huber (2012, p.383) suggests that the essence of Ghanaian English is "not in radically new constructions but in a subtle rearrangement of the British English input". Conversely for Cameroon, Simo Bobda (2012, p.434) suggests that English has so deeply settled, that it can be considered a new mother tongue (as is the case with French there). Opinions are also divided about the future relations with an exonerative standard English.

Some writers stress the growing distance between the local standard and international Standard English. Simo Bobda (2012, p.436) forecasts that any teaching seeking to significantly bridge the gap between the two varieties; both Cameroon and Standard international English might meet with frustration and disappointment. To further complicate the picture schroder pidgin English that is sometimes believed to represent the true-albeit unofficial-national language of Cameroon, rather than the L2 English or French and not associated with a specific cultural identity, pidgin is considered more African than English or French.

As far as speech is concerned, it is likely that a continuum of usage between acrolectal L2 English and other varieties oriented toward pidgin, and more mesolectal L2 varieties will persist Even in post-apartheid South Africa where Sizable L1 English-Speaking communities exist, the more traditional L2 variety's star has not waned.

It is the most commonly used variety in government communication and parliament, and is ever-present on radio and television. In parliament "authentic" L1 English is regularly challenged by authentic African English.

I can conclude my essay by saying that English in Africa comes on many Sizes and Shapes, all of which look set to grow up.

**Father Reading**

Mesthrie, R. (Ed). (2008). *Varieties of English: Africa, South and South East Asia*. Berlin, Germany: Mouton de Gruyter.

**References**

- [1]. Bauer L. and Warren, P. (2004). New Zealand English: phonology. In E. W. Schneider, K. Burridge, B. Kortmann, R. Mesthrie, and C. Upton (Eds.), pp.580-602). Berlin, Germany: Mouton de Gruyter.
- [2]. Bekker, (2009). *The vowels of South African English* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). North West University, Potchefstroom, South Africa.
- [3]. Boberg, (2004). English in Canada: phonology. In E. W. Schneider, K. Burridge, B. Kortmann, R. Mesthrie, and C. Upton (Eds.) *A handbook of varieties of English (VOL.1, PP.351-365)*. Berlin, Germany: Mouton de Gruyter.
- [4]. Bolton, K. (2004). World Englishes. In A. Davies and C. Elder (Eds.). *The handbook of applied linguistics* (pp.367-396) Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing.
- [5]. Bowerman, S. (2004). White South African English: phonology. In E. W. Schneider, K. Burridge, B. Kortmann, R. Mesthrie, and C. Upton (Eds.), *A handbook of varieties of English (VOL.1, PP. 931-942)*. Berlin Germany: Mouton de Gruyter.
- [6]. Clarke, S., Elms, F., and Youssef, A. (1995). The thud dialect of English: some Canadian evidence. *Language variation and change*, 7, 209-228.
- [7]. Hancock, L., and Angogo, R. (1982). English in East Africa. In R. W. Bailey and M. Görlach (Eds.). *English as a world language* (PP. 306-323). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- [8]. Mesthrie, R., and Platt, R., and Bhatt, R. (2008). *World Englishes*
- [9]. Paulasto, H. (2014). Extended uses of the progressive present L1 and L2 Englishes world wide, 35(3), 247-276
- [10]. Poplack, S., and Tagliamonte, S. (2000). *The English history of African American English*. Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell.
- [11]. Schroder, A. (2012). Cameroon pidgin. In B. Kortmann and K. Lunkenheimer (Eds.) *The Mouton world atlas of variation in English* (PP.441-453). Berlin, Germany: Mouton de Gruyter.
- [12]. Sharma, D. (1991). Typological diversity in new Englishes. *English World-wide*, 30 (2) 170-195.
- [13]. Shmied, J. (1991). *English in Africa: An introduction*. Condon, U.K.: Longman. Shrier, D. (2008). *St. Helenian English: Origins, evolution and variation*. Amsterdam, the Netherlands: Benjamins.
- [14]. Simo Bobda, A. (2004). Cameroon English: Phonology. In E. W. Schneider, K. Burridge, B. Kortmann, R. Mesthrie, and C. Upton (Eds.), *A handbook of varieties of English (VOL.1, PP. 885-901)*. Berlin Germany: Mouton de Gruyter.
- [15]. Singler, J. (2004). Liberia Settler English: Phonology. In E. W. Schneider, K. Burridge, B. Kortmann, R. Mesthrie, and C. Upton (Eds.), *A handbook of varieties of English (Vol.1, pp. 65-75)*. Berlin Germany: Mouton de Gruyter.
- [16]. Spencer, J. (1971). West African and the English language. In J. Spencer (Ed.), *The English language in West Africa* (PP. 1-34). London, U.K.: Longman.
- [17]. *The study of new linguistic varieties*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.