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Multilingualism in Lagos--What it Means
to the Social Scientist*

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1. Introduction

Sociolinguistic data have largely been overlooked by social scientists in the traditional disciplines as they attempt to find patterns and build theory about social interaction. This has been true even in most studies concerning multilingual societies.¹ The purpose of this paper is to suggest that linguists can show how such data can be used by the more established social science disciplines to generate hypotheses concerning social and political patterns. The paper deals specifically with the significance of language use patterns with examples from data gathered in Shomulu, a section of Lagos, Nigeria. The Shomulu findings suggest that throughout Lagos or any multilingual community the language use patterns are important both as (a) social indicators and (b) social determiners. The findings, it is argued, suggest broad socio-political patterns which go beyond the sociolinguistic data. Correlating changes in language structure itself with various socio-economic variables is of equal concern to sociolinguists, but this paper will consider only language use patterns.

Two main points will be made about Lagos to show the kind of general socio-political information sociolinguistic data can offer: (1) Patterns of multilingualism--who knows what languages, when they are used, with whom they are used--reflect basic social trends in the city. For example, language use patterns can suggest the type and extent of social integration in Lagos. (2) Because not everyone shares exactly the same linguistic repertoire, many encounters are marked by "semi-communication". That is, conversations take place in groups when all potential participants do not know equally well the language(s) of the conversation. When this state of "semi-communication" occurs, strains arise. The strains manifest themselves along a scale from mild embarrassment to strong alienation or hostility. These strains partly define some psycho-sociological relationships between individuals in Lagos. More important, they partly define relationships between the groups of which these individuals are members.

2. The Sample

The findings presented here come mainly from interviews of a sample (N = 187) structured to be relatively statistically representative of Shomulu, a part of Metropolitan Lagos on the

Western Mainland.² There are perhaps 50,000 or more residents in Shomulu. All interviewing was done by a young (age 26) Yoruba man who was a resident of the area and had the equivalent of a secondary school education. He conducted the interviews in either English, Yoruba or Pidgin English, the choice depending on the respondent. As the principal investigator, I worked closely with the interviewer and was present at pretest interviews and some of the final interviews. Additional data come from observations of encounters where language choice was a factor. These observations were made by several Nigerian assistants. Data from "language diaries" (a record for three days of all language uses) kept by six local residents also were included.

The Shomulu area was chosen as a research site because previous studies (Morgan 1973 and personal communication) had shown that Shomulu was relatively heterogeneous compared to Lagos as a whole. A heterogeneous area was preferred in order to have sufficient cases to compare language use patterns of non-Yoruba with those of the dominant Yoruba. The sample turned out 68% Yoruba and 32% non-Yoruba.³ In Lagos as a whole, the indigenous Yoruba probably comprise at least 75% of the population.

The sample showed a wide spread in education, but it seems better educated than the Lagos population in general. However, no figures on education are available for the Lagos adult population. A likely estimate is that perhaps 15 to 20% of Lagos adults have education to the second school certificate level (i.e., equivalent to high school diploma). In the Shomulu sample, 30% had education to this level or higher. In another area of Lagos (Surulere), Morgan (1972) found 21% (199 out of 927) of the heads of household had this much education: however, 15% of his sample was not recorded on this question.

However, even though the Shomulu sample is highly educated--and the results must be viewed with this fact in mind--the sample still includes a heavy representation from the lower end of the education scale. Seventeen per cent had no schooling at all and 23% had primary education only.

The proximity of the Ikeja industrial area to Shomulu may well explain this spread in the sample: many educated young persons who have found skilled or white collar work in the Ikeja factories and offices live in Shomulu alongside the uneducated, unskilled factory workers and Shomulu market traders who serve the salaried residents.

It is important to keep in mind the educational composition of the sample because we will see that education correlates significantly with differences in language patterns in almost every case considered.⁴

The sample was almost equally divided between men and women. The age distribution, no doubt reflecting the true urban picture, included a high proportion of young persons.⁵

3. The Findings

In this paper we will deal with the Shomulu findings only in a very broad sense. Our main purpose is to indicate how such data can be used, as social indicators and social determiners, as we have suggested already.

First, let us consider how language use patterns indicate broader socio-political relationships. To do this, we must look at data on (a) what languages people know, (b) how many languages they know, (c) how the language repertoire of one person differs from another, and (d) what kinds of language use patterns exist. The following findings seem important:

(1) Whether or not a person is a Yoruba, it is clear, for the Shomulu sample at least, that knowing only one's own first language is not sufficient to meet a person's communication needs in Lagos. This finding is of interest since such a large proportion of Lagos residents are Yoruba. But in our sample, only 5% spoke no other language but their own first language. All of the monolinguals were Yoruba, to be sure, but they represented only 7% of all the sample Yoruba (9 out of 128). Furthermore, the great majority found that speaking just one other language outside their own is not sufficient either: 45% of the sample claimed to speak two other languages, 29% spoke three other languages and 4% spoke four other languages. Only 17% spoke only one other language.

In general the less educated speak fewer languages. Using the Chi square test, we found that how many languages were known correlated significantly with level of education. But neither age, sex nor ethnic group made any significant difference.

(2) Large numbers know how to speak the major lingua francas of Lagos: English, Pidgin English and Yoruba. (English is the official language of Nigeria.) Yoruba is most widely known and also seems to be most heavily used in general, with 96% of those claiming an ability to speak Yoruba reporting they used it in the two or three days preceding the interview. English is also widely known and used, and as we will see, is the dominant work language among respondents who have co-workers from another ethnic group. Ability to speak English does not correlate significantly with ethnic group (23% of the Yoruba and 27% of the non-Yoruba do not claim to speak any English at all). However, English ability does correlate significantly with education and occupation as well as language use patterns in specific situations when the situations are inter-ethnic and are "public" (at work, with neighbors, etc.). See Table 1 for language ability and language use claims.

(3) It also seems clear that few other languages (outside of English, Pidgin and Yoruba) are needed for inter-ethnic communication in Lagos. Table 1 shows the percentages claiming to know and use the other languages most frequently mentioned.

TABLE 1

<u>Language Ability</u>	
Some English	77% (long conversational ability 48%)
Some Pidgin	74% (long conversational ability 30.5%)
Some Yoruba	85% (non-Yoruba only; 96% of entire sample including Yoruba) (long conversational ability of non-Yoruba 44%)
Some Hausa	29% (non-Hausa only; 34% of entire sample) (long conversational ability of non-Hausa 4.6%)
Some Edo	11% (non-Edo only; 18% of entire sample) (long conversational ability of non-Edo .6%)
Some Ibo	8% (non-Ibo only; 16% of entire sample) (long conversational ability of non-Ibo .6%)
<u>Reported Language Use in Last Two or Three Days Preceding Interview</u>	
English	92% of those claiming ability
Pidgin	76% of those claiming ability
Yoruba	96% of those claiming ability, including native speakers
Hausa	75% of those claiming ability, including native speakers
Edo	44% of those claiming ability, including native speakers
Ibo	47% of those claiming ability, including native speakers

(4) Finally, few respondents had identical repertoires. For example, of the Yoruba (N = 128), the largest percentage sharing any one combination of languages was only 24% (those who claimed to know English and Pidgin in addition to their native Yoruba). Of the entire sample of 187, no one combination accounted for even 20% of the respondents. Only 11 of the reported 36 combinations accounted for as much as 3.2% of the entire sample or more. Data on languages reported used in the last two or three days also show diversity from one respondent to another. The highest percentage reported actually using any one combination was 26%, those who said they had used English, Pidgin and their own first language; 16% said they had used English and their own first language only. But the rest reported a number of different combinations.

What do these findings indicate? First, the fact so many people know more than their own first language plus the fact so many know the major lingua francas of Lagos indicates social integration is potentially very high in Lagos. That is, almost everyone is able to speak to everyone else. Second, our findings also indicate that few people in Lagos get along with only one second language; this fact implies that a good deal of social interaction actually occurs in Lagos. Third, our findings also showed a good deal of diversity in linguistic repertoire and claimed usage patterns from one respondent to another. This fact suggests that the socio-economic life of one man is relatively differentiated from that of another. For example, one Yoruba respondent may report using English, Pidgin and Yoruba in his daily contacts, another reports using Pidgin,

Hausa, and Yoruba and still another reports using Edo and Yoruba. Thus, we conclude that these sociolinguistic data suggest the following: there is a good deal of inter-ethnic contact in Lagos, but the contact differs considerably from one man to another. Based on sociolinguistic data alone, this conclusion must be only tentative. But it does suggest a hypothesis regarding social contact in Lagos which could be tested with socio-political data of other types.

Frequency of language use also has implications. Respondents were asked to estimate if they used any other language more than their own first language on an everyday basis. Almost half the sample reported they used English alone more than their own first language; another quarter said they used other languages more, sometimes in combination with English; only a final quarter said they used their own first language more than any other language.

The more frequent use of a second language, especially English, and its correlates should concern the social scientist who is not a linguist. More frequent use of another language correlated with both education and occupation to a degree of statistical significance. For example, of those claiming to use English more frequently, 95% had better than a primary education. More frequent use of English also correlated with age which, in turn, is related to education, of course. There is also a significant correlation between ethnic group and more frequent use of a second language, with the Yoruba reporting more usage of their own first language, as might be expected in Lagos. However, it seems as if ethnic group is relatively unimportant here since 82% of those reporting using their first language more either had no education at all or primary schooling only. And better than 90% of those with education to school certificate level (high school) or higher said they used English more everyday.

Consider the possible significance of just the dichotomy between English:non-English users on an everyday basis. More frequent use of English seems to be by persons who (a) hold salaried jobs where there are likely to be co-workers and (b) have co-workers of another ethnic group. The English users tend, then, to work in fairly structured situations where their contacts are also structured and beyond their own control. Those who do not use English more than any other language tend to be self-employed and often traders. (These individuals--or at least many of them--do claim some ability to speak English, however.) While a trader is not "free" to make his contacts, he is more free than the salaried workers, it could be argued. Perhaps many traders deal largely with their own ethnic groups, although this supposition would have to be confirmed by further research.

The interesting question for sociologists, anthropologists and political scientists--in light of the English:non-English dichotomy--is this: If people are differentiated rather sharply as English:non-English dominant in their everyday lives and if this difference correlates strongly with their education and occupation, are these same people also differentiated in other ways, again with a high positive correlation with education and occupation? For example, do these

same people divide in the same way in terms of their receptivity to modern ways? What about in terms of their political attitudes? Their views about national vs. ethnic loyalty? At this stage of data collection we can only make suggestions. But it seems that whether or not a similar dichotomy exists in other patterns of behavior might be investigated in any multilingual area. If it does, then perhaps the linguistic dichotomy could be used as an easily accessible "measure" of a number of socio-political factors.

4. Language use in specific situations

The data contained in Tables 2 through 5 show that in any public inter-ethnic situation, the major language choices are the two neutral lingua francas of Lagos, English and Pidgin. Consider the importance of this finding. Lagos is a city in which 75% or more of the residents speak Yoruba as their first language; it is located in an indigenously Yoruba area. Yet a different language from Yoruba is most used at work. (Conversations at work with members of one's own ethnic group show less English and Pidgin used-- see Tables 3 and 4--but still a high percentage use English even in this intra-ethnic situation, perhaps because the domain, if not the situation, is public.)

TABLE 2

"What language(s) do you speak with co-workers from different ethnic groups when on the job with them?" (N = 125)
(Question not relevant (no co-workers of another group) 33% of total number of 187)

English alone	41.6%	Some English	76%
English, Pidgin	22.4%	(alone or in combination)	
English combines	12%	Some Pidgin	52%
Pidgin alone	17%	(alone or in combination)	
Pidgin, Yoruba	3%	Some Yoruba	13.6%
Yoruba/Y combines	1%	(alone or in combination)	
Other	3%		

TABLE 3

"What language(s) do you speak with co-workers of your own group when alone with them and talking about on the job matters?" (N = 124)
(Question not relevant 34% of total number of 187)

English alone	18.5%	Some English	61%
English, Own		Some Pidgin	11.7%
first language	38%	Some first language	76.6%
First language alone	30%		
(Other responses not listed here)			

TABLE 4

"What language(s) do you speak with co-workers from your own ethnic group when alone with them and just chatting on tea break?" (N = 124)

(Question not relevant 34% of total number of 187)

English alone	4.8%	Some English	43%
English, Own		Some Pidgin	10%
first language	35.5%	Some first language	88%
First language alone	46%		
(Other responses not listed here)			

TABLE 5

"What language(s) do you speak with nearby neighbors or nearby friends of another ethnic group (i.e., who are co-tenants or live nearby)?"

(N = 157)

(Question not relevant (no neighbors of another group) 16% of total number of 187)

English alone	16.5%	Some English	70%
English, Pidgin	21%	Some Pidgin	59%
English, Pidgin, Yoruba	11.5%	Some Yoruba	42.6%
English combines	21%		
Pidgin, Yoruba	11.5%		
Other	19%		
(incl. Yoruba alone, Pidgin alone, others)			

What do these findings mean to the social scientist? First, it seems clear these data suggest that the Yoruba, even though they have numerical and traditional dominance in Lagos, must bow to minority groups in regard to use of overt symbols of ethnicity in public places. The Yoruba use a neutral lingua franca, perhaps for the sake of national integration in the wake of the recent Nigerian civil war, perhaps simply because other groups are powerful enough to require the concession. Use of a neutral lingua franca is also the rule in public situations in other African cities, such as Kampala and Nairobi⁷ or Kinshasha⁸ (Swahili and English dominate in Kampala and Nairobi, Lingala and French in Kinshasha), even when there is a single numerically dominant ethnic group. It seems clear that norms against "ethnic consciousness raising" prevail.

However, this does not mean that either the norms or the willingness of an individual ethnic group to abide by extra-group norms cannot change. An indicator of such a change could be language use patterns. When language use patterns change, it can be argued, the perceptions of an ethnic group have changed regarding its status as part of the societal whole. Consider present-day Nairobi. The Kikuyu are using more and more of their own language among themselves in the presence of non-Kikuyu. One might hypothesize they are doing this because the Kikuyu feel powerful enough to get away with defying national societal norms, and one could argue they are trying to establish new norms of language usage in favor of Kikuyu as a lingua franca. The non-Kikuyu react in two ways (which are contradictory): (1) they berate the Kikuyu for this display of "tribalism" and they say all Kenyans should use

Swahili or even English because they are neutral languages; (2) but to retaliate, they themselves use more of their own languages in front of non-ethnic brethren.

Returning again to Lagos, we see that in non-public situations, the Yoruba assert themselves as Yoruba much more freely. See Table 6 for reports on languages used with friends.

TABLE 6

"What language(s) do you use with your four closest friends and what are their ethnic groups?"

	Reports by Yoruba		Reports by Non-Yoruba	
	With Yoruba (N = 399)	With Non-Yoruba (N = 160)	With Yoruba (N = 109)	With Non-Yoruba (N = 126)
Some English	2%	30%	3.7%	42%
Some Pidgin	-	38%	2%	20.7%
Some Yoruba	99.7%	21%	92%	4.7%

These data could lead one to hypothesize that the Yoruba, realizing they are in a Yoruba stronghold, consider ability and willingness to speak Yoruba a necessary component of friendship with them. For the non-Yoruba with a Yoruba friend, this means deference to the Yoruba identity (language being a symbol of ethnicity, of course). Other groups, as minorities in Lagos and aliens of sorts, seem more willing to build friendships with non-ethnic brethren on a more neutral basis (i.e., a lingua franca which is not the first language of either friend). They accept a diminished ethnic identity in doing this. Whether or not the Yoruba response to the matter of "language of friendship" is characteristic of dominant groups or whether something outside of numerical superiority is at work is a question suggested by these data to the student of ethnicity. The non-Yoruba, for example, may also demand their own language be used in friendships in their home territory. The point being made here is that such sociolinguistic data as we have from Lagos gives the social scientist the material with which to construct hypotheses and the theoretical frameworks containing them which have societal-wide significance.

To this point, we have dealt with linguistic data as indicators of broader social patterns. Now we will consider how patterns of language use and the specific linguistic repertoires of individuals can also be determiners of social relationships. We return to the concept of "semi-communication", which refers to the situation which results when two or more people in the same conversational group do not share all the languages which are being used in that conversation. We suggested a series of reactions, ranging from mild embarrassment to hostility, result when such "semi-communication" occurs. The following incidents will exemplify the fruits of "semi-communication".

First, consider a case in which frustration results. A non-Yoruba man living in Lagos does not speak Yoruba. He therefore cuts himself off from all Yoruba who do not know a second language which he also may know. His not having learned Yoruba probably means that his socio-economic contacts are such that he has little need to talk to the monolingual Yoruba. But suppose such a need does arise.

The following report illustrates what results:

"A bus, driven by a Yoruba man, who could speak no other languages than Yoruba, with two Yoruba conductors, who could speak a little Pidgin in addition to Yoruba, was proceeding toward Ikeja. The driver went in such a reckless way that all the passengers began to shout at him. Finally, when the bus stopped at a military checkpoint, an Ibo passenger complained to the Hausa soldier there about the driver and an argument began. The Ibo did not understand Yoruba, the Yoruba driver understood no Ibo or any other shared language, the soldier spoke only Hausa and Pidgin English. The Ibo and the soldier spoke together in Pidgin, with the driver left to depend on his conductors' "small" Pidgin for an interpretation. Not knowing just what was being said against him, the driver became agitated. This caused the soldier to draw out his horsewhip and the driver "raised the alarm" to such an extent that the other passengers were aroused to defend him and he was not beaten. When the bus began again, the driver cursed the Ibo man in Yoruba, but all the Yoruba people on the bus rebuked the driver in Yoruba for his recklessness and praised the Ibo man. The Ibo, of course, did not get more than the gist of what was being said."

Such an incident illustrates how lack of a mutual language effectively isolates people: real communication can not occur and frustration only widens the initial gap between strangers who were would-be conversants. Such an event could not occur in a society where most people share the same first language. Even though a person may not normally have dealings with members of a particular socio-economic class or ethnic group, he can always speak to those persons when and if an occasion arises. That is, he can easily adapt his communication patterns to the changing situation.

Alienation is a common result of "semi-communication", as shown in the second example. The following incident was reported by an educated young Yoruba man: "I was invited out recently by a friend (also a Yoruba) who had just returned from five years in one of the Northern states (where he had learned Hausa). We visited a relation of his on Lagos Island. On the way back, we stopped to see some of my friend's acquaintances in Ebute Metta. When we go there, we met two Hausamen *and I totally became a stranger in their company* (italics added). The language of discussion had changed to Hausa. I had to watch their mouths and guess what they said by their actions. Whenever I wanted to talk to my friend, we spoke either English or Yoruba, at which time the other gentlemen felt cheated and embarrassed. Finally I became so uneasy, I told my friend. But I could see that my feelings had no effect on my friend's attitude with these gentlemen, and having seen that these Hausamen were not pleased when I interrupted with English or Yoruba, which they did not know, I had to leave alone."

In the two examples which follow, we see how differences in linguistic repertoire extend beyond individual relationships to color group identities. This situation results when persons who share the same first language use that language in front of non-ethnic brethren. Such occurrences are constant reminders that ethnic group differences exist; further, they imply that ethnic

identity takes precedence over either identity between people on a one-to-one basis or identity as members of the same nation. These occurrences imply two meanings for the social scientist: (a) they indicate that a supra-ethnic nation does not yet exist in a state and (b) because they symbolize ethnic differences, they are self-perpetuating impediments to the realization of a supra-ethnic nation.

In his language diary, a young Yoruba man who lives in an Ikeja neighborhood with a number of Hausa reported the following incident: "One evening a policeman arrested a Yoruba lady who is a co-tenant (for selling food goods which had entered Nigeria illegally—a common practice). He was a Hausa man who could speak no Yoruba at all. I was among the other people who tried to persuade the policeman (in English) not to take the lady to the station because it was such a minor offense. But he insisted on doing so, and we all followed him. At the station, the desk sergeant was a Yoruba, *so there and then the matter was settled in the Yoruba language* (italics added) to the disgrace of the Hausa man, and the lady was therefore allowed to go home."

A second example comes from Nairobi, but it could be duplicated in Lagos in its spirit. Two Luo secretaries were chatting together in Luo in the presence of a Kikuyu co-worker. All shared English and Swahili as common languages. The Luos were talking about the illness of one's mother. That reminded one of the Luos to ask the Kikuyu about some medicine. She turned and said to her in Swahili: "Inanikumbusha, Jane. Kama watu fulani ni kamili! Unakumbuka uliniambia habari ya duka moja ambapo naweza kupata dawa kwa taabu ya mama yangu." ("That reminds me, Jane. The way some people are quite! You remember you were telling me about a chemist's shop where I could get some medicine for my mother's trouble.").

The Kikuyu, Jane, was annoyed at having been excluded from the earlier conversation in Luo, as her answer in Swahili shows; she also generalizes her annoyance to the Luo ethnic group:

"Nyinyi Wajaluo. Sijui nyinyi mko namna gani. Saa ingine mnazunguma vizuri kama mnataka msaidiwe. Na saa ingine, mko isolated sana." ("You Luos! I don't know what's wrong with you. One minute you converse nicely if you want to be helped; but the next minute you are very isolated.")

The Luo answered now partly in Swahili, but partly in English, its use indicating a new social distance in the conversation:

"Lakini, wewe Jane. ("But what's the matter, Jane?")

Then in English: "Sometimes I wonder, the way you seem to envy us. It will be no wonder if you end up in a Luo man's kitchen."

The prudent resident of the multilingual society learns to deal with strangers in a neutral lingua franca to avoid the kind of ethnically-based hostility we have illustrated. But the necessity to resort often to a second language, almost surely less well mastered than a first language, must have psychic effects. Measuring such effects seems an insurmountable problem at this stage in our development of research methodology. However, that psychic effects do exist can be demonstrated, albeit inferentially, from linguistic data. The use of a second language with strangers

sometimes results in an unnecessary barrier between persons sharing a common first language. Ethnic brethren may fail to recognize each other. As the following example shows, the second language can create unnatural strangers in the city. Surely psychic strains are also created in these language use patterns:

"A woman in Lagos came to a garri seller and both, not knowing they were from the same ethnic group (they were both Efik), spoke Pidgin. After the sale, the woman wanted to leave the garri at the market stand and go to school to fetch her child and then pick up the garri on the way home. So she asked the garri seller in Pidgin ("I beg, garri seller, look proper for this garri..."). At this, the seller took some special notice of the woman and said in Efik that she resembled a chap he knew somewhere. In turn the woman asked him in Efik if he was an Efik. The woman then said she, too, was an Efik. Then they began the entire conversation again and greeted themselves at length in Efik with many smiles."

5. Conclusion

Our purpose has been to show linguists how the data they collect may fit into broader socio-political patterns which hold for the population under study. Linguists, in turn, may show other social scientists how sociolinguistic data can be a basis for hypothesis formulation and theory building which go beyond the sociolinguistic findings themselves.

To date, the majority of social scientists have overlooked sociolinguistic data in their studies of societal patterns. They have failed to recognize that language use patterns and linguistic repertoires themselves are a type of data of social exchange. It is up to the linguist to show how these data have a social power and substance of their own. They are societal elements themselves, just as educational systems, economic frameworks, political organization and other more traditionally recognized components are. As such, they figure in trade-offs of power and substance among societal elements which occur, officially and unofficially, as a society sustains or re-shapes itself.

Footnotes

*Analysis of the Shomulu data was conducted under a grant from the American Philosophical Society. I wish to thank my interviewer, Olalekan A. Ojelade, for his invaluable contributions to this study.

¹There are, of course, a few social scientists who are not also sociolinguists who have made use of linguistic data in their analysis of societal interaction. See, for example, Parkin (1969) who makes extensive use of language use patterns and attitudes toward language in his study of Kampala neighborhood social and political organization.

²The sample was drawn from clusters which were randomly chosen from a map of the greater Shomulu area. Specific buildings within the clusters were randomly selected for surveying and one adult in every household in the selected buildings was randomly selected for interviewing. (Most people live in from one to three-story buildings in Shomulu and many areas of Lagos. Generally one family has one room.) A random selection table from Kish (1965: 398-99) was used to select the adult from each household.

³The sample had this ethnic makeup: Yoruba 68% (128); Midwest (Edo, etc. but not Ibo) 9% (16); Ibo 8% (15); Eastern Nigerian languages (but not Ibo) 5% (9); Hausa 6% (11); other Northern languages 4% (7); other (no ethnic group given) less than 1% (1).

⁴Educational breakdown: no schooling, 17%; primary school only, 23%; class 3 or modern 3 (some high school or its equivalent) 15.5%; class 4 or 5 or trade center (more high school or its equivalent) 13%; secondary school certificate (high school diploma) 22%; higher school or technical college, 8%; university, 1%.

⁵The sample included 55% (103) men and 45% (84) women. By age, the sample included 58% in the range 20-29; 23.5% who were 30-39; 12% who were 40-49; 3% who were 50-59; and .5% over 59.

⁶Actual language ability (as opposed to claimed ability) was checked for English and Yoruba by the interviewer. When a person stated he knew either of these languages, the interviewer then engaged him in conversation in the language and then rated his ability in the language.

⁷See Scotton (1972) and (forthcoming 1975). See Parkin (1974a, 1974b) for Nairobi.

⁸See Heine (1970).

⁹The disparity between the reports by Yoruba as to what language they use with non-Yoruba friends and the reports by non-Yoruba about the language they use with Yoruba friends should be noted. Observations tend to confirm the non-Yoruba report, but these self-reports should be checked further against systematic observation for confirmation.

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