

A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF A YORUBA SPEECH  
COMMUNITY IN NIGERIA: VARIATION AND CHANGE  
IN THE IJEBU DIALECT SPEECH OF IKORODU.

BY

FUNSO AKERE  
B.A. (Lagos) M.A. (Leeds)

In fulfilment of the requirements for  
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH  
1977



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The successful completion of this study owes a great deal to several people all of whom I cannot mention or thank fully here.

I want to thank the Vice-Chancellor and the authorities of the University of Lagos for granting me study leave under the University's staff training scheme. I am also grateful to the Federal Ministry of Education in Lagos for a two-year Federal Government Scholarship for the research.

The general trend of linguistic orientation and the depth of scholarship attained in this study derive essentially from the intellectual inspirations provided by my two supervisors: Alan Davies and Keith Brown. At the academic level, they both provided the necessary incentive for a speedy but thorough completion of the research by providing time for as many consultations as I needed, and by reading my drafts very critically. Whatever mistakes, illogicalities and shortcomings which may be found in this thesis derive essentially from my own inadequacies and not theirs. At the personal level, each of them was very kind to me. I wish to express my profound gratitude to both of them.

Some other members of staff and fellow postgraduate students in the Department gave one form of help or another. I thank them all. I am grateful especially to Gill Brown who read and criticised my first draft of Chapter IV. I also owe some thanks to Mary Noble of the Department of Social Anthropology and to Bill Watson of Edinburgh Regional

Computing Centre, for help in aspects of the research which touch on their respective disciplines.

To my friends: Ẹbun Mafḷabomi, Niyi Ogunbamḗru, Fḷlabi Toyḷ and Ṣḗgun Sipasi in Lagos; Wḷle Aiyenuro and his wife in London; Kayḷde Oguntuashe and Tokunbḷ Ṣofoluwḗ in Edinburgh; and to my brothers Ayḷ and Sunday; I am most grateful for various helps. To my colleagues at the University of Lagos: Biḷdun Adetugbḷ and Theo Vincent (English Department), Ade Ojo and Dayḷ Simpson (French Department), special thanks for support and encouragement.

I want to thank my two field assistants in Ikorodu: Alhaji Kassim and Abayḷmi Ḷshinson, and all the informants who participated in the survey for their co-operation.

My mother-in-law has been most kind in coming to live with my wife and children and deserves special thanks. My greatest thanks, however, are reserved for my wife, Yḗmi, who patiently bore the agony of the long periods of my absence from home, for her love and understanding; and to my children, Akinṣḷla and Abiḷla, I offer my apologies for being an 'absentee Dad' for a while.

Funṣḷ Akere  
Department of Linguistics  
August, 1977.

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

AL	Anthropological Linguistics
FL	Foundations of Language
IJAL	International Journal of American Linguistics
JAL	Journal of African Languages
JCL	Journal of Chinese Linguistics
JL	Journal of Linguistics
JWAL	Journal of West African Languages

ABSTRACT

This study springs from a purely sociolinguistic theoretical base which maintains that language is a social phenomenon, and that the appropriate domain for the study of linguistic behaviour is the society or the 'context' in which that behaviour is regularly or generally enacted. Linguistic behaviour, therefore, becomes the focus of attention in this study, not only in terms of the purely formal characteristics of the variety (or varieties) of language in use in the community, but also in terms of the social dimensions of variation and change, language use and code choice, and language attitudes. The Ijebu dialect-speaking community of Ikorodu provides the context for these analyses.

Variation in the Ijebu dialect speech of the community involves the alternation between discrete phonetic segments in five features which function in the phonological sub-systems of the Ijebu dialect and of Lagos/the standardized variety of Yoruba, in co-variation with the demographic factors of age, education and occupational groups. Sound change in progress follows from an advanced stage of variation and its differential distribution within age levels in terms of the extent to which three syllabic segments assimilate to corresponding but phonetically different segments in cognate lexical items in Lagos/standardized variety of Yoruba.

Language use, language attitudes and code-switching are examined in relation to the community's subjective evaluation of the components of two non-linguistic factors - 'traditionalism' and 'modernity' - both of which are integrally related in the on-going socio-cultural changes in the community. The alternation between the local variety of the Ijebu dialect and Eko are matched against these non-linguistic considerations. Language attitudes are demonstrated in the form of an emotional attachment to the mother tongue within a strictly narrow 'hometown' definition. The positive evaluation of Lagos Yoruba, its acquisition and use are connected with prestige considerations which are attached to this variety as a mark of the individual's and the community's acquisition of Lagos urban norms and values.

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ii
KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS	iv
ABSTRACT OF THESIS	v
1. THE INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER	1
0.1. Sociolinguistics and Dialect Study	1
0.1.1. Yoruba Dialect Diversity	3
0.1.2. The Speech Community	4
0.1.3. Lagos Yoruba (Eko)	6
0.1.4. The Community Speech Repertoire	9
0.2. Research Objectives	10
0.3. Plan of the Study	11
2. CHAPTER I: CONTEMPORARY EMPHASES IN SOCIOLINGUISTICS WITH PARTICULAR RELEVANCE TO THE STUDY OF YORUBA DIALECTS	17
1.1. The Subject-Matter of Sociolinguistics: A general theoretical framework	17
1.1.1. Linguistic Variation and the Speech Community	19
1.1.2. Other Dimensions of Variation	23
1.2. Descriptive Sociolinguistics and the Study of Yoruba Dialects	25
3. CHAPTER II: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND TO THE COMMUNITY'S LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRE	35
2.1. The Ikorodu Speech Community	35
2.2. History and Culture	38
2.2.1. Historical Origin	38
2.2.2. Stratification and Social Mobility in traditional Ijebu Society	41
2.3. Language Use in Socio-cultural change	44
2.4. Demographic Characteristics of Ikorodu's population	47
2.5. Speech Repertoires in relation to Sociological/ Demographic Variables	51
2.5.1. Age	52
2.5.2. Sex	53
2.5.3. Education	55
2.5.4. Occupation	57
2.5.5. Religious Affiliation	59
2.5.6. Geographic Mobility and Rural-Urban Influence	60
2.6. Summary	62
4. CHAPTER III: FIELDWORK METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION	64
3.1. Methodological Approach	64
3.2. The Survey Method and Participant Observation	65
3.2.1. The Survey Method	65
3.2.2. Participant Observation	68
3.2.3. Sampling and the Data Base	69
3.2.4. The Ikorodu Sample	72

3.3.	The Questionnaire	81
3.4.	The Individual Interviews	83
3.4.1.	The Interviewers	83
3.4.2.	Interviewing	83
3.5.	The Communal Meeting Sessions	85
3.6.	Conclusion	85
5.	CHAPTER IV: DIALECT VARIATION AND LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION: SOME PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES OF THE DIALECTS IN CONTACT	88
4.1.	Dialect Variation and Dialect Contact: Some Theoretical Considerations	88
4.1.1.	Model of description	94
4.2.	The Phonological/Phonetic Characteristics of the Three Dialects in contact	95
4.2.1.	Historical Background: Reconstructed Proto-Yoruba Phonology	96
4.2.2.	Historical Vowel Shifts and Dialect Divergence	97
4.2.3.	Standard Yoruba (STD)	108
4.2.4.	Lagos Yoruba (EKO)	114
4.2.5.	The Ijebu Dialect (IJB)	120
4.2.6.	Historical Vowel Shifts vs; Sound changes in progress in the Ijebu dialect	130
6.	CHAPTER V: VARIABILITY AND CHANGE IN THE LINGUISTIC FEATURES OF THE IJEBU DIALECT SPOKEN IN IKORODU	139
5.1.	Linguistic Variability	139
5.1.1.	The Linguistic Variable in Variation Studies	142
5.2.	The Phonological Variables in this study	144
5.2.1.	The denasalized high back vowel in Ijebu dialect - The Variable (U)	147
5.2.2.	Word-initial /u/ in Nouns in Ijebu - The Variable (I)	154
5.2.3.	The Occurrence of the nasal vowel /ẽ/ in a number of lexical items in Ijebu - The Variable (E)	158
5.2.4.	The nasal segment /n/ in morpho-syntactic environments - The Variable (N)	160
5.2.5.	The lateral segment /l/ in the Ijebu genitivizing formative /oli/ - The Variable (L)	163
5.3.	Inherent Variability vs. Dialect Borrowing or Dialect Mixture	165
5.4.	Measurement of Variability in Linguistic Features	169
5.4.1.	Sources of Variable linguistic data	170
5.4.2.	Calculation of Index Scores on Variables	174
5.4.3.	Distribution of Index Scores within the Sample	181



5.5.	The Structure of Variation within the Ikorodu Speech Community	184
5.5.1.	The Demographic Factors	186
5.6.	The Co-Variation of the Phonological/Phonetic Variables with Demographic Factors	187
5.6.1.	The Quantitative Measurement of Co-Variation	188
5.6.2.	The Over-all Pattern of the Co-Variation of the phonological variables with demographic factors	192
5.6.3.	Age differentiation in linguistic variability	193
5.6.4.	Education and linguistic variability	199
5.6.5.	Occupational Groups and linguistic variability	204
5.7.	Measurement of Co-variation through the Analysis of Variance	209
5.7.1.	Group Variation and the Community norm	212
5.7.2.	The (U) Variable	214
5.7.3.	The (I) Variable	215
5.7.4.	The (E) Variable	216
5.7.5.	The (N) Variable	217
5.7.6.	The (L) Variable	218
5.8.	Variation and Linguistic Change	219
5.8.1.	U - Renasalization	224
5.8.2.	Ū - Fronting in u-initial nouns	226
5.8.3.	Nasal $\bar{e}$ raising	227
5.8.4.	The lateralization of /n/ and the nasalization of /l/	228
5.8.5.	Age differentiation in linguistic change	230
5.9.	Summary	238
7.	CHAPTER VI: LANGUAGE USE AND LANGUAGE ATTITUDES IN RELATION TO THE FACTORS OF TRADITIONALISM AND MODERNITY	240
6.1.	Methodology	240
6.2.	Patterns of language use in Ikorodu	244
6.2.1.	Language use and situational constraints	248
6.3.	Language Attitudes	253
6.3.1.	Language Use and Language Attitudes	253
6.3.2.	Components of the socio-cultural dimension to Language Attitudes	260
8.	CHAPTER VII: DIMENSIONS OF CODE-SWITCHING IN THE VERBAL BEHAVIOUR OF MEMBERS OF THE IKORODU SPEECH COMMUNITY	269
7.1.	The General Background	269
7.2.	Theoretical Perspectives	271
7.2.1.	Communicative Competence	272
7.2.2.	The Psychological Mechanism of Code-Switching	273
7.2.3.	The Social Meaning of Code-Switching	274

7.3.	Speech Situations and Natural Speech Data	279
7.4.	Simple Conversations as speech events in individual interview situations	280
7.4.1.	Analysis I	281
7.5.	'Public Speaking' as Speech events in Communal Meetings	301
7.5.1.	Verbal Strategies in relation to Status Factors	304
7.6.	Analysis II	306
7.7.	Conclusion	316
9.	CHAPTER VIII: CONCLUSIONS	318
8.1.	A Summary of main findings	318
8.2.	Dimensions of Variation in Yoruba Language Usage	322
8.3.	Standard/Lagos Yoruba in relation to the regional dialects	324
10.	REFERENCE NOTES FOR ALL CHAPTERS	331
11.	REFERENCES	358
12.	APPENDICES	
I.	ANOVA output on the covariation of the phonological variables and the demographic factors: Tables 5:1A - 5:6B.	370
II.	Contingency Analysis results: Tables 5:1.1A - 5:1.5C.	382
III.	Texts used in the analysis of Code-Switching.	398
IV.	Questionnaire used in the Ikorodu Survey.	427
V.	The Interview Schedule.	436
VI.	The Wordlist.	442
3:8.	Differences between the Young and the Old Generations in Linguistic Change	232
6:1.	Self-report on speaking competence in three Yoruba dialects by number of informants	246
6:2.	Self-report on speaking and reading competences in English	
6:3.	Situational Constraints on code-choice	250
6:4.	Claimed Competence in various dialects of Yoruba	252
6:5.	Self-report on Competence and dialect preference	259
6:6.	Reported reasons for dialect preference	267
6:7.	Reported reasons for frequency of dialect usage	267
6:8.	Reported reasons for frequency of language/dialect usage	267

LISTS OF TABLES AND FIGURES

TABLES

Table 2:1.	Total population of Ikorodu Division, 1931-73	48
" 2:2.	Population by Age and Sex, Ikorodu Division	50
" 2:3.	Distribution of the Population by Education in Ikorodu Township (1973)	56
" 2:4.	Level of Education in Ikorodu Township (1973)	56
" 2:5.	Religious Affiliation, Ikorodu Division (1973)	61
" 3:1.	The Distribution of the Ikorodu Sample	80
" A:1.	Reconstructed Proto-Yoruba Vowel System	97
" A:2.	Reconstructed Proto-Yoruba Consonant System	97
" 4:1.	The Consonants of Standard Yoruba	111
" 4:2.	The Vowels of Standard Yoruba	111
" 5:1.	Mean Index Scores on Phonological Variables by Age level, (Word list)	195
" 5:2.	Mean Index Scores on Phonological Variables by Age level, (Conversational Speech)	195
" 5:3.	Mean Index Scores on Phonological Variables by Level of Education (WL)	201
" 5:4.	Mean Index Scores on Phonological Variables by Level of Education (CS)	201
" 5:5.	Mean Index Scores on Phonological Variables by Occupation, (WL)	205
" 5:6.	Mean Index Scores on Phonological Variables by Occupation, (CS)	205
" 5.1.6A.	Strength of Relationship between scores on Phonological Variables in (WL) and Sociological/Demographic Factors	208
" 5.1.6B.	Strength of Relationship between scores on Phonological Variables in (CS) and Sociological/Demographic Factors	208
" 5:8.	Differences between the Young and the Old Generations in Linguistic Change	232
" 6:1.	Self-report on speaking competence in three Yoruba dialects by number of informants	246
" 6:2.	Self-report on speaking and reading competences in English	
" 6:3.	Situational Constraints on code-choice	250
" 6:4.	Claimed Competence in various dialects of Yoruba	259
" 6:5.	Self-report on Competence and dialect preference	259
" 6:6.	Reported reasons for dialect preference	267
" 6:7.	Reported reasons for frequency of dialect usage	267
" 6:8.	Reported reasons for frequency of language/dialect usage	267

FIGURES

Fig.	1.1.	Ikorodu Urban Area	16a
"	2.1.	Ikorodu Regional Location	35a
"	2.2.	Population Distribution (by sex) of Major Settlements in Ikorodu Division	48a
"	3.1.A	Sketch Map of Ikorodu Township	75a
"	5.1.a.	Percentage Scores on U-renasalization by Age level	235
"	5.1.b.	Percentage Scores on U-fronting by Age level	236
"	5.1.c.	Percentage Scores on nasal $\xi$ raising by Age level	237
"	5.2.a	Percentage Scores on Five Phonological Variables by Age level (5 categories)	196
"	5.2.b	Percentage Scores on Five Phonological Variables by Age level (3 categories)	197
"	5.3.	Percentage Scores on Five Phonological Variables by Level of Education	202
"	5.4.	Percentage Scores on Five Phonological Variables by Occupation	206
"	7.1.	Factors influencing code-choice in verbal interactions in communal meetings	307

## INTRODUCTION

If the individual in Africa is to have some roots in the way of life into which he is born, and within which his earliest emotional and social experiences are set, he must learn some appreciation of his mother tongue and of the culture of his people .....

(John Spencer, 1963:3)

### 01. Sociolinguistics and Dialect Study.

The conceptual framework for this study was the investigation within a broad sociolinguistic framework <sup>of</sup> the phenomena of language variation and language use among the Yoruba speaking community in Nigeria. Such an approach immediately faces the problem of diversity which can be located at two levels -- the macro and the micro levels. At the macro level of diversity comes the issue of regional variation in language use within the larger Yoruba speech community. At the micro level, the issue is one of intra-community and inter-individual variation in dialect speech usage, an issue which forms the bulk of the analyses carried out in this research.

There is an urgent need in the study of African languages today for a perspective which seeks to relate the issues of language variation and language use within the context of the community of users of these languages to the extra-linguistic factors relating to social and psychological experiences within the broad context of the peoples' culture. John Spencer's words, quoted above, are as relevant today as they were when they were first said over a decade and a half ago. Although a considerable efforts had been

devoted, in the last two decades or so, to the study of African languages and indigenous mother tongues, the main emphasis was on the structural characteristics of the major languages. The issues of language variation and language use within the socio-cultural context are only just beginning to attract the attention of language specialists in Africa.<sup>1</sup>

But in order to achieve a large measure of success in the great investments in education for the masses in terms of universal primary education and total adult literacy, such as Nigeria is now undertaking, a more radical approach has to be adopted in relation to language policy in education. The medium of communication at the village level is the mother tongue, that is, the indigenous language or a dialect variety of it. The trend in the educational policies of many African countries vis-a-vis language, seems to be towards the adoption of the mother tongue(s) as the medium of instruction at the primary level of education. A successful implementation of such a policy will have to rely heavily on the efforts which language experts can bring into the analysis of the functional relationships among the various languages or dialects in the communication network of the different communities.

It will be useful for there to be sufficient and well-documented data and information on the relationships between language/dialect variation and language use, and social factors as they operate at the community level. Such efforts will yield results which will influence the preparation of teaching materials for the school curriculum.

O.1.1. Yoruba Dialect Diversity.

One of the major problems to be encountered in a study of this nature relates to the diversity of dialects within what is regarded as the Yoruba language. The Yoruba language consists of several regional dialects with varying degrees of intelligibility among them.<sup>2</sup> There is a variety of Yoruba which is usually referred to as "Standard Yoruba". This may be a little misleading in the sense that this variety cannot be associated with a particular sub-ethnic group among the Yoruba people although its syntax and lexicon are based on the Oyo dialect of Yoruba.<sup>3</sup> It is a standardized variety of the language and standardization resulted from deliberate acts of policy before and during the colonial times for religious and political reasons.<sup>4</sup>

The degree of proficiency in the standard variety which any one individual may control depends on two factors: (1) proximity or membership of the sub-ethnic group which speaks the regional variety that forms the nucleus of what is regarded as "Standard Yoruba", and (2) literacy in the language through the formal school system in which the standardized variety is supposedly used as a medium in the first three years of primary education and thereafter taught as a subject in the curriculum.

In the light of this, Standard Yoruba can best be described as a 'Superposed Variety' since a large majority of Yoruba speakers use their local regional dialects in many intra-group verbal interactions. For the purpose of inter-group intelligibility among the various sub-ethnic groups of

Yoruba speakers, a variety of Yoruba which approximates the standard is used.<sup>5</sup> This variety is characterized by a high degree of dialectal interference and it varies from speaker to speaker and from community to community, depending of course on the level of formal education which an individual has and/or the degree of his geographic mobility within Yorubaland.

In view of this diversity, what constitutes a problem is the choice of a particular variety for a sociolinguistic study. Since the objective is to study variation and usage, I find myself constrained to select from among the spoken varieties. The "common" variety, that is, common spoken Yoruba, is in far too much of a state of flux at the moment to lend itself to the kind of systematic sociolinguistic description that is intended in this study. I am then left to choose from among the various regional dialects all of which are essentially spoken varieties with no written orthographies of their own. The choice of one or more dialects for investigation is further constrained by the methodology of sociolinguistics which brings us round to a second problem which is discussed in the following section-- the speech community.

#### 0.1.2. The Speech Community.

A fundamental concept in sociolinguistic methodology is the study of language in its social context. The speech community is generally taken as the starting point for the study of verbal behaviour within a social context.



The concept 'Speech Community' has been variously defined to suit different orientations in the description of linguistic behaviour within a broad sociolinguistic framework.

A speech community is a sociolinguistically derived concept for the purpose of the analysis of verbal behaviour that is carried out in this study. It is not defined solely by the characteristics of the referential structure of the particular linguistic code(s) or varieties used in verbal interaction. Gumperz provides a definition that is nearer to the heart of the kind of community that is suitable for this type of sociolinguistic investigation. According to Gumperz (1968, in 1972:219) a speech community is defined as 'any human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs over a significant span of time and set off from similar aggregates by differences<sup>e</sup> in language usage and in the frequency of interaction'.

Gumperz maintains further that since all the speech varieties employed within the community are related to a shared set of social norms, they necessarily compose a system of verbal behaviour. Linguistic varieties are selected for study primarily in terms of who uses them, when, and for what purpose, regardless of purely grammatical similarities and differences. If two grammatically distinct (or partially distinct) linguistic alternatives are employed within the same population, as is the case in this study of the Ikorodu speech community,

both varieties will have to be accounted for in our sociolinguistic analyses.

My choice of the Ikorodu speech community (Fig. I.I) for the study of sociolinguistic variation in speech usage was influenced primarily by two considerations. First, I have some personal knowledge of the socio-cultural characteristics of the Ikorodu people and the nature of the social and economic aspirations with which they are identified. Second, linguistically the Ikorodu people belong to the Ijebu sub-ethnic group of the Yoruba people and therefore speak a variety of the Ijebu dialect. And because of the proximity of the town to the city of Lagos, it is believed that the total linguistic repertoire of the community will show some influence of the spread of the Lagos urban variety of the Yoruba language.

### 0.1.3. Lagos Yoruba

By recognizing a variety of Yoruba called 'Lagos Yoruba' or Eko in this study I differ from earlier scholars of Yoruba dialectology who did not consider Lagos Yoruba as a 'dialect' of Yoruba. This omission may be said to be in line with their orientation of looking at Yoruba dialects from a genetic point of view. What constitutes Lagos Yoruba today may be regarded not as a regional dialect in the sense in which Ijebu, Egba, Ekiti and Oyo are, but as an urban variety which has emerged steadily over the years with the growth of Lagos as an important Yoruba city of considerable administrative and commercial importance for the whole of Nigeria.<sup>6</sup>

As will be shown in greater detail in Chapter IV, none of the important studies on Yoruba gave Lagos Yoruba an independent identity. Adetugbo (1967) mentions 'Lagos Yoruba' in connection with his discussion of what he refers to as 'the expansion of the standardized dialect of the NWY (North West Yoruba) to all other areas of the Yoruba language in Western Nigeria', and concludes that the influence of the standardized dialect is responsible for the merging of Lagos and its immediate hinterland into the NWY system.

'Thus NWY (North West Yoruba) became the speech of Lagos and has in turn influenced its hinterland'.

(p.215)

At an earlier date, E.C. Rowlands had referred briefly to 'Lagos Yoruba' in two different articles (Rowlands 1964 & 1965). In the 1965 article he mentions 'the local dialect of Lagos (that of the quarter called Isale Eko)' in connection with the discussion of the reversal of tones in some Yoruba dialects compared with Standard Yoruba. In the 1964 article he claims that the Qyq dialect has greater prestige than Lagos Yoruba:

'Within what may be called "Standard" Yoruba both spoken and written, there are certain sub-dialectal variations, some of which can be grouped together as distinctive of 'Qyq' and 'Lagos' Yoruba respectively. Of these two sub-dialects, that of 'Qyq' has greater prestige and some speakers of 'Lagos' Yoruba consciously use 'Qyq' forms on certain occasions'.

(Rowlands 1964)

Rowland's 1964 assertion cannot hold true of Lagos Yoruba today compared with the Ọyọ dialect as <sup>a</sup>spoken variety in terms of the relative prestige of both of them. In my view, Lagos Yoruba as a spoken variety of the Yoruba language deserves closer attention especially in terms of its origin as well as its influence over the local regional varieties with which it has come into contact - first the local dialect of Isalẹ Eko in Lagos, then the Ijẹbu dialect in the two communities of Ikorodu and Ẹpẹ in the Lagos State.<sup>7</sup>

Within the last three decades of considerable migration into Lagos of many dialect-speaking Yoruba people from the hinterland, the Lagos variety of Yoruba has become associated with some measure of prestige and it has become fashionable for migrants from the rural districts of Yorubaland where regional dialects are spoken, to strive to acquire the Lagos variety of Yoruba. It offers the most direct and natural access for both educated and non-educated dialect speakers to the acquisition of a 'refined' common spoken Yoruba, the better it becomes if the variety that is acquired can be identified as 'Lagos' Yoruba.

Several regional dialect groups resident in Lagos strive vigorously to acquire the Lagos variety so as to be able to fit into the social setting of city life. They use their local dialects and the acquired urban variety interchangeably according to the demands of the social situation.

O.1.4. The Community Speech Repertoire.

For the purpose of this study, the functional relationship between two Yoruba dialects - the regional variety called Ijebu and the Lagos urban variety of Yoruba, which are co-available among others in the speech repertoire of members of the Ikorodu speech community - is examined from the sociolinguistic perspective of language use in its sociocultural context.

There is a great deal of diversity and variation in the speech behaviour of the inhabitants of Ikorodu. This variation results from their alternation in verbal interactions between the local variety and the Lagos urban variety. I am suggesting that this variation constitutes a spectrum with a range of variants and alternatives. The emerging linguistic picture of this contact situation is one of considerable code-switching among the varieties co-available in the individual and community speech repertoire, and of 'limited' sound changes in progress in the features of the local Ijebu dialect. To the extent that these linguistic phenomena are influenced by certain sociological factors, they become interesting topics for a sociolinguistic investigation.

0.2. Research Objectives.

Linguistic behaviour varies with different social and psychological conditions. Different situations manifest themselves linguistically as differences in the use of the total linguistic repertoire available to members of the speech community. In this study of the variation between the regional and urban norms of dialect speech in a Yoruba speech community, my main objectives are:

- (a) To determine the extent to which variability in linguistic behaviour of members of the Ikorodu speech community is influenced by on-going socio-cultural changes in the community.
- (b) To examine the role of social attitudes and socio-cultural norms as conditioning factors underlying linguistic behaviour with regard to inter-dialect choice and usage among members of the speech community.
- (c) To describe the pattern and direction of shift in dialect features as evidence of sound change in progress and to consider the relative contribution of social and geographic mobility vis-a-vis other sociological/demographic variables in explaining such changes, using the quantitative approach to descriptive sociolinguistic analysis (see G. Sankoff 1974: 18-49).
- (d) To examine individual and community linguistic attitudes from the direct observation of the language use habits of members of the community, and from the individual self - reports on their linguistic behaviour.

The sociolinguistic situation in Ikorodu offers the opportunity to study, using some insights from ethnographic studies, the kind of relationships which exist between the various regional dialects of Yoruba, the community's evaluation of and their attitudes towards the various dialects, factors in the acquisition by members of the speech community of varieties other than the local dialect, and the functional uses which they put their code repertoire to in the social situation.

### 0.3. Plan of the study.

In Chapter One a general review of contemporary emphases in sociolinguistics is attempted in terms of the concept of variability, language change, and correlational studies, and the application of these to the study of regional dialect variation in an African setting as a special case of the well - established works of Labov, Wolfram, Trudgill and others in social dialect variation and urban dialect studies in American and European societies.

The point is made that a sociolinguistic investigation of speech usage in an African indigenous society offers a wealth of information for variation studies, not only in terms of variation in the realization of some phonetic/phonological, lexical or syntactic features, but also in terms of the total community linguistic repertoire range and usage.

Linguistic phenomena such as bi-dialectalism and code-switching, proverbs in discourse, narratives in folk-tales are of considerable sociolinguistic interest. So also do other speech features like the speech genres and style usage in "marked" speech forms found in speech varieties of the poetic forms such as 'Ewì', 'Ìjálá', 'Rárà', or incantatory or ritual forms like 'òfò', 'ògèdè', 'àwúre', 'odù ifá' etc., deserve a place in any sociolinguistic investigation. They will serve to elucidate concepts such as the 'social meaning' or the 'situated meaning' of speech usage (Firth, Gumperz, Pride, etc), and what Hymes refers to as the 'ethnography of speaking' (Hymes 1962).

Chapter Two provides a general picture of the ethnographic background of the Ikorodu community in terms of its history and the socio-cultural setting against which the linguistic behaviour of members of the community is examined.

In Chapter Three, I provide a fairly detailed account of the plan and the execution of the research methodology adopted during my six-month field work. The importance of the field work lies in the fact that it demonstrates the kind of adaptability that can be introduced into sociolinguistic methodology to suit different linguistic communities in order to achieve the objective of collecting adequate and representative speech data.



Chapter Four describes the main phonological/phonetic characteristics of three Yoruba speech varieties - the Ijebu dialect, Eko (i.e Lagos Yoruba) and Standard Yoruba - suggesting that their distinguishing features derive from variations in the distribution of segments in lexical and grammatical items. Also considered are the effects on the synchronic grammars of these dialects, of earlier phonological processes such as vowel shifts and the dropping of the tenseness assimilation rule in vowel harmony in many of the dialects. An account of the diachronic sound shifts and mergers in Ijebu and other dialects of Yoruba is necessary in order to be able to place the present pattern of phonological/phonetic shifts in a proper perspective, showing that they result from a combination of factors including dialect contact, time factor, and the effects of on-going socio-cultural change in the community.

In Chapter Five I present the results of a quantitative analysis of variability and change in some of the phonological and lexical features of the Ijebu dialect of the community. Variability is seen primarily in terms of the degree of individual speaker's deviation from dialect norms in the realization of five features and the extent to which such variability can be explained in terms of the individual or joint effects of the sociological/demographic factors of age, sex, level of education, occupation, degree of contact with the city of Lagos, or rural-urban influences. Change in progress is seen in terms of the way in which the

five dialect features, among others, are assimilating to the corresponding features in the Lagos variety of Yoruba or Standard Yoruba.

Statistical analyses show that while between 60 and 75 per cent of the variation and change in my sample's dialect speech on the five variables can be explained in terms of the joint effects of age, education and occupational categories, the age factor alone accounts for over 50 per cent of the variance in the sample's realization of each of the five phonological variables in both word-list elicitation and conversational speech. Sex, geographic mobility and rural-urban influences do not correlate significantly with the pattern of variation and change in dialect features.

Chapter Six discusses the pattern of observed and self - reported language use and language attitudes in the community in relation to the community's subjective evaluation of two non-linguistic factors -- 'traditionalism' and 'modernity' - two concepts which are not necessarily in opposition but are integrated in the on-going socio-cultural change in the community. Although the two concepts are described in terms of dichotomous components in the socio-cultural setting, attitudes attaching to them are not conflicting. They are reflected in the linguistic behaviour of individuals, and their attitudes towards the speech varieties in use in the community.

Language use in Ikorodu reveals an unusual pattern of non-polarization between the two codes in the community's speech repertoire. Both the local dialect and the Lagos variety of Yoruba are being used with almost equal frequency in most domains of inter-individual interaction at the local level. Language attitudes are demonstrated in the form of an emotional attachment to the mother tongue, that is, the local variant of the Ijebu dialect, in order to project their 'hometown' identity. There is a positive evaluation of Lagos Yoruba, the 'acquired' dialect of the community, and its acquisition is not unconnected with prestige considerations which they attach to this variety as a mark of the community's acquisition of Lagos urban norms and values.

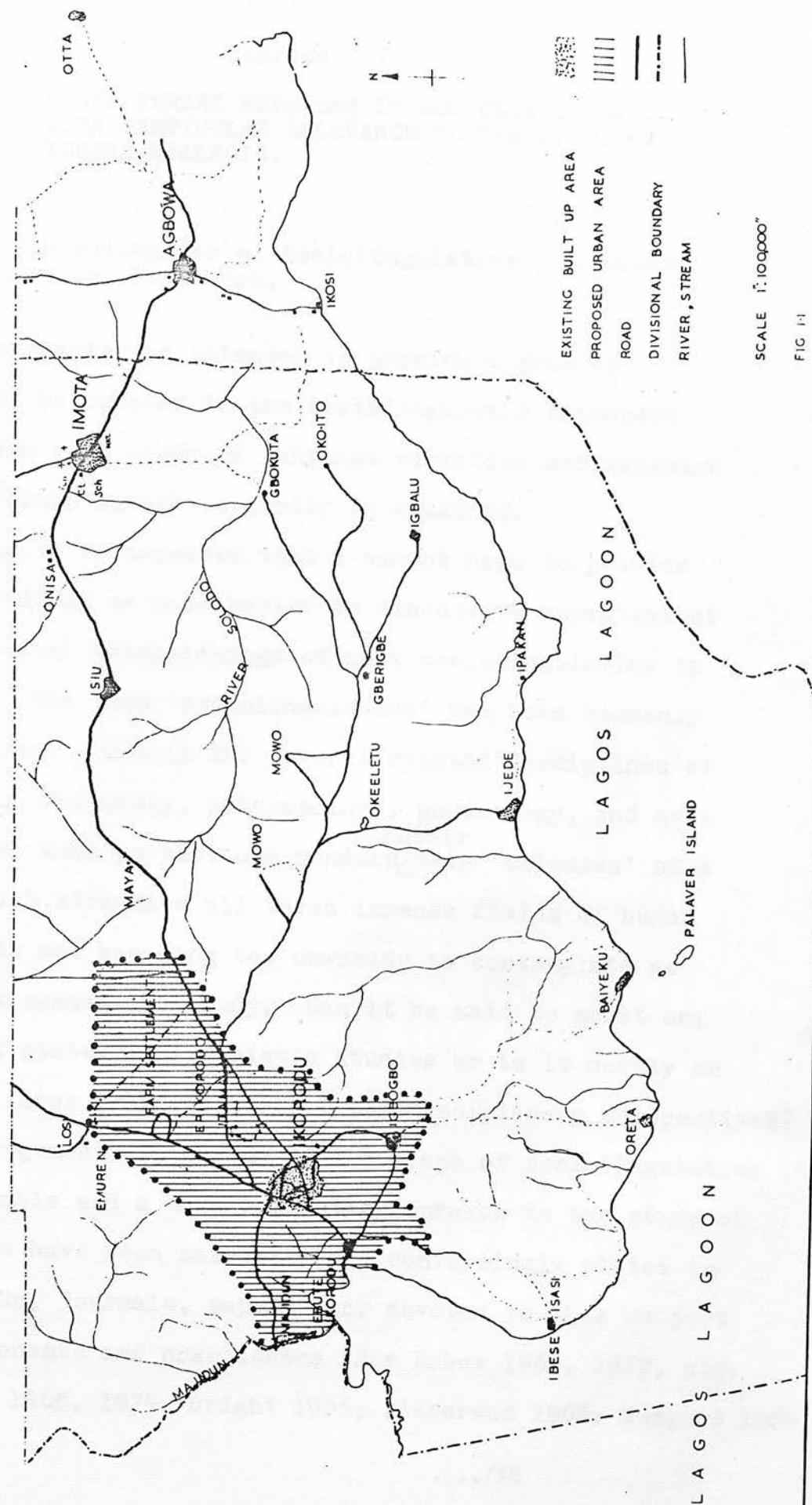
Chapter Seven examines code-switching within the framework of an interpretive analysis of the social meaning of code choice (Gumperz and Hernanadez, 1971, G. Sankoff, 1968 & 1972). But in addition, this phenomenon is examined also in the context of a broader linguistic framework of discourse analysis which considers switching in relation to speech events, comprising a series of routines which speakers perform in the course of a discourse.

Code - switching in bilingual/bi-dialectal individuals is generally seen as a function of many factors such as topic, setting, interlocutors, etc. But, although many of these factors remain constant during many verbal interactions, the bi-dialectal/bilingual speaker in Ikorodu is found to engage in a considerable amount of code-switching.

Considerations of the social significance of code-choice, coupled with other factors such as the degree of relative proficiency in the various codes in a speaker's repertoire, the communicative intent of the speaker, and the frequency of recall of events which trigger off experiential memories and the code(s) in which they used to be enacted, all become relevant parameters in the analysis of code-switching in the Ikorodu speech community.

Finally, Chapter Eight provides a general overview of the whole exercise, evaluates it in terms of its contribution to the expanding field of descriptive sociolinguistics, and suggests areas of further sociolinguistic research in the Yoruba language in view of the proposed widespread use of the standard variety of the language as a medium of instruction at the primary school level of education in the Yoruba - speaking parts of Nigeria. The general area of language use in the multilingual cosmopolitan city of Lagos is also seen as a potentially fertile area for a major sociolinguistic research.

# IKORODU URBAN AREA



- EXISTING BUILT UP AREA
- PROPOSED URBAN AREA
- ROAD
- DIVISIONAL BOUNDARY
- RIVER, STREAM



SCALE 1:100,000

FIG 1-1

CHAPTER I

1.0 CONTEMPORARY EMPHASES IN SOCIOLINGUISTICS  
WITH PARTICULAR RELEVANCE TO THE STUDY OF  
YORUBA DIALECTS.

1.1 The Subject-Matter of Sociolinguistics - A General  
Theoretical Framework.

This chapter is intended to provide a general theoretical background to the sociolinguistic framework within which this study of language variation and language use in a Yoruba speech community is examined.

It is to be expected that I cannot hope to provide within the Scope of one chapter an exhaustive appraisal of the theoretical underpinnings of what sociolinguistics is all about. The term 'sociolinguistics' has been commonly used in recent years in the several related disciplines of linguistics, sociology, anthropology, psychology, and even education so much so that one wonders <sup>whether</sup> this 'colossus' of a subject which straddles all these immense fields of human knowledge is not becoming too unwieldy to contemplate as worthy of a systematic study. Can it be said to merit any independent status in linguistic studies or is it merely an amalgam of ideas from disparate inter-disciplinary perspectives?

The arguments in favour of the place of sociolinguistics as a formidable and a more realistic approach to the study of language use have been carefully and convincingly stated in various books, journals, papers etc. devoted to this subject by its proponents and practioners (See Labov 1966, 1972, etc; Hymes 1962, 1964, 1974; Bright 1966; Lieberson 1966; Gumperz 1964,

etc.). It is an approach to linguistic description which embraces powerful theoretical formulations and empirical objectivity.

To the extent that these different preoccupations with linguistic data can be incorporated within the relevant disciplines of which they form a part, it would not have been necessary according to Hymes, to create a special name like 'sociolinguistics'. But our expectations in terms of an adequate study of language use in society could not be met in the strictly 'narrow' preoccupations in such disciplines. Hymes (1974:VII) maintains a stand which justifies the need for sociolinguistics:

But sociolinguistics merits our attention just in so far as it signals an effort to change the practice of linguistics and other disciplines, because their present practice perpetuates a fragmented, incomplete understanding of humanity. Sociolinguistics, so conceived, is an attempt to rethink received categories and assumptions as to the bases of linguistic work, and as to the place of language in human life.

The inadequacies of the 'linguisticians' model of the analysis of language derive from the methodological approach which seeks to construct a grammar which will model the linguistic competence of an individual, or an ideal native - speaker - hearer of a particular dialect in a completely homogeneous speech community. In this approach, it is maintained that the data of linguistics is not the utterance

by the individual to be studied (that is, his performance) but his intuitions about language - his judgments of the grammaticality, and on the relatedness of sentences (his competence). (See Chomsky 1965).

But a slightly different approach is adopted by the sociolinguist who seeks to understand linguistic structures as they are embedded within a social and cultural matrix. He does not intend to provide, as a necessity, a complete grammar for a given variety or dialect of a language, but the details of phonetic, phonology, syntax and lexicon are examined within the context of their use.

The sociolinguist concentrates on a thorough examination of "the nature and extent of linguistic diversity within a speech community, and how this diversity reflects social stratification, geographical dispersion, language change, stylistic variation, the various possible communicative functions of particular linguistic forms, the dynamics of interpersonal interaction and so on" (Sankoff, G. & D. Sankoff, - 1973:8).

#### 1.1.1 Linguistic Variation and the Speech Community.

The emphasis on a systematic study of variation in linguistic structures within the context of the speech community originated with the studies which William Labov conducted in Martha's Vineyard and in New York City (Labov



1965, 1966). Most of Labov's early studies were concerned with investigating the existence of variation and heterogeneous structures in the speech community and the role of social factors in linguistic variation and change.

Labov's reaction against the narrow idealizations brought into both structural and generative approaches to linguistic descriptions derive from the realization that linguistic theory in general, especially as was propounded up to the 1960s, was not designed to include variation as a systematic fact, but rather to dispose of it and eliminate it in the final analysis. With sufficient data from his empirical studies of language use in its social context to back up his stand, Labov has consistently maintained that the existence of variation and heterogeneous structures in the speech communities investigated is clearly well-established, and that it is the existence of any other type of speech community that may be placed in doubt.

As Labov et al. (1968:8) have shown:

Studies of language use in the community immediately encounter a fundamental difficulty: variation. If we are searching for a simple, homogeneous structure of the type which is normally presented in linguistic descriptions we do not find it. Variation is widespread and seemingly omnipresent.....

Labov says that in order to come to grips with language, we must look as closely and directly at the data of everyday speech as possible, and characterize its

relationship to our grammatical theories as accurately as we can, amending and adjusting the theory so that it fits the object in view.

In his New York City study, Labov (1966) found that the system of the individual speaker appears to be less coherent than that of the speech community as a whole.

The isolated idiolect of the individual New Yorker shows much unaccountable variation that it has been described as a case of massive 'free variation'. But when this individual speech pattern is studied in the larger context of the speech community, it is seen as an element in a highly systematic structure of social and stylistic stratification.

(Labov 1966:V).

The study of variation and linguistic structures has been broad<sup>e</sup><sub>L</sub>ned in the direction envisaged by Labov who maintains that the validity of sociolinguistic research is measured in terms of the ability to relate linguistic data from the speech community to the central problem of linguistic theory. The study of language in its social context cannot remain at the level of phonological variables alone if it is to make a significant contribution to the problems involved in an all-embracing sociolinguistic study of the phonological and grammatical variations in the language of the speech community.

From the early preoccupations with the study of the co-variation of phonological features with sociological or demographic factors as shown in the studies by Labov (op.

cit), Wolfram (1969), Trudgill (1971), Cedergren (1972); variability studies have since incorporated the investigation of lexical and syntactic variation, and the relevance of not only non-linguistic factors, but also of purely linguistic constraints. In addition to showing that the systematic regularity which attaches to much of linguistic variation can be attributed to extra-linguistic factors such as social class differentiation, style, level of education, age, sex, etc., it has also been demonstrated that variability can be correlated with independent linguistic constraints such as phonological or syntactic environments. (See Labov et al. (1968), Wolfram (1969 & 1974), Laberge (1971), Sankoff and Cedergren (1971), and so on.)

In some of these later studies, it has been possible to relate variable linguistic data to the formulation of linguistic theory of competence through the incorporation of variable rules into the grammar of the speech community being investigated. The concept of the 'variable rule' was first developed by Labov (1969) and was subsequently modified and improved upon by H. Cedergren and D. Sankoff, (1972). Thus, the variable rule is posited as a formal aspect of linguistic theory to be accounted for in the grammars of the languages being studied.

1.1.2. Other Dimensions of Variation.

Sankoff (1974) sums up the current trend in sociolinguistic investigations by admitting that the analytic goals which different sociolinguists set for themselves are many and varied. In some studies, especially those conducted in Britain, America and Canada, the goal usually was not to start afresh and write whole grammars but to build on the work of scholars concerned with "narrowly linguistic rather than sociolinguistic competence". Sankoff maintains that an understanding of those particular areas of grammar which are intimately intertwined with social and cultural factors, and the nature of their relatedness, is one of the most clearly definable and attainable goals of sociolinguistics.

On the other hand, Gumperz has shown through several of his studies that it is only in linguistically homogeneous societies that the linguistic markers of social or cultural distinctions tend to be confined to structurally marginal features of phonology syntax, and lexicon. In some other societies such markers may include both standard languages and grammatically divergent local dialects.

It has also been shown that in many multilingual societies the choice of one language/dialect over another has the same signification as the selection among phonological or lexical alternates in linguistically homogeneous societies. "In such cases", maintains Gumperz (1968:115-116), "two or more grammars may be required to cover the entire scope of linguistically acceptable expressions that serve to convey social meanings".

It is held that speakers interact in a speech community of varying degrees of linguistic diversity and social complexity. Whether monolingual or bilingual, such a community is characterized by distinguishable speech varieties such that their distribution of usage is intermeshed with and signalled by various factors in the social communicative systems of the community. For the actual range of social situations involving language choice, there might be a corresponding range of linguistic varieties and these two 'repertoires' do in fact co-vary. Situations of language choice may involve the use of what has been referred to as the "marked genres of ritual speech", some form of stylized speech in folklore, the traditional oral literature, etc., all of which may have definable social significance in the cultural life of a speech community. Much of speech usage in most African societies belong to this aspect of verbal behaviour, that is, institutionalized speech genres.

An integrated descriptive sociolinguistics must be capable of incorporating all these dimensions of variation in its analysis if the focus of attention is the study of speech variation and usage within the context of the speech community. As Sankoff (op. cit: 19) points out, the starting point may be the examination of the sociocultural matrix of use, either in terms of interpersonal interaction or in terms of culturally defined situations of speech use,

proceeding to the investigation of their linguistic concomitants (the ethnography of speaking). On the other hand, emphasis may be placed on "trying to demonstrate that the distribution of linguistic features cannot be understood solely in terms of their internal relationships within grammar, but must be seen as part of the broader socio-cultural context in which they occur". This is the position that is taken in this study of speech usage in the Ikorodu speech community.

## 1.2. Descriptive Sociolinguistics and the Study of Yoruba Dialects.

In the preceding sections, I have tried to review some of the general methodological and theoretical principles which underly much of current sociolinguistic thinking and practice. It now remains for me to relate these principles to the more practical aspects of the study of variation and language use among the various dialect groups of the Yoruba speech community. In other words, I wish to examine the relevance of a sociolinguistic perspective in the study of Yoruba dialect speech usage.

The analysis of variation in speech behaviour, that is, the speech behaviour of people in actual communicative situations has become the principal object of sociolinguistic description. The Yoruba language has been subjected to a fair amount of linguistic analysis in the areas of phonology and syntax. But it remains a fact that the existing

studies in Yoruba today do not as yet capture the entire dynamics of Yoruba speech usage.

What is now known as the Yoruba language comprises a cluster of dialects, that is, regional varieties of the language spoken by the various sub-ethnic groups of the Yoruba people as their native dialect.

The variety that has been fully described in terms of its structural characteristics and recognized as the Yoruba language is a standardized koiné (see Adetugbò 1969) which has an orthography and is used in most forms of written communication in the language. It is taught in the school system and used in both radio and television broadcasts. But it cannot be placed within the context of a speech community, in a geographic sense, in Yorubaland. What exists as language in actual use in various communities in the Yoruba country can be regarded as a set of dialectal varieties, or regional varieties of the language. Each dialect has vitality within the context of the Yoruba sub-ethnic community which speaks it, and it becomes a badge of identity of the sub-ethnic group who uses it<sup>1</sup>.

In such a situation of great dialectal diversity, what constitutes variation must not be seen solely in terms of the geographic diversification of the dialects but also in terms of the intra-community variation within individual dialects.

The need for detailed studies of Yoruba dialects has become quite urgent in view of the fact that a fair amount of attention is now being devoted to the study of Yoruba language and literature in Nigerian Universities. Although a large amount of literature is now available on the 'pure linguistic' description of various aspects of the standardized variety of the language, so much is yet to be done. The whole area of Yoruba dialectology has been almost completely neglected except for the two existing studies by Adetugbo (1967) and Fresco (1970).

This point was emphasized by Ayo Bamgboṣe (1969) in an article in which he reviewed the existing and current studies in Yoruba and made suggestions for further research.

The real need now in the field of (Yoruba) language studies is not grammars or dictionaries. It is well known that there are many dialects of Yoruba. How many there are, how related and how different we know very little about. We talk of the Ijebu Dialect, the Eḡba Dialect or the Ekiti Dialect; but anyone who has listened to the speech of people from these dialectal areas knows that there are many Ijebu dialects, many Eḡba and many Ekiti dialects.....

A study of the dialects will not only be useful in language studies; it will be an advantage for literary studies. The oral literature which is now being collected comes from different dialectal areas. Each collection bears the stamp of the dialect of the character, and it is futile to think that one



can really carry out a proper analysis of the poetry without first understanding the dialect in which it is chanted.

Today a fair amount of research into the nature and form of Yoruba oral literature is being carried out in the Departments of Linguistics, African Languages and Literatures at the Universities of Ibadan, Lagos and Ife in Nigeria. But it seems to me that all these studies whether in terms of oral literature, ritual or marked speech genres; or in terms of investigations of intelligibility among dialects, will profit immensely from the methodological and theoretical perspectives which descriptive sociolinguistics can offer. With a sociolinguistic approach it will be possible to relate the general structure and pattern of variation in linguistic structure and verbal codes to the existing socio-cultural matrix within which verbal performance in the various Yoruba speech communities take place.

I suggest that it is simply not enough to identify, list and describe the various types of Yoruba oral poetry and their structural characteristics - be they poetic chants, funeral dirges, incantations and other forms of ritual speech usage, folktales etc. We must try to relate these variable aspects of speech usage, to the general cultural background of the community of users, and then try to identify the various components of both linguistic and social meanings which each variety or genre signifies for members of that community.

In the area of everyday speech, that is, the kind of speech which is least 'marked' for special features and is used in the day-to-day intragroup as well as in intergroup communication among the Yoruba people, the study of dialect speech in terms of intelligibility and dialect boundaries cannot be over-emphasized. What we have had so far has been the structural description of the features of some Yoruba dialects in terms of different systems treated together because of their partial similarity. Explanations for the various phonological, and lexical and syntactic differences among the dialects were offered in terms of the structural consequences of the partial differences within a framework of partial similarity, and all of these were taken into consideration in demarcating the geographic boundaries of the various dialect groups (see Adetugbo op. cit.). These are some of the principles of structural dialectology which form the theoretical base for Adetugbo's study of Yoruba dialects. (See also Weinreich 1954).

In fairness to Adetugbo, he provided a very critical appraisal of the limitations and weakness of traditional and structural dialectology in the study of Yoruba dialects. He also suggested another goal for dialectology, that is, "the search for the classificatory matrix that explicates the naive stereotypes of speaker's attitudes towards dialects and their boundaries". As he rightly observed:

belong to an entirely different subsystem of the Yoruba language (See Chapter IV).

.....dialect boundaries as projected by the native speaker are not always supported by linguistic reality; indeed, that dialect areas delimited by linguistic criteria alone are not necessarily the most useful entities. It sometimes appears that group identity and **ethnological** homogeneity are the sole determinants of the native speaker's conception of his language area especially where no objective linguistic differences can be found to justify his claim concerning the existence of a dialect boundary.

But Adetugbo's study did not explore to any great depth these social or ethnographic aspects of attitudes towards dialect speech and dialect boundaries among speakers of the Yoruba language. In this study of the Ikorodu speech community, the claim by members of the community that their local variety of the Ijebu dialect bears greater similarities to Lagos Yoruba than with the Remo variety of Ijebu dialect has no basis in linguistic facts. The local variety of Ijebu used in Ikorodu belongs essentially to the Remo subsystem of the Ijebu dialect and the slight differences between them are phonetic differences in the realization of certain features which in Ikorodu are undergoing rapid changes which are motivated essentially by considerations of the social mobility of the Ikorodu people in the direction of Lagos urban norms. The Lagos variety of Yoruba belongs to an entirely different subsystem of the Yoruba language (See Chapter IV).

Since the ultimate objective in Adetugbo's study was to relate the data from the analysis of various Yoruba dialects to the theoretical model of structural dialectology, such non-linguistic factors of attitudes and social orientation could not be accommodated within a narrowly defined 'linguistics' which has no place for social considerations.

Today, those aspects of Yoruba dialect study which seemed intractable to Adetugbo's approach and to structural dialectology generally, can be accommodated within a sociolinguistic framework which takes the speech community as the starting point for the study of dialect speech and aims at understanding and systematizing the linguistic phenomenon in the light of social facts. By incorporating the formal analysis of language attitudes and the socio-cultural dimensions of speech usage and code choice in dialect contact situations in a sociolinguistic approach, we are able to relate speakers' perception of the assumed boundaries of their dialects, and their professed intelligibility or lack of it in dialects other than their own, to the on-going changes in the linguistic features of the dialects concerned in terms of either purely linguistic evolution or socially motivated changes.

The Yoruba speech community seen at the level of each dialect-speaking group, is one in which its members share some mutually complementary knowledge and ability

(competence) for the production and interpretation of appropriate speech. Such a community has been described as "an organization of diversity insofar as this knowledge and ability (i.e. access to and command of resources for speaking) are differentially distributed among its members; the production and interpretation of speech are thus variable and complementary, rather than homogeneous and constant throughout the community" (Bauman, R. and J. Sherzer, eds. 1974:6).

The description of variation investigated in this research concentrated on some aspects of Ijebu dialect speech which constitute variable phenomena in the speech usage of members of the Ikorodu community.

In the first place, I have investigated five phonological features (3 vocalic and 2 consonantal) whose phonetic realizations in the speech of my Ikorodu sample involve variable alternations, in each case, between two discrete sound segments. Whether or not each of the two alternating segments belongs potentially to one or two dialect systems is a theoretical issue which would need further clarification in the light of further studies of Yoruba dialects in terms of either one overall (panlectal) system or a series of co-existent systems. What is of sociolinguistic interest here is that these variable realizations are highly systematic when correlated with the sociological factors of age, education, and occupational groups. These features are also involved in what has been acknowledged as linguistic change in progress.

The pattern of variability and the nature of change in progress in the Ijebu dialect speech of Ikorodu are of considerable interest in view of current hypothesis about those areas of a language system which are subject to variation and change, and about whether sound changes are gradual or discrete.

This study reveals that the pattern of co-occurrence restrictions which govern lexical and syntactic combinations in dialect usage in Yoruba restricts the level of organization at which change occurs to permissible alternate surface realizations of phonological segments in both phonological and morpho-syntactic environments. In addition, it reveals that sound change in Yoruba dialects does not show evidence of a gradual movement through phonetic space, rather, change occurs as 'jumps' in discontinuous positions from back to front, low to high, mid to high etc; from nasal to oral, nasal to lateral or vice versa. Above all, it reveals that some of the changes in progress are sociologically motivated and are reversals of some changes that took place at an earlier date in the history of the language.

A second aspect of variation described in this dissertation involves the pattern of alternation between two or more dialect varieties co-available in the speech repertoires of members of the community. The bi-dialectal situation in the Ikorodu community gives rise to the phenomenon of extensive code-switching in the linguistic behaviour of members of the community. The relationship

between code-alternation and individual's perception and manipulation of certain social or cultural factors which covary with speech usage cannot be divorced from community norms of evaluation of linguistic behaviour and individual's projected linguistic attitudes.

In summary, the community's linguistic repertoire is described in terms of levels on a continuum, at one end of which is the regional/local dialect variety and at the other extreme is the Lagos urban/Standard variety; between the two extremes lies an area of interaction characterized by a range of linguistic variation and usage.

Each level can be specified in terms of the relative number or variety of codes, or the linguistic systems operating within it. Members of the speech community group into or cluster within levels according to the varying number of codes or repertoires which the individual commands. Membership of a particular level, and thus the control of the linguistic repertoires within that level will covary with the aggregates of certain sociological factors which can also be specified for that level.

The range of speech variation within the community can therefore be measured in terms of the extent of variation or differences in the dominant linguistic features which characterize each group's speech usage patterns, and the direction of on-going linguistic change which such variability signals can be determined with greater accuracy.

## CHAPTER II

### 2.0. AN ETHNOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND TO THE COMMUNITY'S LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRE.

#### 2.1. Ikorodu Speech Community.

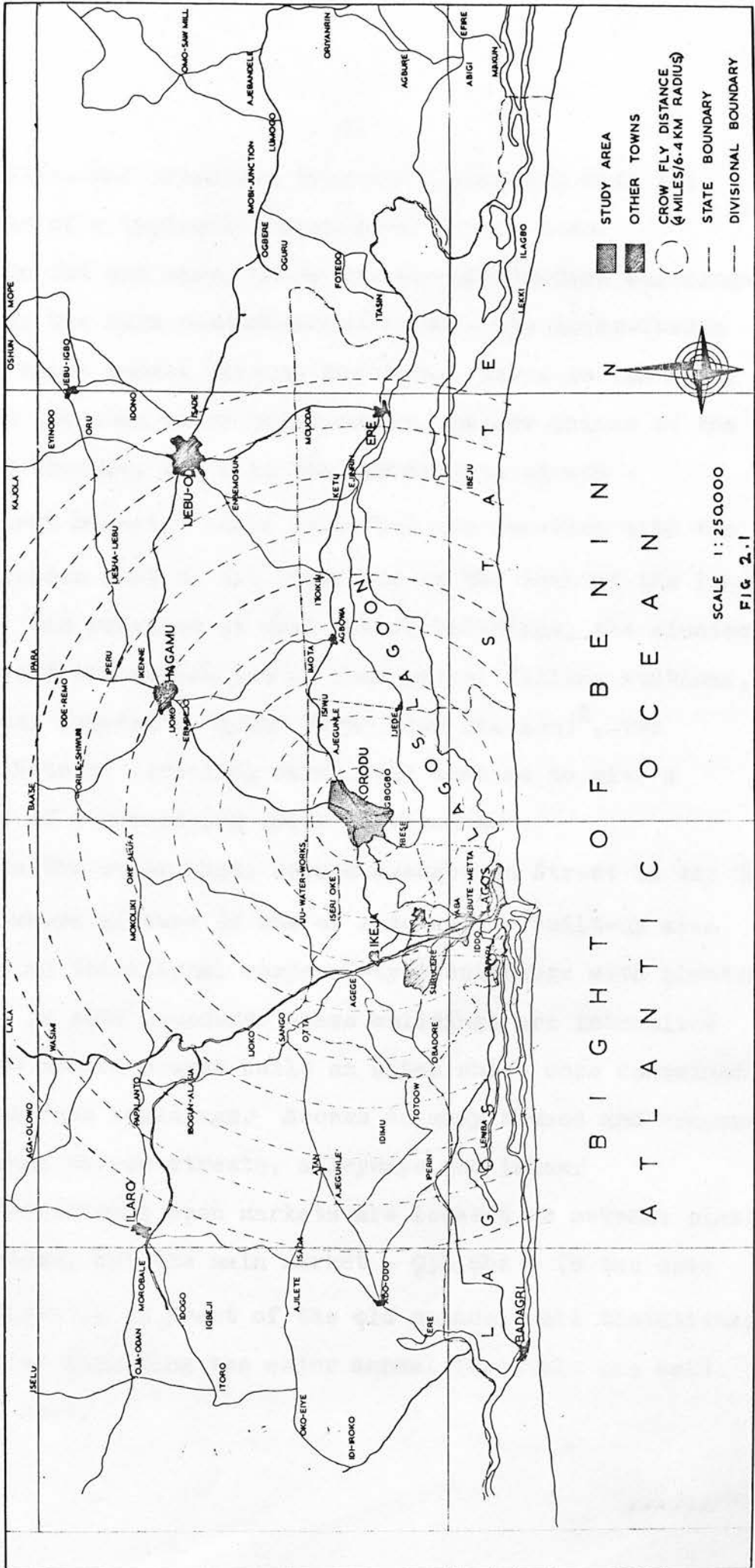
Ikorodu is a Yoruba town situated half-way between the city of Lagos (until recently the Capital of Nigeria) and Sagamu, one of the main towns of the hinterland province of Ijebu (Fig.2.1). The inhabitants of Ikorodu speak a variety of Ijebu dialect which is one of the many regional varieties of the Yoruba language.

In addition to the local Ijebu dialect spoken in the town, a large majority of the people here also use Eko, that is, the Lagos variety of the Yoruba language in their speech repertoire. A closer observation of the pattern of language usage in the community will reveal that the heterogeneity in speech forms reflects some fundamental elements of on-going socio-cultural changes in the community. These changes influence the attitudes of members of the community towards dialect speech usage, and the acquisition of the Lagos urban variety either for prestige or for pragmatic purposes, or for both.

Ikorodu is fast developing into a suburban town, and strikes one as a town in which the elements of a modern,



# IKORODU REGIONAL LOCATION



B I G H T O F B E N I N  
A T L A N T I C O C E A N

progressive and urbanized town are juxtaposed with the features of a typically traditional Yoruba town.

On the one hand, there are the ultra-modern buildings spanning the main communication route - the Lagos-Ibadan Road - which passes through the town. There is the newer part of the town which incorporates the new palace of the Oba<sup>1</sup> of Ikorodu, and also the town's main street - Ayangbureṅ Street - which runs from its junction with the Lagos-Ibadan road to the other end of the town at the lagoon beach. The presence of such modern buildings, the clustering around the roundabout of four petrol filling stations, the local council's 'Motor Park' (bus station)<sup>2</sup>, two local 'hotels' (drinking bars), all combine to give a picture of a developing urban settlement.

On the other hand, beyond Ayangbureṅ Street is the town proper whose picture is one of a densely - built-up area comprising traditional compound-type buildings with plastered walls. In some compounds these buildings are intermixed with new modern houses built on sites which once contained compound-type buildings. Access to many houses and compounds is through narrow streets, alleyways and lanes.

Traditional open markets are located in several places in the town, but the main market - Ojà Oba - is the open space directly in front of the old palace. All traditional ceremonies including the major annual festivals are held on this spot.

Paradoxically, this juxtaposition in physical terms of the traditional and the modern which reflects the changing socio-cultural life of the people of Ikorodu also has correspondences in the linguistic repertoire of the community<sup>3</sup>. Both the local dialect and the Lagos variety of Yoruba are used variably in most verbal interactions among members of the community. Change is reflected in the rate at which some linguistic features (phonological and lexical) are gradually assimilating to corresponding features of the Lagos variety or the Standard variety.

Today, the community exhibits a high degree of heterogeneity and variability in linguistic behaviour which was probably not present at the beginning of this century. A large majority of the younger members of the community are no longer able to speak the local dialect but speak **Eko** instead. Standard Yoruba is learned formally at school and those who have gone through the formal educational system may command varying levels of proficiency in it. English is acquired through the formal school system where it is used as a medium of instruction<sup>4</sup>. It is also used in official transactions in government offices. Because the community is predominantly a muslim community (Table 2.5), some people have also incorporated certain features of the Arabic language into their speech behaviour.

The social-cultural setting for the diversity in linguistic behaviour among members of the Ikorodu speech community is the focus of interest in this chapter.

## 2.2. History and Culture.

The brief historical sketch of Ikorodu which follows is intended to throw some light on the very strong historical link between the community and the rest of Ijẹbuland, especially the Rẹmọ sub-group of the Ijẹbu people, not only in cultural characteristics but also in linguistic heritage<sup>5</sup>.

### 2.2.1. Historical Origin.

The founders of Ikorodu came from Şagamu the capital town of the Rẹmọ sub-group. They were four of the sons of Kóyẹlú, the Àkárìgbò of Şagamu and the traditional head of the Rẹmọ people. They were led by the eldest among them whose name was Ọgá. For a long time they continued to pay allegiance to their father and to respect his suzerainty over their new settlement by attending the Ọşùgbó cult meeting in Şagamu. The Ọşùgbó cult was the central administrative machinery through which the whole of Rẹmọ district in the then Ijẹbu Kingdom was governed<sup>6</sup>. It convened every seventeenth-day and was presided over by the Àkárìgbò of Şagamu.

Because of an unfortunate disaster which occurred during one of their trips to Şagamu and resulted in the death of the eldest son of Ọgá, Ikorodu people stopped attending the Ọşùgbó cult in Şagamu and demanded to be allowed to

establish their own Òsùgbó cult in Ikorodu. Their request was granted and this marked the beginning of Ikorodu's independence from the rest of Ijẹbu Rẹmọ district.

The earliest settlers inhabited a place called Àgbèlé. What is now known as Ikorodu town was, according to local oral historical account, originally used as a farm on which a variety of vegetable called "òdú" was cultivated. It was then referred to as "oko òdú", that is, "a farm (oko) where the òdú vegetable grows". After a while, the settlers moved from Àgbèlé to Oko-Òdú which became the nucleus of the present town renamed 'Ikorodu'.

The small town of Ikorodu grew steadily in importance and by the beginning of the nineteenth century it had become an important coastal market town providing farm products for the surrounding area and also for the municipality of Lagos. It also served as the coastal exit for products from not only the immediate hinterland of the province of Ijẹbu but also the rest of Yorubaland and the far north.

The only communication route between Lagos and the Ijẹbu hinterland at that time was by water through the Lagos lagoon which bordered Ikorodu. Naturally, therefore, Ikorodu became the coastal link between the rest of the hinterland and the city of Lagos. This gave rise to a flourishing market located at the lagoon beach of Ikorodu. Here the Ijẹbu had a flourishing trade in cloth, spirits, tobacco, kolanuts, palm produce, foodstuff and slaves with Portuguese merchants<sup>7</sup>.

At the tail-end of the nineteenth century, Ikorodu was already a prosperous market town and entry-port, but later its importance in this dual capacity dwindled as a result of the opening up of road links between Lagos and the rest of the hinterland.

But the over-all effect of this early functional role was that the economy of Ikorodu was based on commercial enterprises and its inhabitants developed a taste for commercial life in preference to agricultural activities. This explains why a considerable number of people from Ikorodu migrated into Lagos at the beginning of the twentieth century when socio-economic success among the Yoruba people was beginning to be measured not necessarily in terms of the traditional categories of social status, but principally in terms of access to western-type education and wealth deriving from commercial enterprises. Opportunities for success through these means were available more at that time in Lagos than in any other part of Yorubaland.

However, it must be pointed out that in general, Yoruba people who migrate to Lagos never completely sever their connections with the towns or villages of their birth. They return to their home towns periodically to participate in the local festivals and traditional ceremonies, marry or bury their dead, take chieftaincy titles and acquire land on which to build their personal houses. All these are strong indications of self-identification with one's place of birth.

2.2.2. Stratification and Social Mobility in Traditional Ijebu Society.

In a recent anthropological study of the Ijebu Society, Dan Aronson (1970) provides a most comprehensive and insightful analysis of the pattern and extent of social structure in Ijebu society. The study delves into the socio-cultural features of both traditional and contemporary Ijebu society. Some of his findings are extremely relevant for a sociolinguistic study of language variation and language change in the Ijebu speech community.

Although I did not have access to Dr Aronson's thesis until I had started writing up the reports of my own field study, it is interesting to note that my observations, from a sociolinguistic point of view, on the socio-cultural life of the Ijebu people based on a micro-study of the Ikorodu speech community are corroborated by the findings from <sup>a</sup>macro-study of the Ijebu society by a social anthropologist.

The inferences which will be made and some of the conclusions reached in various sections in this thesis regarding the relationship between the ethnographic or socio-cultural background and the pattern of language variation and language change among the Ijebu people of Ikorodu will rely, in addition to my own field observations, on the anthropological background provided in Dr Aronson's thesis.

One of the peculiarities of a sociolinguistic study of a Yoruba speech community is the absence of what I call

a 'neat' social stratification, in the sense in which stratification is regarded or understood in the social structure of western societies, that one might correlate with variation in speech usage. This feature immediately differentiates the variability study of a Yoruba dialect speech community from the variability studies of 'social dialects' in some American and European speech communities (See Wolfram and Fasold 1974).

It is of course true, as Dr Aronson observed among the Ijebu, that there is a sense in which one can speak of a high degree of "occupational and social differentiation" within traditional Yoruba society. The king, chiefs, traders without titles, craftsmen of numerous types, farmers, fishermen, hunters, palmwine tappers, market women, domestic servants and slaves all take their appropriate places in the status hierarchy. In this sense, Aronson suggests that we enter into the 'ideological' aspects of social status because 'to be free in whatever occupation was "better" than to be a slave ..... to be a chief was "better" than to be a common free-born, and to be of royal ancestry was "best" of all' (Aronson 1970:71-72).

Although the semi-hereditary positions of king, palace chiefs, lineage headships etc., passed to the active aspirant within a narrow category of eligible people in the segment whose turn it was to select the office holder, Aronson rightly observes that important roles were still open to any man and that the overall character of the system of allocation of roles was its 'openness'. He sums it



up by saying that traditional Ijebu society was a complexly woven system of urban and rural, chiefly and common, commercial and agricultural, sophisticated and simple parts:

In all, we must see Ijebu social structure as essentially fluid, allowing much mobility especially in times of economic growth....(p.73)

But that: With all this mobility, however, the distance from top to bottom of the ladder of social statuses was not great, nor were the strata-- the rungs -- themselves well defined by comparison, for example with traditional European social classes ... (p.75).

In terms of inherent structural characteristics, contemporary Yoruba society is in no way too different from the traditional 'open' class society. It is in this sense, therefore, that I talk of there being no close correlation between social stratification and linguistic behaviour in a Yoruba speech community.

In one sense, the city dweller or the successful businessman returned from Lagos might assume some air of importance or superiority because his sojourn in the city may have afforded him the opportunity for acquiring a better education, a modern 'superior' urban culture, and a feeling that he must have acquired a prestigious value system associated with city life. This may also be heightened by the fact that he is also able to speak the urban dialect of Lagos in addition to other linguistic codes in his repertoire. Nevertheless, it is highly desirable in another sense that he be positively identified with the norms of behaviour in

the community, if he wants to be regarded as a local, and one very important indication of a person's positive self-identification with his hometown is the ability, even after a long sojourn in the city, to speak the local dialect. The use of one's dialect among fellow locals generates a feeling of solidarity and belonging in one's local community.

### 2.3. Language Use in Socio-cultural Change.

Today, the Ikorodu speech community is an example of an African sub-urban town which is torn between its allegiance to and the maintenance and preservation of its traditional local customs and value systems on the one hand, and the orientation toward the value system and the life style associated with the immediately adjoining city of Lagos.

Within the last decade a number of factors have contributed immensely to the very noticeable changes in the political and social life of the community, the most important being the political factor of Ikorodu being incorporated administratively into Lagos State.<sup>8</sup>

It is evident that the city of Lagos has a strong pull on the Ikorodu community as a whole. For a large number of people in Ikorodu today the city of Lagos has become their reference group. It is significant that Ikorodu people no longer refer to themselves as being a part, at least in

terms of social-cultural relationship, of Ijebu Remo and any reference at all to their ancestral connection with Şagamu is very casual and is made only by the older people. They prefer to call themselves 'Ikorodu' and perhaps rather tantalisingly as 'Ijebu Eko' (i.e. Lagos Ijebu). At the very extreme, some of the informants in this study asserted that the kinship relationship between Ikorodu people and Lagos people is stronger than that between Ikorodu and Şagamu!

Culturally, there are many aspects of the life of Ikorodu people which no longer bear any strong similarity to those of the rest of the Ijebu people. Their style of dressing is more 'modern' and resembles the style of Yoruba costumes used in Lagos. The lavishness with which the Ikorodu people perform elaborate outing ceremonies -- a weekend phenomenon known as "fádà" -- shows close similarities with the practice in Lagos and has no counterpart in the rest of Ijebuland. The traditional annual festivals of 'Màgbó' and 'Líwè' observed in the community take on significant innovations and are performed with a pageantry that is aimed at achieving a level of popularity associated with a similar but not related traditional festival called "Èyò" in Lagos.

The conclusion to be drawn from the situation is that the socio-cultural orientation of the entire community is toward the city of Lagos. Lagos offers opportunities for

success in business, in industry, in education and in employment. It is a centre of fashion, and above all, Lagos typifies modernity.

What is of interest to us in this study and of particular relevance to sociolinguistics generally is the relationship between this on-going socio-cultural change and the code repertoire in the community.<sup>9</sup> Ikorodu can now be described as a bi-dialectal speech community. From a community which once used only the Ijebu dialect in intra-group communication it has become a community in which both the local dialect and Eko are used interchangeably in every day verbal interactions among members of the community. Individual members of the community also command varying degrees of proficiency in the Standard variety of Yoruba and in the English language both of which are learnt through formal education.

There is a high degree of code-switching between Ijebu and Eko in the speech behaviour of members of the community. Today Ikorodu can be described as a speech community in a state of flux. It is characterized by linguistic heterogeneity and dialect shift. There is variability in dialect speech usage, in attitudes toward dialect speech and also in the perception of what constitutes dialect intelligibility and dialect competence.

Above all, the variety of the Ijebu dialect used in the community is under-going some changes. Some of its

major differentiating features are assimilating toward standard or Lagos Yoruba features.<sup>10</sup> Some of these features are generally phonological/phonetic and lexical and the rate of change or assimilation may be said to be a function of the considerable degree of socio-cultural changes going on in the community. An account of the on-going changes in dialect features in the community will be given in Chapter V.

#### 2.4. Demographic characteristics of Ikorodu's population.

It is rather difficult to give a reliable and accurate official population figure for Ikorodu town because of the inaccuracies of both the 1963 and 1973 population censuses in Nigeria!<sup>11</sup> A current population estimate shows, however, that Ikorodu has a population of 92,191.<sup>12</sup>

The population of the town has grown steadily from a small figure of 4,800 in 1931 (1931 National Census figure) to a huge figure of 92,191 in 1973 according to the estimate produced from the survey conducted by Onafowokan Cityscape Group - a group of professional Architects and Town Planners. (Table 2.1). The population of Ikorodu town is twice that of all the other small towns and villages in the division put together.

TABLE 2.1: TOTAL POPULATION OF IKORODU DIVISION,  
1931-1973.

YEAR	URBAN		RURAL	
	POPULATION	ANNUAL GROWTH RATE (%)	POPULATION	ANNUAL GROWTH RATE (%)
1931	4,800	-	-	-
1952	16,200	1.04	-	-
1963	81,100	5.6 <sup>13</sup>	-	-
1973	92,191	1.31	40,518	-

Source: Master Plan for Ikorodu (in preparation)  
By Onafowokan Cityscape Group.

With a population of 92,191 Ikorodu ranks among what has been described as medium sized towns in Yorubaland.<sup>14</sup> But Ikorodu still remains essentially a native town with only about five percent of its population made up of strangers. It is the Divisional Headquarters and the only main town in the area. It is surrounded by small towns and villages like Igbogbo, Baiyeku, Agura and so on. Figure 2.2 shows the size of Ikorodu's population compared to those of the surrounding towns and villages.

Table 2.2 gives a breakdown of both the urban and rural population of Ikorodu Division in terms of age and sex ratios. These figures show that about 37 percent of

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION (BY SEX) OF MAJOR SETTLEMENTS IN IKORODU DIVISION

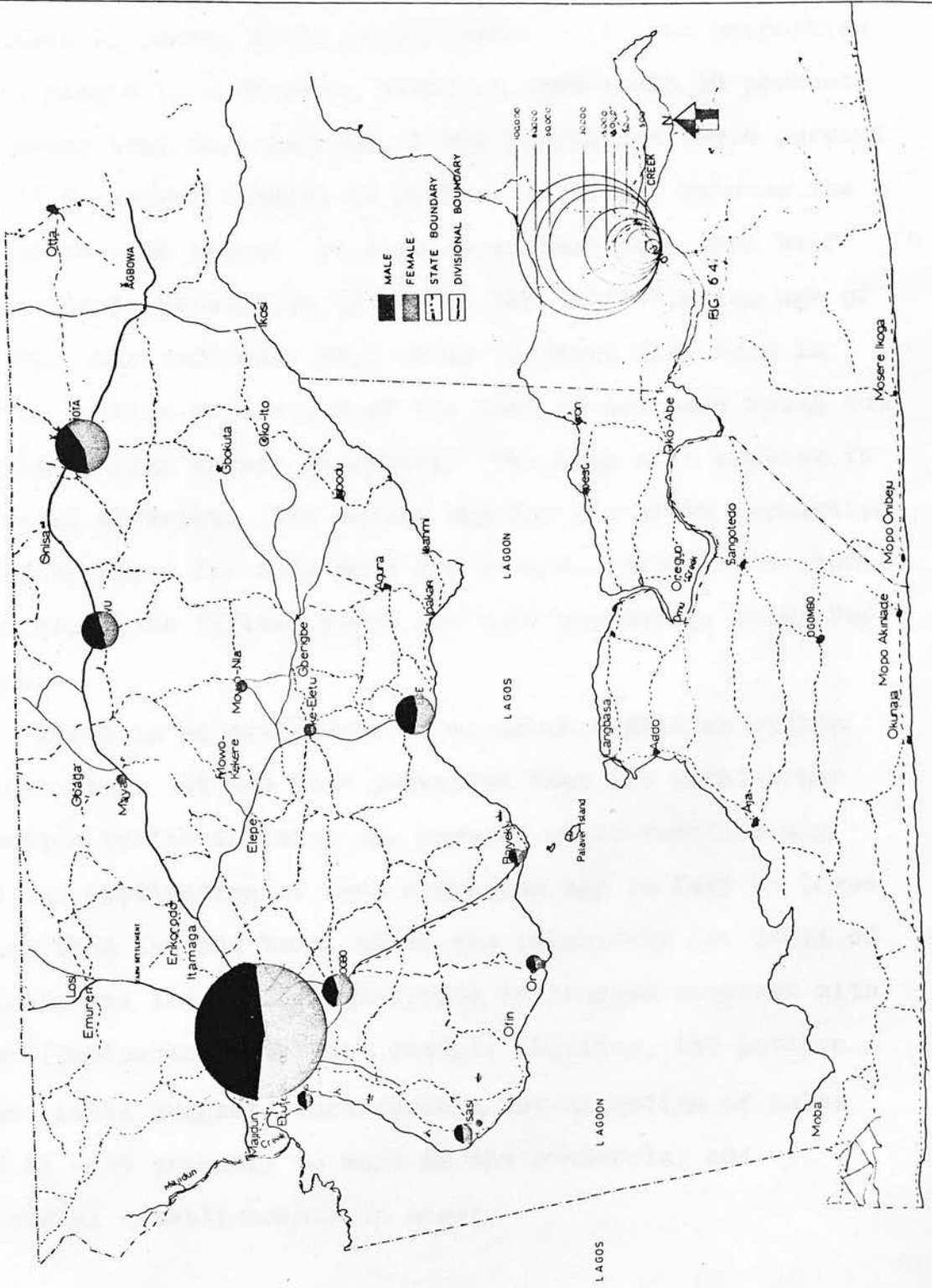


FIG 2.2

the entire population of Ikorodu town is made up of children under 15 years, while on the other hand, the proportion of old people (i.e 50 years plus) is just about 10 percent. This means that 52.6 percent of the population (49.4 percent male 55.9 percent female) is made up of people between the ages of 15 - 49 years. It also shows that more than half of the female population is within the child-bearing age of 15 - 49. The inference that could be drawn from this is that the entire population of the town is not only young but also has a high growth potential. The same also applies to the rural district. The median age for the urban population is twenty years for both male and female, while in the rural district, it is fifteen years for male and twenty years for female.

There is no noticeable rural-urban migration within the division. It has been suggested that the rural-urban migration in the division may involve whole families and that the destination of such migration may in fact be Lagos rather than Ikorodu town, given the relatively low level of business and industrial enterprise in Ikorodu compared with Lagos (Onofowokan Cityscape Group). Besides, the pattern of sex ratio suggests considerable out-migration of males aged 25 - 59 probably to work in the commercial and industrial establishments in Lagos.



TABLE 2.2: POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX; IKORODU  
DIVISION

AGE	URBAN				RURAL			
	MALES		FEMALES		MALES		FEAMLES	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0 - 4	5,662	13.3	5,884	11.9	2,768	14.6	2,684	12.4
5 - 9	6,033	14.2	5,971	12.0	3,039	16.1	2,935	13.6
10 - 14	5,154	12.1	5,167	10.4	2,394	12.7	2,265	10.5
15 - 19	4,154	9.8	4,410	8.8	1,775	9.4	1,641	7.6
20 - 24	3,789	8.9	5,044	10.1	1,576	8.3	2,170	10.0
25 - 29	3,827	9.0	5,897	11.9	1,611	8.5	2,539	11.8
30 - 34	3,121	7.3	4,417	8.9	1,235	6.5	1,900	8.8
35 - 39	2,337	5.5	3,277	6.6	1,021	5.4	1,376	6.4
40 - 44	2,199	5.3	2,790	5.6	810	4.3	1,111	5.1
45 - 49	1,531	3.6	1,971	4.0	675	3.6	953	3.9
50 - 54	1,227	2.9	1,504	3.0	513	2.7	665	3.1
55 - 59	699	1.6	894	1.8	366	1.9	445	2.1
60+	2,743	6.5	2,489	5.0	1,140	6.0	1,011	4.7
All	42,476	100.0	49,715	100.0	18,923	100.0	21,595	100.0

Source: Field Survey 1972: Onofowokan Cityscape Group;  
(Master Plan for Ikorodu (in  
preparation))

## 2.5. Speech Repertoires in Relation to Sociological/ Demographic Variables.

In this section, I shall describe certain aspects of the sociological/demographic characteristics of the Ikorodu community in view of their relevance for providing a fairly systematic account of the patterns of speech behaviour, repertoire usage and language change in the community.

The wide range of sociolinguistic investigations in various speech communities has demonstrated to a considerable extent that there does exist some measure of correlation or covariation between linguistic variability and the social and cultural structure of the community. Sankoff G. (1974:38) maintains that in most communities it appears that almost any division existing within the population which has any kind of social significance is somehow reflected in the linguistic behaviour of that community, and that changes in progress do not operate without regard for these existing differences.

In societies where social and cultural differences are highly structured it is relatively easy to identify those sociological or demographic variables which correlate highly with variability in the linguistic behaviour of the community as the studies of Labov and others have shown. But accounting for the pattern of linguistic variability and linguistic change in a society which exhibits a rather fluid social structure demands a careful examination. In many African communities these factors are multifarious and they interact



in various ways either individually or jointly to influence the pattern of linguistic behaviour. The Ikorodu speech community being studied here demonstrates this characteristic.

A full list of these non-linguistic factors will vary from community to community. Here I shall describe briefly those demographic factors which are likely to influence the pattern of variability and change in linguistic features in the dialect speech of the Ikorodu speech community. The specific contribution of each factor in explaining the amount of variation exhibited in the realization of certain phonological/phonetic variables in the dialect speech of the community will be described in Chapter V.

#### 2.5.1. Age

In most sociolinguistic studies, it has been found that the pattern of variability in linguistic features and of linguistic changes in progress are closely correlated with differences in age among members of the community. By a systematic categorization of the age variable, it is possible to show further that such features as the relative degree of individual bilingualism or bi-dialectalism, the level of proficiency in the dialect(s) or language(s) in use in the community and, to some extent, the attitudes which members of a community may have towards the varieties of language in use in that community, all vary considerably in relation to age differences.

In the Ikorodu speech community members of the younger generation are more frequently exposed to other varieties of Yoruba through school and peer-group contacts than the older generation. The result is that the older generation have greater proficiency in the local dialect than members of the younger generation. The pattern and the rate of shift in some of the phonological/phonetic features of the Ijebu dialect are significantly correlated with age differences as will be shown in <sup>h</sup>Chapter V.

#### 2.5.2. Sex

The relationship between speech variation and sex differences varies from community to community. In some speech communities significant differences exist between the linguistic features of male speech and those of female speech. In others there are no such differences.

The studies of Labov, Trudgill and many others on speech variation in English-speaking communities have shown that in most of the urban dialect studies carried out in Britain and America, women are found to consistently use forms which more closely approach those of the standard variety or the prestige accent than those used by men even when other factors such as social class, ethnic group and age are controlled for. (See Trudgill 1974:91).

In her study of bilingualism in Paraguay, Joan Rubin (1968) shows that in the rural areas, men have a greater bilingual proficiency than women because of the greater amount

of education available to men, and the increased opportunities for exposure through travel, army service, and work experience. On the other hand, in the town area, the difference between male and female bilingual ability does not seem very great.

In the Ikorodu speech community it is doubtful whether there could be any significant difference between men and women in the pattern of deviation from dialect norms in the speech of members of the community. Although in traditional Yoruba society women were generally more domicile than men, today the wide range of opportunities open to both men and women in education and commerce has provided the impetus for mobility among both men and women and almost equal accessibility to some other varieties of Yoruba.

Because the economy of Ikorodu is based essentially on commercial enterprise, a large number of the women in Ikorodu engage in either the textile trade or petty trading. Both activities involve considerable contact with Lagos and therefore access to the variety of Yoruba spoken in Lagos. Among the younger generation there are equal opportunities in education for boys and girls and hence access to the Standard variety of Yoruba taught in schools. These factors tend to obliterate any significant difference between male and female speech in modern Yoruba society in general.

### 2.5.3. Education

Education plays a considerable role in changing the pattern of the socio-cultural life of people in many African societies today. As a result of the acquisition of western-type education many Africans have become bi-cultural in the sense that they have also acquired some elements of western culture.

Bi-culturalism is most clearly seen in the linguistic behaviour of many Africans. Apart from widespread occurrence of individual bilingualism, whole societies or nations have become bilingual in the sense of the addition of a foreign language such as English or French to the existing indigenous language(s) of the community. In West Africa, English is used in many countries as the medium of education in schools, as the lingua franca in multi-ethnic multi-lingual situations and as the language of official transaction in business and government. A similar situation exists in French-speaking countries of West Africa where French also serves these functions.

Individuals in these communities acquire varying degrees of proficiency in the foreign languages relative to their level of formal education. But perhaps one area which has not been given adequate attention in the description of language use in African communities is the relationship between education and the level of individual competence in indigenous languages or local dialects. In those communities where standard varieties of indigenous languages are taught and used even if only partially in the educational system,

in official government business and in commerce, the level of proficiency in these standard varieties tends to increase with a higher level of education. Because of the tendency towards acquiring, through the educational system, the standard variety of a language, there is a corresponding decrease in the level of proficiency in the local dialects which individuals exhibit in relation to their level of education.

TABLE 2.3 DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION BY EDUCATION IN IKORODU TOWNSHIP (1973).

School Attendance	Male %	Female %
Yes	66.1	47.1
No	33.9	52.9
Total	100.0	100.0
Number	42,476	49,715

TABLE 2.4 LEVEL OF EDUCATION IN IKORODU TOWNSHIP (1973).

Level	Male %	Female %
Primary	50.8	52.3
Secondary	29.5	33.6
Vocational	12.0	13.7
University	7.7	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0
Number	28,070	23,400

Although a large percentage of both the male and female population of Ikorodu have access to some form of formal school education as Tables 2.3 and 2.4 show, it is yet to be seen whether education can be held to be wholly responsible for the pattern of variation and change in dialect features in the speech of members of the community. It is even doubtful whether education can be significantly related to the acquisition by members of the community of the Lagos variety of Yoruba. In Chapter V, the relative significance of each factor, including education, in explaining the amount of variation in our dialect data will be shown through the statistical methods of regression and analysis of variance used in the analysis of the data.

#### 2.5.4. Occupation

The structure of the community in terms of occupational categories is quite heterogeneous such that it appears difficult to establish any systematic relationship between speech diversity and occupational groups.

Because of the pattern of growth and development as was pointed out earlier on, no one single occupation attracts a large proportion of the working population. About 70 percent of the male and female population in Ikorodu township aged fifteen years and over are in the labour force. Among the urban males about 14 percent, 13 percent and 9 percent work as clerks, petty traders and craftsmen respectively.



More than 50 percent of the male urban population appears to be made up of students in the various schools and young men apprenticed to some craftsmen. The urban females are largely housewives and sellers of small commodities.

The situation in the rural parts of the division is not much different from the urban occupational structure except that, as would be expected, more rural male population (about one-fifth of the male labour force) are farmers while a much higher proportion of the females (40 percent) engage in petty trading.

There are no large industrial establishments in the town where people could work in large numbers. The proportion of the working population engaged in the traditional occupation of farming is small, while a large majority of those engaged in trade (especially women engaged in the textile trade) can only operate profitably in Lagos. Most of these people are resident in Lagos.

Petty trading, especially among housewives, happens to be the one single unclassified occupation in which a high proportion of the adult female population is engaged. The local markets which assemble regularly every fifth or ninth day provide the only setting for a large-scale domain of verbal interaction in which, through the process of buying and selling, the code repertoire is as diverse as the categories of people who attend the market. Both the Ijebu dialect and the Lagos variety of Yoruba are mixed freely during the various processes of haggling that characterize the mode of buying and selling.

### 2.5.5. Religious Affiliation

The Ikorodu community under study is predominantly a moslem community as the figures in Table 2.5 show. About 81.9 percent of the entire population in Ikorodu are moslems while only 15.3 percent are christians. Because there are no data for any earlier period on the religious population, the trend of change within the community in terms of **affiliation** to either the christian or the muslim religion is difficult to determine.

Both the Christian and Islamic religions are, traditionally, alien to many Yoruba societies. But it is significant that in recent years the Islamic religion has had very many converts among the Yoruba people. Its appealing force, lies in the opportunities it offers its practioners to go on annual pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina and the religious titles of 'Alhaji' (male title) and 'Alhaja' (female title) which they acquire as a result of the pilgrimage have become something of a status symbol in the community and in Yoruba society in general.

The overall effect of this predominantly moslem composition of the community is immense in the cultural life of the people. Linguistically, because the most general aspects of religious observances like preaching and reading of the Koran, are conducted in what one might call 'Common Yoruba' or a near-standard variety of the language, most moslems in the community have access to this variety of

the language almost daily. In addition, certain aspects of speech usage in the community show some influence from the Arabic language. Casual greetings, for example, are sometimes exchanged in Arabic e.g. "salam a leikum", meaning something like 'peace unto you'. Oftentimes in gatherings which are not necessarily predominantly moslem, prayers may be said in Arabic if the Chairman happens to be a moslem.

There can be no doubt that the predominantly moslem composition of Ikorodu's population has a considerable influence in making the common variety of Standard Yoruba accessible to members of the community. But because the register of religious usage is often different from ordinary casual speech in intragroup interaction, this factor will not be considered in the correlational analysis in Chapter V.

#### 2.5.6. Geographic Mobility and Rural-Urban Influence

The economic life of Ikorodu which is based essentially on commercial enterprises and petty-trading entails a high degree of geographic mobility among a section of the working population. But mobility is bi-directional -- toward the city on the one hand, and on the other hand, in the direction of the local district.

Those who deal in textile and non-local commodities such as sugar, milk, enamels and most items in the petty trade go regularly to Lagos to replenish their stock. On the other hand, market women who deal in foodstuffs travel out regularly to the rural district and the surrounding

villages to buy commodities which they sell either in Ikorodu or in the bigger markets in Lagos.

TABLE 2.5 RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, IKORODU DIVISION, 1973.

RELIGION	IKORODU TOWN		RURAL	
	No	%	No	%
Christian	14,087	15.3	9,004	22.2
Moslem	75,492	81.9	30,574	75.5
Others	2,612	2.8	940	2.3
Total	92,191	100.0	40,518	100.0

Source: Field Survey: Master Plan for Ikorodu (in preparation).

Dialect speech in the rural district is still very much in its 'almost pure' state, unadulterated by the assimilating features of Lagos Yoruba. It is to be expected, therefore, that Ikorodu traders who have extensive contact with the rural district are likely to maintain a higher level of proficiency in dialect speech than those whose contacts have been with the city or those who have not been particularly mobile in the community. The effect of this pattern of mobility on linguistic behaviour among members of the community is very difficult to determine in view of the

fact that those who have extensive contact with the rural district in relation to their occupational activities may sometimes also have almost equal degree of contact with the city if they decide to sell their commodities in the more profitable markets in the city.

It was found, however, that the effect of rural-urban contact on linguistic behaviour is much more noticeable if we examined a person's previous place of residence in terms of either the rural district or the city. Among the younger generation which is fast losing the local dialect speech, those who have had some considerable contact with the rural district by having lived with grandparents or having attended school there for at least five years, exhibit considerably *more* proficiency in the local dialect than even adults who have not had the same experience. But this characteristic can only be seen in terms of individual rather than group behaviour.

## 2.6. Summary

Although I have not given a complete ethnographic description of the Ijebu speech community in this chapter, the brief account of selected aspects of the Ijebu speech community in Ikorodu provides a wider socio-cultural background against which my present sociolinguistic study can be placed.

My description of the history and culture of the community, and my analysis of the pattern of socio-cultural changes going on in the community in relation to its Lagos suburban location and the interacting influence of various sociological/demographic factors provide what in sociolinguistic parlance is termed the 'social context' of linguistic description. The overall contribution of this brief ethnographic sketch to our understanding of the various aspects of variability and dialect usage in the Ikorodu speech community will be seen in the topics of succeeding chapters.

Some aspects of the theoretical assumptions of a sociolinguistic approach to the analysis of language use within the context of a speech community were highlighted in discussing Yoruba dialect variation and speech usage in the introductory chapter and also in Chapter 1. In this chapter, the emphasis is on the description of the design and execution of the research methodology employed in the collection of data.

The approach to data collection and fieldwork methodology as used in this study assumes, I suggest, an important dimension not because the techniques employed are necessarily original or novel to the study, but because (a) the frontiers of sociolinguistic investigations into Africa's indigenous languages are only just beginning to be opened up, and it would be desirable to give a detailed account of the methodological approaches which are currently being

CHAPTER III

3.0. FIELDWORK METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION

3.1. Methodological Approach.<sup>1</sup>

The significance of this study for further linguistic researches in African communities will be measured in terms of its contributions, in both theoretical and methodological terms, to the expanding discipline of sociolinguistics especially with reference to the study of indigenous mother-tongue languages in Africa.

Some aspects of the theoretical assumptions of a sociolinguistic approach to the analysis of language use within the context of a speech community were highlighted in discussing Yoruba dialect variation and speech usage in the introductory chapter and also in Chapter 1. In this chapter, the emphasis is on the description of the design and execution of the research methodology employed in the collection of data.

The approach to data collection and fieldwork methodology as used in this study assumes, I suggest, an important dimension not because the techniques employed are necessarily original or novel to the study, but because (a) the frontiers of sociolinguistic investigations into Africa's indigenous languages are only just beginning to be opened up, and it would be desirable to give a detailed account of the methodological approaches which are currently being

employed in the hope that such techniques will be useful for further researches, and (b) although many of these techniques have been employed with considerable success in several sociolinguistic studies in some western societies,<sup>2</sup> they need to be adapted with considerable modifications in order to be able to cope with the diverse linguistic and ethnographic characteristics of sub-literate local speech communities in many parts of Africa which sociolinguists will be studying in the years ahead.

### 3.2. The Survey Method and Participant Observation.

#### 3.2.1. The Survey Method

Within the last decade or so, studies in sociolinguistics have tended to lean more heavily on the methods used in the social sciences for the collection of data in order that sociolinguistic analysis, while representing an adequate description of actual language use on the one hand, would also be seen on the other hand to be reliable and valid. In conformity with its orientation, i.e. the study of language variation and language use in its social context, it is often argued that sociolinguistics should continue to have recourse to the methods of social surveys in order to be able to make valid statements about language use within the context of the speech community.



The increasing complexity of modern society and of technical processes have made it both more difficult and necessary to ascertain the essential facts in a mass of unorganized data. As Nadel (1951: 75 ) points out:

If scientific insight is insight into an order of things, observation must be directed towards breaking up the continuum of data into units - units which can be manipulated and ordered in a fashion more systematic than the ambiguous and fortuitous ordering inherent in naive observations .....

The difficulty is resolved if the units we seek to isolate satisfy the conditions of the whole, that is, if each bears the characteristics pertaining to that total entity, culture and society.

It is in the attempt to meet this need that social scientists have evolved the modern technique of organized and methodical fact-finding known as the social survey for gathering social data in any community, whether large or small, advanced or backward. Language, put within the context of a speech community, is also a social phenomenon. Sociolinguistic investigations are, therefore, being continually obliged to construct adequate research designs that would meet the requirements of a modern scientific investigation.

None of the studies in the Yoruba language to date have taken a purely sociolinguistic perspective. A large majority of the existing works on the Yoruba language have concentrated on areas such as phonology, morphology and syntax and these have had to rely on data collected from a few

hand-picked native-speaker informants and/or on the intuitions of the writer himself if he is a native speaker.<sup>3</sup> Adetugbo's study (op.cit), as was pointed out in Chapter I was a pioneering work and his method of data collection relied heavily on the techniques of dialect geography and on the demands of structural dialectology. Although his method may be said to be adequate for his particular orientation and the nature of a pioneering research that it was, his sample cannot be said to be statistically adequate and representative for a sociolinguistic study of Yoruba language usage in specific dialect speech communities.

This study differs from all previous studies in Yoruba in the sense that the focus of attention is the analyses of actual speech usage in one particular speech community with emphasis on the pattern of variability and shift in the local variety of dialect speech. It is suggested that such variability in linguistic behaviour is, to a considerable extent, a community-wide phenomenon and a product of various interacting social and ethnographic factors. It is necessary, therefore, to adopt a quantitative technique which can be fruitfully used in demonstrating the general pattern of speech variation existing within the speech community in such a way as to ensure that these observations adequately represent the population under study.

3.2.2. Participant Observation.

The "participant observer" method has often been employed in anthropological investigations. The investigator makes himself, if only temporarily, a member of the community which he is studying. In the same way, the sociolinguist can choose to live among members of the community which he is studying. In this way he may be able to describe in detail the patterns of language use and their socio/psychological correlates by actually observing language use in the day-to-day verbal interactions among members of the speech community.

But a sociolinguistic investigation of variation in speech usage cannot rely exclusively on the "participant observer" method because it is difficult to decide whether or not his observations are fully representative of the community at large. On the other hand, a statistically adequate sample of the population may be far from being achieved in the type of community which is being studied here as will be shown presently. In the circumstance, therefore, the observer's own experience and intuitions accumulated from on-the-spot observations coupled with the methodological checks of the survey/quantitative analysis method cannot but ensure adequate and reliable description of the pattern of variation and usage in the dialect speech of members of the community.

During the six months which the survey lasted, I took up residence in the community for six weeks and I was able to observe in detail the pattern of verbal interaction among members of the community. A good deal of my observations about the pattern of variability in speech usage are validated by the results of the analysis of the data from the questionnaires and the individual interviews. (See Chapters V - VII).

### 3.2. 3. Sampling and the Data Base.

The view of a speech community being essentially heterogeneous is central to a sociolinguistic approach to language use. Heterogeneity in the population of the Ikorodu speech community is a function of the interplay of several demographic and social factors. Accounting for variation in speech usage in the community involves the collection and analysis of a corpus which adequately represents the speech performance of members of the community. Thus sampling is important, just as it is important in other behavioural investigations, in selecting informants for the kind of systematic set of recordings needed for gathering natural speech which will represent the various dimensions of variability existing in the community speech repertoire.

The view is taken that sampling is an essential part of all scientific procedure and that its increasing use in many sociolinguistic surveys (as well as in most social science surveys) is in line with the scientific approach

which, being committed to the variability of observations, is forced to sample from a universe of possible observations, rather than believing that one observation provides an absolute and immutable truth.

Survey sampling is the process of choosing part of a group about which we wish to make generalized statements so that the selected part will represent the total group. The objective usually is to make samples statistically representative and therefore reliable as predicting instruments.

Many sociolinguistic surveys which employed the method of sampling in the selection of their informants have described in great details the values of such procedures (Labov 1966; Fishman et al 1971 ; Shuy, Wolfram and Riley 1968; Wolfram 1969 and 1973; Trudgill 1971; Sankoff and Cedergren 1972; Scotton 1972). Dr Carol Scotton's study of the choice of a lingua franca in Uganda's capital of Kampala is one such sociolinguistic study which has employed the method of sampling and the use of quantitative techniques in the analysis of speech data in the context of the speech community in an African town.

The general methodological procedure for sampling involves the following steps. First we specify as part of our conceptual model, the total universe (or population) of cases to which our hypothesis applies -- in this case, the Yoruba speech community of Ikorodu. Second, we assess the possibly relevant demographic, social and sociolinguistic

dimensions of variation within the community, i.e. we construct a stratification for the sample. As the goal of sampling is to tap the existing linguistic variation in the community, it is important to consider carefully all types of variation which might exist. Might age, sex, level of educational attainment, relative degree of contact with an urban speech variety etc. make a difference? Third, we decide the number of informants to use as the sample and how to select them.

Selection of informants requires the use of a sampling frame, i.e. a complete list of the population, for example, from the census data (if one is available), or in its absence, devising a sampling procedure (as was done in this study) for the selection of a representative sample, if no other reliable sampling frame is available.

In general, the speech community sample need not include the large number of individuals usually required for other kinds of behavioural surveys. Sankoff, G. (1974:22) points out that "even for quite complex speech communities, samples of more than 150 individuals tend to be redundant, bringing increasing data handling problems with diminishing analytical returns"<sup>4</sup>. Once all these decisions have been made, sampling can proceed, either by formal random methods, or through a multi-stage procedure as was employed in this survey.

3.2.4. The Ikorodu Sample.

A total of 70 informants were selected to form the sample for the individual interviews in this study. The population base for the sampling consisted of all individuals from the age of 10 upwards who are citizens of Ikorodu and are Ijebu by birth. They have lived in Ikorodu at some stage in their life time and were at the time of the survey, resident in Ikorodu.

One major difficulty encountered at the beginning of the survey was the non-availability of reliable sampling frames. Ideally, lists of individuals in the population or parts of it compiled for administrative purposes, or aggregates of census returns from a complete census would have been suitable as good sampling frames for the purpose of drawing a sample of informants. But since none of these were available some other design was devised for drawing the sample<sup>5</sup>.

Two documents were utilized for this purpose. The first was a list of all houses in Ikorodu street by street. The list had just been compiled by officials of the Ikorodu Local Government Council for the purpose of assessing houses for rates payment by house owners. The second document was a sketch map of Ikorodu which was used for delimiting enumeration areas during the 1973 population census (Fig. 3.1). This sketch map made it possible for the streets to be located quite easily.

The procedure which was followed in the actual selection of individual informants involved a multi-stage sampling procedure in which the selection of streets and the dwelling units to be sampled was based on a random sampling technique as will be described presently. The actual selection of individual informants from the sampled dwelling-units was based on first-hand contacts with the inhabitants of the dwelling units. Only one informant was selected from each dwelling unit. This method can be described as a modified form of the quota sampling technique.

In delimiting the town for sampling, I utilized the three traditional settlement areas popularly known in Ikorodu. These are: Ìsẹ̀lẹ̀, Ìjòmù and Àga.

Ìsẹ̀lẹ̀ can be regarded as the core zone comprising the palace of the Ọba and the traditional "Ọjà Ọba" market, in addition to the very early settlements or compounds around the palace. Ìjòmù and Àga on the other hand, contain later settlements adjoining the very early ones, or settlements along the early main streets which transverse the town. Today, the early peripheral areas have in turn been surrounded by a new periphery of settlements along the major roads linking Ikorodu with the other surrounding towns and with the city of Lagos. Altogether, four zones were delimited for sampling. These are Ìsẹ̀lẹ̀, Ìjòmù, Àga and the Periphery.



The area sampling procedure is more complex than simple random sampling, but adopts the same basic principles of probability. The unique feature of the method is its ingenious device for preparing the sampling frame. Since in Nigeria no up-to-date lists of all citizens in any town are available, each individual in a town is associated with the dwelling-unit in which he lives and with the area in which this dwelling-unit is located according to streets. Thus the initial frame consists, not of individuals, but of areas and the sampling progresses through a series of stages, drawing first streets, then dwelling units and finally the individual informants.

What was not immediately obvious at the on-set was whether or not this areal delimitation in the town would correlate with the pattern of variability in dialect speech usage and shift in the community. Because of the history of settlement and the pattern of socio-cultural affiliations in the community, it was felt that variations in verbal behaviour might be a function, in some respects, of the geographic delimitation and the history of settlements in the community. The analysis in chapters V, VI and VII show that this areal zoning has no influence on verbal behaviour among members of the community. But the device made it possible for the job of sampling to proceed much faster in the circumstance and the selection of informants to be much more representative in terms of areal spread within the community.

Having delimited the entire community into 4 zones, it was decided that a maximum of 20 informants would be selected from each zone thus giving an expected total sample of 80. The decision to limit the number to a maximum of 80 was influenced by the limitation of time and resources available for the survey and also by the fact that for a sociolinguistic study of this nature, we need not have a large sample for the reasons that were given earlier in this section.

The actual exercise of sampling the zones was carried out in the following stages:

Stage I. The selection of streets (Figure 3.1): Using the local council's lists of rateable and non-rateable houses in the town as a guide, I compiled a list of all the streets in each of the first three zones. (I could not do this for the Periphery because some of the streets on the periphery are continuations of those in the other areas). Thus, for each of the three zones there is a list which contains the names of all the streets arranged serially. I then decided on the number of streets to be sampled in each zone and this was made proportional to the total number of streets per zone. For example, there are 55 streets in Ìsẹ̀lẹ̀, 48 in Ìjòmù and 25 in Àga. I decided to select 4 streets each from Ìsẹ̀lẹ̀ and Ìjòmù Zones and 2 from Àga.

The method of systematic sampling was then used to select the sample streets from the list for each zone. The procedure was simple.

THE SKETCH OF KORODU TOWNSHIP

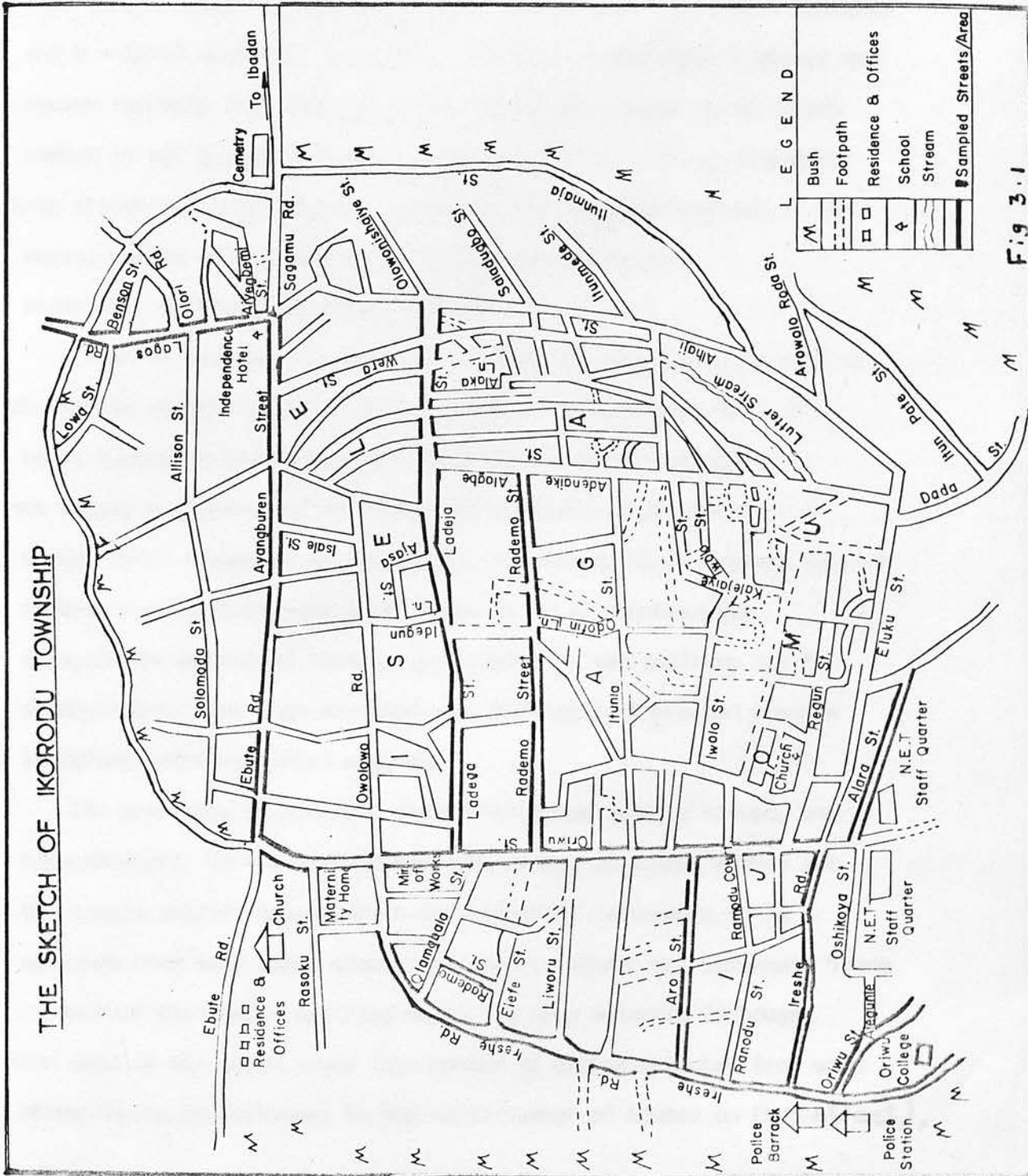


Fig 3.1

It involved selecting every k-th street on each list until the required number of streets have been selected. I calculated for each zone a sampling fraction  $\frac{N}{M}$  (where N = number of sample streets, and M = total number of streets on the list). The first k street was chosen randomly from the list by selecting any street whose serial number is not greater than the sampling fraction. Every subsequent k-th street was then selected by adding the sampling fraction to the serial number of the immediately preceding k-street.

Stage II. Selection of Sample houses:

Just as was done in stage I, I listed all the houses in each of the sample streets selected for each zone. Because some form of house-numbering system has been done for the entire community it was simply a question of arranging the houses in each street in a serial order according to the number each house bore. Certain missing numbers in the lists were later found to be the numbers for dilapidated unoccupied houses, open plots not yet built up but for which numbers have been assigned, or churches, schools and mosques including privately owned mosques.

The procedure of choosing every k-th house on each street, was also adopted. It was decided that the number of houses needed for the sample should correspond to the number of informants to be selected from each zone, since I planned to select one informant from each of the sample dwelling units. I then selected 20 houses from each of the three zones (the number of houses selected from each street being proportional to the total number of houses on that street),

thus bringing the total number of sample houses selected to 60. The sampling of the Periphery was left until a later stage.

### Stage III. The Selection of Individual Informants.

Selecting the informants was the most crucial stage in the sampling design. The theoretical assumption in most sociolinguistic surveys is that a speech community is essentially heterogenous especially in regard to sociological variables such as social class differentiation, socio-economic status, age, level of educational attainment, occupation, earning capacity etc, and that such heterogeneity is, in most cases, reflected in the pattern of variability in language use and language change within the community.

Such theoretical assumptions are evident in the various sociolinguistic investigations first pioneered by Labov (1966) and subsequently elaborated upon in his other studies, and also in such other investigations as have been carried out by Shuy et al (1968); Trudgill (1971) and Sankoff and Sankoff (1973), to name only a few. These studies have demonstrated that in order to discover and to fully account for the extent and structure of inter-individual variation, it is necessary to select a sample of individuals possessing a range of social characteristics along all the dimensions which might possibly have a direct or indirect influence on their speech.

Selecting a sample of individuals in terms of their representativeness of specific sociological categories has been made less difficult in western societies where the various dimensions of stratification along sociological parameters such as social class,

socio-economic status, income level etc. are so 'neatly' structured that it has been possible to measure in an objective way the various indices of social classification, and to study accurately the co-variation between linguistic behaviour and sociological factors.

In many African societies there does not exist such rigid or neat social class differentiation based on socio-economic status, or class structure as in some European societies, or on a 'caste' system such as operates in Indian societies. The Yoruba society is based on an 'open' class structure characterized by a high degree of social mobility which is variably conditioned by a number of interacting factors such as the level of education, wealth, religion, institutionized traditional titles, the degree of geographic mobility and so on. It is difficult, therefore, to identify a kind of neat or discrete social class differentiation based on some social class indices (see Trudgill 1974: 31-44) within the community in a way similar to the patterns established for certain western societies in current sociolinguistic studies.

Since I could not determine before hand with any degree of certainty which sociological/demographic factors (or combinations of them) will correlate with variability in dialect usage and dialect shift, I decided to use three demographic variables which I believed are likely to have some considerable influences on the pattern of dialect speech usage in the community for the purpose of selecting the individual informants. These variables are Age, Educational level and Sex. Each variable was sub-classified into categories or sub-strata. There were three categories of age (10-24 years, 25-44 years and 45 years and over); four of educational level (i. No education at all-(NED), ii. Primary education only-(PED), iii. Secondary School or Teacher Training College-(SED) and iv. Higher education or University - (HED)).

The assumption was that these sub-strata can be regarded as homogeneous for the society at large. Theoretically, if a series of homogeneous subuniverses can be sampled in such a way that when the samples are combined they constitute a sample of a more heterogeneous universe, then a saving of time and money will result as well as increased accuracy (Goode and Hatt 1952: 221).

Since aggregates of census returns were not available at the time of the survey, I could not stratify the sample to accurately represent the proportional distribution of the population within each of the sub-strata or 'cells' delineated by a combination of the three variables. I decided that informants were to be selected, one from each of the houses already drawn randomly, through personal contacts with them and each allocated to the appropriate 'cell' to which he or she fits.

Informants were selected on the basis that they would be available in Ikorodu all through the period of the survey, and in consideration of whether or not each prospective informant approached in a house has the requisite qualifications to fit into any of the 'cells' in my frame (Table 3.1).

Out of the original total of 60 houses drawn in Stage II, I succeeded in selecting informants from 57.<sup>6</sup>

Stage IV. The Periphery.

Most of the houses on the periphery of the town were either un-occupied or rented out to non-natives. It is only along the Lagos Road that a few citizens representing

the fairly well-educated members of the community still resident in town could be found. A large majority of this class of citizens are permanently resident in Lagos, but they own most of these houses and come home periodically. I selected only three informants from the Periphery.

Stage V.           The School Sub-sample.

The need for extending the sampling to cover the schools in the town arose from the fact that a high percentage of the younger sector of the community's population is still at school (see Table 2.5). The bulk of the primary school population falls below the age of 10 and are, therefore, 'out' of my sample. There are about five secondary institutions in the town and each has a fair proportion of its student intake made up of sons and daughters of the community. It is believed also that the formal school system provides the setting for contact with the standard variety of the Yoruba language and also the Lagos variety. Apart from the need to include informants from the schools in the community so as to have a balanced representative sample, it was also necessary for comparative purposes.

Oriwu College, the oldest secondary school in Ikorodu, was selected for sampling. Students in their first and final years of school who are natives of the town are listed for sampling. Through the system of systematic random sampling, 14 students were selected for the school sub-sample. These were made up of 7 (4 boys and 3 girls)



Table 3.1: The Distribution of the 'Ikòróḍú' Sample into 'cells' according to Age level, Sex and Educational attainment.<sup>7</sup>

E D U	A G E L E V E L						
	10 - 24 YRS.		25 - 44 YRS		45 + YRS		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	
NED	-	1	-	2*	3	4*	10
PED	3	3	6	9	8	1	30
SED	8	10	2	1	4	-	25
HED	-	-	1	-	1	-	2
T O T A L	11	14	9	12	16	5	
	25		21		21		67

\* Three female informants who refused to complete the interview are non-literate and above 40 years of age, they would have fallen into these cells.

from the first year and 7(3 boys and 4 girls) from the final year. The age range of the first year students in the sub-sample is 12 - 16 years and that of the 7 final year students is 18 - 20years. All the 14 informants in the school sub-sample were classified as belonging potentially to the educational level SED.

### 3.3. The Questionnaire.

A two-part questionnaire was drawn up for the survey (see Appendix IV ). Part I was designed to elicit information on informants' background, their social and demographic characteristics. It was also designed to tap informants' attitudes towards the various speech repertoires in the community, normative views about the dialects in use and their self-report on their levels of proficiency in them and the frequency with which the varieties are employed in inter-individual verbal interactions. This part of the questionnaire had been pre-coded because the data collected will be fed into the computer for analysis.

The Interview Schedule - This is the Part II of the Questionnaire and the main instrument of the interview part of the survey. It contained six sections: Sections I - III consist of questions which call for comments on (a) the traditional life and customs of the Ijebu people in Ikorodu, (b) contemporary life in Ikorodu and (c) varieties of the dialects in use in the community and the pattern of their usage. These questions were designed to elicit spontaneous speech from the informants in a series of conversations in an informal friendly chit-chat between the interviewers and the informants.

Section IV is a wordlist compiled from a standard wordlist used in previous studies in Yorùbá dialects. Most of the 168 items on the wordlist are those in which I noticed some degree of variation at the level of phonetic realization in the speech of members of the community, others were suspected of showing signs of phonological/phonetic change or shift in progress in the dialect speech of the community. The variable realizations of the phonological or phonetic variables abstracted from informants' pronunciation of the items on the wordlist and those abstracted from the conversational speech form the main corpus for the analysis of variation and shift in dialect features in the community (See Chapter V).

Section V - the narrative style section - required the informant to narrate one of the popular folk tales in Yorùbá folklore. The intention here was to find out whether or not 'stylistic variation' in classic sociolinguistic terminology can be identified along this dimension.<sup>8</sup>

Section VI contains 14 lexical items which are dialect-specific, that is, items which are identified with the Ijebu dialect. By asking informants to name the objects or concepts identified by the 14 lexical items, it was anticipated that it would be possible to measure the variability in the loss rate of dialect-specific lexical items in favour of their cognates in other Yorùbá dialects especially in Lagos Yorùbá and/or Standard Yorùbá.

### 3.4. The Individual Interviews.

#### 3.4.1. The Interviewers.

Two male assistants were employed and paid for four out of the six-month long survey. They were employed specifically to conduct the interview using the local dialect. Both are fluent speakers of the local dialect and they also show high-level proficiency in the Lagos variety of Yorùbá in use in the community. The more elderly interviewer was a little above 50 years old while the younger one was 28 years old. The difference in age was necessary in order to control for the difficulty which might arise in establishing rapport with an informant as a result of the age differential.

Before interviewing was started, the two interviewers had had several 'training' sessions with me during which translations into the local dialect of the various questions to be asked were standardized. Where necessary, they were required to master standardized versions of these questions in Lagos Yorùbá or the Standard variety.

#### 3.4.2. Interviewing.

Although I was present at every one of the 70-odd individual interviews, the bulk of the interviewing was done by the two interviewers sometimes interchangeably but more often by the older man who proved to be a very great asset during the interviews in terms of the ease with

which he established rapport with every informant and the spontaneity with which he got several conversations going.

The conduct of each interview followed the structure of the interview schedule with occasional departures when it was necessary to obtain extended discourse. The duration of an interview ranged between 1½ hours and 2 hours depending on the level of literacy of the informant especially during the elicitation of items on the wordlist.<sup>9</sup>

All the interviews were fully tape-recorded and the tape-recording was personally handled by myself using a UHER 4000 Report-L Tape Recorder. The presence of the tape-recorder and the microphone did not arouse any antagonism throughout the survey especially since most informants were delighted to have their speech recorded and played back to them. It was almost impossible to avoid background noise in most of the recordings because the home-settings in which the interviews were conducted were generally noisy.<sup>10</sup> However, the quality of recording was generally good enough for the 'discrete' type of sound features which I was interested in to be easily transcribed.

Apart from the three female informants who refused to co-operate half-way through the interview, the interviews generally proved much more successful than was even anticipated.

### 3.5. The Communal Meeting Sessions.

Proceedings of two communal or 'association' meetings were recorded in two natural settings that reflect most vividly the patterns of variation in language use among members of the community.

As a part of the research design, it was planned that aspects of code-switching in verbal interactions as a community-wide or individual behavior would be investigated if the proper setting or the natural setting for the spontaneous occurrence of this type of linguistic behavior could be found.

The two association or communal meetings which were held in the town while the survey was in progress provided the natural setting for my observations. The meetings were held at two weeks interval of each other and each lasted more than four hours. The proceedings which were tape-recorded provided the raw data for the analysis of code-switching which is presented in Chapter VII.

### 3.6. Conclusion.

Carrying out a sociolinguistic survey on a speech community-wide basis is a very laborious exercise more so in an African environment where every facet of data collection is plagued by the non-availability of supporting records.

In view of the relatively short time during which the Ikòròdu sociolinguistic survey was carried out, one wonders

whether such a survey could yield sufficient and adequate data, the analysis of which would produce significant results on which generalizations concerning variability and change in the community's speech repertoire can be made.

It is clear that the research aims of sociolinguistics cannot be met by relying on methodological perspectives and techniques drawn entirely from linguistics or entirely from sociology. To understand the structure of linguistic variation and usage through interviewer techniques requires far more interviewer expertise and time than can possibly be afforded for any sizeable sample.

The major contribution of this research design to the general methodological approach in the collection of sociolinguistic data lies in the demonstration that a considerable amount of innovation and adaptation of research methodology to blend with or take cognizance of the norms of behaviour of members of the community to be studied is needed if a sociolinguistic survey is to be carried out successfully.

Sociolinguistic research surveys in many indigenous African communities are bound to encounter very many problems relating to the execution of research designs. It does happen that strict adherence to the procedural principles of survey methodology or to linguistic elicitation techniques may not yield the required results. As an illustration, it is often said that it is advisable not to

reveal to prospective informants one's overt interest in linguistic behaviour since any indication of this might result in a lot of conscious self-monitoring which tends to eliminate non-standard and colloquial speech usage. But in the case of the 'Ikòròdú survey, the prevailing circumstance at the time of the survey demanded that one be quite specific and frank about the purpose of the research so that it was not to be mistaken for a government-sponsored survey aimed at increasing taxes, housing rates etc. This situation would have resulted in a total lack of co-operation from members of the community who are sometimes extremely suspicious of and hostile to incessant local government levies.

The way to get round removing the problems of the inadequacy of survey samples, conscious self-monitoring of speech and conscious or unconscious normative judgments about language lies in the design and the systematic handling of interview and elicitation sessions with informants for the purpose of tapping naturally occurring speech data. All these were taken care off in the 'Ikòròdú study.

When all the data collected from this survey were assembled at the conclusion of the fieldwork, it turned out that more than enough data was in fact collected. The wealth of information deriving from the analyses which are carried out in Chapter\$ IV to VII show that the patterns of variation exhibited in the sample data are indeed generalizable to the speech community at large. This is a function of the adequacy of the techniques employed and the thoroughness with which data collection and analysis have been handled.



CHAPTER IV

4.0. DIALECT VARIATION AND LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION:  
SOME PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES OF THE DIALECTS IN  
CONTACT.

4.1. Dialect Variation and Dialect Contact: Some  
Theoretical Considerations.

In this study, only three varieties of the Yoruba language are relevant for consideration in a dialect contact situation. These are: The Ijebu dialect (IJB),<sup>1</sup> Lagos Yoruba or EKO (EKO) and Standard Yoruba (STD).<sup>2</sup> A brief characterization of each of them will be given presently. In the course of the description, a number of the other dialects of Yoruba will come up for mention, and cross-dialectal comparisons will be made from time to time especially in accounting for the pattern of variation in phonological features among the dialects in question.

I should point out that in a brief account such as I shall attempt to give here, it will not be possible to completely exhaust the major linguistic characteristics which distinguish the dialects in question. This description will be limited to some aspects of the morphology, phonology and phonetics of the dialects in question.

It is to be expected that certain problems which relate to some methodological assumptions within the framework of generative phonology and linguistic theory will arise from the fact that there is an attempt, in this study, to strike a balance between diachronic and synchronic modes of analysis.

Our dilemma arises from the attempt to capture the pattern or patterns which underly the phonetic variations existing in the dialects of Yoruba and to be able to give a comprehensive account of the nature of change or 'shift' in some of the features of these dialects.

For example, to what extent can one adequately capture the intricate pattern of variation in phonological/phonetic features among the dialects of Yoruba if one simply sets up independent phonological descriptions for each dialect?<sup>3</sup> As an illustration, two of the dialects in contact - IJB and STD - differ, in addition to some other features, in their inventory of vowels at the systematic phonetic level. In STD the following vowels occur [ i, e, ε, a, ɔ, o, u ] (oral) and [ ã̃, ã̃, ɔ̃, ã̃ ] (nasal). On the other hand, IJB has the following systematic phonetic vowels:

[ i, I, e, ε, a, ɔ, o, v, u ] (oral) [ ã̃, ã̃, ɔ̃, ã̃ ] (nasal).

Obvious differences between them here include the occurrence of the high lax vowels [ I, v ] in IJB and their non-occurrence in STD, the occurrence of the non-high front nasal vowel [ ã̃ ] in IJB and its non-occurrence in STD, and the occurrence of the low nasal vowel [ ã̃ ] in STD and its absence in IJB.

In order to capture the similarities in the underlying systems of the vowels of these two dialects one only needs to examine the surface vowels of a third dialect - the Ekiti dialect (EKITI) - which has the following inventory of vowels: [ i, I, e, ε, a, ɔ, o, v, u ] (oral) and [ ã̃, ã̃, ã̃, ɔ̃, ã̃, ã̃ ] (nasal). Here the high lax vowels occur oral and nasal in EKITI. The

non-high nasal vowel [ɛ̃] does not occur. EKITI shares with IJB the occurrence of the high lax oral vowels [ɪ, u] but not their nasal counterparts. On the other hand, STD has the least number of surface vowels.

The difference between STD with the smallest number of surface vowels on the one hand, and EKITI with the largest number of surface vowels on the other hand (and indeed the other dialects which vary between the two extremes), resulted from a historical process in Yoruba phonology, in which shifts and mergers occurred thus reducing Proto-Yoruba inventory of vowels in certain dialects and not in others. Today, the EKITI inventory of vowels (oral and nasal) is still exactly the same as established for Proto-Yoruba (see Adetugbo 1967: 156 ). This position entails admitting cross-dialectal comparative evidence in analysis, but it is only by doing so that we can capture the various phonological processes which brought about the divergences in Yoruba dialects.

The decision to admit dialect comparative evidence and historical reconstruction in describing IJB may appear to violate that methodological approach in linguistic analysis which maintains that the synchronic analysis of a dialect must be motivated by dialect internal considerations. This is a point of view held by a number of dialectologists working within the framework of the transformational-generative model. Becker (1967)<sup>4</sup> argues in favour of such an approach in his description of three German dialects; and

Fresco (1970) also maintains this standpoint in his description of eight Yoruba dialects. Fresco agrees that evidence from other dialects could be used, but only in two limited functions, namely:

".... it can serve a heuristic function, that is, it can guide the search for internal evidence relevant to deciding some issues: And it can be used to decide among alternative analyses that have been reached on the basis of dialect-internal considerations, but which appear to be equal in complexity."

(p.1)

In this study, the emphasis on variation in dialect speech in a contact situation constitutes a significant difference between my approach and a study which seeks to describe in pure linguistic terms the phonology (or aspects of the phonology) of Yoruba dialects such as is presented in Fresco (1970). For my purpose, a brief characterization of the relevant aspects of the phonology of the Ijebu dialect that will serve to elucidate the analysis of variation in subsequent chapters will suffice. Drawing on information from internal reconstruction as well as from comparative analysis will further our understanding of the underlying phonological features common to a number of Yoruba dialects.

Perhaps it would even be possible to show at some higher level of analysis in a synchronic description, that there is an underlying level of phonological representation which is common to several Yoruba dialects. This topic is outside the scope of this thesis, it will not be pursued further here.

In order to characterize, in a fairly meaningful way, the phenomena of variation, shift and linguistic change in progress among members of the Ijebu-speaking community of Ikorodu, cross-dialectal comparison and historical reconstruction, as has been pointed out, will feature in the description. This will reflect on the type of interpretations that will be given to the various phonological and lexical processes which the different dialects have undergone in "real" and "apparent" time. Bailey C-J.N. (1973:12) suggests that

....the dichotomy between the diachronic and synchronic approaches ..... is a misguided one; children do indeed possess the reconstructive and comparative methods of internalizing what they know of their language and its variations ..... While I am not contending that diachronic and synchronic studies are the same thing, I am contending.... that their essential methods are the same. We need no longer feel guilty, as Bloomfield may have when he realized that his avowedly descriptive analysis of Menomini [1939 (1964): 106] looked like a historical analysis.

Labov et al. (LYS: 1972) in their study of sound changes in progress find it necessary to relate their general principles of chain shifts as observed in the data from New York, Detroit, London, Norwich, Philadelphia etc, to changes that have taken place in the past. They conclude "that the forces which produce sound change today are the same as those which operated to produce the historical records".

Our perspective is inevitably deepened and broadened by a consideration of historical records and dialect descriptions, even though these data are lacking some of

the dimensions which we have relied on ..... Since this evidence is crucial to our argument, we must look for indirect evidence to see if the same mechanism operated in the past.

As a consequence, the first contribution of this historical study will be from the present to the past rather than from the past to the present. But the wealth of material and the depth of scholarship in historical linguistics provide a stronger type of confirmation than we can get from studying current changes alone. The mutual interpretation of past and present must eventually reflect on equal contribution from dialectology and philology.

(LYS, 1972:191)

It is necessary to point out that it is fairly difficult to reconstruct what the past history of Yoruba dialects was because there are limited historical records to fall back on. The serious study of Yoruba began at a time when the new wave of synchronic studies and grammatical analysis made any attempt at a diachronic description of the language rather unfashionable and the excursion into dialectological studies was regarded as fruitless and unrewarding.

The inevitable result of such limitation is the dearth of material from the past that could be related to the present. In addition, there exists the problem of a general lack of interest on the part of Yoruba linguists in looking beyond the well-trodden path of language homogeneity - the 'ideal speaker - listener, in a completely homogeneous speech-community' (Chomsky, 1965:3) - a situation which has been shown not to exist. Whatever variation may exist, even in the fast changing features of

the Ijebu dialect spoken in Ikorodu, are likely to be labelled 'dialect mixture', or 'borrowings' from Standard Yoruba.

I shall attempt to show in subsequent chapters that such a narrow perspective is inadequate for our present knowledge of the Yoruba language, and that a broadened perspective which admits of heterogeneity and the social dimension in the analysis of variation, language change and usage can produce a wealth of linguistic information hitherto unrecorded in the study of the Yoruba language.

#### 4.1.1. Model of description.

The overall objective in this study goes beyond providing a comprehensive account of the phonology of each of the dialects in question. It is a study of variation and change. I shall, therefore, merely sketch relevant features of the phonology and phonetics of each of the three dialects in relation to the phenomena of variability and change which are the main areas of interest. Because the Ijebu dialect has never been fully described in any previous studies, my description of the phonological and phonetic features of this dialect will be a little more detailed than that of the other two.

Although the descriptive approach here will reflect some theoretical assumptions in generative phonology, no attempt is made at a formal characterization of phonological rules, nor toward any theoretical argumentation in generative phonology. Phonological rules arising from the

description will in most cases be stated informally. Whenever it is necessary to specify distinctive features as used in generative phonology, their use will reflect the usual definitions given to them in generative terms, and features will be used in relation to the Yoruba dialects being described. I shall also be using the terms 'consonants' and 'vowels' from time to time in referring to these classes of segments in their informal representations.

#### 4.2. The Phonological/Phonetic Characteristics of the Three Dialects in contact.

Of the three dialects in question here - IJB, EKO and STD - only STD has been extensively studied and described. My description of this variety of Yoruba will, therefore, merely rehearse information which is also available in greater detail in other works such as Awobuluyi (1965), Courtenay (1968), Oyelaran (1970) and several other sources listed in the bibliography. IJB and EKO have received very little attention in the description of the dialects of Yoruba to date. In order to fully understand the relationships, in terms of similarities and differences, which exist among several Yoruba dialects today, it will be necessary to give a brief summary of the reconstructed history of the development of Yoruba language and its dialects.



4.2.1. Historical Background: Reconstructed Proto-Yoruba Phonology.

The brief historical reconstruction that is reproduced here is meant to provide a general background against which Yoruba dialect phonology can be studied. The differences which now exist in the different phonologies of the various dialects or dialect groups can be explained in terms of the divergences brought about by a number of historical processes which affected Proto-Yoruba phonology. These historical phonological/phonetic processes were varied.

First, there were the series of shifts and mergers in the vowel system of the proto language which caused a reduction in the inventory of vowels in some of today's dialects of Yoruba. Second, there was the collapse of vowel harmony resulting in its becoming extremely limited in its operation within lexical words in some dialect groups, while it became a generalized phonological process in some other dialects. Third, there were the external forces of extensive contacts by some dialect groups with other language groups which probably exerted greater influence on the linguistic features of some dialects than the others.

Tables 1 and 2 below show respectively the reconstructed vowels (oral and nasal) and consonants of Proto-Yoruba. Adetugbo's study (op.cit) provides the most up-to-date and the only available detailed reconstruction of Yoruba dialect phonology in terms of a nine oral and seven nasal vowels in Proto-Yoruba. The reconstructed vowel system shows that the

vowel system of the Ekiti group of dialects (Adetugbo's central Yoruba dialects -CY) resembles very closely the Proto-Yoruba system, and that the differences in the other dialects reflect the historical processes mentioned above but which probably did not take place in CY group of dialects.

Table 1. Reconstructed Proto-Yoruba vowel system.

Oral	Nasal
i	ĩ
I	ĩ̃
e	ẽ
ε	ẽ̃
a	ã
u	ũ
u	ũ̃
o	õ
o	õ̃

Table 2. Reconstructed Proto-Yoruba consonant system.<sup>5</sup>

m	n	k	kw	kp
b	t	g	gw	gb
f	d	h	ɣ	
w	s	ɟ		
	r	j		
	l			

#### 4.2.2. Historical Vowel Shifts and Dialectal Divergence.

I want to consider in this section the historical vowel shifts as they affect the vowel systems of the dialects to be described in this chapter (i.e. STD, EKO and IJB).

In the study by Adetugbò, Yoruba dialects spoken in the then Western Nigeria were delimited into three major groups - Northwest Yoruba (NWY), Southeast Yoruba (SEY) and Central Yoruba (CY). Both EKO and STD belong essentially to the NWY group of dialects while IJB belongs to the SEY group.<sup>6</sup> The Ekiti group of dialects (EKITI), which will be referred to only occasionally in this study, constitute the main dialect of the CY group.<sup>7</sup> The inventories of vowels for the three dialects - STD, IJB and EKITI - as given below summarize the vowel systems of Adetugbò's three major groups.

(1) The Vowels of STD.

Oral		Nasal	
i	u	ĩ	ũ
e	o		
ɛ	ɔ	ẽ	õ
a		ã	

(2) The Vowels of IJB.

Oral		Nasal	
i	u	ĩ	ũ
e	o		
ɛ	ɔ	ẽ	õ
a			

(3) The Vowels of EKITI

Oral		Nasal	
i	u	ĩ	ũ
ɪ	uʊ	ĩ	ũ
e	o		
ɛ	ɔ	ẽ	õ
a		ã	

These inventories represent the surface vowel realizations as are found in these dialects at the present time. The differentiating features being that EKITI has the largest inventory of vowels made up of nine oral and six nasal vowels, followed by STD with seven oral and five nasal vowels, while IJB has seven oral and four nasal vowels.

Evidence has been adduced by both historians and linguists that several dialect groups among the Yoruba speaking peoples had extensive contacts with other language groups in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Such contacts probably provided the necessary causative factors for the shifts in the vowel systems of the dialects. Adetugbo claims that the establishment and spread of two neighbouring empires, that is, the Benin Empire to the east, and the Moslem to the northwest of Yoruba settlements provided the impetus for shifts as a result of extensive contacts. Both SEY (here represented by IJB) and NWY (represented here by STD) were subjected to contacts with other languages, while CY (here represented by EKITI) remained relatively unaffected. Such contacts should be seen as being partly responsible for dialectal divergences within the Yoruba language.<sup>8</sup>

I list below the various historical vowel shifts and mergers which took place in the dialects and which are described in greater detail in Adetugbo (op.cit).

Oral Vowels:

Oral Vowels:

I. Raising of ɪ > i and a subsequent merger with i in NWY and SEY.

Examples: [ɪyò] → [iyò] 'salt'  
[àtɪ] → [àti] 'and'

II. Raising of ʊ > u and a subsequent merger with u in NWY and SEY.

Examples: [ɔrʊkɔ] → [orúkɔ] 'name'  
[òúrò] → [òwúrò] 'morning'

III. Fronting of u in NWY.

Examples: [ulé] → [ilé] 'house'  
[ùld] → [íld] 'town'  
[ujà] → [íjə] 'suffering'

Nasal Vowels

IV. Raising of ĩ > ĩ and a subsequent merger with ĩ in NWY.

Examples: [awĩ] → [awí] 'credit'  
[ɔrĩ] → [irí] 'walk'

V. Raising of ũ to ü and a subsequent merger with ü in NWY.

Examples: [ɛdũ] → [ɛdü] 'sympathy'  
[òkũ] → [òkü] 'millipede'

VI. Lowering of ɪ > ɛ̃ in SEY and a subsequent merger with ɛ̃

Examples: [awɪ] → [awɛ̃] 'credit'  
[ɔrɪ] → [ɔrɛ̃] 'walk'

VII. Lowering of ʊ > ɔ̃ and a subsequent merger with ɔ̃ in SEY.

Examples: [ɛdʊ] → [ɛdɔ̃] 'sympathy'  
[òkʊ] → [òkɔ̃] 'millipede'

VIII. Lowering of  $\underset{\sim}{\text{ɔ}} > \underset{\sim}{\text{ɑ}}$  and a subsequent merger with  $\underset{\sim}{\text{ɑ}}$  in SEY. (Here IJB does not have nasal  $\underset{\sim}{\text{ɑ}}$  which other SEY dialects have, so the shift  $\underset{\sim}{\text{ɔ}} > \underset{\sim}{\text{ɑ}}$  did not occur in IJB).

Examples: [kpɔ̃] → [kpɑ̃] 'draw (water)'  
[ɔgbɔ̃] → [ɔgbɑ̃] 'wisdom'  
[asɔ̃] → [asɑ̃] 'vanity'

IX. Denasalization of  $\underset{\sim}{\text{ɑ}}$  and  $\underset{\sim}{\text{ɛ}}$  in NWY and CY.

Examples: [jɑ̃] → [jɑ] 'yawn'  
[térɛ̃] → [térɛ] 'slender'  
[gbɛ̃] → [gbɛ] 'carve'.

We notice that in the list of the various shifts as indicated above the lax oral vowels  $\underset{\sim}{\text{ɪ}}$  and  $\underset{\sim}{\text{ʊ}}$  and the tense vowel  $\underset{\sim}{\text{u}}$  were the only ones involved in shifts and mergers in the oral vowel system. In both the NWY and SEY group of dialects the two lax vowels are reported to have undergone raising and a subsequent merger with their tense counterparts.

Adetugbo suggests that the shift of  $\underset{\sim}{\text{ɪ}}$  to  $\underset{\sim}{\text{i}}$  in NWY and SEY seems to be the oldest vowel change in these dialects because of the geographical range in which it took place. He notices however, and my description of IJB here corroborates this, that relics of  $\underset{\sim}{\text{ɪ}}$  occur in "non-phonemic" function in the southwest corner of SEY, that is, around Shagamu and Ketu. This study of the Ijebu dialect shows that both  $\underset{\sim}{\text{ɪ}}$  and  $\underset{\sim}{\text{ʊ}}$  still occur as relics in initial position of some disyllabic nouns especially in words with word-final  $\underset{\sim}{\text{a}}$ ,  $\underset{\sim}{\text{ɔ}}$  and  $\underset{\sim}{\text{ɔ̃}}$  - all lax vowels.

What one might regard as the first indirect insight into sound changes in Yoruba dialects had been made by Rowlands (1965) in his article: 'Yoruba Dialects in Polyglotta Africana' which contains brief descriptions of cross-dialectal variation in phonological and lexical features in the dialects of Yoruba mentioned in Koelle's Polyglotta Africana. Rowlands' observations will be relevant in the description of sound changes in progress which will be given in the next chapter.

The alternation in the representation of some of the vowels which Rowlands culled from the works of early writers like Crowther (1852), Bowen (1858) and Koelle's Polyglotta Africana<sup>9</sup>, and compared with his own data gathered from both written and spoken sources over a period of fifteen years point to the fact that dialectal variations may have resulted from some historical sound changes resulting in divergences among the various dialects. Some of the alternations which Rowlands points out and which are relevant in the consideration of historical sound changes in Yoruba include:

- (i) The alternation between an (i.e. [ã]) and on (i.e. [õ]) as in eran [ɛrã] ~ [ɛrõ] 'meat' itan [itã] ~ [itõ] 'thigh'
- (ii) The alternation between present day Standard Yoruba (STD) un (i.e. [ũ]), and on (i.e. [õ]) as written in Crowther's grammar e.g. STD irun [irũ] and CR. irɔn [irõ] 'hair' STD kún [kũ] and CR. kɔn [kõ] 'be full'.

- (iii) The alternation between nasal vowel ũ and the denasalized counterpart u as in gũn [gũ] and gũ [gũ] 'to mount', gún [gũ] and [gũ] 'to pound'.
- (iv) The alternation between back and front vowels in word - initial positions as in ọkan/ikan i.e. [ɔkã]/[ikã] 'one', ɔwúrò; ɔórò/awúrò, áárò (i.e. [ɔwúrɔ, ɔórɔ]/[awúrɔ, áárɔ]) 'morning', òní/èní (i.e. [ɔní]/[èní]) 'today'.
- (v) The 'special' cases of i-initial nouns in STD as in STD as in ilé (i.e. [ilé]) 'house', ígá (i.e. [ígá]) 'calabash' as opposed to what obtains in 'eastern dialects' in which these forms have u - instead, i.e. ulé, ugá ([ulé], [ugá]).

Rowlands' brief comment on these vowel alternations seems to indicate that he does not distinguish between, on the one hand, the probable historical changes that led to the divergence of the dialects thus bringing about these alternations and correspondences, and on the other hand some sound changes in progress in the dialects of the language. According to Rowlands (p.104):

The presence of ɔn for un has been noted among some Western Ọyọ speakers. It is possible that in some areas the an/ɔn phoneme is splitting up in such a way that ɔn is coalescing with un after that itself has split into two parts, un and u, thus losing part of its domain to the oral u phoneme.

Rowlands is making a valid point here in terms of sound change in progress, but he is definitely making it for the wrong dialect. It is not true that ɔn is coalescing with un, nor is it true that un has split into un and u



among any group of Qyq dialect speakers. This is probably why Rowlands gets such a sharp retort from Adetugbq (op. cit. 165-166) who himself goes on to make another rather unsupportable claim which does not take into account the phenomema of sound changes in progress:

We disagree with almost everyone of Rowlands' conclusions. They follow, of necessity, we feel from his incorrect assumption that all the dialects have nasal vowel series of either three number: /i, u, ɔ̃ /, or four numbers: /i, u, ɛ̃, ɔ̃/. Present-day Standard Yoruba has a four-member vowel system: /i, u, ɛ̃, ɔ̃/.

This is a fair comment in terms of Adetugbq's refutation of Rowlands' claims. But he goes further to provide a <sup>u</sup>conter claim which suffers from a similar inadequacy as in Rowlands' assumptions:

..... in no Yoruba dialect is ɔ̃ coalescing with u. The shifts .... are ɔ̃ and u merging in NWY while ɔ̃ becomes ɔ̃ in SEY. Finally as to the possibility that u is splitting into u and u we cannot adduce anything in support of its being widespread.

..... the process of denasalization of PY ã and ẽ probably affected, but to a minor degree, other nasal vowels. The correspondences ũ and u belong to this category.

I should quickly point out here some of the misconceptions in Adetugbq's counter claim. It appears that Adetugbq, like Rowlands, does not distinguish between historical sound change and sound change in progress. But since Adetugbq's study deals extensively with historical sound shifts and splits in the various dialects, I am inclined to think that he is not aware of the possibility of some on-going sound changes in the dialects he has so exhaustively studied.

The merging of ũ and ũ̃ in NWY, and that of ĩ̃ and ĩ̄ in SEY, as Adetugbọ correctly points out, are features of an historical vowel shift in these dialects, but the raising of ĩ̄ to ũ̄ which Adetugbọ claims as not taking place in any Yoruba dialect, is actually taking place now in a number of Adetugbọ's SEY group of dialects which had an historical lowering of ũ̄ to ĩ̄. Furthermore, the denasalization of [†nasal] vowels, which Adetugbọ notes as affecting Proto-Yoruba ã, and ẽ and suggests as probably affecting to a minor degree other nasal vowels, actually took place among the Ijẹbu, Ketu and to some extent the Ègba dialects where the high nasal vowels [ĩ̄] and [ũ̄], became denasalized after obstruent consonants in nouns and verbs. I shall show the pattern that this process took in IJB presently.

Fresco (op.cit) is another scholar who makes a number of inferences about possible historical mergers involving the high lax vowels (oral and nasal) merging with their tense counterparts. In his attempt to account for why it is that in most dialects the high vowels do not participate in tenseness harmony,<sup>10</sup> he posits two probable historical developments in the phonology of Yoruba dialects.

In what he calls 'Development A', Fresco claims that I and u existed in all the dialects of Yoruba and then merged with /i/ and /u/. In other words, that all dialects of Yoruba may at one time have had the set of surface vowels now seen only in Ifaki (i.e. Ekiti group of dialects). This account is in line with my stand in this description and also agrees with Adetugbọ's reconstruction.<sup>11</sup> But Fresco

rejects this view and seems to prefer another hypothesis - 'Development B' - which according to him accounts for the contemporary distribution of the high vowels.

Fresco's 'Development B' states that tenseness harmony affects only the [- High] prefix vowels, and that Ifaki generalized the process to include the [+High] prefix vowels. According to him, this course involves the assumption that a simplification of a rule of more restricted applicability took place in Ifaki.

In his analysis of 'Development A' (which he rejects) Fresco claims (p.44):

Development A assumes two events in the histories of the non -I, -u, dialects:

(1) if we assume for these dialects a similar underlying set of prefix vowels as present-day If. namely that they were [U Tense], accompanied by a Universal Markedness Convention and a rule of tenseness assimilation which produced [-Tense] prefixes in the appropriate environments, then this rule must have undergone a change so that it now excluded the [+ High] prefix vowels. That is, it must have lost some of its generality.

.....  
(2) At a later stage this rule now dropped from the grammars of these dialects altogether, leaving behind a sequence structure condition to the effect that only [-High] vowels agree in tenseness.

This sequence of historical rule change in the NWY and SEY group of dialects seems to me a very logical one which explains the basic differences between the Ekiti group of dialects which still retains the nine oral vowel system with tenseness assimilation on the one hand, and on the other hand, the remaining dialects where the rule has been dropped and has now become a constraint on the sequences of vowels in nouns.

Fresco's unwillingness to accept development A is also seen in terms of his unwillingness to accept the fact that there could be a shared innovation among a large number of dialects, thus rejecting Kiparsky's observation (1968:190), which he himself refers to, that in the diffusion of a rule a narrowing down of its scope often takes place. Fresco's claim that Ifaki (i.e. Ekiti) is by no means a geographically isolated area and that therefore account A would be hard-put to give a plausible reason for the omission of the Ekiti area from the rule change seems to me untenable. In actual fact, and as Adetugbo points out, historically, the Ekiti area was not involved in any major contact with the outside world until the beginning of the nineteenth century when the Yoruba intra-ethnic wars began to extend to the frontiers of Ekitiland.

Furthermore, there is an apparent inconsistency in Fresco's unwillingness to accept account A if he accepts in the same chapter of his study that the nasal counterparts of these lax vowels occurred in Common Yoruba and Ketu and then merged with their tense counterparts: (p.42)

What can be inferred historically is that /ĩ/ merged with /i/ in CY (Common Yoruba) and (Ketu). Further evidence of such a merger is seen in such forms as 216. 'crocodile' If: ɔnĩ, CY: ɔnɪ: 261. 'egg' If: ɛĩ, CY ɛyɪ

The conclusion to be drawn from the historical reconstruction of the vowel systems of Yoruba dialects is that at an earlier time in history, all Yoruba dialects had an inventory of surface vowels identical to what we now have in the Ekiti group of dialects. But as a result of

shifts and mergers which took place before the beginning of the nineteenth century, most of the dialects of Northwest and Southeast Yoruba had reductions in the numbers of vowels in their respective inventories. Such shifts and mergers acted uniformly within the oral vowel systems of both NWY and SEY, whereas within their nasal vowel systems, divergences occurred thereby producing different inventories of nasal vowels in the two dialect groups. The Ekiti group of dialects seemed to have been unaffected.

Furthermore, it is believed that there was some connection between the phonological process of vowel shift and the phonological feature of vowel harmony which is explained in terms of tenseness agreement governing the permissible sequences of vowels in disyllabic nouns in Yoruba dialects. The divergences which exist today between those dialects (IJB, EKO, STD, etc.) with partial vowel harmony, and on the other hand the Ekiti group of dialects in which vowel harmony is still fully operative, can be traced to the effects of these early historical phonological processes of change.

#### 4.2.3. Standard Yoruba (STD).

Apart from Adetugbo (op.cit) and Fresco (op.cit), the wide range of studies on the Yoruba language have concentrated mainly on the variety of the language commonly referred to as 'Standard'. The various levels of linguistic analysis, ranging from the phonetic, phonological and syntactic descriptions of Yoruba have been explored by various scholars.

Standard Yoruba is essentially a superposed variety, a product of the efforts of the early christian missionaries to devise an orthography for the language primarily for the purpose of translating the English Bible into Yoruba. Writing on the early study of Nigerian languages, P.E.H. Hair (1967) reviews the early study of Yoruba from 1825 to 1850 and refers to the contribution of Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther in devising an orthography employed in Yoruba writings from the 1850's. He points out further that Crowther's contribution to the founding of a written literature in the language was very great.

His choice of a dialect and his selection of idioms and expressions in this dialect, sanctified for the Yoruba reader through his Bible translations and for the linguist through his grammar and dictionary, created Standard Yoruba, which has now even affected the spoken language and become so widespread that other dialect forms are rapidly disappearing.

(Hair P.E.H. 1967:17)

Hair does not explicitly mention the name of the dialect which Bishop Crowther selected. But Adetugbo (1967:208) refers to the erroneous claim by a number of scholars of Yoruba that Standard Yoruba is nothing more than the Qyq dialect. In a counter claim, he suggests:

..... that the koiné [Standardized Yorùbá], while largely deriving its lexicon and syntax from Qyq and adjacent dialects, has a phonology approximate to Ègba phonology, i.e. the Abẹkuta dialect where the confusion between the sibilants is not operative (i.e. s,ʃ). We will also claim that no Yoruba speaker has this koiné as his native dialect.

I have mentioned elsewhere in this thesis that there is need for making a distinction between Standard Yoruba as a literary variety and Common Yoruba (CY) as the common spoken variety. Although STD can be rendered as a spoken variety, its use is identified with the formal speech of educated Yoruba speakers in formal occasions, and with news broadcasts over the radio and television networks. In such circumstances, the correspondence between the standard written variety and the spoken variety can be close indeed. But beyond such formal speech occasions, the variety of Yoruba that can be indentified as the spoken variety having common intelligibility among the generality of most Yoruba speakers has not achieved sufficient uniformity in phonological/phonetic features and in lexical characteristics for it to be designated as 'Standard' spoken Yoruba.

The description of Lagos Yoruba (EKO) which follows in the next section will trace the development of this variety as one type of common spoken Yoruba which emerged from the need for common intelligibility among the various groups of early settlers in Lagos and the later groups of dialect-speaking people who moved into Lagos from different parts of Yorubaland.

The phonological segments of STD.

Most of the available accounts of the phonology of STD agree to some extent on the inventory of the systematic phonemic segments (both consonantal and syllabic) of this variety of the language.<sup>12</sup>

Table 4.1 below lists all the systematic phonemic consonants of STD while all the systematic phonemic vowels are listed in Table 4.2.

m		n						
b	t	d	ɟ	k	g	kp	gb	
f	s		ʃ					h
		r	j					w
		l						

Table 4.1 The Consonants of Standard Yoruba.

Oral	Nasal
i	ĩ
u	ũ
e	
o	
ɛ	ẽ
ɔ	õ
a	

Table 4.2 The vowels of Standard Yoruba.

The Consonants:

Systematic phonological contrasts do exist among these segments in word-initial and word-medial positions. No consonantal segment can occur in word-final position in Yoruba because of its open-syllable structure.

The controversy over whether there is one nasal consonant (/m/) or two (/m/ and /n/) results from the fact that /n/ can only occur with nasal vowels while /ɲ/ occurs mainly with oral vowels. Because of this phonetic alternation, n is said to be a variant of /ɲ/ and does not qualify for an independent phonological status in Yoruba.



Although [n] alternates with [ɲ] in certain morpho-syntactic environments, the phonological contrast which is said to exist between /n/ and /ɲ/ in Yoruba in such words as the following raises a number of questions which will not be gone into here.

/inǎ/	'fire'	/ilú/	'town'
/ilá/	'okro'	/inũ/	'stomach'
/anǎ/	'in-law'		
/álá/	'dream'		

There is not much divergence at the systematic phonemic level between STD and the other dialects under consideration here.

#### The Vowels:

In STD as in all the other dialects of Yoruba, there are two sets of vowels - - oral and nasal. There are systematic constraints on the sequence of syllabic non-consonantal segments with <sup>in</sup> polysyllabic words in the language. Such constraints are governed by what is generally referred to as the system of vowel harmony. The effect of vowel harmony on the distributional pattern of vowels in formatives in Yoruba dialects generally will be discussed in a later section.

There is a general agreement among most scholars of Yoruba that there are seven oral vowels in STD (Table 4.2). All of these vowels except /u/ can occur in word-initial position in STD. A considerable number of nouns in STD have /i/ as the word-initial vowel whereas some other dialects (as will be shown in IJB) have /u/ in this position. My analysis of IJB in a later section will provide an explanation for the divergence between STD

together with the dialects having i - initial in certain nouns, and other dialects including IJB which have u - initial in these nouns.

Several accounts of STD tend to suggest that there are only three underlying nasal vowels which are represented as /i, u, ɔ/. [ɛ̃] occurs in only one word in STD (iyeŋ [iɟɛ̃] 'that') and this word is said to be a borrowing from one of the dialects [ã] is said to occur as a phonetic variant of /ɔ/.

Oyelaran (1970:45), however claims that there are five underlying nasal vowels in STD, and these are /ã, ɛ̃, ɔ, i, u/. But there is an obvious contradiction in Oyelaran's claim in view of his other claim on the same page that

..... the feature [±back] is no longer distinctive for low nonfront vowels of SY [STD] that is to say [ã] and [ɔ] are not distinct phonological segments of SY. Thus

<u>rɔ̃n</u>	[rɔ̃]
<u>rãn</u>	[rã]

would both mean 'to sew' even in the speech of the same SY speaker.

The problem with the analysis of nasal vowels in STD stems from the fact that, as was pointed out earlier on, as a standardized variety based essentially on a written orthography, a synchronic analysis of its phonology cannot but run into the difficulty of trying to incorporate certain features which derive essentially from dialectal variants in the STD description. While it is true that certain dialects have /ɔ̃/ and not /ã/, for example IJB, the reverse is the case in other dialects. The identification of ɔ̃ and ã in the phonology of STD, therefore,

may be a reflection of their introduction into the standardized variety by the different dialect groups and that [ɔ̃] and [ã] should be regarded as variants of an underlying /ɔ̃/ in STD.

On the other hand, evidence from the historical reconstruction of Proto-Yoruba vowels as shown in section 4.2.1. shows that the present-day overall picture of the vowel system of the Yoruba language still reflects the historical picture of an underlying seven nasal vowel system. The differences in the inventory of nasal vowel segments at the systematic phonetic level in the various dialects are a product of phonological processes, some of which are of a historical nature, involving vowel harmony, vowel shifts and mergers.

It seems to me that STD is moving in the direction of a three nasal vowel system because [ã] is gradually being replaced by [ɔ̃] in most environments where [ã] was formerly being used and this also reflects the direction in which further standardization of STD is moving.

#### 4.2.4. Lagos Yoruba (EKO)

Lagos Yoruba differs from the other regional varieties of Yoruba in the sense that this speech variety (popularly known as Eko)<sup>13</sup> did not derive from similar circumstances as the other regional dialects such as Oyo, Ijebu, Egbá, Ekiti and so on. Whereas each of these dialects can be identified with a specific sub-ethnic group of the Yoruba people, Lagos Yoruba, as it is today, cannot be so identified.

The original inhabitants of Lagos or Eko were the Àwòrì sub-ethnic group of the Yoruba people who spoke the Àwòrì dialect.<sup>14</sup> Relics of the original Àwòrì dialect as spoken by the earliest inhabitants of Lagos can still be heard among some old people in Ìsàlẹ̀ Eko, the traditional home of the indigenous Lagosians. But today EKO does not correspond to the Àwòrì dialect although its present form may have been influenced to some degree by the Àwòrì dialect speech of the indigenous Lagosians.

The emergence of Lagos Yoruba as an urban variety of the Yoruba language dates back to the history and pattern of immigration and settlement of different groups of people in Lagos. By the second half of the nineteenth century there were three distinct groups of settlers in Lagos. These were: the Lagosians, the immigrants and the Europeans.<sup>15</sup>

Records show that the common language of interaction among the indigenous group and the immigrants (i.e. the Sierra Leoneans and the Brazilians) was Yoruba.<sup>16</sup> It was to be expected that the variety of Yoruba which was spoken in Lagos in those years could not have been homogeneous because of the differences between the groups. The indigenous Àwòrì settlers spoke Àwòrì, the Brazilian immigrants were mainly Ègbà and the Sàró were made up of various people from the Oyo speaking parts of Yorubaland.

The variety of Yoruba that eventually emerged from such a contact situation after all the various groups had virtually integrated into the cosmopolitan setting of urban Lagos, was an admixture of the various dialects spoken by the different groups. But perhaps the major factor in the emergence of Lagos Yoruba as it was up to the early 1950s was the concerted effort made by the early missionary institutions in Lagos about the second half of the nineteenth century to accelerate the study of the Yoruba language for the purpose of producing Yoruba translations of the Bible and other religious texts. The net result of such efforts was the emergence of the 'standardized' variety of Yoruba used essentially for the written medium and which has continually been subjected to further standardization. There can be no doubt that written Yoruba did influence the spoken variety that emerged in Lagos towards the end of the nineteenth century, but over the years Lagos Yoruba has assumed an identity of its own that is characteristic of the cosmopolitan character of the city that produced it.

Although EKO may not be too radically different from STD in the underlying representation of the phonological segments and the distribution of these segments in lexical items, certain subtle differences still exist in the choice of vocabulary items, in the pronoun system, and in the non-segmental features of the phonology and phonetics of this urban variety.

EKO has vitality. People do not have to go to school in order to acquire this variety of Yoruba. It is a variety that has emerged and developed over the years out of the need for a common means of communicating intelligibly among the various dialect speaking peoples who continually migrate into the city of Lagos. Today, there are thousands of children, even of non-Yoruba parents, born in Lagos within the last two decades, who speak EKO very fluently. The original dialect <sup>reported</sup> ~~report~~ to have been used by the *Ìsàlẹ̀* Eko indigenous inhabitants has been displaced in favour of EKO.

A detailed account of the phonological/phonetic features which distinguish EKO from the so-called STD is not possible here, not because significant differences do not exist but because what constitute these differences derive from a combination of phonetic and lexical features which need a more detailed analysis than can be provided in this description.

Those who hold the view that Lagos Yoruba is not radically different from Standard Yoruba will argue that at the level of segmental phonology, there are no marked differences. While this is true to some extent, it should be pointed out that EKO differs from STD in the distribution of vowels in certain lexical items. The [ā] and [ǎ] alternation in STD does not exist in EKO. Only [ǎ] occurs in this variety. The distribution of vowels within the pronoun system is such that EKO differs considerably from STD. For example: 'Mo ti jẹun' (I have eaten) in STD will

be rendered as 'Mi ti jẹun' in EKO, especially among the younger people. Here the conjunctive first person pronoun mo in STD is realized as mi in EKO in positive declarative statements. On the other hand, in negative statements, STD uses the variants mi + kò/ò or ḡ + kò/ò as in: 'mi ò lq/ḡ ò lq' (I didn't go). This will be rendered in EKO as 'mo + ò' or 'èmi + kò' (using the full disjunctive pronoun form) as in: 'mo ò lq/èmi kò lq' (I didn't go).

The third person singular pronoun objective reference is [ɔ] in STD whereas in EKO it is [ɛ]. For example. 'Mo ti fún ɔ' in STD, will be rendered as 'Mo ti fún ɛ' (I have given it to you) in EKO. In general, STD is consistent in the use of the second person pronoun of respect as 'Èyin' (disjunctive) and ɛ, while EKO often uses the non-honorific forms Iwq/Irɛ/o interchangeably with Èyin/E.

Phonetically, Lagos Yoruba differs from STD considerably in the areas of prosodic features of rhythm, sonority, tempo and style of delivery, features which are yet to be systematically analysed in the language. The point that I wish to emphasize in this study is that Lagos Yoruba should be regarded as an example of what has been described elsewhere in this thesis as 'Common Yoruba'.

The distinction between Standard Yoruba and Common Yoruba (CY) is being made here because I take the stand that STD developed essentially from the written variety of the language. At best, it is a literary variety learnt from books and through the formal educational system.

Its use in radio and television news broadcasts cannot be taken as evidence of its widespread use as a spoken variety because these news broadcasts are oral reproductions of written materials. There are spoken varieties which are fast emerging in the large urban centres like Lagos and Ibadan, and in the near future, in the new State capitals of Abeokuta and Akure. Each variety of this Common Yoruba would have developed essentially as a spoken variety, although it still lacks homogeneity in terms of its phonetic output from speaker to speaker. The great majority of people who speak this common variety are bi-dialectals whose indigenous local dialects still affect their CY speech.

In the case of Lagos Yoruba, however, the people who could be regarded as the true Lagosians ( that is, descendants of the indigenous inhabitants, the descendants of the Sierra Leoneans and Brazillians), would not have any trace of regional dialectal features in their speech. In most cases also, even people who migrated into Lagos from regional dialect areas and have lived for a considerable number of years in the city no longer have regional dialect features in their EKO speech.

There is no doubt, therefore, that Lagos Yoruba deserves to be studied in greater detail than can be provided for in this study in view of its acceptance by many dialect speakers as a popular spoken variety which can be acquired without the rigour of a formal school system.



#### 4.2.5. The Ijebu Dialect (IJB)

The Ijebu Dialect whose description is provided here is the variety that is associated with the Rẹmọ sub-ethnic group of the Ijebu people. It is the type of speech characteristic of Rẹmọ towns such as Şagamu, Ikẹnnẹ, Ode-Rẹmọ, Ikorodu etc.

Rẹmọ speech differs from Ijebu Ode speech only in matters of phonetic realization of underlying segments. There are differences though in the choice of vocabulary items. Both Rẹmọ and Ijebu Ode speakers maintain respectively that their speech differ, but are both mutually intelligible to one another.

Ijebu Ode speakers maintain that their speech is "better" than that of the Rẹmọ people. They say that Rẹmọ speech is sluggish and clumsy. They stereotype Rẹmọ speakers as [ɣ] - pronouncing. That is, Rẹmọ speakers use the voiced velar fricative [ɣ] in some environments where other speakers of the Ijebu dialect would normally use the semi-vowel [w] , and this is said to make their speech "sloppy".

The following is an inventory of the segments of the Ijebu Rẹmọ (IJB) variety of the Ijebu dialect.

##### The Consonants:

The underlying consonantal segments will be listed under the two major classes of **obstruents** and **sonorants**. This classification of the consonants of IJB is relevant for some aspects of the description which will be provided in this chapter and the analysis to be done in Chapter V.

Obstruents: b, f, s, ʃ, t, d, ʒ, k, g, γ, kp, gb.

Sonorants: m, n, ŋ, l, r, j, w.

The phonological status of ŋ is questionable in view of the fact that it alternates with γ vis-a-vis oral and nasal vowels. While γ normally occurs with oral vowels, ŋ always occurs with nasal vowels. γ occurs in more lexical items in IJB than ŋ and it corresponds to w only in the non [γ] - pronouncing dialects of Yoruba. Whereas ŋ corresponds to both w and h in these dialects. However, I find no sufficient feature similarity between them to form the basis for regarding [ŋ] as a variant of /γ/ in IJB.

The labio-velar stops gw and kw were recorded for the Ijẹbu dialect as far back as 1845 when D'AVEZAC published his article on some aspects of the grammar of Ijẹbu dialect. These were also reported as occurring in Adetugbọ's account of SEY group of dialects. Although gw and kw are known to occur in the Ikalẹ dialect of Okitipupa Division with which I am quite familiar, I did not encounter them in the variety of the Ijẹbu dialect which I investigated. My speculation is that the sound changes currently going on in a number of Yoruba dialects may have affected gw and kw in IJB speech, and that the change may have reached completion especially among speakers in the more urban settlements in the Rẹmọ district, as the data from Ikorodu and Şagamu indicate.

The distribution of consonantal segments in IJB shows that distinctions are made between the two major natural classes of obstruents, and non-obstruents, or sonorants in terms of which vowels can co-occur with them in certain

monosyllabic lexical items, and also in terms of which vowels can co-occur in certain disyllabic lexical items. Details of these co-occurrence restrictions will be given in the description which follows.

The Vowels:

The following underlying vowels are recognized in IJB:

Oral		Nasal	
i	u	ɪ	ɯ
e	o		
ɛ	ɔ	ɛ̃	ɔ̃
a			

Oral Vowels:

The phonetic realizations of IJB oral vowels show an historical inventory of nine surface vowels as against seven underlying vowels. The inventory of present-day IJB surface oral vowels is shown in section 4.2.2. (page 98) and does not include ɪ and ɯ.

The occurrence of [ɪ] and [ɯ] is restricted to the initial position of noun formatives of the VCV structure, with a further constraint that they co-occur only with the vowels [a, ɔ, ɔ̃], all non-tense segments. The distribution of [ɪ] and [ɯ] in IJB is restricted to a few words and its use is limited to the fairly elderly people especially in the rural areas of the Ijebu-dialect speaking community. The following are some of the words in which the vowels sometimes occur in speech.

(A)	[ɪbà]	/ibà/	'fever'
	[itɔ̃]	/itɔ̃/	'urine'
	[udà]	/udà/	'sword'
	[ugbá]	/ugbá/	'calabash'
	[utɔ̃]	/utɔ̃/	'thigh'

These occurrences should be regarded as residues or relics of the historical vowel shifts and mergers discussed briefly in section 4.2.2. A more detailed discussion of the effects on IJB vowel system will be provided in a later section.

The other major difference between IJB and EKO/STD in the distribution of oral vowels is the occurrence of the high vowel initial of a large class of nouns. In EKO and STD, only [i] occurs as the vowel-initial of this class of nouns. In IJB on the other hand [u] occurs predominantly as the vowel-initial of these nouns ([i] occurs as the word-initial vowel in a limited class of nouns in IJB - see Chapter V). The feature of u-initial vowels in some nouns in IJB and the phenomenon of sound change in progress will come up for a fuller discussion in Chapter V.

#### Nasal Vowels:

The distributional pattern of the four nasal vowels of IJB shows significant differentiations from either EKO or STD.<sup>17</sup> These differences result from the historical vowel shifts which were said to have occurred along a different direction among the nasal vowels of the SEY group of dialects of which IJB is one.

In many dialects of Yoruba the low front nasal segment [ɛ̃] does not occur. So, in a number of IJB words in which [ɛ̃] occurs, it is the high front nasal vowel [ĩ] which occurs instead in either EKO or STD. For example:

(B)	IJB	EKO/STD	
	[ɛgbɛ̃]	[ɛgbĩ]	'filth'
	[ʒgbɛ̃]	[ʒgbĩ]	'seedlings'
	[akɛ̃]	[akĩ]	'a hero'
	[àwɛ̃]	[àwĩ]	'credit'
	[ʒkɛ̃]	[ʒkĩ]	'a type of bird'
	[mɛ́rɛ̃]	[mɛ́rĩ]	'four'
(C)	[kpɛ̃]	[kpĩ]	'divide'
	[rɛ̃]	[rĩ]	'walk'
	[dɛ̃]	[dĩ]	'fry'
	[sɛ̃]	[sĩ]	'sneeze'
	[gbɛ̃]	[gbĩ]	'sow'

On the other hand IJB corresponds to both EKO and STD in the realization of [ĩ] in the following words:

(D)	[orĩ]	[orĩ]	'song'
	[oji]	[oji]	'honey'
	[ɛʒĩ]	[ɛʒĩ]	'palm fruit'
	[ɛʒĩ]	[ɛʒĩ] ~ [ɛhi]	'back'
	[ɛ́ri]	[ɛ́ri]	'laughter'

But this correspondence occurs only in words in which the intervening consonant in the VCV structure is a [+sonorant] segment. The alternation of [ĩ] and [ɛ̃] in noun formatives in IJB seems to me to be governed by some sequential constraints arising mainly from the

principles of vowel harmony in the dialect. All the words in (B) in which [ẽ̃] occurs contain obstruent consonants. They all obey the vowel co-occurrence rule in which only [-tense] vowels can co-occur, in contrast to the EKO/STD words in the same group which violate the rule.

The distribution of the vowels of IJB, EKO and STD in terms of the [Tense] feature is given below. The vowel in parenthesis occurs only in EKO and STD.

I	II	III	IV
i      u	ε    ɔ	ĩ      ũ	ẽ̃      õ
e      o	a		(ã)
[+ tense]	[-tense]	[+tense]	[-tense]

The general condition which at first seems to govern vowel co-occurrence in disyllabic nouns in the three dialects is that [+tense] vowels tend to co-occur while [-tense] vowels co-occur. No nasal vowel occurs in the initial position of words. But this general condition is now violated in respect of the high tense vowels and the non-tense vowel a. In EKO and STD, the opposition tense vs. non-tense is no longer operative in respect of the vowels i, u, ĩ, ũ (tense) and a (non-tense), in their co-occurrence with other vowels in disyllabic words. The wider range of distribution shared by these vowels results from the historical changes discussed above.

In IJB on the other hand, only u can strictly be said to violate the co-occurrence condition when it occurs word-initially in disyllabic nouns as indicated above. In respect of the 4 nasal vowels of IJB, [ẽ̃] and [õ] (non-

tense) generally co-occur with [-tense] oral vowels. The limited occurrence of [ĩ] and [ũ] with tense and non-tense oral vowels is strictly conditioned.

The violations exhibited by IJB words in (D) should be regarded as exceptions which are conditioned by the occurrence of the [+sonorant] consonant between the harmony-violating vowels. All the EKO/STD words occurring in (B) and (D) violate the vowel harmony rule.

The incidence of [ĩ, ɛ̃] as the two front nasal vowels occurring in IJB is a relic of the historical sound shift which took place in a number of Yoruba dialects.

The distribution of [ũ] and [ɔ̃] shows a pattern slightly different from that of [ĩ, ɛ̃]. A synchronic picture of IJB shows that [ũ] has a limited occurrence in the dialect. It occurs in a small number of nouns and in an equally small number of verbs. [ũ] occurrence in these words corresponds to its occurrence in EKO/STD words.

(E)	IJB	EKO/STD	
	[ojũ]	[ojũ]	'pregnancy'
	[ijũ]	[ijũ]	'beads'
	[ajũ]	[adũ]	'sweets' 'sweetness'
	[rũ]	[rũ]	'exude odour'
	[rũ]	[rũ]	'perish'
	[rũ]	[rũ]	'crumple'

A closer inspection of the lexicon of EKO/STD will show that the [+tense] back nasal vowel [ũ] occurs in a large number of nouns in which the word-initial vowel is any of the [+tense] vowels [i, e, o]. (The tense high back

vowel [u] never occurs in word-initial position in EKO/STD). It is noticed, however, that the IJB counterpart of the word-final [ũ] in this class of EKO/STD words is an oral [u] vowel.

Examples:

(F)	IJB	EKO/STD	
	[ogu]	[ogũ]	'war'
	[ogú]	[ogú]	'inheritance'
	[òku]	[òkũ]	'ocean'
	[eégú]	[eégũ]	'masquerade'
	[ugu]	[igũ]	'corner'
	[ùdu]	[ùdũ]	'bedbug'
	[òkũ]	[òkũ]	'rope'

It was mentioned briefly in the discussion of the historical vowel shifts in Yoruba dialects (section 4.2.2.) that the denasalization of [+nasal] vowels did occur as a major historical vowel change in Ijebu, Ketu and Egbá dialects. The divergence between IJB on the one hand and EKO/STD on the other hand, in the class of nouns listed under (F) above undoubtedly resulted from this historical phonological process of denasalization. The extent of its effects on IJB vowel system will be discussed fully presently.

The low back nasal vowel [ɔ̃] occurs in a very large number of words in IJB and in which both EKO and STD also realize [ɔ̃]<sup>18</sup>



(G)	IJB	EKO/STD	
	[ɛkpɔ̃]	[ɛkpɔ̃]	'testicles'
	[ɛfɔ̃]	[ɛfɔ̃]	'meat'
	[ɛfɔ̃]	[ɛfɔ̃]	'mosquito'
	[ɛfɔ̃]	[ɛfɔ̃]	'bushcow'
	[ɛwɔ̃]	[ɛwɔ̃]	'prison'
	[ɛwɔ̃]	[ɛwɔ̃]	'chain'
	[ɔgbɔ̃]	[ɔgbɔ̃]	'wisdom'
	[ɔkɔ̃]	[ɔkɔ̃]	'heart'
	[ɔkpɔ̃]	[ɔkpɔ̃]	'wooden bowl'
	[ɔsɔ̃]	[ɔsɔ̃]	'orange'
	[ɔsɔ̃]	[ɔsɔ̃]	'afternoon'
	[ɔfɔ̃]	[ɔfɔ̃]	'twine'
	[aʀɔ̃]	[aʀɔ̃]	'worm'
(H)	[wɔ̃]	[wɔ̃]	'expensive'
	[kɔ̃]	[kɔ̃]	'sour'
	[kɔ̃]	[kɔ̃]	'knock'
	[rɔ̃]	[rɔ̃]	'sew'
	[tɔ̃]	[tɔ̃]	'to light'
	[tɔ̃]	[tɔ̃]	'be finished'
	[fɔ̃]	[fɔ̃]	'flow'
	[dɔ̃]	[dɔ̃]	'shine' 'glitter'
	[gbɔ̃]	[gbɔ̃]	'shake off'

On the other hand, however, there is a class of words in IJB in which [ɔ̃] occurs whereas EKO and STD have [ũ] instead. These are:

(I)	IJB	EKO/STD	
	[ɔrɔ̃]	[ɔrũ]	'neck'
	[ɔtɔ̃]	[ɔtũ]	'right'
	[ɔfɔ̃]	[ɔfũ]	'throat'
	[ɔdɔ̃]	[ɔdũ]	'year'
	[ɛdɔ̃]	[ɛdũ]	'desire'
	[ɛkɔ̃]	[ɛkũ]	'leopard'
	[ãrɔ̃]	[ãrũ]	'disease'
	[irɔ̃]	[irũ]	'hair'

The occurrence of [ɔ̃] in the nouns listed in (G) for IJB as well as EKO/STD is governed by the usual constraints of vowel harmony on vowel co-occurrence. The initial vowel and the final vowel of the disyllabic nouns agree in tenseness. Whereas in the words listed under (I) only IJB words obey the harmony rule. IJB [ɔ̃] corresponds to EKO/STD [ũ] in this class of words. The divergence here results from the historical shift of the [-tense] high nasal vowel [ɨ̃] which was raised and merged with [ũ] in EKO/STD, but was lowered and merged with [ɔ̃] in IJB.

In the following section, a fuller discussion of the various historical vowel shifts and mergers in IJB is provided so as to help our understanding of the peculiarities in the distributional pattern of IJB vowels and to provide the necessary background for the analysis of on-going changes in the vowel system of the dialects.

4.2.6. Historical vowel shifts versus sound changes in progress in the Ijebu dialect.

It is necessary at this point to give an account of the historical shifts and mergers that took place in IJB vowel system in a way that is much more comprehensive than was provided in Adetugbo's account of vowel shifts in the SEY group of dialects. This is because I believe that the forces which produced these changes over a century ago are not necessarily the same as those operating to produce the on-going changes observable in the speech usage of members of the community under study.

The objective is to demonstrate that, although the structural approach to language change which underlined the early description of the diachronic changes, is illuminating, strict identification of structuredness with homogeneity of a linguistic system which such an approach implied breaks down when we come to consider sound changes in progress in the type of heterogeneous or multilayered mixed system of a real speech community such as I am here describing.

The socially motivated phonological/phonetic shifts in the synchronic grammar of the Ijebu dialect are analysed in detail in Chapter V. A discussion of the course and sequence of historical vowel shifts in IJB is provided below:

The major vowel shifts are:

1. (a) Raising of I to i with a near-complete merger with i.
- (b) Raising of u to u with a near-merger with u.

2. Lowering of ĩ to ẽ and a subsequent merger with ẽ̃.
3. Lowering of ũ to õ and a subsequent merger with õ.
4. Denasalization of ĩ and ũ.

1. Raising of I and u to i and u respectively.

The high lax oral vowels I and u were believed to have been raised and merged with their tense counterparts i and u. This shift affected all other Yoruba dialects except the Ekiti group of dialects. The following examples from EKITI and IJB illustrate the effect of this historical vowel raising on the phonetics of one dialect and not on the other.<sup>19</sup>

(J)	EKITI	IJB	
	[Irõ]	[irõ]	'hair'
	[Ijé]	[ijé]	'feather'
	[Iká]	[iká]	'termite'
	[Ilè]	[ilè]	'earth' or 'ground'
	[Ìnàkí]	[ínàkí]	'baboon'
	[ìlèkù]	[ilèkù]	'door'
	[uʃé]	[uʃé]	'work'
	[ukõ]	[ukõ]	'cough'
	[ugbá]	[ugbá]	'calabash'

The other major historical vowel shift which took place in the oral vowel system of the NWY group of dialects, that is, the fronting of u > i in the initial vowel of a class of nouns in the language did not affect IJB at this time. I will discuss this as part of the on-going sound changes in IJB.

2. Lowering of  $\tilde{I}$  to  $\tilde{\epsilon}$  and a subsequent merger with  $\tilde{\epsilon}$ .

Adetugbo's account of  $\tilde{\epsilon}$  in SEY differentiates between SEY / $\tilde{\epsilon}$ / which was subject to denasalization in NWY and the Ekiti group of dialects on the one hand, and on the other hand, what he calls SEY  $\tilde{\epsilon}$  which resulted from a late shift of PEY (Proto-East Yoruba) of PY  $\tilde{I} > \tilde{\epsilon}$ .

The examples of the former (i.e. SEY / $\tilde{\epsilon}$ /) as listed in Adetugbo's account (p.173) are:

(K)	SEY	NWY/CY	
	/téré/	/téré/	'slender'
	/gbé/	/gbé/	'carve'
	/ɔgbé/	/ɔgbé/	'injury'
	/gwéré/	/wéré/	'tiny'
	/dè/	/dè/	'still'

His examples of the lowering of  $\tilde{I}$  to  $\tilde{\epsilon}$  are:

(L)	SEY	CY EKITI	
	/uè/	/urí/	'walk'
	/awè/	/awí/	'credit'
	/akè/	/akí/	'hero'
	/udé/	/adí/	'palm-nut oil'
	/sè/	/sí/	'worship'

The inference to be drawn from this is that historically, SEY has a class of words in which the vowel / $\tilde{\epsilon}$ / occurred as shown in examples (K) above; that while in other dialects this vowel was subject to denasalization, in SEY the original class of words was added to as a result of the lowering of  $\tilde{I}$  to  $\tilde{\epsilon}$ . This argument sounds rather attractive, but Adetugbo's reconstructed Proto-NWY/CY (page 176) shows that / $\tilde{\epsilon}$ / did not occur especially

in NWY at any time in the history of the language, except in only one word /ijẽ/ 'that one' which is said to be a borrowing from SEY. There is definitely some gap in the argument here.

However, in relation to IJB, it stands to reason to speculate that a class of words in which the nasal vowel /ẽ/ occurs did exist in the dialect before a later shift of the high lax nasal vowel /ĩ/ was lowered and merged with /ẽ/ thus increasing the membership of that class as examples in (M) show:

(M)	IJB	EKITI	
	[kpẽ́]	[kpĩ́]	'share'
	[sẽ̀]	[sĩ̀]	'worship'
	[rẽ̀]	[rĩ̀]	'walk'
	[sẽ́]	[sĩ́]	'sneeze'
	[rẽ]	[rĩ]	'get wet' or 'soak'
	[nẽ́]	[nĩ́]	'own'
	[ùrẽ̀]	[ùrĩ̀]	'a walk'
	[ɔ̀nẽ̀]	[ɔ̀nĩ̀]	'crocodile'
	[ɔ̀kẽ́]	[ɔ̀kĩ́]	'a type of bird'
	[ɛ̀gbẽ̀]	[ɛ̀gbĩ̀]	'dirt' 'rubbish'

3. Lowering of ũ to ɔ̃ and a subsequent merger with ɔ̃.

In the examples (G) and (H), it is shown that in IJB and EKO/STD there are a class of words (both nouns and verbs) in which the low nasal vowel /ɔ̃/ occurs, and another class of words (I) in which [ɔ̃] occurs in IJB while [ũ] occurs in EKO/STD. It is this latter class of words which illustrate the claim that the high back lax

nasal vowel /ũ/ was lowered and merged with /õ/ in a historical vowel shift which occurred probably simultaneously with 2 above. In EKO/STD (or the NWY of Adetugbo) the process involved raising /ĩ/ to /i/ as has been pointed out.

Examples:

(N)	EKITI	IJB	EKO/STD	
	[ɔrũ]	[ɔrõ]	[ɔrũ]	'neck'
	[ɔtũ]	[ɔtõ]	[ɔtũ]	'right'
	[ɔdũ]	[ɔdõ]	[ɔdũ]	'year'
	[ɛdũ]	[ɛdõ]	[ɛdũ]	'desire'
	[ɛkũ]	[ɛkõ]	[ɛkũ]	'leopard'
	[arũ]	[arõ]	[arũ]	'disease'
	[irũ]	[irõ]	[irũ]	'hair'

#### 4. Denasalization of /ĩ/ and /ũ/

The denasalization of /ĩ/ and /ũ/ in IJB probably occurred at a much later period than the foregoing shifts, but certainly much earlier than 1839 when D'Avezac's data on Ijebu was collected. The following are some examples of words listed in D'Avezac's word list in which the denasalized counterparts ([i] and [u]) of the above vowels occur. D'Avezac's indication of nasalization in his transcription is rather confusing but the general pattern seems to be that vowel nasalization is indicated by the diacritic ["] after a vowel in which nasalization occurs (i.e. V") as in (p) below.

(O)	D'Avezac (1845)		My Transcription	
Guerre	Ogu	[ogu]		'war'
Brebis	aguto'	[àgùtɔ̃]		'ewe'
Capitaine	olorogú	[olórógu]		'war Captain'
Chef de guerre	olorogu	[olórógu]		'war leader'
Donner	o fú	[fú]		'to give'
Cord, cordage	o Kú	[okù]		'string'
Garçon	Omo''kur'æ	[ɔmɔkùrɛ̃]		'male child'
Homme	okur'æ	[ɔkùrɛ̃]		'man'
Male	okur'æ	[ɔkùrɛ̃]		'male person'
Medecin	Olus'igu	[olú/ègù]		'physician'
Porte	e'ku	[èkù] ~ [ilèkù]		'door'
Cheval	æ's'i	[ɛsi]		'horse'
Chevaucher	Ogæ's'i	[ɔgɛsi]		'horse rider'
Javelot	æ's'i	[ɛsi]		'horse whip'
Cour, enclos	awovi	[àwɔ̃fi]		'palace'

In all these instances of the occurrence of the denasalized [u] and [i], other dialects except Ketu and Ègba would have the nasalized counterparts [ũ] and [ĩ]. It appears thus that the denasalization of /ĩ/ and /ũ/ was not restricted to IJB dialect alone but also occurred in Ègba and Ketu among the NWY group of dialects.

We notice, however, that there are certain words, even in D'Avezac's word-list in which the nasalized counterparts [ĩ] and [ũ] still occur. This means that a complete denasalization of the two vowels /ĩ/ and /ũ/ did not take place. All the examples we find are nouns in which the occurrence of [ĩ] or [ũ] is governed by the occurrence of a [+sonorant] consonant in the preceding environment.



Examples:

(P)	D'Avezac		My Transcription	
Bouche	æ'r'u''	[ɛʁt̥]		'mouth'
Cheveux	i''ru	[irũ]		'hair'
Couverture	as'o uboru''	[a/sə̀ubof̥t̥]		'shawl'
Dieu unique	obba oloru''	[ɔbaɔ́lɔ́rũ]		'God'
Enfer	oru''akwaidi	[ʁũ̀ àkpáid̥i]		'hell'
Manger	O'ya'ru''	[jɛrũ]		'to eat'

Other Examples recorded in my data are:

(Q)	IJB	CY	
	[oòrũ̀]	[oòrũ̀]	'slumber' 'sleep'
	[ũ̀rũ̀]	[ohũ̀, ɲkã]	'thing'
	[ojũ̀]	[ojũ̀]	'pregnancy'
	[ojĩ]	[ojĩ]	'honey'
	[orĩ]	[orĩ]	'song'
	[èrĩ]	[èrĩ]	'laughter'
	[oɲũ̀]	[ijò]	'salt'
	[oɲũ̀]	[ohũ̀]	'voice'
	[wũ̀]	[hũ̀]	'weave'
	[rũ̀]	[rũ̀]	'smell'
	[rĩ]	[rĩ]	'laugh'
	[jũ̀]	[dũ̀]	'be sweet'

My findings show, therefore, that denasalization as a phonological process in the historical sound change in IJB was rule governed. The environmental constraints involved whether or not the preceding consonantal environment was [±Sonorant]. If the preceding consonant is an

obstruent (i.e. /b, t, d, ɟ, k, g, kp, gb, f, s, ʃ/  
the high nasal vowel /ĩ/ or /ũ/ became denasalized.

It is difficult to date these historical shifts in the vowel system of IJB. The great majority of Yoruba dialects have no written orthographies. The considerable effort that has been devoted to the study of the Yoruba language from 1819, when the first vocabulary of Yoruba numerals was recorded, up to now, has focused mainly on developing and standardizing STD.

But D'Avezac's (1845) phonological and grammatical description of another sub-variety of the Ijẹbu dialect provides the only historical source for a description of the Ijẹbu dialect. Although his transcription is quite archaic and difficult to read today, his word-list of about 1500 items and his transcription of his informant's pronunciation of them provide the necessary background material against which we can compare the analysis of sound changes in progress in the Ijẹbu-speaking community under study.

The historical inference to be drawn from D'Avezac's study is that the historical vowel shifts discussed above definitely predate the beginning of the nineteenth century. By 1839 when D'Avezac's data was collected the denasalization of ũ was already a marked feature of Ijẹbu-dialect speech. The nasal vowels ẽ and ǔ (i.e. ɛ̃/é̃" and õ/õ" were already features of Ijẹbu dialect pronunciation. All these point to the fact that the denasalization of ũ, the lowering of ĩ and ũ to ẽ and ǔ respectively were

completed changes at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The raising of I > i and u > u could have been later than these other shifts, but D'Avezac's word list did not contain items which could be used as examples. The occurrence of I and u in a few words in certain rural areas of Remo district has been shown to be a relic of this early historical change and a pointer to the fact that these vowels once occurred in the inventory of most Yoruba dialects.

In the area of dialect study, Bailey, C-J. N. (1963-70, 1972, 1973) has shown that the static framework which obliged linguists to abstract from the variation and on-going change inherent in all language data seriously inhibited past work in dialect studies. Bailey argues for a 'dynamic paradigm' which in the current sociolinguistically oriented approach, emphasizes the study of variation in dialect speech along the vertical and social dimension, that is, differences among social classes, the sexes, age groups economic or occupational groups and also among styles. Bailey (1973:11) remarks:

If cross-hatchings of class, sex, age and other social differences are superimposed on maps of regional variation (for some given combination of social parameters), the traditional notion of dialect becomes hopelessly inadequate and at war with reality.<sup>5</sup>

5.0. VARIABILITY AND CHANGE IN THE LINGUISTIC  
FEATURES OF THE IJĘBU DIALECT SPOKEN IN IKORODU.

5.1. Linguistic Variability.

The results of more than a decade of consistent effort in sociolinguistics to establish that some systematic relations exist in the variable linguistic features of speech communities have shown clearly that variability is an inherent component of linguistic data. The study of variation in relation to a linguistic theory of competence and rule formalism has led to the development of variable rules which attempt to describe the different ways in which a language user incorporates variable language features in his communicative use of the language.

In the area of dialect study, Bailey, C-J. N. (1969-70, 1972, 1973) has shown that the static framework which obliged linguists to abstract from the variation and on-going change inherent in all language data seriously inhibited past work in dialect studies. Bailey argues for a 'dynamic paradigm' which in the current sociolinguistically oriented approach, emphasizes the study of variation in dialect speech along the vertical and social dimension, that is, differences among social classes, the sexes, age groups economic or occupational groups and also among styles. Bailey (1973:11) remarks:

If cross-hatchings of class, sex, age and other social differences are superimposed on maps of regional variation (for some given combination of social parameters), the traditional notion of dialect becomes hopelessly inadequate and at war with reality.<sup>1</sup>

Bailey takes up further Saussure's assertions that it is the "time factor" that causes linguistic differentiation and that "Geographical diversity ought to be thought of as temporal diversity" (Saussure 1962:271). He adds that diversity in social space ought to be thought of as a function of the time factor and that social space is divided by the barriers of space, age, sex and classes (whether based on birth, occupation, economic status, educational attainment, ethnic or religious background, future aspiration, etc) and whatever social factors determine different styles of speaking, whether the status of the interlocutors or the loftiness of the subject" (1973:13). It is argued that new linguistic phenomena or features begin, at first variably and in limited linguistic environments, in some corner of social space defined by the conjunction of values for each sociological parameter.

The pattern and geographical distribution of variation are related to social pressures both within and outside the speech community. These pressures revolve around demographic factors, economic situations as well as prestige considerations based on non-economic values. When it is possible to assign a single social meaning to a linguistic feature, as has been demonstrated in many sociolinguistic studies of speech communities, the propagation of this feature throughout the speech community is reflected in its social value. It is maintained that varying social

values, if superimposed upon language structure, are partly responsible for dialectal differentiation which may ultimately lead, through geographical isolation, to different languages.

Although it is not being suggested here that the variation in the dialect speech of Ikorodu will ultimately lead to a completely different dialect widely divergent from the Ijebu dialect, it is claimed that the advanced stage of variability in the realization of certain dialect features which now differentiate Ikorodu dialect speech from its parent Remo variety has very strong overtones of considerations of prestige and social values. The analyses in this chapter show that variability does exist in the Ijebu speech of the Ikorodu community, but the interesting aspect of the variability here is that linguistic environments having been so discretely structured in the various co-existing sub-systems of the Yoruba language, variability occurs in very limited environments where alternations are permitted in 'borrowings' across sub-systems.

When variability in the realization of the linguistic features selected for analysis is examined in relation to the existing demographic groupings in the community, we find patterns which indicate the specific nature and the evolution of variation, and the direction of on-going change in the features of the dialect.

5.1.1. The Linguistic Variable in Variation Studies.

The sociolinguistic unit which has become established as the starting point for the analysis of linguistic variation in relation to specific linguistic features (phonetic, phonological or syntactic) is the 'linguistic variable' which, according to Labov (1966:15), can be defined as "a class of variants which are ordered along a continuous dimension and whose position along that dimension is determined by some independent or extra-linguistic variable". This definition assumes the identification of the variants of a variable along a continuum in a phonetic space and within a linguistic system or a speech variety.

But Wolfram (1969) has argued that although the linguistic variable has traditionally been used with reference to variants within one linguistic system, "it is possible to extend the concept of the linguistic variable to include variants which may be members of distinct but co-existing language codes", or dialect varieties. In the Ikorodu speech community study, the variants of each of the linguistic variables identified for investigation are not ordered along a continuous dimension; rather, they are discrete or dichotomous sound units which can be said to belong to two slightly different but co-existing sub-systems of the Yoruba language.

In a recent study of the sociolinguistic characteristics of Norwich English, Peter Trudgill (1971) investigated a number of phonological variables and the pattern of their co-variation with certain sociological parameters. His definition of the linguistic (phonological) variable represents what I consider to be a slight modification of the traditional definition, but one which seeks to capture the nature of variability as seen in Norwich English, and makes it possible to extend the notion of the linguistic variable to linguistic systems or subsystems in which variability occurs in restricted segments in particular sets of lexical items, and variants are not ordered along a continuum. According to Trudgill (1974:

64)

A phonological variable can be defined as a phonological unit which is involved in co-variation with sociological parameters or with other linguistic variables. It can be thought of as consisting of the pronunciation of a particular set of lexical items, and does not necessarily have specific phonological implications ....

The advantage in the study of linguistic variables in sociolinguistic investigations is that it enables us to identify variable linguistic phenomena from categorical constants and to be able to accommodate within a theory of language use in society those linguistic variants or categories of variants, hitherto dismissed as free variants, which are distinguished with reference to the regularity with which they correlate with sociological and/or other linguistic features.



All the five linguistic variables examined in the speech of the Ikorodu sample tend to correlate very highly with the demographic factors of age, education and occupational groups. In the three syllabic segments investigated, age happens to be the main or dominant factor which contributes significantly to the pattern of variation, thus showing that these three features are involved in change in progress. The two consonantal variables occur in morpho-syntactic environments and this factor limits the intensity of variation. Although my informants' realizations of the variants of these variables correlate with the demographic factors of age, education and occupational groups, variation does not occur at the same degree of intensity as the syllabic variables, nor can it be suggested with any degree of certainty that there is change in progress since its propagation in any of the two morpho-syntactic environments would violate the co-occurrence relations which exist in the syntactic units of the Ijebu dialect.

## 5.2. The Phonological Variables in this study.

A fairly detailed account of some of the main linguistic features which distinguish the Ijebu dialect from the other varieties of Yoruba with which it is in contact has been given in chapter IV. In this section I wish to describe briefly the five phonological features which constitute the units of analysis of the variation that characterizes speech performance in the Ikorodu community.

The Syllabic Variables.

Three syllabic features were investigated. These are features which occur in some of the Southeast Yoruba group of dialects of which Ijebu is one. They are: the denasalized high back vowel u in a class of words, the word-initial u vowel in a class of nouns, and the occurrence of the front nasal vowel ɛ̃ in a small number of words.

The pattern of realization of each of these features in the speech of the Ijebu-speaking people of Ikorodu shows considerable fluctuations between variant forms which render them suitable features for the investigation of the causes and pattern of variation in the community. This also allows us to speculate about the possible sound changes in progress in the dialect.

The Consonantal Variables.

Two consonantal features, n and l which in most descriptions of Yoruba phonology are usually treated together as alternants or variants are investigated. I have here treated them as two separate consonantal variables, and the motivation for my decision stems from the fact that in the Ijebu dialect and in many of the other dialects in the southeast Yoruba zone, a clear distinction is made with respect to the phonological status of the two segments in most of the environments in which they occur. They belong to separate underlying phonological segments in the dialect. This distinction thus helps to avoid any 'overlapping' in the surface realization of the two segments.

In Yoruba generally, n occurs essentially before nasal vowels and ɲ occurs before oral vowels. No nasal vowel occurs in the initial position of words. But when, in certain syntactic environments, a vowel-initial syntactic category (usually a noun) is preceded by the form ni' (as in "ni ilé"), vowel elision can take place and the resulting contracted form "nílé" occurs. In Standard Yoruba the contracted form [nílé] is acceptable because it involves the contraction of two forms with the high front vowel. A situation arises, however, in which the nasal consonantal segment of ni' might occur preceding an oral vowel-initial of the contracting noun especially where the vowel-initial of the noun is not a high front vowel i. This results in an unacceptable contracted form in Standard Yoruba. For example: /ni' + oko/ → \*nóko/ 'in the farm'. Standard Yoruba and the NWY group of dialects (except Ègba) maintain the distinction by alternating between [n] and [ɲ] when ni' (verb/locative) or oni' (genitivizer) is contracted with a noun after vowel elision has taken place.

The variant which occurs depends on whether the initial vowel segment of the noun is  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{high} \\ + \text{front} \end{array} \right]$  in which case [n] occurs, and if it is any of the other oral vowels, then [ɲ] occurs. Thus forms such as the following occur in Standard Yoruba:

- /ní/+/ilé/ → /n<sup>o</sup>+ilé/ → [nílé] ( {in the house} )  
 ( {to own a house} )
- /ní/+/oko/ → /n<sup>o</sup>+oko/ → [l<sup>o</sup>ko] ( {on the farm} )  
 ( {to own a farm} )
- /oní/+/isú/ → /on<sup>o</sup>+isú/ → [oní/ú] ( owner of yams )
- /oní/+/ɔkɔ́/ → /on<sup>o</sup>+ɔkɔ́/ → [ɔlɔ́kɔ́] ( owner of a hoe )

A description of how these forms have been generalized in some Yoruba dialects, and how borrowing from the Standard/Lagos varieties has introduced variability in the realization of these segments in the Ijebu dialect spoken in Ikorodu will be given in the sections which now follow.

5.2.1. The denasalized high back vowel in Ijebu dialect - The variable (U).

Reference was made in Chapter IV to the phenomenon of denasalization which occurred in the two high nasal vowels in Ijebu as an historical process which sought to eliminate the [+high] nasal vowels. Denasalization of /ĩ/ and /ũ/ was said to have occurred presumably after the two non-tense vowels /i/ and /u/ had undergone lowering and subsequent merger with /ɛ/ and /ɔ/² respectively.

It was also noted that although denasalization of /ĩ/ and /ũ/ seemed to have taken place on a large scale in the dialect, there was some environmental linguistic constraint. Denasalization occurred mainly in environments in which each of these segments is preceded by obstruents (i.e.  $\begin{bmatrix} + & \text{cons} \\ - & \text{son} \end{bmatrix}$ ). This left a residue of [ĩ] and [ũ] occurring only after [+sonorant] consonants. Thus, in

addition to their occurrence after the nasal consonants /m/ and /n/, these two nasal vowels also occur with /r, j, w/ as the items in (1) and (2) show.

(1)	[ɛ̃ri]	'laughter'	(2)	[õoru]	'odour'
	[ɛ̃ji]	'egg'		[õoru]	'sun'
	[õri]	'song'		[õju]	'pregnancy'
	[õji]	'honey'		[ju]	'to be sweet'
				[w̃u] or [ɟ̃u]	'to weave'
	[ĩwi]	'faeces'		[wu]	'to attract'

Apart from these few examples in (2), a considerable number of oral u occurrences in Ijebu words are instances of u which derived historically from an underlying [+nasal] u segment. The others are those which had always had an oral u segment.

Synchronically, therefore, although we have a surface phenomenon in which [u] occurs after obstruents and non-obstruents in a fairly large number of words in the dialect, the u which derived from the process of denasalization can only occur with obstruents in a class of lexical items. The other u can occur with all non-nasal consonantal segments, as the items in (3) and (4) will show.

(3) Words in which the surface oral u always had an underlying oral /u/.

[òdú]	←	/òdú/	'a kind of vegetable'
[òkú]	←	/òkú/	'corpse'
[òsùkpá]	←	/òsùkpá/	'moon'
[ètù]	←	/ètù/	'gunpowder'
[òwú]	←	/òwú/	'cotton'
[òjù]	←	/òjù/	'eye'

[tú]	←	/tú/	'untie'
[kú]	←	/kú/	'to die'
[urù]	←	/urù/	'tail'
[ùlú]	←	/ùlú/	'town'
[ùlù]	←	/ùlù/	'drum'

(4) Words in which the surface u derived historically from the denasalization of /ũ/<sup>3</sup>.

[okù]	←	/okũ/	'rope'
[òku]	←	/òkũ/	'ocean'
[ogu]	←	/ogũ/	'war'
[ogú]	←	/ogũ/	'inheritance'
[ogú]	←	/ogũ/	'twenty'
[fufu]	←	/fũfũ/	'white'
[sù]	←	/sũ/	'to sleep'
[fú]	←	/fũ/	'give'
[gú]	←	/gũ/	'to stab/pierce'
[gú]	←	/gũ/	'to pound'.

The linguistic situation in Ikorodu today is that both [u] and [ũ] occur variably in the speech of individual speakers without any distinction between the two even in environments of a preceding obstruent consonant. Intuitively, one's immediate reaction is to think that since the nasal segment /ũ/ had been denasalized in all environments preceded by [-sonorant] segments, any occurrence in the synchronic grammar of [ũ] after an obstruent consonant occurs as a surface realization of a 'renasalization' process taking place in the lexical items in (4). This needed a more careful

examination because what is happening is much more than a renasalization of the formally denasalized u segment.

In Chapter IV, it was pointed out that the historical lowering of the lax ũ segment to ũ̃ in many Southeast Yoruba dialects resulted in the occurrence in these dialects of a set of lexical items in which [ũ̃] became the equivalent of /ũ/ in the cognates of these items occurring in the other dialects of Yoruba (see (I) chapter IV). In the Ijebu dialect speech of Ikorodu, most of this class of words are now pronounced with a [ũ̃] (i.e. nasalized) segment. The conclusion to be drawn from this, therefore, is that the occurrence of [ũ̃] in the pronunciation of many Ijebu speakers of several words except those listed under (2) above is a result of two change processes: the first involves /ũ̃/ and its realization in speech as [ũ̃] as in (5) and the second involves a renasalization of an originally denasalized u segment and this is affecting the class of lexical items under (4), now pronounced variably as in (6).

(5)	/ɔdũ̃/	→	[ɔdũ̃]	'year' 'festival'
	/ɔ̃fũ̃/	→	[ɔ̃fũ̃]	'throat'
	/ɔ̃rũ̃/	→	[ɔ̃rũ̃]	'neck'
	/àrũ̃/	→	[àrũ̃]	'disease'
	/òkũ̃/	→	[òkũ̃]	'millepede'
	/ɔ̃lórũ̃/or /ɔ̃lóbũ̃/	→	[ɔ̃lórũ̃] or [ɔ̃lóbũ̃]	'God'
	/sũ̃/	→	[sũ̃]	'roast' 'burn'

(6)	[oku]	~	[okũ]	'ocean'
	[okù]	~	[okũ]	'rope'
	[ogú]	~	[ogũ]	'inheritance'
	[ògú]	~	[ògũ]	'god of iron'
	[fufu]	~	[fũfu]	'white'
	[sù]	~	[sũ]	'to sleep'

In the other varieties of the Ijẹbu dialect, variation in the pronunciation of the words in (5) in terms of the alternation between [ɔ̃] and [ũ] , and in many of the words in (6) in terms of the alternation between [u] and [ũ] , occurs in varying degrees from individual to individual in the different communities. But in the Ikorodu speech community investigated, the alternation between [ɔ̃] and [ũ] in the items in (5) has ceased almost and a categorical realization as [ũ] of the /ɔ̃/ segment is now a feature of the synchronic grammar of this local variety of the Ijẹbu dialect.<sup>4</sup>

On the other hand, considerable variation exists among the various segments of the community, and also in individual speakers. It was found that the variants [u] and [ũ] occur not only in the speech of individual speakers, but that the frequency of occurrence varies inter-individually. On the basis of this, it was decided that the variable realization as [ũ] or [u] of the denasalized u segment in the speech of members of the Ikorodu community constitutes a variable linguistic phenomenon which is influenced by either independent linguistic constraints or sociological factors, or both.



A search for the possible linguistic environments which might serve as constraints on the variable realization of this feature, produces a very interesting case of linguistic patterning or organization. It appears that some parts of the phonological sub-system of the Ijebu dialect, and indeed of a number of Yoruba dialects seem to be so 'neatly' organized as to constitute very simple uncomplicated patterns at the level of segmental phonology in contrast to the complexity of say, the tone system and the complicated nature of tone registers at the level of surface realization, or even the vowel harmony system.

Each linguistic sub-system is organized in such a way that the constraining influence of linguistic environments on the variable realization of a feature seems to be extremely limited. For example, each of the two segments which occur as the variants of the (u) variable represents the surface realization of different phonological units in specific groups of lexical items in the dialect as (a) to (d) below show.

(a) [ũ] as the surface realization of an underlying nasal segment (/ũ/) which is restricted in Ijebu to the environment ( [+syl] ) [+son] — in the group of lexical items in (2) above, that is, this group derives from an historical /ũ/ which has not been denasalized.

(b) [ũ] as the surface realization of an underlying /õ/ in the group of lexical items in (5) above.

- (c) [u] occurs as the surface form of /u/ in the class of items which have always had an underlying /u/ segment in the items in (3) in the history of the language.
- (d) [u] ~ [ũ] as the variants of /u/ in the class of lexical items in which the /u/ segment is a synchronic reflex of a historically denasalized /ũ/, and the environment in which the denasalized segment could occur having been restricted to ( [+syl] ) [-son] \_\_\_\_ . Variability in these features seems to be limited to (b) and (d). In (a) and (c) realization as [ũ] and [u] respectively is categorical for all varieties of Ijebu dialect. The variability which occurs in (b) is a current feature of the speech of many Ijebu communities especially the urban areas. But in Ikorodu, the variability in (b) has ceased because the shift from [õ] to [ũ] has gone to completion in that class of lexical items.

In (d) variability results from the alternation between [u] and [ũ] . A breakdown of the class of obstruents which can precede the denasalized u segment, in terms of stops and fricatives, anterior non-anterior, etc. does not seem to explain the pattern of alternation between the variants. We are then left with seeking sociological/demographic explanations for the pattern of variability in individuals and also in the sample.

5.2.2. Word-initial /u/ in Nouns in Ijẹbu - The Variable (I).

Although most of the seven oral vowels of the Ijẹbu dialect can occur as word-initial vowel in nouns (only /i/ has a strictly limited occurrence), a large majority of nouns in the dialect have /u/ as the word-initial vowel. Word-initial /u/ in nouns is characteristic of not only the Ijẹbu dialect but also of other dialects belonging to the Southeast Yoruba group and the Central Yoruba group of dialects. (cf. Adetugbọ op.cit). On the other hand, dialects of the Northwest Yoruba group have /i/ word-initial in nouns belonging to the class of lexical items as in (7) below:

(7) Southeast/Central Yoruba	Northwest Yoruba	
/uké/	/iké/	'hunchback'
/ulé/	/ilé/	'house'
/ugbá/	/igbá/	'calabash'
/ukù /	/ikù/	'belly'
/ùlú/	/ílú/	'town'
/ufé/	/ifé/	'work'
/ùkòkò/	/ìkòkò/	'pot'
/ùsà/	/ìsà/	'water pot'
/uwájú/	/iwájú/	'front'
/ugbèsè/	/igbèsè/	'debt'

Because the standardized variety which derived from the Northwest group of dialects was the only variety that was subjected to early study, and since /i/ and not /u/ occurs in the initial position of these nouns, not much attention was given to the phenomenon of #u- in nouns in

the other dialects. D'Avezac's (1845) description of the Ijebu dialect included a number of nouns with #u- in the wordlist. So also does Koelle's (1854) Polyglotta Africana contain dialects in the Akú (i.e. Yoruba) group of dialects which have #u- in nouns.

Rowlands (1964) drew attention to the fact that in some of the Yoruba dialects studied in Koelle's Polyglotta, variability occurs in a number of words among which there is the alternation of /u/ and /i/ across dialects:

A special case of prefix vowel alternation occurs in words which in SY [Standard Yoruba] have i-, e.g. ilé 'house', igbá 'calabash'. In some eastern dialects many of these words have forms with u- instead, e.g. ulé, ugbá. This vowel is not used in this position in SY. Koelle has several examples of this alternation, e.g. Ijebu ukù (SY ikùn) 'belly' Ondo ùlú (SY ilú) 'town' Ondo ùshà (SY ishà) 'pot'.

Adetugbò (op. cit.) gives a detailed description of the distribution of #i- and #u- in nouns among the dialects included in his study, showing that /u/ in word-initial of nouns is a feature common to the Southeast and Central Yoruba group of dialects. It was pointed out in Chapter IV that Adetugbò's claim is that the occurrence of #i- in nouns in Northwest Yoruba resulted from a historical vowel shift which fronted the high back vowel to a corresponding high front position in only these dialects. This claim is also corroborated by Fresco (1970) who also notices that the /i/ in word-initial position in Common Yoruba (CY), (i.e. other writers' Standard Yoruba),

may be either [i] or [u] in other dialects and concludes that "an historical shift brought about the collapsing of \*i and \*u as i in the initial position in nouns" (p.91).

The variability in the alternation between #u- and #i- which now occurs in the Ijebu dialect is also probably taking place in some of the dialects of the southeast area, and in the Ekiti/Akure group of dialects. But no attempt has been made, as far as I know, to give a systematic account of the nature of such variation. Fresco (op.cit) encounters this phenomenon in his study of eight Yoruba dialects, but he only refers to it in a footnote:

..... that OK [Okitipupa], AK [Akure] and Ob [Oba] are inconsistent in that they sometimes display an i- where other u- dialects have u-. There is also a lack of consistency across dialects, e.g. Ok has idi, where AK has udi but OK has uròlè where AK has iròlè. Because of this irregular vertical and horizontal comparability and because other dialects e.g. On [Ondo], If [Ifaki] are fairly consistent in the u forms, my feeling is that such i-initial nouns as Ok idi, and Ak and Ob iròlè are borrowed, probably from the inter-dialect communication medium, CY. But dialect internal conditioning factors, perhaps no longer in evidence, cannot be ruled out in attempting to account for this distribution of u- and i-. I have no evidence which could shed light on this issue.

(P.108, fn 12)

This study brings to light two aspects of the variability in high vowel-initial words in the dialects which are characterized by #u- nouns, aspects which Fresco could not account for in his description:

...../157.

(a) Although #i- is characteristic of the southeast and the Ekiti/Akurẹ group of dialects, #i- occurs in a limited number of words in these dialects. It can only co-occur with a front vowel in the stem or the second syllable. Thus, the following environment favours the occurrence of #i- in most dialects characterized by #u- in nouns:

\_\_\_\_\_ [+cons]  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} +\text{syl} \\ +\text{front} \end{array} \right]$  ([+cons] [+syl])<sup>5</sup>

Examples:

- |     |        |                     |
|-----|--------|---------------------|
| (8) | [igi]  | 'tree'              |
|     | [idi]  | 'buttocks'/'reason' |
|     | [igbi] | 'storm'             |
|     | [ibe]  | 'here'              |
|     | [ibe]  | 'there'             |
|     | [ile]  | 'earth, ground'     |
|     | [ije]  | 'feather'           |
|     | [ije]  | 'mother'            |
|     | [iri]  | 'dew'               |
|     | [ire]  | 'goodness'          |
|     | [iwi]  | 'feaces', madness'  |

On the other hand, #u- occurs in a large number of nouns in which it co-occurs with both [+front] and [+back] syllabic segments. These, in my view, are the dialect-internal conditioning factors which Fresco claims as being no longer in evidence. They are still very much in evidence in the distribution of #u- and #i- in the two sets of lexical items shown in (7) and (8), and many more. This leads us to reject Fresco's claim that all occurrences of #i- in dialects which have #u- are instances of borrowing from Common Yoruba.

(b) The alternation between [u] and [i] in the pronunciation by the informants in my sample of those #u- items in (7) is a current feature of the speech of members of the Ikorodu speech community, and most probably to some extent of other dialect-speaking communities in the SEY area.

The occurrence of the variants [u] and [i] does not seem to be governed by environmental (linguistic) constraints. Variability in this feature, as in the first variable, is a function of some sociological factors which will be examined presently.

5.2.3. The occurrence of the nasal vowel /ɛ̃/ in a number of lexical items in Ijẹ̀bu - The Variable (E).

The nasal syllabic segment /ɛ̃/ occurs in several words in Ijẹ̀bu (and in many southeast dialects), and the corresponding segment in Standard Yoruba and other North-west dialects is /i/ as the examples below show:

(9)	Ijẹ̀bu	Std/NWY	
	/in̄ɛ̃/	/enī/	'one'
	/m̄ɛ̃r̄ɛ̃/	/m̄ɛ̃rī/	'four'
	/ɔ̄k̄ur̄ɛ̃/	/ɔ̄k̄ur̄ī/	'male person'
	/ɔ̄bir̄ɛ̃/	/ɔ̄bir̄ī/	'female person'
	/ur̄ɛ̃/	/irī/	'a walk'
	/r̄ɛ̃/	/rī/	'to walk'
	/s̄ɛ̃/	/sī/	'sneeze'
	/kp̄ɛ̃/	/kpī/	'divide'
	/s̄ɛ̃/	/sī/	'worship'

It has been pointed out in Chapter IV that  $\underline{\tilde{\epsilon}}$  occurs in only one word in Standard Yoruba (i.e. /ij $\tilde{\epsilon}$ /) and this word is said to be a borrowing from SEY dialects. It was also noted that / $\tilde{\epsilon}$ / in these dialects is a product of a historical lowering of  $\underline{\tilde{I}}$  and its subsequent merger with  $\underline{\tilde{\epsilon}}$ . Although denasalization of the high nasal vowels  $\underline{\tilde{i}}$  and  $\underline{\tilde{u}}$  took place in Ijebu, it was noticed that a residue of  $\underline{\tilde{i}}$  and  $\underline{\tilde{u}}$  occurrence in a few words still remains in the dialect as shown in (1) and (2) above.

The alternation between [ $\tilde{\epsilon}$ ] and [ $\tilde{i}$ ] which occurs in the speech of members of the Ikorodu speech community shows that a shift of / $\tilde{\epsilon}$ / to / $\tilde{i}$ / is taking place in the class of words listed in (9), and that although the influence of Lagos/Standard Yoruba is not unconnected with this shift, the fact that a class of words in which / $\tilde{i}$ / occurs also exist in the dialect is probably one of the main explanations for the initiation of the shift. It is interesting also to note that this raising of / $\tilde{\epsilon}$ /  $\rightarrow$  / $\tilde{i}$ / parallels the raising of / $\tilde{\text{ɔ}}$ /  $\rightarrow$  / $\tilde{u}$ / in the class of words shown in list (5) in section 5.2.1.

A full discussion of the pattern of variability in the three syllabic variables in relation to linguistic change in progress will be given in section 5.6. But perhaps it is necessary to point out here that the two processes of change, i.e. 'vowel raising' and 'renasalization' seem to be taking place similarly for both front and back vowels (i.e.  $\underline{\tilde{\epsilon}} \rightarrow \underline{\tilde{i}}$ ,  $\underline{\tilde{\text{ɔ}}} \rightarrow \underline{\tilde{u}}$ ; and  $\underline{u} \rightarrow \underline{\tilde{u}}$ ,  $\underline{i} \rightarrow \underline{\tilde{i}}$ ).<sup>6</sup>



5.2.4. The nasal segment /n/ in morpho-syntactic environments: /nɛ̃/ (Verb) and /nĩ/ (Preposition) - The Variable (N).

The distinction that is made in Ijẹbu (and also in many Southeast dialects) in the phonological structures of the two lexical items - /nɛ̃/, a verb meaning 'to have' or 'to own', and /nĩ/ a locative meaning 'at', 'in', 'on' illustrates the kind of 'patterning' which occurs in linguistic environments vis-a-vis the distribution of syllabic segments in Yoruba dialects.

By making a phonological distinction in the two lexical items, the Ijẹbu dialect avoids both the semantic and the syntactic ambiguity which arises in Standard Yoruba and other Northwest dialects where the two items are undifferentiated phonologically. In this group of dialects both items are represented phonologically as /nĩ/. In Standard Yoruba the only way we can distinguish semantically between the two representations of /nĩ/ is to have two entries for /nĩ/ in the lexicon specifying the features of each separately:

- (i) nĩ<sup>1</sup> [+ Vb, + — NP]
- (ii) nĩ<sup>2</sup> [+Loc, + — NP]

or to gloss them in the dictionary as

- nĩ<sup>1</sup> (Verb) = ('to have', 'to own')
- nĩ<sup>2</sup> (Preposition) = 'at', 'on', 'in'

In Ijẹbu on the other hand, the problem is simplified by having two different lexical items with two different phonological shapes entered in the lexicon, the one a verb and the other a locative preposition.

Syntactically, for example, a Standard Yoruba surface structure like

(10) ní ilé kọ̀n ọ̀ṣọ̀.

is an ambiguous structure which will be represented in the deep structure as:

(i) a verb phrase meaning 'to own only one house' in a sentence such as Adé ní ilé kọ̀n ọ̀ṣọ̀ (Ade owns only one house).

(ii) a prepositional phrase meaning 'in only one house' as in:

Iná wà ní ilé kọ̀n ọ̀ṣọ̀ (There is light in only one house).

In Ijẹ̀bu dialect, two unambiguous surface structures will be produced:

(a) [n<sup>h</sup>é ulé k<sup>h</sup> ɔɔ] , for (i) above

and (b) [ní ulé k<sup>h</sup> ɔɔ] , for (ii).

In the Southeast group of dialects (i.e. Ijẹ̀bu, Ondo, Ikalẹ̀, Ilajẹ̀ and Ijọ̀ Apọ̀i), /n<sup>h</sup>é/ and /ní/ occur as a verb and a locative preposition respectively, and when each contracts with a following noun, the vowel is elided but the nasal consonantal segment remains despite the fact that the initial vowel of the noun is oral.

For example:

/n<sup>h</sup>é/ + /igi/ → [n<sup>h</sup>ígi] 'to own some wood'

/n<sup>h</sup>é/ + /oyó/ → [n<sup>h</sup>óyó] 'to have some money', 'be rich'

/n<sup>h</sup>é/ + /ulé/ → [n<sup>h</sup>úlé] 'to own a house'

/ní/ + /ulé/ → [n<sup>h</sup>úlé] 'in the house'

/ní/ + /oko/ → [n<sup>h</sup>óko] 'on the farm'

In Ègba dialect the verb form is /ní/ while the locative is /li/. For example:

/ní/ + /owó/ → [nówó] 'to have some money'

/lí/ + /ilé/ → [lílélé] 'in the house'

/lí/ + /oko/ → [lókó] 'on the farm'

Lagos Yoruba operates the same system as Standard Yoruba.

What seems to have eluded most scholars in their treatment of n and l alternation is the kind of generalizations which the various dialects have made with respect to the distinction between the verb form which means 'to own' and the locative form meaning 'at', 'on', 'in' and also the generalization with respect to the genitivizing formative as either /oní/ or /olí/. (This latter pair will be the topic of the next section). These generalizations help to avoid the overlapping which occurs in Standard Yoruba and related dialects with respect to n and l alternation.

Today in some of the dialects where n and l does not occur, the influence of Standard Yoruba and/or Lagos Yoruba is beginning to show. This has become very pronounced in the speech of many young people in the Ikorodu speech community. Speakers alternate between [n] and [l] when contraction with a following noun takes place as the following examples show.

[néko] ~ [lékó] 'in Eko (in Lagos)'

[néji] ~ [léji] or [léhì] 'at the back'

[nàfó] ~ [láfó] 'to own clothes'

[nómó] ~ [lómó] 'to have a child'

The distinction which is normally made in Standard Yoruba between [n] before the high vowel [i] and [l] before the low vowels is also maintained in the alternating feature of Ijebu pronunciation. Thus we have [nigi] 'to own some wood', or [nile] 'at home' as in Standard Yoruba.

The relationship between the variation shown in the realization of this feature and the interacting sociological/demographic factors will be described presently.

5.2.5. The lateral segment /l/ in the Ijebu genitivizing formative /oli/ - The Variable (L).

In Ijebu dialect, /oli/ is the corresponding form of the Standard Yoruba/Lagos Yoruba genitivizing formative /oni/. There is no alternation between [n] and [l] in cases of /oli/ contracting with nouns. As in the case of /ne/ and /ni/, Ijebu generalizes this feature by having all surface realizations in contracted forms of /oli/ plus a noun, retain the lateral segment as [l]. Thus typical Ijebu speech would be in the following form:

(cf Adetugbo op.cit)

- /oli/ + /igi/ → [oligi] 'owner of wood'
- /oli/ + /usu/ → [olisu] 'owner of yams'
- /oli/ + /ekpa/ → [elékpa] 'owner of peanuts'<sup>7</sup>

But in the speech of my Ikorodu sample [n] and [l] alternation now occurs when the initial vowel of the following noun is i. There is a considerable intra- and inter-individual variation in the speech community.

Alternate forms such as:

/olí/ + /igi/ → [olígi] ~ [onígi]

/olí/ + /ùgbàgbó/ → [olúgbàgbó] or [olígbàgbó] ~

occur. [onígbàgbó] 'a christian'

The relationship between the variability which occurs in this feature and the extra-linguistic features involved will be analysed in a later section.

In general, there is a significant difference between the kind of variability which occurs in the last two features and the first three. In the first three variables alternation takes place in strictly phonological/phonetic environments in which, although the substitution of one segment for another changes the phonetic shape of the lexical item in which the feature occurs, the structural organization of the dialect is not necessarily disrupted. But in the case of the last two variables, the alternation between [n] and [l] as a 'borrowed' phenomenon affects the phonetic shape of a syntactic unit thereby disrupting the selectional features which unify syntactic structures (i.e. co-occurrence rules) and act as cues for identifying typically Ijebu dialect speech. For example in the following utterances:

(a) [kǒ ǒ sǐ mí se nóde olísó nējì róũ ti ɔʔ]

(b) [kǒ ǒ sǐ mí se lóde onísó lēhì róũ ti ɔʔ]

(What else are they doing in front of the nail seller's house after he has closed?)

(a) definitely sounds more like Ijebu speech than (b).

Although [i] is substituted for [u] in [olísó] in (a), the typically Ijebu 'accent' is still present, but in (b)

the occurrence of [... lóde onísó l'éhì ....]  
reveals clearly that this bit of the utterance is non-  
Ijẹbu.

### 5.3. Inherent Variability Vs. Dialect Borrowing or Dialect Mixture.

Variability studies have generally been based on the assumption that the linguistic features identified for analysis necessarily constitute inherent variation. A distinction is often made between features which are inherently variable and those which constitute 'dialect borrowings' and 'dialect mixture'. Inherent variability is said to refer to the fluctuation of variants that are regarded as part of a unitary system either in terms of a language or a dialect.

It appears to me that the attempts in many current sociolinguistic descriptions to distinguish between inherent variability and dialect borrowing or mixture have sometimes run into serious difficulties especially in investigations involving dialect contact or dialect cluster situations. The problem relates to the question of whether one is dealing with one language with several co-existent sub-systems or with autonomous language or dialect systems in a contact situation.

Labov et al (1968) in their New York study made a detailed description of the structural and functional differences between the Non-Standard Negro English of Northern ghetto areas [NNE] and the Standard English

required in the classroom [SE] . They found that NNE is related to SE by a number of differences in low-level rules which have marked effects on surface structure, and noticed that these were generalizations of rules found in other English dialects. They also noted from informants' performances in repetition tests that individuals vary greatly in the extent to which they perceive the surface differences between NNE and SE, and that as a rule, categorical rules of NNE prevent consistent repetition of SE forms, but variable rules have much less effect. Their comment on this issue sums up what appears to be a common feature of dialect cluster or dialect contact situations:

It is not assumed, however, that all variation within a geographical area can be subsumed under a single set of rules. SE and NNE are presented here as closely related but distinct, co-existent systems. But the internal structure of each system and their relations cannot be specified without understanding the areas of inherent variability within each.....

If the goal of description is to account for the systematic patterning of variation in a linguistic situation such as is sketched above, it appears to me that we cannot run away from the fact that what constitutes variation in NNE in this situation cannot but contain elements which are direct or indirect results of 'borrowing' from SE, or reflections of SE forms.

In their sociolinguistic study of the spoken French of Montreal, Sankoff, G. and H. Cedergren (1971) found the same sort of situation in which many of the characteristics

and variable aspects of Montreal French are found as well in the spoken Standard language and also in various dialects of French.

Wolfram (1974) provides what one might regard as a critical re-examination of the notion of inherent variability and the linguistic variable in connection with the variable realization of the voiceless fricative θ in the English spoken by second generation Puerto Rican teenagers in East Harlem. The sociocultural setting of Puerto Ricans in East Harlem involves some degree of contact with Black English, so the variable features in their speech do show the influence of or borrowing from Black English. In addition, some of the other features of their speech are said to derive historically from Spanish. This leads Wolfram to maintain that this study of Puerto Rican teenager speech is a study of languages (or dialects) in contact.

He argues that, although <sup>fluctuation</sup> ~~function~~ between forms is not simply a matter of code-switching between co-existent systems, there is the question of how "dialect mixture" or "dialect borrowing", i.e. variant forms that are importations from other dialects, <sup>can</sup> be distinguished from inherent variability. He refers to studies in which attempts have been made to distinguish between forms that are "borrowed" and those that are "inherent", and maintains that attempts to distinguish these notions on a purely formal linguistic basis turn out to be somewhat futile. Both linguistic and/or sociological factors are



generally relevant in explaining the variability in fluctuating items, whether they are labelled "inherently variable", "borrowed" or "interference".

Wolfram's position, which seems to me to be quite valid, is that inherent variability is theoretically and empirically justifiable, and that it can be distinguished from dialect borrowing and code-switching; but that synchronic descriptions of variability cannot but take into consideration the historical antecedents of the variable features. They may well have been the latter stages of earlier borrowings.

..... To distinguish between inherent variability and dialect mixture from a synchronic view-point does not necessarily mean that current inherent variability is not originally introduced through dialect borrowing. Infact, historically, it appears that much of what we label inherent variability from our synchronic perspective is the result of dialect mixture.

(Wolfram 1974:58)

In my Ikorodu speech community study all the five features being described with respect to variability have been shown to be Ijebu dialect-specific features which it shares, however, with other dialects of the southeast area. There is a sense in which one can speak of "borrowing" from either Lagos or Standard Yoruba or both, with respect to the fluctuation between the variants of each feature. Let us take the variable (U) and Variable (I) for illustration. If the occurrence of a denasalized U in some lexical items, and the incidence of U-initial in certain nouns are both features of the Ijebu dialect, and not of Lagos/Standard Yoruba, the introduction of a

renasalized  $\tilde{u}$  as a variant of the denasalized one, and the use of  $\underline{i}$ -initial as a variant of  $\underline{u}$ -initial in nouns can be said to derive from borrowings from Lagos/Standard Yoruba, since the new variants are features of these other dialects.

But it must be pointed out that we are dealing with a situation in which variation is introduced on the basis of the allowances made in the language system for the occurrence of these features in what one might describe as potentially variable environments. In the case of Variable (U) both  $[u]$  and  $[\tilde{u}]$  occur in similar grammatical categories with differentiation occurring in restricted environments (marked for one of them, i.e.  $[\tilde{u}]$  occurrence is marked for Ijebu), and it appears that it is more natural for shift to take place within unmarked features than in 'marked' ones. What is happening here is that variation is introduced into the unrestricted or less restricted environments and if variation leads eventually to change, it is to be expected that this might have the effect of the neutralization of markedness in this particular environment in the Ijebu dialect.

#### 5.4. Measurement of Variability in Linguistic Features.

A sociolinguistic approach to linguistic variability calls for some form of quantitative techniques. The nature of variable speech forms is such that for variability to be reduced to a level of analysis where systematic patterning can emerge in the form of correlations between linguistic and non-linguistic factors, recourse to

quantitative measurements have often been found to be useful and adequate as a descriptive device. Several of the sociolinguistic studies referred to in various sections in this dissertation adopted quantitative techniques in varying degrees. The analysis which is provided in this chapter also relies on quantitative measurements in order to be able to provide a systematic description of variability in Ijebu dialect speech within an intricate network of dialect-cluster and dialect contact situation.

#### 5.4.1. Sources of Variable linguistic data.

Two types of linguistic data were utilized in the analysis of variability.

1. The Word List (WL): The 140 word list (See Appendix VI ) was drawn up from a careful selection of items in which the features to be investigated are known to occur. Each feature was adequately represented in the wordlist and since it was not certain at the on-set how many variants would be identified for each variable, it was felt that as many words as possible should be included in the list in order to tap the full range of variation in the community. Each informant's pronunciation of the items on the list was transcribed from the tape-recordings made at the elicitation sessions.

Transcription was made easy by the fact that here we are dealing with alternations, in almost all cases, of a dichotomous nature. In other words, alternation may be

between a high back vowel segment [u] and its high front counterpart [i] as in Variable (I), or between a nasal consonantal segment [n] and the lateral segment [l] as in Variable (N) and Variable (L). There are no mid-points between them, and the phonetic details of degree of openness or closeness of the syllabic segments, or the degree of nasalization and lateralization of the consonantal segments were not considered relevant for the purpose of this study.

## 2. Conversational Speech (CS):

As was pointed out in Chapter III, the main purpose of the interview part of the survey was to tap informants' more casual form of speech and to see if variation exists in Yoruba dialect speech between what in sociolinguistic literature is often described as the casual style of conversational speech on the one hand, and the formal style of word list elicitation.<sup>8</sup>

Since I was interested in the occurrence of specific linguistic features or their variants in specific lexical items, there was no way of determining before hand whether or not a particular feature would occur or how many times it would occur in an informant's speech since this depended on whether a word in which the feature occurs is used or not. The procedure for transcribing was to listen to each recorded conversation and to transcribe, each time a feature occurs, the particular word in which it occurs, listing each transcribed word under the variable whose variant the particular occurrence of that word contains.

If a word contains variants of two or more variables, it is transcribed twice or more, one for each of the variables concerned. For example the word for 'a christian' is pronounced variably as [olúgbàgb'ó] , [olígbàgb'ó] and [onígbàgb'ó] (that is, 'one who has faith'). Each occurrence of the word contains two variants belonging to two different variables as shown below:

Word	Variant/Variable	Variant/Variable.
[olúgbàgb'ó]	[l] / (L)	[u] / (I)
[olígbàgb'ó]	[l] / (L)	[i] / (I)
[onígbàgb'ó]	[n] / (L)	[i] / (I)

Since variation also occurs at the intra-individual level, every occurrence of a word is transcribed irrespective of whether or not it has occurred before.

Furthermore it was not possible to delimit the length of tape to listen to because as it often happened in many of the recorded conversations, the words which contain the features being investigated start coming into use during the second half of the recording. In the end it was decided to listen to the whole length of recorded conversation for every informant and to transcribe every occurrence of the word in which each feature occurred.<sup>9</sup>

All the same, it was not possible to obtain adequate data for every informant on all of the variables. The frequency of occurrence of features ranged between about 200 for some informants and sometimes about 2 or 3 for other informants in one variable. Some informants could not even sustain conversations in the dialect for any

length of time before switching to Lagos Yoruba. It was decided, therefore, for the purpose of analysis that a minimum of 5 occurrences of a feature (including the variants) was to be taken as the lower limit for calculating an informant's scores on any variable.

Generally, Variables (I), (N) and (U) had the largest frequencies in that order. Any informant whose performance on a variable showed a frequency less than five, was dropped from the number of cases to be analysed for that variable. This meant that there were a number of missing cases in some of the variables in conversational speech as the analysis to be described later will show.

Although the analysis of informants' performance in CS did not show any significant stylistic shift for a distinction between formal (wordlist) style and casual (conversational) style to be made, the detailed and painstaking transcription of features in CS provided an indispensable set of data against which the systematicity inherent in the sample's variable performance in the phonological variables from the word list was matched. It was only at this point that one could confidently talk of the reliability of one's data. Although the transcription of CS was done about four months after WL had been transcribed and scored, informants' individual performance in both WL and CS showed significant correlations as will be shown presently.

#### 5.4.2. Calculation of Index Scores on Variables.

The idea in using a quantitative approach is to reduce speech data to easily quantifiable units, and to be able to measure each informant's or each group's performance in the sample on each of the linguistic variables on the basis of some aggregated scores calculated as index of variable realization of the linguistic features.

Since I was interested in my sample's performance in the local dialect speech, index scores were to be calculated so as to reflect each speaker's degree of deviation from the local dialect norm in each variable. But, first, it was necessary to determine what the variants of each variable were by separating those which were categorical realizations from the truly variable ones.

The procedure was to list all possible segments which have the same phonetic configurations as the variants we are interested in and to assign to them ad hoc features in parenthesis so as to distinguish those which are variable from the ones that are categorical in the speech of the community. Features which have categorical occurrences will not be assigned any value. The following steps were followed before we could assign values to the variants identified for each variable.

1. Variable (U). The following phonetic segments occur in the dialect. Only two of them constitute variable phenomena:

[u]	(oral-categorical, as in (3) Section 5.2.1)		
[u]	(denasalized -variable, (4)	"	" )
[ũ]	(renasalized -variable, (6)	"	" )
[ũ]	(raised nasal -categorical, (5)	"	" )
[ũ]	('marked' -categorical, (2)	"	" )

When the three segments with categorical realization are deleted from the list, we are left with only two truly variable segments. The denasalized [u] is the Ijebu dialect norm, and a renasalized [ũ] constitutes a deviation from the norm. A value of 1 is assigned to the dialect norm. While the variant which constitutes a deviation is assigned 2. Thus the (U) variable is specified as:

(U) -1	[u]
(U) -2	[ũ]

This procedure is similar in some respects to the one used by Peter Trudgill (op.cit) in his study of variability in Norwich English.<sup>10</sup>

When the values for the (U) variable are computed for each informant, based on the total population of (U) items identified for analysis, a (U)-index score is then assigned to every informant in both WL nad CS. The calculation of index scores on WL was done by means of a computer programme which did a straight computation of index scores using the coded values, given the total number of times the variable is expected to occur in the word list. Variable (U) had 30 occurrences.



The formula for calculation is simple. It is assumed that each informant has a stratum of dialect speech from which the variable realization of five phonological features will be extracted. This base is taken to be 100. If an informant showed a consistent realization of (U) -1 in all the 30 occurrences, he/she would have scored:

$$\frac{30}{30} \times 100 = 100.$$

and this informant would be said not to have deviated from the dialect norm in that variable. On the other <sup>hand,</sup> <sub>if</sub> an informant produced (U) -2 in all the 30 occurrences, he/she would have an index score calculated as follows:

$$\frac{30 \times 2 \times 100}{30} = 200$$

This informant would be said to have deviated completely from the dialect norm in Variable (U).

Although there were such extreme cases of no deviation at all on the one hand, and complete deviation on the other, the more general pattern was informants falling in at different levels, of the deviation range (i.e. between 100 and 200), for each variable. The calculation of index scores for such cases was exactly along the same principles. For example, an informant may have the following variable realizations in WL for the (U) variable:

18 instances of (U)-1:  $18 \times 1 = 18$

12 instances of (U)-2:  $12 \times 2 = \underline{24}$

30 42

Wordlist-Index Score (UWL):  $\frac{42}{30} \times 100 = 140$

One advantage of calculating an index score in this form is that the range between 100 and 200 can also be expressed as a percentage of deviation from the dialect norm in that variable. Thus the hypothetical informant with a UWL of 140 will be said to have a 40 percent deviation from the dialect norm in Variable (U) in his UWL performance (i.e. his word-list index score on the (U) -Variable).

2. Variable (I). There are three vowel tokens that can be considered as high vowel in word-initial position in nouns. Only two of them occur as variants.

[u] (#u-, variable) as in (7) Section 5.2.2.

[i] (fronted, variable) as in (7) section 5.2.2.

[i] (marked, categorical) as in (8) section 5.2.2.

The variants are then assigned numerical values as in variable (U) above for the purpose of calculating the index scores following the same procedure:

There were 40 instances of the variable in WL:

(I)-1 [u] (dialect norm), i.e. the typical u-initial of nouns in Ijebu speech.

(I)-2 [i] (deviation from the norm), i.e. the fronted i-initial of (7) above.

3. Variable (E). There are three vowel tokens, only the first two occur as variants:

[ɛ̃] (low front nasal, variable) as in (9) section 5.2.3.

[ĩ] (raised front nasal, variable) as in the alternation in (9).

[ĩ] (marked, categorical) as in (1) section 5.2.1.

The two variants are then assigned values and index scores are calculated accordingly.

(E)-1 [ɛ̃] (dialect norm).

(E)-2 [ĩ] (deviation from the norm).

Seventeen instances of Variable (E) were listed in the WL.

4. Variable (N). The forms that can be identified are listed below. Only two occur as the variants of the (N) Variable. The others occur as independent segments in different positions in words in the language.

[n] (nasal consonant in /nɛ̃/, verb, and in /nĩ/, locative-variable) as in section 5.2.4.

[n] (categorical occurrence in many other words)

[l] (lateralized variant of the nasal in /nɛ̃/ and /nĩ/ -variable).

[l] (categorical occurrence of the lateral consonantal segment in many words).

The variants of the (N) Variable are as follows:

(N)-1 [n] (dialect norm) i.e. the nasal segment which is heard in Ijebu speech in the items /nɛ̃/ and /nĩ/.

(N)-2 [l] (deviation from the norm) i.e. the variant realization of the above.

Eighteen instances of Variable (N) occurred in the wordlist.

5. Variable (L): Only two of the forms occurring in the dialect as listed below, are variants of the Variable (L).

[l] (the lateral segment in the Ijebu dialect form /olĩ/ as in section 5.2.5. above, subject to variable realization).

[l] (categorical occurrence of the lateral segment in many words in the dialect).

[n] (the nasalized variant of the lateral segment in the formative /oli/ -variable realization).

[n] (categorical occurrence of the nasal consonantal segment in many lexical items in the dialect).

The first and the third consonantal segments listed above constitute the variants of the Variable (L). They are assigned numerical values as follows:

(L)-1 [l] (dialect norm) i.e. the typical Ijebu dialect realization of the consonantal segment in the formative /oli/.

(L)-2 [n] (deviation from the dialect norm) i.e. a nasal realization of the consonantal segment in the formative /oli/.

Seventeen instances of the Variable (L) occurred in the Word List.

#### Index Scores in Conversational Speech (CS).

In calculating index scores in CS, I first found the total number of occurrences of a variable for every informant by simply counting the number of words containing the variable as transcribed for every informant. I then counted the number of times each variant occurs in the transcribed words under each variable. Computing the index scores for each informant in each of the five variables was done in the same way as in WL, this time using an electronic pocket calculator. For example, an informant who has 192 instances of the occurrence of Variable (I), with (I)-1 occurring 72 times and (I)-2

occurring 120 times, would have his index score in this variable calculated as follows:

72 instances of (I)-1	72 x 1	= 72
120 instances of (I)-2	120 x 2	= 240
<u>192</u>		<u>312</u>

$$\text{Index score in ICS: } \frac{312}{192} \times 100 = 162.5$$

In this way, it was possible to calculate index scores for every informant who has not less than five instances of the occurrence of a particular variable in his CS. At this stage, I now had available data in the form of computed index scores for all the five phonological variables in two sets, all punched on computer cards. The first set of data comprised index scores in the five variables in the WL, all complete for the 67 informants. The second set comprised index scores in the five variables in CS also for the 67 informants but with blanks to indicate missing data for any informant who could not sustain sufficient conversation to be able to have at least five instances of the occurrence of a variable in his speech. These two sets of data were then fed into the various statistical sub-programmes of the computer which were employed for the analysis of variation. (See section 5.6 below).

5.4.3. Distribution of Index Scores within the Sample.

In order to know the various distributions of index scores within the sample, it was necessary to take some frequency count of informants according to how they range in scores between 100 and 200 for every variable in both WL and CS. Using the index scores as values ordered from the lowest to the highest, an SPSS statistical sub-programme of the computer was used to plot a frequency distribution of cases according to the particular value of the index scores within which they fall, and also to calculate the mean-score for the whole sample on every variable, giving at the same time both the minimum and the maximum index scores in each variable.

Because index scores were output as values ranging from 100 to 200 for each variable, and the distribution of cases expressed as raw frequencies and as percentages, the calculated percentage of cumulative adjusted frequency enabled us to see at a glance how informants cluster within value ranges or score ranges. It was then possible to locate 'breaks' within the score range for each variable at which informants can be said to be reasonably differentiated.

After a careful examination of the index scores and speakers' distribution along the range, it was decided that for the purpose of making a statistically valid description of the relationship between the wide range of variations in index scores on all the variables, and the non-linguistic factors which underly them, it would be

necessary to make a three-way split of the sample according to whether they fall within the range of 'high' or 'mid' or 'low' index scores.

Although the value range of the index scores for every variable was between 100 and 200, it was not possible to assign the same index score range for the values of high, mid and low for all the variables, not even for the same variable in WL and CS. So each variable was assigned a score range for each of the values 'high' 'mid' and 'low' separately according to break-points in index scores which coincide roughly with about 33.3 per cent of all those who had index scores recorded for them for that variable. All informants who did not have index scores for any variable were treated as missing cases and were deleted in all statistical computations for that variable. Tables 5:1.1 to 5:1.5 contain the index score ranges for each of the variables in WL and CS, and give the actual number of speakers who fall within each score range and the percentage of that number from the total number of speakers who had index scores recorded for them on a variable.

In the sections which follow, a detailed description is given of the pattern of variation exhibited in the speech of the Ikorodu sample based on their index scores in five phonological variables in both wordlist and conversational speech.

5.5. However, the impression one gets from a cursory examination of the frequency distribution of speakers in index scores for all the variables is that the community is linguistically diverse with respect to the realization of the five features in speech. Although speakers showed both minimum and maximum possible index score range thus falling into the categories of speakers with 'low' index and those with 'high' index respectively, a considerable number of speakers also fall within the 'medium' index score range especially in variable (U), Variable (I) and Variable (E). In CS speakers cluster around 'low' and 'high' index score in Variables (N) and (L) with about 50 per cent having an index score of 100 indicating no deviation at all from the dialect norm, while about 30 per cent also show the maximum index score of 200 indicating complete deviation from the dialect norm.

Although the pattern of variation in these two variables still indicates some strong relationship with the factors of age, education and occupation as the figures in table 5:1.6A (WL) will show, the limitations in the way of any large-scale shift of the features represented by the two variables in the dialect norm will be outlined presently.



5.5. The Structure of Variation within the Ikorodu Speech Community.

The descriptions provided in sections 5.2.1 to 5.2.6. have shown how linguistic environments seem to be maximally or 'economically' distributed within what one might regard as a simple phonological system of the Yoruba language with respect to the distribution of its phonological segments, and their surface realizations. The overall effect of this, as has been pointed out earlier on, is to reduce the environments in which alternations are possible to the barest minimum. The phenomenon of vowel harmony, the phonological status of tone and the classificatory function of tone registers in the language and its dialects, all combine to put many checks on any type of variability or change which may occur in the features of the language.

As an illustration, the segments [u] and [ũ] occur in a number of words in Ijẹbu, but the alternation between [u] and [ũ] or their realization as variable features is permissible only in a set of lexical items with specific tone registers, or in items in which the variant is preceded by [+obstruent] as opposed to [+sonorant] consonantal segment. Thus, although the following items in Ijẹbu

/òkù/ 'corpse', /òku/ 'ocean', /okù/ 'rope'

have identical segments, only the last two can have the /u/ vowel in them variably realized as [u] or [ũ]. The

/u/ in /òkú/ 'corpse' has a categorical occurrence as [ũ] in Ijẹbu.

In the same way the /ũ/ in /ojú/ 'pregnancy' can only be categorically realized as [ũ] and is not subject to denasalization or variable realization because of the constraining environment of a preceding [+sonorant] segment.

But within this 'neat' structural organization of segments in the language the considerable amount of variation which exists in the dialect speech of the community must be explained in terms of other extralinguistic factors if such factors are found to correlate significantly with the pattern of variation. It must be emphasized that language use cannot be divorced from its social context; both variation and change are bound to occur within the dynamics of the social use of language. In some instances, the variation which occurs in the features of a language or dialect may signal some linguistic change in progress. In some other instances, variation may not necessarily be an indication of linguistic change. Both types are present in the variation which is identified with the dialect speech of the Ikorodu community.

Variation in this community is closely and significantly related to sociological/demographic factors and the quantitative techniques which are employed in the analysis of variability here give a convincing demonstration of how the extremely variable data which characterize the pattern

of speech usage in the community can be reduced to a systematic form of linguistic behaviour which co-vary with the factors of age, education and occupational group.

#### 5.5.1. The Demographic Factors.

In Chapter III, I gave a detailed account of the various sociological/demographic factors which have generally been found in most sociolinguistic descriptions to co-vary with linguistic usage. Such factors as sex, age, education, occupation, religion, rural-urban influence were considered as the possible factors which might underly the pattern of variation in the five phonological variables studied. In the end, six factors were selected for the analysis of co-variation with the phonological variables. These are:

- (a) Age: delimited into five and three categories for the purpose of detailed analysis as the Figures and Tables which follow later in this Chapter will show.
- (b) Education: delimited as three categories: (i) No Education (NED), (ii) Primary only (PED) and (iii) Secondary and Higher (SED).
- (c) Rural-Urban Contact: 3 Categories - (i) No contact, (ii) Rural contact mainly and (iii) Urban contact mainly.
- (d) Occupation: 4 Categories (See Tables and Figures below).
- (e) Contact with the city of Lagos: Two categories were established - (i) Limited contact and (ii)

Extensive contact.

(f) Sex.

When these factors were correlated with index scores in each variable for both WL and CS in a two-way contingency table analysis as a measure of association, only age, education and occupation show strong relationships with scores in the phonological variables. The other three factors show very weak relationships with the variables.

#### 5.6. The Co-Variation of the Phonological/Phonetic Variables with Demographic Factors.

The desire to provide a detailed and accurate description of the pattern of variation in the realization of certain phonological/phonetic features in the dialect speech of members of the Ikorodu speech community has led to the type of linguistic description provided in the earlier sections of this chapter.

The description of each of the five phonological variables shows that although considerable variation exists in the informants' realization of these features, this variation cannot be fully explained in terms of any specific constraining linguistic environment(s). But since the community itself shows considerable degree of variation in terms of certain sociological/demographic parameters, we suspect that the heterogeneity in linguistic performance is closely related to the sociological/demographic divisions in the community. The task of a sociolinguistic description in this regard becomes one of

measuring the extent and degree of relationship between linguistic behaviour and demographic factors.

#### 5.6.1. The Quantitative Measurement of Co-variation.

I have here employed a number of quantitative methods to measure the correlation between linguistic behaviour and sociological/demographic factors. The need for the detailed statistical analysis provided in this study stems from the desire to provide a reliable description of so much heterogeneous data which derive from a typically African speech community with a 'fluid' social structure. The absence, in this Yoruba speech community, of a 'neat' social class differentiation and of a hierarchically ordered and discrete style of speech usage, such as are found in American and British societies (cf. the five social class groups, and the four contextual styles identified in the works of both Labov and Trudgill), makes it necessary to have recourse to detailed statistical analysis of the data if the results of the study are to achieve a level of reliability similar to what has been achieved in a number of sociolinguistic studies in non-African societies.

The following statistical methods whose results are shown in the various Tables and Figures were employed in the correlational analyses:

A. For the analysis of the overall pattern of the co-variation of the phonological variables with demographic factors:

1. Group means of index scores are computed for each of the five (and also for three) categories of age, the three levels of education and the four occupational groups for all the five phonological/phonetic variables in Word List (WL) and Conversational Speech (CS). (See Tables 5.1 - 5.5.).

2. Index scores are also expressed as means of percentage deviation from dialect norm in both WL and CS in the five variables - expressed as line graphs for all the categories of age, education and occupation. (Figures 5:2a - 5:4).

3. Analysis of Variance was used to measure the relative effect upon the scores on the five phonological variables of each of the three demographic factors of age, education and occupation; their combined or main effects and possible higher order interactions are assessed for statistical significance. The use of Analysis of Variance was particularly necessary in this study because my sample had unequal cell frequencies for the demographic factors. An SPSS Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) is designed to cope with unequal cell frequencies, that is, when the number of cases falling in the cells of the cross-classification are unequal. (See Kim, J. & F. Kohout, 1975 in Nie et al.)

The usefulness of the analysis of variance, as a test of significance, for the Ikorodu data can be seen in its ability to perform the following tasks:

(a) to determine whether the demographic factors as a whole have statistically significant effect on the variation in the linguistic performance of the Ikorodu sample.

(b) to examine if the interaction effect is significant.

If the interaction effect is significant, it may be concluded that the effect of one variable or factor (Age) varies from one category of another factor (say Education) to another. A significant interaction also implies that the effect of say education is not uniform across different categories of age. Therefore, there will be no compelling reason to test for the significance of each main effects (i.e. the main effects of age, education and occupation) separately. If, on the other hand, the interaction effect is not significant (as is the case in this study), one may proceed to test the main effects of each demographic factor.

(c) to test for the significance of each demographic factor in explaining the variation in the realization of each phonological variable. In testing for the significance of each factor, it is possible that none of the factors are significant in explaining the variation although the joint additive effect is. This usually happens if the association between the factors is strong and positive.

The Multiple Classification Analysis (MCA) table which accompanies an ANOVA output is a method of displaying the results of analysis of variance especially when (as in this study) there are no significant

interaction effects. Given two or more interrelated factors, it is valuable to know the net effect of each variable when the differences in the other factors are controlled for. (Tables 5:1A - 5:6B, Appendix I).

B. Other statistical methods which were used specifically to measure the correlation of each of the five phonological variables with the demographic factors of age, education and occupation include:

(i) Means of percentage deviation from dialect norm in both WL and CS for each of the five variables are expressed as bar graphs for the five categories of age. (Figures 5:1a - 5:1e).

(ii) Contingency Table Analysis for showing the relationship between the sample's performance in each of the phonological variables and the different demographic factors. This is tabulated as Chi Squared figures and probability ratios indicating the strength of relationship between scores in each of the variables and the various categories of age, education and occupation and the level at which each is statistically significant. Full results are shown for all the five variables in WL. Only variables (U), (I) and (E) show significant results in CS. (Tables 5:1.1A - 5:1.5c, Appendix II).



5.6.2. The Over-all Pattern of the Co-Variation of the Phonological variables with demographic factors.

Tables 5:1 - 5:6 and Figures 5:2a - 5:4 give visual displays of the general pattern of co-variation of the five phonological/phonetic variables with the three demographic factors of age, education and occupation. The Tables show the mean index scores for each of the categories of the demographic factors in variables (U), (I), (E), (N) and (L) in both Word List and Conversational Speech.

The minimum index score possible is 100 and the maximum is 200. A mean index score of 100 indicates that a sub-group within a particular demographic unit shows absolute realization of the dialect norm for a particular phonological variable in their speech. There were no such occurrences in all the five variables. A mean index score of 200 on the other hand, shows an absolute or total deviation from the dialect norm of the particular phonological variable in the speech of members of that sub-group. A maximum mean index score of 200 is recorded for the age-group 10 - 14 years in each of the five phonological variables in Conversational Speech. (Table 5:2). This shows that the youngest age group in the sample can be said to have completely deviated from the dialect norm in their realization of the five variables especially in conversational speech.

Figures 5:2a - 5:4 give graphic presentation (in polygons) of the percentage deviation from the dialect norm by the various demographic sub-groups in each of the five variables in both WL and CS. A discussion of the correlation between the amount of variation exhibited in my sample's realization of the five variables and the three demographic factors is given below.

### 5.6.3. Age Differentiation in Linguistic Variability.

Tables 5:1 and 5:2 show that age differences correlate significantly with the mean index scores in all the five phonological variables in both WL and CS. The younger people record very high mean index scores while the older ones record lower mean index scores. Expressed in terms of percentage deviation from dialect norms of speech, these scores show that the younger people exhibit higher percentage deviation from the dialect norm in all the five phonological/phonetic variables than the older people. (Figs. 5:2a and 5:2b).

In general there is a certain amount of deviation from the Ijebu dialect norm in the five variables that is characteristic of the entire Ikorodu population. The break-down shows significant internal variations.

In a break-down of five categories of age (Tables 5:1, 5:2 and Fig. 5:2a), the youngest group, that is, the 10 - 14 year olds record consistently higher index scores in all the five variables than any other group.

This is followed by the age-group 15 - 24 years who also record very high index scores that are slightly lower than the scores for the first group. The age group 25 - 44 years record lower index scores than the under 25s. This group generally falls mid-way between the high index scores of those under 25 years and the low index scores of people above 45 years. There is an interesting reversal in the index scores for the age-group 45 - 64 years on the one hand, and those above 65 years. The 65 years-plus age group record consistently higher index scores than the 45 - 64 years age-group in both WL and CS. (It is only variable (E) CS that does not exhibit this reversal).

This shows that the people who are 65 years and above show greater deviation from the dialect norm in the phonological variables in their speech than the people between the ages of 45 and 64.

This type of 'overlapping' which occurs in both wordlist and conversational speech scores is parallel to what Labov (1966) describes as 'hypercorrection' or the 'crossover phenomenon'.

In Labov's study of the class stratification of (r) in New York speech it was shown that at one extreme only one class shows any degree of r-pronunciation in casual speech; that is, in the day-to-day verbal interactions (r-l) functions as a prestige marker of the highest status ranking group.

TABLE 5: 1

MEAN OF INDEX SCORES ON FIVE PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES BY AGE LEVEL (WORDLIST).

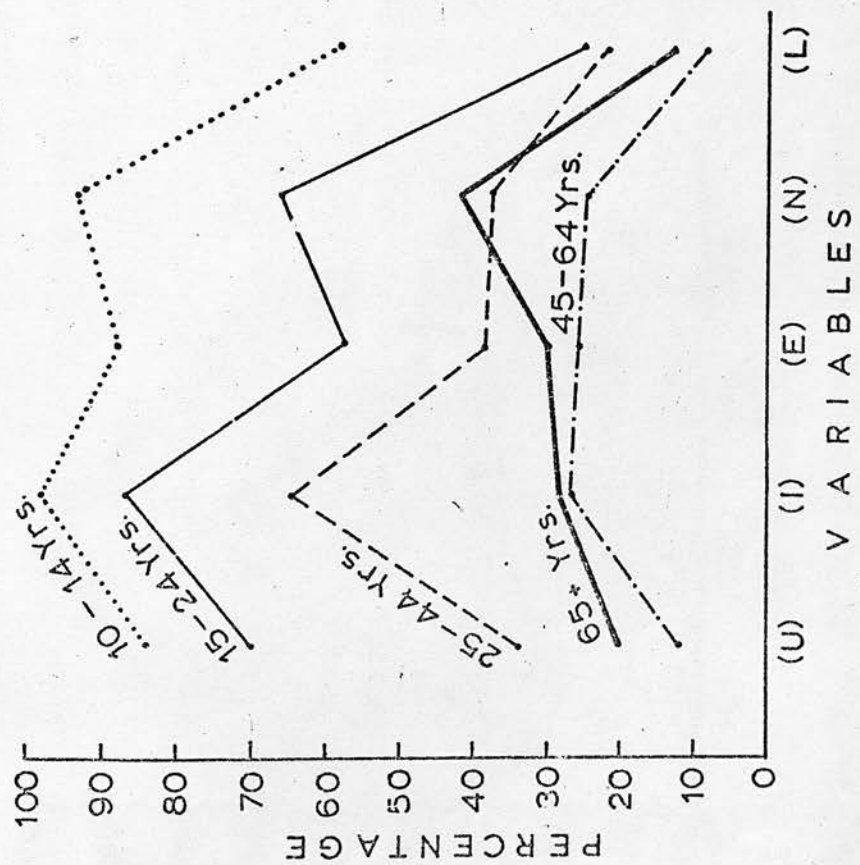
	(U)	(I)	(E)	(N)	(L)
10 - 14 YRS	184.00	198.00	188.00	193.33	157.64
15 - 24 "	170.00	186.50	157.64	166.11	124.76
25 - 44 "	133.65	164.64	138.65	137.93	121.52
45 - 64 "	111.77	126.87	125.97	125.00	109.31
65 + "	119.63	127.77	130.06	141.93	113.07

TABLE 5: 2

MEAN OF INDEX SCORES ON FIVE PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES BY AGE LEVEL (CONVERSATIONAL SPEECH).

	(U)	(I)	(E)	(N)	(L)
10 - 14 YRS	200.00	200.00	200.00	200.00	200.00
15 - 24 "	175.00	187.46	147.23	145.15	149.09
25 - 44 "	128.41	172.17	116.91	108.86	133.33
45 - 64 "	111.72	137.86	108.65	105.68	111.36
65 + "	114.22	142.38	104.41	111.84	116.43

(WORD LIST)



(CONVERSATIONAL SPEECH)

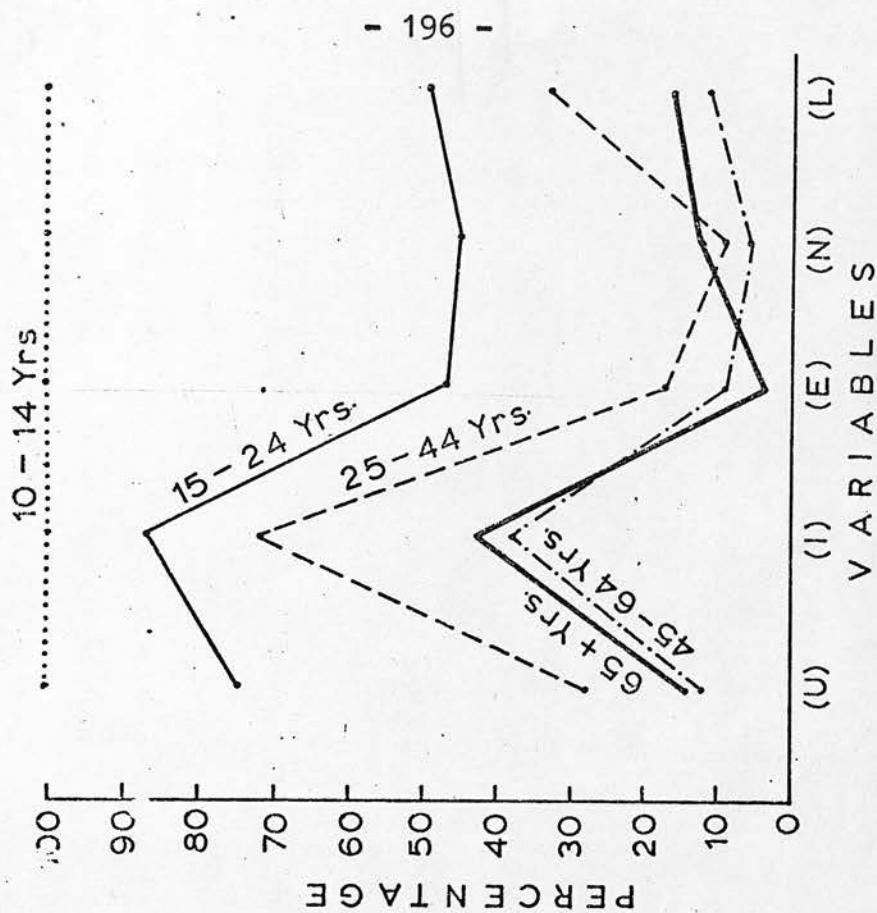
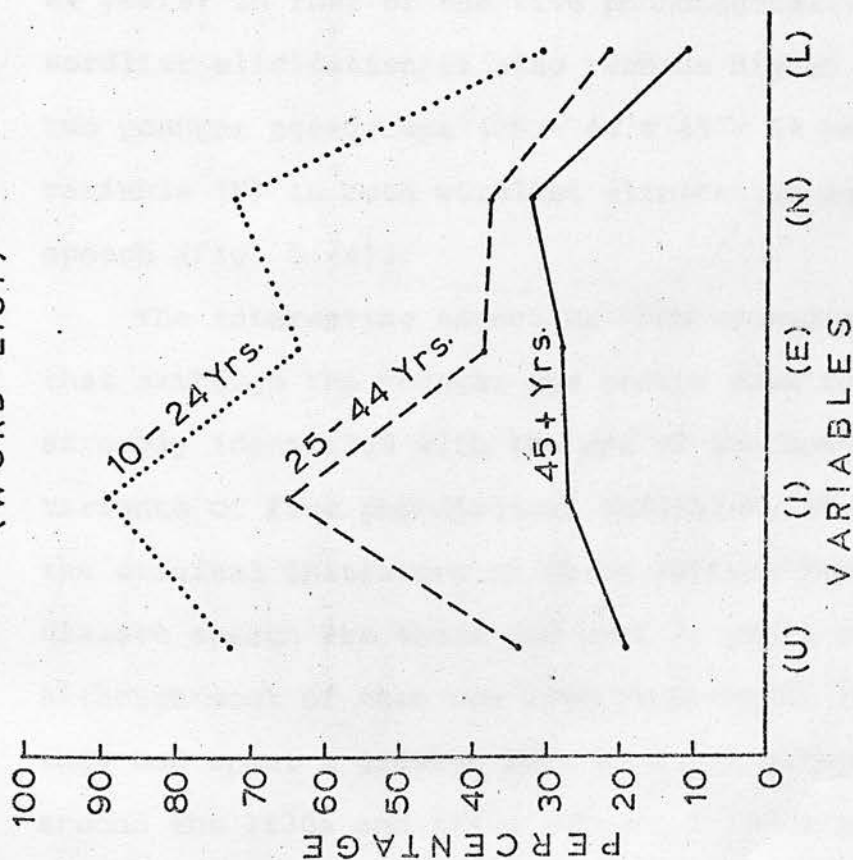


Fig. 5:2a. PERCENTAGE SCORES ON FIVE PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES BY AGE

(WORD LIST)



(CONVERSATIONAL SPEECH)

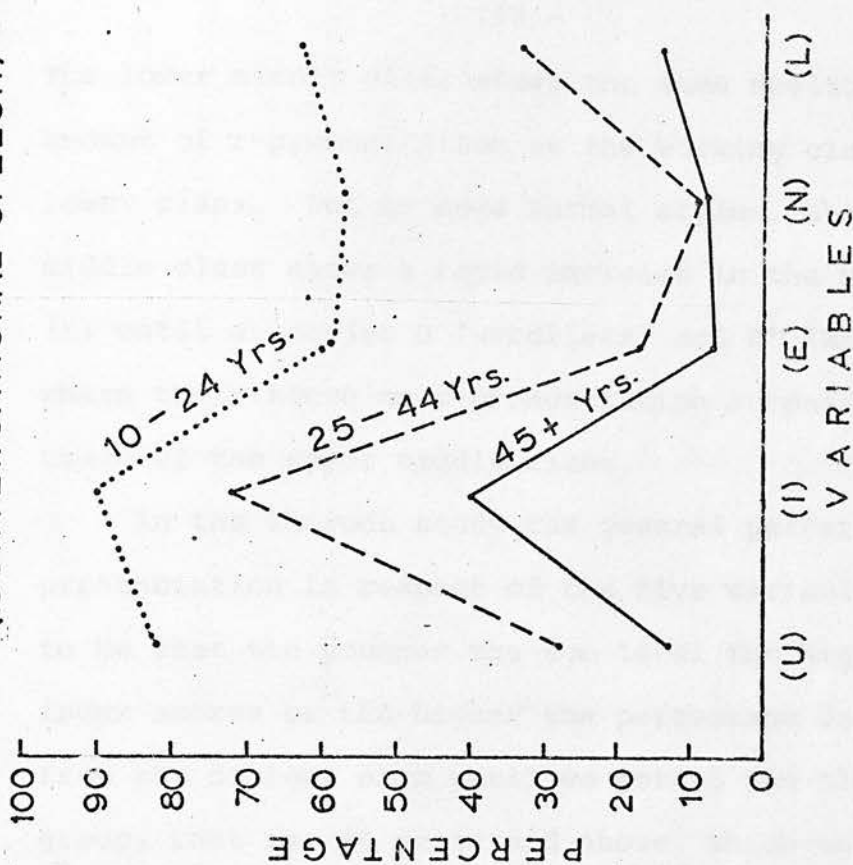


Fig. 5:2b PERCENTAGE SCORES ON FIVE PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES BY AGE

The lower middle class shows the same negligible amount of r-pronunciation as the working class and the lower class. But in more formal styles, the lower middle class shows a rapid increase in the values of (r) until at styles D (wordlists) and D' (Minimal pairs) where their score on r-pronunciation surpasses the usage of the upper middle class.

In the Ikorodu study the general pattern of pronunciation in respect of the five variables seems to be that the younger the age level the higher the index scores or the higher the percentage deviation from the dialect norm until we get to the oldest age-group, that is, 60 years and above, which shows higher percentage deviation than the younger age-group (i.e. 45 - 64 years) in four of the five phonological variables in wordlist elicitation; it also records higher scores than two younger age-groups (25 - 44 & 45 - 64 years) in variable (N) in both wordlist elicitation and conversation speech (Fig. 5:2a).

The interesting aspect of this crossover pattern is that although the younger age groups seem to be now more strongly identified with the use of the non-Ijebu variants of five phonological variables, it appears that the original initiators of these variant forms in their dialect speech are those now over 60 years of age. Although most of them now live permanently in Ikorodu, they had spent a greater part of their younger years, around the 1930s and 1940s outside Ikorodu and mostly in Lagos.

Their linguistic behaviour still reflects their linguistic experience of those early years when the acquisition of the Lagos urban dialect or features of it conferred a very high prestige on a person in the local dialect-speaking communities.

The importance of this phenomenon in relation to the origin and the propagation of the linguistic changes in progress in the Ijebu dialect-speech of the Ikorodu community will be discussed in a later section. On the other hand, a re-categorization of the age factor into three age levels does not show this type of 'overlapping' (Fig. 5:2b), but indicates that the three distinct age differentiations of the linguistic variables are (1) those under 25 years of age who show the highest percentage of deviations, followed by (2) those between 25 and 44 years with some considerable deviation, and (3) those who are 45 years and above with minimal deviation from dialect norms.

#### 5.6.4. Education and Linguistic Variability.

The influence of formal school education on the pattern of deviation from the norms of dialect speech within the Ikorodu speech community is considerable. Tables 5:3 and 5:4 show that the higher the level of education the higher the index scores on the five variables. On the one hand, there is a sharp distinction between these two groups on the one hand, and people with secondary education and above.



The problem which arose in correlating the sample's linguistic performance in the five phonological variables with the level of education derives from the fact that although a very large proportion of the young people are in various educational institutions in the town, there is a very large percentage of adult illiteracy. This factor makes it a little difficult for there to be a 'fine' classification of the community according to the level of education.

In a number of cases, the distinction between a person who has no school education and the one who has only primary education may not be too sharp. Given certain conditions such as lack of geographic mobility, a preoccupation with traditional manual occupations like farming and so on, an adult who had only primary school education may have forgotten all about reading and writing, thus making the distinction between 'No Education' and 'Only Primary Education' rather nebulous. However, the index scores on the five phonological variables show that the two groups are still sufficiently differentiated in their linguistic behaviour.

While people with no formal education show minimal deviation in each of the five variables, people with only primary education show slightly higher deviation by recording higher index scores in four of the five variables. On the other hand, there is a sharp distinction between these two groups on the one hand, and people with secondary education and above.

TABLE 5: 3

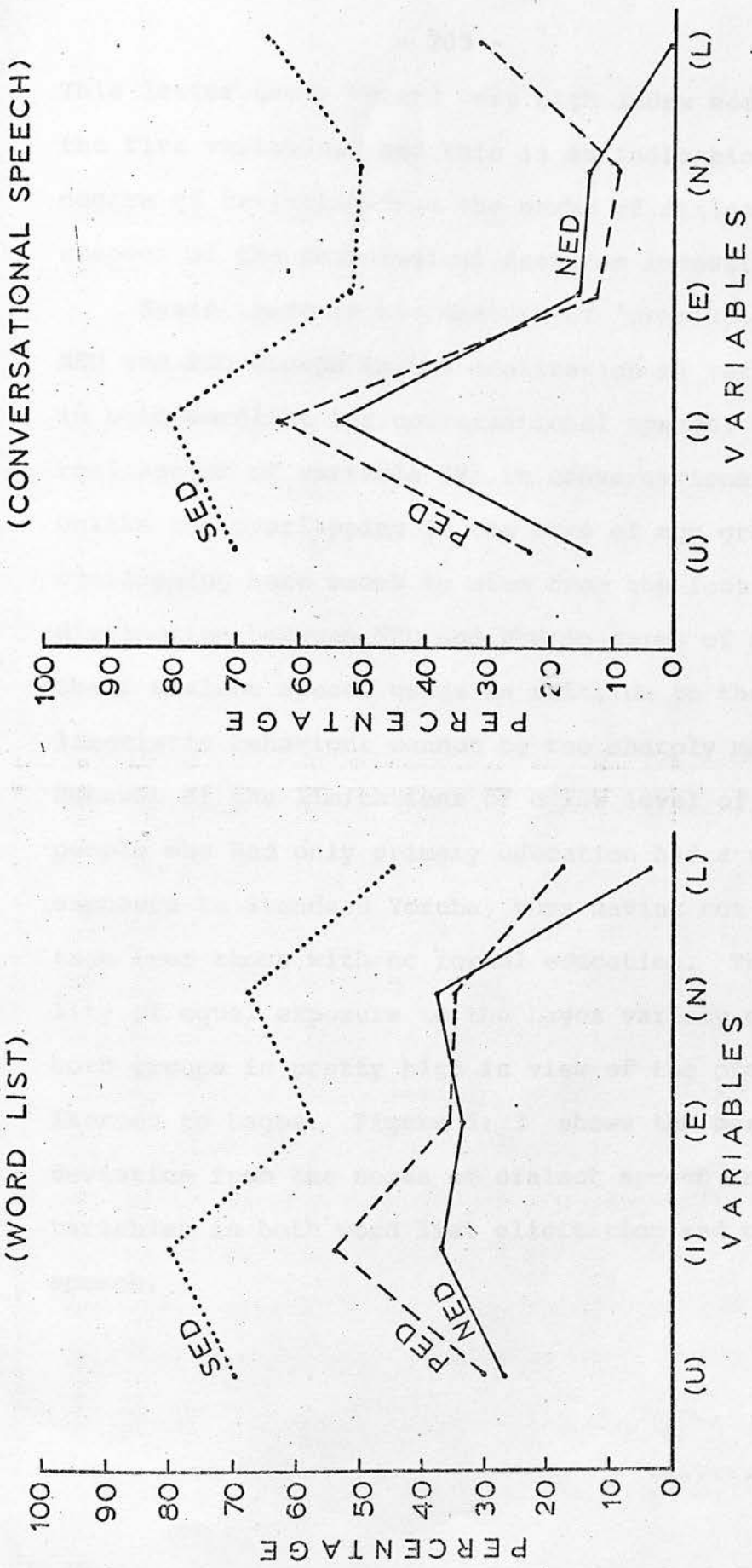
MEAN OF INDEX SCORES ON FIVE PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES  
BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION (WORDLIST)

	(U)	(I)	(E)	(N)	(L)
NO EDUCATION	127.33	137.25	133.52	137.77	103.52
PRIMARY ONLY	130.00	153.91	136.27	134.81	118.43
SECONDARY & HIGHER	170.34	179.81	157.95	167.69	145.06

TABLE 5: 4

MEAN OF INDEX SCORES ON FIVE PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES  
BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION (CONVERSATIONAL SPEECH)

	(U)	(I)	(E)	(N)	(L)
NO EDUCATION	114.00	154.33	115.72	114.21	100.00
PRIMARY ONLY	123.06	162.88	113.27	109.21	130.97
SECONDARY & HIGHER	169.73	180.39	151.61	150.20	164.89



..... Sec. Sch. Education & Higher (SED)    - - - - - Primary only (PED)    - - - - - No Sch. Educ. (NED)

Fig. 5:3. PERCENTAGE SCORES ON FIVE PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION

This latter group record very high index scores on all the five variables, and this is an indication of a high degree of deviation from the norms of dialect speech in respect of the phonological features investigated.

Again there is the feature of 'overlapping' between NED and PED groups in the realization of variable (N) in both wordlist and conversational speech, and in the realization of variable (E) in conversational speech only. Unlike the overlapping in the case of age groups, the overlapping here seems to stem from the fact that the distinction between NED and PED in terms of the degree of their dialect speech usage in relation to their overall linguistic behaviour cannot be too sharply made. Because of the limitations of a low level of education, people who had only primary education had a very limited exposure to Standard Yoruba, thus having not much advantage over those with no formal education. The probability of equal exposure to the Lagos variety of Yoruba for both groups is pretty high in view of the proximity of Ikorodu to Lagos. Figure 5: 3 shows the percentage deviation from the norms of dialect speech in all the five variables in both word list elicitation and conversational speech.

5.6.5. Occupational Groups and Linguistic Variability.

The various occupational groups from traditional manual workers, to semi-skilled and professional workers do not show too sharp differentiation in their deviation from the norms of dialect speech in the five linguistic features. All the same, the index scores (Tables 5:5 and 5:6) show that traditional manual workers record lower index scores than the semi-skilled and professional workers especially in wordlist elicitation (Table 5:5). On the other hand, the student group record very high index scores in all the five variables. There is a sharp distinction in index score range between the student group on the one hand, and the other occupational groups on the other hand. (See also Figure 5:4).

The inference that could be drawn from this is that although it was still possible to delimit the population into the various occupational groups, the relationship between variability in dialect speech usage and occupational differences may not be a direct one. The differences which occur between the various occupational groups in the realization of the phonological variables may in fact be a function of other interrelated factors. This fact is borne out by the results of the analysis of variance to be discussed presently.

TABLE 5: 5

MEAN OF INDEX SCORES ON FIVE PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES BY OCCUPATION (WORDLIST).

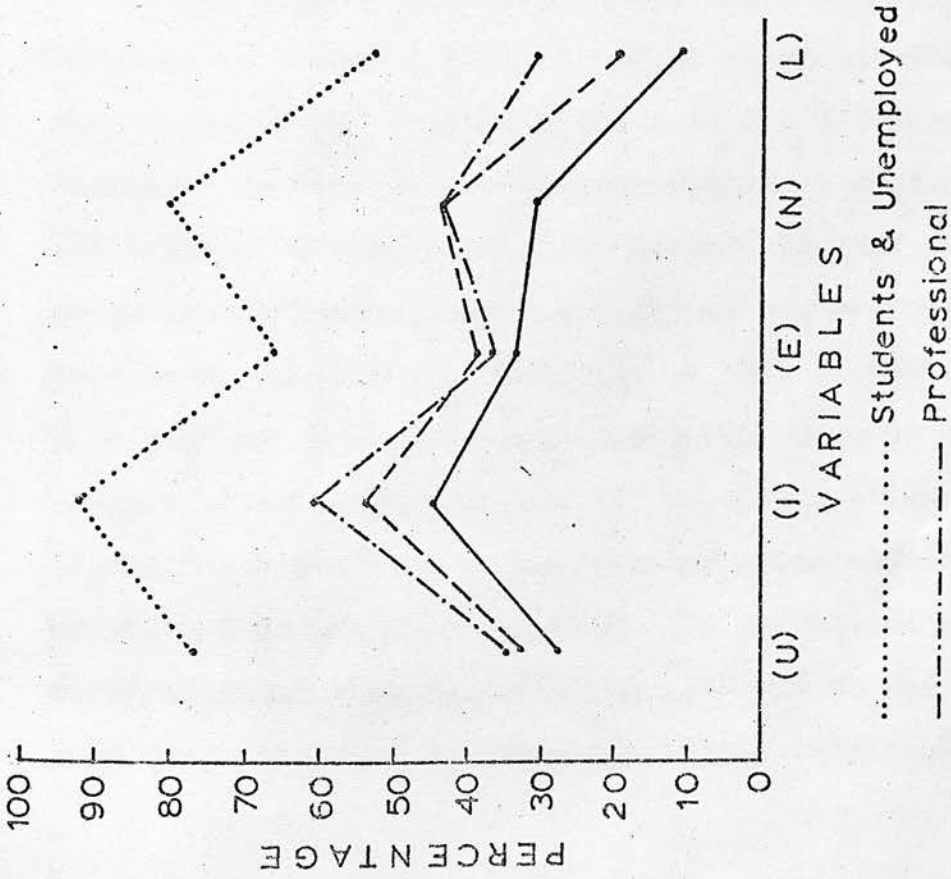
	(U)	(I)	(E)	(N)	(L)
TRADITIONAL MANUAL	127.85	144.89	133.82	132.95	111.34
SEMI-SKILLED	133.33	154.42	138.91	143.58	119.90
PROFESSIONAL	135.23	161.07	136.97	143.65	130.96
STUDENTS	176.66	192.23	167.18	179.53	153.24

TABLE 5: 6

MEAN OF INDEX SCORES ON FIVE PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES BY OCCUPATION (CONVERSATIONAL SPEECH).

	(U)	(I)	(E)	(N)	(L)
TRADITIONAL MANUAL	113.21	159.37	108.67	106.64	113.33
SEMI-SKILLED	130.21	158.97	123.60	117.33	141.25
PROFESSIONAL	146.47	158.16	106.09	110.09	134.64
STUDENTS	185.71	192.87	174.54	170.09	190.00

(WORD LIST)



(CONVERSATIONAL SPEECH)

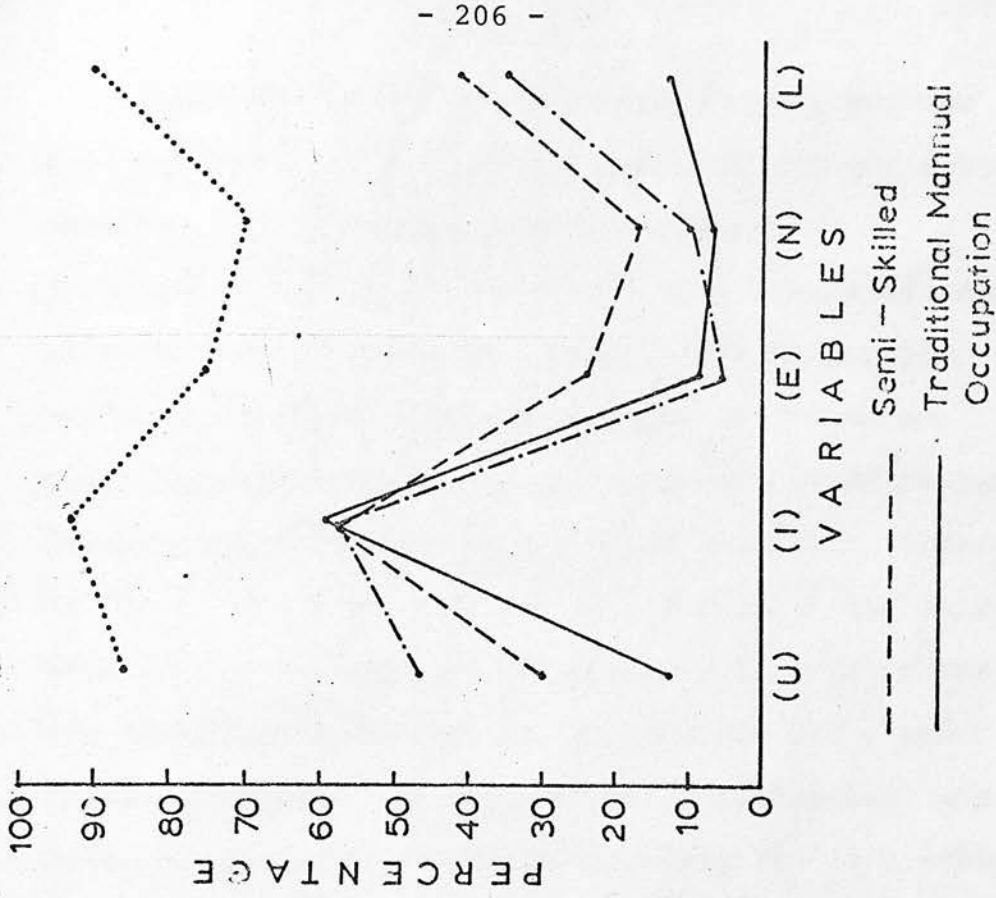


Fig. 5:4 PERCENTAGE SCORES ON FIVE PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES BY OCCUPATION

The distribution of the index scores, and the pattern of deviation from the norms of dialect speech as shown by the deviation graphs in Figures 5:2a - 5:4 show quite clearly that there is some degree of correlation between the variation exhibited in the linguistic performance of my sample in respect of the five phonological/phonetic variables and the three demographic factors selected for correlational analysis. Presented in Table 5: 1.6 (A & B) are the results of the measurement of the strength of relationship between scores on the phonological variable and the three demographic factors expressed as correlation co-efficients, and their level of statistical significance for all five variables in wordlist elicitation and conversational speech.

These figures show that there are strong correlations between the sample's variable realizations of the linguistic features and the differences in the demographic factors. In none of the five variables in wordlist elicitation is the correlation co-efficient of the relationship between index scores and age differentiation less than .50 with a probability of .001 in each case. This pattern of very strong correlation is also shown in respect of variables (U) and (I) in conversational speech (Table 5:1.6 B). The correlation co-efficients for the relative influences of education and occupation are slightly lower than those for age in both WL and CS, but they still indicate sufficiently strong relationships.



TABLE 5: 1.6A

STRENGTH OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SCORES ON PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES IN WORDLIST AND SOCIOLOGICAL/DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS (Kendall's Tau)

Linguistic Variables	Sociological/Demographic Factors		
	Age	Education	Occupation
Variable (U)	-.68 p < .001	.45 p < .001	-.46 p < .001
" (I)	-.76 p < .001	.46 p < .001	-.38 p < .001
" (E)	-.52 p < .001	.27 p < .01	-.36 p < .001
" (N)	-.50 p < .001	.46 p < .001	-.34 p < .001
" (L)	-.51 p < .001	.56 p < .001	-.28 p < .01

TABLE 5: 1.6B

STRENGTH OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SCORES ON THREE PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES IN CONVERSATIONAL SPEECH AND SOCIOLOGICAL/DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS (Kendall's Tau)

Linguistic Variables	Sociological/Demographic Factors		
	Age	Education	Occupation
Variable (U)	-.59 p < .001	.54 p < .001	-.35 p < .01
" (I)	-.72 p < .001	.38 p < .001	-.44 p < .001
" (E)	-.38 p < .001	.33 p < .002	-.36 p < .001

These results show that the Ikorodu speech community is sufficiently differentiated in their variable realization of each of the five phonological/phonetic features investigated, and that the non-linguistic factors of age, level of educational attainment and occupational groups all jointly account for the systematic patterning of the variation which characterizes the community's linguistic performance.

5.7. Measurement of co-variation through the Analysis of Variance.

The discussions in the preceding sections on the covariation of the five phonological variables with the sociological/demographic factors of age, education and occupation show that the various quantitative techniques used for analysing our variable linguistic data have produced highly significant results.

These various quantitative measurements do not, however, go so far as to measure the specific contribution of each demographic factor in explaining the variation exhibited in the realization of each of the linguistic features. It becomes desirable, therefore, that a correlational analysis of this nature, (that is, one in which linguistic variation is explained solely in terms of the sociological/demographic differentiation that characterizes the speech community), must necessarily provide a more detailed specification in quantitative

terms of the significance of each factor in explaining linguistic variation. To this end, the quantitative technique of the analysis of variance is here used for the measurement of co-variation. The results, which are set out in Tables 5:1A - 5:6B (Appendix I), are discussed in the following sections.

The SPSS computer sub-programme ANOVA provided two sets of output in the tables. The top output is the summary table which presents sums of squares, degrees of freedom, mean squares, F ratios, and probabilities associated with each F ratio. The probability associated with each F ratio tells us the level of statistical significance of the variables which are being correlated. Each linguistic variable and the demographic factors with which it is correlated are listed above the table. As the summary tables indicate, only factor main effects are assessed with adjustments made for other factors. Because interaction effects have been found not to be significant in earlier runs, they are not assessed in these results, and no co-variate effects are assessed either.

The bottom output of each table is called the Multiple Classification Analysis (MCA) table. In this output the grand mean of index scores in the particular phonological variable being assessed is given in the 100-200 index score range, then a table of category means for each demographic factor expressed as deviation from the grand mean is produced. Expressed in deviation form, of each factor diminishes as the other ...../211.

the category means reflect the magnitude of the effect of each category of a demographic factor.

The deviation values (or category effects) are output in (1) unadjusted form and (2) adjusted for variation accounted for by all other demographic factors in the design. The adjusted values enable us to assess the magnitude of category effects for a given demographic factor that remains after variation due to other factors has been partialled out. If the effect of each factor diminishes as we adjust for other demographic factors (as is the case in most of the results here), this suggests that there is some kind of relationship between the factors in explaining the variation in the realization of the phonological variables.

A number of measures of association accompany the output of category effects. Associated with the set of unadjusted category effects for each demographic factor in the table is an ETA value which is the common correlation ratio. The square of ETA indicates the proportion of variation explained by a given demographic factor (all categories combined). Associated with the adjusted category effects for each factor is a partial correlation ratio that is labelled BETA in the MCA output. The difference between each Eta and Beta shows the strength of relationship of each factor as other demographic factors are introduced. In most of these tables, the Beta values show considerable decrease from their corresponding Eta values thus indicating that the strength of relationship of each factor diminishes as the other demographic factors are introduced.

...../212.

The Multiple R Squared value toward the bottom of each table represents the proportion of variation in index scores on each phonological variable explained by the additive effects of age, education and occupation. And finally, the Multiple R value at the bottom of each table is the multiple correlation between the index scores on the phonological variable and the three demographic factors. Tables are output separately for Wordlist scores (A) and Conversational Speech scores (B).

#### 5.7.1. Group Variation and the Community Norm.

By a series of computations it was possible to calculate average index scores on all the five phonological variables for all the 67 informants in the sample in Wordlist elicitation and for only 31 informants in Conversational Speech (the others having been dropped because they had missing data on some of the variables). The ANOVA output on these sets of data are contained in Tables 5:1A and 5: 1B (Appendix I). The summary tables show that the joint additive effect of age, education and occupation on the sample's index scores on all the five phonological variables is highly significant at .001 confidence level, while the effect of the age factor is also highly significant at .001 level. But the effects of education and occupation are not significant. As I have explained earlier on, this points to the fact that both education and occupation are strongly and positively related hence their individual effects are not significant.

The MCA tables for both WL and CS provide many interesting hints on the pattern of variation within the speech community in respect of the five phonological variables. The grand mean of index scores for the whole sample is 145.36 in WL and 147.12 in CS. Expressed as percentage deviation from the norms of dialect speech in the five phonological features, the sample as a group exhibits as much as 45 per cent and 47 per cent respectively in word list elicitation and conversational speech. We note that the category effects or deviation means for all the demographic factors (with the exception of two of the categories for occupation) decrease as adjustments are made for the effects of other factors in both WL and CS.

As a group, the proportion of variation in my sample's linguistic performance in the five phonological variables accounted for by each of the three demographic factors can be assessed by squaring the ETA value for each factor. Thus, in WL age accounts for  $(.74^2)$  55 per cent, education for  $(.59^2)$  35 per cent and occupation for  $(.72^2)$  52 per cent of the proportion of variation in index scores with no adjustments made for other factors. The corresponding figures for conversational speech are 52 per cent, 23 per cent, 61 per cent respectively for age, education and occupation.

The proportion of variation in index scores explained by the additive effects of age, education and occupation for the whole sample is 66 per cent (WL) and 72 per cent

(CS) both given as 'Multiple R Squared' in each table. The correlation between the sample's index scores on the five variables and the three demographic factors is (as the 'Multiple R' at the bottom of each MCA table) .81 in word list, and .85 in conversational speech. The slight increases in the values for conversational speech cannot be taken as enough evidence for a sharp stylistic distinction to be made between wordlist elicitation and conversational speech in Yoruba dialect speech usage, although some distinction does exist. The large number of missing cases in CS for most of the variables probably accounts for differences in these values.

#### 5.7.2. The (U) Variable.

Tables 5: 2A and 5: 2B (Appendix I) show that the relationship between the index scores on the (U) variable and the joint additive effects of age, education and occupation is very strong because the probability of getting these results by mere chance is very low, that is, at less than 1 per cent significance level ( $p = .001$ ) in both WL and CS. The main effect of age is highly significant at less than 1 per cent significance level in word list elicitation, and at 1 per cent significance level ( $p = .01$ ) in conversational speech.

The MCA tables show the expected decrease in category values for each of the demographic factors (except for one category in occupation in CS) when other factors are controlled for. The differences between ETA and BETA values for each demographic factor are expected.

The proportion of variation in index scores on the (U) variable explained by the joint effects of age, education and occupation is about 66 per cent in WL and 63 per cent in CS while the correlation between index scores on the (U) variable and the three demographic factors show a correlation co-efficient of .81 in WL and about .80 in CS. The proportion of variation in index scores explained by the individual effect of each demographic factor is given as the square of each Eta value: age ( $.76^2$ ) 58 per cent (WL) and ( $.73^2$ ) 53 per cent (CS); education ( $.57^2$ ) 32 per cent (WL) and ( $.56^2$ ) 31 per cent (CS); occupation ( $.69^2$ ) 48 per cent and ( $.71^2$ ) 50 per cent (CS).

### 5.7.3. The (I) Variable.

The index scores on this variable show that it is at the most advanced stage of variation. It is the only variable for which index scores could be calculated for all the 67 informants in both wordlist elicitation and conversational speech. The mean index score is 161.87 in WL and 168.67 in CS. The relationship between the index scores and the joint additive effects of the three demographic factors is very strong showing results which are highly significant at less than 1 per cent significance level ( $p = .001$ ), and the individual effect of age is also highly significant at the 1 per cent confidence level in both WL and CS. (Tables 5:3A & 5:3B Appendix I).



Deviation values (unadjusted and adjusted) for the age groups 10 - 24 years and 25 - 44 years are higher in both WL and CS than the grand mean for the variable. Usually in the other variables only the youngest age group (10 - 24 years) show deviation values above the mean. Here variation is seen to be advanced (i.e. above the mean) even among the middle age group. The proportion of variation in the index scores explained by the individual effect of age is 61 per cent in WL and 59 per cent in CS; that by education is 23 per cent in WL and 14 per cent in CS; and that by occupation is 37 per cent in WL and 32 per cent in CS.

The proportion of variation in index scores accounted for by the joint additive effects of the three demographic factors is about 66 per cent in WL and about 63 per cent in CS. The correlation between index scores on variable (I) and the demographic factors is expressed as a correlation co-efficient of .81 in WL and .79 in CS (Multiple R figures).

#### 5.7.4. The (E) Variable.

Tables 5:4A and 5:4B (Appendix I) show that the combined effects of age, education and occupation on the variation in index scores on the (E) variable is very strong even at less than 1 per cent level of statistical significance ( $p = .001$ ). The individual main effects vary; in WL the effect of age is highly significant at 1 per cent level of significance ( $p = .014$ ), but the effects of

education and occupation are not significant. In CS the effect of occupation is significant at the 1 per cent significance level ( $p = .004$ ), while the effects of age and education are not.

The mean index score for the whole sample in this variable is 144.64. Only the youngest age group show a deviation value above the grand mean in WL, but in CS the middle age group also deviates slightly above the grand mean after the effects of other factors have been partialled out. The Eta squared values show that in WL age accounts for 36 per cent of the amount of variation in index scores, while education and occupation account for 18 per cent and 31 per cent respectively. This order is reversed in conversational speech where the proportion of variation in index scores accounted for by age is only 35 per cent and that by education 22 per cent, but occupation accounts for as much as 50 per cent. An explanation in terms of the position of the (E) variable in relation to variation and sound change in progress will be given in a later section.

The Multiple  $R^2$  values show that the proportion of variation in index scores on the (E) variable accounted for by the joint additive effects of age, education and occupation is about 41 per cent in WL and about 54 per cent in CS. The correlation co-efficient of the relationship between the demographic factors and the sample's variable realization of this feature is .64 (WL) and .73 (CS).

5.7.5. The (N) Variable (Tables 5: 5A & 5: 5B, Appendix I).

The joint additive effect of the three demographic factors on index scores for this variable is highly significant at less than 1 per cent confidence level ( $p = .001$ ). The individual main effects of age and education are not significant even at 1 per cent confidence level. But the main effect of occupation is significant at the 5 per cent significance level ( $p = .039$  in WL and  $p = .049$  in CS). The grand mean index score for the whole sample is 148.51 in WL and 125.75 in CS.

The category values for age show that only the youngest age group deviate above the mean score for the sample. Unlike in the first three syllabic variables, in this variable (and the next one) the age factor does not account for the largest proportion of variation in index scores. Here, while the proportion of variation accounted for by the age factor is 38 per cent in WL and 34 per cent in CS, education accounts for 30 per cent in WL and 24 per cent in CS. Whereas occupation accounts for as much as 49 per cent in WL and 45 per cent in CS.

The Multiple  $R^2$  figures show that the proportion of variation in index scores in Variable (N) accounted for by the combined effects of age, education and occupation is 54 per cent in WL and about 48 per cent in CS. The correlation co-efficient for this relationship is about .74 in wordlist elicitation and .69 in conversational speech.

5.7.6. The (L) Variable (Tables 5: 6A & 5: 6B, Appendix I).

This variable shows the least amount of variation in its realization simply because the linguistic environments in which variation can take place are limited to morphological (or morpho-syntactic) boundaries. Like the other consonantal variable, only the joint additive effects of the three demographic factors on the index scores show a highly significant result at less than 1 per cent significance level in WL ( $p = .001$ ) and at 1 per cent confidence level in CS ( $p = .002$ ). The grand mean of index scores for WL is 128.25 and the youngest age group shows a minimal deviation value of 3.74 above the mean after all other factors have been controlled for.

The age factor accounts for only 29 per cent in WL and 35 per cent in CS of the variation in index scores. Education accounts for 38 per cent in WL and 25 per cent in CS but occupation accounts for the largest proportion of variation in index scores with 44 per cent in WL and 48 per cent in CS.

The proportion of variation in index scores explained by the joint additive effect of age, education and occupation is 51 per cent in WL and 54 per cent in CS, with a correlation co-efficient of .71 in wordlist elicitation and .74 in conversational speech.

With all these results, it can now be confidently said that the pattern of variation in the realization of the five phonological/phonetic variables is two sided. On the one hand, all the three demographic factors combine

to influence the pattern of variability in the linguistic performance of members of the speech community in respect of the five phonological features. On the other hand, a distinction ought to be made between the pattern of variation exhibited in respect of the three syllabic variables, and the two consonantal variables. In the former, age seems to be the dominant factor which accounts for the pattern and degree of variation, whereas in the latter it is not. The implication of this factor in recognizing what can be called sound change in progress in three syllabic segments in the Ijebu dialect spoken in Ikorodu will be discussed fully in the following sections.

#### 5.8. Variation and Linguistic Change.

Most sociolinguistic accounts of linguistic change have always taken the analysis of linguistic variation as the starting point of description. Labov once asserted that each time a linguist begins to observe a speech community with any degree of attention, the report is often given of exceptional variation, dialect mixture and unusual heterogeneity that such extensive variation in the realization of some linguistic features shows evidence of linguistic change in progress.

In the preceding sections of this chapter, I have given a detailed account of what constitute linguistic variation in the dialect speech of the Ikorodu speech community. My analyses of the variable phonological features of the Ijebu dialect show that the alternative

variants of the phonological features have been introduced into the sub-system of the Ijebu dialect from other dialects of Yoruba such as Lagos Yoruba or Standard Yoruba.

But I have also suggested that such 'borrowings' could only take place in potentially variable linguistic environments which allow the alternative use of the 'new' variants side by side with their counterparts in the receiving dialect. Evidence was adduced in respect of the three syllabic variables (U), (I) and (E) that the three phonological features which they represent were involved in the historical vowel shifts which took place in a number of Yoruba dialects, and that these provided the basis for the phonetic alternations which now take place in the dialect under study.

For example, the i-initial vowel of most nouns in many Yoruba dialects today resulted from an historical fronting of [u] as the vowel initial of such nouns. Historical u-fronting did not take place in the Ijebu dialect. Although it now appears that the i-initial of some nouns is 'borrowed' into the phonological sub-system of the Ijebu dialect, the vowel-initial position of disyllabic nouns in IJB and many other Yoruba dialects where in a number of lexical items only a [+High] syllabic segment can occur is a potentially variable phonological/phonetic environment. Variability was created as a result of the historical fronting of u taking place in some dialects but not taking place in others.

Among those dialects in which u-fronting had taken place are varieties such as Lagos Yoruba and Standard Yoruba which enjoy wider intelligibility and some measure of prestige. The implication of this was that those dialects, like the Ijebu dialect, in which u-fronting had not taken place became extremely susceptible to the introduction of u-fronting as a borrowed feature.

In the case of variables (U) and (E), one of the two variants of each variable would normally be described as a non-Ijebu feature in a synchronic analysis of the Ijebu dialect. But it was noted, for example, that the variants [u] and [ũ] of the (U) variable are historically related in Proto-Yoruba phonology in those lexical items in which they now occur variably. So also are the variants [ẽ] and [ĩ] of the (E) variable related in like manner.

The lexical items in which [u] and [ũ] now occur variably are those in which the nasal [ũ] segment became denasalized in an historical vowel change in the Ijebu dialect. So, what is going on at the moment is a renasalization process. In the same way the lexical items in which [ẽ] and [ĩ] now occur as variants are the ones in which the lax nasal segment  $\tilde{I}$  was historically lowered and merged with the low lax nasal segment [ẽ] in the Ijebu dialect. What is going on here is a raising of the lax [ẽ] segment, not to the original lax nasal  $\tilde{I}$  which no longer functions in the phonology of IJB, but to its high tense nasal counterpart [ĩ].

The several references to the historical antecedents for these changes, may tend to suggest that current changes are after all inevitable. That they necessarily follow in a 'chain' of expected or normal sound changes in a language or dialect over time. Such a diachronic perspective may undoubtedly have its own usefulness in terms of the spread of language changes through geographical space over time as Adetugbo's (1967) study amply demonstrated.

But even in the many studies of regional dialects available, we notice that regional variation interacts with social variation so that class, ethnic group, age, occupation and other social factors tend to affect, to a considerable extent, the pattern of variation, or make it difficult for isoglosses to bundle very well.

Linguistic changes within the context of a speech community of people who communicate fluently with one another in their own dialect emerge from the pattern of variation in the community's speech usage. Variability and change do in fact bear the marks of the social forces which are responsible for their origin and propagation, and invariably correlate with them.

The Ikorodu study is perhaps the first detailed sociolinguistic study of variation and sound change in progress in an African linguistic environment. But the studies of Labov and his associates have shown that although earlier reports in real time are essential supports for any arguments about change in progress,



it is also possible to show from internal distribution what changes have been occurring later in a language or dialect since the new features may not have the regular character of the dialect in question. It is argued that a rational conception of language change must provide for an orderly differentiation within the speech community.

Labov et al (1972: 6-7) argue that linguistic changes can be traced as they occur even by impressionistic means. They say that if we want to trace these changes in their most systematic form, it is necessary to observe them in early stages in their central social location:

The language does not change if one man invents an odd form or develops an idiosyncrasy, even if people understand and evaluate his behaviour, it does change when others adopt his idiosyncrasy and use it as a new social convention for communicating their intent.

The absorption, by the Ikorodu speech community, of these non-Ijebu linguistic features into their dialect speech has parallels in other Yoruba dialects all of which are influenced by the 'Standard' variety of the language. But the peculiar nature of the advanced variation and change in Ikorodu's dialect speech is that change in linguistic features is a feature of collective or community behavioural pattern that projects the rapid socio-cultural changes going on in the community.

Certain linguistic features of the dialect of the Lagos urban community which forms the reference point for the social orientation of the Ikorodu community become the most direct source of the changes in the dialect features of Ikorodu speech. .... /224.

At the onset of this study, the five features which constitute easily quantifiable variable phenomena in the dialect speech of the community were suspected to be involved in different change processes. These are:

- i. The renasalization of the syllabic u segment in a class of lexical items.
- ii. The fronting of the u segment in the initial position of some nouns.
- iii. The raising of the syllabic ε̃ segment in some lexical items.
- iv. The lateralization of the consonantal nasal segment n in two lexical items [ṇε̃] and [ṇĩ] when they contract with nouns.
- v. The nasalization of the consonantal segment l in the lexical item [olĩ] when it contracts with nouns.

Tables 5:1.1A - 5:1.5C (Appendix II) summarize the various patterns of distribution of the sample in terms of their placement within the three index score ranges of 'high' 'mid' and 'low' according to the various categories of age, education and occupation. We want to be able to determine the internal differentiation of the various groups in relation to the change processes.

#### 5.8.1. U-Renasalization.

The pattern of distribution of the sample as shown in terms of their use of the nasalized ũ segment in place of the denasalized u vowel in many words in the Ijebu dialect show a great deal of internal variation in relation to the various categories of age, education and occupation.

The index score ranges vary slightly between word list elicitation and conversational speech. But the distributional patterns for both styles correspond a great deal.

The renasalization of u according to three categories of age shows that a large proportion of those in the youngest age level (i.e. 10 - 24 years) fall within the 'high' index score range with 72 per cent of them in WL and 82 per cent in CS. Of those who are within the age level 25 - 44 years, 57 per cent of them in WL and 50 per cent in CS fall within the 'medium' index score range. On the other hand, a very large proportion of those who are 45 years and above fall within the low index score range.

The distribution of the sample on u-renasalization according to the levels of education (Table 5: 1.1B) shows that a large proportion of people with 'no education' fall within the low index score range. Those with only primary education distribute within the 'low' and 'medium' index score ranges. But a very large proportion of people with secondary education and more fall within the 'high' index score range.

Distribution according to occupational groups (Table 5: 1.1C) shows that the largest proportion of people in petty trading and traditional manual work, as well as the semi-skilled workers, fall within the 'low' index score range. Most of the few professional workers like

teachers and nurses fall within the 'medium' index score range. But the student group and unemployed school leavers fall within the 'high' index score range.

### 5.8.2. U-Fronting in u-initial nouns.

The age, education and occupational group distributions according to the amount of u-fronting in u-initial nouns (Tables 5: 1.2A - c) in the speech of the Ikorodu sample show similar patterns as are exhibited in the figures for u-renasalization above (Tables 5:1.1A - C). A very large proportion of those under 25 years of age fall within the 'high' index score range, those in the 25 - 44 years age level fall within the 'medium' index score range, while most of those who are 45 years and above fall within the 'low' index score range. The figures for education (Table 5:1.2B) and occupation (Table 5: 1.2C) show similar internal differentiation.

These results confirm an earlier observation that the (I) Variable is at the most advanced stage of variation. U-fronting in word-initial position of nouns is more advanced than the other syllabic changes. A comparison of the figures for u-fronting with those for u-renasalization will show this very advanced stage of u-fronting. Among the youngest age group, well over 70 per cent fall within the 'high' index score range in WL and CS for both u-fronting and u-renasalization, while the distributions within the 'medium' and 'low' index score ranges vary considerably. We notice that the number of people under 25 years of age who fall in the

'medium' index score range is considerably higher for u-fronting than for u-renasalization. On the other hand, the corresponding distribution in the 'low' index score range shows higher figures for u-renasalization than those for u-fronting.

But the more glaring differences show in the distributional pattern within the 25 - 44 years age level. While the proportion of those who fall within the 'high' index score range is 9.5 per cent (WL) and 8 per cent (CS) in u-renasalization, the corresponding figures for u-fronting are 24 per cent in WL and 14 per cent in CS. For the 'medium' index score range u-renasalization has a distribution of 57 per cent in WL and 50 per cent in CS, while the corresponding figures for u-fronting are 67 per cent in WL and 71 per cent in CS. The proportion of this age level still within the 'low' index score range in u-renasalization is 33 per cent in WL and 42 per cent in CS, a proportion much higher than in u-fronting which has 10 per cent in WL and 14 per cent in CS. These figures show that among the 25 - 44 year olds, u-fronting is much more advanced than u-renasalization.

### 5.8.3. Nasal $\tilde{\epsilon}$ Raising.

Table 5:1.3A shows that the youngest age group (10 - 24 years) are at an advanced stage of nasal  $\tilde{\epsilon}$  raising. This indicates that they use more [i] in place of [ $\tilde{\epsilon}$ ] in the lexical items in which nasal [ $\tilde{\epsilon}$ ] occurs. The largest proportion of those in this age level fall

within the 'high' index score range in both WL and CS. The 25 - 44 years age level shows variable distribution within the three index score ranges with the largest number of them falling within the 'medium' index score range only in WL, while in CS the largest proportion of the group is still within the 'low' index score range. Nasal  $\underline{\epsilon}^{\sim}$  raising is not as advanced as the first two syllabic features.

The distribution of the sample according to educational level (Table 5:1.3B) and occupational group (Table 5:1.3C) still show considerable differentiation in respect of placement within the index score ranges. But here, differentiation is not as distinct as in the first two features.

#### 5.8.4. The Lateralization of [n] and the nasalization of [l].

One important aspect in the consideration of these two features in the Ijebu speech of the Ikorodu community is that variation correlates significantly with the factors of age, education and occupation as the tables of mean index scores and the figures of percentage deviation from dialect norm of the various groups show.

But when we consider these features as to whether or not they are involved in sound change in progress a little difficulty arises. Does the use of the lateral segment [l] in place of the nasal segment [n] or vice versa in forms like:

/nɛ́ + owó/ =	[nówó] → [lówó]	'to have money'
/ní + èkó/ =	[nékó] → [lékó]	'in Lagos'
/olí + usu/=	[olúsu] → [onísu]	'owner of vams'
/olí + igi/=	[olígi] → [onígi]	'owner of wood'

constitute sound change in the dialect speech of the community?

It is noticed that the sample could be sufficiently differentiated only at the wordlist elicitation level. Speakers distribute into the three index score ranges with some degree of variation as Tables 5: 1.4A - 5: 1.5C (Appendix II) show. Calculations could not be made in respect of conversational speech as was pointed out earlier on.

The inference to be drawn from this is that the considerable variation which exists in these two consonantal features show considerable 'borrowings' from either Lagos or Standard Yoruba and that although speakers in Ikorodu use the borrowed forms a great deal, their occurrences are limited to when these words occur in isolation or during instances of code-switching from Ijẹ̀bu to Eko which is a predominant feature of the verbal behaviour of members of the community.

In continuous speech in Ijẹ̀bu, the co-occurrence restrictions which govern syntactic combinations of lexical items and the morphological patterning of lexical formation in the dialect account for the phonological impossibility of forms like \*/onusu/ for /olúsu/, or surface realizations like \*[loke] for /nóke/ 'above'

except in instances of code-switching. This explains why it was not possible for index scores in CS to pattern as neatly as we have for the three syllabic segments. It is not being ruled out however that the alternation between [n] and [l] in the realization of the nasal segment |n| and the lateral segment |l| in the environments in which each occurs may later become a feature of sound change in progress in Ijebu dialect speech, with very strong influences from both Standard and Lagos Yoruba.

#### 5.8.5. Age differentiation in linguistic change.

Many recent studies of sound change in progress have utilized the differential distribution of linguistic features across age levels to infer whether or not there is sound change. In most of these empirical studies the age differentiation of linguistic features often confirms the presence of sound change in progress, thus making it possible to trace change in "apparent" time, in contradistinction to change in "real" time.

In the Ikorodu study, we find that the proportion of occurrence of the variants of each of the three syllabic variables correlates with age. We find, also, that for all the five variables investigated, the age distribution is sometimes complicated by the fact that changes follow some more complex sorts of demographic or social boundaries within the community. As an illustration, rural-urban contact as an independent variable was dropped after the



initial analysis of the data from Ikorodu because it did not correlate significantly with index scores on the phonological variables for the whole sample.

However, it is found that certain individuals whose scores do not correspond to those of the demographic sub-group which they belong to, may have had some considerable degree of rural/urban contact which influences to a large extent the form of their dialect speech. This shows very clearly when we examine the extent of an individual's contact with either the city or the rural villages around Ikorodu as displayed in Table 5:8.

The first pair of speakers comprises a brother and his sister. Speaker 052 is a 28 year old lady, daughter of the late Oba of Ikorodu. She had only primary school education. Her index scores on the five variables correspond to the average for her demographic sub-group in age and education. Speaker 006 is her half-brother. He is 67 years old, well educated and much travelled. As a prince and a prospective future Oba of the community, he is tradition bound to conform to the norms of behaviour in the community. His index scores correspond to the expected average for his age level.

The second pair comprises a daughter and her father. Speaker 076, a final year secondary school student in Ikorodu, is 19 years old and lived with her father in Lagos before she came over to start her secondary school education in Ikorodu six years ago. Her index scores on all the variables show that she has deviated almost

TABLE 5:8 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE YOUNG AND THE OLD GENERATION IN LINGUISTIC CHANGE.

INFORMANT	(U)		(I)		(E)		(N)		(L)	
	WL	CS	WL	CS	WL	CS	WL	CS	WL	CS
052. Princess Eniade Alagbe (sister-28 years).	120.00	-	162.50	161.53	129.41	140.00	155.56	100.00	100.00	-
006. Prince G.D. Alagbe (brother-67 years).	120.00	107.69	125.00	119.04	123.53	105.00	133.33	100.00	129.41	110.25
076. Miss T. Sholaja (daughter, 19 years).	200.00	200.00	200.00	200.00	176.47	200.00	200.00	200.00	164.71	200.00
014. Mr S.A. Sholaja (Father, 67 yrs)	140.00	164.70	157.50	153.84	129.41	116.66	172.22	150.00	158.82	180.00
071. Olayinka Aləshinloye (Student, 20 years)*	123.33	100.00	175.00	154.34	123.53	105.88	138.89	100.00	147.06	100.00

\* This informant had extensive contact with a local Ijebu-speaking village.

completely from the dialect especially in conversational speech. Her father (Speaker 014) is 67 years old, highly educated and had lived and worked in Lagos for several years until he retired and came home. There is no doubt that his sojourn in Lagos has affected his dialect speech. His index scores do not correspond to those expected for his age level. He exhibits considerable deviation from the dialect norm compared with Speaker 006 who is also 67 years old.

We notice, however, that between the speakers in each pair, the age distinction or the generation difference still shows in the degree of change in these features in their speech.

Speaker 071, however, deviates from the general pattern of the age differentiation in the observed changes. He is 20 years old and in the final year of his secondary school education. His index scores on all the variables, except Variable (I), do not correspond to the average for his age level. He exhibits considerable proficiency in the local dialect. But this is because he has had extensive contact with the rural village community where 'unadulterated' Ijebu dialect is still spoken. He lived with his grandmother in an Ijebu village outside Ikorodu for over ten years.

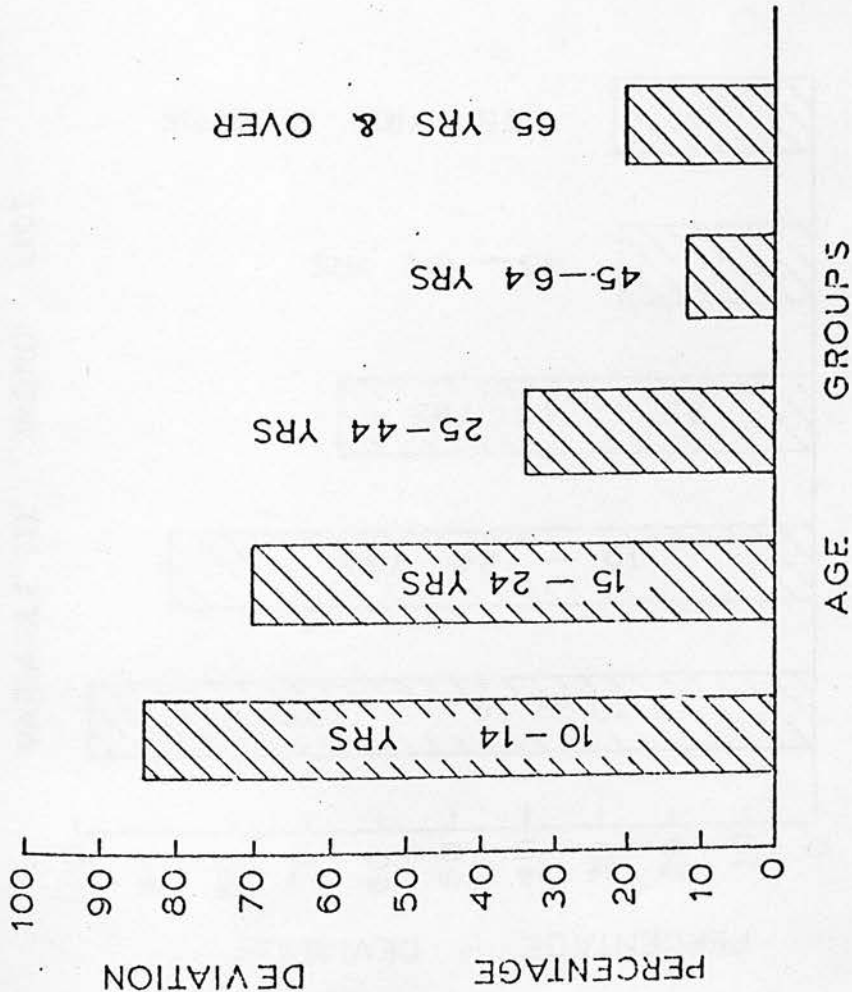
But more generally, we find that among most of those who communicate fluently and competently in the local dialect, changes are found to be more advanced among younger speakers than among older ones.

Figures 5: 1A - 5: 1C summarize the age differentiation of the changes going on in the syllabic features investigated. Percentage deviation figures indicate the degree of u-renasalization (Fig. 5:1a), u-fronting (Fig. 5: 1B), and nasal  $\tilde{\epsilon}$ -raising (Fig. 5: 1C) going on. These correlate significantly with the five age levels. The two youngest age levels show considerable deviation, indicating a more advanced stage of change from one vowel position to another in the lexical items in which each of the features occurs. Only the 65 years-and-above age group shows a break in the general pattern of decreasing deviation figures with increase in age level. I expected the oldest age level in the sample to show minimal deviation in their use of the features, rather they show deviation scores higher than the 45 - 64 years age level.

I pointed out earlier in this chapter that the explanation for this 'overlapping' is that people in the oldest age group in the sample were probably among the earliest originators of the non-Ijebu features in Ikorodu speech. They were certainly among those who had the earliest contact with Lagos/Standard Yoruba by virtue of their having lived/worked or schooled in Lagos. But the active propagation of these changes has now been taken over by the younger people in the community, aided by the greater opportunities for education providing more contact with Standard Yoruba. Furthermore, Ikorodu's proximity to Lagos provides easy accessibility for the younger people thereby ensuring more extensive contacts with the Lagos variety of Yoruba.

...../235.

VARIABLE (U): WORD LIST



VARIABLE (U): CONVERSATIONAL SPEECH

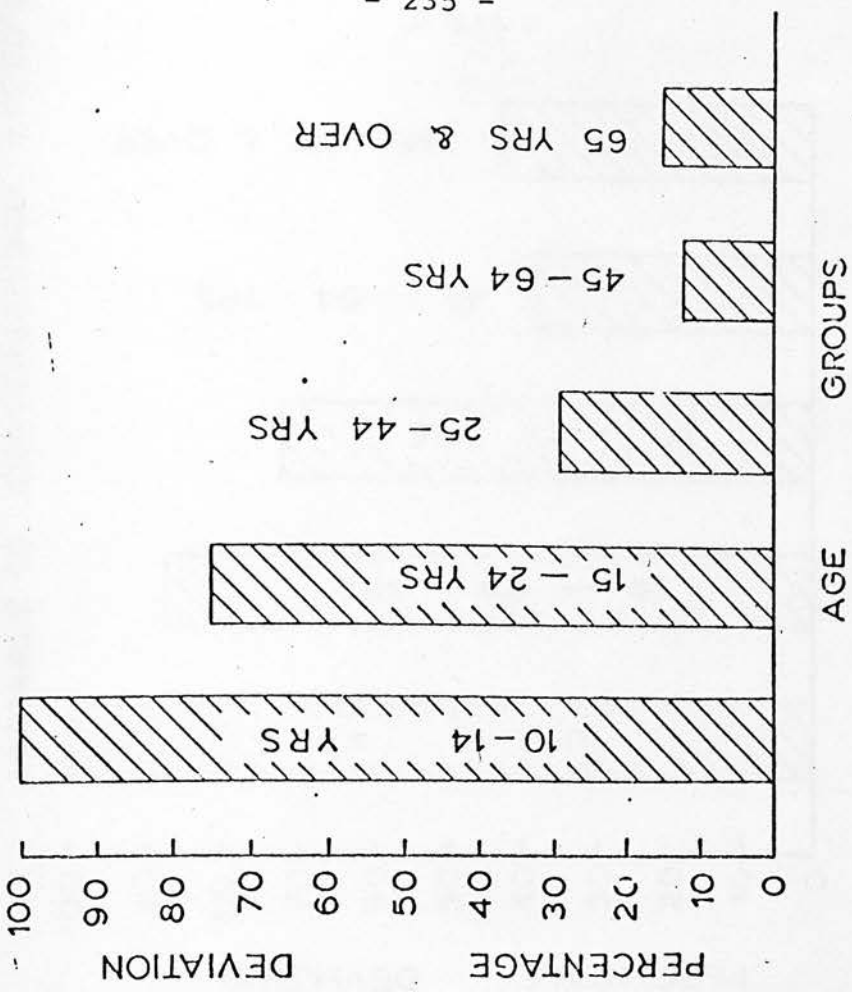
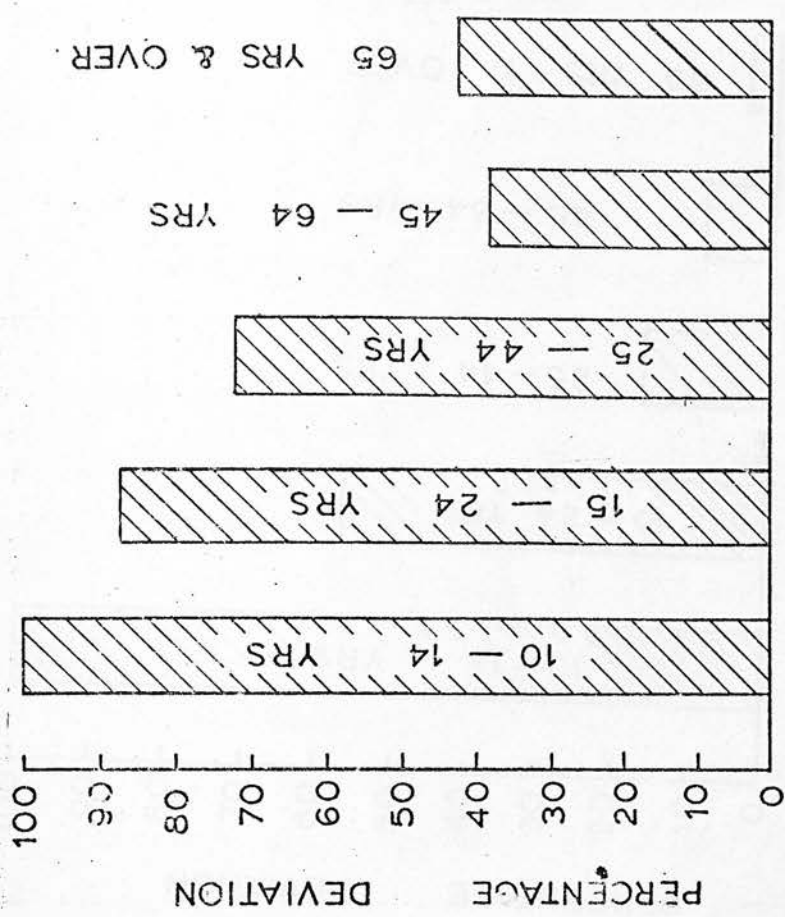


Fig 5: 1a PERCENTAGE SCORES BY AGE LEVEL

( U - RENASALIZATION )

VARIABLE (I): CONVERSATIONAL SPEECH.



VARIABLE (I): WORD LIST

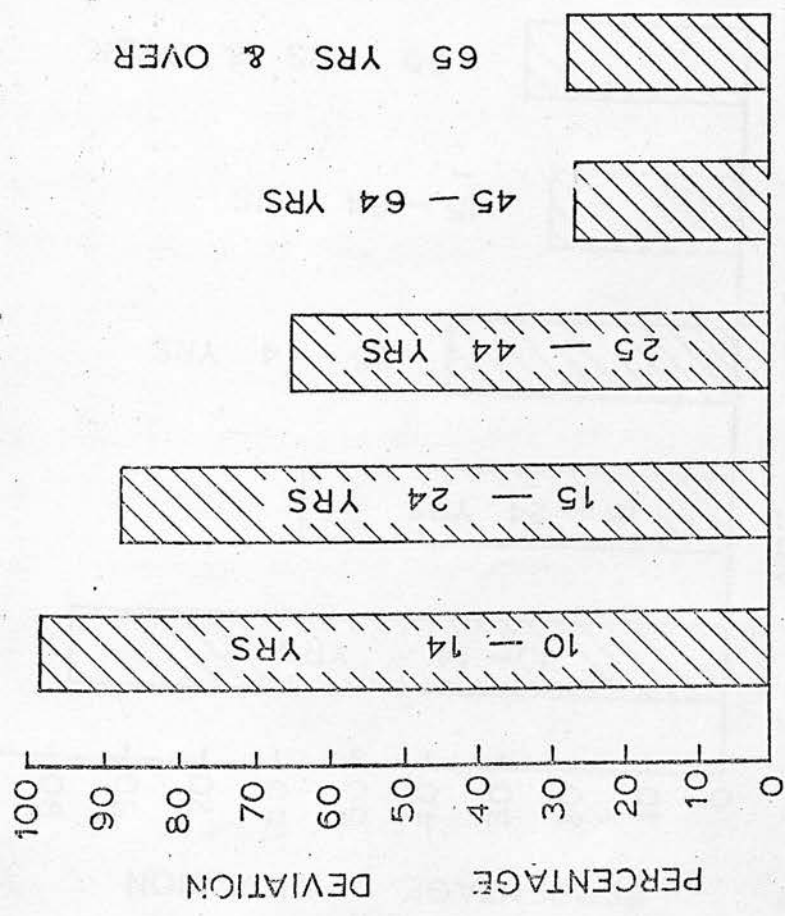


Fig 5:1b. PERCENTAGE SCORES BY AGE LEVEL.

( U - FRONTING )

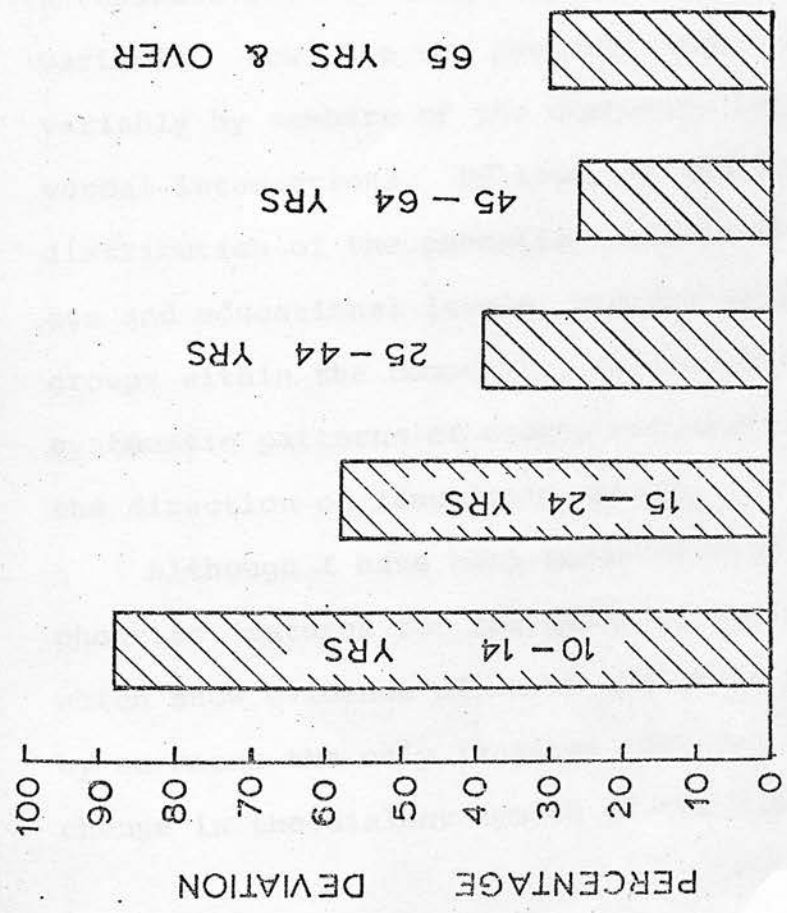
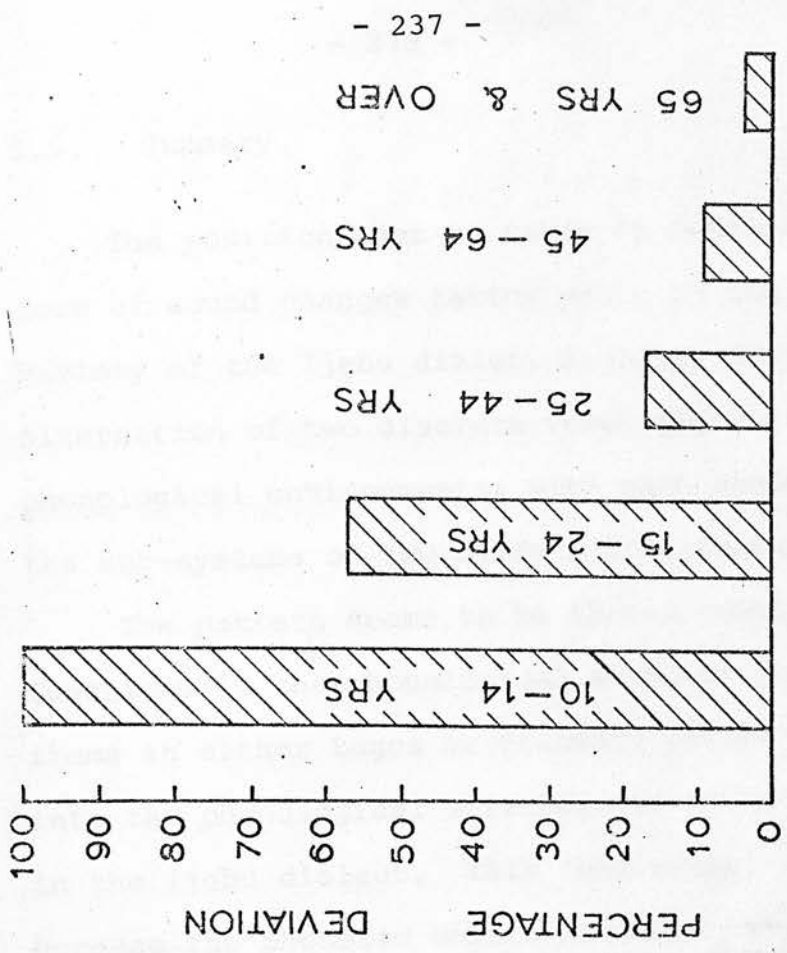


Fig 5:1c PERCENTAGE SCORES BY AGE LEVEL

( NASAL  $\bar{E}$  RAISING )

5.9. Summary.

The position that is taken in this study is that the form of sound changes taking place in the Ikorodu variety of the Ijebu dialect involves first, the alternation of two discrete vowel segments in restricted phonological environments, with each segment belonging to the sub-systems of two different dialects of Yoruba.

The pattern seems to be that a vowel segment which functions in the phonological structure of certain lexical items in either Lagos or Standard Yoruba is introduced into the phonological structure of cognate lexical items in the Ijebu dialect. This 'borrowing' is possible because the phonetic environment into which it is introduced in the lexical items of Ijebu is potentially variable. Now, the two phonetic segments are being used variably by members of the community in their day-to-day verbal interactions. By studying the frequency and distribution of the phonetic variants among the different age and educational levels, and the various occupational groups within the community, we are able to identify the systematic patterns of usage, the extent of variation, and the direction of linguistic change.

Although I have here selected only five phonological/phonetic features for the study of variation, three of which show evidence of sound change in progress, these are by no means the only features involved in variability and change in the dialect speech of the Ijebu people in Ikorodu.



Other features involve the fronting of the back vowels [o] and [ɔ], the raising of the low vowels [a] and [ɛ], in a number of lexical items in the dialect. But of course this changing phenomenon is not restricted to the Ijebu dialect alone. Similar and other features in many Yoruba dialects are undergoing similar changes in both syllabic and consonantal environments.

Furthermore, one major area which could not be covered in this investigation (because of the limitations of time and resources), is lexical change. The studies of the history of Chinese dialects by Wang and his associates (Wang, W.S-Y. 1969, & Wang and Chen 1970) have shown that sound changes affect not only phonetic classes but also word classes. Lexical change or shift in Yoruba dialects is closely bound up with the patterns of sociocultural change within the Yoruba society. Innovations or changes in linguistic items coincide with or conform to changes in the cultural life of the people.

As the traditional patterns of life and culture absorb modern influences, so do the linguistic items which express the new concepts and the new elements of modern culture get absorbed, ultimately displacing some of the older forms. I can only mention this in passing here, but I hope that a more detailed study of lexical changes in Yoruba dialects will be undertaken in due course.

## CHAPTER VI

### 6.0. LANGUAGE USE AND LANGUAGE ATTITUDES IN RELATION TO THE FACTORS OF TRADITIONALISM AND MODERNITY.

#### 6.1. Methodology.

This study of language use and language attitudes in the Yoruba speech community of Ikorodu is another of those sociolinguistic studies which rely on speakers' self-reports and opinions in the assessment of linguistic usage and linguistic attitudes within the context of a speech community.

The methodological problem of devising adequate techniques for obtaining reliable information about language use and attitudes towards language varieties or dialects has always confronted sociolinguistic researchers. Objectively measurable techniques such as judges' rating of speakers' styles using multiple-choice semantic differentials (d'Anglejan and Tucker, 1973), rating of speakers' personality traits from their style of speech or the variety of language they use (Lambert, 1967 and Giles, 1970), or the use of reaction tests (The Index of Linguistic Insecurity - Labov, 1966), have been variously employed to identify, fairly objectively, the several factors which contribute to the formation of opinions and the development of attitudes towards language use and language varieties. On the other hand, the use of opinion questions either in survey questionnaires or in interview situations toward particular forms of speech, a language

or dialect, still continues to have a place in on-going sociolinguistic investigations (See Labov, 1966 and Macaulay, 1975).

In many indigenous African communities, the low level of literacy coupled with the general lack of enthusiasm on the part of their inhabitants to trust the good intentions of researchers, render the use of sophisticated techniques for measuring language competence and language attitudes impracticable. This makes it necessary for the researcher to have recourse to informants' opinions and self-reports. It is believed that the viewpoint of a speaker toward his dialect or the dialect(s) of others has a useful purpose "if only to direct our attention more fully to the integral relationship which exists between the sociocultural status of a dialect and what speakers want to achieve by its usage" (Cole, 1975: 293).

In this study, I have relied, primarily on informants' self-reports on their language use, and their opinions about dialects and the speech communities that use them, all gathered from questionnaire responses and during taperecorded interviews and in addition to the variable patterns of phonological/phonetic and lexical changes or shifts as described in Chapter V, to determine the underlying sociolinguistic factors influencing language/dialect use and attitudes in the speech community.

The situation in Ikorodu bears certain parallels to Labov's (op.cit) findings concerning general attitudes towards the speech of New York City. The Negroes of New York City react primarily against features of Southern (American) English -- a situation in which the regional dialect speakers from the Lower South form a negative reference group for them. In Ikorodu the inhabitants react negatively towards Ijebu Rẹmọ speech, the sub-regional dialect aggregate to which they belong. The regional Ijebu-Rẹmọ sub-dialect speakers from Şagamu, Ikẹnnẹ, Ode Rẹmọ and from many other Ijebu-Rẹmọ towns and villages, form a negative reference group for them. In New York City, the white New Yorkers react against their own speech, and their image of it. For most informants, the effort to escape identification as a New Yorker by one's own speech, as Labov points out, provides a motivating force for phonological shifts and changes. In a similar way, the determination on the part of members of the Ikorodu speech community to avoid identification with Ijebu-Rẹmọ sub-dialect speech has given added impetus to the phonological/phonetic and lexical shifts going on in the dialect speech of the community. These shifts and changes will obviously rid Ikorodu dialect speech of the features of its Ijebu-Rẹmọ origin. The most obvious distinguishing characteristics of Rẹmọ speech, such as its [ɣ] -pronouncing, etc, (See Chapter V) have undergone complete phonetic change or substitution in Ikorodu speech.

But unlike New York City where "the dominant theme in the subjective evaluation of speech by New Yorkers is a profound linguistic insecurity which is connected with a long-standing pattern of negative prestige for New York City speech" (Labov op.cit:500), there is a profound linguistic self-pride in the opinions of Ikorodu citizens about their local speech form; an attitude which is reinforced by the feeling that their dialect speech has been rid of its Ijebu-Remo dialect traits, and has at last acquired a local and separate identity of its own. An additional factor which undoubtedly contributes to the community's linguistic selfconfidence is the fact that in addition to the use of the local dialect speech, there is widespread use of Eko, the Lagos urban variety of the Yoruba language. This is to be expected because, as a result of Ikorodu's long-standing socioeconomic and political orientation towards the city of Lagos, Lagos urban residents and members of the Ikorodu community who have been identified with Lagos urban norms form a positive reference group for the entire members of Ikorodu speech community.

In the following sections I shall examine the various dimensions of language use derivable from the opinions and self-reports polled from the 67 informants who constitute the sample for the Ikorodu sociolinguistic survey. I shall introduce a new dimension in the description and interpretation of language users' attitudes toward language varieties and the language communities that use

them; a dimension which seeks to relate subjective language opinions to informants' perception of their community's place, status and role within a sociocultural continuum straddling the two concepts which describe the contemporary image of the African traditional society. The concepts are traditionalism and modernity.

## 6.2. Patterns of language use in Ikorodu.

The linguistic situation in Ikorodu town is one of varying degrees of individual bilingualism and multi-dialectalism. In addition to the local variety of Ijebu dialect in use in the town, the Eko dialect has virtually become incorporated into the code repertoire of the speech community.

The ethnic composition of the community is predominantly Ijebu with about 95 per cent ethnic homogeneity. Yet, both Eko and Ijebu dialects are used interchangeably by members of the community. Individuals also command varying degrees of proficiency in Standard Yoruba and English, depending on the degree of formal school education each has acquired. Most inhabitants are very conscious of the community's state of bi-dialectalism and they are proud of it in so far as the acquisition of Lagos Yoruba as the community's second linguistic code differentiates them from the other Ijebu communities and reinforces their claim to a higher socio-economic status identifiable with their Lagos sub-urban location.

Questionnaire responses to questions about the pattern of language usage in the community indicate that both Eko and the local variety of the Ijebu dialect have widespread usage. While about 80 per cent of the sample checked Eko and Ijebu-Ikorodu (IKD) as the varieties most commonly used in the community, only 16 per cent (11 out of 67 informants) checked Ijebu (i.e. Remo type) as the dialect most commonly used. When the responses of the 11 informants who say that only Ijebu is most commonly used in the community are checked against their claimed preference in dialect usage, they were found to be the ones who show very strong emotional attachment to their local dialect. Two other informants actually indicate that members of the community use more Eko than Ijebu!

The various self-reports indicate that the use of Standard Yoruba is not very common except in formal gatherings like Church services in Christian denominations, and by a few educated persons in official situations. The use of English is limited to official settings like the Bank, the school, the Post Office, Local Government Councils and in encounters with non-Yoruba speakers.

Table 6.1 and 6.2 below show the on-the-spot self-assessment of the speaking competence of the 67 informants in the three varieties of Yoruba constituting the code-repertoire of the community, and also in the English language.

TABLE 6.1 SELF-REPORT ON SPEAKING COMPETENCE IN THREE YORUBA DIALECTS BY NO. OF INFORMANTS AND PERCENTAGE OF SAMPLE.

SPEAKING COMPETENCE	IJB		EKO		STD	
	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
None	5	(7.5)	4	(6.0)	7	(10.4)
A Little	9	(13.4)	8	(11.9)	25	(37.3)
Fluent	53	(79.1)	55	(82.1)	35	(52.3)

TABLE 6.2 SELF-REPORT ON SPEAKING AND READING COMPETENCES IN ENGLISH.

SPEAKING COMPETENCE	No. (%)	READING COMPETENCE	No. (%)
None at all	15 (22.4)	None at all	23 (34.4)
Pidgin only	9 (13.4)	With difficulty	7 (10.4)
A Little	19 (28.4)	Only newspapers	9 (13.4)
Fluent	24 (35.8)	Fluent	28 (41.8)

Over half of the sample (52.3 per cent) indicate that their speaking competence in Standard Yoruba is fluent. This is not surprising in view of the fact that a number of informants equate Lagos Yoruba with Standard Yoruba and for them speaking competence in Lagos Yoruba is equivalent to speaking competence in Standard Yoruba. But as soon as it is pointed out to them that Standard Yoruba is the variety that is often used by radio and



television announcers and news-broadcasters over the networks of the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation and the Western Nigeria Broadcasting Service, they admit that they do not actually use that variety very much.

On the other hand, as many as 55 out of a total of 67 informants (82 per cent) indicate that they command a fluent speaking competence in EKO. This number is greater than those who indicate having a fluent speaking competence in their ethnic dialect - (53 out of 67 informants or about 79 per cent).

When asked to indicate which of the following five varieties of Yoruba (Ijebu-Ode, Ijebu-Remo, Ijebu-Ikorodu, Eko and Standard Yoruba) they think they use most often, as many as 32 informants (47.8%) picked Ijebu-Ikorodu, that is their mother tongue, while only 17 out of 67 (25%) picked Eko. But another 17 informants (25%) indicate that they use both Ijebu-Ikorodu and Eko together most often. Only one informant indicates using Standard Yoruba most often.

Under another questionnaire item where informants are asked to indicate which language variety they think they use most often, and this time English being included in the list (English, Standard Yoruba, Eko, Ijebu, Ijebu with Eko) only 18 informants picked Ijebu, while 14 picked Eko and another 21 (about 31%) picked Ijebu with Eko. But as many as 12 picked English and this is made up of the young secondary school students in the sample. Only 2 informants indicate using Standard Yoruba.

6.2.1. Language Use and Situational Constraints.

Language usage in the Ikorodu speech community involves choice among several codes in the community's linguistic repertoire.<sup>1</sup> But the use of two of the codes and their attitudes towards each of them are of some considerable sociolinguistic interest. In addition to the local dialect, most members also use Eko, although with individual differences in fluency. In their day-to-day verbal interactions they select between the two codes as the situation demands, and they also engage in a considerable amount of code-switching in the normal run of conversations.

The ethnic homogeneity of the community would tend to suggest that the alternation between the local dialect and Eko should correspond to the alternation between 'in-group' and 'out-group' interactions. In other words, that in all casual interactions involving only members of the community, one would expect the choice of code to be mainly the local dialect while on the other hand, the use of Eko would be confined to encounters involving outsiders, that is, other Yoruba dialect speakers who do not understand the Ijebu dialect. What we find, however, deviates from this pattern.

The use of the Lagos variety of Yoruba has undoubtedly penetrated even the most intimate in-group interaction, that is, the family domain. Apart from verbal interactions involving parents, where more than half the sample claim the use of the local dialect, in

all other intra-family interactions involving the spouse (husband or wife), the children and siblings, less than half of our sample claim an exclusive use of the dialect, while the others claim to use either the Eko dialect exclusively or both Eko and the local dialect together.

Table 6.3 gives figures indicating the number (and percentages) of informants in the sample claiming the use of a particular dialect in series of domains of interaction involving persons and topics. In one culture-specific topic involving talking about the traditional festivals of Magbó and Liwè, and the Orò festival, over ten informants claim that they discuss it in the non-local dialect of Eko or Eko mixed with Ijèbu. One would have expected here that the use of the local dialect would almost inevitably be obligatory for the 62 informants who claim competence in the local dialect (see Table 6.1).<sup>2</sup>

The high figures for informants claiming the use of the local dialect in some of the contexts asterisked in Table 6.3 merit some comments. In context 6, involving verbal interaction in Ikorodu with townmates who have come from Lagos, just about half the sample claim that they use the local dialect, whereas in context 7 which involves verbal interaction with townmates outside Ikorodu, over 60 per cent of the sample claim the use of the local dialect. This clearly indicates the significance that is attached to shared local identity and dialect use.

SITUATIONAL CONSTRAINTS ON CODE CHOICE

Table 6.3

Speech Situations	IKD No. %	EXC No %	IKD&FKO No. %	STD No. %	OTHER No. %	N/A No. %
With Spouse	31 (46.3)	15 (22.4)	16 (23.9)	1 (1.5)	1 (1.5)	3 (4.5)
With Children	24 (35.8)	26 (38.8)	16 (23.9)	-	-	1 (1.5)
With Parents	46 (68.7)	13 (19.4)	7 (10.4)	-	1 (1.5)	-
With Siblings	35 (52.2)	19 (28.4)	12 (17.9)	-	1 (1.5)	-
With intimate friends	39 (58.2)	21 (31.3)	6 (9.0)	-	1 (1.5)	-
* Visiting townmates from Lagos	34 (50.7)	26 (38.8)	6 (9.0)	-	1 (1.5)	-
* With townmates from Ikorodu	42 (62.7)	20 (29.9)	3 (4.5)	1 (1.5)	1 (1.5)	-
* When discussing local customs	55 (82.1)	9 (13.4)	1 (1.5)	-	2 (3.0)	-
When discussing rates & taxes	44 (65.7)	17 (25.4)	3 (4.5)	1 (1.5)	1 (1.5)	1 (1.5)
In the local market	34 (50.7)	22 (32.8)	9 (13.4)	-	1 (1.5)	-
With other Ijebu	35 (52.2)	26 (38.8)	2 (3.0)	2 (3.0)	2 (3.0)	-
With a stranger.	20 (29.9)	42 (62.7)	2 (3.0)	3 (4.5)	-	-

Although the Ikorodu citizen may not bother about whether he uses Ijebu or Eko with his townmates while in Ikorodu, it is important for him to identify himself as an Ikorodu by speaking Ijebu to his fellow townsman whenever he is outside his hometown domain.

Gumperz has pointed out elsewhere (Gumperz: 1971) that in Hennesberget (Norway) a person's native speech is regarded as an integral part of his family background, "By identifying himself as a dialect speaker both at home and abroad, a member symbolizes pride in his community and in the distinctness of its contribution to society at large". It is curious though that while the Ikorodu man shows his strong sense of local identification by speaking his local dialect to his townsman outside the local community, he is not prepared to extend the same feeling of identification with his other kin in the Ijebu-speaking communities in the Remo and Ijebu-Ode districts. It has been pointed out earlier that these other groups constitute a negative reference group for members of the Ikorodu community. Ikorodu people maintain an attitude of social superiority over a considerable number of other Ijebu communities and this is given expression to in their linguistic behaviour or rather in their claimed linguistic behaviour towards them.<sup>3</sup>

In most verbal interactions involving other Ijebu-speaking people and themselves the Ikorodu people claim that they would prefer speaking Eko to them to speaking the Ijebu dialect. "Our dialect is quite different

from theirs and sometimes we find it difficult to understand what they are saying, especially the Remo people". Almost half the sample (Table 6.3) claim that they use dialects other than Ijebu to interact with non-Ikorodu Ijebu people. Some would even prefer to use Standard Yoruba when interacting with them.

Although the figures in Table 6.3 do not show a clear-cut identification of linguistic codes with particular speech domains, it becomes quite clear that the two dialect varieties which are predominantly used in the community are IKD and EKO. The sample is unevenly distributed in terms of their self-report on the use of codes in given situations. But two features of situational constraints on code choice can be observed from the table.

First, although the use of Eko has penetrated many of the domains of verbal interaction in the community, certain issues pertaining to local customs, traditional festivals and religious rites, associational activities based on purely traditional norms are still predominantly performed or discussed in the local dialect.

Second, verbal interaction within the family setting shows that less than 50 per cent of the sample report using the local dialect predominantly to talk to their spouses or children, although the community has a high percentage of ethnic homogeneity. A very large proportion of the sample report that they would use either

EKO or EKO with some IKD in such situations. This shows that the second generation families in the community are actively involved in the assimilating influence of EKO speech.

The over 60 per cent of the sample who say that they still use IKD to talk to their parents represent the adult speakers in the sample whose parents could be said to belong more to the first generation dialect speakers in the community.

### 6.3. Language Attitudes.

#### 6.3.1. Language Use and Language Attitudes.

At the start of the field work for this study, the draft questionnaire for the survey did not list 'Ijebu-Ikorodu, (IKD) among the code repertoires of the community. It was assumed that since Ikorodu belongs linguistically to the Remo sub-dialect group, the local dialect in use in the community would be the Ijebu-Remo variety. Hardly was it realized that so much weight could be given to so little phonetic variation between two local varieties of the same dialect!

Most of the educated citizens of Ikorodu with whom I had some preliminary discussions about the project quickly pointed out to me that members of the community do not accept Ijebu-Remo as the local dialect in use in Ikorodu. Rather, it is 'Ijebu-Ikorodu' which the people speak. They maintain that it is distinctly different from Ijebu-Remo.

'There is a closer similarity between Ijẹbu-Ikorodu and Eko dialect than there is between 'Ijẹbu-Ikorodu' and the Remo sub-variety', maintained one enthusiastic community leader. This is a sentiment that is shared by a large majority of the citizens of Ikorodu. The wider implications of such linguistically naive claims and the underlying attitudes that give expression to them form the focus of attention in this section.

I have discussed in some detail in Chapter IV the significant phonological/phonetic differences which characterize the three dialects in this study. The variety of Ijẹbu spoken in Ikorodu is as different from Eko as the other local varieties of Ijẹbu are. The two passages below represent (1) the Ijẹbu-Ikorodu version and (2) the Eko version of an informant's answer to an interviewer's question about whether or not it is true that certain people in Ikorodu no longer understand the local dialect. Both phonetic and lexical features distinguish the two versions, yet for reasons which will be elaborated later, members of the Ikorodu community maintain that IKD and EKO varieties of Yoruba are the same.

- (1) [é sónii fàì gbó kòòdú nǎwǎ ǎmǎ  
kòòdú. ǎ gbó jẹbú ó búsǎ, dede  
eni rée gbǎǎ. wǎ kè dè fàì fè sǎǎ  
torifǎǎ èkó jè mǎ wǎ nérǎ jù jẹbú  
lǎ. nitemi o, kimi rí nǎwǎ ǎmǎ  
eni ka é gbǎ kòòdú, kèmi birǎ nǎwǎ  
rè fǎ lǎgbájá ra, kó f'èkó  
dá mi nǎwǎ fǎ é sí nlé, mí dè níí  
birǎ urúkúrǎ nǎwǎ rè jù jè lǎ]



- (2) [kò séni tí kò sàì gbó kòòdú nínú àwǒ  
omǒ kòòdú. wǒ gbó jẹbú dáadáa.  
gbogbo wa la gbó. wǒ le saláì fée  
sǒǒ ntorikpé èkó jẹ mǒ wǒ lénu  
ju ijẹbú ló. ká lémi ni, tí mo bá  
rí 'nú àwǒ omǒ wa tó l'ouǒ ò gbó  
kòòdú, tí mbá beèrè lówóè kpé  
lágbatá gkǒ, t'obá f'ekó dá mi  
lòú wíkpe kò sí nlé, mímí beèrè  
gkǒ mi i lówó èfu bé è ló].

(There is no one in Ikorodu who doesn't understand the Ikorodu dialect. Everyone understands Ijẹbu perfectly well. We all understand it. Some people may not want to speak it because they are more fluent in Eko than in Ijẹbu. As for me, if I come across any of these young ones who pretend not to understand the Ikorodu dialect, and I enquire (in Ijẹbu) about the whereabouts of somebody, if he answers back in Eko instead of in Ijẹbu, I will refuse to talk to him any further.)

A good deal of my observations on the attitudes of the speakers towards their local dialect and the other varieties of the Yoruba language derive from the analysis of informants' responses to specific questionnaire items relating to dialect choice, usage and intelligibility in addition to direct answers to interview questions. In other words, in a situation in which speakers are left to give self-reports on their linguistic behaviour, attitudinal considerations cannot but be brought into their judgments. Such attitudes may relate specifically to the linguistic codes in question, or they may essentially be speakers'

attitudes towards the people or the community using the linguistic codes.

In a largely ethnically homogeneous community such as is being studied here, it is difficult to separate the indices of general attitudes from those of language attitudes. There is a commonality of purpose and members are unanimous in their expression of opinions with regard to their local dialect and its relationship with the other dialects. Opinions about the other dialects reflect not only what one might call sub-ethnic prejudices, but also, in some significant ways, the peoples' assessment of the utilitarian function of such dialects. Those dialects which are used in areas far away from the large urban centres of Lagos, Ibadan and Abeokuta are regarded as being too localised and ugly to be of any value except to those who use them. Here the factor of dialect contiguity or dialect distance alone does not determine the informants' claim of intelligibility or lack of it in each of the Yoruba dialects listed. A lot depends on their evaluation of the cultural status and the socioeconomic prestige attached to a particular dialect and the people who speak it.

In Table 6.4, the various proportions of the sample indicating intelligibility in the various dialects in (a) tend to suggest that there is a consideration of the degree of geographical distance in informants' rating

of their intelligibility in the dialects. Whereas in (b) where informants are asked to indicate their speaking ability in the various dialects, only Eko and Standard Yoruba seem to have significantly large numbers of informants indicating speaking competence in them (94% and 79% respectively). Only 18 out of 67 informants (about 27 per cent) indicate having speaking competence in the Ijebu dialect. The question did not offer a choice between 'Ijebu-Ikorodu' and the other varieties, rather only the three regional sub-dialects (Ijebu-Remo, Ijebu-Ode and Ijebu Waterside) were listed, and informants were told that an indication by them of their speaking ability in one of them would be regarded as an indication of speaking competence in the Ijebu dialect. Yet a large majority of them gave a negative response. This is an expression of an attitude that is consistent with the community's negative reaction to any form of sub-regional, as opposed to a sub-urban, identity. If they accept that they have some speaking competence in the supra-local variety (i.e. Ijebu-Remo variety) of the Ijebu dialect, they would be ascribing to themselves some form of regional identity. And this is precisely what they do not want to do. They are a part and parcel of the urban community of Lagos!

Another way in which I indirectly tapped the general attitudes of the informants toward some of the dialects was by asking them to indicate which of five

dialects (Table 6.5) they (i) know best, (ii) know least, and (iii) consider to be the best, or preferred. There can be no doubt about the expression of a positive attitude towards the mother tongue dialect (over 60 per cent of the sample consider it to be the best dialect while over 70 per cent claim to know it best). On the other hand, the negative attitude towards the Ijebu-Remo variety is reflected in the fact that more than half the sample (55 per cent) claim to know it the least of all, a figure which is far greater than those who claim to know the more distant Ijebu-Ode variety least of all (24 out of 67 or 35.8%). No one claims to know it best and no one considers it to be the best dialect. The Ijebu-Ode variety is also subjected to some of this negative reaction.

The expression of a strong positive attitude toward the mother tongue language or dialect is a reflection of the degree of identification with one's ethnic origin or background. In multilingual or multidialectal/multi-ethnic communities, an individual's formal affiliation to a language or dialect may be a component of this ethnic identity. In most cases, positive identification with a mother tongue language or dialect does signal some measure of loyalty to one's ethnic or sub-ethnic ties.

Standard	1	(1.5)	5	(7.5)	12	(16.4)
Ikorodu	48	(71.6)	1	(1.5)	42	(61.2)
	67	(100.0)	67	(100.0)	67	...../259.

TABLE 6.4 CLAIMED COMPETENCE IN VARIOUS DIALECTS OF YORUBA BY NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF SAMPLE.

(a) RECEPTIVE COMPETENCE

<u>Dialect</u>	<u>INTELLIGIBLE</u>		<u>NOT INTELLIGIBLE</u>	
	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
Ijẹbu	60	(89.6)	7	(10.4)
Ọyọ/Ibadan	54	(80.6)	13	(19.4)
Eko	67	(100.0)	-	-
Ijẹsha	19	(28.4)	48	(71.6)
Standard Yoruba	66	(98.5)	1	(1.5)
Ekiti	15	(22.4)	52	(77.6)
Ẹgba	51	(76.1)	16	(23.9)
Ọwọ	7	(10.4)	60	(89.6)
Ondo/Ikalẹ/Ilaјẹ	19	(28.4)	48	(71.6)

(b) SPEAKING COMPETENCE

<u>Dialect</u>	<u>CAN SPEAK IT</u>		<u>CANNOT SPEAK IT</u>	
	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
Ijẹbu	18	(26.9)	49	(73.1)
Ọyọ/Ibadan	12	(17.9)	55	(82.1)
Eko	63	(94.0)	4	(6.0)
Ijẹsha	1	(1.5)	66	(98.5)
Standard Yoruba	53	(79.1)	14	(20.9)
Ekiti	2	(3.0)	65	(97.0)
Ẹgba	14	(20.9)	53	(79.1)
Ọwọ	-	-	67	(100.0)
Ondo	2	(3.0)	65	(97.0)

TABLE 6.5 SELF-REPORT ON COMPETENCE AND DIALECT PREFERENCE.

<u>Dialect</u>	<u>Known Best</u>		<u>Known Least</u>		<u>Considered to be the Best.</u>	
	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
Ijẹbu-Ode	-	-	24	(35.8)	-	-
Ijẹbu-Rẹmọ	-	-	37	(55.2)	-	-
Eko	18	(26.9)	-	-	15	(22.4)
Standard Yoruba	1	(1.5)	5	(7.5)	11	(16.4)
Ikorodu	48	(71.6)	1	(1.5)	41	(61.2)
	67	(100.0)	67	(100.0)	67	(100.0)

In a preliminary report on the survey of language attitudes in Ghana (The Madina Project, Ghana), Jack Berry (1971:318-333) observes that in the sub-urban settlement of Madina, near Accra, where over 80 different languages are spoken natively by the residents, there is little evidence of language shift in individuals. "For nearly every respondent, the mother tongue is still the first language. There is strong loyalty to it. In no case was the mother tongue listed as a language disliked, and very frequently it was cited as the one preferred, often explicitly because it was the mother tongue" (p.325). Similar sentiments about the mother tongue were generally expressed by most respondents in Ikorodu as the figures in Tables 6.6 and 6.7 show.

But the significant dimension to the Ikorodu situation is that loyalty to the mother tongue is guaranteed provided 'mother tongue' is interpreted as that variety which is only co-extensive with their hometown identity. Although the Ijebu dialect spoken in Ikorodu is but a part of the Ijebu-Rẹmọ variety, this supra-local label is positively rejected by members of the Ikorodu speech community.

#### 6.3.2 Components of the Socio-cultural dimension to Language Attitudes.

The data from the Ikorodu study of language use and language competence are similar to D.J. Parkin's (op.cit) data on language use in Nairobi, that is, self-reports on language use and language competence. The underlying factors of ethnicity and socio-economic ties which Parkin found as governing the language behaviour

of individuals in small groups in two Nairobi housing estates are similarly relevant in the description of language use and language attitudes in the Ikorodu speech community.

But Parkin's analysis of the self-report data on language use in Nairobi in terms of situational networks relating to the home and workplace domains underlines the transactional approach which his study projects. In the Ikorodu study, I regard the data from informant's self-reports on dialect use, dialect competence and dialect preference as constituting various dimensions of attitudinal considerations. In other words, the patterns of dialect competence and dialect use as reported by my informants can be seen against the background of the community's evaluation of certain norms within the socio-cultural milieu. These are norms by which language use and language attitudes in the Ikorodu community can be assessed.

I will state these normative features as dichotomous components in the socio-cultural setting, viz:

ethnic identity versus ethnic neutrality  
parochialism versus cosmopolitanism  
regionalism versus sub-urbanity  
conservatism versus progressiveness  
illiteracy versus literacy.

These components relate in some way to the super-ordinate factors of 'traditionalism' and 'modernity' which reflect the contemporary image of indigenous communities in Africa. Behavioural patterns which demonstrate or suggest some form of ethnic identification, parochialism, regionalism, conservatism and illiteracy are associated with traditionalism with varying degrees of evaluative judgments. On the other hand behavioural patterns which

demonstrate ethnic neutrality, cosmopolitanism, suburbanity and high literacy are valued by many as elements of modernity and progressiveness.

Traditionally oriented attitudes and beliefs of members of local communities do come into conflict with and are sometimes modified in favour of attitudes and beliefs which are associated with progressive (or 'civilized') norms of behaviour. These norms may exemplify individual or communal orientation toward 'modern' socio-economic patterns of life. In such circumstances certain elements of the culture of a people or a community start to undergo modification or change in the direction of the favoured reference group. Language (or dialect) change may be one of the inevitable results of the assimilatory processes in socio-cultural change (See Wolfram 1974).

In matters relating to socio-cultural change, considerable influence is exerted by those who constitute 'the agents of change' (Barth 1969: 32), that is, the persons normally referred to somewhat ethno-centrally as 'the new elites'. As Barth points out, these are the persons in the less industrialized community with greater contact and more dependence on the goods and organizations of industrialized societies. In their pursuit of participation in wider social systems to obtain new forms of value, their interpretation or evaluation of the dichotomous components of the socio-



cultural setting will depend on the choice they make between the three basic strategies open to them.

(Barth. op.cit).

One, they may attempt to pass and become incorporated in the pre-established industrial (and/or cosmopolitan) society and cultural group. The inevitable consequence of following that strategy would be that their local community would remain as a culturally conservative society with low rank in the larger social system, having been denuded of its socio-economically progressive members.

Two, they may accept a 'minority' status, accommodate to and seek to reduce their minority disabilities by 'encapsulating all cultural differentiae in sectors of non-articulation', while participating in the larger system of the industrialized or cosmopolitan group in other sectors of activity. The choice of this strategy would eventually lead to the assimilation of the minority group.

Three, they may choose to emphasize ethnic or sub-ethnic identity (in the case of the Ikorodu community - 'hometown identity'), using it to develop new positions and patterns to organize activities in those sectors formerly not found in their society, or inadequately developed for new purposes. This strategy happens to be the one adopted by the innovators<sup>4</sup> in the Ikorodu community in their socio-economic and political relationship with the wider urban society of Lagos.

Their interpretation and evaluation of the components of the socio-cultural setting reflect their perception of the role and status of themselves or their community in the niche which they now occupy in the larger system. Each item in the dichotomous components (except illiteracy versus literacy)<sup>5</sup> is capable of being subjected to either positive or negative interpretation. In the Ikorodu community, the first item of each dichotomous pair, except ethnic identity' is negatively evaluated. In other words, parochialism, regionalism, conservatism, all have negative connotations, in view of the aspirations of the community which are in the direction of those features associated with modernity.

Ethnic identity cannot be negatively evaluated by them since this would amount to a repudiation of their sub-ethnic origin, but their perception of sub-ethnic identity can be modified to reflect their concern with only 'hometown' identity. Although this will not guarantee complete ethnic neutrality within the cosmopolitan set-up in which they participate, being 'Ikorodu' as opposed to being 'Ijebu' guarantees that they would be free from the prejudices that people generally have toward the Ijebu sub-ethnic group.<sup>6</sup>

The relationship between these factors and linguistic attitudes can be seen in terms of the extent to which the evaluation of these factors affects the linguistic behaviour of members of the Ikorodu speech community,

and the degree to which their attitudes towards each component are reflected in their opinions about and their attitudes towards (a) the Ijebu regional dialect (b) the local variety of it spoken in Ikorodu and (c) Eko, the Lagos variety of Yoruba.

The Ijebu regional dialect represents, so far as members of the Ikorodu speech community are concerned, the dimension of parochialism, regionalism, conservatism all of which are negatively evaluated according to the socio-cultural norms of the Ikorodu community. This accounts for why their attitude toward the Ijebu-Rẹmọ regional variety is negative. On the ~~other~~ hand, Lagos Yoruba is associated with the cosmopolitan norms of Lagos urban society, it is the dialect associated with the modern progressive socio-economic values of the city. Its acquisition and use will enhance the suburban status of the Ikorodu community. 'Ijebu-Ikorodu' is desirable because it guarantees that the community has a mother tongue dialect and that they (members of the community) do have an ethnic identity although it is being deliberately restricted to hometown identity.

In Tables 6.6 to 6.8, I present more data to show the extent to which attitudinal and non-attitudinal considerations are brought to bear on speakers' self-reports on the frequency of language/dialect usage and the considerations of dialect preference. As a follow-up on the questionnaire items requiring respondents to indicate which dialect(s) they consider to be the best

(preference), and which language/dialect they use most often; they were asked to give two reasons for their choice in each case. All the reasons given for preferring one dialect, or for using it most often were listed in their order of divergence from purely linguistic or pragmatic considerations to the more general attitudinal or emotional considerations relating to socio-cultural factors. For example:

Reasons given for considering Ijebu-Ikorodu to be the best dialect/for using it most often.

- i. The only dialect I can speak.
- ii. I have better proficiency in it.
- iii. I interact mainly with people in Ikorodu.
- iv. It is the dialect most commonly used around me.
- v. I want to improve my proficiency in it.
- vi. I live mainly in Ikorodu/I am not mobile.
- vii. It is the language of my fatherland/My mother tongue.
- viii. It is good, fluent and better than other dialects.
- ix. It serves as a bond of affinity/To identify myself with my hometown.

In analysing these responses, I regard reasons i - vi as indicating pragmatic considerations while vii - ix are purely emotional. Since informants were required to give two reasons each for their choice, the sample was then grouped in terms of whether each individual's reasons were purely 'pragmatic', 'emotional' or both.

TABLE 6:6

REPORTED REASONS FOR DIALECT PREFERENCE BY  
NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF SAMPLE.

Reasons	IKD (N = 41)	EKO (N = 15)	STD (N = 11)	TOTAL (N = 67)
Pragmatic	-	7 (46.7)	4 (36.4)	11 (16.4)
Emotional	32 (78.0)	5 (33.3)	4 (36.4)	41 (61.2)
Both	9 (22.0)	3 (20.0)	3 (27.2)	15 (22.4)

TABLE 6:7

REPORTED REASONS FOR FREQUENCY OF DIALECT USAGE.

Reasons	IKD (N = 32)	EKO (N = 17)	EKO & IKD (N = 17)	STD (N = 1)	TOTAL (N = 67)
Pragmatic	7 (21.9)	15 (88.2)	17 (100.)	1 (100.)	40 (59.7)
Emotional	9 (28.1)	1 (5.9)	-	-	10 (14.9)
Both	16 (50.0)	1 (5.9)	-	-	17 (25.4)

TABLE 6:8

REPORTED REASONS FOR FREQUENCY OF LANGUAGE/DIALECT USAGE.

Reasons	IKD (N = 18)	EKO (N = 14)	EKO & IKD (N = 21)	STD (N = 2)	ENG (N = 12)
Pragmatic	6 (33.3)	13 (92.9)	15 (71.4)	2 (100.)	12 (100.)
Emotional	4 (22.2)	-	2 (9.5)	-	-
Both	8 (44.5)	1 (7.1)	4 (19.1)	-	-

These figures show that emotional considerations are more prominent in speakers' judgement about language/dialect preference (Table 6.6). Out of the 41 respondents who select their local dialect, 32 (i.e. 78 per cent) gave emotional or socio-cultural reasons for preferring it. And more than 60 per cent of the sample (41 out of 67) gave emotional reasons for preferring one or the other of the three varieties of Yoruba listed. But when it comes to the reasons for the claimed frequency of language/dialect usage, pragmatic or purely linguistic considerations are reported to be paramount (See Tables 6.7 and 6.8).

The conclusion to be drawn from this study is that language attitudes, especially in multi-lingual and/or bi-dialectal situations, in many indigenous African community's are very much tied up with the acceptable behavioral norms in the socio-cultural setting. Loyalty to the mother tongue is a function of the degree of identification with the folk culture. But where socio-economic considerations and political aspirations warrant significant modifications to a group or a community's life style and behavioral patterns, such modifications are inevitably carried over to the linguistic behaviour of members of the community, and their attitudes towards the linguistic codes in use will be a reflection of their positive or negative evaluation of the relevant components of the sociocultural setting.

CHAPTER VII

7.0. DIMENSIONS OF CODE-SWITCHING IN THE VERBAL BEHAVIOUR OF MEMBERS OF THE IKORODU SPEECH COMMUNITY.

7.1. The General Background.

My description, so far, of the various aspects of variation in the linguistic behaviour of members of the Ikorodu speech community has shown that speech usage involves choice among alternatives belonging to what can safely be identified as more than one code or speech variety (i.e. dialects).

The various studies of urban dialectology and social dialects in America and the United Kingdom have demonstrated convincingly that even within a single dialect system, variation correlates highly with social factors, situational as well as linguistic constraints. In the same way, studies of some regional/ethnic dialect situations have shown that in the multi-code systems of dialect cluster or dialect contact situations, the patterns of variability in speech usage are found to correlate with socio-cultural factors of varying degrees of similarities to and differences from those which operate in social dialect situations.

This study, in addition to many others which have been undertaken, or are currently being undertaken in multi-lingual communities (See Gumperz 1964, 1967, 1972; Sankoff G. 1971), demonstrates that the various speech variables in the community's linguistic repertoire combine to form clusters which have particular 'social meanings' as defined by members of the speech community in relation to the social norms and value systems adopted or being projected by the community. Thus, the analysis of code-switching as a variable component of the verbal behaviour of members of the community, is of considerable sociolinguistic interest in so far as it contributes to our understanding of the social significance of alternative code usage in verbal communication in bilingual (or bi-dialectal) situations.

I have indicated elsewhere in this thesis that the bi-dialectal situation in Ikorodu reflects the dual nature of the community's value orientation and normative behaviour. On the one hand, adherence to traditional local 'ethnic' or hometown identity necessitates the continued use of the local dialect. On the other hand, active participation of individual members of the community in the 'modern' economic, social and political activities of urban Lagos coupled with the community's general orientation towards modernity and progressiveness symbolized by the city of Lagos, necessitates the widespread use of the Èko dialect in the community.



Thus, in both inter-individual and intra-group verbal interactions code-switching occurs in accordance with the degree of interplay of socio-cultural factors which are present in the speech situation. In other words, the alternation between codes (i.e. between Ijebu and Eko varieties of Yoruba, and even the English language sometimes) is related to speaker's alternation between the dual socio-cultural norms and values acceptable in the community. Code-switching is the surface realization of an underlying process in which the socio-cultural factors of status, integrity and self-pride, which derive variously from an individual's local and/or city connections, are manipulated for the purpose of achieving effective communicative ends.

## 7.2. Theoretical Perspectives.

Some of the theoretical issues which a comprehensive analysis of code-switching ought to address itself to are among those issues which have also become central to the disciplines of sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics. Current discussions in sociolinguistic circles have been focussing attention on the following issues which bear considerable relevance to the analysis of code-switching in verbal behaviour: (i) the communicative competence of the bilingual or bi-dialectal speaker, (ii) the psychological or mental processes associated with the selection of codes in a speaker's verbal behaviour and

(iii) the social meaning of code-switching. The third issue here is one that is central to my analysis of code-switching in the Ikorodu speech community; therefore, only very brief comments will be given on the first two.

#### 7.2.1. Communicative Competence.

The discussion on the communicative competence of the bilingual/bi-dialectal speaker has received considerable insight from the general elaboration of 'competence' as given by Hymes who draws a distinction between competence as seen from the point of view of linguistic theory emanating from the Chomskyan model, and what Hymes himself calls sociolinguistic competence or 'communicative competence'. Hymes points out that linguistic theory treats competence in terms of "the child's acquisition of the ability to produce, understand and discriminate any and all of the grammatical sentences of a language". He suggests that a child from whom any and all of the grammatical sentences of a language might come with equal likelihood would be a "social monster". "Within the social matrix in which it acquires a system of grammar a child acquires also a system of its use, regarding persons, places, purposes, other modes of communication, etc -- all the components of communicative events, together with attitudes and beliefs regarding them" (Hymes 1974:75).

The position that is taken in this study is that the ability to switch codes in response to, and as appropriate to the communicative events in the speech situation is a function, not only of the linguistic competence of the speaker in the two codes at his disposal, but also of his communicative competence and that a thorough analysis of the interacting components in the speech situation is an important contribution to a sociolinguistic theory of speech usage. The analysis of the social meaning of code-switching as will be given in later sections is intimately connected with our understanding of speakers' communicative competence, and recourse will be had, from time to time in this analysis, to the underlying communicative competence which governs speakers' choice among the codes available in their speech repertoires.

#### 7.2.2. The Psychological Mechanism of Code-Switching.

An early indication of the possible attention that could be given to the phenomenon of code-switching in psycholinguistic research was given by Weinreich in his reference to the findings of neurological research which hypothesized the existence of an anatomically localized centre in bilinguals. Weinreich (1953: 71-72) reports that "a partial neurological theory of bilingualism was formulated, according to which there exists at the posterior edge of the Sylvian fossa and in the adjoining parietal regions of the brain a special language switching mechanism".

Psycholinguistic researches into the language choice or code-switching mechanisms employed by bilingual individuals have progressed beyond the anatomical explanations of three decades ago. Considerable interest is being focussed on the psychological aspects of language acquisition and language usage by bilinguals/bidialectals. (See Lambert, W.E. 1967 and W. Mackey, 1970). Findings from these studies and many others are of considerable importance to a sociolinguistic study of code-switching.

### 7.2.3. The Social Meaning of Code-Switching.

The increasing emphasis in sociolinguistic researches on the study of speech usage within the context of a speech community in terms of the relevant social categories which influence the choice of codes in verbal behaviour and the resultant social meanings attached to such choices makes it possible for us to examine code-switching within a **powerful** theory of language usage. This theory maintains that verbal interaction is a social process in which utterances are selected in accordance with socially recognized norms and expectations.

Gumperz maintains that in the analysis of verbal interactions, social categories and social roles, such as status, role relationships, social and cultural identities, social relationships, can be treated as 'communicative symbols'. "They are signalled in the act of speaking and have a function in the communication process which is akin to that of syntax in the communication of referential meaning. Just as grammatical knowledge enables the

speaker to distinguish potentially meaningful sentences from non-sentences, knowledge of the social values associated with the activities, social categories and social relationships implied in the message is necessary in order to understand the situated meaning of a message, i.e. its interpretation in a particular context" (Gumperz 1972:99).

The interaction between linguistic forms and social categories in the communication process varies from society to society. Societies range from linguistically 'homogeneous' monolingual communities at one end, to linguistically heterogeneous communities with widespread multilingualism at the other end. But the phenomenon of choice among alternate codes be it in terms of style as in the former, or in terms of language or dialect as in the latter communities, if seen within the total network of communication as a social process will reveal significant social meanings.

In the Ikorodu speech community under study, the varieties (i.e. dialects) of Yoruba which are in constant use can be said to be related within a 'system' because they are related to a shared set of social norms. Both have become indices of social patterns of interaction in the speech community. The choice of one dialect has similar signification as the selection among phonological, lexical, or syntactic alternates in monolingual communities.

Gumperz (1971:115, and in many of his studies of language use in the Indian sub-continent) asserts that in many instances of verbal interaction in multilingual or bi-dialectal communities, two or more grammars (in the same way as the dialect varieties in use in Ikorodu) may be required to cover the entire scope of linguistically acceptable expressions that serve to convey social meanings. What sociolinguistics (or 'sociolinguistic rules' for that matter Sankoff, G. 1972:41) does, therefore, is to enable us to explain the social meaning or the significance of choices or decisions (not necessarily conscious) on the part of speakers among alternates or variants carrying other than strictly referential meaning.

Two types of speech situations are analysed in subsequent sections. The underlying socio-psychological considerations which seem to govern speakers' alternation between codes are slightly different in each type of speech situation.

In the casual conversational type of speech situation, speakers tend to talk about issues of local and traditional significance, or those that are associated with their earliest emotional and social experiences in the community in the local variety of the Ijebu dialect. But whenever the conversation switches to, or it is necessary to refer to or recall events or issues which have some supra-local significance, or those that are specifically connected with their participation in Lagos urban norms and activities, code-switching

generally takes place and informants tend to use the Lagos variety of Yoruba. It becomes obvious, therefore, that although speakers can talk about or discuss these issues exclusively in one code or the other, their alternation between codes suggests some kind of conscious or unconscious mental living or reliving of activities or events connected with their dual experiences which are given expression to in the pattern of code alternation.

In the more formal type of speech situations associated with 'association' or communal meetings, the pattern of code-switching reflects more generally individual differences in social attributes and linguistic ability. The more widely travelled members of the community, the more educated, and those who have had extensive contact with the city of Lagos including those whose success in business derives from their business connections with the city, control more repertoire range than the more local members of the community. They tend to demonstrate this in their ability to switch from the local dialect to Eko/Standard Yoruba, and to English, while the more local members of the community use the local dialect mainly.

Code-switching among the former is not necessarily arbitrary, but is still related to the usual constraining factors of topic, setting, participants, and so on. But, in addition, there is another important dimension to the analysis of code-switching in this speech community. One

significant feature of the rapid socio-cultural change which the Ikorodu community is undergoing at the moment is the high social mobility which characterizes the pattern of life in the community. Upward social mobility of individuals is demonstrated in the display of material wealth, of financial success, and also in educational success in terms of the acquisition of high status posts in government institutions. All of these are generally positively evaluated in the community. It appears, therefore, that the parameters for social evaluation in the community are equally extended to the evaluation, in terms, of social significance, of the linguistic behaviour of members of the community.

Since there appears to be some close correlation between the acquisition of some of these social attributes and the control of some or all of the non-local linguistic codes, the linguistic behaviour of some members of the community, especially in formal speech situations where speech making seems to be competitive and 'point scoring', tends to exhibit something of an unconscious (or conscious?) manipulation of some social attributes in alternating between codes in the communicative situation. The speaker with a high school education or above, who switches to English in the middle of a speech on the composition of their association's representation at the zonal level, does so not necessarily because he cannot express this in the local dialect but perhaps because he wishes to demonstrate his expert knowledge



on such an issue by virtue of his experience and educational background.

### 7.3. Speech Situations and Natural Speech Data.

So much emphasis is currently being placed on the need for gathering sociolinguistic data within the context of the speech community. In so doing, it becomes possible to isolate settings in which verbal interactions take place and in which a considerable amount of natural speech occurs. And since a speech community is defined as "a community sharing knowledge of rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech" (Hymes 1974:51), the speech data so gathered cannot but reflect the social attitudes and the social meanings which members of the community attach to the alternation among the various codes or the dialect varieties in use in the community speech repertoire.

I take as my point of departure the analysis of verbal interaction primarily as an exercise in the analysis of discourse in social context. Discourse can be seen along several dimensions (as texts, speech acts, speech events, speech genres, varieties, stylistic range, etc.)<sup>1</sup> and this offers a wider scope for examining specific sequences of discourse units as speech events in specific speech situations.

The data on which the analysis of code switching in Ikorodu is based derive from the tape recordings of: (1) informal conversations during the individual interviews with

the 67 informants who constitute the sample for this study and (2) the proceedings of two separate 'association' or communal meetings<sup>2</sup> which were held in the town during the period the field work was in progress. These two situations of speech usage provide very rich data for a thorough-going sociolinguistic insight into the pattern of verbal behaviour among members of the community.

Section 7.4.1 below contains an analysis of code-switching in 4 simple conversations in an interview situation between particular individual informants and the two interviewers (my research assistants) who are themselves members of the local community. The language of the interview in most cases is the local Ijebu dialect of the community. In section 7.4.2 code-switching is examined within the context of what I call public speaking or 'open talk' in a communal non-traditional meeting, (Texts 5-8 ) and the various socio-cultural factors which give code-switching some measure of social meaning are examined in detail.

#### 7.4. Simple Conversations as Speech Events in Individual Interview Situations.

It is often argued that the interview situation is usually not the best setting for gathering naturally occurring speech data in view of the constraint of formality that is generated in an interviewer-informant encounter. As it often happens in such encounters, the researcher/interviewer is usually an outsider, and this makes it difficult (in a

number of cases) for informants to feel sufficiently relaxed to engage in lengthy casual conversations.

This study improves on this methodology by introducing two types of controls in order to induce informants to talk without any inhibitions. First, the interview schedule was designed to make informants talk at length about events and topics related to the traditional life and customs of the people of Ikorodu in a historical time perspective, and also about the pattern of contemporary life in the community.

Second, the two informants are local inhabitants, born and bred in Ikorodu. The difference in age between them was a factor which worked in our favour all through the interviews. The younger informants were put at ease and were often ready to engage in conversations as soon as they saw the younger interviewer in the group. They share similar modes of speaking, similar value systems and normative behaviour.

On the other hand, older informants would have been very difficult to interview but for the presence of the older interviewer who belongs to the peer group of the adults in the sample.

The technique employed here bears some similarity to that used by Labov and his associates in their study, 'BEV' or Language in the Inner City, (Labov 1972). In their technique Labov et al utilized a schedule of topics, specifying in exact detail some transitions and questions, which enabled them to elicit casual speech, or what Labov calls

'narratives of personal experience' in which the speaker becomes deeply involved in or reliving events of his past.

Labov (1972) demonstrates that since the topics and events which speakers talk about relate to experiences and emotions which form part of their background, they seem to undergo partial reliving of such experiences, and are no longer free to monitor their own speech as they normally would do in face-to-face interviews. However, Labov admits that the interactive effect of the outside observer was still not effectively controlled in the 1972 study.

In the Ikorodu study, the emphasis was on talking, not only about the past but also about the present in a series of discourse exchanges among 'locals' and this gave the whole communicative event a naturalness that is not drastically different from the daily routines of verbal interaction among members of the community.

Labov refers to speech data elicited by his method as 'narratives' and defines narrative as "one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which (it is inferred) actually occurred" (Labov 1972:359).

In this analysis, the term 'simple conversations' is preferred to Labov's 'narrative' because the term 'narrative' becomes a little confusing in a Yoruba cultural context in which 'narration' or 'story-telling' is an important speech event in the folklore culture of the traditional society.<sup>3</sup>

Although the conversational exchanges occurred in what was, by design, an interview situation, in actual practice the verbal event turned out to be a chit-chat or a friendly conversation among three (and sometimes more) participants who share a common knowledge of past and contemporary events, a common core of social norms and value expectations in the community culture. My position as the researcher became that of a passive observer and the technician handling the technical aspect of the tape recordings.

In all these conversations, speakers not only recalled events and episodes which have happened in their life-time, or those that were handed down to them through the oral tradition, they also live and relive series of experiences which are associated with specific norms and values. The experiences are talked about in a series of code alternations, or recalled in the appropriate code or dialect which reveals their normative socio-cultural associations or meanings.

The value systems associated with the local or folk culture are talked about in the local dialect, events which occurred in ~~the~~ community when contact with the city of Lagos was still limited are recounted in Ijebu. On the other hand, value systems which represent the contemporary aspirations of the community vis-a-vis Lagos city life trigger off a switch to Lagos Yoruba.

Since there is a constant alternation, during the duration of each interview, in the references to episodes connected with this dual socio-cultural attachment, speakers' verbal behaviour exhibits corresponding alternation in codes. These code-switches may not necessarily be conscious, but they are meaningful when examined in relation to the social and psychological associations which they have for both the interviewers and the informants.

#### 7.4.1. ANALYSIS I.

In this analysis I take the totality of the verbal interaction that takes place during the interview as a piece of discourse or as a simple informal conversation. Each successive question and answer or comment is a discourse unit or a speech event within which code-switching may or may not take place. Sometimes, code-switching takes place across discourse units.

I do not attempt to analyse the whole of a piece of discourse, rather, a selection of sequences of discourse units within a conversational unit is made. The term 'text' is used here in a non-technical sense as a label for the transcribed discourse units isolated for analysis from a particular piece of discourse or a conversational unit between the informant(s) and the **interviewers**.

The technique which is adopted in transcribing the conversations is described briefly here: All instances of speech in the local dialect are transcribed phonetically, and enclosed in square brackets, without giving any detailed allophonic variants. All instances of Eko/Standard Yoruba are transcribed using the orthographic conventions for Standard Yoruba. A nasal vowel is indicated when a vowel is followed by the nasal consonant n. When the vowels e and o have a dot indicated under them (i.e. ẹ and ọ they stand for the open vowels [ɛ] and [ɔ] ). All occurrences of English words, phrases and sentences are underlined. If a loan English word has been completely assimilated into the phonological structure of Yoruba and is pronounced that way, it may or may not be underlined. A dash (-) is used to indicate the point at which code-switching is initiated, and terminated if the termination does not coincide with the end of the discourse unit. Continuons dots indicate hesitations, pause etc.

#### Text I

In this text, the informant is a 63 year-old woman who having lived in Lagos for a number of years as a successful textile trader, has now returned to settle permanently in Ikorodu her hometown. She has a moderate textile shop in the town. She must have been a popular 'society' woman by the standards of both Ikorodu and Lagos, and although age is telling on her, she looks very well and is still very much admired and regarded as the 'matron' of the youths in the community.

The part of the interview which is analysed here begins with the interviewer asking her opinion about the extent to which the social life of Ikorodu has changed since she was a young girl, and what type of changes these have been (1,3). She confirms that there have been very many changes (2) the difference between then and now being that people were rather backward in those days, they were somehow 'uncivilized' (4). So far, she has said everything in the local dialect. Then she goes on to illustrate her point by referring to the state of textile trade those days when there was not much money around and clothing materials were very cheap compared with today. Involvement in the textile trade was something she personally experienced and she immediately switches to Eko to talk about it:

(3) INTERVIEWER: [kúró ijàtò èsí o?]  
'What are the differences?'

(4) 049 [o Jé .....ijàtò é wà  
né ..... ijàtò é wà nê ré,  
o jú eni là ni je lóó ... ko  
m' gbó mi ....] — a şo ọpá  
lásikò nẹẹ, a şo ọpá náin, sisi,  
a n' r'ọpá mārūn ... ó le şe  
şilè mēta àbò ló maa parí è,  
şilè mērin ló maa parí a şo yēn,  
bùbá, ó le şe şilè kọn, ó le şe  
náin ló maa parí è — [o jú eni  
ó ń'òòkù] — aa mọ ñkọn yàtò sí  
kọn.

('Thank you. The difference is this:  
we were rather backward ('uncivilized')  
those days Are you following me? ---



Pieces of cloth used to sell for about nine pence or six pence per yard those days. If we bought five yards of cloth the total cost was about three shillings sixpence or four shillings. A blouse would cost about one shilling or nine pence. - We were rather backward -- We weren't very enlightened.)

She then switched back to Ijebu to restate the fact that people were very much in the dark in those days, and switches finally back to Lagos Yoruba to confirm the gross state of backwardness them compared with the Ikorodu of today.

There are three instances of code-switching between Ijebu and Eko within this discourse unit (4), and each corresponds to the alternation between events or topics related to the local or non-local (that is the city) experiences of the speaker. The general state of backwardness or poverty was a feature of life in the community compared with the civilized and affluent life of the city of Lagos in those days. The two references to this state of affairs in the community in this particular discourse unit, one at the beginning and the other towards the end, were made in the local dialect. On the other hand textile trade was the exclusive monopoly of Lagos market women and the Lebanese and Syrian businessmen called 'Koras'. The code of verbal interaction in most cases of the haggling that accompanied buying and selling was Lagos Yoruba, and occasionally English or Pidgin English when dealing with non-Yoruba speaking customers.

People who migrated to the city from the hinterland, including those from Ikorodu, to join in the lucrative textile trade gradually acquired Lagos Yoruba and tended to carry out their daily routines of advertizing and selling in the dialect of the city. It is not surprising, therefore to see this informant switch to Eko in order to recount what textile trade was like in those days. Today, the large majority of the women textile traders who own shops or stalls in the textile depot called 'gutter' in Lagos Island include many prosperous women traders from Ikorodu town.

In (5) the woman is asked about the type of dance music that was in fashion in Ikorodu in those days. Her response (6) indicates that it was still the local or traditional dance music called 'gṛngṛn', that is, music from the 'talking drum', and this is said in Ijebu. But when asked (7) further about the kind of dance music that is in fashion today, she first of all mentions (8) another local type of dance music, and of course in Ijebu '[nḗjǐ..... sakara ẽ..]', but realizing that that does not accurately portray the contemporary picture of dance music in Ikorodu, she immediately switches to Eko to indicate that 'pérénte' is the modern type of dance; it is an innovation with all the exuberant and sensual symbolism of its movements and gestures all of which emanate from the city of Lagos. There is something in the way she describes it to suggest that they too in Ikorodu participate in this type of social life that makes Lagos 'tick'.

Furthermore, when she is asked (9) if she remembers any episode or any tragic event such as an epidemic which occurred in the town in the past, she recounts (10) the tragic deaths that followed in the wake of "Èjítamótù" - a small-pox epidemic which started in a nearby village of that name and spread to Ikorodu with fatal consequences. It was devastating and one immediately notices in her speech the awe and the emotional feeling of loss and sheer human waste caused by the epidemic. All this is recounted in Ijebu in one of the longest discourse units in her speech in this text. She links this up with the feud between Ikorodu and Şagamu, Ikorodu's ancestral home, and how Ikorodu was victorious in the war between the two towns. She then switches to Eko to say that it was as a result of this victory that people often refer to Ikorodu as the "boss", or the "superior":

'ìyẹn ni wón fi òpè wá ní Kòòdú Ọ́gá'

Of course, the phrase 'Kòòdú Ọ́gá' is being deliberately used ambiguously here.<sup>4</sup>

Starting from (11) the conversation switches to what was meant to be a discussion on whether or not there is any difference in the Ijebu dialect as spoken in Ikorodu and Şagamu. She confirms (12) that there is a difference, and when she is asked to illustrate, she, like many other informants in the sample chooses to illustrate with some of the social characteristics of the Şagamu people, especially

their dressing styles. She considers their style of dressing as being too conventional or traditional. We notice that she says all this in Ijebu. But when she is asked to comment on how Ikorodu people dress, she immediately switches (16) to Eko to say that whenever one sees an Ikorodu person dressed up, one can immediately distinguish him/her from the other Ijebu people.

'Ikorodu people dress in a modern fashion like they do in Lagos' she said in another context.

The point to note here, however, is that the style of dressing associated with the people of Şagamu, and the other Ijebu people for that matter, reflects the traditional mode of dressing characteristic of the Ijebu people - large 'agbádá' and 'bùbá' with baggy 'şóró' (trousers) with a cap to match. It is still an authentic feature of the culture of the people and of many Yoruba societies as well. And although this informant may not have done this consciously, it seems that she cannot run away from expressing the truth of the situation in the local dialect appropriate for it. But when it comes to talking about the style of dressing which is in fashion in Ikorodu, and one that reflects all the innovations introduced into Yoruba costumes in Lagos, she also, rather unconsciously, switches to Eko to express it.

Text 2

Verbal behaviour in Text 2 is similar to what goes on in Text 1 in terms of switching codes to relate or recall experiences connected with the dual nature of Ikorodu people's social/cultural orientation. But one interesting feature of Text 2 is that at some stage in the conversation, this informant's switch to Lagos Yoruba became infectious.

The older interviewer, the one who handled most of the interviewing, is very proficient in the local dialect, and the fluency with which he spoke it put most of the informants at ease. In this particular interview, he himself switched to Eko several times. I made no attempt to correct him. The social forces at work here seem to me to be very interesting from the point of view of the analysis of social meaning in code-switching.

This informant (014) is an elderly gentleman 67-years-old -- who had lived in Lagos for several years in addition to having studied in Britain before. He is a retired railway engineer who has returned to Ikorodu to settle taking up another job as an administrative manager in a textile factory in Ikorodu. He is well respected in the society and his life style is still very much that of an urbanite. Although he has improved his fluency in the local dialect since returning to the town, and understands the dialect perfectly, he is more at home using Eko than Ijebu.

...../292.

Ordinarily, there should not be any reason for the interviewer to switch to Eko while interviewing him - the question of deference does not arise here because the age differential between them is negligible. However, after the first question which is asked in Ijebu and the response (2) which is partly Eko and partly in Ijebu, the interviewer unconsciously (or consciously?) switches to Eko to ask the next question (3). I interpret this as probably an attempt to demonstrate that he too controls some of these 'civilized' norms of behaviour as reflected in their use of Lagos Yoruba, and both interviewer and informant continued the conversation in Eko ( (3) to (8) ).

There are two switches back to Ijebu in (8) by the informant. Both prove the position that speakers sometimes do recall events, which they experienced in the past, in the code in which the events were enacted. The first reference, in Ijebu, is made in relation to the type of relationship which existed between their parents in their own time and the people of Lagos. Although they interacted very closely with the people of Lagos, the people of Ikorodu at that time did not want to integrate. They did not see any sense in leaving the upland area of Ikorodu to come and settle in the marshland that was Lagos at that time. Some of them were even offered land to build on but they refused. He then recalled a statement by one of his uncles at that time: (second switch to Ijebu).

- (8) .... wọn fún wọn nílẹ́ ... torí èmi  
rọntí ẹgbọn iyá mi lórọ yí .....  
ó kọ ni ... [kpé kóũ t'agbàrákè  
wá, maa jókòó sínómi .... kóũ  
sí sí owó, kóũ rówó dẹẹ kóũ ló.  
Ké sí wáá ará kòòdú ré máa  
nẹ́ ilẹ́ ... ilẹ́ ẹ́ dede isalẹ́ èkó  
jẹ́]

(They were given plots of land ... because I remember my mother's brother in this connection ..... he absolutely refused to take any (saying..) - that he could not picture himself coming from the upland to settle in this marshland..... he would rather work for money, acquire sufficient money and go back to his town. But for this type of attitude in those days, Ikorodu people would today have been in control of a large area of land in Isalẹ́ Eko).

Both references relate to what happened or what people said in the past, and although the informant does not habitually speak Ijẹbu he recounts them in the Ijẹbu dialect in which they were said originally.

Generally speaking, it is perhaps futile to predict the occurrence of either Eko or Ijẹbu in the course of an informal conversation by trying to isolate all the relevant non-linguistic variables which account for the speaker's choice of code. Frequency of code-switching between Eko and Ijẹbu will depend on the degree of bi-dialectalism of the individual speaker, in addition to other variables present in the communication situation.

The woman in Text 1 is probably more bi-dialectal than the man in Text 2, and perhaps this is why she engages in more frequent code-switching than the man. But perhaps this woman's linguistic behaviour may also be said to represent the general tendency among bi-dialectals and/or bilinguals in the community. It is a well-known fact that many multi-code situations often appear to be marked by extremely frequent and rapid switching which sometimes defies explanation in terms of being able to account for every instance of switching. This is also an area where statistical analysis of the rate and density of code-switching in correlation with the various interacting social variables has not been particularly fruitful.

However, the alternation between Eko and Ijebu in informal conversations as exhibited in the woman's speech in Text 1 shows that matters which are connected with the traditional social and cultural life of the people in the community are more readily talked about in the Ijebu dialect. Sometimes, certain historical experiences which were of local purport are best recalled and recounted in the local dialect. The woman's reference to the "Ejitamotu" epidemic in Text 1 is one such example. Occasionally, an individual's hereditary position in the community (such as being a prince and a possible heir to the throne, or being the guardian priest of the community's festival rites) becomes the variable which triggers off a switch to the local dialect at a point in the conversation when it is necessary to talk about the traditional institutions of the community, or about its traditional festivals.



A switch to Lagos Yoruba on the other hand, may generally coincide with the introduction into a piece of conversation matters which have more than local significance for members of the community. The elements of Lagos urban culture with which the average Ikorodu person seeks to be identified are varied and many. Those who have experienced some of these elements of urban socialization would switch to Eko to talk about such matters whenever they come up in the course of a conversation. The regularity of switching will depend of course on the frequency of reference to the dual nature of these social and psychological experiences of the participants in a conversation.

Texts 3 & 4

These two texts demonstrate the difference in language usage between casual or conversational speech usage on the one hand, and on the other hand, specialized or "marked" speech usage. The concept of verbal repertoire in terms of the totality of linguistic varieties (or codes) used by speakers in different situations, for different purposes (See Trudgill 1974:102) is exemplified in the types of verbal performance illustrated in these texts.

Two types of language use can be identified in each text. First, there is the ordinary conversation in which speech usage is "unmarked" or casual. Second, there is the specialized or "marked" speech usage identified with a

particular genre of "incantatory" speech realized as (a) a unit of 'Odù Ifá' (i.e. an incantatory form used in Ifá divination) in Text 3, and (b) an example of 'Àwóre' (an incantatory invocation to procure good luck) which is a type of 'Ọfọ', i.e. an incantatory speech form used by herbalists. In each text, two types of switching occur simultaneously. There is the switch in code from Ijẹbu to the Ọyọ type of dialect, and this switch corresponds to the second switch from the unmarked casual speech to the marked incantatory speech (a switch between genres, or style shifting).

The informant in Text 3 is an Ifá priest who in the course of the interview is reminded that his reputation as an Ifa priest is well acknowledged in the town, and is asked if it was proper to ask him to relate to us two examples of a typical 'Odù Ifá' speech form. In (2) he confirms that he is a reputable Ifá priest as his personal names indicate and reinforces this by repeating his alias, 'a kómọ ní a, b, c, Ifá' (i.e. one who is capable of teaching all the rudiments of Ifá divination).

Having agreed (4) to recount an Odù Ifá for us, he then begins in Ijẹbu (6) by first indicating that any question about Ifá divination cannot take him unawares, more so since he is an expert and an authority in the practice. 'If one encounters an elephant in the jungle, one can't pretend not to recognize it because there's no other animal in the jungle that is mightier than the elephant!' (6).

(6) 018 [néjĩ ... níkpa ifá, kaa bá féeé  
 kpégò àjànàkú ǒǒ a maa so  
 fò a rírǒ kò firi nùgbó ...  
 é sùrũ é wà 'nùgbó ré  
 fjeri 10]

He then switches to Qyq or some local variety of the Qyq dialect when he assumes his role as an Ifá priest saying the 'Odù' now in the variety of Yoruba in which he normally says it.

- Àwọ̀n babaláwo wọ̀n ní .....  
 Ká tà jàjà, ká rà jàjà  
 Ká f'ijà gidìgidì p'owó  
 Ọ̀ṣẹ̀túá kii ta 'jà a tiẹ̀ l'áwin  
 A kii í rúbọ̀ ká má p'ọ̀ṣẹ̀túá o  
 Ọ̀ṣẹ̀túá elérutè tè .....tè.....tè.....tè -

And at the end of it he switches back to Ijẹbu to explain the import of the particular 'Odù' which he has just recounted. 'It is the type of Odù one says if one wants to entice clients who would pay handsomely'. The eagerness with which my assistants expressed the wish that the import or the effect of the invocation be equally applicable to their daily run of business enterprises shows the degree of faith that both of them have in such a phenomenon.

The informant in Text 4 is a moderately well educated man who is a professional herbalist. The conversation in (1) to (6) is about his language use habits. He affirms that he uses the Ijẹbu dialect mostly when he is in Ikorodu, but when he is confronted with the question of what variety of Yoruba he uses when he has a client who does not

understand the Ijebu dialect, he then admits that he would speak Eko to that client.

In (7) he is asked if there is any form of speech which is identified with his profession as a herbalist which if he uses this form, a person around him or listening to him would not understand. He maintains (8) that even if a listener understands what he is saying, there is the fact that what he is saying at that point can no longer be regarded as ordinary or casual speech. In most cases, the uninitiated will find it difficult to understand the full meaning of what is said, or to be able to interpret what is said. One type of such a speech genre is called 'Qfò'. All this time the conversation has been carried on in the local dialect, but when he is asked to reproduce an example of 'Qfò' he switched to the Qyq-type of dialect to say and 'Àwóre' (14) which is a type of Qfò.

The simultaneous switches which take place in each of the two situations are undoubtedly governed by a combination of what one might call the 'rules of speaking' and the 'functions of speech' (See Hymes 1974: 62-65). Hymes suggests that a shift in any of the components of speaking may mark the presence of a rule: for example, from normal tone of voice to a whisper (the informant in Text 4 produced three long-drawn glottal fricative sounds before he uttered the Qfò - this is part of the rule), and that 'ultimately the functions served in speech must be derived directly from the purposes and needs of human persons engaged in social action, and are what they are'.

The switch from Ijebu to another dialect in recounting the 'Odù' or the 'Àwóré' does not indicate that these two speech events cannot be produced in the local dialect, but here, they are said in that other variety of Yoruba because these speakers acquired the forms through a period of pupilage (or apprenticeship), and that variety is the most effective medium in which they can reproduce them. As specialized or 'marked' speech events, both the 'Odù Ifá' and 'Ọfọ' have their respective form and content which are governed by invariant co-occurrence rules such as a particular tone of voice, tempo, sequence of vocabulary items etc., which if broken will render them less authentic. In addition, the verbal act of saying an 'Odù' or an 'Ọfọ' is regarded as a serious affair by the practitioners, and no matter where and when each is reproduced, if it is invoked with the appropriate word-combinations and in the right mode, it is believed that the desired invocations will materialize and the objectives will be realized.

These types of functional expectations attaching to the use of genres of speech as are illustrated in this section explain why the informants in these two texts cannot risk adulterating such important speech events and rendering them ineffective. It was necessary, therefore, to reproduce them in the particular code in which they were acquired and in which they as the practitioners habitually enact them. In Text (4) the informant's reproduction of the 'Àwóré' in the Ijebu dialect does not seem to possess the same force and potency as it has when it was said in the Ọyọ dialect. (See Text 4: (14) & (15)).

On the other hand, the ritual of greetings for the purpose of securing 'safe' admittance to the abode of the Ifá priest does not seem to be restrictive in terms of the code in which it is said as (8) illustrates. But the specialized vocabulary items and the type of calls and responses expected are strictly prescribed. All these demonstrate the importance that speakers attach to considerations of rules of speaking and the desired objectives which are considered to be important end-products of any verbal performance.

It is within this limited scope of co-occurrence restrictions in code-choice that verbal behaviour of the peculiar settings of Texts 3 and 4 can be viewed. Although casual conversations may be carried on in the local dialect between interlocutors who speak it fluently, the more serious business of Ifá divination, or the incantatory speech of herbal practice has to be enacted in the code which is most appropriate for it.. It must be remembered that both Ifá divination and incantations in herbal practice have some universality in Yoruba cosmology hence the Qyq dialect is seen by many to be most appropriate for it.

7.5. 'Public Speaking' as Speech Events in Communal Meetings.<sup>5</sup>

The distinctions that need be made in respect of the types of communal meetings are given in note (5).

The concern in this section is to examine a dimension of code-switching which is slightly different from the one analysed in section 7.4.1. In that section code-switching is examined in an interview situation in which conversations between interviewer(s) and respondent relate to specific topics and context of discourse. Alternation between codes relates to factors of experience and the relationship between events or topics, and the appropriate code in which to express them from among the co-available codes in the speakers' repertoire.

In this section, code-switching is seen as reflecting the device by which a speaker seems to manipulate several status factors in accordance with whether they are appropriate or deemed appropriate for achieving effective communicative ends.

'Speech making' in communal meetings in the local community can be described as a point-scoring act in a competitive event. Although literally, points are not awarded for a fine speech, the import of a powerful or convincing contribution to <sup>a</sup>debate or discourse is measured in terms of the appeal of such a speech and its acceptance by the audience. The evaluation of any such speech is a

function of its relevance to the topic of discourse, the possible intent of the speaker as interpreted by his audience or listeners who also may be participants, the socio-economic status of the speaker, and the overall effect which such a speech might have in influencing unanimity or disagreement over the issues in discourse.

Because code choice in this type of bi-dialectal/bilingual situation sometimes coincides with or reveals the manipulation of a particular status factor, or a combination of them, speakers who may be aware of these normative dimensions of speech evaluation tend to alternate between codes simultaneously as their perception of the relevant status factor alters. In other words, speakers tend to select codes in terms of which best expresses or is appropriate for the status factor which he needs to project in order for his communicative act to achieve the desired objectives.

Communal meetings are situations where more formally structured interactions are carried on. Verbal interactions are governed by certain socio-cultural factors which can be identified as components in speech events within which code-switching takes place. In this section, I limit myself to the analysis of code-switching in relation to the variations in the way speakers operate some of the components of the socio-cultural setting with particular emphasis on status factors in the process of speaking.



The various codes in the community's verbal repertoire have specific evaluative judgements associated with them. For example, the choice of the local dialect by a speaker who is bilingual/bi-dialectal may be regarded as an indication of his being 'traditional' or conventional, while the switch to Lagos Yoruba may be associated with his degree of urbanity and 'progressiveness'; on the other hand, a switch to English may be associated with being educated and enlightened, and at some other time, it may be negatively interpreted as being deliberately pompous.

These judgements also derive from the importance attached to personal achievements in the spheres of socio-economic activities. Achievements in these spheres confer on individuals statuses which have positive values within the community's evaluative systems. 'Achieved' statuses are sometimes superimposed on traditional 'ascribed' statuses, especially in the strictly non-traditional interactions that take place in communal or association meetings such as are reported here. But individuals may sometimes deliberately evoke their 'ascribed' status to reinforce the effectiveness of their verbal performance.

### 7.5.1. Verbal Strategies in Relation to Status Factors.

The relationship between status manipulation and the alternation between codes during verbal interactions in communal meetings becomes more obvious when all the dimensions of status considerations in the contemporary Yoruba society are analysed.

Status is seen in this context as being binary and the two highest nodes represent the duality of value systems acceptable in the community. Status can be either 'ascribed' or 'achieved'. (See Figure 7.1 below).

Factors or components of ascribed status derive essentially from the normative categories of rank established within the traditional context. Such factors as seniority by age, the deference attaching to traditional chieftaincy titles, hierarchies within kinship relations, etc. become relevant status categories only in those traditional normative systems which recognize them and accord them positive evaluation. It is to be expected, therefore, that in evoking these factors for effective verbal performance, the local dialect is generally chosen.

On the other hand, statuses deriving from the acquisition of Western-type education or formal schooling, the acquisition of religious titles like 'Alhaji' or 'Alhaja' are also positively evaluated in the community's value system.

But they are categories of rank or status which do not derive from folk taxonomies. In order to manipulate them for effective communicative ends, a speaker may want to use codes other than the local dialect in his verbal performance.

It has been argued that we cannot afford to hold tenaciously to a deterministic or predictive view of code-switching. That is, that although in certain situationally constrained verbal behaviour (such as in the verbal rituals of the 'Màgbó' or 'Egúngún' festivals the choice of a particular code can be predicted, in the generality of cases, we cannot accurately predict what code(s) a speaker will use in a given sequence of utterances in a particular speech performance or in a verbal interaction. (See Gumperz 1971 and Sankoff G. 1971). What is being emphasized here, however, is that a speaker's alternation between codes in a communal meeting type of speech situation sometimes reflects his perception or consideration of the factors of socio-economic status which may be relevant in the evaluation of his speech. A speaker's switch to Lagos Yoruba at some point in his speech may be interpreted, rightly or wrongly, as evidence of his urbanity, and the reason for him to be adjudged an 'enlightened' person who probably knows what he is talking about.

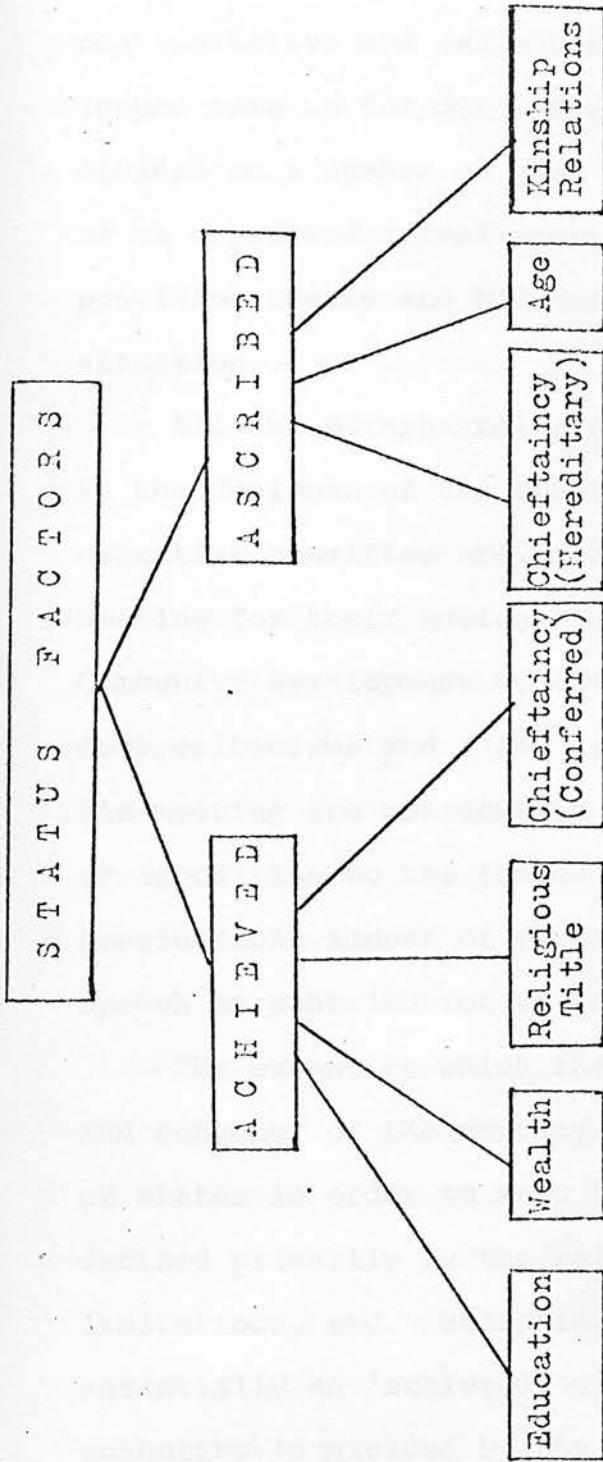
It must be emphasized, however, that every instance of code-switching cannot necessarily coincide with these considerations. A good many of them are idiosyncratic,

others stem from a low level of competence in the local dialect especially among the younger generation. But in several cases, the choice of code or the switch between codes carries significant social meanings in the same way as the choice between alternate linguistic forms has meaning.

The concern with code-switching in verbal behaviour during communal meetings aims at trying to relate the verbal behaviour of individual speakers to the socio-economic factors which are manipulated for various purposes in the speech situation.

#### 7. 6. ANALYSIS II.

The two communal meetings whose proceedings were recorded for the analysis of verbal interaction in the Ikorodu speech community were held in a space of two weeks. Each of the two meetings dealt with some aspects of community development in Ikorodu Division. Participants in both meetings were representative of the community at large, but active participation in discussions was dominated by a few activists and the articulate members of the community some of whom were resident in the town; others came from Lagos and a few others too, came from the surrounding villages. Certain personalities featured prominently in both meetings and the Chairman of the Committee in each case was the same person.



( Lagos Yoruba and/or English ) (The local variety of Ijebu Dialect).

Fig. 7. 1 Factors influencing code-choice in verbal interactions in communal meetings.

The texts which are analysed here are taken from the proceedings of the second meeting which was a more representative and well-attended meeting. Many controversial issues came up for discussion and participants were sharply divided on a number of them. But the procedural principles of an organized formal meeting serve as the controlling force providing checks and balances in an otherwise volatile situation.

All the paraphernalia of authority are vested in the Chairman of the committee. He and members of his executive committee are held accountable to the general meeting for their actions in respect of the affairs of the Community Development Committee. They become the butt of most criticisms and a few praises, and the participants in the meeting are not usually unanimous in their support for or opposition to the issues in debate. It requires a considerable amount of verbal gimmickry for a speaker's speech or contribution to go unchallenged.

The extent to which the Chairman of the committee and convener of the meeting can manipulate the factors of status in order to keep the meeting together, is defined primarily by the roles, rights and privileges, limitations, etc. attaching to this position which is essentially an 'achieved' status. A certain degree of authority is wielded by the Chairman to the extent permissible by his 'ascribed' roles in that situation, and also in accordance with some quasi-democratic considerations in

decision making at formal non-traditional meetings. Such authority relates to his right to control 'turn-taking' in speaking, to enforce strict adherence to the issues listed on the agenda, and to guide discussions towards arriving at some reasonably unanimous decisions.

It is observed (Text 5) that the Chairman uses Lagos Yoruba more often than he uses the local dialect, but there is constant alternation between the two codes even within a single discourse unit. His use of Lagos Yoruba often coincides with his attempts to state 'official' points of view or to restore order whenever discussions seem to be getting out of control. But sometimes when his 'official' authority is being disregarded and attempts by him to enforce it become futile and can no longer be sustained by his continued use of Lagos Yoruba, he resorts to the local dialect to make an appeal for calm thus indirectly manipulating such a status factor as age which guarantees that the audience will listen to him.

This is most vividly shown in Text 5 (3) where there are about eight alternations between Ijebu and Lagos Yoruba. The constant switch here is probably caused by the series of interruptions to his speech. The formal checking of interruptions is done in Eko followed immediately by a switch to Ijebu to offer conciliatory explanations for the issue in discussion.

In the same text, there is a contrast in code-usage between Chief A. (4) and Speaker 2 (5). Apart from

a few instances of English loan words like sa (sir), miniit (minutes), and miini (mean), Chief A. uses the local dialect all through this particular discourse unit. Speaker 2, on the other hand speaks Lagos Yoruba but switches constantly between it and English. Chief A holds a traditional or hereditary chieftaincy title in the town. Although he was once a political activist during the civilian administration in Nigeria, he is now very much rooted in activities connected with community life, although this might be a device for building for himself a solid political base for the civilian politics of post-military rule in Nigeria. He is moderately educated and serves on a number of outside committees in which Ikorodu is represented at the State level. By using the local dialect in such communal meetings he probably seeks to project his down-to-earth local identity, and the deference that is accorded him is in respect of his status as a titled chief in the community.

But occasionally when, as in Text 6, there appears to be an indication that he has not discharged his duties as the chairman of a sub-committee, he is seen to alternate among the three codes- Ijebu, Lagos Yoruba and English - in an attempt to clear his name, using English to indicate that he is educated enough to know that if an issue has not been referred to his sub-committee, there was no way of knowing that a report has to be prepared, himself being not a member of that (other) committee. (Text 6 (1) & (3)). In (4), although he introduces himself as 'Chief N.A.Anifowoşe' the important point he wishes to make may be connected with



his achieved status as one of the official representatives of Ikorodu at the Zonal level and having made this point in Lagos Yoruba, he switches back to Ijebu to give his views on the issues in discussion. His use of Lagos Yoruba to introduce himself in the first instance could be interpreted as a re-enactment of the kind of self-introduction which representatives to the Zonal or Provincial Co-ordinating Committees for community development normally do when they meet formally in Lagos. In doing this kind of self-introduction here, Chief A may be trying to draw attention to himself and to show that his importance in terms of community development planning extends beyond the local community level. The introduction part of his speech is said in Lagos Yoruba and not in the local dialect.

Speaker 2 (Text 5 (5)), on the other hand, is a business executive who lives in Lagos, and like Mr. D in Text 8 who is a civil servant, is fairly educated. But although both of them are interested in activities or projects connected with community development in the town, they do not often attend meetings because of the nature of their jobs in Lagos. They are critical of the way in which things are conducted at the local level. All through the meeting they constantly criticize members of the executive committee for alleged inefficiencies.

These speakers are relatively young compared with the majority of those who are in the executive committee. Their criticisms relate to the lack of order in the way issues are dismissed (Text 5 (5)), or the slipshod manner

in which financial reports are written (Mr.D in Text 8). Their position as educated members of the community gives them some form of privilege to point out inadequacies in the way the affairs of the committee are handled. Most of their speeches are made in Lagos Yoruba with frequent injection of words, phrases and even whole sentences in English. I shall return to a fuller analysis of Text 8 presently.

The relationship between verbal performance and audience evaluation needs to be examined in two specific instances which occur in Text 6. Occasionally members of the audience become aware of the inappropriateness of using non-local speech codes by speakers at some crucial point in the discussion. When this happens they would call out to the speaker to speak in the local dialect of Ijẹbu.

In Text 6 (5) the speaker starts by speaking in Lagos Yoruba but almost immediately, there are shouts asking him to speak in the local dialect. The speaker is a representative of one of the surrounding villages (Ìsiù) in both the township and the zonal committees. His choice of Lagos Yoruba at the beginning of his speech could be meant to convey his importance as a zonal representatative. Although he switches to the local dialect on being asked to speak in it, he switches back to Eko occasionally.

The irregularities which sometimes occur in the Chairman's alternation between the two codes did not escape the notice of the audience who once burst into laughter when in Text 6 (6) he switches between Ijẹbu and Eko with such frequency that the audience could not help laughing.

In Text 7, the switch of code in relation to status considerations is displayed very openly. The Community Development Officer in charge of Ikorodu Division and his Assistant arrive at the meeting half-way through its proceedings. The CDO is newly posted to the area and he is making his first appearance in their meeting. The Secretary asks that the discussion in hand be set aside for the moment and draws attention to the presence of two officials, suggesting that they be introduced. He then turns to the CDO and asks him if he would like to present himself to the house. From this point on to (8) the verbal exchanges are in English. to the total neglect of other participants who do not understand English.

Although the CDO is not native to Ikorodu, he is an Ijebu by birth and speaks the Ijebu dialect. But in this case the CDO, the Chairman and the Secretary are interacting in their respective 'official' capacities and the use of the English language best expresses this relationship.

In Text 8, there is no doubt that Mr. D has been pushing too far the fact of his being educated and therefore being fully qualified to criticize the things he considers inadequate in the financial reports. Of course, in a communal project of co-operation and compromise, such unbridled criticism cannot go unchallenged. In (4) and (6) Chief A decides to counteract this overacting of the privileges of his educated status by interrupting him in English:

CHIEF (4) - on point of correction, please!

But Mr. D does not intend to stop, insisting that he should be allowed to conclude his speech. Of course, Chief A is aware of the fact that if this speaker is allowed to press home his point, he is likely to do more harm than good to the spirit of communal co-operation that exists among members attending the meeting. So, Mr. D has got to be stopped insisting that (as an educated person) Mr. D should realize that when a point of correction is raised, the speaker has to stop talking and listen to whatever objection or correction is raised. He then quickly points out that the report being discussed is not an annual report and therefore could not be subjected to such detailed scrutiny. All these are said in a series of switches between Lagos Yoruba and English.

But when Chief A goes on to give his own views on why he thinks the Financial Secretary's report should not be subjected to such damaging criticisms, he switches to Ijebu perhaps in a bid to win the approval of the participants in the meeting. He carefully suggests that some sympathetic considerations ought to be given to the limitations of the educational background of the Financial Secretary.

CHIEF A ..... [bá a ʃe wà nibé  
jǐ í a mùwé jàrà eni lo ..  
.....  
èwě é mùwé dáadáa kpàákpàá  
ká a bẹ wě, wě le rájè! .....]

(Here in this gathering we are not all  
equally educated, and we are prepared  
always to learn from those of you who  
are highly educated. If you realize  
that the person we have chosen to do  
the job does not do it satisfactorily,  
there is no harm in pointing out to  
him, but in a rather nice way, what  
he ought to have done and what he  
should do next time. After all, we  
are not experts, and it takes some  
time for the mechanics of these routines  
to sink in. You shouldn't try to dis-  
courage people. And in any case, if we  
had asked any of you educated chaps to  
take on the responsibility, you wouldn't  
have had the time for it.....  
so let him go ahead doing it our own  
way!)

The point is well taken and the house agrees with him.  
Mr. D is then pushed into a situation of having to explain  
that he was not trying to blame their Financial Secretary (7)  
but that he was trying to make a legitimate point which in  
any case ought not to be ignored.

Although individual speakers in these meetings may have been trying to match their alternation between codes with certain social status parameters according to their relevance for achieving communication goals, the overall influence of status factors or considerations in evaluating speech performance depends on the concensus of community norms. A considerable amount of social or normative control is brought to bear on the type of speech, irrespective of which code it is made in, that can be given in such a communal gathering. But occasionally, using an inappropriate code for a given speech can be unanimously condemned or rejected in such group interactions.

#### 7. 7. Conclusion.

I have shown in a rather detailed analysis how code-switching in two different speech situations can carry considerable amount of social meanings and be subjected to a great deal of social evaluation by both speakers and hearers.

I have also concentrated on those factors or personal considerations which, either consciously or unconsciously, attach to a speaker's alternation among the alternatives in his verbal repertoire. My approach has been influenced essentially by the 'interpretive' model of the analysis of social meaning in code-alternation. Code-switching among the Ijebu-Ikorodu people is not merely a random or meaningless behaviour of a bi-dialectal people. Bi-dialectalism in Ikorodu itself is a product of the

rapid socio-cultural change in the community and code-switching in this context relates to speakers' perception of themselves as operators within the dual facets of cultural change. The various codes in the community's repertoire are selected as speakers deem appropriate in all instances of verbal interaction.

It is hoped that this exercise will suggest many more studies on the patterns of language usage in relation to the socio-cultural factors which influence them, and the type of communicative competence which speakers of indigenous African languages control in the bi-dialectal/bilingual situations in African communities.

The description of speech usage in the Yoruba-speaking community of Ikorodu is seen in relation to contemporary emphases in sociolinguistics which seek, among other things, to integrate into linguistic description whatever is socially or sociologically and ethnologically relevant in explaining or systematically neglected aspects of language analysis. The concern has been to refine the linguistic description of a number of dialect features and dialect usage within an Ijebu speech community in such a way as to integrate the socio-cultural features which influence variation and change in the phonological/phonetic features of the local dialect. An attempt is also made to identify the relationships between considerations of traditionalism versus modernity and the polarisation of the language attitudes of members of the community. Code-switching as a linguistic behaviour is analysed in terms of the social

CHAPTER VIII.

8.0 CONCLUSIONS.

8.1. A summary of main findings.

I have sought to provide in this study an integrative kind of sociolinguistic description of a sub-urban speech community in an African setting. My orientation is towards what is usually referred to as "descriptive sociolinguistics", a model of description typified by such studies as Sankoff, G. (1968, 1972, 1973), Labov et al (1968), Gumperz, J. (1964-1971), Le Page R. (1975, 1976), to name only a few.

The description of speech usage in the Yoruba-speaking community of Ikorodu is seen in relation to contemporary emphases in sociolinguistics which seek, among other things, to integrate into linguistic description whatever is socially or sociologically and ethnologically relevant in explaining or systematizing neglected aspects of language analysis. The concern has been to refine the linguistic description of a number of dialect features and dialect usage within an Ijebu speech community in such a way as to integrate the socio-cultural features which influence ~~variation~~ and change in the phonological/phonetic features of the local dialect. An attempt is also made to identify the relationships between considerations of traditionalism versus modernity and the polarization of the language attitudes of members of the community. Code-switching as a linguistic behaviour is analysed in terms of the social



meanings of the messages which the alternating codes carry in relation to the socio-cultural features and other personal considerations present in the communicative situation.

By making a comparative description of aspects of the morphology, phonology and phonetics of Ijebu, Eko and the standardized varieties of Yoruba, we are able to identify features which distinguish each variety and those which they have in common in the sub-systems of their different phonologies. Phonological processes such as vowel shifts and mergers, and the collapse of tenseness assimilation in some dialects, all of which have been variously described by many scholars are reexamined in the light of the data from the Ijebu dialect. It is found that although some of these historical phonological processes were said to have operated uniformly within particular dialect groups, individual dialects such as Ijebu displayed many exceptions.

Denasalization which was said by Adetugbo (op.cit) to have taken place only within the low nasal vowels of some Southeast Yoruba dialects is found to have taken place as a major phonological process among the high nasal vowels of not only the Ijebu dialect in SEY, but also of Ketu and Egbá dialects in NWY area. The phenomena of 'borrowing' and 'dialect mixture' which are often cited as being responsible for variable linguistic data are discussed with a more perceptive approach which links variation with on-going changes in limited phonological environments in the Ijebu dialect.

When the variable use of alternate phonetic segments is matched with the demographic factors of age, education and occupational groups, a pattern of distribution emerges which points to the systematicity in the linguistic behaviour of members of the Ikorodu community. Younger people in the community are prone to greater variation in the use of the variant forms than the older people. They also tend to deviate more in their use of features of the local dialect than the older people. People with considerable formal school education deviate a great deal from the norms of dialect speech than the less educated ones.

The analysis of sound change in progress is a new dimension in the description of the Yoruba language. I anticipate that objections are bound to be raised by the 'purists' as to the legitimacy of my claims regarding sound change in progress. But if typical Ijebu dialect-speech is identified for example, with u as the initial vowel of a number of nouns, and more and more members of the speech community now substitute i for the u segment in their everyday speech as the analyses in Chapter V show, it is perfectly legitimate to consider this phenomenon as a change in progress since its propagation is differentially distributed among different age levels within the community. The same thing goes for the substitution of ũ for u (renasalization) and the substitution of ĩ for ẽ (low nasal vowel raising) within the same community.

I have referred to similar studies which have quantitatively documented a number of phonological and lexical changes in progress. All of these have demonstrated that

almost any division existing within the population which has any kind of social significance is somehow reflected in the linguistic behaviour of that community. Changes in progress do not operate without regard for these existing differences. Cedergren's (1972) description of a number of phonological changes in the Spanish of Panama City is a case in point. Cedergren showed that changes originate in various subsegments of the population and are differentially involved with, and present at different stages of, the change process.

My analysis of variability and sound change in progress in the dialect speech of the Ikorodu community takes a step further in these series of empirical studies by providing a detailed quantitative measurement of variable linguistic data and the nature of change in progress. Sound change in progress derive from the advanced stage of variability in the use of alternate phonetic variants of syllabic segments. But change in linguistic features is also connected with the on-going socio-cultural orientations of a socially mobile sub-urban Yoruba community. And the Ikorodu study provides another justification for the legitimacy of variation studies in linguistics.

.../322.

### 3. Functional Variation:

- (1) Bi-dialectalism and the organization of inter-group communication - the phenomenon of code-switching.

## 8.2. Dimensions of Variation in Yoruba Language Usage.

Although it was not intended in this study to exhaust all aspects of variation in the Yoruba language, I want to sketch below, what I consider to be the various aspects of variation in Yoruba language usage some of which have been described in this thesis and others which are worth studying in greater detail.:

1. Regional variation: The study of the various regional and local varieties of Yoruba not only in terms of their structural or linguistic differences and similarities, but <sup>also the</sup> study of inter-dialectal intelligibility, and of attitudes towards the various dialects. The effect of geographic mobility on inter-dialect intelligibility and proficiency, the influence of cosmopolitan urban centres on the emergence of "Common Spoken Yoruba", and the effect of school education on the spread of the so-called Standard Yoruba.

2. Inherent Variation: The nature and scope of intra-dialect variation, that is, the variable components of phonetic, phonological, lexical and syntactic features and the relationships between them and other non-linguistic factors in the speech community. The investigation of features which are involved in on-going changes and the direction and pattern of change.

3. Functional Variation:

(i) Bi-dialectalism and the organization of intra-group/inter-group communication - the phenomenon of code-switching.

(ii) Institutionalized speech genres such as 'marked' ritual speech or incantatory forms ('Qfò', 'Ògèdè', 'Àwóre', 'Ìsòyè' etc); chants and poetic recitals (Ewì, Ìjálá, Rárà), and Divinations (Odu Ifá).

(iii) Narratives as in folktales and story telling.

4. Stylistic Variation: The dimension of stylistic variation involves a multi-layered system of choices conditioned partly by speakers' level of competence in the usage of the various styles, and partly by the constraints of community or cultural norms of usage.

(a) The style of conversational speech can either be 'simple' or 'profound'. A simple style is the normal style of ordinary speech usage, no idiomatic or proverbial expressions. A profound style on the other hand, is injected with a lot of proverbs and wise sayings. Usage involves considerations of the age of the speaker relative to his interlocutor(s) or his audience, and of its appropriateness in terms of topic and setting.

(b) Formal Style in Yoruba Speech Usage can be categorized as (i) poetic - the style used in chants and poetic recitals in which the speaker seeks to create an aesthetic effect in the richness of the oral literature and is allowed some measure of innovations and embellishments in usage:

(ii) serious or 'marked' style - used in ritual incantations and is governed by strict co-occurrence rules of selection in lexical choices and structural units, and (iii) Narrative style - as used in story telling and in folktales.

Some of these constitute an area which can provide very useful information in the description of the distribution and function of speech varieties in a society. They contribute towards what Hymes has called a socially constituted linguistics, that is, that which is concerned fundamentally with socially or culturally based modes of organization of linguistic means rather than the abstract grammar of the language or its dialect(s).

### 8.3. Standard/Lagos Yoruba in relation to the regional dialects.

One of the recurring problems in the study of Yoruba dialects is the relative influence of the standardized variety of Yoruba on the other regional dialects. In examining standardized Yoruba in relation to the other dialects, Adetugbo (op.cit.) claims that the influence of the standardized variety is responsible for the merging of Lagos and its immediate hinterland into the Northwest Yoruba system.

The impact of the standardized dialect will naturally be first felt in the bigger cities with cosmopolitan populations. Educated people learn this koine and these people usually migrate to the big administrative centres of Lagos, Ibadan and Abeokuta thereby influencing the speech of the uneducated people of these centres who are only too readily impressed by the educated.

There is no doubt that many educated Yoruba dialect speakers do communicate in a variety of Yoruba which is intelligible to other dialect speakers. In a number of cases the variety so used may be widely divergent from

the standardized variety used in literary texts and taught in schools and also used in radio and television broadcasts in the Yoruba-speaking states. There is as yet no empirical study of this variety often referred to as 'Standard Yoruba' in terms of it being a 'spoken' standard "with a view to determining its homogeneity, its areal spread, and the sociolinguistic factors affecting its use and acceptance", (Fresco, 1970).

Most educated dialect speakers probably had their first contact with this variety of Yoruba through the school system. But the large majority of dialect speakers who do not go to school but have acquired fluent proficiency in the common variety of Yoruba may not have been influenced by the Standard. The claim that most uneducated speakers acquired the standardized variety by imitating the educated ones is rather far-fetched.

One of the findings of this study is that Lagos Yoruba is prone to a more rapid spread to many dialect-speaking areas such as Ikorodu, Şagamu, Ijebu-Ode, Abeokuta, and to some extent Ibadan. The effects of rapid and expansive social and economic developments in the city of Lagos are seen in the outward spread of the norms of behaviour, both social and linguistic, to other regional centres. Lagos Yoruba is spreading very fast, and as I have already pointed out, its vitality makes it possible for most people to acquire it readily after a brief stay in, or after a series of visits to the city. It is becoming a popular spoken variety.

This situation has parallels in other dialects studies. In their book on the study of social dialects in American English Wolfram and Fasold (1974) draw attention to the distinction between 'relic' and 'focal' dialect areas:

In opposition to relic areas, we have what are commonly called focal areas - dialect areas that serve as centres for linguistic spread. This spread often emigrates from cultural and regional centres. Prestigious urban centres often serve as focal areas, so that a city like Boston may show the spread of dialect features outward from that area.

The relationship between large urban centres and the spread of particular speech forms varies from one situation to another. A comparison between Lagos and Ibadan in respect of the spread of urban speech varieties shows many interesting features. My description of the Lagos variety of Yoruba shows that it is regarded by many dialect speakers as a prestigious variety and this factor is partly responsible for the fast rate at which people who come to Lagos acquire it.

On the other hand, although Ibadan was for a long time a major cultural and urban centre, and has consecutively been the capital of the former Western Region, the Western State, and now Oyo State, the local dialect of Ibadan (a sub-variety of the Oyo dialect has not been having so much influence on the speech patterns of the many dialect speakers who lived and worked in Ibadan as civil servants and so on. The common variety of Yoruba which evolved over the years in Ibadan as the medium of communication among the non-Ibadan Yoruba speakers is decidedly not the Ibadan sub-dialect.



It is to be envisaged that as more and more opportunities for school education are made available to the masses through the universal primary education and the adult literacy programmes, and with the hope that mother tongue education at least at the primary school level will be fully implemented in most Yoruba speaking States in Nigeria, the standardized variety of Yoruba will be put at the disposal of many more dialect speakers. The long term effect of this would be that a more homogeneous spoken variety of Yoruba based essentially on the standardized written variety will evolve and it would then be possible to talk of a standard spoken Yoruba.

But this is a far cry from reality. A number of factors still need to be seriously considered if mother tongue education is to be fully implemented. These factors are basically sociolinguistic and educational. There is the need to expand the existing programmes of Yoruba language teaching, in content and scope, in most of our institutions of higher learning in the Yoruba speaking areas of the country. Emphasis should be put on producing more qualified people both at the University and the teacher training levels who will be able to handle the teaching of the language at the various levels of school education. Advantage should be taken of the results of the various linguistic research projects in the Yoruba language which the Departments of Linguistics and Nigerian Languages of the Universities of Ibadan, Ife, Lagos and Ilorin will continue to make available for the development of the Yoruba language.

The Six-Year Primary Project now at an advanced stage at the University of Ife in Nigeria is concerned with providing efficient primary education for Yoruba children through the medium of their mother tongue - the Yoruba language. The development of the Yoruba language to cope with the new challenges of pure science as well as social science education at the level of lexical terminologies is one of the many important aspects of the Ife experiment. (See Afọlayan, A. 1976).

The strictly sociolinguistic problems relate to the attitudes which dialect speakers who do not belong to the 'core' Yoruba area (i.e. the Oyo Yoruba speaking areas) have towards the study and use of the standardized variety. Much as they would like to study the Yoruba language at the various levels of their primary, secondary and teacher training education, there is a widespread feeling that the standardized variety of Yoruba that is taught formally is very difficult. As dialect speakers, quite a lot of dialectal interferences occur in their common Yoruba speech and such phonetic identification of their 'non-standard' speech makes quite a lot of people shy away from using the standardized variety in most public places of speech usage.

I suggest that the way ahead is to carry out many more research projects on the different aspects of speech usage within dialect-speaking communities among the Yoruba people. The results of such studies cannot but contribute towards evolving a model that could be regarded as standard spoken Yoruba.

Although certain lexical, phonological and phonetic features of many Yoruba dialects are shifting in the direction of the standardized variety, or towards Lagos Yoruba in some communities close to the city of Lagos, I think it is too early to predict that Yoruba dialects generally are declining in favour of the standardized variety. The position of Lagos Yoruba in relation to its acquisition by the surrounding local dialect communities is a unique one, hence its relevance for the kind of Sociolinguistic investigation that is carried out in this study.

Within the context of a city like Lagos, it is relevant to talk of the loss or the decline of dialects among the various dialect-speaking groups of people now resident in the city. And infact, the linguistic situation in the city of Lagos offers great possibilities for sociolinguistic researches into the patterns of dialect/language maintenance, shift and loss in relation to the various linguistic groups of people who migrate into the city.

With regard to the future of Yoruba dialects, although changes are bound to occur in the features of several dialects, the importance of sub-ethnic identity among the various groups of Yoruba people and the part that ethnic dialects play as badges of identity of the various groups will make it difficult for Yoruba dialects to decline in importance. The creation of the four political States of Lagos, Oyo, Ondo and Ogun out of the former Western Nigeria does help to emphasize the cultural features or characteristics of the various sub-ethnic groups of the Yoruba people, thus helping

also to direct attention to their different linguistic (dialect) characteristics. Many of the cultural programmes now relayed by the Broadcasting Corporations of Ondo and Ogun States are produced in the local dialects of the various cultural groups in these States. There is a wealth of material for the study of the 'ethnography of speaking' among the various cultural groups.

the language situation is more complex than... is only now that such studies are being undertaken... a fairly smaller scale is being...  
No writer, as far as I know, has yet... give the exact picture of the... of the Yoruba language... varieties spoken by the... within Nigeria, some... are spoken in the... In this study only... standard variety... of the former... for self-reports...

Standard Yoruba has often... based essentially on the... of Yoruba dialects in... maintains that Standard Yoruba... a koiné), while largely...

Notes on the Introduction

1. The situation is far much better in Eastern Africa where a considerable amount of research has been conducted in the areas of language variation and language use through the East African Survey of Language Use and Language Teaching. The various Individual country studies in Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania have produced a wealth of information on the language situation in these parts of Africa. It is only now that such studies are being attempted on a fairly smaller scale in Ghana and the Cameroons.
2. No writer, as far as I know, has been able to give the exact number of the regional dialects of the Yoruba language. Apart from the very many varieties spoken by the various Yoruba ethnic groups within Nigeria, some other varieties of the language are spoken in the Republic of Benin (formerly Dahomey). In this study only those varieties, including the standard variety, which are used within the boundaries of the former Western State and Lagos State were listed for self-reports on intelligibility during the field work.
3. Standard Yoruba has often been reported as being based essentially on the Qyq dialect, but in his study of Yoruba dialects in Western Nigeria, Adetugbq (1967) maintains that Standard Yoruba (which he refers to as a koiné), while largely deriving its lexicon and syntax

from Qyq and adjacent dialects, has a phonology approximate to Ẹgba phonology, i.e. the Abeokuta dialect.

4. Adetugbo (1967:9) writes: "The Yoruba language has a standardized form. This form has an orthography bequeathed to it by the efforts of the missionaries in the last century. It is only by this standardized form that Yoruba is known outside Western Nigeria. The standardized form itself achieves some measure of uniformity as a literary koiné. The findings from our fieldwork suggest that as a spoken language this uniformity of the koiné lags behind the written".
5. It is debatable at the moment whether or not the spoken variety of Yoruba used for common or inter-group communication among the various dialect speaking groups of Yoruba people can truly be characterized as 'standard Yoruba'. Although there is a written 'standard' which will no doubt influence the spoken variety used by those who have been to school. I am inclined to think that the variety used by individuals for the purpose of common intelligibility across dialect boundaries would best be described as 'Common Yoruba', the features of which are yet to be studied and analysed. (See Fresco 1970).
6. Although the present Military Government in Nigeria has now decided to move the country's capital  
...../333.

inlands from Lagos, Lagos has over the years been the capital of Nigeria and the main administrative seat of the Federal Government. It is the most important commercial, industrial and port town in Nigeria.

7. The local dialect of Yoruba spoken by a few old people in Isalẹ Eko today is not the same thing as what is popularly known as 'Eko' or Lagos Yoruba. Isalẹ Eko was, and still is, the indigenous section of the town. It was here that the earliest inhabitants of Eko (Lagos) settled in and up till today it is still the seat of the traditional ruler of Lagos. The development of Lagos Yoruba as distinct from the Isalẹ Eko dialect can be traced back to the time when many Yoruba people who had been liberated from slavery in Brazil and Sierra Leone returned to Nigeria and started settling in Lagos around Lafiaji and Olowogbowo. A full account of the emergence of Lagos Yoruba will be given in Chapter IV.

The bi-dialectal situation in Ẹpẹ arose from the fact that the original inhabitants of Ẹpẹ were made up of half Lagosians. The Lagosians who settled in Ẹpẹ were the ones who probably went with Ọba Kosọkọ of Lagos when he was sent into exile in Ẹpẹ about the beginning of the nineteenth century. To-day, although sharp distinctions are still being made between the Ijẹbu and the original Lagosians in Ẹpẹ in certain cultural features, the linguistic picture is one of almost complete assimilation of the Ijẹbu dialect to the 'Lagos' variety spoken in Ẹpẹ especially among the younger generation.

Notes on Chapter I

1.

The Yoruba ethnic group in Nigeria comprises several major and minor sub-ethnic groups of people. The name by which each group is identified is also the name by which the linguistic code identified with each group is known. Thus, the names of the major sub-ethnic groups like: Oyo, Egbas, Ijebu, Ekiti, Ondo, Ikafe/Ikajefe, Ijesa, Owu, Awori, are also the names given to the major dialects of the Yoruba language.

Since each major sub-ethnic group also constitutes a major dialect group, the use of one's ethnic dialect is regarded as an identifying feature of one's sub-ethnic origin. In a large number of cases a person's Yoruba dialect speech is often used as a means of identifying the sub-ethnic group to which that person belongs. On the other hand, a person may want to portray his sub-ethnic identity by using the dialect of his sub-ethnic group.

In this regard, it becomes appropriate to talk of Yoruba dialects as being 'badges of identity' for the Yoruba sub-ethnic groups of people who speak them. Apart from the above-listed major groups, there are several minor groups of Yoruba people who are subsumed under the various major groups each of which is also identified with a sub-dialect slightly different from the major dialect under which it is categorized. (cf. Jackson, J. 1974).



Notes on Chapter II.

1. The 'Ọba', the Yoruba equivalent for 'king', is the traditional head of the community. The titular name for the Ọba of Ikorodu is 'Àyángburẹ̀n' after whom the main and longest street in Ikorodu has been named.
2. The word 'motor park' is the Nigerian English equivalent of 'bus station' in British English. But there is a difference in connotation. While 'bus station' in British English refers exclusively to a station where usually only buses are available (cf. coach station, train station, taxi park, bus stop etc.), in the Nigerian situation, a 'motor park' is usually an open space within the town where all sorts of passenger vehicles, ranging from taxis, small mini-buses, long-distance taxi cabs and wagons, to luxury buses and coaches assemble. Passengers who travel to different parts of the country also congregate here to take the appropriate vehicle for their journey.
3. One can talk of the acquisition of the prestigious Lagos urban dialect and its use side by side with the local Ijẹbu dialect as one of the linguistic correlates of the juxtaposition of the traditional and the modern in the community. But one other minor feature which is of considerable linguistic interest in this regard is the pattern of street labelling in the town. I noticed that in the newer parts of the town, street

marking is done by writing the word 'street' after the name of the street such as 'Ayangburęn Street', 'Oriwu Street', etc. But in the older parts of the town, street marking is done by writing the local dialect equivalent for 'street' that is, 'Ìtun' before the name of the street such as 'Ìtun Maja', 'Ìtun Ladega', etc.

The word for 'street' in the Ręmę variety of the Ijębu dialect is ùtun /ùtũ/. In Şagamu the word is still pronounced [ùtũ], but in Ikorodu it is pronounced as [ìtũ] as shown in the pronunciation of the street names 'Ìtun Maja', 'Ìtun Ladega', [ìtũ maʒa], [ìtũ ladega], and so on. The change from u - initial words (usually nouns) in the local variety of the Ijębu dialect to i - initial pronunciation in the Ikorodu speech community is one of the features of dialect shift in the speech behaviour of members of the community to be investigated in this study.

4. In many of the Yoruba-speaking areas in Nigeria (except cosmopolitan Lagos), the Yoruba language is used as the medium of instruction only in the first three years of primary education; thereafter, the language of instruction in the educational system is English.
5. The Ręmę sub-group of the Ijębu people are distinguished from the others because of the history of their origin and migration into what is now known

as Ijebu-land. Long after the first set of Ijebu people (that is, the Ijebu Ode group locally referred to as 'Ijebu Iwaju'), had settled in Ijebuland, a new wave of migration brought in the present group called Ijebu Remo. They were said to have left Irewo, a prominent quarter in Ile-Ife, the ancestral home of the Yoruba people, and founded a number of settlements clustering around the present-day town of Sagamu.

Originally, Ijebu Remo was said to have comprised thirty-three settlements which included the present-day Sagamu (founded by the coming together of six of the original settlements), Ikenni, Ode Remo, Ikorodu, etc. One distinguishing linguistic characteristic of the Remo sub-group is their [ɣ] - pronunciation. The voiced velar fricative /ɣ/ occurs in such words as /oɣó/ 'money', /ùɣo/ 'horn', /uɣò/ 'hole', /orúɣo/ 'head', /ɣòó/ 'look (at it)', /ɣó/ 'bend' 'crooked'.

Adetugbo (1967) shows that the /ɣ/ phoneme is one of the major phonological features which differentiate the Southeast Yoruba (SEY) dialects, which includes the Ijebu dialect, from the other major dialect areas.

Although this feature is also characteristic of the Owu, Ondo, Ikalẹ/Ilajẹ/Apẹ dialects, only the Remo sub-group of the Ijebu people is [ɣ] - pronouncing. The Ijebu-Ode sub-dialect group has [w] in all the

environments where Rẹmọ has [γ] . It was observed that γ - pronouncing is a feature by which the Rẹmọ people are stereotyped linguistically by the rest of the Ijẹbu people. This feature has now disappeared almost completely from the speech of Ikorodu people.

6. The Ọṣùgbó cult was a very powerful administrative, political and judicial set-up within the old Ijẹbu Kingdom. It was used effectively to keep the various components of the Kingdom together during the Awujalẹ's opposition to the entry of any European group, whether for religious or for commercial purposes to his Kingdom at the beginning of the 19th century. (See Aronson (1970) for a detailed discussion of the Ọṣùgbó cult in the administrative machinery of old Ijẹbu Kingdom.)

7. Ayantuga (1965:24) quotes the following passage from the notes of one Captain John Adams who observed that at Ikorodu the Lagos (Portuguese) traders also '..... purchase slaves, Jaboo [Ijẹbu] cloth and such articles as are required for domestic consumption. The necessaries of life are here extremely abundant and cheap...'

(Captain John Adams: 'Sketches taken during Ten Voyages to Africa between 1786-1800'.  
London: 1822.)

8. Lagos State came into being in May 1967 when the Federal Military Government created 12 States

out of the existing 4 regions. Although Ikorodu is an Ijebu town, its proximity to Lagos was probably responsible for its being incorporated into Lagos State. Between 1967 and 1976 Ikorodu played a prominent role in the administration of Lagos State because some of the most prominent civil commissioners in the military administration of the State are from Ikorodu. Shortly before the 1976 creating of more states in Nigeria, there were speculations that Ikorodu and some other peripheral towns in Lagos State might be merged with a proposed Ijebu-Ègba State (now Ogun State). The Ikorodu people used every mass media opportunity they could get to agitate against any attempt to excise them from Lagos State to join the rest of Ijebu towns in a new state. They argued that their social, economic and political orientation is rooted within the Lagos State. Today, Ikorodu is still part of Lagos State and it is the only Ijebu town which is not in Ogun State.

9. See Note 1 in Chapter VI.
10. This is discussed fully in Chapter IV, Sections 4.2.3, 4.2.4 and 4.2.5 .
11. There was a lot of controversy over the results of the 1963 population census. Many people regarded the figures as inaccurate because they were said to have been inflated in certain parts of the country. The 1973 population census figures aroused even greater suspicion, so much so that the Federal Military Government had to declare the figures

unacceptable. The 1963 census figures are still being used as the 'latest' official population figures for administrative purposes.

12. These figures represent a current estimate from the survey conducted by the Qnqfwwkan Cityscape Group for the purpose of preparing a development plan for the Ikorodu local government area.
13. An annual growth rate of 5.6 between 1952 and 1963 is totally out of proportion with the other periods. The inflation of the 1963 population figures shows up clearly here. The 1973 figures are the survey estimates and not the 1973 census figures.
14. See Mabogunje's book Yoruba Towns (Mabogunje 1962) for the various categorizations of Yoruba towns vis-a-vis the criteria for categorizing 'towns' in western societies.

#### Notes on Chapter III.

1. The fairly comprehensive accounts of the methodological approaches to the gathering of sociolinguistic data given in Labov 1971, and Sankoff and Sankoff 1973 derive from sociolinguistic investigations which have been conducted in speech communities in highly developed industrialized societies. The application of these methods to the sociolinguistic situations in underdeveloped

African societies will have to take account of the significant inherent differences in the social and cultural characteristics between western and African societies.

But the comprehensive nature of the survey designs makes <sup>it</sup> possible for adequate speech data deriving from the social context of use to be collected in a way that is more representative of the speech community than in earlier linguistic and dialectological surveys. (See Trudgill(1971) for a criticism of the approaches used in such surveys as Orton and Dieth (1962- ), Kurath and McDavid (1961).)

2. See note 1 above.
3. Among the many scholars who have worked on various aspects of the Yoruba language, a good number of them are non-native speakers of the language who had to rely on a few hand-picked native speaker informants. Scholars who are native speakers **usually** had to make use of hand-picked informants.
4. Labov (1970 in 1972:204) also points out that the patterning with the inherent variation found within the speech community does not require the statistical analysis of speakers' records as linguists traditionally feared, for example (Hockett (1958:444). Labov says that  
"..... the basic patterns of class stratification emerge from samples as small as 25 speakers", and,

"..... regular arrays of stylistic and social stratification emerge even when our individual cells contain as few as five speakers and we have no more than five or ten instances of the given variable for each speaker."

5. Reliable sampling frames like lists of individuals in the population or aggregates of census returns from a complete census of population could not be located. All pre - 1965 records pertaining to Ikorodu and the district which were available in the Local Government Council Office in the town were destroyed in the arson and wanton damage which characterized the series of political disturbances in Western Nigeria in 1965.
6. Occupants of the remaining three houses were non-natives. The owners of these houses are natives of Ikorodu working in Lagos or in some other parts of the country, but they managed to build houses in their hometown as a mark of their economic success, and a demonstration of self-identification with their town or origin. They return home only periodically, sometimes only once or twice a year.
7. Various factors are responsible for the empty cells which occur in the distribution of the sample.
  - i) Although this may not be a general picture of all the towns in the then Western and Lagos States, a number of towns in these two States do not have



citizens below the age of 25 years who do not possess at least some years of primary school education. The Free Primary School scheme was initiated in the then Western Region of Nigeria in January 1955, that is, about 23 years ago.

ii) The empty cells at the Secondary and Higher education levels for females above the age of 40 years reflect the limited importance attached to the education of girls beyond the primary school level some 30 - 40 years ago.

iii) Only two informants were selected at the Higher Education (HED) level. Most well-educated citizens of Ikorodu are resident either in Lagos or in other parts of the country where they work in Government establishments.

8. The categorization of speech styles in terms of five stylistic ranges in casual speech, careful speech, reading style, wordlist and minimal pairs styles have been variously applied in English speaking situations. (cf. Labov 1966 and Trudgill 1971). It is doubtful whether this will be applicable in a sub-literate speech community of the type we are dealing with here.

9. With a reasonably literate informant, the words were read out to him in English one after the other and he was required to give his pronunciation of the local dialect form. Others prefer to read the words themselves and then give their pronunciation of the local dialect form.

With non-literate informants, however, and those who do not understand English, the interviewers

would describe the features of the object, or the notion to which a word refers (taking care not to give the word), until the informant was able to produce the required word in his own pronunciation. For visible objects or parts of the body, the interviewer simply pointed or touched, and the informant gave the dialect name of the object.

10. Sankoff, G. (1974:23) notes that the more informal (natural) the situation of speech elicitation, the more difficult it is to record, in that background noise seems to increase exponentially with informality or naturalness.

Notes on Chapter IV.

1. There are three sub-varieties of the Ijebu dialect - (i) The Ijebu Ode sub-variety spoken mainly in Ijebu-Ode and all the other towns within Ijebu-Ode Division.
- (ii) The Ijebu Waterside dialect associated with the group of Ijebu people who settle along the riverine areas around Makun and Abigi.
- (iii) The Ijebu Remo sub-dialect spoken in all towns within Remo Division with its administrative headquarters in Şagamu. D'Avezac (1845) provided a description of Ijebu speech exemplified by a speaker - Oşifekunde - from Makun in the Ijebu riverine dialect

area. Koelle (1854) used an informant from Ègbè near Ijèbu-Ode for the Ijèbu dialect version of his word list.

The term 'Ijèbu' refers to the people as well as to their dialect. The description of IJB provided in this chapter is based on the data collected from the Rẹmọ sub-group of the Ijèbu people.

2. There is need to make a distinction between what should be regarded as 'Standard Yoruba' (STD) on the one hand, and on the other hand, what has been referred to as 'Common Yoruba' (CY). Standard Yoruba derives essentially from the written variety. At best, it is a literary variety learnt from books and through the formal school system. Its use in radio and television broadcasts for news broadcasts cannot be regarded as evidence of its widespread use as a common spoken variety because these news broadcasts are oral reproductions of written materials.

There is a spoken variety which is fast gaining ground especially in the large urban centres like Ibadan and Lagos. This variety which should be regarded as Common Yoruba, following Fresco's (1970) suggestion, lacks homogeneity in terms of pronunciation from speaker to speaker. It also lacks lexical homogeneity. The great majority of people who speak it are essentially bi-dialectals whose indigenous

local dialects still affect their CY speech.

3. A purely synchronic approach demands, among other things, that the analysis of a dialect must be motivated by dialect-internal considerations. Whatever rules are written for the grammar of such a dialect must be rules which capture only the processes which are found to take place in the dialect, since the orthodox view of competence does not give consideration to such issues as bi-dialectal competence, or variable competence.

4. (PRY) Becker (1967:7) maintains a position which does not seem to admit the inevitability of cross-dialectal correspondences in an investigation of dialectal variation such as his study entails. He maintains:

Whenever a rule is found in more than one dialect, it must be remembered that its presence is motivated entirely by the requirements placed on the form of generative phonology and the data of the dialect in question. No attempt has been

made to set up common underlying forms for the three dialects. The independence of the three phonologies presented here cannot be over-emphasized, for without it this could be construed to be not a synchronic phonological study, but rather a kind of exercise in the application of the comparative method of historical

linguistics to some closely related German dialects.

This type of sentiment reflects the inflexible position held by those who insist on the homogeneity of their descriptions even when there is overwhelming evidence that the data they are dealing with is variable data.

5. Adetugbọ (1967) sub-categorizes Proto-Yoruba into Proto-West Yoruba (PWY) and Proto-East Yoruba (PEY). All the Yoruba dialects that are spoken within the borders of Nigeria belong, in Adetugbọ's sub-categorization, to the PEY system.
6. The divergences which occurred to produce the major groups of dialects classified as NWY, SEY and CY in Adetugbọ's study must have occurred also within each major group to produce minor differences which are noticed amongst them, for example between Ijẹbu, Ondo, Ọwọ etc. in the SEY group.
7. CY (Central Yoruba) is used to designate the geographical delimitation of the dialect group comprising Ekiti, Ijẹsa, Akurẹ etc. and is different from Fresco's (1970) CY (Common Yoruba). The Ekiti dialect is a member of the group of dialects called Central Yoruba in Adetugbọ's classification. In Fresco's study, the name Ifaki (If.) is used for this regional variety. Ifaki is one of the several towns in Ekiti Division, and Fresco's informant who came from Ifaki obviously spoke the Ekiti dialect.

Adetugbo's term - Central Yoruba - is much more general since it comprises Ekiti, Ijẹṣa and Akurẹ sub-varieties. The term 'Ekiti dialect' (EKITI) will be used all through this study to designate the form of speech used in Ekitiland.

8. It must be pointed out, however, that dialectal divergence cannot be based solely on the dialect contact theory. Other theories abound on the causes of dialectal differences within a language. Theories such as structural pressures, chain shifts etc. have been variously examined in other studies.
9. Koelle's Polyglotta Africana which was published in 1854 was merely a word list.
10. As shown on page 125, the vowels of these dialects divide into two sets of tense and non-tense vowels (oral and nasal). There are systematic constraints on the sequence of vocalic segments within nouns in Yoruba. The high-mid vowels [e, o] do not co-occur with the low-mid vowels [ɛ, ɔ], and the low vowel [a] does not occur following [e, o] .

In some earlier studies on Yoruba (Courtenay 1968) vowel harmony was described as a condition operating solely on morphemes, especially nouns. But later studies (Adetugbo, 1967 and 1969, Stahlke, 1969, Fresco, 1970) point to the fact that vowel harmony, in some dialects, is not simply a condition on morphemes. Fresco, for example, suggests that

vowel harmony in Yoruba is an assimilatory process, at least over sub-sections of the phonologies of the Ekiti group of dialects. In these dialects tenseness agreement is not limited to nouns but extends to verb stems and the vowels of certain morphemes which precede them. The effect of the tenseness assimilation rule which has been dropped from a number of Yoruba dialects is retained in the form of a constraint on tenseness in sequences of vowels in the lexical representation of nouns.

11. Where I differ from Fresco is in terms of whether there were seven or nine vowels in the phonological system of Proto-Yoruba. I suggest that there were nine.

12. The areas of disagreement among them are usually connected with the number of underlying versus surface vowels, and also the number of the nasal vowels.

13. 'Eko' was the name that was originally given to the indigenous settlement that is now known as Lagos. The name Lagos was given as a substitute by the Portuguese merchants to reflect the 'Lagos' port in Portugal.

14. Today, the Lagos variety of Yoruba is so much different from the original Awori dialect. It is said that the speech of some of the very old people in Isalẹ Eko still reflects the original Awori dialect.

15. See Spencer Brown (1964) for a fuller description of the various groups of people who made up the Lagos of that period.
16. See Spencer Brown (op. cit.)
17. Nasal vowels generally do not occur in word-initial positions in any of the dialects of Yoruba. Adetugbo's examples of word-initial nasal vowels in some SEY dialects are a result of assimilatory nasalization or secondary nasalization.
18. Such correspondences are necessary for understanding the present-day systems of some Yoruba dialects. They are a justification for accepting the comparative method.
19. This also relates to the effect of the partial collapse of the harmony rule in certain dialects and the generalization of that rule to include even non-nouns in dialects such as Ekiti.

#### Notes on Chapter V.

1. It should be pointed out that Bailey rejects the notion of 'dialect' in view of what he calls 'the failure of structuralist attempts to make the term dialect meaningful', and proposes in its place the terms 'lect', defined as "any bundling together of linguistic phenomena", and 'isolects' as "varieties of language that differ only in a minimal way... ." I am applying the term 'dialect' in this study in a non-committal way in the sense that I have used it as a descriptive label for the various regional/ethnic



varieties of the Yoruba language.

2. Only ĩ can be said to have been involved in a merger with ẽ because there is no synchronic evidence to indicate which class of words in the dialect originally had the segment ẽ, and which derived from the lowering of ĩ. But in the case of the lowering of ũ to ǔ, it is arguable if a complete merger actually took place. In the first place there are correspondences in the other dialects showing that there has always been a class of words in which ǔ occurs before the historical lowering of ũ took place. Furthermore, it is found that the ǔ-words in Ijebu which resulted from the lowering of ũ to ǔ were the ones to be first involved in variability and can now be regarded as having been involved in a completed sound change.
3. See Chapter IV page 134 for a description of the corresponding denasalization of ĩ in Ijebu.
4. Occasional alteration<sup>n</sup><sub>L</sub> between [ũ] and [ǔ] can still be heard in the speech of the older non-literate members of the community.
5. Polysyllabic words like /ikpére/, /irèfe/, /ijèkpè/, /itèbètébé/ occur in Ikalẹ /Ilajẹ/ Apọi group of dialects in Okitipupa Division. It turns out that the vowels of all succeeding syllables are necessarily [+ front].

6. There are only a few examples of words involved in the renasalization of the i segments. Only such words as [ɛʃi] 'horse', [àwòfi] 'palace', [òfi] 'law', [akisoja] 'a name', could be attested.
7. What is happening here is a case of assimilation. Whenever the initial vowel of the noun with which /oli/ contracts is any of the [+ high] vowels, only the final vowel i of /oli/ is deleted. But with other nouns in which the initial vowel is any of the [- high] vowels, not only is the final i vowel of /oli/ deleted, the initial vowel o also assimilates to the initial vowel of the noun with which /oli/ contracts, e.g. /oli/ + ekpo/ → [elékpo] 'palm-oil owner'  
/oli/ + ɛja/ → [eléja] 'fish owner'  
/oli/ + ata/ → [aláta] 'pepper owner'
- (See Ekundayo 1972: 122-124).
8. Labov (1966) and Trudgill (1971).
9. The reliability of my transcription in terms of accuracy and consistency was checked randomly by John Esling, a contemporary and postgraduate student in phonetics in the Department. I am most grateful to him.
10. See Trudgill (1971 & 1974).
- ...../353.

Notes on Chapter VI.

1. The notion of 'community linguistic repertoire' is borrowed from Gumperz (1971) because my observations on language use in Ikorodu have similarities with Gumperz's reports on the Hemnesberget speech community in Norway. According to Gumperz, 'community linguistic repertoire' refers to "the totality of linguistic resources which speakers (of a speech community) may employ in significant social interaction" (1971: 276). In Hemnesberget speakers of Ranamål (the local dialect) also control Bokmål (the standard variety). In their everyday interaction they select between the two codes as the situation demands.

But according to Gumperz members of the community view this alternation as a shift between distinct entities, which are never mixed. A person speaks either one or the other, a situation one might regard as being diglossic. In the Ikorodu speech community, however, diglossia of this type does not exist; there is a considerable amount of code mixing as will be described fully in the next chapter.

2. This claim does not in anyway contradict my findings about strong loyalty to the mother tongue. Most of those who claim to use a dialect other than the local dialect to talk about their traditional festivals are mainly secondary school students who were interviewed in the boarding school. They also include the five informants who claim not to have speaking

competence in their mother tongue. It appears that their inability to discuss their traditional festivals in the mother tongue is inevitable. Furthermore, the boarding school environment in which a very large majority of the school population is made up of 'non-natives' may be responsible for this, especially since one of the festivals was on at the time of the survey. They probably were constantly obliged to explain aspects of the festival to their non-native school mates.

3. In a rather curious way, the phrase 'Ikorodu Qga', historically, meaning 'the Ikorodu founded by Qga (Qga was the most prominent of the people who left Şagamu to found Ikorodu - Chapter II), is now being given an extended interpretation. Semantically the lexical item Qga [ɔga] means 'the boss' or 'leader'. So today in Ikorodu the term 'Ikorodu Qga' apart from referring to a historical event - the Ikorodu founded by a leader whose name was Qga - is being used to indicate that the Ikorodu community is 'leader' among the other Ijebu communities. This was indirectly confirmed in my interviews with two elderly residents of Şagamu who agree that the life style in Ikorodu is far too advanced, and albeit rather extravagant, by the standards of the other Ijebu Rẹmọ communities. "The Ikorodu people are very industrious and rich and they are very progressive", maintained one educated respondent in Şagamu.

4. Although western type education is the major underlying factor in the development of 'elite' groups in many African societies, and Ikorodu certainly has its own share of 'western' educated 'elites', the contemporary picture of most communities today is one in which various other factors such as religion, business and politics have contributed towards the making of elite groups. Certainly in the Ikorodu community, with a population that is predominantly muslim, being an Alhaji (i.e. having gone on pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina) confers an elite status on the individual. On the other hand, success in business and politics is not necessarily determined by the level of formal education one has got, but it may result from sheer industry and initiative on the part of an individual with bare minimum educational qualification. The elite people in Ikorodu today constitute a group of 'innovators' who have had extensive contacts with the urban life in Lagos and are involved in various spheres of activity ranging from business, industry, education and politics. But they choose to harness the results of their activities towards the development of their own community.

5. Active and effective participation in many spheres of activity relating to politics, commerce

and industry in a fast-growing suburban community like Ikorodu and also in the city of Lagos, demands some level of literacy. So in most cases, illiteracy is negatively evaluated, and being an illiterate is generally regretted and moaned by many respondents.

6. The negative attitudes of many non-Ijebu Yoruba people toward the Ijebu sub-ethnic group results from the feeling that the typical Ijebu person is thrifty and miserly as far as money is concerned. But, as Aronson (op. cit.) has pointed out, these characteristics, in addition to sheer industry and ruggedness, are the secrets behind the success of the Ijebu people at home and those in other parts of the country.

Notes on Chapter VII.

1. I am using the term 'discourse' in a rather narrow sense in which the word is sometimes used in some sociolinguistic descriptions. Here I am interested in what takes place in specific speech situations within the context of a social setting in which speech events are seen in relation to the social meanings attached to speech performance.

2. "Association meetings" are generally a feature of large urban centres in most African countries. These are usually organized on ethnic lines. The need for group identity and co-operative ventures among the different ethnic groups of immigrants in large urban

centres gives rise to the formation of such associations. "Communal meetings" on the other hand, are typically associated with almost every indigenous African town or village. They provide forums where issues which affect the town or the village are discussed and settled.

3. The folklore tradition of Yoruba traditional culture entails the oral reproduction, by narration, of age-long folk tales that have been handed down from generation to generation. The style of reproduction and the mode of presentation, although they are subject to slight modifications, do not change their essential stylistic qualities as elements of the oral literature of the people. It is in this sense that I regard the model of speech usage as 'narrative'.
4. See note 3 Chapter VI.
5. In the context of an ethnically homogeneous community such as Ikorodu, two main types of communal meetings can be recognized. First, there are the society or association meetings organized by the various societies or associations in the community. Their activities range from social, cultural, political and economic matters to several other issues affecting the welfare of the entire community and/or groups of individuals within it. Second, there are the traditional meetings usually convened and presided over by the traditional ruler of the community or his nominee. This category also includes the compound-type and family meetings. The constraints on speech performance differ between these two main types of communal meetings.

REFERENCES

- Adetugbò, Abiodun. (1967) The Yoruba language in Western Nigeria: its major dialect areas. Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University.
- \_\_\_\_\_, (1969) 'Towards a Yoruba dialectology'. Paper presented at the Weekend Seminar on Yoruba Language and Literature, Dec. 13-16. Inst. of African Studies, University of Ife.
- Afolayan, A. (1976) 'The Six-year Primary Project in Nigeria', in Bamgboṣe, ed. Mother Tongue Education.
- Agheyisi, R. and J.A. Fishman (1970) 'Language attitude studies: a brief survey of methodological approaches! AL. 12, 137-57.
- Akere, Funṣò (1974) 'Subject and object pronouns in Yoruba: A comparative description of their syntactic-semantic functions in Standard Yoruba and two of its dialects'. MS. Department of Linguistics, Edinburgh University.
- Aronson, Dan. (1970) Cultural stability and social change among the modern Ijebu Yoruba. Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Chicago.
- Awobuluyi, A. Oladele (1967a) 'Vowel and consonant harmony in Yoruba', JAL 6.1, 1-8.
- \_\_\_\_\_, (1967b) Studies in the syntax of the Standard Yoruba Verb. Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University.
- Ayantuga, O.O. (1965) Ijebu and its neighbours. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of London.
- Bailey, C.-J.N. (1969-70) 'Studies in three-dimensional linguistic theory'. Working Papers in Linguistics, University of Hawaii Vols. 1.8 & 10, 2. 4, 6 & 8.
- \_\_\_\_\_, (1971) 'Trying to talk in the new paradigm', Working Papers in Linguistics, University of Hawaii, Vol. 1. 5, 111-37.
- \_\_\_\_\_, (1972) 'The integration of linguistic theory: internal reconstruction and the comparative method in descriptive analysis', in Stockwell and Macaulay, eds. Linguistic Change and Generative Theory, 22-31.



- \_\_\_\_\_, (1973a) 'The patterning of language variation', in Bailey and Robinson, eds. Varieties of present-day English.
- \_\_\_\_\_, (1973b) Variation and Linguistic Theory. Arlington, Va., Centre for Applied Linguistics.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and R.W. Shuy (1973) New Ways of Analysing Variation in English. Washington, D.C. Georgetwon University Press.
- Bailey, R.W. and J.L. Robinson, eds. (1973) Varieties of present-day English, London, Macmillan.
- Bamgboṣe, Ayọ (1964) 'Verb-nominal collocations in Yoruba: a problem of syntactic analysis', JWAL 1.2, 27-32.
- \_\_\_\_\_, (1965) 'Assimilation and contraction in Yoruba', JWAL 2.1, 21-28.
- \_\_\_\_\_, (1966) A Grammar of Yoruba. West African Language Monographs 5. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_, (1967) 'Vowel harmony in Yoruba', JAL. 6.3.
- \_\_\_\_\_, (1969) 'Yoruba studies today', ODU NS No. 1. 85 - 100.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. (1976) Mother Tongue Education: The West African Experience. UNESCO Press.
- Barth, F., ed. (1969) Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social organization of culture difference. New York.
- Bauman, R. and Joel Sherzer, eds. (1974) Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Becker, Donald A. (1967) Generative phonology and dialect study: an investigation of three modern German dialects. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Texas at Austin.
- Berry, Jack, (1971) 'The Madina project, Ghana' in W.H. Whiteley ed. Language Use and Social Change. 318-33.
- Bickerton, Derek (1971) 'Inherent variability and variable rules'. FL7. 457-92.

- Bloomfield, L. (1939 [1964]) 'Memomini morphophonemics' Etudes phonologiques dédiées à la mémoire de m. le prince N.S. Troubetzkoy (originally TCLP 8), 105-15. Alabama: University of Alabama Press.
- Bowdich, Thomas E. (1819) Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee. London.
- Bowen, T.J. (1858) Grammar and Dictionary of the Yoruba Language. London. Smithsonian Institute.
- Bright, William O. ed. (1966) Sociolinguistics. *Janua Linguarum, Series Major XX*. The Hague: Mouton.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and A.K. Ramanujan (1964) 'Sociolinguistic variation and language change', Proceedings of the 9th International Congress of Linguists, 1107, The Hague, Mouton.
- Brown, Spencer H. (1964) A History of the People of Lagos, 1850-1886. Ph.D. Dissertation, Northwestern University.
- Cedergren, Henrietta J. (1972) The interplay of social and linguistic factors in Panama. Ph.D. Dissertation, Cornell University.
- \_\_\_\_\_, (1973) 'On the nature of variable constraints', in Bailey and Shuy, eds. New ways of analysing variation in English. 13-22.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and D. Sankoff, (1974) 'Variable rules: performance as a statistical reflection of competence'. *Language* 50. 333-55.
- Chen, Matthew Y. (1975) 'An areal study of nasalization in Chinese'. *JCL* 3.1. 16-59.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and Hsieh, H-I. (1971) 'The time variable in phonological change'. *JL*. VII. 1-13.
- Chomsky, Noam (1965) Aspects of the theory of syntax. Cambridge Mass. M.I.T. Press.
- Cole, Peter, (1975) 'The synchronic and diachronic status of conversational implicature', in Cole, P. and J.L. Morgan eds. Syntax and Semantics. Vol. 3, 257-88. New York: Academic Press.
- Courtenay, Karen (1968) A generative phonology of Yoruba. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.

- Crowther, Samuel A. (1852) A grammar of the Yoruba language. Seeleys, London.
- D'Anglejan and Richard G. Tucker (1973) 'Sociolinguistic correlates of speech styles in Quebec', in Shuy and Fasold, eds. Language Attitudes. 1-27.
- D'Avezac-Macaya, M.A. (1845) 'Notice sur le pays et le peuple des Yébous en Afrique', Mémoires de la Société Ethnologique, 2.1-196. Paris.
- De Camp (1959) 'Review of Sapón, 'A pictorial linguistic interview manual' Language 35. 394-402.
- Ejiogu, C.N. (1968) 'African rural-urban migrants in the main migrant areas of the Lagos Federal Territory', in Caldwell, J.C. and C. Okongo, eds. The Population of Tropical Africa. London. Australian National University Press. 320-30.
- Èkundayo, S.A. (1972) 'Aspects of underlying representations in Yoruba Noun Phrase'. Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh.
- Fasold, R.W. (1970) 'Two models of socially significant linguistic variation: Language 46. 551-63.
- Ferguson, C.A. and J.J. Gumperz eds. (1960) 'Linguistic diversity in South Asia: Studies in regional, social and functional variation'. IJAL 26(3), Part III.
- Firth, J.R. (1957) Papers in linguistics 1934-1951. London, Oxford University Press.
- Fishman, J. ed. (1968) Readings in the Sociology of language. The Hague: Mouton.
- \_\_\_\_\_, (1972) Advances in the sociology of language. Vol. 1. The Hague. Mouton.
- \_\_\_\_\_, R.L. Cooper, R. Ma et. al. (1971) Bilingualism in the Barrio. Bloomington. Indiana University.
- Fox, James J. (1974) 'Our ancestors spoke in pairs: Rotinese views of language, dialect and code', in Bauman and Sherzer eds. 65-85.
- Fraser, Bruce (1973) 'Some unexpected reactions to various American-English dialects', in Shuy and Fasold, eds. 28-35.

- Fresco, E. (1970) Topics in Yoruba dialect phonology. Studies in African linguistics Supp. 1. Vol. 1. Department of Linguistics and Centre for African Studies, University of California, Los Angeles.
- Garfinckle, H. (1967) Studies in ethnomethodology. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- Giglioli, P.P. ed. (1972) Language and Social context Penguin Education.
- Giles, H. (1970) 'Evaluative reactions to accents'. Educational Review 22. 211-27.
- Goode, W.J. and P. Hatt (1952) Methods in social research. McGraw-Hill.
- Gumperz, J.J. (1964) 'Linguistic and social interaction in two communities', in J. Gumperz and Dell Hymes, eds. The ethnography of communication. American Anthropologist 66 (6), pt. 2. 137-54.
- \_\_\_\_\_, (1966) 'On the ethnology of linguistic change, in Bright, ed. Sociolinguistics. 27-49.
- \_\_\_\_\_, (1967) 'On the linguistic markers of bilingual communication', in MacNamara, ed. Problems of bilingualism. Journal of Social Issues 23 (2), 48-57.
- \_\_\_\_\_, (1970) 'Verbal Strategies in multilingual communication'. Georgetown Monograph Series on Language and Linguistics, No. 23, 129-47.
- \_\_\_\_\_, (1971) Language in social groups. Palo Alto, California, Stanford University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_, (1971) 'Social meaning in linguistic structures: code-switching in Norway', in Language in Social Groups.
- \_\_\_\_\_, (1972 [1968]) 'The Speech Community', in Giglioli, ed. Language and social context 219-31.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and Hernandez-C, (1971) 'Cognitive aspects of bilingual communication' in W.H. Whiteley, ed. Language use and social change.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and Dell Hymes (1972) Directions in Sociolinguistics. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Wiston.

- Hair, P.E.H. (1967) The early study of Nigerian languages. West African Language Monographs, No. 7. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hensey, F.G. (1972) The sociolinguistics of the Brazilian-Uruguayan border. The Hague: Mouton.
- Hockett, C.F. (1958) A course in modern linguistics. New York: Macmillan.
- Hymes, Dell (1962) 'The ethnography of speaking' in Gladwin, T. and W.C. Sturtevant, eds. Anthropology and human behaviour, 13-53. Washington, D.C., Anthropological Society of Washington.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. (1964) Language in culture and society. New York, Harper and Row.
- \_\_\_\_\_, (1971 [1968] ) 'On communicative competence', in Pride and Holmes, eds. Sociolinguistics Penguin, 1972. 269-93.
- \_\_\_\_\_, (1971) 'Sociolinguistics and the ethnography of speaking', in Ardener, ed. Social Anthropology and language. London, Tavistock.
- \_\_\_\_\_, (1974) Foundations in sociolinguistics: An ethnographic approach. Philadelphia, University of Penn. Press.
- Jackson, Jean (1974) 'Language identity of the Colombian Vaupés Indians', in Bauman and Sherzer, eds. 50-64.
- Jordan, A.C. (1966) 'Tale, teller and audience in African spoken narrative'. Proceedings of Conference on African languages and literatures, April 28-30. Northwestern University. 33-44.
- Kim, J. and F. Kohout (1975) Analysis of Variance and Co-variance', in N.H. Nie et. al. SPSS:Statistical Package for Social Sciences. 2nd Edition, New York, McGraw-Hill. 398-433.
- Kiparsky, Paul (1968) 'Linguistic universals and linguistic change', in Bach, E. and R. Harms, eds. Universals in linguistic theory. 171-202. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Wiston.
- Koelle, S.W. (1854) Polyglotta Africana. London.
- \_\_\_\_\_, M. Yagier and R. Steiner (1973) A Quantitative study of sound change in progress. Final Report on National Science Foundation contract NS1-(8-1167). Philadelphia, The U.S. Regional Survey.

- Laberge, S. and Chiasson-Lavoie, M. (1971) 'Attitude face au français parlé à Montréal et degrés de conscience de variables linguistiques', in R. Darnell, ed. Linguistic diversity in Canadian society. 89-126 Edmonton.
- Labov, W. (1966a) The Social stratification of English in New York City. Washington, Centre for Applied Linguistics.
- \_\_\_\_\_, (1966b) 'The linguistic variable as a structural unit'. Washington Linguistic Review 3, 4-22.
- \_\_\_\_\_, (1969) 'Contraction, Deletion, and Inherent variability of the English copula'. Language 45, No. 4 715-62.
- \_\_\_\_\_, (1971) 'The notion of 'system' in Creole studies', in Hymes, ed. Pidginization and Creolization of languages. 447-72. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_, (1972 [1965]) 'On the mechanism of linguistic change', in Gumperz and Hymes, eds. 512-37.
- \_\_\_\_\_, (1972a) 'Methodology', in W. Dingwall, ed. A Survey of linguistic science. College Park, Md., Univ. of Maryland.
- \_\_\_\_\_, (1972b) Language in the Inner City: Studies in Black English vernacular. Philadelphia. University of Penn. Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_, (1972c) Sociolinguistic Patterns. Philadelphia, University of Penn. Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_, (1973) 'General Attitudes towards the speech of New York City', in Bailey and Robinson, eds. Varieties of Present-day English 274-92.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and J. Waletzky (1967) 'Narrative analysis', in Helm, J., ed. Essays on the verbal and visual arts 12-44. Seattle, University of Washington Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_, P. Cohen, C. Robins and J. Lewis (1968) A Study of the Non-Standard English of Negro and Puerto Rican speakers in New York City. Report on Cooperative Research Project No. 3288. New York, Columbia University.
- \_\_\_\_\_, M. Yaeger and R. Steiner (1972) A Quantative study of sound change in progress. Final Report on National Science Foundation contract NSF-GS-3287, Philadelphia, The U.S. Regional Survey.

- Ladefoged, Peter (1964) A phonetic study of West African languages. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Lambert, W. (1967) 'A psychology of bilingualism'. Journal of Social Issues 23(2), 91-109.
- \_\_\_\_\_, M. Anisfeld and G. Yeni-Komshian (1965) 'Evaluational reactions of Jewish and Arab adolescents to dialect and language variations'. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 3, 313-20.
- Leopold, W.F. (1968) 'The decline of German dialects', in J. Fishman, ed. Readings in the Sociology of language. 340-364.
- Le Page, R.B. (1968) 'Problems of description in multilingual communities'. Transactions of the Philological Society, 189-212.
- \_\_\_\_\_, (1972) 'Preliminary report on the sociolinguistic survey of multilingual communities. Part I: Survey of Cayo District, British Honduras'. Language in Society. 1, 1, 155-74.
- \_\_\_\_\_, (1975) 'Projection, focussing and diffusion', or steps towards a sociolinguistic theory of language'. Proceedings of the Conference on the methodology of sociolinguistic surveys, Montreal. Washington, D.C., Centre for Applied Linguistics (to appear).
- \_\_\_\_\_, (1976) 'The multidimensional nature of sociolinguistic space, illustrated from the Sociolinguistic Survey of Multilingual Communities, Stage I (Cayo District, Belize) and II (St. Lucia)'. Paper presented at the Seminar on Sociolinguistic Variation. Communications Research Unit, West Midlands College, Walsall, England.
- Levine, L. and H.J. Crockett (1966) Speech variation in a Piedmont community: postvocalic r', in Lieberman, ed. Explorations in sociolinguistics.
- Lieberman, S. ed. (1966) Explorations in sociolinguistics. Special Issue of Sociological Inquiry 36 (2).
- Ma, R. and E. Harasimchuk (1971) 'The linguistic dimensions of a bilingual neighborhood', in J. Fishman et. al. eds. 347-64.
- Mabogunje, A.L. (1962) Yoruba Towns. Ibadan, Ibadan University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_, (1967) 'The Ijebu', in Loyd, Mabogunje and Awe, eds. The City of Ibadan, London, Cambridge Univ. Press 85-95.

- Macaulay, R. and G. Trevelyan (1973) Language, education and employment in Glasgow. Glasgow. SSRC.
- Mackay, W.F. (1970) 'Interference, integration and the synchronic fallacy', Georgetown Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics, No. 23, 195-227.
- Minderhout, D. (1974) 'Sociolinguistics and Anthropology'. AL. 16,4. 168-76.
- Nadel, S.F. (1951) The Foundations of Social Anthropology. London, Cohen and West Ltd.
- Onofowokan, A. (1975) MS. Master Plan for Ikorodu. Onofowokan Cityscape Group, Ikorodu.
- Ornstein, J. and R. Murphy (1974) 'Models and approaches in sociolinguistic research on language'. AL 16.4, 141-67.
- Oyelaran, O. (1970) Yoruba Phonology. Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford University.
- Parkin, D.J. (1974):  
    (1) Nairobi: Problems and methods.  
    (2) Status factors in language adding.  
    (3) Language shift and ethnicity in Nairobi: the speech community of Kaloleni.  
    (4) Language switching in Nairobi, in W.H. Whiteley, ed. Language in Kenya. 131-216. Nairobi, Oxford University Press.
- Pride, J. (1971) The Social meaning of language. London, Oxford University Press.
- Pride, J. and J. Holmes, eds. (1972) Sociolinguistics. Harmondsworth, Penguin.
- Rowlands, E.C. (1964) 'Some morphological problems in Yoruba'. Paper presented at the 4th West African Languages Congress, March 16-21, Ibadan.
- \_\_\_\_\_, (1965) 'Yoruba dialects in the Polyglotta Africana'. Sierra Leone Language Review, 4. 103-108.
- Rubin, Joan (1968) National bilingualism in Paraguay. The Hague, Mouton.
- \_\_\_\_\_, (1972) 'Acquisition and proficiency', in J. Pride and J. Holmes, eds. Sociolinguistics. 350-66.



- Sankoff, G. (1968) Social aspects of multilingualism in New Guinea. Ph.D. Dissertation, McGill University.
- \_\_\_\_\_, (1969) 'Mutual intelligibility, bilingualism, and linguistic boundaries', in International Days of Sociolinguistics, 839-48. Instituto Luigi Sturzo.
- \_\_\_\_\_, (1972) 'Language use in multilingual societies: some alternative approaches', in J. Pride and J. Holmes, eds. 33-51.
- \_\_\_\_\_, (1974) 'A Quantitative paradigm for the study of communicative competence', in Bauman and Sherzer, eds. 18-49.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and H. Cedergren (1971) 'Some results of a sociolinguistic study of Montreal French', in R. Darnell, ed. Linguistic diversity in Canadian Society. 61-87.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and S. Laberge (1973) 'On the acquisition of native speakers by a language', Kivung. Journal of Linguistic Society in Papua, New Guinea. 6:32-47.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and D. Sankoff (1973) 'Sample survey methods and computer assisted analysis in the study of grammatical variation', in R. Darnell, ed. Canadian languages in their social context 7-63. Edmonton.
- Sapón, S. (1957) 'A pictorial linguistic interview manual.' Columbus. American Library of recorded dialect studies.
- Saporta, S. (1965) 'Ordered rules, dialect differences and historical processes'. Language 41. 218-24.
- Scotton, C. (1972) Choosing a lingua franca in an African capital. Linguistic Research Incorporated.
- Shuy, R., W. Wolfram and W. Riley (1968) Field Techniques in Urban language study. Washington D.C. Centre for Applied Linguistics.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and R. Fasold (1972) 'Contemporary emphasis in Sociolinguistics', in David Smith and Roger Shuy, eds. Sociolinguistics in Cross-cultural analysis, Georgetown University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and R. Fasold eds. (1973) Language Attitudes: Current trends and prospects. Washington D.C. Georgetown University Press.
- Spencer, J. ed. (1963) Language in Africa. Papers of the Leverhulme Conference on Universities and the language problems of Tropical Africa.

- Spencer, J. (1966) 'The Anglo-Indians and their speech: a sociolinguistic essay'. *Lingua* 16. 57-70.
- Stahlke, H. (1969) 'On the morphology of the Yoruba subject pronoun', MS. University of Illinois.
- Trudgill, Peter (1971) *The Social differentiation of English in Norwich*, Ph.D. Thesis, Edinburgh University.  
(Now published by Cambridge University Press, 1974).
- \_\_\_\_\_, (1974) Sociolinguistics: An Introduction. Penguin.
- Tsuzaki, S.M. (1971) 'Co-existent systems in language variation: the case of Hawaiian English', in Dell Hymes, ed. Pidginization and Creolization of languages. 327-39.
- Wang, W. S-Y (1969) 'Competing changes as a cause of residue'. *Language* 45, 9-25.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and C-C. Chen (1970) 'Implementation of phonological change: the Shiang-feng Chinese case', in Papers from the Sixth Regional Meeting, Chicago Linguistic Society. 552-59.
- Weinreich, U. (1953) Languages in contact: findings and problems. New York. Linguistic Circle of New York.
- \_\_\_\_\_, W. Labov and M. Herzog (1968) 'Empirical foundations for a theory of language change', in W.P. Lehmann and Y. Malkiel, eds. Directions for Historical Linguistics. 95-188. Austin, University of Texas Press.
- Whiteley, W.H. (1971) Language use and social change. International African Institute. London, Oxford University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_, (1974) Language in Kenya. Nairobi, Oxford University Press.
- Williams, F. (1973) 'Some research notes on dialect attitudes and stereotypes', in Shuy and Fasold, eds. Language Attitudes. 113-128.
- Wolfram, W. (1969) A Sociolinguistic description of Detroit Negro Speech. Washington, D.C. Centre for Applied Linguistics.
- \_\_\_\_\_, (1973) 'Objective and subjective parameters of language assimilation among second-generation Puerto Ricans in East Harlem', in Shuy and Fasold, eds. 148-73.

Wolfram, W. (1974) Sociolinguistic aspects of assimilation: Puerto Rican English in New York City. Washington, D.C., Centre for Applied Linguistics.

\_\_\_\_\_ and R. Fasold (1974) The Study of social dialects in American English. New Jersey, Prentice-Hall.

FILE ANALYSTS (CREATION DATE = 09/16/76) OF VARIANCE BY INDEX SCORES  
 \*\*\*\*\* ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE \*\*\*\*\*  
 TWL  
 BY AGEVLV AGE LEVEL  
 EDUCVLV LEVEL OF EDUCATION  
 OCCUPGR OCCUPATIONAL GROUP  
 \*\*\*\*\*

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	DF	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIF OF F
MAIN EFFECTS	29325.031	7	4189.289	16.345	0.001
AGEVLV	5724.585	2	2862.293	11.167	0.001
EDUCVLV	874.838	2	437.419	1.707	0.189
OCCUPGR	1285.609	3	428.536	1.672	0.181
RESIDUAL	15122.353	59	256.312		
TOTAL	44447.414	66	673.446		

67 CASES WERE PROCESSED.  
 6 CASES ( 0.0 PCT) WERE MISSING.

IKORODU SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY

FILE ANALYSTS (CREATION DATE = 09/16/76) OF VARIANCE ON INDEX SCORES

\*\*\*\*\* MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS \*\*\*\*\*  
 TWL  
 BY AGEVLV AGE LEVEL  
 EDUCVLV LEVEL OF EDUCATION  
 OCCUPGR OCCUPATIONAL GROUP  
 \*\*\*\*\*

GRAND MEAN = 145.30

VARIABLE & CATEGORY	UNADJUSTED		ADJUSTED FOR INDEPENDENTS		ADJUSTED FOR COVARIATES	
	DEVIN	ETA	DEVIN	BETA	DEVIN	BETA
AGEVLV						
1 16-24YRS	23.30		13.36			
2 25-44YRS	-5.73		1.13			
3 45YRS AND ABOVE	-22.01		-17.04			
		0.74		0.49		
EDUCVLV						
1 NO EDUCATION	-17.48		-1.64			
2 PRIMARY ONLY	-10.55		-6.28			
3 SECONDARY AND HIGHER	18.31		7.58			
		0.59		0.25		
OCCUPGR						
1 UNEMPLOYED AND STUDE	28.84		9.27			
2 TRADITIONAL MANUAL A	-15.56		-6.43			
3 SEMI SKILLED	-6.60		2.69			
4 PROFESSIONAL	-3.78		-4.47			
		0.72		0.26		
MULTIPLE R SQUARED				0.660		
MULTIPLE R				0.812		

IKORODU SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY TABLE 5: 1B

FILE ANALYSIS (CREATION DATE = 09/16/76) OF VARIANCE ON INDEX SCORES

\*\*\*\*\* ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE \*\*\*\*\*  
 TCS  
 BY AGE LVL AGE LEVEL  
 EDUCLVL LEVEL OF EDUCATION  
 OCCUPGR OCCUPATIONAL GROUP  
 \*\*\*\*\*

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	DF	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIF OF F
MAIN EFFECTS	37843.379	7	5406.195	3.857	0.001
AGE LVL	5844.473	2	2922.236	4.787	0.018
EDUCLVL	1997.188	2	998.594	1.636	0.215
OCCUPGR	6482.391	3	2160.797	3.540	0.030
RESIDUAL	14039.551	23	610.415		
TOTAL	51882.930	30	1729.431		

67 CASES WERE PROCESSED.  
 36 CASES ( 53.7 PCT) WERE MISSING.

IKORODU SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY

FILE ANALYSIS (CREATION DATE = 09/16/76) OF VARIANCE ON INDEX SCORES

\*\*\*\*\* MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS \*\*\*\*\*  
 TCS  
 BY AGE LVL AGE LEVEL  
 EDUCLVL LEVEL OF EDUCATION  
 OCCUPGR OCCUPATIONAL GROUP  
 \*\*\*\*\*

GRAND MEAN = 147.12

VARIABLE + CATEGORY	UNADJUSTED		ADJUSTED FOR INDEPENDENTS		ADJUSTED FOR INDEPENDENTS + COVARIATES	
	DEV'N	ETA	DEV'N	BETA	DEV'N	BETA
AGE LVL						
1 10-24YRS	33.42		20.91			
2 25-44YRS	-9.09		6.35			
3 45YRS AND ABOVE	-31.66		-25.82			
		0.72		0.52		
EDUCLVL						
1 NO EDUCATION	-26.64		11.06			
2 PRIMARY ONLY	-16.81		-12.79			
3 SECONDARY AND HIGHER	19.90		8.87			
		0.48		0.27		
OCCUPGR						
1 UNEMPLOYED AND STUDE	44.08		16.47			
2 TRADITIONAL MANUAL A	-30.57		-22.60			
3 SEMI SKILLED	-5.17		14.48			
4 PROFESSIONAL	-22.78		-5.82			
		0.78		0.44		
MULTIPLE R SQUARED				0.729		
MULTIPLE R				0.854		

IKORODU SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY

TABLE 5: 2A

FILE ANALYSIS (CREATION DATE = 09/16/76) OF VARIANCE ON INDEX SCORES

\*\*\*\*\* ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE \*\*\*\*\*  
 UWL U SCORE ON WORD LIST  
 BY AGE LVL AGE LEVEL  
 EDUCLVL LEVEL OF EDUCATION  
 OCCUPGR OCCUPATIONAL GROUP  
 \*\*\*\*\*

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	DF	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIF OF F
MAIN EFFECTS	41076.957	7	5868.137	16.173	0.001
AGE LVL	10646.445	2	5323.223	14.671	0.001
EDUCLVL	2165.586	2	1082.793	2.924	0.057
OCCUPGR	667.984	3	222.661	0.614	0.999
RESIDUAL	21407.469	59	362.838		
TOTAL	62484.426	66	946.734		

67 CASES WERE PROCESSED,  
 0 CASES ( 0.0 PCT) WERE MISSING,

IKORODU SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY

FILE ANALYSIS (CREATION DATE = 09/16/76) OF VARIANCE ON INDEX SCORES

\*\*\*\*\* MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS \*\*\*\*\*  
 UWL U SCORE ON WORD LIST  
 BY AGE LVL AGE LEVEL  
 EDUCLVL LEVEL OF EDUCATION  
 OCCUPGR OCCUPATIONAL GROUP  
 \*\*\*\*\*

GRAND MEAN = 143.53

VARIABLE + CATEGORY	UNADJUSTED		ADJUSTED FOR INDEPENDENTS		ADJUSTED FOR INDEPENDENTS + COVARIATES	
	DEV'N	ETA	DEV'N	BETA	DEV'N	BETA
AGE LVL						
1 10-24YRS	29.27		21.78			
2 25-44YRS	-9.88		-3.76			
3 45YRS AND ABOVE	-24.96		-22.15			
		0.76		0.60		
EDUCLVL						
1 NO EDUCATION	-16.20		-1.51			
2 PRIMARY ONLY	-13.53		-9.90			
3 SECONDARY AND HIGHER	21.03		11.56			
		0.57		0.32		
OCCUPGR						
1 UNEMPLOYED AND STUDE	33.13		2.27			
2 TRADITIONAL MANJAL A	-15.67		-1.09			
3 SEMI SKILLED	-10.20		3.77			
4 PROFESSIONAL	-8.29		-8.79			
		0.69		0.12		

MULTIPLE R SQUARED 0.657  
 MULTIPLE R 0.811

IKORODU SOCIO-LINGUISTIC SURVEY

TABLE 5: 2B

FILE ANALYSIS (CREATION DATE = 09/16/76) OF VARIANCE ON INDEX SCORES

\*\*\*\*\* ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE \*\*\*\*\*  
 UCS U SCORE ON CONVERSATIONAL SPEECH  
 BY AGEVLV AGE LEVEL  
 EDUCVLV LEVEL OF EDUCATION  
 OCCUPGR OCCUPATIONAL GROUP  
 \*\*\*\*\*

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	DF	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIF OF F
MAIN EFFECTS	53992.344	7	7713.191	9.543	0.001
AGEVLV	10468.785	2	5234.391	6.476	0.004
EDUCVLV	1278.060	2	639.030	0.791	0.999
OCCUPGR	3720.458	3	1240.153	1.534	0.220
RESIDUAL	31523.281	39	808.289		
TOTAL	85515.625	46	1859.035		

67 CASES WERE PROCESSED.  
 20 CASES ( 29.9 PCT) WERE MISSING.

IKORODU SOCIO-LINGUISTIC SURVEY

FILE ANALYSIS (CREATION DATE = 09/16/76) OF VARIANCE ON INDEX SCORES

\*\*\*\*\* MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS \*\*\*\*\*  
 UCS U SCORE ON CONVERSATIONAL SPEECH  
 BY AGEVLV AGE LEVEL  
 EDUCVLV LEVEL OF EDUCATION  
 OCCUPGR OCCUPATIONAL GROUP  
 \*\*\*\*\*

VARIABLE + CATEGORY	UNADJUSTED DEV'N	ETA	ADJUSTED FOR INDEPENDENTS DEV'N	BETA	ADJUSTED FOR INDEPENDENTS + COVARIATES DEV'N	BETA
GRAND MEAN =	141.96					
AGEVLV						
1 10-24YRS	40.40		29.06			
2 25-44YRS	-13.55		-4.16			
3 45YRS AND ABOVE	-29.12		-24.67			
		0.73		0.55		
EDUCVLV						
1 NO EDUCATION	-27.96		2.67			
2 PRIMARY ONLY	-18.89		-7.94			
3 SECONDARY AND HIGHER	27.77		8.07			
		0.56		0.18		
OCCUPGR						
1 UNEMPLOYED AND STUDE	43.76		10.14			
2 TRADITIONAL MANUAL A	-28.77		-14.24			
3 SEMI SKILLED	-11.74		6.68			
4 PROFESSIONAL	4.52		9.48			
		0.71		0.26		
MULTIPLE R SQUARED				0.631		
MULTIPLE R				0.795		

IKORODU SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY

TABLE 5: 3A

FILE ANALYSIS (CREATION DATE = 09/16/76) OF VARIANCE ON INDEX SCORES

\*\*\*\*\* ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE \*\*\*\*\*  
**IWL** I SCORE ON WORD LIST  
 BY AGEVLV AGE LEVEL  
 EDUCLVL LEVEL OF EDUCATION  
 OCCUPGR OCCUPATIONAL GROUP  
 \*\*\*\*\*

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	DF	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIF OF F
MAIN EFFECTS	45623.590	7	6668.512	16.044	0.001
AGEVLV	19133.359	2	9566.680	23.045	0.001
EDUCLVL	277.091	2	138.546	0.334	0.999
OCCUPGR	1186.232	3	395.410	0.952	0.999
RESIDUAL	24492.973	59	415.135		
TOTAL	71116.562	66	1077.523		

67 CASES WERE PROCESSED.  
 0 CASES ( 0.0 PCT) WERE MISSING,

IKORODU SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY

FILE ANALYSIS (CREATION DATE = 09/16/76) OF VARIANCE ON INDEX SCORES

\*\*\*\*\* MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS \*\*\*\*\*  
**IWL** I SCORE ON WORD LIST  
 BY AGEVLV AGE LEVEL  
 EDUCLVL LEVEL OF EDUCATION  
 OCCUPGR OCCUPATIONAL GROUP  
 \*\*\*\*\*

GRAND MEAN = 161.87

VARIABLE + CATEGORY	UNADJUSTED		ADJUSTED FOR INDEPENDENTS		ADJUSTED FOR INDEPENDENTS + COVARIATES	
	DEVIN	ETA	DEVIN	BETA	DEVIN	BETA
AGEVLV						
1 10-24YRS	26.73		19.43			
2 25-44YRS	2.78		7.85			
3 45YRS AND ABOVE	-34.60		-30.98			
		0.78		0.66		
EDUCLVL						
1 NO EDUCATION	-24.62		0.11			
2 PRIMARY ONLY	-7.95		-3.52			
3 SECONDARY AND HIGHER	17.95		3.97			
		0.48		0.10		
OCCUPGR						
1 UNEMPLOYED AND STUDE	30.37		8.07			
2 TRADITIONAL MANUAL A	-16.95		-7.58			
3 SEMI SKILLED	-7.44		2.63			
4 PROFESSIONAL	-0.79		3.53			
		0.61		0.21		
MULTIPLE R SQUARED				0.656		
MULTIPLE R				0.810		



IKORODU SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY

TABLE 5: 3B

FILE ANALYSIS (CREATION DATE = 09/16/76) OF VARIANCE ON INDEX SCORES

\*\*\*\*\* ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE \*\*\*\*\*  
**ICS** I SCORE ON CONVERSATIONAL SPEECH  
 BY AGELVL AGE LEVEL  
 EDUCLVL LEVEL OF EDUCATION  
 OCCUPGR OCCUPATIONAL GROUP  
 \*\*\*\*\*

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	DF	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIF OF F
MAIN EFFECTS	30281.098	7	4325.871	14.035	0.001
AGELVL	14146.621	2	7073.309	22.950	0.001
EDUCLVL	279.828	2	139.914	0.454	0.999
OCCUPGR	548.477	3	182.826	0.593	0.999
RESIDUAL	18184.066	59	308.204		
TOTAL	48465.164	66	734.321		

67 CASES WERE PROCESSED,  
 0 CASES ( 0.0 PCT) WERE MISSING.

IKORODU SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY

FILE ANALYSIS (CREATION DATE = 09/16/76) OF VARIANCE ON INDEX SCORES

\*\*\*\*\* MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS \*\*\*\*\*  
**ICS** I SCORE ON CONVERSATIONAL SPEECH  
 BY AGELVL AGE LEVEL  
 EDUCLVL LEVEL OF EDUCATION  
 OCCUPGR OCCUPATIONAL GROUP  
 \*\*\*\*\*

GRAND MEAN = 168.67

VARIABLE + CATEGORY	UNADJUSTED		ADJUSTED FOR INDEPENDENTS		ADJUSTED FOR INDEPENDENTS + COVARIATES	
	DEV'N	ETA	DEV'N	BETA	DEV'N	BETA
AGELVL						
1 10-24YRS	21.30		16.34			
2 25-44YRS	3.51		7.13			
3 45YRS AND ABOVE	-28.87		-26.58			
		0.77		0.68		
EDUCLVL						
1 NO EDUCATION	-14.34		3.88			
2 PRIMARY ONLY	-5.78		-2.51			
3 SECONDARY AND HIGHER	11.73		1.35			
		0.37		0.09		
OCCUPGR						
1 UNEMPLOYED AND STUDE	24.20		7.20			
2 TRADITIONAL MANUAL A	-9.30		-2.78			
3 SEMI SKILLED	-9.69		-1.67			
4 PROFESSIONAL	-10.50		-5.30			
		0.57		0.17		
MULTIPLE R SQUARED				0.625		
MULTIPLE R				0.790		

IKORODU SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY

TABLE 5: 4A

FILE ANALYSIS (CREATION DATE = 09/16/76) OF VARIANCE ON INDEX SCORES

\*\*\*\*\* ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE \*\*\*\*\*  
 ENL E SCORE ON WORD LIST  
 BY AGEVLV AGE LEVEL  
 EDUCVLV LEVEL OF EDUCATION  
 OCCUPGR OCCUPATIONAL GROUP  
 \*\*\*\*\*

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	DF	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIF OF F
MAIN EFFECTS	17906.301	7	2558.043	5.795	0.001
AGEVLV	4058.125	2	2029.062	4.596	0.014
EDUCVLV	587.148	2	293.574	0.665	0.999
OCCUPGR	687.780	3	229.260	0.519	0.999
RESIDUAL	26046.125	59	441.460		
TOTAL	43952.426	66	665.946		

67 CASES WERE PROCESSED.  
 0 CASES ( 0.0 PCT) WERE MISSING.

IKORODU SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY

FILE ANALYSIS (CREATION DATE = 09/16/76) OF VARIANCE ON INDEX SCORES

\*\*\*\*\* MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS \*\*\*\*\*  
 ENL E SCORE ON WORD LIST  
 BY AGEVLV AGE LEVEL  
 EDUCVLV LEVEL OF EDUCATION  
 OCCUPGR OCCUPATIONAL GROUP  
 \*\*\*\*\*

GRAND MEAN = 144.64

VARIABLE + CATEGORY	UNADJUSTED		ADJUSTED FOR INDEPENDENTS		ADJUSTED FOR INDEPENDENTS + COVARIATES	
	DEV'N	ETA	DEV'N	BETA	DEV'N	BETA
AGEVLV						
1 10-24YRS	19.11		12.74			
2 25-44YRS	-5.84		-1.14			
3 45YRS AND ABOVE	-16.91		-14.02			
		0.60		0.43		
EDUCVLV						
1 NO EDUCATION	-11.12		-0.02			
2 PRIMARY ONLY	-8.27		-5.14			
3 SECONDARY AND HIGHER	13.30		5.71			
		0.43		0.20		
OCCUPGR						
1 UNEMPLOYED AND STUDENT	22.52		5.37			
2 TRADITIONAL MANUAL A	-10.71		-2.82			
3 SEMI SKILLED	-5.73		2.06			
4 PROFESSIONAL	-7.66		-7.15			
		0.56		0.16		
MULTIPLE R SQUARED				0.407		
MULTIPLE R				0.638		

IKORODU SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY TABLE 5: 4B

FILE ANALYSIS (CREATION DATE = 09/16/76) OF VARIANCE ON INDEX SCORES

\*\*\*\*\* ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE \*\*\*\*\*  
 ECS E SCORE ON CONVERSATIONAL SPEECH  
 BY AGEVLV AGE LEVEL  
 EDUCVLV LEVEL OF EDUCATION  
 OCCUPGR OCCUPATIONAL GROUP  
 \*\*\*\*\*

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	DF	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIF OF F
MAIN EFFECTS	51629.617	7	7375.656	8.966	0.001
AGEVLV	2659.941	2	1329.970	1.617	0.206
EDUCVLV	1991.645	2	995.823	1.211	0.306
OCCUPGR	12360.207	3	4120.066	5.009	0.004
RESIDUAL	44419.758	54	822.588		
TOTAL	96049.375	61	1574.580		

67 CASES WERE PROCESSED.  
 5 CASES ( 7.5 PCT) WERE MISSING.

IKORODU SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY

FILE ANALYSIS (CREATION DATE = 09/16/76) OF VARIANCE ON INDEX SCORES

\*\*\* MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS \*\*\*  
 ECS E SCORE ON CONVERSATIONAL SPEECH  
 BY AGEVLV AGE LEVEL  
 EDUCVLV LEVEL OF EDUCATION  
 OCCUPGR OCCUPATIONAL GROUP  
 \*\*\*\*\*

GRAND MEAN = 128.51

VARIABLE + CATEGORY	UNADJUSTED		ADJUSTED FOR INDEPENDENTS		ADJUSTED FOR INDEPENDENTS + COVARIATES	
	DEV'N	ETA	DEV'N	BETA	DEV'N	BETA
AGEVLV						
1 10-24YRS	30.71		9.19			
2 25-44YRS	-11.60		1.76			
3 45YRS AND ABOVE	-21.68		-11.22			
		0.59		0.22		
EDUCVLV						
1 NO EDUCATION	-12.79		6.37			
2 PRIMARY ONLY	-15.23		-8.38			
3 SECONDARY AND HIGHER	23.10		7.12			
		0.47		0.19		
OCCUPGR						
1 UNEMPLOYED AND STUDE	16.04		31.16			
2 TRADITIONAL MANUAL A	-19.84		-14.39			
3 SEMI SKILLED	-4.91		3.66			
4 PROFESSIONAL	-22.42		-24.59			
		0.71		0.51		
MULTIPLE R SQUARED				0.538		
MULTIPLE R				0.733		

IKORODU SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY

TABLE 5: 5A

FILE ANALYSIS (CREATION DATE = 09/16/76) OF VARIANCE ON INDEX SCORES

\*\*\*\*\* ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE \*\*\*\*\*  
 NNL N SCORE ON WORD LIST  
 BY AGE LVL AGE LEVEL  
 EDUCLVL LEVEL OF EDUCATION  
 OCCUPGR OCCUPATIONAL GROUP  
 \*\*\*\*\*

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	DF	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIF OF F
MAIN EFFECTS	30072.055	7	4296.008	10.054	0.001
AGE LVL	1976.506	2	988.253	2.313	0.106
EDUCLVL	1291.193	2	645.596	1.511	0.228
OCCUPGR	3780.467	3	1260.156	2.949	0.039
RESIDUAL	25210.758	59	427.301		
TOTAL	55282.812	66	837.618		

67 CASES WERE PROCESSED.  
 0 CASES ( 0.0 PCT) WERE MISSING.

IKORODU SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY

FILE ANALYSIS (CREATION DATE = 09/16/76) OF VARIANCE ON INDEX SCORES

\*\*\*\*\* MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS \*\*\*\*\*  
 NNL N SCORE ON WORD LIST  
 BY AGE LVL AGE LEVEL  
 EDUCLVL LEVEL OF EDUCATION  
 OCCUPGR OCCUPATIONAL GROUP  
 \*\*\*\*\*

GRAND MEAN = 148.51

VARIABLE + CATEGORY	UNADJUSTED		ADJUSTED FOR INDEPENDENTS		ADJUSTED FOR INDEPENDENTS + COVARIATES	
	DEV'N	ETA	DEV'N	BETA	DEV'N	BETA
AGE LVL						
1 10-24YRS	23.05		9.13			
2 25-44YRS	-11.20		-1.19			
3 45YRS AND ABOVE	-16.23		-9.68			
		0.62		0.27		
EDUCLVL						
1 NO EDUCATION	-10.73		6.21			
2 PRIMARY ONLY	-13.69		-6.36			
3 SECONDARY AND HIGHER	19.19		4.76			
		0.55		0.20		
OCCUPGR						
1 UNEMPLOYED AND STUDE	31.02		18.25			
2 TRADITIONAL MANUAL A	-17.55		-12.31			
3 SEMI SKILLED	-4.92		2.35			
4 PROFESSIONAL	-4.86		-4.68			
		0.70		0.44		

MULTIPLE R SQUARED  
 MULTIPLE R

0.544  
 0.738

IKORODU SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY

TABLE 5: 5B

FILE ANALYSIS (CREATION DATE = 09/16/76) OF VARIANCE ON INDEX SCORES

\*\*\*\*\* ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE \*\*\*\*\*  
 NCS N SCORE IN CONVERSATIONAL SPEECH  
 BY AGE LVL AGE LEVEL  
 EDUC LVL LEVEL OF EDUCATION  
 OCCUPGR OCCUPATIONAL GROUP  
 \*\*\*\*\*

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	DF	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIF OF F
MAIN EFFECTS	42484.078	7	7069.152	7.486	0.031
AGE LVL	2058.915	2	1029.458	1.079	0.348
EDUC LVL	1424.136	2	712.068	0.746	0.999
OCCUPGR	7943.426	3	2647.809	2.774	0.249
RESIDUAL	54404.172	57	954.459		
TOTAL	103888.250	64	1623.254		

67 CASES WERE PROCESSED.  
 2 CASES ( 3.0 PCT) WERE MISSING.

IKORODU SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY

FILE ANALYSIS (CREATION DATE = 09/16/76) OF VARIANCE ON INDEX SCORES

\*\*\*\*\* MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS \*\*\*\*\*  
 NCS N SCORE IN CONVERSATIONAL SPEECH  
 BY AGE LVL AGE LEVEL  
 EDUC LVL LEVEL OF EDUCATION  
 OCCUPGR OCCUPATIONAL GROUP  
 \*\*\*\*\*

GRAND MEAN = 125.75

VARIABLE + CATEGORY	UNADJUSTED		ADJUSTED FOR INDEPENDENTS		ADJUSTED FOR INDEPENDENTS + COVARIATES	
	DEV'N	ETA	DEV'N	BETA	DEV'N	BETA
AGE LVL						
1 10-24YRS	31.33		11.17			
2 25-44YRS	-16.89		-4.50			
3 45YRS AND ABOVE	-17.42		-7.73			
		0.58		0.21		
EDUC LVL						
1 NO EDUCATION	-11.54		5.30			
2 PRIMARY ONLY	-16.53		-6.96			
3 SECONDARY AND HIGHER	24.45		6.23			
		0.49		0.16		
OCCUPGR						
1 UNEMPLOYED AND STUDE	44.35		28.65			
2 TRADITIONAL MANUAL A	-19.11		-12.82			
3 SEMI SKILLED	-8.42		-1.04			
4 PROFESSIONAL	-15.65		-16.35			
		0.67		0.44		
MULTIPLE R SQUARED				0.476		
MULTIPLE R				0.690		

IKORODU SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY

TABLE 5: 6A

FILE ANALYSIS (CREATION DATE = 09/16/76) OF VARIANCE ON INDEX SCORES

\*\*\*\*\* ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE \*\*\*\*\*  
 BY LNL L SCORE ON WORD LIST  
 AGELVL AGE LEVEL  
 EDUCLVL LEVEL OF EDUCATION  
 OCCUPGR OCCUPATIONAL GROUP  
 \*\*\*\*\*

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	DF	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIF OF F
MAIN EFFECTS	26049.437	7	3721.348	8.810	0.001
AGELVL	1549.476	2	774.738	1.834	0.167
EDUCLVL	2000.448	2	1000.224	2.368	0.101
OCCUPGR	2037.406	3	679.135	1.608	0.196
RESIDUAL	24922.039	59	422.407		
TOTAL	50971.477	66	772.295		

67 CASES WERE PROCESSED.  
 0 CASES ( 0.0 PCT) WERE MISSING.

IKORODU SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY

FILE ANALYSIS (CREATION DATE = 09/16/76) OF VARIANCE ON INDEX SCORES

\*\*\*\*\* MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS \*\*\*\*\*  
 BY LNL L SCORE ON WORD LIST  
 AGELVL AGE LEVEL  
 EDUCLVL LEVEL OF EDUCATION  
 OCCUPGR OCCUPATIONAL GROUP  
 \*\*\*\*\*

GRAND MEAN = 128.25

VARIABLE + CATEGORY	UNADJUSTED		ADJUSTED FOR INDEPENDENTS		ADJUSTED FOR INDEPENDENTS + COVARIATES	
	DEVIN	ETA	DEVIN	BETA	DEVIN	BETA
AGELVL						
1 10-24YRS	18.33		3.74			
2 25-44YRS	-4.49		3.91			
3 45YRS AND ABOVE	-17.33		-8.37			
		0.54		0.20		
EDUCLVL						
1 NO EDUCATION	-24.73		-12.78			
2 PRIMARY ONLY	-9.83		-6.49			
3 SECONDARY AND HIGHER	20.08		11.95			
		0.62		0.36		
OCCUPGR						
1 UNEMPLOYED AND STUDE	27.16		12.43			
2 TRADITIONAL MANUAL A	-16.91		-8.35			
3 SEMI SKILLED	-4.73		2.63			
4 PROFESSIONAL	2.71		-5.23			
		0.66		0.32		
MULTIPLE R SQUARED				0.511		
MULTIPLE R				0.715		

IKOPODU SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY

TABLE 5: 6B

FILE ANALYSIS (CREATION DATE = 09/16/76) OF VARIANCE ON INDEX SCORES

\*\*\*\*\* ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE \*\*\*\*\*  
**LCS** L SCORE IN CONVERSATIONAL SPEECH  
 BY AGELVL AGE LEVEL  
 EDUCLVL LEVEL OF EDUCATION  
 OCCUPGR OCCUPATIONAL GROUP  
 \*\*\*\*\*

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	DF	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIF OF F
MAIN EFFECTS	42078,578	7	6011,223	4,917	0,002
AGELVL	3599,423	2	1799,711	1,472	0,249
EDUCLVL	438,092	2	219,046	0,179	0,999
OCCUPGR	7998,941	3	2666,314	2,181	0,117
2-WAY INTERACTIONS	7780,227	8	972,528	0,795	0,999
AGELVL EDUCLVL	4434,164	3	1478,055	1,209	0,329
AGELVL OCCUPGR	4918,836	3	1639,612	1,341	0,285
EDUCLVL OCCUPGR	27,974	2	13,987	0,011	0,999
RESIDUAL	28119,383	23	1222,582		
TOTAL	77978,187	38	2052,057		

67 CASES WERE PROCESSED,  
 28 CASES ( 41,8 PCT) WERE MISSING,

IKOPODU SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY

FILE ANALYSIS (CREATION DATE = 09/16/76) OF VARIANCE ON INDEX SCORES

\*\*\*\*\* MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS \*\*\*\*\*  
**LCS** L SCORE IN CONVERSATIONAL SPEECH  
 BY AGELVL AGE LEVEL  
 EDUCLVL LEVEL OF EDUCATION  
 OCCUPGR OCCUPATIONAL GROUP  
 \*\*\*\*\*

VARIABLE + CATEGORY	UNADJUSTED DEVIN	ETA	ADJUSTED FOR INDEPENDENTS DEVIN	BETA	ADJUSTED FOR INDEPENDENTS + COVARIATES DEVIN	BETA
GRAND MEAN =	140,93					
AGELVL						
1 10-24YRS	33,36		6,60			
2 25-44YRS	-7,59		11,12			
3 45YRS AND ABOVE	-27,39		-15,33			
		0,59		0,26		
EDUCLVL						
1 NO EDUCATION	-40,93		-7,11			
2 PRIMARY ONLY	-9,95		-3,70			
3 SECONDARY AND HIGHER	23,98		6,38			
		0,50		0,12		
OCCUPGR						
1 UNEMPLOYED AND STUDE	49,07		37,10			
2 TRADITIONAL MANUAL A	-27,59		-23,77			
3 SEMI SKILLED	0,44		6,11			
4 PROFESSIONAL	-6,28		-3,94			
		0,69		0,55		
MULTIPLE R SQUARED					0,540	
MULTIPLE R					0,735	

TABLE 5: 1.1A  
U - RENASALIZATION BY AGE LEVEL

U SCORE RANGE	Age Level							
	10-24		25-44		45 and above		TOTALS	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
WORD LIST SCORES								
High	18	72	2	9.5	0	0	20	29.9
Medium	5	20	12	57.2	4	19	21	31.3
Low	2	8	7	33.3	17	81	26	38.8
TOTALS	25	100	21	100	21	100	67	100
	$\chi^2 = 46.4, p < .001$							
CONVERSATIONAL SPEECH SCORES								
High	14	82.3	1	8.3	0	0	15	31.9
Medium	1	5.9	6	50	8	44.4	15	31.9
Low	2	11.8	5	41.7	10	55.6	17	36.2
TOTALS	17	100	12	100	18	100	47	100
	$\chi^2 = 31.8, p < .001$							



TABLE 5: 1.1B  
U - RENASALIZATION BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION

U SCORE RANGE	Level of Education						TOTALS		
	No Education		Primary Only		Secondary and Higher		N	%	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
WORD LIST SCORES									
High	1	10	3	10	16	59.3	20	29.9	
Medium	3	30	11	36.7	7	25.9	21	31.3	
Low	6	60	16	53.3	4	14.8	26	38.8	
TOTALS	10	100	30	100	27	100	67	100	
			$\chi^2 = 20.4, p < .001$						
CONVERSATIONAL SPEECH SCORES									
High	0	0	2	9.0	13	65	15	31.9	
Medium	1	20	10	45.5	4	20	15	31.9	
Low	4	80	10	45.5	3	15	17	36.2	
TOTALS	5	100	22	100	20	100	47	100	
			$\chi^2 = 20.1, p < .001$						

TABLE 5: 1.1C  
U - RENASALIZATION BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUP

U SCORE RANGE	Occupational Group											
	Traditional Manual		Semi Skilled		Professional		Students and Unemployed		TOTALS			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
WORD LIST SCORES												
High	2	7.1	2	15.4	1	14.3	15	78.9	20	29.9		
Medium	11	39.3	2	15.4	4	57.1	4	21.1	21	31.3		
Low	15	53.6	9	69.2	2	28.6	0	0	26	38.8		
TOTALS	28	100	13	100	7	100	19	100	67	100		
$\chi^2 = 37.6, p < .001$												
CONVERSATIONAL SPEECH SCORES												
High	0	0	2	20	1	20	12	85.7	15	31.9		
Medium	9	50	3	30	3	60	0	0	15	31.9		
Low	9	50	5	50	1	20	2	14.3	17	36.2		
TOTALS	18	100	10	100	5	100	14	100	47	100		
$\chi^2 = 30.4, p < .001$												

TABLE 5: 1.2A

U - FRONTING IN u - INITIAL NOUNS BY AGE LEVEL

WORD LIST SCORES	I SCORE RANGE	Age Level						TOTALS	
		10-24		25-44		45 and above			
		N	%	N	%	N	%		
High	190-200	20	80	5	23.8	0	0	25	37.4
Medium	140-189	4	16	14	66.7	3	14.3	21	31.3
Low	100-139	1	4	2	9.5	18	85.7	21	31.3
TOTALS		25	100	21	100	21	100	67	100
$\chi^2 = 62.2, p < .001$									
CONVERSATIONAL SPEECH SCORES									
High	188-200	18	72	3	14.3	0	0	21	31.4
Medium	160-187	5	20	15	71.4	3	14.3	23	34.3
Low	100-159	2	8	3	14.3	18	85.7	23	34.3
TOTALS		25	100	21	100	21	100	67	100
$\chi^2 = 57.7, p < .001$									

TABLE 5: 1.2B  
U - FRONTING IN u - INITIAL NOUNS BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION

WORD	I SCORE RANGE	Level of Education						TOTALS	
		No Education		Primary Only		Secondary and Higher			
		N	%	N	%	N	%		
WORD LIST SCORES	190-200	0	0	6	20	19	70.4	25	37.4
	140-189	4	40	14	46.7	3	11.1	21	31.3
	100-139	6	60	10	33.3	5	18.5	21	31.3
	TOTALS	10	100	30	100	27	100	67	100
CONVERSATIONAL SPEECH SCORES	188-200	1	10	4	13.3	16	59.3	21	31.4
	160-187	3	30	15	50	5	18.5	23	34.3
	100-159	6	60	11	36.7	6	22.2	23	34.3
	TOTALS	10	100	30	100	27	100	67	100

$\chi^2 = 24.1, p < .001$

$\chi^2 = 18.6, p < .001$

TABLE 5: 1.2C  
U - FRONTING IN u - INITIAL NOUNS BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUP

WORD LIST SCORES	I SCORE RANGE	Occupational Group								TOTALS	
		Traditional Manual		Semi Skilled		Professional		Students and Unemployed			
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
High	190-200	2	7.1	4	30.8	2	28.6	17	89.4	25	37.4
Medium	140-189	14	50	3	23	3	42.8	1	5.3	21	31.3
Low	100-139	12	42.9	6	46.2	2	28.6	1	5.3	21	31.3
TOTALS		28	100	13	100	7	100	19	100	67	100
$\chi^2 = 35.0, p < .001$											
CONVERSATIONAL SPEECH SCORES											
High	188-200	1	3.6	4	30.8	0	0	16	84.2	21	31.4
Medium	160-187	14	50	3	23	4	57.1	2	10.5	23	34.3
Low	100-159	13	46.4	6	46.2	3	42.9	1	5.3	23	34.3
TOTALS		28	100	13	100	7	100	19	100	67	100
$\chi^2 = 39.3, p < .001$											

TABLE 5: 1.3A  
NASAL  $\bar{\epsilon}$  RAISING BY AGE LEVEL

E SCORE RANGE	Age Level						TOTALS	
	10-24		25-44		45 and above		N	%
WORD LIST SCORES	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
High	17	68	5	23.8	2	9.5	24	35.8
Medium	6	24	12	57.2	7	33.3	25	37.3
Low	2	8	4	19	12	57.2	18	26.9
TOTALS	25	100	21	100	21	100	67	100
	$\chi^2 = 26.6, p < .001$							
CONVERSATIONAL SPEECH SCORES	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
High	14	63.6	5	26.3	1	4.8	20	32.3
Medium	4	18.2	5	26.3	10	47.6	19	30.6
Low	4	18.2	9	47.4	10	47.6	23	37.1
TOTALS	22	100	19	100	21	100	62	100
	$\chi^2 = 18.3, p < .001$							

TABLE 5: 1.3B  
 NASAL E RAISING BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION

E SCORE RANGE	Level of Education						TOTALS	
	No Education		Primary Only		Secondary and Higher		N	%
WORD LIST SCORES	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
High	2	20	6	20	16	59.3	24	35.8
Medium	5	50	14	46.7	6	22.2	25	37.3
Low	3	30	10	33.3	5	18.5	18	26.9
TOTALS	10	100	30	100	27	100	67	100
	$\chi^2 = 10.9, .01 < p < .05$							
CONVERSATIONAL SPEECH SCORES	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
High	2	20	5	17.9	13	54.2	20	32.3
Medium	4	40	7	25	8	33.3	19	30.6
Low	4	40	16	57.1	3	12.5	23	37.1
TOTALS	10	100	28	100	24	100	62	100
	$\chi^2 = 13.4, p < .01$							

TABLE 5: 1.3C  
NASAL E RAISING BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUP

E SCORE RANGE	Occupational Group												TOTALS			
	Traditional Manual			Semi-skilled			Professional			Students and Unemployed			N	%		
WORD LIST SCORES																
High	6	21.4		2	15.4		1	14.3		15	78.9		24	35.8		
Medium	12	42.9		7	53.8		4	57.1		2	10.5		25	37.3		
Low	10	35.7		4	30.8		2	28.6		2	10.5		18	26.9		
TOTALS	28	100		13	100		7	100		19	100		67	100		
				$\chi^2 = 22.3, p < .001$												
CONVERSATIONAL SPEECH SCORES																
High	3	11.5		4	30.8		0	0		13	81.2		20	32.3		
Medium	7	26.9		5	38.4		4	57.1		3	18.8		19	30.6		
Low	19	61.5		4	30.8		3	42.9		0	0		23	37.1		
TOTALS	26	100		13	100		7	100		16	100		62	100		
				$\chi^2 = 30.7, p < .001$												



TABLE 5: 1.4A  
LATERALIZATION OF /n/ BY AGE LEVEL

WORD LIST SCORES	N SCORE RANGE	Age Level							
		10-24		25-44		45 and above		TOTALS	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
High	160-200	18	72	2	9.5	2	9.5	22	32.8
Medium	130-159	5	20	9	42.9	8	38.1	22	32.8
Low	100-129	2	8	10	47.6	11	52.4	23	34.4
TOTALS		25	100	21	100	21	100	67	100

$\chi^2 = 28.8, p < .001$

TABLE 5: 1.4.B  
LATERALIZATION OF /n/ BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION

WORD LIST SCORES	N SCORE RANGE	Level of Education						TOTALS	
		No Education		Primary Only		Secondary and Higher		N	%
High	160-200	2	20	2	6.7	18	66.7	22	32.8
Medium	130-159	3	30	13	43.3	6	22.2	22	32.8
Low	100-129	5	50	15	50	3	11.1	23	<del>34.4</del>
TOTALS		10	100	30	100	27	100	67	100

$\chi^2 = 25.2, p < .001$

TABLE 5: 1.4C  
LATERALIZATION OF /n/ BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUP

N SCORE RANGE	Occupational Group											
	Traditional Manual		Semi-skilled		Professional		Students and Unemployed		TOTALS			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
160-200	2	7.1	2	15.4	2	28.6	16	84.2	22	32.8		
130-159	9	32.2	6	46.2	4	57.1	3	15.8	22	32.8		
100-129	17	60.7	5	38.4	1	14.3	0	0	23	34.4		
TOTALS	28	100	13	100	7	100	19	100	67	100		

WORD LIST SCORES  
 High  
 Medium  
 Low  
 TOTALS

$\chi^2 = 38.9, p < .001$

TABLE 5: 1.5A  
NASALIZATION OF /l/ BY AGE LEVEL

WORD LIST SCORES	U SCORE RANGE	Age Level											
		10-24		25-44		45 and above		TOTALS					
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%				
High	150-200	17	68	4	19	2	9.5	23	34.3				
Medium	110-149	4	16	6	28.6	3	14.3	13	19.4				
Low	100-109	4	16	11	52.4	16	76.2	31	46.3				
TOTALS		25	100	21	100	21	100	67	100				

$\chi^2 = 23.9, p < .001$

TABLE 5: 1.5B  
 NASALIZATION OF /l/ BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION

L SCORE RANGE	Level of Education											
	No Education		Primary Only		Secondary and Higher		TOTALS					
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
WORD LIST SCORES												
High	0	0	5	16.7	18	66.7	23	34.3				
Medium	1	10	7	23.3	5	18.5	13	19.4				
Low	9	90	18	60	4	14.8	31	46.3				
TOTALS	10	100	30	100	27	100	67	100				

$\chi^2 = 26.2, p < .001$

TABLE 5: 1.5C  
 NASALIZATION OF /l/ BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUP

WORD LIST SCORES	L SCORE RANGE	Occupational Group										TOTALS	
		Traditional Manual		Semi-skilled		Professional		Students and Unemployed		N	%	N	%
High	150-200	1	3.5	4	30.8	2	28.6	16	84.2	23	34.3		
Medium	110-149	5	17.9	2	15.4	4	57.1	2	10.5	13	19.4		
Low	100-109	22	78.6	7	53.8	1	14.3	1	5.3	31	46.3		
TOTALS		28	100	13	100	7	100	19	100	67	100		

$\chi^2 = 42.6, p < .001$

TEXTS USED IN THE ANALYSIS OF CODE-SWITCHING

TEXT I: Informal Conversation in an Interview Situation.

Note: INT: refers to the Interviewer, the informant being interviewed is referred to by the identification number used for him during the survey.

Text

1. INT: [ē ...n̄jé nígbàa, ùgbà a mí se ní  
kòòdú wé néyí, ní fòò ká jó, ká  
yègè, nígb'è wà nómódé si tàsíkò  
ra wà yí, n̄jè ìyàtò néèfí d̄s]

English translations

(Are there significant differences in the  
social life of Ikorodu between now and those  
days when you were young?)

2. 049: [ìyàtò wà néè ké]

(Undoubtedly, there is a lot of difference.)

3. INT: [kúró ìyàtò ési o]

(What kind of differences?)

4. 049: [o sé, ìyàtò é wà nè, ìyàtò é wà  
néè ré, ojú éni i là níjèlò, ..]

(Thank you. The difference is this. In  
those old days, we were not quite 'civilized'.

[ko mí gbó mi ... (INT: à gbó yé)..] —  
aṣo òpá lásikò nẹ̀, aṣo òpá nàín, sísí,  
a nṛòpá márùn ... ó le se sílè méta àbò  
lò maa parí è ... sílè méréin lò maa  
parí aṣo yẹn, búbá, ó le se sílè kọn, o  
le se nàín lò maa parí è — [ojú eni o  
jòkù] — aà mọ̀ òkọn yàtò sí kọn.

5. INT: [ijó s'ó mí jó nígbà yé]

6. 049: [ijó gógò ni, à míwóde]

7. INT: [néyí òkò?]

8. 049: [néyi, sákàrà è ...] — péreṅte la dẹ  
ńjọ ńsín, t'ón ńṣeré fún wa, t'a nṛèdí  
....(laughter) ta nṛèdí ńsín, iyàtò wà  
ń'nú è.

You understand me? Things were very  
cheap especially clothing materials  
which could be bought for six pence,  
nine pence or one shilling per yard.  
You could make a good dress for only  
three shillings six pence or four  
shillings. We were a little backward.)

(What type of dance music did people  
dance to those days?)

(It was music from the talking drum,  
and we normally danced round the town.)

(What about now?)

(Now, it's Sakara ... péreṅte music we  
dance to. The musicians beat the drums  
while we dance shaking our waist. This  
constitutes the major difference.)



9. INT: [ ãjéé, wé le so éni núrū èéyō lé fu  
kpítō rōmō núrū é ti jélé nójú wé ní  
kékeré é mi ũlú jígíjigi wáyíí é le  
fu kpítō ómō ... ní gbé wà ní múnúdíá,  
kí jélé ãkō jélé, bí fōo .....  
ejítamótú?]

10. 049: [ ejítamótú jélé ... yé yé jélé násikò  
nè, wō mí kú, wō mí kú, a mí sá kákiri.  
a sá lo ónò oko, oko yè, a sá lo. a  
májo bòjú eni, wō mí kú kákiri núlú ú.  
wō mí jéwá wō mí jéyi. ò mí je kòkó,  
ò mí jagò. a dè bò, wō bèrè síí jètùtù,  
ajítamótú nèé loolè. ó dè je, àwō ...  
àwō ará rémō wō ... wō á béni jà níbé,  
awa ségu. a gbà'lù wō, a gbà'jō wō, a  
jà kpútukpùtu, a ségu] — iyen ni wọn  
fi ní wípé kòddú ògá.

(Can you think of any major historical events,  
a disaster or epidemic which occurred when  
you were young, which have now become  
history to the younger generation? For  
example, do you remember anything about  
the 'ejítamótú' epidemic?)

(Yes, the ejítamótú epidemic was a very fatal  
one. People were dying in large numbers.  
Many people abandoned their houses in the  
town and sought shelter in the villages.  
Many people tried what they knew by way of  
medicine to reduce the incidence of death.  
Several rituals were performed. In the  
end, the epidemic died down. This was  
followed almost immediately by the feud  
between us and Remo. Remo people brought war  
on us. We fought and defeated them, confis-  
cating most of their things.

This is why they often refer to us today as 'Ikorodu the Master'.)

(Do you think that all Ijebu speak alike? Is there any difference between the Ijebu spoken here and the one spoken in Sagamu?)

(Yes, there's a difference!)

(Can you give an example, or don't you know any?)

(They, i.e. the Sagamu people, don't know how to dress to fit. When they are fully dressed, they look like masqueraders.)

(What of Ikorodu people?)

(Ikorodu! You'll never make a mistake about the appearance of an Ikorodu person in terms of being well-dressed.)

11. INT: [ ñjé wē rò fò iyátò wà ní sísoo èdè eni nēi ... ede kakō nēè a mí so ... ñjé iyátò wà nēerí ñjèbú a mí so kpèlú ti Sàgámù? ]

12. 049: [ fòò ùyátò .... ùyátò wà nè o ]

13. INT: [ wé lé so òkò, àbí é mò ó? ]

14. 049: [ wó ti è m'ajò 'ró. wó ti è m'orí di. kò bá múra báí wó á múra bí olíjògò... .. (laughter) ]

15. INT: [ Kòòdú ñkó? ]

16. 049: [ Kòòdú ... ah ... ah ... ah Kòòdú ]—  
Tí Kòòdú bá ti yò, à á mọ pé Kòòdú  
lò m'bo.

## Text 2: Informal Conversation

1. INT: [ níkpa àwō ɔmɔ eni kékèké sà (Sir),  
 adùrú àwō obirē ré ní ... nò ɔ ɔmòbirē  
 é ní kòòdú, yé ti mí jé a ɔjójú eni níkpa  
 ka sáré, níkpa ká fò, níkpa ... ñjé a  
 nē ɔmòbirē òkòkò ni kòòdú é jáde ....]
2. O14: .....Modúpé something ... Òsíkòyà...  
 Modúpé Òsíkòyà ɔmɔ 'Kòòdú ni. Àtipé  
 nígbàtí ɔn lɔ ɔe gbogbo sport t' ɔn koko  
 ɔe, t'órúkọ ɔ ma a fi yɔ, ninu eighteen  
gold medals -- tí wọn -- [tí ɔ kpé, tí  
 dede Nigeria kpé, modúkpe kó .. ó kó mɛfà  
 né ɛ].
3. INT: Kí lɛ rò pé ó gbé àwọn ɔmɔ obirin wọn yẹn  
 dé àyè a níwí wọn yí?
4. O14: Awọn ɔmòbirin wa wònyí?
- (Sir, do you know of any of our young girls  
 here in Ikorodu who have represented this  
 country in any international sporting events  
 at all?)
- (The girl called Modúpé Òsíkòyà is from  
 Ikorodu. The first time her name came up  
 in international sports was when Nigeria won  
 eighteen gold medals. Modupé alone won six  
 out of these eighteen gold medals.)
- ( What do you think is responsible for getting  
 our girls into such enviable positions?)
- ( You mean these Ikorodu girls. )

5. INT:

Èn ẹn, kí lẹ rò pé o gbé wọn dé 'rú àyé tí wọn ní tọ lóun?

(Yes, how do they come about achieving such feats?)

6. O14:

Ilàjú ló gbé wọn dé 'bẹ. Ilàjú ná à wáyí ó, ó mú ẹsín ímále àti tí kiriyó dání. Nítorí láyé àtijọ, obirin ò gbódò gbérí pé òun ní ẹ ñkọnkọn ràrà níbi tí ọkọ gbé wà. Ẹgbọn nígbàtí ẹsín tí wọ ọ, mà á ẹyí, màá ẹyí obirin, a gbóju ... wọn gbójú fò. Wọn fún wọn lááyè kí wọn sa apá tí wọn, nígbàtí ó ba tí jẹ pé ñkọn rere ní wọn fẹ ẹ.

(It's the effect of civilization and progress - i.e. modernity - which accompany the spread of both muslim and christian religions.

In those old days, females had limited opportunities and could not compete for anything where there were males. But with the liberating influences of these religions all the restrictions on females were relaxed. Females were allowed to exploit their capabilities to a large measure.)

7. INT:

Èn ẹn, àjọse ará 'Kòddú pẹlu ar'Ékó é dá bẹnípé ó wọra wọn ju àjọse ará a 'Kòddú pẹlú ará a Ẹgámù abí Ijẹbú Óde lọ. Njé kí lẹ rò ípé ó mú kí àjọse wọn né ẹ kó lágbara bẹ ẹ yẹn?

(It appears that the relationship between Ikorodu and Eko is much more cordial than between Ikorodu and Ẹgamu. Why do you think this is so?)

8. 014: Bẹ̀ ẹ̀ ni, wọn ní bílé bá sún ... súnmọ́...  
 nígbátí 'lé ba súnmólé ló níjọ kọn 'ra wọn.  
 Ànfàní wà l'Ékò ó púpọ̀ ju tilẹ̀ Ìjẹ̀bú tó kú  
 lọ. Awọn bàbà wa ti bá wọn lò — [nígbà a  
 tǎwǎ ...] wọn rí ànfàní lódọ wọn, to fi jépe  
 l'áyé àtíjọ wọn fún wọn nílẹ̀. Torí emi  
 rǎntí ẹ̀gbón iyá mi lórọ̀ yí, ó kọ̀ ni -----  
 [kpé kó t'agbárake wá maa jókò ó sí n'ómi,  
 kóu jíjé owó, kóu r'ówó déé, kou lọ. Ké jí  
 wáá, ara kòòdú ré maa né **ilè** ... ilè ẹ̀ dede  
 ìsàlè èkó yé]

( Yes, there is a saying that houses which  
 are contiguous cannot escape being burnt  
 if fire breaks out in one of them. A lot  
 of advantage derives from Ikorodu's proximity  
 to Lagos. Lagos offers greater opportu-  
 nities than the other Ijebu towns can offer.  
 During the time of our parents, the associa-  
 tion between them and the people of Lagos  
 was so strong that they were offered plots  
 of land to build on. I remember an uncle  
 of mine who was given a piece of land but  
 refused on the grounds that he couldn't ~~le~~  
 leave his upland home to come and settle in  
 the swamp that was Lagos. All he cared  
 about was to work, earn sufficient money  
 and go back to his home town. But for this  
 type of chauvinistic attitude, much of the  
 land in Isalẹ̀ Eko today would have passed  
 over to many Ikorodu people.)

Text: 3: Interview with an Ifá Priest

1. INT: [ néyí a ri fò babaláwo ùwo wá .....]  
(We are aware that you are an Ifa diviner.)
2. 018: [ èmi babaláwo rí ò .....]  
(Sure, I am a diviner!)
3. INT: [ gidi .....]  
(Very much so .....)
4. 018: Ifádáre Kòlawólé Atúnfágbòṅn .....  
(\*Gives his full names)
5. INT: Atúnfágbòṅn?  
(\*Repeats one of his names?)
6. 018: Èn ... alias, a k'ómọ ni a.b.c. ifá —  
[ké bàá yé èniyò, màá so fu .....]  
(Yes, my alias is 'one who teaches the a.b.c. that is, the rudiments of Ifa divination.)  
If anyone finds it difficult to understand, I'll explain it fully to him.)
7. INT: [ òjé o lé so méjì éni nóro 'fá wáyì  
rèè maa dū móni?  
(Can you oblige us with two verses of Ifa which we will enjoy?)
8. 018: [ à ..... ké è bá fé màá sòó. ]  
(Well, if you want, I'll recite some ).

(Go ahead, that's why we've come.)

9. INT: [ ó yá a ... ùrū a bá wá re è... ]

10. 018: [ néyí, níkpa ifá ... ká a bá fée kpègò  
, àjànàkú oú a maa so fòo a rirū òkò firí ni  
núgbó .... é sùrú é wà núgbó ré jeri lo]—

Àwọn babaláwo wọn Ìbí:

Ká tà jàjà, ká rà jaja

Ka f'ijà gidigidi p'owó

Ọ̀ṣeṣuá kíí ta'jà a tiẹ láàwin.

A kíí rúbọ ká má p'Ọ̀ṣeṣuá o

Ọ̀ṣeṣuá elérùtè tẹ ...tẹ...tẹ —

[ùrū ọ̀jà mi é ẹ je níí kùtá rẹ̀, ri mbá fi

máa rí ẹ ọ̀ rí m kpe yè]

11. INT: [ àt'èmi kpáákpáá, ọ̀jà mi kpáákpáá é níí

kùtá .... laughter ..... ñjé wo lé

so éni bọ́ ẹ je mí kí èwè babaláwo?]

12. 018: [ kóniyò bá mí bọ́, à so wáyíí:

- Visitor: [ àbórúboyè ..... ]
- Ifa Priest: [ ugbo á tó..... ]
- Visitor: [ àbórúboyè ..... ]
- Ifa Priest: [ ò gbó títíí tífá àíkú t'odù  
mókúú mófú t'àgbònrègú (a sùré  
tìwòrìwò fu)..... ]
- Visitor: [ orúwo mi ré o ..... ]
- Priest: [ orí é á gbó ..... ]
- Visitor: [ àyà mi rè é o ..... ]
- Priest: [ àyà re à kirí ..... ]
- Visitor: [ sé kí mi wolé? ]
- Priest: [ wolé e ..... ]

( Long live the priest!)

( May you live long too.)

( Long live the priest.)

( Longevity is the design of Ifa

( Immortality is owned by Odu. A life

( devoid of disease or death is the work  
of 'àgbònrègú'. )

( This is my head!)

( Your head will live long.)

( This is my chest ( soul). )

( Your soul will last.)

( May I enter.)

( Of course, enter!)



Text 3:

Interview with a native herbalist.

1. INT: [ ñjéé wíwá é' wà ní kòòdú é, édéé kòòdú é  
máa mí so jú àbí é ísèdè mírè ma? ]

2. O26: [ édé kòòdú èni mí so ò ]

3. INT: [ ñjé ùrũkũrũ lé jèlè é níí mú wé sèdè e  
kòòdú ní kòòdú ]

4. O26: [ à ..... olou má jèé kí mí ri ]

5. INT: [ ñjé k'ówò bíí ará òké dè múnìyò wá  
sòso wé kó ? ..... aya ou rée, ó fèé  
bímo o ..... ]

6. O26: [ èé ... kí m bá so èdè kòòdú ù kí m ri  
fòò ùrũ ù mí so yé é fèé je, é hèé, maa  
má so èkó gũ níyè, mà so fòò èkó yè á

( As you are resident in Ikorodu, do you  
generally speak the Ikorodu dialect or do  
you use some other dialect/language as well.)

( I normally speak the Ikorodu dialect.)

( Can you think of any situation in which  
you would not speak the Ikorodu dialect  
here in Ikorodu? )

( God forbids such a situation!)

( Suppose some strangers or non-natives bring  
a patient to you, like somebody bringing  
his wife who is in labour? )

( If I speak the Ikorodu dialect to him and  
I find that he doesn't understand me, I  
will then speak Eko to him because I know

- gbó yě yàtò sí ti kòddú]
7. INT: [ ñjé òrò èmùrè wà é jé fò kē bá wá  
 nēřū 'jé wé gégébí olújègù, wé lé maa  
 so é jé fòo oné èé níbè é níí mù'ú ]
8. 026: [ ó teè ... ó lèè gbó, ó lèè gbó, jùgbó  
 ó ti mò so fòo ó ti yàtò sárò lásó ...  
 iyè ē ofò ]
9. J.F.A: [ ofò ? ]
10. 026: [ ofò iyè wà à! ]
11. J.F.A: F pe ofò kọn fún wa ...  
 a kọn fẹ́fẹ́ gbó ní o .....
12. 026: [ ... laughter ...kí ọ kpe ofò kò? ]
13. INT: [ è ē, e kpofò ē bá mù ..... ]
- that he will understand Eko better than  
 Ikorodu dialect.)
- ( Do you have some special speech form  
 which you use in your trade which some of  
 your listeners may not understand?)
- ( Even when he understands, he would definitely  
 realize that it is not an ordinary  
 speech form - something like ofò )
- ( What, ofò?)
- ( It is certainly an ofò!)
- ( Please recite an ofò for us.)  
 We just want to hear it.)
- ( You mean I should recite an ofò?)
- ( Yes, recite any ofò you know.)

AWÓRÉ.

14. 026: [ x ..... x ..... x ..... ]

a succession of three velar fricative sounds

Akínjòdún n̄ relé qdún!

Akínfàlà n̄ ròde ifàlà!

Ópè règìrègì n̄ ròde Èkó

Ó n̄ rè é múkun ẹmu.

Ẹyẹ rí mi lápá òtún

Ó yò mí nséré nséré

Ẹyẹ rí mi lápá òsì

N̄ yò m̄ nséré nséré

15. INT: [ a fé kěě só éni níjèbú..... ]

a bí wé lè só níjèbú? ]

Àbà ẹ kẹ̀ẹ̀rẹ̀ gbilẹ̀

Ó dífá fùn olù ògán

Olú ògán rúbọ.

Èmi á gba 'lẹ̀ lọwọ́ ọ wọn

Ókẹ̀rẹ̀ .....

Àbà n̄ gbalẹ̀ lówọ́ ọ'gi

Ókẹ̀rẹ̀.

( We want you to recite it in the Ijebu dialect, or won't you be able to say it in Ijebu dialect?)

16. 026: [ mo lé fu 'jèbú soó kěẹ ]

( Of course, I can recite it in Ijebu).

Texts 5-6: SELECTION FROM THE ASSOCIATION MEETING OF THE IKOGODU IMPROVEMENT SOCIETY

AWÓRE.

[ akíjodú ó mí lo úlé odú!

akífalà ó mí lo sóde ífálà

òkpè règìrègì o mí lo sóde èkó

o mí lo mukū emu

eye rí mi nákpá òtú

ó mí yò mí ní jéré níjéré

eye rí mi nákpá òsí

ó mí yò mí ní jéré níjéré

àbà je kèèrè gbilè

Oū é dífá f'ólú ògó

k'òlù ògó rúbo.

èmi máa gbalè nówó wó

òkèrè .....

àbà ní gba'lè nówó igi

òkèrè ]

Text 5

CHAIRMAN: Nígba wo lo ti wí tiẹ yí í, eléyí í tí  
wọn ẹ gbẹ̀n yí lo wi ni, àbí kọ̀n tó  
tó se é .....

(When did you say you made this comment?  
Was it at the last meeting or before it?)

SPEAKER 1: [ ẽ ..... è s̄ se gbè̀gbè̀r̄ ni ..núgbà a.. ]

(It was at the last meeting .....

CHAIRMAN: A gbọ́, ijọ́ ta kọ̀kọ́ ... — [mú ńrò wá sọ  
fò ọ a maa se] — sendoff — ni jọ́ ti a  
sọ wípé a maa ẹ sendoff — [ ẽ ..... a  
ti bẹ̀rẹ̀sí dáwó, èwě dá nigba né ẽ, è s̄  
ti kà nígbà tí s̄ maa se mítíní (meeting)  
èkeji ..... s̄ ní í kà á mówèè ... ńrũ

(We understand. The day the idea of a send-off  
party was first mentioned, we had already  
started contributing money. Most of you  
actually contributed, and this had already  
been read out during the second meeting. Its  
only the things that came up during the last

mítíní ba s̄ s̄ se, mítíní s̄ s̄ s̄ se....  
(interruptions)] — má a gbọ́ — [mítíní  
s̄ s̄ se (more interruptions)..] — ẹ jọ́

meeting .... [interruptions] .. during the  
last meeting ... and I want all of you to  
understand this ..... whatever came up during  
previous meetings will not necessarily be

ó ẹ jékí í .. — [iyí mso é kó yé dede  
olíkálùkù, mítíní s̄ bá s̄ s̄ se, wó s̄ tú  
ní í ka ńrũ s̄ bá ti se tẹ̀lé kó tú kà á

read as part of the minutes of the last meeting.  
Now I want anybody who wishes to speak to speak

mo mítiní ń ma a ńsẹ ńe. ńń rń Se gbẹyí  
 rń ma a ká]—Mo dẹ ńfẹ ki ẹníkẹni tó bá  
 maa sọqọ nńsín, nńtorí àwọn tí wọn bá wa  
 jókò o yí ń, wọn kí ń sẹni tí wọn ń bá wa  
 jókò ó ni mítiní wa nńgbà gbogbo—[ńńrũ  
 ń fẹ mù òũ nẹẹ ń so ń wẹ nńsẹyí yẹ,  
 kólúkálúkù ma a gbẹrũ nókẹ sńrń, kí kiní  
 è lẹ ma a mu dání nńtí le ńu ńe wń.]

CHIEF A: [ alága, sa sir, ẹmi ńń bá bẹbẹ, kó bá  
 jẹrũ ó lẹ ńe ńe, fọ ka bé bẹ ńrń owó  
 yẹ kń kọ ó kpó, kń ká á lu. torí fọ  
 gégẹbí ètò yẹ nẹyí .. nńgbò mbá ti sńrń  
 owó, ká le mù bo òũ há sí dede, kńrũ lẹ  
 lo gerege sá ... ki ń bá gba mńńít  
 (minutes) wólẹ mo mńńí (mean) o, é ńi  
 fọ kń ńúkú ká á nẹí nẹí. ti fń ń ińeé  
 fọ mí gbóũ mi, oũ gbóũ tńũ, òũ gbòwó tńũ,  
 é jẹ ká le mù bi òũ ńorí si nẹ ń wẹ ń ..]

up loud enough for the sake of these people  
 among us who don't generally meet with us.)

(Chairman sir, I want to suggest that, if it  
 is possible, the details of all the financial  
 transactions should be compiled and read out  
 preferably after the adoption of the minutes  
 so that nobody can then complain afterwards  
 that he or she did not hear his<sup>her</sup>/<sub>L</sub> name.)

SPEAKER 2: Chairman, do excuse me - gbogbo èyí tẹ̀  
̀ndù yẹn ńsín, ó da bẹ́nípé à ńfa òrọ̀  
síwájú, à ńfà á sáyìn, - in that - wípé  
wọn sọ ... wọn ní meeting .. wọn ní  
meeting ... wọn ní meeting kọn tọn ti ẹ̀  
tẹ̀lẹ̀tẹ̀lẹ̀ ti wọn ti dáwò, iyẹn ti - quiet  
alright iyẹn ti wà ń'lẹ̀, gbogbo ètò yẹn  
ti wa ń'lẹ̀. Eléyí í tọn kà las(t) ni wọn  
wí yí. Èyí tá a ẹ̀ gbẹ̀n ni ọ́n ka  
meeting (or minutes)ẹ̀. T'ó bá kọn pé  
ọ́ọ̀ ẹ̀dávó kò ẹ̀ dáwó ńsín, tọn bá gbé  
yẹn jù\_júlẹ̀, àá bẹ̀rẹ̀ sí sort gbogbo  
problem tó wà nínú yẹn. Eléyí í ò tí í  
ní dídù lójú tẹ̀mí o o .....

(Chairman offers a further explanation and  
calls for somebody to move that the  
minutes be adopted.)

(Chairman, do allow me to speak. It appears  
we are actually wasting time arguing. The  
report of the previous meetings and the  
financial contributions made had been given  
and it seemed in order. What has just been  
read are the transactions of the last meeting.  
There does not seem to be any ground for dis-  
agreement on this at the moment until the full  
account has been given.)

Text 6

Text 6: (As part of 'Matters Arising' on the agenda, the Secretary referred to an assignment given to a sub-committee under the chairmanship of Chief A, and requests the gathering to ask Chief A to give a report.)

CHIEF A: Mister Secretary - [é ye kó sèmi ré máa  
Je report yè torí mí sí hú committee yè]

SECRETARY: Èyin lalága Sir .... şugbón èyin gón ló  
wà ni àyè lati lè sọ brief ... kíf se  
report - u meeting yẹn o, şugbón ... şé  
ẹ mò pé wón sọ ònkankan ni orí ọràn ná à..

CHIEF A: ẹn hén ... ẹ bá ti refer — [kó jò s̄ ti  
refer yè sí mi, mà prepare report níkpá  
rè .... mí ì prepare őrūkūrū níkpá rè] —



being not a member of that committee.

(The Chairman requests the Secretary to give the report.)

CHIEF A: Ẹ jò ó, emi Chief N.A. Anífowóse ni èkun Ìkòròdú níńí— [emi tako ũŕũ akòwé yè so yè o, idí mi dè fu takò ó ré ...]

(other people contributed to the debate.)

A FLOOR SPEAKER: Alága, ẹa ... akòwé ó se isé yẹn dáadáa. Emi gégébí ẹni tòn yọn, mo ní láti jókò o fún Ìjókó yẹn, ẹmi pèlú (he is reminded of the need to speak Ijebu) — [à ..... mo kpèlú onẹ rẹ é lo síkejà ... rẹe wà níkejà, ìkpàdé tikeja — nigba — nẹí ré

anything on it since I was not a member of the committee.)

(Please listen! I, Chief N.A. Anifowose, of Ikorodu strongly oppose what the Secretary has just said. And my reason for opposing it is this .....)

(Chairman, the Secretary has done a good job. As one of the elected representatives, I attended the Ikeja zonal meeting. There was some concern over the delay in executing a number of approved projects, for example, the Isiu project. So those of us who represent

wó ti so nǔ, níkejá nítorí ba a se mí  
 so níbé oú a tó mí so ni íkejá fɔ bóyá  
 á le yá onkǎ ] — nínu àwon ẹkun méjèjì  
 yẹn lati tete sesé isiyú (Isiyú) — [ubo  
 iyè mí ta àwa ará kòddú nára to néyí ré  
 a dè dé keja (Ikeja) kɔ ti so urre ré  
 jé gbodogí ké maa ... kó maa fɔ ó má a  
 kpe meeting ... ko máa kpe meeting mó  
 nítorí kó má né fɔ a né ... a lódí sí  
 ara eni, ká wá la gbé rú òkò síwájú  
 council sèí, kówò tǔú tú gbe urre omírè  
 jáde, à á lódi sí ara eni.]

CHAIRMAN: Ẹ sẹ púpọ o. Iba sókí tí àwa — [ra  
 má a bá e so né Ẹ] — òun ni ipé é...  
 (the audience burst into laughter at  
 the chairman's uncontrolled switch  
 from Ijebu to Eko.)  
 [ .....néyí ] — gǎgǎbí alaga — [nibé]

you felt that there was an urgent need for  
 a meeting so as to clear the issues before  
 presenting report to the Council. This will  
 help to avoid open confrontation at the  
 Council meeting.)

( Thank you. This will be our advice. What  
 P. K. Songolade said is correct. We all have  
 responsibility for that job. It has to be  
 done the way the officials want it done. We  
 have to make a start first and see how far  
 we can go .....)

— gégé bí omọ egbẹ ti zonal ni Ikeja —

[e ... èrì P. K. Sogóládé, Sogóládé

ró so yè, òǹ ri mo rò fò ó tǹnǹ

nítorí náyí] — iṣẹ awon — iṣe dede

awa é jókò ó wè é, iṣé dede eni, ọwó

ògá ra né wó ti gbà á nówó eni nǹnǹ

rè é ye, so fò ọ káwa tẹ so fò a ma a

ṣuṣé yè ó me kù deṣe . . . . .]

(He goes on in<sup>2</sup> rather impassioned

speech which was designed to calm

the storm over the dissolution of the

present executive committee.)

(The Community Development Officer in charge of Ikorodu Division and his assistant entered during the course of the discussions).

SECRETARY: Alàga àti gbogbo ìjòkò, mo rò pé kí a tó bẹrẹ sí í sọrọ lórí ọ̀pọ̀ aràbíàrín wa náa, mo rò pé nígbà tí a bá dé ..... a ti fi sínú ìwé ọwọ́ ọ wa í pé é ... a ma a ní ọ̀pọ́ ọ sọ lórí ẹ, ìnkan ti ó bá rí ... láti sọ nípa ẹ. Now - ẹ ripé ní ìṣẹ́jú bí m̀eló kan awọn ... e .. ọ̀gúnà gbògbò méjì kan wọ́n wọ́lé nígbà tí à mbà ìpàdẹ́ lọ. So - mo níláti ẹ ... fi eleyi họn, mo rò ípé awọn ... (Turns to the officials) - I think you .....

.....Excuse me Sir, you will have to do the introduction first before we vary on.

(Chairman and members of the audience!

Before we start talking about this woman's matter, let me point out that the matter is listed on the agenda. It would be advisable to wait until we've got to it on the agenda.... You would notice that a few minutes ago two gentlemen came in while we were talking. I think they should be introduced .....

(The rest is in English)

OFFICIAL: Is that on the agenda?

SECRETARY: It's on the agenda Sir. (then quickly correcting himself) No, not on the agenda, but . . . . .  
. . . . . (There was some consultation during which it was indicated that the Chairman should be the person to introduce them)

CHAIRMAN: (Do) I have to do that? . . . . .

(Do) I have to do it myself?

OFFICIAL: Continue with your next item. It's the Chairman after that . . . . .

SECRETARY: It's all right Sir.

CHAIRMAN: When we come to (the) 'General' we bring it up.

SECRETARY: It's all right.

CHAIRMAN: O ya . . . . . (Asks the Secretary to introduce the next item.)

(The Financial Secretary has just concluded his report on the financial transactions of the Society.)

MR. D: Mo dúpé l'wó Financial Secretary wa pé é..

fún 'şę ribiribi tó şe. Şùgbón ó dà

bénipé ñkónkón wà 'nu account yẹn tí ò

tí i yé wa tó, torí i .... è ñsọ fún wa

níńsín pé ní qjọ kẹrin oşù kọn bayí—

ńgbádákòdò — ni Nineteen Seventy-Four (1974)

ẹ ... oye owó báyi í ló wọlé - from

which source did the money come? .....

Excuse me. ----- Owó yẹn fò wọlé ni?

tábí wón fún wa ni? àbi awọn kọn ló da ni?

It's not stated. (There is an interrup-

tion by somebody saying 'Speak Ijebu.-

speak Ijebu!) — [è hẹ ... owó yẹ sọú fò

wọlé o, àbí jawō kò wá féní o, àbówō kò

(I thank the Financial Secretary for

doing such a nice job. But there is

something about the accounts which is not

quite clear to us. You mentioned that on

the 4<sup>th</sup> of a certain month in 1974 so much

money was paid in. What is the source of

this money? .....

money come to us? Did some people con-

tribute it, or was it a gift? .....

That is the first point. You said that

some money was a back payment. Was it a

debt owed us by some people, or was it a

bribe paid by somebody? You need to make

all these quite clear.)

rè e da o, tâbí jí í .....] (He is interrupted by several people protesting) --

Ẹ ní sùúrù o ... A à mọ, iyẹn ení. Ẹ tun ní ẹ ... igbà yẹn lẹ sọ pé owo kọn owo ẹyiń --

[owo yè kíi ugbèsè awò kò s̄ jéni, i s̄ fu wá bènì o lábètélè o, é yéni, iyē níbè. á jáláyé re kó yéni yekeyeke.

èkeji n̄è nígbè dè sọ níkpa òrò expenses, eni, wè wó yó àwò owó òkò, wó wí àwò owòkò .....

ugbèsè òkò a n̄é s̄ rí Treasurer, ugbèsè òkò a n̄é s̄ ri i ..... Chairman, igbèsè s̄ .....

twenty Naira (#20) ugbèsè òkò a n̄é í s̄ ri i, lagbaja, fi lákásègbè]-- Owó o kíni ... kíni a fi gbèsè ná à se? -- [já a kò jé nùgbèsè já á .....?] -- You see, it must be clear -- [é clear rará, é yé mi o ní t̄emi o. é jáláyé è kó yéni yekeyeke.]

(A second point is that you mentioned that deductions in respect of some expenses have been made. We owed so much to the Treasurer, twenty-Naira to the Chairman etc., what did we spend all these money for? You must state every-thing quite clearly. I don't quite understand it as yet.)

FINANCIAL SECRETARY: Mo dúpé lówó yín— [nūrū wé sò, ní àkókó owó yé jì wó da níbé nínó ùpádé .....]

MR. D.: Chairman, [è kè má fòrò nēē mí ífù nēfū mi, tori ... è ...] -- I am not an Accountant. -- Mi í tífí sèe

Accountant, sùgbón ti Auditor bá dé, tó ba jépe Auditor ló dé nífín....

(shouts of disapproval and call to

^ speak Ijebu) -- [mi kó se fò Auditor

rè e dé sèí kó mí audit iwé wé yé] --

irú u question témi mbéré yíí ní ọ̀n

mā mā bèrè lówó yín, nítorí, ní tēmi

ní tēmi o, mo fè mu wá fuń yín ... mi í

sopè kí í se boyā mo ri pé mādàrú kọn

wa mbè ni mo se nso eléyl í, sùgbón aà-

( I thank you very much. In answer to what you have just said, in the first place the money was contributed here at a previous meeting .....)

( It isn't that I want to monopolize the speech. Although I am not an Accountant, I know very well that the kind of questions that I am now asking are likely to be asked by an Auditor .....)

I want to make it clear that it isn't that I suspect any fraud, but we must be conscious of the fact that the people at the National level may ask that our accounts be audited unexpectedly. This is very important in view of the unfounded rumours that are now spreading about accusations of embezzlement among members of the committee. The point is, we are



[lè mójó tón mà à sò pé ε tie jeki.....]

— from the National level — kón ló —  
audit account --- àwọn arabí wòn yí.

Nítorí ariwo mípa kákiri, awa ñgbò pé ọ̀n

ńfẹ̀sùn kọ̀n ilé yí kákiri kákiri pé —

[kó ló mí ʃe níbè? ʃigi kó mí kówó ʃe

..... ʃǒ mí kówó ʃe] — you see — kọ̀n

dẹ wá audit account yi, kó má lójútú,

idoti yẹn gbogbo wa lo maa bá lára —

[uřũ èèjǒ ʃe néré kè é lè ri nájà, torí

ʃa mí dáwó eni sákpò wé, é e ʃa mí gbòwó

òkò rẹ é a mí kpě ʃe níbé]— A ńdávó síbẹ

ní but sources tówó yẹn ńgbà wọlé àtẹyí

tó ńgbà jáde a nílátí mò ọ́ dájúdájú ...

.....

CHIEF A: (Interrupting) On point of

correction please!

all going to be affected by such rumours and  
accusations. We have a right to know the details  
of all financial transactions of the society.)

MR. D: Ní sùúrù, jé kí nlánd.....-

Let me land .....

CHIEF A: Tá a bá ní — on point of correction —

o yè kó o dẹ dúró ..... Ẹ jọ ọ,  
eléyí kí í ẹe annual report, ẹ ẹ  
ńgbórò mi ẹ yé? Now — [bá à ẹe wà  
nibé yi í a m̀wé jara eni lo, a dè wá  
nati kékò ó anytime. ke bé ri fo one  
a ỹs síbè ỹē uũ ̀óú kọ ỹē é tó, á í m̀ò  
níjọ múfè o, kóú dè maa ẹe report wáyí í  
o, wáyí í kó maa ẹe o, wáyí í ko ma a  
ẹe o. Sá a ẹ̀ẹ̀ ẹ̀ b̀ẹ̀ẹ̀sí gbésè, è má ẹe  
kóú sá. èwè é m̀wé dáadáa kpáákpáa káa  
bè wé, wé le ráyè! torínòò olóú á fèni  
ẹe o. Ji ko bá mi maa kóó! ]

(Take it easy. Allow me to conclude my  
speech .....

(When 'a point of correction is raised,  
you ought to stop. Please, this is not  
an annual report. You understand? We  
realize that as we are here we are not all  
equally educated here. But we are all  
prepared to learn anytime. If you realise  
that there are a number of inadequacies in  
in his report, it's O.K to point this out  
but not to run him down completely. We need  
to encourage those who can spare the time to  
serve the society. After all, those of you  
who are educated don't have enough time to  
do this kind of assignment!)

MR. D: Kí í ẹ pe mò ní ..... gbogbo ẹnì  
 lẹ mo pé kí í ẹ pé mo ní blame ẹ  
 (interruptions) Nkọn tó bá maa clear  
 gbọdọ clear. Report yẹn kò clear.  
 tó lemi nsọ --- 'I still maintain it -  
 O gbó?

(I am not trying to blame him. I hope  
 everybody knows that. I maintain that  
 the report is not quite clear enough.)

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE SURVEY OF DIALECT VARIATION AND DIALECT USAGE IN THE IKORODU SPEECH COMMUNITY

PART I

(Note for the Interviewer: 1. In this section of the questionnaire all possible responses from informants to most questions have been listed and coded, i.e. each possible answer has been assigned a numerical value. What you are required to do, therefore, is to circle the number of the answer which corresponds to the informants answer.

2. Where blank spaces are provided, please write in the appropriate response given by the informant to the question asked. For example: 004. Age .45..... ).

Note: If the response to 005 is 1. Ikorodu

- 000 Name of Respondent .....
- 001 Identification No. 1 - 3
- 002 Card No. 4
- 003 Sex of Respondent. 1. Male 2. Female 5
- 004 Age .....
  - 0. Not Known 3. 25 - 44 6
  - 1. 10 - 14 4. 45 - 64
  - 2. 15 - 24 5. 65 +
- 005 Place of Birth 7
  - 0. Not Known
  - 1. Ikorodu Town
  - 2. A village/town around Ikorodu
  - 3. Ijebu Remo (Shagamu, Ikenne etc.)
  - 4. Ijebu Ode
  - 5. Other Ijebu Town/Village
  - 6. Lagos
  - 7. Elsewhere in Yorubaland
  - 8. Elsewhere in Nigeria or abroad.


006 Present place of residence 8

0. No permanent residence
1. Ikorodu Town
2. A village/town around Ikorodu
3. Elsewhere in Ijebu Province
4. Lagos
5. Elsewhere in Yorubaland
6. Elsewhere in Nigeria

Note: If the response to 006 is 1. 'Ikorodu Town', ask 007, if not skip 007 and go on to 008 and 009.

007 Length of residence in Ikorodu. Can you tell us when you started living in Ikorodu? 9

1. From Childhood
2. Before the Lagos-Ikorodu road was built
3. After the Lagos-Ikorodu road was built
4. Before the civil war in Nigeria started
5. During or after the civil war

008 How long have you lived in your present place of residence? 10 - 11 

--	--

009 Have you ever lived in Ikorodu before? If YES, for how many years (approx)? 12 - 13 

--	--

010 Previous place of residence and duration. Where else have you lived before? 14 

--	--

  
15 - 16 

--	--

1. Ijebu Remo District
2. Ijebu Ode District
3. Lagos Area
4. Elsewhere in Yorubaland
5. Elsewhere in Nigeria
6. Elsewhere outside Nigeria

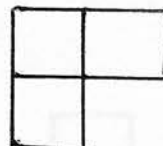
How many years did you spend there?

- 011 Level of Education: 17
- 015 Which class were you in when you completed your education?
- 0. No education at all
  - 1. Some adult literacy education
  - 2. Muslim (koranic) education
  - 3. Some primary school
  - 016 4. Completed primary school
  - 5. Some secondary or secondary school
  - 6. Completed secondary school
  - 7. Technical or Teacher training
  - 8. Higher Education or University
- 012 Where educated 18
- |                |                  |    |                          |
|----------------|------------------|----|--------------------------|
| <u>Primary</u> | <u>Secondary</u> |    |                          |
|                |                  | 19 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
- 0. Not relevant      0. Not relevant
  - 1. Ikorodu            1. Ikorodu
  - 2. Ijebu Remo District    2. Ijebu Remo District
  - 3. Ijebu Ode District    3. Ijebu Ode District
  - 4. Lagos                4. Lagos
  - 5. Elsewhere            5. Elsewhere
- 013 Reading ability in Yoruba 20
- 0. None
  - 1. Can read but with difficulty
  - 2. Can read the Bible and Hymn Books (or the Koran)
  - 3. Can read any Yoruba Book fluently
- 014 Writing ability in Yoruba 21
- 0. None
  - 1. Write own name or signature only
  - 2. Write short letters only
  - 3. Write fluently - long essays

- 015 Reading ability in English 22
0. None
1. Can read only little English
2. Can read some newspapers
3. Can read very well.
- 016 Speaking ability in English 23
0. None
1. Can speak only a little English
2. Can speak pidgin English only
3. Can speak fluently
- 017 Writing ability in English 24
0. None
1. Can write short letters
2. Can write very well
- 018 Religion 25
- Do you belong to any religious organization? Which?
0. None
1. Protestant
2. Catholic
3. Muslim
4. Aladura
5. Indigenous
6. Others
- 019 Occupation 26 - 27
- Please tell us the type of work you have been doing within the last five years or so. 28

- 96. Traditional manual and craft occupations.
  - 0. Unemployed
  - 1. Farming/Fishing/Hunting
  - 2. Craft-weaving/blacksmithy etc.
  - 3. Petty trading etc.
  - 4. Other
- 97. Semi-skilled craft, distributive and service occupations.
  - 5. Motor transporting
  - 6. Market trading - textile & provisions
  - 7. Skilled craft - mechanic, dressmaking, etc.
- 98. Modern Professional or Vocational Occupations.
  - 8. Clerical, Teaching, Nursing, etc.
  - 9. Senior Civil Servants, Doctors, Lawyers, Lecturers, etc.

020 Work mobility (if respondent is relatively mobile, code as 88, if not, code as 00). 29 - 30 31



In the type of work you do, do you

- 1. Live and work mainly in Ikorodu?
- 2. Work in Ikorodu but live in the district?
- 3. Live in Ikorodu but work outside within the district?
- 4. Go to Lagos periodically (for trade)?
- 5. Live in Ikorodu but work in Lagos daily?
- 6. Live and work in Lagos but come to Ikorodu periodically?
- 7. Live in Ikorodu but travel about generally?





3.	Eko (Lagos Yoruba)	8. Qwq dialect	42	<input type="checkbox"/>
4.	Ijẹṣa dialect	9. Ondo/Ikalẹ "	43	<input type="checkbox"/>
5.	Standard Yoruba		44	<input type="checkbox"/>
026	Dialect varieties of Yoruba able to speak		45	<input type="checkbox"/>
	State which of these dialects you can		46	<input type="checkbox"/>
	speak?		47	<input type="checkbox"/>
			48	<input type="checkbox"/>
1.	Ijẹbu Ode/Rẹmọ	6. Ekiti dialect	49	<input type="checkbox"/>
2.	Qyọ/Ibadan	7. Eḡba "	50	<input type="checkbox"/>
3.	Eko (Lagos Yoruba)	8. Qwq dialect	51	<input type="checkbox"/>
4.	Ijẹṣa dialect	9. Ondo/Ikalẹ "	52	<input type="checkbox"/>
5.	Standard Yoruba		53	<input type="checkbox"/>
027	Variety of Yoruba known best.			<input type="checkbox"/>
	Please tell us which of the following		54	<input type="checkbox"/>
	varieties of Yoruba you know best?			<input type="checkbox"/>
1.	Ijẹbu Ode dialect		54	<input type="checkbox"/>
2.	Ijẹbu Rẹmọ dialect		55	<input type="checkbox"/>
3.	Eko (Lagos Yoruba)		56	<input type="checkbox"/>
4.	Standard Yoruba		57	<input type="checkbox"/>
5.	Ikorodu		58	<input type="checkbox"/>
028	Variety of Yoruba known least.		55	<input type="checkbox"/>
1.	Ijẹbu Ode dialect			<input type="checkbox"/>
2.	Ijẹbu Rẹmọ dialect			<input type="checkbox"/>
3.	Eko (Lagos Yoruba)			<input type="checkbox"/>
4.	Standard Yoruba			<input type="checkbox"/>
5.	Ikorodu			<input type="checkbox"/>
029	Situational characterization of usage.			<input type="checkbox"/>
	Which of the following varieties of			<input type="checkbox"/>
	Yoruba would you speak in the			<input type="checkbox"/>
	situations stated:			<input type="checkbox"/>

1.	Ijebu Ode dialect		<input type="checkbox"/>
2.	Ijebu Remo dialect		<input type="checkbox"/>
3.	Eko (Lagos Yoruba)		<input type="checkbox"/>
4.	Standard Yoruba		<input type="checkbox"/>
5.	Ikorodu		<input type="checkbox"/>
6.	Ikorodu with Eko		<input type="checkbox"/>
i.	In the home to your spouse	56	<input type="checkbox"/>
ii.	In the home to your children	57	<input type="checkbox"/>
iii.	In the home to your parents	58	<input type="checkbox"/>
iv.	Locally to your siblings	59	<input type="checkbox"/>
v.	Locally to customers in the market	60	<input type="checkbox"/>
vi.	Locally to intimate friends	61	<input type="checkbox"/>
vii.	Locally to townmates who have come from Lagos	62	<input type="checkbox"/>
viii.	When talking about the customs and traditions of your people	63	<input type="checkbox"/>
ix.	When talking about taxes and water rates	64	<input type="checkbox"/>
x.	Locally to people you don't know very well	65	<input type="checkbox"/>
xi.	To townmates outside Ikorodu (especially in Lagos)	66	<input type="checkbox"/>
xii.	To other Ijebu dialect speakers anywhere in Ijebu Province	67	<input type="checkbox"/>
030	Dialect preference: Please state which of the following varieties of Yoruba you consider to be the best and why?		<input type="checkbox"/>
1.	Ijebu Ode dialect	68	<input type="checkbox"/>
2.	Ijebu Remo dialect		<input type="checkbox"/>
3.	Eko (Lagos Yoruba)		<input type="checkbox"/>
4.	Standard Yoruba		<input type="checkbox"/>
5.	Ikorodu		<input type="checkbox"/>
i.	.....		<input type="checkbox"/>
	.....	69	<input type="checkbox"/>
ii.	.....		<input type="checkbox"/>
	.....	70	<input type="checkbox"/>

031 Which dialect do you actually use most often and why? 71

1. Ijebu Ode 2. Ijebu Remo

3. Eko (Lagos Yoruba)

4. Standard Yoruba

5. Ikorodu

6. Ikorodu with Eko

i. .... 72

ii. .... 73

032 How would you describe the variety of Yoruba spoken by the people in Ikorodu? 74

0. Don't know

1. Mainly Ijebu (Ikorodu)

2. Mixed Ijebu and Eko

3. More of Eko than Ijebu

4. Mainly Standard Yoruba

033 Self-report of language usage habits. In your day-to-day transactions, which of the following languages or language varieties do you think you use most often and why? 75

1. English

2. Standard Yoruba

3. Eko (Lagos Yoruba)

4. Ijebu dialect

5. Ijebu with Eko

i. .... 76

ii. .... 77

PART II

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Note for the Interviewer: The purpose of this part of the interview is to engage the informant in as much conversation as possible while his speech is being recorded. Every encouragement must be given him, therefore, to become involved and interested in whatever he is talking about.

- I. TRADITIONAL LIFE AND CUSTOMS OF THE PEOPLE OF IKORODU.
  1. (a) Do you find many differences between life in Ikorodu when you were young and life in Ikorodu now?  
(b) What significant changes have taken place between then and now?
  2. (a) Tell us some of the important events that took place in Ikorodu during your childhood.  
(b) Do you remember some of the important games or sports in Ikorodu that used to be popular during your childhood days?
  3. Among the traditional festivals that people celebrate in Ikorodu, two, that is, the one in Ìsẹ̀lé and the other in Ìjòmù, seem to be very popular with the people. Would you like to tell us about one of them?
  4. (a) Everywhere in Yorubaland, the Christmas and the New Year season (if a Christian) is usually celebrated with much festivities. Would you like to tell us as much as you can remember, how Christmas used to be celebrated when you were young?  
(b) Has the pattern of celebration changed much these days.

OR

(If a Muslim) (a) There are three important festivals in the Islamic religion:

- (i) the Id-el-Maloud (the Holy Prophet's Birthday)
- (ii) Id-el-Fitri (Ìtúnu Ààwẹ̀ - end of Ramadan Fasting)
- (iii) Id-el-Kabir (Iléyá)

Would you like to tell us what each of these festivals is all about and how each is celebrated in Ikorodu?

(b) Why is it that quite a lot of Muslims do participate in the Christmas festivities, since the Christmas is an essentially Christian festival?

(c) What do people do when they say they go for Hajj?

## II. CONTEMPORARY LIFE IN IKORODU.

1. (a) Has the town of Ikorodu changed much within the last 10 to 20 years?

(b) What significant changes do you think have taken place, especially in the type of buildings and the size of the town?

(c) It is only within the last 25 years that the road link between Ikorodu and Lagos was opened. Do you think that the opening of this road has contributed much to the changes that have taken place in the town?

2. (a) Do you think that women in Yoruba Society today (especially in the towns), wield greater influence than before in matters social, political and economic?

(b) Is this true of Ikorodu town?

(c) What factors do you think contribute to this changing position of women in Yoruba society?

3. (a) Do you like the life you live in Ikorodu?  
(b) Would you prefer living in Lagos to living in Ikorodu or vice versa? Why?  
(c) Do you think that Ikorodu's proximity to Lagos has been more of an advantage than a disadvantage to the town and in what respects?
4. (a) The relationship between Lagos and Ikorodu seems much stronger than the relationship between Ikorodu and the rest of Ijebu-land. Why do you think this is so?  
(b) What significant differences are there between the people of Ikorodu and the people of other Ijebu towns especially in Ijebu Remo and Ijebu Ode?  
(c) What do you think the other Ijebu towns feel about the close relationship between Ikorodu and Lagos?
5. (a) Do you think that religion, either Christian or Islamic, has got any greater influence on the lives of people in Ikorodu these days than before?  
(b) Is it true or not that more people go to churches or mosques these days than before? Why?

### III. LANGUAGE USAGE.

1. (a) Is there any difference between the variety of Ijebu dialect spoken in Ikorodu and the other varieties spoken in Ijebu Remo and Ijebu Ode?  
(b) Can you point out some of the significant differences.  
(c) How would you differentiate between an Ijebu from Ikorodu and another Ijebu say from Shagamu if you listen to them speaking?

- (d) Do you understand the Ijebu dialect spoken by people from other parts of Ijebu-land?
2. (a) Do you think that everybody in Ikorodu speaks the same variety of Ijebu dialect?
- (b) If not, what are the main differences?
3. (a) Are there any situations which will make you vary the style of your speech to match the context?
- (b) Can you give us some examples of the kind of variation which you can introduce into your speech when the situation varies?
- (c) Are there any occasions when you cannot use certain words and expressions because the situation does not permit you to do so?
- (d) Please give examples of such words and expressions which are not proper to use in certain situations.
4. (a) Is there any difference between the variety of Ijebu dialect spoken in Ikorodu by the older people on the one hand, and the younger people on the other hand?
- (b) If any, what do you think is responsible for this?
- (c) Is there any difference between the way you speak Ijebu dialect now and the way you spoke it when you were much younger?
- (d) If any, what, in your own opinion, is responsible for this?
5. (a) Do you speak a lot of Ijebu dialect when you are in Ikorodu? What type of people do you normally speak it to? Do they talk to you in Ijebu as well?
- (b) Are there any situations where you would not normally speak Ijebu dialect in Ikorodu? What are



these situations and why?

(c) What other Yoruba dialect(s) or other language(s) would you use in such situations?

(d) In which situations would you normally speak Ijẹbu dialect when you are outside Ikorodu?

6. Quite a number of people in Ikorodu can speak one, or two, or all of the following languages or language varieties in addition to the Ijẹbu dialect?

1. Standard Yoruba (Yoruba gidi) or (Ojúlówó Yoruba)

2. Eko (Lagos Yoruba)

3. English

(a) Which of them can you speak well yourself?

(b) Why do you think it is important for people in Ikorodu to be able to speak any one of them?

(c) Do you think that any of these has affected the form of Ijẹbu dialect speech used in Ikorodu?

(d) Do you often speak the Ijẹbu dialect to your spouse (or spouses) and children?

(e) Are there any situations when you will not speak the Ijẹbu dialect to your spouse (or spouses) and children? Why?

IV WORD LIST. (See a separate sheet)

(B) Dialect Version:

We want you to look at these words (or objects, pictures, etc) and try and say them as you would normally say them in the Ijẹbu dialect.

V A SHORT STORY: A FOLK TALE.

There are several folk tales which describe how cunny the Tortoise was. We shall mention THREE

of them and we want you to narrate one of them very briefly first in Ijebu dialect, and then in Eko or Standard Yoruba. But if you don't know any of the three, please narrate the story of the episode about the Tortoise which you know well.

1. 'The story of how the tortoise became bald'.
2. 'The Tortoise and the Gourd of Wisdom'.
3. 'How the Tortoise tricked the Elephant into believing that he was going to be crowned king in the town'.

VI. LEXICAL VARIATION

(a) For the following words, there are typically Ijebu dialect versions. Please give the Ijebu dialect equivalents for each of them. (See a separate sheet).

(b) Standard Yoruba/Eko versions: We also want you to say the Standard Yoruba or the Eko versions of the words.

WORD LIST  
THE IKORODU SURVEY

58. Tail	62. Sword	60. Yam
61. Cassava	63. Drum	
1. One	2. Two	3. Three
64. Rope	65. Calabash	66. Pot
4. Four	5. Five	6. Six
67. Work	68. War	69. Sleep
7. Seven	8. Eight	9. Nine
70. Death	71. Corpse	72. Sickness
10. Ten	11. Eleven	12. Twelve
73. Cough	74. Fever	75. Hole
13. Thirteen	14. Fourteen	15. Fifteen
76. White	77. Black	78. Sweet
16. Sixteen	17. Seventeen	18. Eighteen
79. Long	80. Full	81. New
19. Nineteen	20. Twenty	21. One hundred
82. Beautiful	83. Strong	84. Where?
22. Four hundred	23. First	24. Second
85. When?	86. Why?	87. Here
25. Third	26. Fourth	27. Son
88. There	89. Outside	90. Above
28. Daughter	29. Man	30. Woman
91. Underneath	92. First	93. Behind
31. Father-in-law	32. Mother-in-law	33. Hair (of head)
94. Truth	95. Insult	96. Sleep
34. Beard	35. Neck	36. Belly
97. Roast	98. Help	99. Give
37. Knee	38. Buttocks	39. Anus
100. Sneeze	101. Walk	102. Carry
40. Thigh	41. Hips	42. Navel
103. Show	104. Plait (hair)	105. Divide
43. Bone	44. God	45. Medicine
106. Co-wife	107. Masquerade	108. (Fish) Pond
46. Sun	47. Sky	48. Night
109. Ocean	110. Firewood	111. Cricket
49. Darkness	50. Year	51. House
112. Bedbug	113. Large Edible Snail	
52. Root	53. Door	54. Bedroom
55. Sheep (ewe)	56. Vulture	57. Horn

- |   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| 58. Tail<br>114. Matak                      | 59. Food<br>115. Sail                       | 60. Yam<br>118. Bottle                           |
| 61. Cassava<br>117. Waterpot                | 62. Sword<br>118. Inheritance               | 63. Drum<br>119. Years                           |
| 64. Rope<br>120. Millipede                  | 65. Calabash<br>121. Medicing               | 66. Pot<br>122. Half                             |
| 67. Work<br>123. Whitlow                    | 68. War<br>124. Inherit                     | 69. Sleep<br>125. Sharp                          |
| 70. Death<br>126. Suffering                 | 71. Corpse<br>127. Debt                     | 72. Sickness<br>128. Feather                     |
| 73. Cough<br>129. Another                   | 74. Fever<br>130. Bunchbeck                 | 75. Hole<br>131. Day-before-<br>yesterday        |
| 76. White<br>132. Day-after-<br>tomorrow    | 77. Black<br>133. Market day                | 78. Sweet<br>134. Knoll                          |
| 79. Long<br>135. Be alive                   | 80. Full<br>136. Be sick                    | 81. New<br>137. Conceive                         |
| 82. Beautiful<br>138. Land (from boat)      | 83. Strong<br>139. Weave (weave)            | 84. Where?<br>140. Fight                         |
| 85. When?<br>141. Pound                     | 86. Why?<br>142. Mortar                     | 87. Here<br>143. Raise                           |
| 88. There<br>144. Stab                      | 89. Outside<br>145. Pierce (fish)           | 90. Above<br>146. Pierce (ear)                   |
| 91. Underneath<br>147. Fish seller          | 92. Front<br>148. Pain wine<br>seller       | 93. Behind<br>149. Please (v)                    |
| 94. Truth<br>150. Pepper seller             | 95. Insult<br>151. Textile<br>trader        | 96. Sleep<br>152. Firewood seller                |
| 97. Roast<br>153. Groundnut seller          | 98. Help<br>154. Palmoil<br>seller          | 99. Give<br>155. 'Mobo' seller                   |
| 100. Sneeze<br>156. 'mqimqin' seller        | 101. Walk<br>157. Noise seller              | 102. Marry<br>158. Piana dealer                  |
| 103. Show<br>159. 'Gari' dealer             | 104. Plait (hair)<br>160. Yaw seller        | 105. Divide<br>161. A wealthy person             |
| 106. Co-wife<br>162. To have a lot of money | 107. Masquerade<br>163. A rich person       | 108. (Fish) Pond<br>164. To have many<br>clothes |
| 109. Ocean<br>164. To be wise               | 110. Firewood<br>165. A rich person         | 111. Cricket<br>166. Plantain seller             |
| 112. Bedbug<br>167. A troublesome person    | 113. Large Edible Snail<br>168. A Christian |  |

- |                             |                          |                               |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 114. Match                  | 115. Sail                | 116. Bottle                   |
| 117. Waterpot               | 118. Inheritance         | 119. Tears                    |
| 120. Millipede              | 121. Medicine            | 122. Half                     |
| 123. Whitlow                | 124. Inherit             | 125. Shame                    |
| 126. Suffering              | 127. Debt                | 128. Feather                  |
| 129. Another                | 130. Hunchback           | 131. Day-before-<br>yesterday |
| 132. Day-after-<br>tomorrow | 133. Market day          | 134. Kneel                    |
| 135. Be alive               | 136. Be sick             | 137. Conceive                 |
| 138. Land (from boat)       | 139. Weave (mat)         | 140. Fight                    |
| 141. Pound                  | 142. Mortar              | 143. Raise                    |
| 144. Stab                   | 145. Pierce (fish)       | 146. Pierce (ear)             |
| 147. Fish seller            | 148. Palm wine<br>seller | 149. Please (v)               |
| 150. Pepper seller          | 151. Textile<br>trader   | 152. Firewood seller          |
| 153. Groundnut seller       | 154. Palmoil<br>seller   | 155. 'Robo' seller            |
| 156. 'mqinmqin' seller      | 157. Maize seller        | 158. Plank dealer             |
| 159. 'Gari' dealer          | 160. Yam seller          | 161. A wealthy person         |
| 162. To have a lot of money |                          | 163. To have many<br>clothes  |
| 164. To be wise             | 165. A wise person       | 166. Plantain sellar          |
| 167. A troublesome person   |                          | 168. A Christian              |

LEXICAL VARIATION

1. bedroom
2. verandah
3. cap
4. key
5. cutlass
6. friend
7. market place
8. small market
9. pot of stew
10. plantain
11. meat
12. antelope
13. parrot
14. bed
15. rain