

Features of Nigerian English as Tools for Humour in Funke Akindele's *Jenifa's Diary*

Esther Bamigbola
Adekunle Ajasin University

Abstract

This study examines some characteristics of Nigerian English used as tools for humour in Funke Akindele's television comedy series titled 'Jenifa's Diary'. Seasons one and two of the series were selected for analysis. The conversations analysed were gathered via downloaded videos of the play. Descriptive linguistic and sociolinguistic methods are used to investigate the phonological, syntactic, and lexico-semantic features of the English language used in the soap opera. The study reveals that features of Nigerian English used as elements of humour in 'Jenifa's Diary' include idioms, proverbs, semantic extension, semantic shift, euphemism, calquing, code-switching, coinages and malapropism. Other features include substitution of consonant sounds, wrong stress placement, lack of word class distinction, inability to distinguish between count and non-count nouns, omission and wrong use of articles, poor knowledge of rules of concord and wrong conjugation of the progressive form in sentence constructions. The study concludes that the use of English in the Nigerian movie industry is a representation of the way the language is used in the society at large.

Keywords: Sociolinguistics, language contact, ESL Ft, language variation, Nigerian movie industry

Esther Olayinka Bamigbola
Department of English Studies,
Adekunle Ajasin University, Akungba-Akoko, Ondo State, Nigeria
Phone: +2348036035457; E-mail: bamigbolayinka@yahoo.com

Introduction

In many parts of the world, English language has been shaped by the world view of its users, especially in former British colonies such as Nigeria, Ghana, Singapore, etc. where it has generated many forms of deviations in the way the language is used in the societies. It is obvious that there is Nigerian English with its own peculiarities which are conditioned by the Nigerian socio-cultural environment (Ogunsiji, 2004:87). Users of English in Nigeria have been able to domesticate the language to suit the communicative needs of their socio-cultural environment. Since the society determines the language use of the people, Nigerian English is the reflection of the multi-cultural Nigerian society. It has been influenced by indigenous cultures and languages such as Yoruba, Igbo, Hausa, Efik, Ijaw, etc.

Syntactically, Nigerian English has its form and structures which differentiate it from other kinds of Englishes in the globe. According to Ijeoma (2017:8-10),

The syntactic features of Nigerian English include lack of word class distinction, inability to recognise count and non-count nouns, distinctive use of articles, misuse of collocation in sentence construction, etc.

These syntactic features mentioned by Ijeoma (2017) and more are what characterise the grammaticality of Nigerian English. Semantically, the lexical items in Nigerian indigenous languages have affected the use of English in Nigeria. Word items such as *agbada*, *amala*, *fufu*, etc. have become part of the English language in Nigeria, accommodating the demands of the people's cultural values and need for effective communication. Semantic shift, coinages, acronyms, conversion, transliteration, etc. are parts of the lexico-semantic features of Nigerian English (Adedimeji, 2007) which are results of the interference of the Nigerian indigenous languages on English language.

At the level of phonology, Nigerian English exhibits phonological features tainted with linguistic interference. The commonest of the features is the substitution of indigenous vowels and consonant sounds for the English ones. The substitution arises from the absence of some English sounds in Nigerian indigenous languages

(Jowitt, 2000; Ilori, 2005). The stress pattern of Nigerian English is also different from those of other kinds of Englishes. Nigerian indigenous languages are mostly tonal. These affect the pronunciation of English words by Nigerians (Banjo, 1995) as they stress all syllables in a word equally without any attention to the principal stress.

These features (semantic, phonological, and syntactic) of Nigerian English are observable among English users in all sectors of the country economy. The Nigerian movie industry is known for high use of English language in many of its productions. The use of English in the Nigerian movie industry represents the way it is used in the Nigerian society. This study explores features of Nigerian English which constitute elements of humour in Funke Akindele's *Jenifa's Diary*. The study is guided by descriptive linguistic and sociolinguistic theory.

Nigerian Movie Industry

Nollywood is a nickname that is used to refer to the Nigerian film industry, which is currently rated as the third most valuable film industry in the world based on revenue generation and worth, behind Hollywood (the United States' film industry) and Bollywood (India's film industry). Nollywood does better in terms of output and as such has been rated as the second biggest in the world, behind Bollywood, (UNESCO, 2009).

It is unclear how or when exactly the name Nollywood came into existence before it was used in a 2002 *New York Times* article by Matt Steinglass as well as another article that same year in the same publication by Norimitsu Onishi in reference to the Nigerian film industry. The term was however coined from the words "Hollywood" and "Nigeria". However, unlike the American film industry, Nollywood does not have a specific location to which the industry can be ascribed.

The history of Nollywood can be traced back to the 1960s when Nigeria gained its independence. It was around this time that the initial Nollywood films were produced by what is regarded today as the first generation of Nigerian filmmakers which include Hubert Ogunde, Jab Adu, Ola Balogun, Moses Olaiya (Baba Sala), Adeyemi Afolayan (Ade

Love), and Eddie Ugboma. Hubert Ogunde was a pioneer in the field of Nigerian folk opera. He created the Ogunde Concert Party also known as Ogunde Theatre Group in 1945, the first professional theatrical company in Nigeria. Moses Olaiya is regarded as the father of Nigerian comedy with his numerous comedic movies. Ola Balogun, on the other hand, concentrated on a broad range of subjects which included films about politics, corruption, poverty, and music. The first indigenous feature film that was produced in Nigeria was titled *Kongi's Harvest* (1970), written by Wole Soyinka. Other films produced during the era include *Alpha* (1972), *Bull Frog in the Sun* (1974), *Amadi* (1975), *Ajani Ogun* (1975), *Muzik Man* (1976), *Bisi*, *Daughter of the River* (1977), *Ija Ominira* (1978), *Aiye* (1979), *Orun Mooru* (1980) *Kadara* (1980), *Jaiyesimi* (1980) *Efunsetan Aniwura* (1981), *Cry Freedom* (1981), *Ija Orogun* (1982), *Asiri Nla* (1992), etc. (Teslim, 2015; Adesokan, 2012).

These pioneers started the industry with stage performances before gradually moving into full film productions. They single-handedly drove local contents to the height of competing with materials from Hollywood in Nigeria. Thanks to the Indigenization Decree issued by the then Head of State, Yakubu Gowon, which first required locals to own theatres and then limited foreign television content on local broadcasting networks, prompting the televising of local popular theatre. Nollywood movie producers then began to enjoy huge commercial success. There was a sudden huge increase in the number of existing Nigerian playwrights, screenwriters and film producers as popular literature and theatre works were adapted into films which Nigerians called "home videos".

This further transitioned to a small-scale informal video movie trade, centering on distributors in Alaba Market in Lagos who would sell recorded copies of the movies. This method was adopted all through the 80s before it was taken a step further to the production of Digital Videos which is cheaper and easily accessible.

Language Use in the Nigerian Movie Industry

Human beings explore, discover, and extend knowledge using language. From the Nigerian home videos, it is obvious that the use of English in the films reflects elements of Nigerianism and Nigerian English usage

which further reveal variations in language use as necessitated by the cultural background of users of the language. This makes the use of English in the Nigerian movie industry distinct from other varieties of World Englishes found in the movie world.

Methodology

The data analysed in the study was collected through online video-download of Funke Akindele's *Jenifa's Diary*. The television comedy series has 24 seasons and 292 episodes. Seasons one and two of the series were selected for analysis. There are 12 episodes in season one and 10 episodes in season two. The syntactic, lexico-semantic, and phonological features in the conversations were examined. A qualitative approach was employed in the study. According to Omorogiuwa (2006), the qualitative approach is best suitable for exploratory, attitudinal, historical, and linguistic studies that examine causal processes at the level of the intentional, self-directing and knowledgeable actor.

Data Analysis

The dominant features that characterise the use of English language in the selected TV series are examined using the educational, occupational, and linguistic parameters. These features are phonological, syntactic, and lexico-semantic in nature.

Phonological Features of Nigerian English in *Jenifa's Diary*

The verbal use of English language in Funke Akindele's *Jenifa's Diary* is characterised by substitution of consonant sounds and wrong placement of stress.

Substitution of consonant sounds

Substitution of consonant sounds by some actors and actresses in *Jenifa's Diary* reveals some of the problems of Nigerian English speakers. Some Yoruba speakers of English have problems with the realisation of the voiceless labio-dental fricatives /f/ and its voiced counterpart /v/. The two sounds are sometimes substituted for each other. Examples from *Jenifa's Dairy* include:

Features of Nigerian English ...

Office /ɔfɪs/ as /ɔvɪs/	Voice /vɔɪs/ as /fɔɪs/
Move /mu:v/ as /mu:f/	Nephew /nefju:/ as /nevju:/
Via /vaɪə/ as /faɪə/	Vacation /vəkeɪʃn/ as /fəkeɪtn/
Achieve /əʃtʃi:v/ as /aʃtʃi:f/	Everybody /evrɪbɔdi/ as /efrɪbɔdi/
Fine /faɪn/ as /vaɪn/	Whatever /hwətəvə/ as /wərəfə/
Every /evri/ as /efri/	Love /lʌv/ as /lʌf/
Movie /mu:vɪ/ as /mu:fɪ/	Vacancy /veɪkənsɪ/ as /feɪkənsɪ/
Far /fa:/ as /va:/	CV /cɪvɪ/ as /cɪfɪ/
Visa /vɪzə/ as /fɪzə/	Refusal /rɪfju:zl/ as /rɪvu:sə/

The above examples are mostly drawn from the utterances of Jenifa and this can be seen as a deliberate attempt to create style.

The absence of the voiced alveolar fricative sound, /z/, in Yoruba language always results in some English speakers from Yoruba background substituting the sound for or replacing it with its voiceless counterpart /s/ or vice versa. Examples from *Jenifa's Diary* are:

Password /pa:swɜ:d/ as /pa:zwɜ:d/	Promise /prɔmɪs/ as /prɔmɪz/
Cement /sɪment/ as /zɪment/	Bless /bles/ as /blez/
Assist /əsɪst/ as /əzɪst/	Miss /mɪs/ as /mɪz/
House //haus/ as //hauz/	Concern /kɔnsɜ:n/ as /kɔnzɜ:n/
Design /dɪzəɪn/ as /dɪsəɪn/	Hairdresser /heədresə/ as /heədrezə/

Jenifa sometimes uses /z/ for /s/ in some of her utterances. This reflects the feature of overgeneralization in Nigerian English.

Also, the absence of the palato-alveolar sound /ʃ/ in some dialects of Yoruba makes some Nigerian English users to substitute that it with the alveolar fricative /s/. Examples are:

She /ʃɪ/ as /sɪ/	Sharp /ʃa:p/ as /sa:p/
Finish /fɪnɪʃ/ as /fɪnɪs/	Friendship /frendʃɪp/ as /frendɪp/
Show /ʃuə/ as /suə/	Washing /wɔʃɪŋ/ as /wɔsɪŋ/
Shy /ʃaɪ/ as /saɪ/	Dish /dɪʃ/ as /dɪs/

The absence of the palato-alveolar affricative /tʃ/ in the Oyo dialect of Yoruba results in its substitution with the alveolar fricative /s/ by some Nigerian English users. Examples are:

Child /tʃaɪd/ as /ʃaɪd/
 Teacher /ti:tʃə/ as /tɪʃa/
 Chase /tʃeɪs/ as /ʃeɪs/

Kitchen /kɪtʃɪn/ as /kɪʃɪn/
 Change /tʃeɪndʒ/ as /ʃeɪndʒ/
 Charger /tʃɑ:dʒə/ as /ʃɑ:dʒə/

One of the characters from Ibo background replaces /l/ with /r/ thereby pronouncing /play/ as /pray/. This is another feature of Nigerian English.

Wrong Stress Placement

Unlike the indigenous languages which are tonal, English is stress timed. In effect, Nigerian users of English often find it difficult to place stress correctly on English words. What most people do is to transfer the syllable-timed and tonal patterns in the indigenous languages to the English language. Examples:

as used in <i>Jenifa's Diary</i>	Standard English	Pronunciation
inforMAtion	INforMAtion	In fər meɪ shən
subscripTION	subSCRIPtion	səb skrɪp shən
iPHONE	IPHONE	aɪ fən
locker-ROOM	LOcker-ROOM	lɑ kər rum
handWRITING	HANDWRITing	hænd raɪ tɪŋ
hairDREssing	HAIRDREsing	heɪr dre sɪŋ
GIRLfriend	GIRL-FRIEND	gʊrl frend
anDROID	ANDROID	aen droɪd
anniVERSARY	ANniVERSary	ae nih vuhr sə ri
passWORD	PASSWORD	paes wuhrd
iPAD	IPAD	aɪ paed
friendSHIP	FIENDSHIP	frend ship
seconDARY	SEconDary	se kən del ri
orDERing	Ordering	or dərɪŋ
hyperTENSion	HYperTENSion	

		h a I p θ r <u>ten</u> sh θ n
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The above examples drawn from conversations in *Jenifa's Diary* show the way some users of Nigerian English use the language. The syllables that receive primary stress are underlined in words in which more than one syllable are stressed.

Syntactic Features of Ne in *Jenifa's Diary*

The syntactic features of Nigerian English in Funke Akindele's *Jenifa's Diary* include poor knowledge of concord rules, lack of word class distinction, inability to distinguish between count and non-count nouns, omission and wrong use of articles, and wrong conjugation of the progressive form in sentence constructions.

Poor knowledge of concord

Concord shows the grammatical relationship that exists between subjects and verbs in sentences (Charles, 2005). In *Jenifa's Diary*, the uneducated characters, headed by the eponymous character, Jenifa, habitually use the language without observing the rules of concord. This feature is used as a device for humour in the comedy series and is also observable in the speeches of poorly educated Nigerian speakers of English language. Examples of such utterances in seasons one and two of *Jenifa's Diary* include:

How *is* you? You *is* fine..... I *is* ok.... She *is* try
 I *cuts* toothpaste.... I *gone*..... They *jokes*... They *fighted*
 Baami (Daddy) *has go*..... She *gone*....
 I *dances* learn how *to spoken*.....
 It *will pains* you..... They *comes*..... She *comes*.... We *walks* down
 This world *have finish*.... I *writes*..... I *places* it... I *shall comes*
 Jenifa *have arrive*..... I *loves* children..... She *cry*.... I *will beats* you
 Is me your girl?..... I *goes* to buy..... I *is find* work.... You *is* proud

The above utterances of the poorly educated characters in *Jenifa's Diary* flout the rules of concord. Singular verbs do not follow singular nouns and plural verbs are used instead of singular verbs.

Lack of word class distinction

The way some characters in *Jenifa's Dairy* use English language shows wrong categorisation of words. Examples are:

I <i>senior</i> you Toyo	I don't <i>sweat-heart</i> Segun
Make I <i>education</i> you	I <i>revelation</i> it
I will <i>naked</i> you	<i>Off</i> the fan I beg
He <i>father</i> the child	I <i>suggestion</i> it to you
Stop <i>correction</i> me	She <i>mother</i> me

The above examples from *Jenifa's Dairy* reveal the way some users of English language in Nigeria wrongfully use words to perform certain functions in sentences without minding the classes they belong. Words like senior (adjective), father (noun), naked (adjective) and off (adjective) are all used as verbs, contrary to the way they are used in the Standard British English.

Lack of distinction between count and non-count nouns

Often, most Nigerian English speakers habitually attach numerical values to words in the English language, including, even, uncountable nouns and in some cases pluralize words wrongly. Examples from *Jenifa's Dairy* are:

You are not *womans*.....
I like the *furnitures*.....
Two bottle of *drinks* for me.....
A bowl of *waters*.....
Childrens of today.....
The *staffs* in our salon.....

The above examples from Funke Akindele's *Jenifa's Dairy* show one of the major syntactic features of Nigerian English - the inability to distinguish between countable and uncountable nouns. For instance, the plural forms of *woman* is expressed by adding 's' instead of the irregular plural form women; 's' is added to *furniture* and *water* which do not take 's' to express plural; and 's' is added to *children* which is already plural. The addition of 's' to derive the assumed plural forms is nothin but rule overgeneralisation.

Omission and wrong use of articles

Wrong use and omission of articles by some users of Nigerian English is evident in few examples from *Jenifa's Diary*.

Give me cup (Give me *a* cup) *I will tell manager* (I will tell *the* manager)
I need a apple (I need an apple) *You will buy me beer* (You will buy me a bottle of beer)

In the above utterances, articles are either omitted or wrongly used. This is a feature of NE because the types and usage of articles in Nigerian indigenous languages are different from that of Standard English.

Wrong conjugation of progressive forms

Wrong conjugation of the progressive tense form in the speech of Nigerian English speakers is as a result of linguistic interference. In *Jenifa's Diary*, some of the characters wrongly use the progressive form of the English tense. Examples are:

I am <i>hearing</i> you	Thanks for <i>correctioning</i>
You <i>remembering</i> me	You are <i>afraiding</i> of Toyo
I <i>thanking</i> you	They have heard me <i>spoking</i> English

The above examples of wrong conjugation of the progressive form of the English tense are as a result of word/sentence transliteration from Yoruba language into the English language.

Lexico-Semantic Features of Ne in *Jenifa's Diary*

The lexico-semantic features of Nigerian English in Funke Akindele's *Jenifa's Diary* include idioms and proverbs, euphemism, semantic extension, semantic shift, coinages, calquing, borrowing/transfer, slang and malapropism.

Idioms and proverbs

In *Jenifa's Diary*, idioms and proverbs from Yoruba language are transliterated into the English language, and idiomatic expressions in English language are nativized. Examples of idioms and proverbs in the series are:

Once beaten twice shy..... You scratch my back, I scratch your back.....

You can't catch air..... Dress how you want be addressed...
Story for the gods..... Two wrong *no make* (does not) a right....
It takes seventy-seven lies to cover a lie... Abstinence is the best..
When we get there we cross the bridge.....
All works and no play make *Toyo and Kiki a bad child*

The above samples of idioms from *Jenifa's Diary* reveal one of the lexico-semantic features of NE. Idiomatic expressions from Yoruba language are transliterated into the English language, while the English idioms are contextualised.

Semantic extension

Nigerian English speakers always extend the meaning of English words to fill in some contextual grounds. Examples in *Jenifa's Diary* include:

Segun is my *brother* from the village (season 1)

Toyo baby is a small *child* (season 2)

The above italicized words (*brother, child*) are contextually extended in *Jenifa's Diary*. The word "brother", for instance, means someone related by blood or a fellow member of a group. Jenifa, however, introduced Segun, a fellow stylist, as her brother from the village. "Child" means a baby and an immature person but Jenifa refers to her friend, Toyosi, as a small child, etc.

Semantic shift

The meanings of the following underlined words are shifted to cover contextual grounds in *Jenifa's Diary*:

Barrack: This place is a *barrack* o.

Service: Come and *service* us.

Abattoir: I cannot live in an *abattoir*.

Lawyer: Toyo baby, why you dey *lawyer* me?

As used in the play, 'barrack' means an overpopulated hostel, 'service' means to serve food, 'abattoir' means a house of prostitution, 'lawyer' means to question. The contextual changes in word usage is a common phenomenon in Nigerian English.

Euphemism

This is the use of pleasant words to express harsh and unpleasant situations. Examples of euphemism in *Jenifa's Diary* are:

Carrying man: Mercy is busy *carrying man* up and down.

Lie down with me: I want you to *lie down with me* just once.

My body: How is my sleeping around with men your business after all, it's *my body*.

The above utterances are used in *Jenifa's Diary* to express embarrassing situations in less humiliating ways. 'Lie down with me' means to have sexual intercourse, 'carrying man' means having many boyfriends, 'my body' means sexual part, etc. The use of euphemism is one of the key lexico-semantic elements in Nigerian English portrayed in *Jenifa's Diary*.

Calquing

This involves direct translation of words or expressions from indigenous Nigerian languages into English. Examples in *Jenifa's Diary* include:

Expression	Meaning
<i>strong head</i>	Stubbornness
<i>do section head</i>	Plait hair
<i>do her from village</i>	Bewitched/under a spell from the village
<i>jealousy is doing you</i>	You are jealous
<i>thank your star</i>	Be grateful/thankful
<i>scatter mouth</i>	Cry
<i>sharp tongue</i>	Outspoken
<i>Jam my leg</i>	Hit my leg
<i>borrow-borrow</i>	Fond of borrowing
<i>pepper for body</i>	Pepper on the body
<i>spend money on your head</i>	Spend money for someone's sake

The above group of words are direct translations of words and phrases used in Yoruba language and Nigerian Pidgin English.

Code-switching

Code-switching is one of the devices employed in Jenifa's Diary. Below are examples of Yoruba words used during such instances.

Words	Meaning in English
<i>Baby alawo</i>	Doll
<i>Arabirin</i>	Lady
<i>Ajo</i>	Periodic savings
<i>Oyibo</i>	White person
<i>Atopinpin</i>	Investigator
<i>Alubosa</i>	Onions
<i>Ede gbigbe</i>	Dry crayfish
<i>sunkere gbakere</i>	traffic jam
<i>Amebo</i>	Gossip

Coinages

Examples of coinages from Funke Akindele's *Jenifa's Dairy* include:

- Lying girl* (liar)
- Aproko* (gossip)
- Instagram girl* (an instagram user)
- Abinibi* things (inborn)
- General girl* (harlot)
- Aje butter* (someone from a rich background)

The examples above are expressions generated through the creation of new words from previously existing words of English or the indigenous languages and in some cases, combination of both English and indigenous language.

Malapropism

According to Judith (2015), malapropism is a characteristic of Nigerian English that is very peculiar to the non-educated class. Instances of malapropism in *Jenifa's Dairy* are:

Expression	Correct English Form
Waist	Wait
Beast	Beat
Gabbage	Cabbage

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Priding of you	Proud of you
Dolapo	Dollars
Salaid	Salad
Slippers of tongue	Slip of tongue
Cord	Called
Disreskirt	Disrespect
Remainder	Reminder
Degrace	Disgrace
Service	Serve
Correctioning	Correcting
Amrica	America
Worefa	Whatever

The lexico-semantic elements in Funke Akindele's *Jenifa's Diary* which include idioms and proverbs, semantic extension, semantic shift, euphemism, calquing, code-switching, coinages, and malapropism are features of English language used in Nigeria.

Findings and Recommendations

English language in Nigeria has been contextualised. It has been influenced by the phonological processes, syntactic and lexico-semantic elements of the indigenous languages. Both the educated and non-educated users of English language in Nigeria use the language to fill contextual grounds. In this regard, the lexico-semantic features of English language in Nigeria reflect how the language has been influenced by sociocultural and socio-political contexts. The syntactic features show the ungrammatical nature of the form of English language used by the non-educated Nigerians, while the phonological features reveal the interference of the indigenous languages on the English language.

Nigerian English is a variant of the British English used in Nigeria. It can be categorised using different parameters - occupational, educational and linguistic parameters, and sectors - entertainment, politics, economic etc. These different parameters and sectors necessitate the nativisation of the English language to suit certain linguistic contexts. The influence of sociocultural and socio-political contexts of the Nigerian society on the English language led to the

linguistic interference of the indigenous languages. The linguistic interference of the indigenous languages makes the features of Nigerian English different from other kinds of Englishes in the globe.

The phonological, syntactic and lexico-semantic features of Nigerian English used in the analysed comedy series are reflections of the society that produced it. After examining the features of Nigerian English in the selected seasons of the series, the following findings are made:

- (i). The use of the English language in Nigeria is influenced by sociocultural and socio-political contexts.
- (ii). The mother tongue has a major influence (linguistic interference) on Nigerian speakers of the English language.
- (iii). The features of Nigerian English are embedded in the English language used in the Nigerian movie industry.
- (iv). The syntactic features of Nigerian English used in the analysed comedy series include lack of word class distinction, inability to distinguish between count and non-count nouns, omission and wrong use of articles, poor knowledge of rules of concord and wrong conjugation of the progressive form in sentence construction.
- (v). The lexico-semantic elements of Nigerian English in the analysed series include idioms and proverbs, semantic extension, semantic shift, euphemism, calquing, code-switching, coinages and malapropism.
- (vi). Substitution of consonant sounds and wrong placement of stress are the dominant phonological features of Nigerian English in Funke Akindele's *Jenifa's Diary*.
- (vi). The use of English language in Nigerian movie industry is the representation of the way it is used in the Nigerian society.
- (vii). The features of Nigerian English have been employed as tools for humour in the selected comedy series.

The following recommendations are hereby made owing to the outcome of this study:

- (i) Linguistic scholars should endeavour to develop and popularize a dictionary of Nigerian English to help it gain reputation among other users of English language.

- (ii) Although humour serves the major purpose of removing boredom of normal life, it should also be employed for the purpose of educating the citizenry as well as correcting some ills in the society.

Conclusion

The expansion of English language across all borders of the world has caused its nativisation. As such, Nigerian English is a form of English language used in Nigeria and by Nigerians. It has been influenced by the sociocultural and sociocultural worldviews of the people. Nigerian English is used in all sectors of the economy (politics, entertainment, science and education) for the purpose of communication. Nigerian English has its syntactic, lexico-semantic, and phonological features. This study has shown that these features, as employed in Funke Akindele's *Jenifa's Dairy*, make Nigerian English an effective tool for the portrayal of humour.

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