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A TRI-GENERATIONAL STUDY OF LANGUAGE CHOICE AND LANGUAGE SHIFT IN PORT HARCOURT CITY NIGERIA

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Abstract

This study seeks to investigate and present a systematic and coherent synchronic account of the language choice patterns by Ikwerre-Nigerian Pidgin English bilinguals in Port Harcourt City, Nigeria. The Ikwerre people are a little known minority ethnic group whose social history and current linguistic behaviours have before now not been systematically explored.

The research is undertaken by means of a variety of methods including ethnographic participant observation, paying particular attention to relevant features of the Ikwerre culture and social organisation. Moreover, information obtained from the anthropological approach is supplemented by data gathered through face-to-face language use in the form of oral interviews and questionnaires. The rationale in this case is to explore methodological issues in the field of language shift more generally - particularly, the harmonisation between self-reported data and ethnographic techniques. The areas covered in the thesis are:

i. The extent and patterning of Ikwerre/Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE) bilingualism within the Ikwerre community.

ii. The means by which people in this community utilise two different languages in their routine communicative interactions.

iii. The social and attitudinal motivations for language choice at both the group (community) and individual level.

Further, this study is unique in that it will explore *ab initio* which languages are preferred in interactions within and across three generations namely: grandparents,

parents and children (hereafter referred to as the younger generation). It will utilise the concepts of social network and language attitudes analyses to account for the interrelationship between code-switching and language choice by individual speakers, and for the association of both to the wider socio-economic and macro-sociological peculiarities of this community. In addition, I plan to discover which social groups (older versus younger speakers and males versus females) are leading the change towards permanent language shift to monolingual NPE.

Finally, based on the observations and findings from the study, I propose an account of the language choice patterns attested in my Port Harcourt Ikwerre community data that is based on establishing a broad typology which can be directly related to the bilingualism continuum. This framework should be equally applicable to similar bilingual settings around the world and the next phase in the research will be to test its efficacy in different communities, particularly in other non-western communities which, like Port Harcourt, have experienced rapid metropolitan growth as a result of radical socio-economic change in their recent history.

Chapter One

Introduction

This study is concerned with presenting a systematic and coherent account of the language choice patterns of the Ikwerre people of Port Harcourt City, Nigeria, who are faced with the choice between the Ikwerre language and Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE). It also focuses on how we might incorporate matched guise experiments within a study of language choice and shift, so as to provide insights into how local contemporary attitudes towards language(s) might ultimately influence code choice.

It is a well-established fact that human communication involves selecting from the linguistic and stylistic repertoire available, that is, in the process of communicating we are constantly favouring some styles/norms and rejecting others (see Hoffmann, 1991; Spolsky, 1998). This choice can be conscious or unconscious. For monolinguals, their choice will be according to the existing conventions of the members of their speech community and their own idiosyncratic preferences. The members of bilingual/multilingual societies are faced with even wider choices in their language use. Thus, I concur with Fasold (1984) that not only do people use language to share their thoughts and feelings with other people, they exploit the subtle and not so subtle aspects of language to reveal and define their social relationships with the people they are talking to, with people who can overhear them, and even with people who are nowhere around. That is, language is an essential tool in the institution, execution and sustenance of human communicative interaction.

Given this knowledge, a study of language choice affects not only those who are directly involved in the everyday practice of making choices or those who have to face it in their professions – e.g. teachers, and journalists but also those in government whose language policy decisions are bound to transform people's lives in a significant way. In many countries of the world, language choice can be accomplished simply by choosing one or another of the two or more languages a speaker knows. A large number of countries are so linguistically diverse that it is not extraordinary to find that children in these polities are bilingual or multilingual. In fact, Fasold (1984: 1) points out that many countries in Africa and Asia have literally hundreds of languages within their borders. It is not the case that these countries have one language that almost everyone speaks, with the rest belonging to small isolated tribes. Further, he states that of course there are small-group languages, but there are others spoken by substantial populations. For example, there are 18 officially spoken recognised languages in India today. The Philippines has 6 major regional languages and Nigeria has well over 400 languages (see Batibo, 2005; Fasold, 1984). Despite the degree of diversity that exists globally and which might lead one to expect heterogeneity locally in Nigeria, only three major regional languages are recognised in the 1989 Nigerian constitution.

This state of affairs warrants deeper investigation and it will be the focus of the present study organised in eight chapters. Chapter 1, the introductory chapter presents a brief account of the historical/political and global view of the linguistic situation in Nigeria. Although, the primary focus is on Nigeria, it will also draw on examples from other countries in Europe, North America and Asia. The aim of such a discussion is to allow the reader to appreciate the difficulties faced by individuals living in multilingual societies and the need to undertake detailed and quite specific

case studies of the language choices that these speakers grapple with in their day-to-day interactions. Chapter 2 discusses relevant aspects of the Ikwerre culture and social structure/organisation - past and present. In this chapter, the rationale for selecting the Ikwerre community of Port Harcourt as my object of study is outlined. Here, I also give an overview of the history and evolution of NPE and why it has become an important medium in the Port Harcourt Ikwerre linguistic repertoire. Chapter 3 summarises the work which has been done to date in the field of bilingualism and language choice which has a bearing on my own research. Chapter 4 presents a discussion of the methodologies employed in this study and also examines some broader issues of the ethical questions raised by research of this kind. Chapter 5 is concerned with the descriptions of the observed language choice patterns of the Ikwerre of Port Harcourt and their attitudes towards Ikwerre and NPE. Chapter 6 presents an analysis of the social network ties of the respondents and their impact on language choice strategies. Chapter 7 discusses instances of conversational code-switching in Port Harcourt and their implications as regards how members of this community deploy this device to manipulate, influence and define the situation as they wish, and to convey nuances of meaning and personal intention. Finally, in Chapter 8, I present a summary of the main findings and discuss their implications for future research in bilingualism and related disciplines.

1. 1 Nigeria: Historical/political background

Nigeria is blessed with fertile land and is rich in natural resources such as petroleum and iron ore. Its coastline measures about 853 kilometres, and covers a total area of

923,768 square kilometres, with a teeming population of about 131,859,731 people distributed in the 36 States that make up the Nigeria nation as shown in Figure 1.[1]

Figure 1 Map showing the thirty-six States of Nigeria

In the 15th century Nigeria had contact with Portuguese slave traders and later Christian missionaries from the United Kingdom, who set-up schools and were responsible for establishing Christianity as one of the recognised religions. By 1865 British influence over Nigeria had spread, leading to its annexation and colonisation.

[1] See The CIA World Fact Book, 2005: 2.

The impact of slavery on Nigeria and its peoples is well documented and will not be dwelt upon in this study (see for instance, Lovejoy, 2000; Manning, 1995; Searing, 2003). Here, the focus is on the linguistic implications of this contact. It does have to be said, though, that the British colonial policy of the period was to pillage and exploit the human and material resources available in the country for their own ends; hence they did not have any future oriented plans that were geared towards the political and economic emancipation of Nigerians (see also Ajayi, 2004; Bamgbose, 1991, 2000; Batibo, 2005; Faraclas, 1996).

The schools that the Christian missionaries founded, which were taken-over by the colonisers, mainly churned out mediocre translators/interpreters and medium level manpower to help the British perpetuate their political and economic hegemony over the country (Bamgbose, 1991). Colonial rule lasted well into the latter part of the nineteenth century, until a number of the more well-educated Nigerian elite harnessed public opinion and began to agitate for the right to self-determination and governance for the Nigerian people. Unlike what was to happen later in South Africa, where the black South Africans took-up arms to fight a protracted guerrilla war against the apartheid regime before gaining independence, Nigeria gained her independence from the British regime through peaceful dialogue. This culminated in a meeting that took place at midnight on October 1st 1960 which ended almost a century of colonial rule. Soon after independence, Nigeria was to witness the rise of intense ethnic rivalry and jealousy among the major ethnic groups, all clamouring for political and economic dominance of the country. This meant that the minority ethnic groups were left out, as it were, in the scheme of things in the country. This wrangling escalated into an

unsuccessful bloody civil war by the Biafrans, who wanted to secede from the rest of Nigeria to found their own nation. The war lasted three years (1967 to 1970).[2]

This ethnic bickering and rancour was the reason the Nigerian military gave for intervening in Nigerian politics. This intervention plunged the country into a prolonged period of serious economic hardship and engendered a political quagmire. Following nearly 16 years of military rule, a new constitution was adopted in 1999, and a peaceful transition to civilian government was completed. The current President faces the daunting task of institutionalizing democracy and rebuilding a petroleum-based economy, whose revenues have been squandered through corruption and mismanagement. In addition, the administration must defuse long-standing ethnic and religious tensions, if it is to build a sound foundation for economic growth and political stability. Despite some irregularities, the April 2003 elections marked the first civilian transfer of power in Nigeria's history.

The greatest task faced by the leaders of Nigeria at independence in 1960 was that of forging national unity and integration in a country where there are over 400 languages and a myriad of dialects. In trying to bring the nation together the leaders of the day sought political stability in language: but, what language? English was already established as the national and official language, being the language of the former colonialists and also the language of wider communication (LWC). The level of ethnic tension in the country at that time meant that none of the indigenous languages could have been adopted or elevated to the status of a national language, although this would have marked a complete break with the past (colonialism) and bestowed a new identity on the emerging nation. Anyway, the leaders were equally concerned with keeping the nation connected to the international community at the level of

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[2] Biafra was the name adopted by the Igbo people of south-eastern Nigeria for the new nation they fought for during the fratricidal war that began in 1967 and continued until 1970, thus the Igbos were referred to then as Biafrans.

diplomacy, international politics and world trade. I expatiate on the issue of language further in the next two sections.[3]

1. 2 Nigeria: Linguistic context

The continent of Africa has been described by Grenoble & Whaley (1998: 42) as linguistically 'distinct', due to its highly complex language situation. Apart from the multitude and high concentration of languages, I concur with Batibo (2005) that the patterns of language choice and use are remarkably intricate, as most people are multilingual. That is, most Africans speak more than one language and choose the language or variety of language they use according to the context/and or interlocutor. Nigerians are no exception to this pan-African phenomenon despite the official three language position referred to above.

Mkude (2001: 160) postulates that the sociolinguistic profile of Africa can be studied either horizontally or vertically. From a horizontal perspective the sociolinguistic profile of Africa involves doing a 'user' analysis, which is finding out who speaks which language in order to determine the distinct language communities. Adopting this approach would call for the consideration of the 'plurilingual' nature of the African continent. However, from a vertical point of view, the sociolinguistic profile of Africa entails doing a 'use' analysis. By employing this technique we are looking at the set of languages that members of a speech community have at their disposal, and therefore use at their discretion according to the subject matter, the personal relationships with their interlocutors, the context, the mode of

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[3] On the role of the English language in global sociolinguistic systems, see Bisong, 1995; Coupland, 2003; de Swann, 2001; Giddens, 1991, 1994, 2002; Graddol, 1997; House, 2003; Kachru, 1992; Kramsch, 2002; Milroy, 2002a, b; Mufwene, 1994; Norton, 2000; Papastergiadis, 2000; Phillipson, 1992.

communication and other circumstances and needs. In this section, I look at the sociolinguistic profile of Nigeria horizontally, while in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, I shall investigate the sociolinguistic profile of the Ikwerre community of Port Harcourt vertically.[4]

According to Dalby (1977), Nigeria falls squarely within the Fragmentation Belt, 'a zone of extreme linguistic complexity stretching from Senegal to Ethiopia'. Of the five language phyla recognised by orthodox or mainstream scholarship in African language classification, three are widely represented in Nigeria: Niger-Congo A and B, Nilo-Sahara, and Afro-Asiatic. Only the rather small group of Khoisan (or click) languages are not spoken in Nigeria (Dalby, 1977; Webb & Sure, 2000). In Figure 2 below, a map depicting the recognised African language families is presented. It is estimated that there are over 400 indigenous languages spoken in Nigeria today, of which English is the official language. Other than English, Hausa spoken in the north, Yoruba in the southwest and Igbo in the southeast are recognised as regional *major* languages. These Nigerian languages are classified as thus on the basis of relative sizes of native speaker population. This means that the other languages are minor languages with some being more minor than others (i.e. with their respective native speaker populations of less than one million). Hence, Nigeria has, in fact, not only the highest number and density of languages in Africa, but also the most complex language situation. It is also a country with conspicuous language inequality, ranging from the dominant languages Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo, each with at least 20 million speakers to very small languages such as: *Ajawa* (Aja, Ajanci), *Guma* (Basa-Kaduna, Basa-Kuta), *Bete*, *Centum* (Cen Tum), *Auyokama, Bade, Bassa-*

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[4] Here, as in Batibo, 2005, plurilingual or plurilingualism is used to denote a state of having many languages in one country or continent.

Kantagora, Faliof, Baissa, Gana, Holma (Da Holmaci, Bali Holma) each spoken by scarcely 100 people.[5]

Figure 2 Map of African language families and some major African languages

Source: Dingemanse (2004: 1).

[5] For more details about these extinct or nearly extinct languages, see, Batibo, 2005; Bender, 2000; Grimes, 1974; Hansford *et al.*, 1976; Heine & Nurse, 2000; Katzner, 2002; Osaji, 1977; Webb & Kembo-Sure, 1998, 2000; http://www.oneworld/african_languages.htm, 2005.

The *Ikwerre* language, for instance, is the mother tongue of the minority Ikwerre ethnic group located in the south-eastern part of Nigeria. I shall present a detailed discussion of this language and its speakers in Chapter 2 of this study. Other languages such as Arabic and NPE, in addition to the indigenous languages, are also widely used in Nigeria to satisfy various communicative purposes. However, English plays a very significant role within the polity. As the language of the former British colonial administrators, it sailed unchallenged into the exalted status of Nigeria's official language and the very nature of the complex multilingual situation in the country highlighted above has meant that English has retained this status. It is the primary medium of formal communication in government, international politics, the judiciary, education, commerce, the mass media and the language of culture at the national level among Nigeria's educated elite. Thus, I concur with Agheyisi (1984) that English is the single most important and prestigious language spoken in Nigeria today. Arabic is used in northern Nigeria in conjunction with the Islamic religion, which was spread by the Fulani warriors of the Jihad (Holy War). Arabic is the language of the Koran and the Koranic law, therefore, it plays a significant role in the sociocultural life of these people and most Moslems learn it in their childhood in the Koranic schools. However, the importance of Arabic in Nigeria is primarily regional, and it is particularly associated with religious practices. NPE has increasingly become a very viable medium of communication as an inter-group language, used by the educated and uneducated, ethnically heterogeneous urban populations in many communities in southern Nigeria. For instance, in the highly multilingual States of Delta, Edo and Rivers, where there is no single dominant indigenous *lingua franca*, NPE readily complements Nigerian Standard English (NSE) to meet this important communicative need. Agheyisi (1984: 237) explains that in urban communities, such

as Benin City, Warri, Sapele, Onitsha, and Port Harcourt, more than 70% of the adult population (and practically all children of school age) typically command a fluent use of NPE. In these parts of the country also, it is widely used, along with NSE, as a medium of communication in public institutions and service centres, such as hospitals, post offices, magistrate's courts, police stations, and welfare centres. Generally, commercial centres and markets continue to be the typical settings for its routine use. The use of NPE everywhere else, especially by older speakers, is generally as a second language. I shall present a brief account of the history and evolution of NPE in section 2.4 of the next chapter.

Although, this study is not primarily concerned with language planning, it is, however, important to point out that in Nigeria the government pays little or no attention at all to the development and maintenance of minor languages. The formulation of an all-embracing language policy for Nigeria, as a deliberate and planned exercise, is yet to be undertaken by the government. The few language policy pronouncements that have been made in recent times arose mainly within the context of other more centrally defined national concerns, such as the development of a national philosophy of education, and the drafting of a constitution for the country.[6]

In the next section I take a general look at the question of language choice in Nigeria.

1. 3 The question of choice in Nigeria

I agree with Spolsky (1998) and Batibo (2005) that one of the most common ways of identifying a person is by his/her language. Because language is inherently involved

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[6] See Agheyisi, 1984; Bamgbose, 1991, 2000; Elugbe, 1989; National Policy on Education, 1981.

in socialisation, the social group whose language you speak is an important identity group for you. There are other markers of ethnic identity, such as food or clothing or religion or the way a community build their houses. However, language has a special role, because it is the basis of thought and the thinking process. It is through language that we conceptualise ideas, organise our thoughts and systematise our memory (see also ADEA, 1996).

Further, multilingual societies inevitably face conflict over language choice. Some aspects of concern for language choice can be explained practically, politically, or economically. The speakers of a language are in a stronger position when their language is used for national or international communication, or for government, or for trade and commerce, or for education. But the role of language in establishing social identity adds an additional, non-material dimension to the conflict (Spolsky, 1998: 57). This assertion is very poignant with regard to the Nigerian context as the discussions in earlier sections underline.

Language choice is often tied to elements of nationalism in relation to the roles such a language(s) is to play in the state or nation where they are used. In this regard, a choice would be made that would achieve the equality of all ethnic groups, majority and minority alike. Ethnic groups regularly use language as one of their most significant identifying features (Batibo, 2005; Corrigan, 2004; Fishman, 1989; Fasold, 1984; Le Page & Tabouret-Kellar, 1985; Mair, 2004; Sebba, 2004). For instance, the Frisians who live in the north of the Netherlands can hardly find any other features that distinguish them from their neighbours other than their language. Therefore, most ethnic groups believe that their language is the best medium for preserving and expressing their traditions. A paradox of this association between language and ethnicity is best observed by looking at the case of Catalonia and the Basque region in

Spain. The granting of some degree of autonomy to the provinces and the recognition of Catalan and Basque as official languages in their own autonomous regions has created problems for people who are ethnically Basque or Catalan but live outside the regions, and for people who are Castilian speakers but live within them (Echeverria, 2003; Ferrer & Sankoff, 2003; Spolsky, 1998; Woolard, 1985, 1989, 1992; Wright, 1998; Yates, 1998).

Hence, Fishman's (1969) classification of nations and the type of language choices they make becomes relevant even today. He suggested that language choices are made with respect to the presence or absence of six features underlying three distinct categories of choice. The language choices are of type A, B, or C. Type 'A' choices are made by what he calls "a-modal'' nations characterised by one type of feature; type 'B' by "uni-modal'' *nations with another configuration*, and type 'C' by "multi-modal'' nations. I am interested only in type 'A' under which Nigeria could be said to fall.

Type 'A' or "a-modal'' nations in Fishman's terms are those that make language choices in order to politically integrate a linguistically complex area wherein primarily oral, rather than written traditions exist. Due to the lack of one single dominant indigenous language that can be selected as the national language, such nations as Nigeria resort to the LWC (Language of Wider Communication). At the same time, language standardisation is going on so people can learn to read and write their first language as well as the LWC. Nigeria's choice is motivated by the need to promote nationism as opposed to nationalism. Nationism, refers to the degree of effective operation of a political entity and is best served by political integration, therefore, the more nationistic a political entity is, the more integrated it is. In such contexts, practically and linguistically, nationism is best served by an LWC, thus, the

widespread use of the English language and its associated Pidgin variety in Nigeria. In the light of the above, language choice must be made in recognition of the coming together of social, cultural, and psychological factors. When there are so many languages contesting the position of national language, wisdom demands that none of the languages is imposed on the people as any imposition would create more problems than it would solve.[7]

Further, Fishman's (1969) arguments are alluded to by Batibo (2001), when he says that although most African countries (Nigeria included) have played down the realities of plurilingualism and multiculturalism, the effect remains considerable. It touches on matters of national unity, group identity, language choice (i.e. ethnic, cultural and linguistic rights) and community culture, which in turn impact on nationhood, state democracy, equality and harmonious development. In dealing with this reality, African countries have followed a number of options, which include the following:

- To remain uncommitted on the question of language policy, so as to be able to adopt pragmatic solutions depending on the prevailing socio-political circumstances.
- To use the ex-colonial language as the official language – and often as the national language as well – where there is no major language to serve as a national medium as is the case in Nigeria. Such an option is usually taken because the ex-colonial language is thought to be neutral and can be used in technical fields. Moreover, it would not be associated with any ethnic or cultural bias, and so does not benefit one group over another.

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[7]See Bamgbose, 1991; Castells & Jauregui, 2005; Grech, 2005; Hilton, 2001; Mar-Molinero, 2001; McMillen, 2001; Resina, 2005; Wickman, 2004; Yates, 1998; Yehudi-Daber Ivrit: www.jafi.org.il/aliyah/dept/aliyon/aliyon2004/aliyon_17.asp.

- To adopt the majority language, where such a language predominates in the country, as the national language.
- To allocate to some of the major languages certain public roles at the regional or district level.
- To accord only nominal public roles or none to the smaller languages. In fact, in Nigeria the minority languages are accorded no definable public roles and I concur with the findings of Batibo (2005: 9) that African governments frown upon such languages as stumbling blocks to the desired state of monolingualism, monoculturalism and national identity, which are considered to be ingredients for national unity.

When Batibo's guidelines are juxtaposed with Fishman's (1969) classification of nations and the choices they make, one notices a correlation in the sense that language choice in a nation like Nigeria cannot in anyway be made in a high-handed manner without risking plunging the nation into social chaos.

Other countries such as the Republic of Ireland, adopted both the nationalist language and the language of the deposed power as official – Irish and English, respectively. The colonial language is used for immediate nationist purposes while working on the promotion and development of the nationalist language (Chríost & Mac, 2005; Crowley, 1996, 2000; Fasold, 1984; Kallen, 1997; Le Page, 1964; Ó Riagáin, 1997; Romaine, 2000). Similarly, the Indian constitution (Article 343) declares Hindi to be the official language of the Union. The Constitution has accepted Hindi as India's national tongue. Hindi is also the mother tongue of about 20% of the Indian population, in the area known as the 'Hindi-belt' or the 'cow-belt' of northern India. This includes the states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and

Rajasthan. Haryana and Himachal Pradesh also have Hindi as their official language. Like the other languages of the north, it is of an Indo-Aryan origin. But in south India, it is quite a different scene altogether. The Dravidian languages bear little resemblance to their Indic or Indo-Aryan counterparts. English remains the additional official language of India. It is the authoritative legislative and judicial language. In fact, one could say that English is the official language in India for all practical purposes. For many educated Indians, English is virtually their first language though a large number of Indians are multi-lingual. Apart from the more widely spoken English and Hindi, there are the various regional languages. Each state has its own language which is also its official language. As has already been mentioned above, the Constitution of India lists 18 such regional languages (see Languages of India, 2005).

In the case of Canada, beside English and French, there are various Amerindian and Inuit languages spoken within the country as well as large populations of immigrants who try to maintain their own languages to one degree or another. In fact, Cambell & Martin (1979) write that before the arrival of the European colonists in the early sixteenth century in the northern third of the North American continent, which is now Canada, there were some sixty distinct languages belonging to a dozen different families. Mackey (1998) adds that by the outbreak of the Second World War, Canada's ethnic press included over 100 newspapers in more than thirty languages. Considering the fact that at present Canada still receives immigrants from all over the world, it is safe to assume that the number of ethnic newspapers and the various languages they are published in must have quadrupled. Hence, I agree with Edwards (1998) that a consideration of language in Canada is intrinsically interesting, no matter what the state of political play. Like Australia or

the United States, Canada is a new-world 'receiving' country, made up of many different indigenous and immigrant groups, cultures and languages. And, like these other states, it has recently been struggling with the multicultural and multilingual realities to which a modern, diverse, liberal society must – by its deepest principles – be sensitive. The question, as always, in such multiethnic nations/multinational states is how best to act or, indeed, to refrain from acting on this sensitivity.

Therefore, having outlined the linguistic situation in Nigeria in particular and the examples from other bilingual/multilingual societies, I hope that the reader will begin to appreciate the plight of minority ethnic groups and their language(s) within such complex multiethnic nations/multinational states. Sociolinguistically, a minority language is defined not only by its relative demographic inferiority but also, and more so, by its limited public functions. In fact, it is their marginalisation and exclusion from serving in secondary domains (that is, public functions) as well as having no social status or prestige, that most characterises them as minority languages (see Batibo, 2005; Dyck, 1984; Hechter, 1975; Rigsby, 1987; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1984; Wardhaugh, 2002). Thus, this study is very significant in that it seeks to investigate and present a systematic and coherent synchronic account of the language choice patterns by Ikwerre-NPE bilinguals in Port Harcourt City, Nigeria. The Ikwerre people are a little known minority ethnic group whose social history and current linguistic behaviours have before now not been systematically explored.

Following in section 1.4, I present a brief discussion of the specific issues investigated in this thesis as regards the linguistic behaviours of members of the Port Harcourt Ikwerre community.

1. 4 Scope of study

It is almost indisputable that a good deal of research has by now been undertaken in the field of bilingualism and language choice. To mention just a few of these studies that have contributed richly to the field: Amuda (1986) - Yoruba/English code-switching in Nigeria; Auer (1981, 1983, 1984a) - code-switching among the children of Italian migrant workers in Constance, Germany; Bani-Shoraka (2005) - language choice and code-switching in the Azerbaijani community in Tehran; Blom & Gumperz (1972) - code-switching in Norway; Bortoni-Ricardo (1985) - dialectal adjustment of rural migrants to Brazlandia, a satellite city of Brasilia; Dattamajumdar (2005) - language attitude of the Oriya migrant population in Kolkata; Gal (1979) - language choice and shift in bilingual Oberwart, Austria; Hohenthal (1999) - language use of educated Indians; Li Wei (1994) - language choice patterns of Chinese immigrants in Newcastle upon Tyne, England; Sebba (1993) - language use of London Jamaicans. These studies and numerous other works that due to space and time constraints could not be mentioned here have broadened our understanding of the concept of bilingualism and its consequences. They have also enhanced our knowledge about the organisation of bilingual conversation by investigating in detail the structures of code alternation in different speech communities.

However, the fact still remains that little or no systematic sociolinguistic exploration has been undertaken on the linguistic behaviours of the speakers of minority languages in Nigeria. According to Crystal (1997), Grimes (2000) and Heine & Nurse (2000) there are about 6, 000 languages spoken in the world today. A third of these languages are spoken in Africa, with Nigeria contributing well over 400 languages (Batibo, 2005; Webb & Sure, 2000). As I pointed out in section 1.2 above,

only 3 languages (i.e. Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba) are major languages together with NSE and NPE. This means that there are well over 395 minority languages spoken in Nigeria, one of which is the *Ikwerre* language spoken by the minority Ikwerre ethnic group. The location of the Ikwerre people in Nigeria and socio-economic/political factors have meant that members of this community are marginalised and the use of their language restricted to very limited domains. I return to these issues in the next chapter, where I discuss the Ikwerre origins and social structure.

Here, however, I state the objectives of this study. The main objective of this thesis is to identify the language choice patterns of the Ikwerre of Port Harcourt and the factors that motivate these choices. In doing this I have specifically investigated these issues:

i. The extent and patterning of Ikwerre/NPE bilingualism within the Ikwerre community.

ii. The means by which people in this community utilise two different languages in their routine communicative interactions.

iii. The social and attitudinal motivations for language choice at both the group (community) and individual level.

Further, this study is unique in that it will explore *ab initio* which languages are preferred in interactions within and across three generations namely: grandparents, parents and younger generation. In addition, I plan to discover which social groups (older versus younger speakers) are leading the change towards permanent language

shift to monolingual NPE. It also seeks to examine the informants' personal network ties and how these in turn affect their code choice.[8]

Moreover, given the linguistic, socio-economic and macro-sociological peculiarities of the Ikwerre community, it was felt appropriate to investigate prevailing local attitudes towards Ikwerre and NPE. To do this I intend to incorporate matched guise tests within this study of language choice. The results will confirm or disconfirm whether exo-linguistic factors such as attitudes influence the language choice patterns of Ikwerre-NPE bilinguals.[9]

Additionally, the incorporation of matched guise tests within this study is done with a view to demonstrating that contemporary local linguistic attitudes working in tandem with personal network ties would offer fuller and adequate accounts of why members of the Port Harcourt Ikwerre community select either Ikwerre and/or NPE in their routine communicative interactions.

Finally, the research is undertaken by means of an ethnographic participant observation study supplemented by data obtained through face-to-face language use interview and language attitudes questionnaire. This is with a view to additionally exploring methodological issues in the field of language shift more generally such as the harmonisation between self-reported data and ethnographic approaches. Tape recordings of the informants in routine conversations will be made and analysed to highlight instances of conversational code-switching, and how this device is deployed by the speakers to realise various communicative goals. From the observations and findings made in this thesis I propose an account of the language choice patterns attested in my Port Harcourt Ikwerre community data that is based on establishing a

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[8] For details about doing personal network analysis see: Gal, 1979; John, 1991, 2000; Li Wei, 1994; Milroy, 1987a, b; Social networks online, 1995; Wasserman & Faust, 1994.

[9] On language attitudes and matched guise tests see: Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970; Bentahila, 1983; Lambert, Hudson, Gardner & Fillenbaum, 1960; Zwickl, 2002.

broad typology which can be directly related to the bilingualism continuum. This framework should be equally applicable to similar bilingual settings around the world and the next phase in the research will be to test its efficacy in different communities, particularly in other non-western communities which, like Port Harcourt, have experienced rapid metropolitan growth as a result of radical socio-economic change in their recent history.

1. 5 Conclusion

The main thrust of this introductory chapter has been to present the reader with some background information about the history of Nigeria and its highly complex linguistic situation. The aim, as pointed out in the body of the discussion, is to allow the reader to more clearly appreciate and understand the predicaments that people in multilingual communities encounter when faced with decisions as to what language is to be chosen over another. This makes a study of the language choice patterns of such individuals and what motivates such choices particularly interesting.

In the next chapter, I shall present a discussion of the origins of the Ikwerre people and the social organisation of their society in both synchronic and diachronic terms.

Chapter Two

The Ikwerre: Origins and Social Organisation

2. 0 Introduction

In the last chapter, a global view of the socio-political and linguistic context of Nigeria was presented and here the focus is on describing the origins of the Ikwerre as a people and the social structures that hold Ikwerre society together. The Ikwerre as a people inhabit the area between the Niger Delta and the Igbo hinterland. They are one of the many minority ethnic groups in Nigeria located in Rivers State. The Ikwerre are spread over four local government areas of the state (see map of Ikwerreland, Figure 1 below), namely: Ikwerre, Emohua, Obio-Akpor and Port Harcourt City local government area. Rivers State is one of Nigeria's 36 States (see map of Nigeria, Figure 1, Chapter 1), it was created in 1967, and is at the heart of the hydrocarbon industry, responsible for a large amount of Nigeria's foreign exchange earnings. The status of Rivers State in terms of its strategic importance and significance to the Nigerian economy has earned it the name *Treasure Base of the Nation*.

Rivers State is bounded on the south by the Atlantic Ocean, in the north by Anambra, Imo and Abia States, in the east by Akwa Ibom State and in the west by Bayelsa and Delta States. With its good climate, many rivers and vast areas of arable land, the people of Rivers State are predominantly farmers, fishermen and traders.

Figure 1 Map of Ikwerreland (Inset shows Port Harcourt and the adjoining conurbation of Choba)

Sources: After Nduka (1993)

The State has a population estimated to be a little over 3 million people, who are thought of as hospitable, business-friendly and avow to possessing a rich unique cultural heritage. The people of the State are drawn from various minority ethnic groups namely; Abua, Andoni, Ekpeye, Engenni, Etche, Igbani, Ikwerre, Kalabari, Ndoni, Ogba, Ogoni, Okrika and a host of others. However, of these minority ethnic

groupings, the Ikwerre ethnic group is one of the major groups within Rivers State. These ethnic groups have coexisted with one another for centuries and before the creation of Rivers State in 1967 were collectively known as the *Oil Rivers*.

As was pointed out above, the Ikwerre are located in four local government areas of Rivers State and these are in turn made up of seven major Ikwerre groups of communities: Elele, Isiokpo, Rumuji, Emohua-Ogbakiri, Aluu-igwuruta, Akpor and Obio. The immediate neighbours of the Ikwerre are the Ogba-Egbema, Ekpeye, Abua, Etche, Eleme, as well as the Igbo and Ijo. The geographical location of Ikwerre has been an important factor in the history and development of these peoples starting from the earliest times. Ikwerre's position *vis-à-vis* her neighbours of south-eastern Nigeria raises serious questions about her image and the historical relationship between this in-group and the various ethnic out-groups in the Niger Delta and its hinterland. Moreover, the fact that the history of the Ikwerre has for long been neglected has not helped matters. Although attempts have been made to produce local histories in an effort to engender greater understanding of the history of the wider Nigerian polity (Falola, 2005; Falola & Ihonvbere, 1985), the history of the Ikwerre has been given scant attention. It has, however, been mentioned in written reports prepared by erstwhile colonial administrators, ethnographers and anthropologists.[10]

In addition, the works of scholars of the Igbo and Niger Delta areas do discuss the history and migrations of the Ikwerre people, although, for the most part, these accounts are scanty. The main point of note is that until very recently the Ikwerre people were merely regarded as an offshoot of the Igbo ethnic group. Also, they were

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[10] Amadi, 1993; Forde & Jones, 1950; Jones, 1963; Leonard, 1906; Talbot, 1926, 1927, 1932.

at times mistakenly treated as members of the trading empires of the Eastern Niger Delta communities of the Kalabari, Okrika and the Ibani.[11]

In present day Nigeria, the Ikwerre people are a distinct ethnic group and their language has been recognised as one of the many Nigerian languages. This development, according to Amadi (1993), is due to a concatenation of factors: the age-long insistence by the people as to their separate identity, the effect of the Nigerian civil war and the creation of Rivers State as well as the systematic study of the Ikwerre language – all of which pose a major problem to the historian of Ikwerre society. It is the duty of such a historian to explain the historical evolution of the people meaningfully. In order to be able to produce a balanced picture of the past he/she has to rely on a host of sources: written and unwritten; primary and secondary evidence; oral traditions and a review of the materials made available by archaeological; ethnolinguistic; cultural and economic studies. It is upon these resources that I have therefore relied in order to explore those facts relating to the origins and migrations of the Ikwerre people which have a bearing on the contemporary linguistic situation.

2. 1 Origins and migrations

The origin of the Ikwerre is a highly controversial topic due to the lack of well-documented and verifiable accounts of their exact starting point. There have been several propositions, some of which may seem rather "fanciful" to borrow the words of Amadi (1993: 36). Here, I present a summary of the main hypotheses relying

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[11] Afigbo, 1971, 1972, 1981a, b; Alagoa, 1971a, b, 1972a, b, 1989; Echeruo, 1979; Ifemesia, 1978, 1979; Isichei, 1973, 1976, 1977; Northrup, 1978; Onwuejeogwu, 1977 Tasie, 1976;; Uchendu, 1965; Williamson, 1973, 1989.

completely on Ikwerre oral tradition supplemented with the scanty literature on the subject matter. The hypotheses to be explored are: the Benin origin; the Igbo origin; the linguistic evidence and the Ijo tradition.

2. 1. 1 The Benin origin

A pervasive belief among some Ikwerre scholars and Ikwerre history enthusiasts is that the Ikwerre people descended from the ancient Benin Kingdom of mid-western Nigeria. The oral tradition, which makes this link with the Benin Kingdom, suggests that the Ikwerre (as do the Ekpeye and Ogba people of Rivers State) share a common ancestor referred to as *Akalaka* and his half brother, *Ochichi*, whose descendants are the people of Elele, Omerelu, Egbeda, and Alimini-Isiokpo (Amadi-Nna, 1989).

Furthermore, other Ikwerre communities like Ibaa, Obelle, Ogbodo, Omagwa, Omuanwa, Omademe, Ndele, Rumuji, Emehua, Ogbakiri, and Aluu in the northern and central parts of Ikwerreland also make mention of Akalaka, laying emphasis on their migration from the north-west through Ekpeye (Nduka, 1989; Nweke, 1984; Nyenke, 1985; Wagbara, 1987). The oral tradition goes on to suggest that the Ogbakiri community are descendants of *Wezena* who, with his elder brother Ochichi, crossed the Sombreiro River to settle initially at Elele before moving on southwards to settle finally in Ogbakiri. Alagoa & Tamuno (1989) also present another version of this oral tradition, which corroborates the Benin origin claim, stating that the Ogbakiri are linked with the Ogba through their founding father, *Ekenta*.

It has to be stressed that all the communities in Ikwerreland do not make the Benin origin claim. For instance, the oral traditions of the Obio-Akpor area of Ikwerreland do not dwell on the Akalaka/Ekpeye/Ogba/Ikwerre relationship. As

Amadi (1993: 37) reports, Chief Ogbonda, now deceased, a traditional Ikwerre historian, regarded Ochichi as the ancestor of the seven groups of Ikwerre peoples known as *Iwhuruoha*. This tradition, however, does not link Ochichi with Akalaka, the Ekpeye and the Ogba. It rather suggests that *Ozuzu* in Etche was the ancestral home of Ochichi. In support of the Ikwerre/Etche relationship it is said that in pre-colonial times the Ozuzu people usually contacted the Ikwerre for help with the organisation of the *Ogba-Ige* festival, which symbolises brotherhood. Due to problems with evidencing this tradition, more information is required to cast more light on the hypothesis that maintains that Ochichi begot Ikwerre at Ozuzu while the latter moved to Elele, from where the ancestors of the seven groups of Ikwerre communities then migrated to their present abode in the areas surrounding Port Harcourt city.

2. 1. 2 The Igbo origin

The most persuasive and strongest hypothesis is that which links the Ikwerre to the Igbo. In fact, from colonial times to the time of the Nigerian civil war (1967–1970), the Ikwerre were not treated as a distinct ethnic group but were classified as a sub Igbo tribe. According to Jones (1963: 30), the Ikwerre, like the Oratta, Etche, Asa and Ndoki, are seen to be the descendants of the southern migration of the Igbo towards the coast from a centre or core of dispersal situated in the Awka and Orlu areas.[12]

Eminent Igbo scholars have always and still do regard the Ikwerre as part of the southern Igbo tribe. According to Afigbo (1981: 8), the first Igbo settlement was around the Awka, Orlu and Okigwe area. He claims that as a result of population

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[12] See glossary of foreign words for explanations.

explosion and soil degradation there was a movement of people towards the Atlantic coast to become the Oratta, *Ikwerre*, Etche, Asa and Ndoki Igbo tribes. Afigbo maintains that the north-south settlement of the Igbo from Nsukka to Ikwerre makes up the 'demographic spine' of Igbo land and that the southern Igbo, like their northern counterparts, "have completely lost all memory of earlier migrations from anywhere outside the general area in which they now live" (see Afigbo, 1981: 8-10). It is not surprising; therefore, that Professor Afigbo (1981) suggested in a lecture that the Ikwerre evolved new word patterns in the post Nigerian civil war era to distinguish themselves from their Igbo brethren. For example, by prefixing the upper case letter "R" to the names of their towns – *Umukurushi* changed to *Rumukurushi* and *Rumuigbo* instead of *Umuigbo* – in an attempt to refute the fact that they were indeed Igbo. Without much linguistic evidence to support this claim, it has to be viewed with caution.

Another Igbo scholar, Professor Echeruo (1979) states that the Ikwerre people claim they are neither Igbo nor Ijo but a totally new species of black men tracing their ancestry over the heads of their immediate neighbours to, perhaps, Egypt or Israel. Although he acknowledges that the issue of Ikwerre origins is highly controversial, he stressed that the Ikwerre claims to separate identity were spurious and ridiculous. He says that, it is less likely to be true that such a people bearing [Igbo] names like *Amadi* and *Wali*, and having a language so differentiated from both Ijo and Efik/Ibibio could be of other than solid Igbo stock (see Echeruo, 1979: 15).

According to Amadi (1993: 38) an Ikwerre scholar, the theory of Igbo origins for the Ikwerre enjoys support among some of the Ikwerre peoples themselves and the most popular version states that the Ikwerre originated from the Arochukwu Igbo. This tradition regards Okpo-Wagidi as the head of the Ikwerre group of families. The

reference to Etche in this tradition as the likely route of Ikwerre migration from Arochukwu supports the view earlier expressed in this chapter that Etche might be the ancestral homeland of the Ikwerre. Amadi further highlights that it is also known that before the Nigerian civil war and the period of the movements for the creation of States, most of the communities in Rivers State which were regarded as the southern Igbo did not deny movements from the Igbo hinterland. He explains that for the Ikwerre the official view in colonial times was that the people were Igbo. It is believed, he says, that this view was largely influenced by the prevailing political climate at the time. There were, however, dissenting voices, albeit the minority, who believed that Ikwerre origins lay outside Igbo land, for example, in the old Benin Kingdom. Therefore, Amadi maintains that it is obvious that the interminable debate about Ikwerre origins and migrations (including the repudiation of the Igbo tradition) is not a phenomenon of the post-civil war period. The controversy, as it were, is not necessarily the product of present political realities wherein groups, which hitherto were seen to have cultural affinities, now find themselves in different States of Nigeria or administrative systems.

2. 1. 3 The linguistic evidence in support of the Igbo tradition

At this point, it is pivotal that we look at the linguistic factor, which is a major issue for those who argue that Ikwerre is part of the southern Igbo tribe. Long before contact with the Europeans and their various languages (i.e. the former colonisers of now independent African countries such as Britain - English, Spain - Spanish, France - French), the peoples of Africa have been in continuous movement and migration, thus causing contacts between the various languages and language groups. These

movements were instigated by a host of factors like the search for more socio-economically sustainable environments, the lessening of demographic pressure, inter-tribal marriages, political strife, better grazing grounds or the urge to spread religion.[13]

This is the case between the Ikwerre and the Igbo people of south-eastern Nigeria, who for many generations have intermarried, traded and continue to share a common boundary. Thus, according to some leading Ikwerre and Igbo linguists, the Ikwerre language is seen as a dialect of the Igbo language. The Igbo tribe speak languages termed dialects of the Igbo language, as the Igbo language is viewed as one and indivisible. At this juncture it is significant to cite a similar case - *Ndebele,* which was formerly recognised by the Bantuist Clement Doke as a dialect of Zulu. Indeed, from a linguistic point of view, there is considerable 'mutual intelligibility' between speakers of Zulu and Ndebele. Zulu was the indigenous language taught in the schools of Bulawayo up to 1967 (Myers-Scotton, 1993). The criterion of 'mutual intelligibility' was first employed by Peter Trudgill to distinguish between dialects of the same language and different languages. In fact, according to Trudgill (2000), the distinction between the terms 'dialect' and 'language', neither represents a particularly clear-cut or watertight concept. As far as dialect is concerned, for example, it is possible, in England, to speak of 'the Norfolk dialect' or 'the Suffolk dialect'. What is striking, as Trudgill observes, is that there is, in fact, no clear linguistic break between Norfolk and Suffolk dialects. It is not possible to state in linguistic terms where people stop speaking one and start speaking the other. There is, that is, a geographical dialect continuum (see Trudgill, 2000: 3-4). Further, in Rivers State, according to Alagoa & Tamuno (1989), Ekpeye, *Ikwerre*, Ogba, Egbema,

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[13] See also Batibo, 2005; Childs, 2003; Idris, 2003.

Ndoni, Etche and Ndoki languages are mutually intelligible in this way and are thus referred to as Igboid or Lower Niger Group. In their joint article, Alagoa & Kiebel (1989: 52) note that communities also discover their relationship to others through language. Common dialect or language suggests common culture or historical contact and common experience. Community traditions do, indeed, make efforts to explain relationships on these grounds. On this score, modern linguists agree that kinship and contacts between communities can be reflected in language. They agree that where the speakers of two languages can understand each other, the kinship must be close, and that even a few similarities can be important indicators of contact.[14]

Following from this is the fact that although I am Igbo and had never spoken the Ikwerre language prior to conducting fieldwork research in the Ikwerre community of Port Harcourt, I did not find it difficult to understand and converse in the language. However, throughout my stay in Port Harcourt my respondents sincerely stressed the need for me to acknowledge and respect their views that their language is distinct from my language - Igbo. Similarly, Myers-Scotton (1993: 90) reported in Uganda that: "although *Acholi* and *Langa* are mutually intelligible, they are called separate languages probably because the peoples see themselves as having separate histories." In the light of this I want to mention that Williamson (1989) and Williamson & Blench (2000) have revealed from their investigations that, although there are features which make the Ikwerre language unique, it is indeed more appropriate to describe Igbo, Ikwerre, Ogba and other sister languages (except Ekpeye) as a *language cluster*. She (Williamson, 1989) explains that in a language cluster we distinguish different languages where there are weaknesses in the lines of

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[14] Jones, 1998; Kerswill, 1995; Loveday, 1996; Luska, 1999; Mongeon & Beniak, 1991.

communication without claiming that there is a total break in mutual intelligibility, that is, the ability of speakers from one group to understand those from another group.

Having given due consideration to the points raised, here, I agree with Amadi (1993) and Alagoa & Kiebel (1989) that emphasis should be laid on the fact that linguistic affinity constitutes a very potent evidence of kinship with Igbo. Therefore, to suggest otherwise and argue that this linguistic relationship between Ikwerre and Igbo is due rather to contacts than anything else is to suggest that perhaps in remote antiquity there existed a proto-Ikwerre language which has either been completely lost or drastically modified by the overriding influence of other cultures. It, therefore, seems significant to investigate further the assertion that past generations of Ikwerre people, especially in the south, found it onerous to comprehend both Igbo and Ijo without quondam contact.

2. 1. 4 The Ijo origin

Another oral tradition of Ikwerre origin is the one that claims that the people migrated from the Niger Delta to the North. This is probably the weakest of all the possible theories of Ikwerre origin and it is believed that this version stems from the Benin origin claim, which is shared by the Ijo group of people in the Niger Delta. Also, Tamuno & Alagoa (1989) observe that the traditions of Benin origin would indicate more recent movements from the west or north-west across the upper or lower Niger River, from areas under Benin influence. In other words, the migration did not actually emanate from the core of the Benin Empire.

As Amadi (1993) adds, the Ijo theory is more popular in parts of Ogbakiri than elsewhere. It should be pointed out, however, that in other communities near the Ijo

border the stress is rather on age-long Ikwerre-Ijo contact established by trade, inter-marriage and other forms of social linkage. Thus, for the Emohua, some Ogbakiri groups, the Akpor, the Obio, the Ndele and other communities that had historical contacts with the Ijo, kinship does not explain Ikwerre-Ijo relationship.

In discussing these hypotheses, the aim has been to try to establish the origins of the Ikwerre people, although, as is evident from the discussion, the people have for generations been faced with a crisis of origin and self-identity. Largely, the problem is centred on the strategic positioning of Ikwerre as a frontier society, a geographical, economic and cultural crossroads between the peoples of the Igbo hinterland to the north and the Niger Delta communities to the south. Their linguistic affinity with the Igbo and age-long economic and cultural contact with them and the Ijo have brought about substantial amounts of uncertainty in Ikwerre history, worldview and traditional institutions. Their traditions of origin, as Amadi (1993) suggests, have, thus, been influenced by the Igbo-Ijo pull. However, one fact that is dominant in the suggestions of Ikwerre evolution is that one cannot say for certain that the various Ikwerre clans and communities moved to their present location in one great move, from the same direction and at the same time. The evidence at hand points to different pockets of migration - probably at different times. It is safe to assume that due to the lack of a significant body of published literature on the origins and migratory patterns of the Ikwerre, coupled with the passing of time and limitations of human memory; it is unsurprising that we are unable to give a definitive answer as to where their primordial home was exactly.

Again, Amadi (ibid.), states that whether or not the Ikwerre originally belonged to one family of peoples, Igbo or not, it is now incontrovertible that in their present physical environment they have evolved as a group with a common

experience in the interplay of potent geographical, economic and political factors long before the advent of colonial rule. As such, they qualify for the status of 'ethnolinguistic in-group' in the terms of Giles *et al.* (1977). They have, ever since, regarded themselves in this manner and have come a long way in their struggle for self-identity and self-determination as evidenced by the recognition of their language as one of those officially recognised within the modern Nigerian nation state (for example, in the 1979 Nigerian Constitution). Their route towards recognition is reminiscent of that followed by a number of minority groups such as the Catalans of the Catalonia region in Spain (see Wollard, 1985, 1989, 1992, 1998; Woolard & Gahng, 1990; Woolard & Gal, 2001), or the place now afforded to the Irish language in the new constitution of the Irish Republic following independence in the early twentieth century (see Corrigan, 1992, 2004; Crowley, 1989a, b, 2000; Hickey, 1997; Hindley, 1990; Ó Gliasáin, 1997; Ó hUallachain, 1994; Ó Riagáin, 1994, 1997). The Ikwerre case is interesting amongst many of these in that it differs with respect to the taking up of arms to agitate for autonomy as the Basque separatist group ETA has done and continues to do in Spain and as the official IRA did in Ireland during the Easter uprising in 1916, the Anglo-Irish War of 1919-1921 and the Irish Civil War between 1922 and 1923.[15]

The discussions presented above underline a very important fact, that is, that the Ikwerre society has for the most part of their known history been a bilingual society. In other words, they have always possessed the ability to use another language other than the Ikwerre language in the fulfilment of their communicative tasks. This observation links directly into the second objective of this thesis, which as was pointed out in section 1.4 of Chapter 1 is the exploration of the means by which

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[15] For overviews of related cases of ethnolinguistic recognition, see Campani, 2001; Climent-Ferrando, 2005; Guibernau,1999; Hilton, 2002; Mezo, 2002; Miley, 2004; Myhill, 1999; Pountain, 1997; Shelly, 1999; Siguan, 2004; Stepan, 2002; Strubell, 1999; Vann, 1999; Wright, 1998; Ysursa, 2001.

people in this community utilise two different languages in their routine communicative interactions.

Further, stemming from the preceding discussions we learn that in pre-colonial Nigeria, the most predominant other language in their repertoire was the Igbo language (see sections 2.1.2 and 2.1.3 above). This assertion is buttressed by the following conversation in example 1 below, captured by myself during the explorative phase of the fieldwork for this project. The conversation took place in the home of an 83 year old Ikwerre grandfather, who, on hearing that I was conducting research on the Ikwerre language, invited me over to talk about the language in the company of his 75 year old friend.[16]

Example 1: (A= fieldworker; B= 83 year old grandfather; C= his 75 year old friend)

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1 A: …Isi nu mbia nu ta (.) ka ika rumu ihe (.) ma banyere onu-onu // Ikwerre.

…remember [that] you said [that] when I come today, you'll give me some information about the Ikwerre lang-language.

2 B: // Ihi ihem zi aka ru gi taa (.) bu ihe na eme na n'mgbe gbo (.) mgbe anyi bu umu azi (.) anyi na asu onu Ikwerre na onu Igbo na ezi n'oro anyi (.) anyi soro nde nne anyi ga na ahia (.) anyi na asu asusu Igbo na oma ahia (3.0) mgbe ufo di (.) anyi na eji asusu Igbo na igwuru igwu di ka // umu azi

What I am going to tell you today is what obtained in the past. When we were growing up as children, we spoke both the Ikwerre and Igbo language at home. When we accompanied our mothers to the market, we spoke the

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[16] See Appendix V for descriptions of transcription conventions used in this study.

Igbo language there as well. Sometimes, when we played together with our friends we used the Igbo language.

3 C: // obu ezi okwu (.) echem na ihe mere anyi ji asu onu Igbo (.) bu na otutu nde nne anyi bu ndi Igbo (.) ya na (.) anyi na ha na aru ko oru...

Indeed, this was the case then, and I believe that we spoke the Igbo language because most of our mothers were Igbos and we also farmed with them (the Igbos)...

Not only does the above extract confirm the observation that the Ikwerre society has always been bilingual. It also supports the view in the literature that bilingualism is a product of language contact (see Appel, 1987; Batibo, 2005; Fasold, 1984; Jenkins, 2005; Lehiste, 1988; Loveday, 1996; Pütz, 1994; Sebba, 1997; Silva-Corvalán, 1994; Thomason, 1999). In the case of the Ikwerre and the Igbo language, it was contact through the agency of marriage, commerce and a common boundary with the Igbo-speaking people.

As I mentioned in the discussions in section 2.1.2 above, since the end of the Nigerian civil war (see section 1.1, Chapter 1 for a discussion of the linguistic implications of the war on Nigeria), the dynamics in the linguistic relationship between the Ikwerre and the Igbo people has shifted. Today, one of the most significant other languages in the Ikwerre repertoire is the NPE. This, together with the use of the Ikwerre language, forms the object of my study. I elaborate on this ongoing relationship in subsequent sections of this Chapter and in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

Having explored the migratory history of the Ikwerre, it is equally important I believe that we examine those structures within the society by which the individual relationships of different social groups and institutions with their multiplex ranks, aims and objectives, interests and role expectations are made to cohere with one another and organised for the purpose of attaining the shared goals of the society like unity, security, progress and prosperity for all. These and other related issues are the foci of the discussions in the following section.[17]

2. 2 The social structure and organisation of Ikwerreland

In the discussion of the social organisation of Ikwerre society below, I shall, therefore, be looking at the relationships between persons within social groups and institutions in the society in which they live. The review will also focus on how people can employ their physical and social environment to enhance their condition. The latter is taken to include their geographical position, attitudes to family, clan and tribe since these have a bearing on the maintenance or loss of the Ikwerre language. Moreover, these issues are relevant in assisting our understanding of the social and attitudinal motivations for language choice at both the group (community) and individual level: the third objective of this thesis.[18]

2. 2. 1 The outline geography of Ikwerreland

The population of Ikwerreland is estimated at over 200,000 who live on an undulating plain watered by the Ikwerre channel and named the New Calabar River by the

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[17] For an overview, see Ember & Ember, 1981; Hann, 2000; Haralambos, Holborn & Heald, 2004; Keesing & Strathern, 1998.
[18] See section 1.4, Chapter 1.

colonial administration. It lies within the tropical rain forest off the coast of Guinea. The geographical location of Ikwerreland and its ecological make-up influences the people's occupation. The main occupations are farming, fishing, wine tapping, animal hunting, petty trading and wood works. The Ikwerre people export their farm produce such as cassava, yams, plantains, assorted vegetables and fruits. Locally manufactured and imported goods are bought and sold in the corner shops and local markets.

The New Calabar River (mentioned above) bisects the region into eastern and western sectors since the river flows longitudinally throughout the entire length of Ikwerreland. The eastern sector, in turn, is bisected by a trunk road running from Port Harcourt through Omerelu to Owerri, the Capital of Imo State and the western is split by the East-West road, linking Rivers State with Akwa Ibom, Edo and Delta States. The positioning of Ikwerreland is very critical to the survival of its language because it is a major gateway into Rivers State. I observed during the fieldwork stage of this project that those Ikwerre towns and villages situated in and around these points of entry and exit into Rivers State are acutely bilingual. They are constantly in contact with people outside of Ikwerreland who do not speak the Ikwerre language and thus tend to use Nigeria's *de facto lingua franca* (NPE) for their inter-ethnic interactions.[19]

This observation was confirmed in a personal conversation with Professor Kay Williamson (July 10th, 2003) of the University of Port Harcourt, who has been researching the languages of this area for the last twenty-five years. She said that in her studies: "she has noted that Ikwerre towns and villages such as *Rebisi*, *Alikohia*, *Iguwruta*, *Elelewo* and *Choba* [to mention just a few], which are situated close to Port Harcourt city and within touching distance of the entry and exit points into Rivers State are experiencing massive language shift from Ikwerre-dominant

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[19] For an overview of the role of NPE within Nigeria, see section 1.2, Chapter 1.

monolingualism to NPE-dominant bilingualism." Further confirmation of this observation is found in example 2, below and Chapters 5, 6 and 7 of this study. The interaction in example 2 is between a grandmother (A) who is in her late 60s and (B) her 33 year old daughter-in-law. They were talking generally about the language situation in Ikwerreland today.

Example 2: (Conversation between a grandmother/mother-in-law (A) and her young daughter-in-law (B))

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1 A: …kita unu ana ghi azu umu nu na onu Ikwerre (0.4) ha no kota (.) .hh ha-na asu onu beke (.) na izu ka gar-ra-aga kam-kam no na ihu ulo m, umu azi abuo hum na ekelem na onu beke (0.2) ma ajuo ha si obu ha amaghi onu Ikwerre (.) ha si // uh-uh =

…Ikwerre parents no longer teach Ikwerre language to their children. When they are all together they only speak NPE. Last week- -last week, I was sitting- -sitting outside when two youngsters saw me and greeted me in NPE. I turned round and asked them if they could not speak the Ikwerre language. They replied, no.

2 B: // ma::ma (.) uwa agba nwe le (1.0) umu aka na asu onu Ikwerre enwe te li ike acho ta oru (0.4) ogwu la ma ha choro iga ruo-o oru ugbo (.) ma me enyi ndi Ikwerre so-oso (.) ya mere anyi ji aha pu ha suo onu beke.

Ma::ma, the world has changed. Children who speak only the Ikwerre language can no longer find jobs. Only those who want to take to- -to farming, can afford to speak just the Ikwerre language, or those who want

to make Ikwerre friends only. This is why parents do not discourage their children from speaking NPE.

3 A: = echem na unu emeriela (.) anyi la (.) onu Ikwerre ala!

I believe that we have lost the battle [to maintain the Ikwerre language]. When we [the grandparents generation] die, the language [Ikwerre language] dies with us!

The above conversation is very powerful in that it encapsulates the feelings and attitudes of different members of the Ikwerre community toward the Ikwerre language and NPE. In addition, it precisely links into the first and third objectives of this thesis: The extent and patterning of Ikwerre-NPE bilingualism within the Ikwerre community and the social and attitudinal motivations for language choice at both the group (community) and individual level. Not only this, it (Example 2) also validates the decision to incorporate language attitudes analysis within this study (see section 1.4, Chapter 1 and section 3.6 of Chapter 3). Indeed, the grandmother's emotional statement in her second turn calls to mind the view expressed by Fishman (1960), that language is so often taken as a biological inheritance that its association with ethnic paternity is both frequent and powerful. It is 'acquired with the mother's milk'. It is not only shaped by the inherited organism of speech but it, in turn, shapes the mind and the mental processes. It is saturated with the tears and joys of the ancestors. It is loved with all one's being (see Fishman, 1989: 26).

Furthermore, from the above extract it is noticeable that the Ikwerre society is undergoing not only linguistic but also social transformation. This transformation is

taking place at the community, family and individual level as the preceding discussions and examples underline. Thus, in the next section I discuss the social structure and organisation of the Ikwerre society, which I believe is necessary for a proper understanding of their linguistic behaviours.

2. 2. 2 Ikwerre social structure and organisation

In this section, I will draw mainly from the description of Ikwerre social structure and organisation given by Otonnaa (1993), an Ikwerre traditional chief as well as my own observations during the fieldwork phase of my research.

Otonnaa (1993) explains that a glimpse at the workings of the pre-colonial Ikwerre social and political institution styled, "Village Democracy" shows the Nnyenweli (the village chief) as the tribal leader. However, these individuals do not govern autocratically but are guided by a council of chief men of the community who are consulted regularly. The decisions of the council and the Nnyenweli deliberating together are brought before the assembly of the whole people at the village square, normally under the shade of trees. Out of these three elements – the Nnyenweli, the council of the chief men of the community, and the assembly of the whole people, emerge the village democracy, a process of consulting with one another to arrive at a decision. During this time (in pre-colonial Nigeria), however, this form of political organisation was weak and loose. The true power in Ikwerre pre-colonial society was the *family* (I will discuss this further in the next sub-section).

The villages (onumnarna) were habitations of contiguous maximal families (Mgbu), all the members being descended from a common ancestor and bound together by the tie of blood or mythical charter. Originally, the chief of the family had

the power of life and death over everyone who belonged to the family. The village communities were not themselves isolated and independent, they too were a part of a larger community called the clan (mbam). The clan is made up of all the people of the contiguous villages or towns under the authority of a clan head. When a clan head became influential and powerful and held sway over neighbouring clans, a community consisting of more than one clan would be formed. While each clan had to merge its separate political institutions in the common institution of the whole tribe, it still retained its individual identity within this larger union called *Evnupu* or tribe. Based on this description, the modern in-group represented by the Ikwerre is a tribe dispersed over its territory in a vast number of relatively small and virtually independent local communities of between 3 and 10 thousand people termed *onumnarna* or villages. *Onumnarna* evolves into *mbam* or clans according to their population and territorial possessions. Each unit has its own territory and government even though they might not have come from a common stock.

Further, contemporary Ikwerre societies live in clusters separated in a vast area of arable land stretching some five to ten kilometres apart. The farmland is usually held in common, but in some communities it is held individually in families. Each clan is sub-divided into villages or towns, each village sub-divides into quarters or wards (*Mgbu*), and each quarter or ward is sub-divided into major families, which further sub-divide into minor, minimal and nuclear families. Ikwerre villages are made up of a number of separate residential wards or quarters. A quarter is a corporate group of maximal patrilineal kin claiming a common ancestor. The Mgbu is partially autonomous in its internal administration, but usually recognises the superior authority of the village whose decision is final in cases referred to it from the quarters. All the members of the major family (ogba), minor family (oro), minimal family

(rime ogba), and nuclear family (ezi nuoro) live within a compound. Any component units of the compound could establish their separate sub-compounds outside the main one should this become necessary due to increase in family size. If this happens, it does not impair or diminish their loyalty or affect their relationships to their original family to whose head they all have to pay traditional deference and obedience. Heads of all the maximal families and major families make up the village. There is also the village head or chief but all the contiguous villages come under the headship of one traditional ruler who is also the village head of the principal village.

The ward or quarter government consists of the meeting of the heads of the component households and is presided over by the head of the ward. Members of the ward select the head for this office strictly in accordance with traditional principles. The choice must go to the oldest male descendant in the male line of the founder ward. The heads of the component minor families within the ward assist the head of a major family in the ward council and this makes for fairness and equity. In both the major and minor families only the oldest males are selected heads of their families. This invokes the element of gerontocracy in the system of choice. However, in the maximal families (Mgbu or ward) and village headship the choice is hereditary. A young man, for instance, of thirty years or even younger could be installed the village head to lead a council composed of men much older than himself, so long as he happens to be the oldest in the ruling family of the ward or village. It is indeed fascinating to see how the principles of gerontocracy and heredity are perfectly blended in the administrative machinery of traditional Ikwerre society.

Given that the roles of men and women are so differentiated in this society, an important issue addressed by this thesis is *to ascertain the extent to which concomitant gender related differences in language choice patterns can be isolated*

for the Port Harcourt Ikwerre community. Further, as I pointed out earlier in this section, in pre-colonial Ikwerre society the family was the single most potent institution and in section 2.2.3 below, I explain the relevance of this fact to issues of language choice.

2. 2. 3 The family

In this section, I look in some detail at the primary groups that make up the society *vis-à-vis* the family. The family in Ikwerre society is agnatic in nature, that is, family members are descendants of the same male ancestor, especially through the male line. They share a common residence in a compound, within a social system located in a community. The human family can be grouped as the family of procreation and the family of orientation. Members of the family of procreation are related by blood or marriage and possess hereditary rights (see Haralambos *et al.*, 2004).

On the other hand, the social characteristic of the family of orientation is based on the fact that the family has its own approved pattern of behaviour that governs the relations that exist between its members. Members are enjoined to adhere to the rules of behaviour and relationship or face the wrath of the society. This statement is very vital in that it raises another hypothesis to be explored in this thesis, namely, *that the Ikwerre language will be the code of choice for most family member interactions, while in non-family member communications NPE will most likely be the choice code.*

The family domain has been shown in similar studies to be the most likely place where the use of the indigenous language is most prevalent (see for instance, Batibo, 2005; Dattamajumdar, 2005; Edwards, 1986; Fishman, 1972b; Gal, 1979;

Greenfield, 1972; Hohenthal, 1999; Li Wei, 1994; Milroy, 1987a). With this research in mind, I give below an overview of the three main types of family in Ikwerreland:

i. *The nuclear family (Ezi n'oro)*: This is the most common form of the family. It is made up of simply two parents (father and mother) and their children. In Ikwerreland the size of the nuclear family is dependent on the form of marriage adopted, that is whether the marriage is monogamous or polygamous. Judging by the families I observed for this study it is safe to say that the average family size in Ikwerre is father, mother and six children (see Table 1 of Chapter 4).

ii. *The extended family*: In Ikwerreland this arises when one joins two families, in one, he is a member of his father's family as a son – this is his natal family. In another he is a member of his own immediate family in which he is the father – this is his conjugal home. In the extended family type, as practised by the Ikwerre, such relationships as fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, half-sisters, half-brothers, uncles, aunts, nephews, nieces and cousins are all rolled together under the generic names: father, mother, brother and sister. Thus, in most instances, someone being referred to as 'brother' or 'sister' has no blood relationship at all with the addressee. In fact, in Ikwerre society the extended family is a large domestic cluster consisting of several relationships, sometimes including even close work and school-mates (this issue is discussed further in 'iii' below). This type of extended family structure has brought

about intense language contact and fuzziness in the line between exchange and interactive networks as detailed in the literature.[20]

For example, while visiting an Ikwerre family in Port Harcourt I was invited into the kitchen area where the wife of the man I was visiting with was busy cooking. At one stage in her cooking she ran out of tomato puree. The woman beckoned on her daughter who was nearby to go across the street to their neighbours and ask them for some. When the girl came back with the condiment and the cooking was done, I asked her if the woman across the street was her blood relative and she replied thus in NPE:

Example 3: (A = My host's wife)

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1 A: *No* (0.3) *shi no bi ma sista like dat wey yu min* (.) *bot wi de salut* (.) *for evri ta:im wey wi si* (.) *an wi pikin dem de ple tugeda* (2.0) > ↑ (Looking up to the right towards me the fieldworker) *So* (.) *a go fit ansa se shi bi ma tru:-tru: sista.*

No, we are not related by blood. However, we greet every time we meet. And our children play together. So, I can say that she is my sister indeed.

The woman's reply is very significant because what she did would be a very unlikely occurrence in Western-industrialised societies. You do not just walk up to people's doors to ask for tomato puree simply because you exchange greetings when you meet or because your children play together. In such

[20] For detailed discussions and critique of social networks, see sections 3.5, Chapter 3; 4.6, Chapter 4 & Chapter 6 of this study.

societies this type of relationship is at best classified as interactive rather than exchange ties (see further, Chapters 3 and 6 this study). However, in the Ikwerre society there is no such clear-cut distinction between both types of personal network ties. Equally vital is the fact that the other woman from across the street to whom my host's wife sent her daughter is a non-Ikwerre indigene. In fact, she is Yoruba, an entirely different tribe from the Ikwerre minority ethnic group. Thus, the third assumption investigated in this thesis relates to *whether or not this fuzziness in the distinction between exchange and interactive personal network ties means that both network types have the same or different impacts on the informants' linguistic behaviours.*

iii. *Kinship*: In anthropology, kinship is defined as a unit composed of a family, clan, or other group based on blood relationship. In Ikwerre society, kinship is made up of members of the family outside the immediate nexus of procreation: grandmothers, grandfathers, grandaunts, granduncles and such like. Therefore, for the Ikwerre people, the family is but one of the varieties of kinship groups, which includes the ward, the village and even the clan. Kinship in this society is based on systems of socially defined relationships and descent. A man's kin as explained by Otonnaa (1993), an Ikwerre traditional chief, may include persons related through either the father or the mother(s) by biological descent but generally not affinal relatives. Some of the kinship relations are based only partially on the recognition of biological relation. Kinship in Ikwerre finds its most intimate expression in the joint and extended family system, which makes everyone his brother's keeper. Ikwerreland, as has already been highlighted, is a patrilineal society and children born within wedlock belong to the father's line and never to the mother's line, as is the case in the matrilineal

system. Thus, the Ikwerre kinship system is based on three principles: (a) A common ancestor, (b) Marriage ties, and (c) Adoption. A person's kinsmen are his relatives through any of these principles. It is possible for a person to know all his nuclear and extended family members (Rumunnadi), but not all other several persons related to him through marriage and adoption.[21]

Other than these organisations there are other structures too, that tend to bring the people together under a common social unit. For example:

- The age sets or age grades associations.
- The secret societies.
- The title holder's associations.
- The occupational interest groups.
- The traditional medicine men's association.
- Eldest daughters' associations.
- Dance groups.
- Thrift societies.
- Religious groups.
- Initiation counsellors' associations.

These groups possess intimate knowledge about their members. They have a strong feeling of belonging together, exhibit a high degree of unity in the face of external threat or aggression and are very sensitive to any harm done to fellow members. What is more, Otonnaa (1993) adds, because their memberships cut across the family and

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[21] For more details on family and kinship ties in traditional and contemporary societies, see Bernardes, 1997; Carter & McGoldrick, 1999; Haralambos *et al.*, 2004; Keesing & Strathern, 1998.

kinship ties and loyalties, they tend to weaken or destroy any natural inclinations towards parochialism and selfishness in the members. These groups are structured in such a way that they promote social cohesion and conformity, cooperation and participation among the individual members. They are also fertile grounds for the stimulation of social and linguistic change in the community. In much the same way as *Communities of Practice* have been found to be (see Eckert, 2000; Wenger, 1999; sections 3.5.2 and 6.4 of this thesis). For instance, those members of the community who have forged relationships with non-Ikwerre indigenes bring with them to these associations the paraphernalia of this new experience: part of which is language. Thus, the members of such groups are themselves agents of social and linguistic change.

2. 2. 4 Socialisation

The family fosters the socialisation process in Ikwerre society. Socialisation is the process by which people acquire the norms and culture of a given society so as to conduct themselves in manners appropriate for functioning properly within it. The socialisation of individuals in Ikwerre from start to finish is meant to enhance social harmony, participation, co-operation and conformity within its citizenry. Through the initiation ceremony of boys into manhood, Ikwerre society tries to inculcate the norms, mores, values and concepts of the society into its youth.

In the past, Otonna (1993) states that titles were conferred upon the incumbents in appreciation and recognition of their physical exploits and achievements in their various fields of calling such as farming, fishing, hunting, traditional wrestling and fighting. The titles were never given out based on the wealth of the individual concerned or offered as bribes. Their conferment bore a testimony to

the high value Ikwerre society placed on deeds of virtue and excellence. Today, he claims, however, that in various parts of Ikwerreland the conferment of these titles no longer depended on positive attributes, but rather on the ability of the individual to bribe their way into institutions and to buy the titles. Thus, the value of the titles as a mark of excellence and distinction in a particular field of endeavour has greatly depreciated due to this corruption (Otonnaa, 1993: 76-77).

It must also be added that the rigid respect for elders by the youth, which was the norm in traditional Ikwerre society, is being gradually eroded by what the elders term 'western invasion'. They point out that, in the past, children greeted their elders in the Ikwerre language, but today many young people tend to speak and address their elders in NPE (see example 2 above). This, in the opinion of the elders, has led to the adulteration and erosion of their age-old customs and traditions, and the inability of Ikwerre youths to speak the Ikwerre language properly. More will be said about these issues in the following chapters of this study, when the language choice patterns attested in the Ikwerre community of Port Harcourt is discussed. The above comments lead into the fourth hypothesis to be confirmed or disconfirmed by this project, that is, *grandparents and older speakers will tend to select the Ikwerre language as their preferred code for the accomplishment of their communicative tasks, while younger speakers will prefer NPE for the fulfilment of similar tasks.*

Apart from their supposed traditional role as homemakers and home-keepers (see Oakley, 1974), women rather than men in traditional Ikwerre society are instrumental in the perpetuation of the pedigree. They play a pivotal role in the early education of the child by initiating them into the canons of the lineage traditions. These roles are not dissimilar to those reported in other traditional societies (for an overview, see Christ, 1997; Inglehart & Norris, 2003; Jaggar & Young, 2000;

Loveland, 1982; Mihesuah, 2003). Further, Ikwerre women also help to preserve peace in the society. The women-folk in Ikwerre society are organised to encourage internal cohesion, unity and social control, to regulate and control social action and social integration. Indeed, they are crucial for making it possible for individuals to give full expression to their authenticity through occasional confrontations with opposing forces. These roles tend to bolster the arguments of such researchers as Charles (2002) and Archer & Lloyd (2002) that female gender roles vary from society to society, therefore, it would be erroneous to simply categorise women in all societies as simply homemakers and home-keepers. Most certainly the role of women in Ikwerre society transcends these. As I pointed out earlier in section 2.2.2 above, since male/female roles are so differentiated in this society, this study seeks to discover whether these differences in gender roles have any impact on the language choice patterns of both male and female members of the Port Harcourt Ikwerre community.

Further, I have attempted in the above discussions to present an outline of the social structure and organisation of Ikwerreland. I have explored the ways people are ranked within the social hierarchy of Ikwerre society and the rewards accruing to individuals based on the values their society places on the roles they fulfil. It has been shown, here, that the geography of Ikwerreland influenced the traditional occupations of its peoples, and the family was the most powerful entity in this society.

Having looked at the setup of traditional Ikwerre society, following is a brief account of the Ikwerre community of Port Harcourt where the present study was carried out. In this section, as I mentioned earlier in Chapter 1, section 1.4, I also elaborate further on the rationale for selecting the Port Harcourt Ikwerre community and their language(s) as my object of study.

2. 3 The Ikwerre of Port Harcourt

The location of the current study is the Ikwerre community of Choba in the Port Harcourt area (see Figure 1, this Chapter: Map of Ikwerreland). There are two cardinal reasons for choosing this particular location. Firstly, I have very close friends who have lived in Choba for many years prior to the formal start of this study and through them I had established extensive and vibrant personal contacts within the Ikwerre community in the area. As I will argue in Chapter 4, these are significant factors in carrying out detailed community based sociolinguistic research (see also Gal, 1979; Li Wei, 1994; Milroy, 1987a, b). Secondly, the area hosts a large indigenous Ikwerre population (see section 2.3.1 below for figures) and, thus may be more representative of the Ikwerre communities in Rivers State, Nigeria.

As is the case with many other minority tribes in Nigeria, there is little or no detailed systematic study of the Ikwerre as a people. In fact, during the fieldwork for this study I made repeated attempts to obtain any information from official quarters about the local population and got nothing except a map and directions on how to locate Ikwerre towns and villages. Therefore, just as Li Wei (1994) reported in his Tyneside Chinese community study, information from official channels is, in most cases, scarce and unreliable. Even when such information is available, it might prove to be of little value for the kind of detailed study that will be required in complex cases like that of the Ikwerre. The demographic information, which forms the basis of this investigation, was therefore collected by means of participant observation and informal interviews with older members of the Ikwerre community in Port Harcourt during the initial fieldwork phase.

2. 3. 1 Demography and economy

The Ikwerre community of Choba in Port Harcourt number between 15,000 and 25,000 persons. The population of the Port Harcourt in-group seems to be relatively youthful, having more young people than one might expect of a normal sample (though this is probably not surprising given its urbanity and the greater likelihood of migration to urban centres amongst the young).[22]

It is important to mention that Port Harcourt City is the capital of Rivers State, and is known as the 'Garden City' throughout Nigeria due to its beautiful layout and topography. Many centuries ago the present day location called Port Harcourt was inhabited only by the Ikwerre, but today Port Harcourt is a metropolitan society, with over a million people (made up of Ikwerre and largely non-Ikwerre indigenes from other parts of Nigeria as well as a significant number of foreign nationals who work in the petroleum and allied industries).

Port Harcourt houses Nigeria's second largest seaport, a busy international airport with regular links to all parts of the country and to major cities of the world. The Nigerian eastern railway terminus is situated in the city, and it is the largest commercial and industrial centre outside Lagos. The city has two degree-awarding universities (one of them being situated in Choba, my research site) and there are also a number of Further Education colleges. Besides, it boasts two petroleum refineries, a petrochemical and liquefied natural gas plant, fertilizer plant and many other allied industries.[23]

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[22] This will, of course be reflected in my subject sample which will be described in some detail in Chapter Four. Also for more information on rural-urban migration see Bortoni-Ricardo, 1985; Saracoglu & Roe, 2004; http://www.unfpa.org/sustainable/urbanization.htm (United Nations Population Fund).

[23] See the Rivers State website for detailed descriptions: http://www.rivers-state.gov.ng/

Given the metropolitan and socio-economic constitution of Port Harcourt, it has become a very expensive place to live and work, hence, many indigenous Ikwerre people have been forced to live in adjoining conurbations like Choba. Numerous industries and institutions of higher learning in the city employ highly educated and skilled personnel from Rivers State and other parts of Nigeria, including a number of Ikwerre people (Table 1 below, presents an illustration of the occupational status of the informants used in this study).

Table 1 Informants' occupation

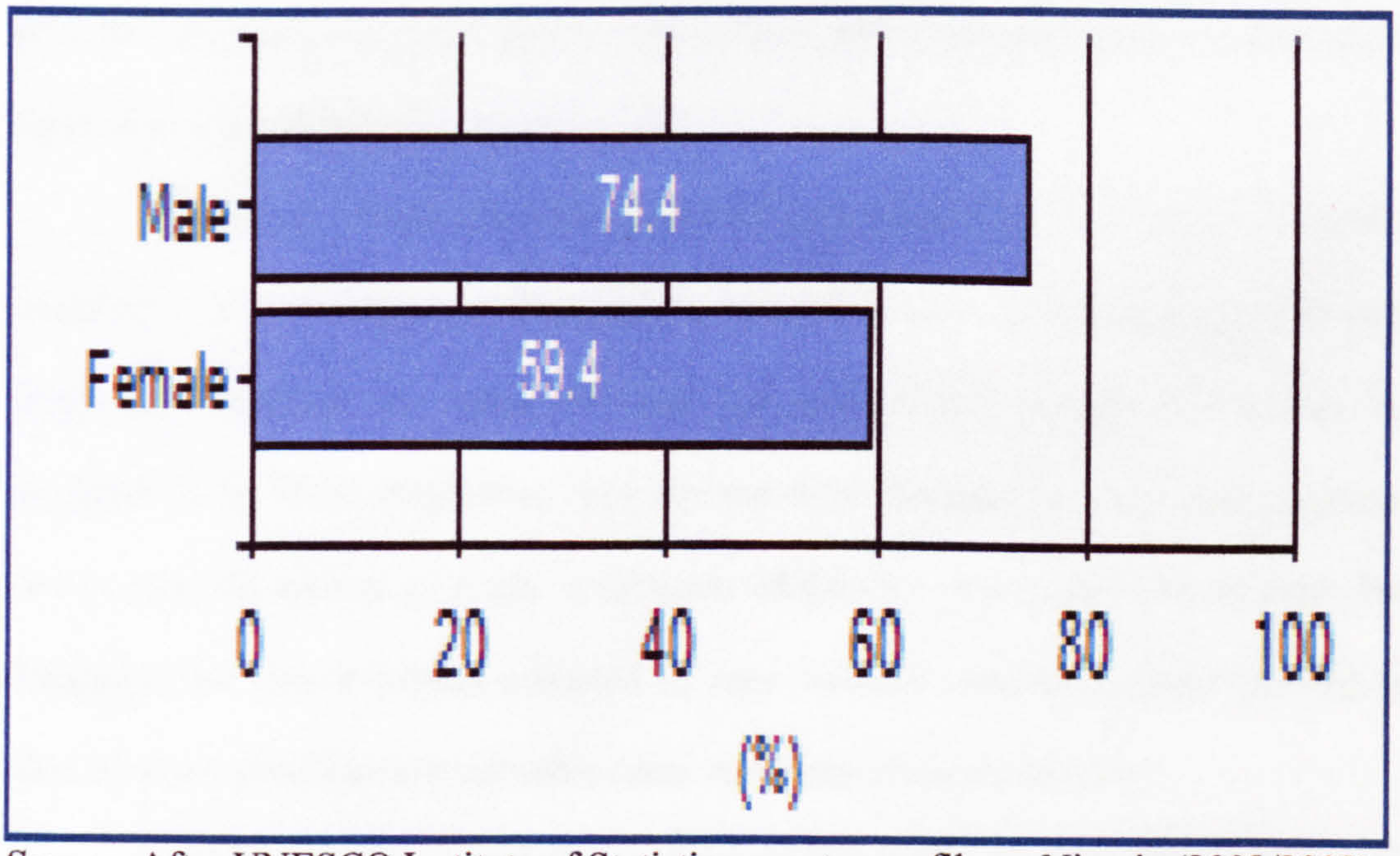
	Male	Female
Subsistence farming/Never employed	3	13
Retired	2	0
Employed	18	8
In full-time study	15	17
Total =	**38**	**38**
Types of occupation		
Market trader	0	4
Civil servant	7	1
Clerical	5	3
Technician/Mechanic	2	
Factory worker	4	

Many members of the Ikwerre community are employed as unskilled or semiskilled workers in the factories and industries in the city. Others work as clerical and office staff in the civil service and universities; some of the women own small corner shops

and stalls in the local markets, while another group of young adult males work as technicians/mechanics.

Since the population is mostly composed of young people, unsurprisingly, a majority of them are at various stages of full-time education. In the past, women have traditionally not been sent to school in these regions as in many other parts of Nigeria. For instance, the UNESCO Institute for Statistics country profile on Nigeria (2002/2003) reports that literacy rates for 15 years and older for males = 74.4%, and females = 59.4% (see Figure 2).

Figure 2 Literacy rates – 15 years and older



Source: After UNESCO Institute of Statistics country profile on Nigeria (2002/2003)

The gap between male/female literacy rates is narrowing. Today, education is very important to the Ikwerre and, as a consequence, most Ikwerre people strive to give their children of both sexes as much education as they can, within their financial

limitations. Thus, this study will also examine *whether the level of education attained by the respondents influences their language choice patterns or not.*

2. 3. 2 Language environment

Due to the metropolitan nature of present day Port Harcourt, the Ikwerre now have to share their community with non-Ikwerre people from other parts of the country, with whom they have no linguistic affinity. Thus, the medium of wider communication is naturally NPE (see section 2.4 below for an overview of the history and evolution of NPE). It is the language spoken at school and in the local neighbourhoods by children, at work and market by their parents and NPE is also commonly used for sermons in most church services.

I observed prior to the start of the fieldwork phase that the indigenous Ikwerre population of Port Harcourt is gradually, but powerfully, being influenced in their language behaviour (in terms of both use *and* choice) within and across the community by their neighbours who do not have Ikwerre as their first language. Ikwerre is still spoken by many inhabitants of the city and its environs as their first language, but this is largely confined to very intimate communications, typified by that between grandparents and other older members of the community.

Furthermore, in a personal communication, Mr Ekwulo (September 10th, 2003), a retired primary school head teacher, informed me that school policy in the Port Harcourt area (and indeed in the whole of Rivers State) did not allow for teaching in the Ikwerre language as part of the school curriculum in any of the mainstream schools. The situation is similar as far as the mass media is concerned. During the five-months I spent in Port Harcourt doing fieldwork, I noticed that there

were no television/radio programmes or widely available printed materials produced in Ikwerre, although there were many in NPE and NSE. This observation was later corroborated by a large proportion of my informants, who claimed that all the programmes broadcast on the local television/radio stations and the newspapers were either in NPE or NSE. A visit to the Port Harcourt City library to locate books on the Ikwerre language revealed no published literature on the subject with the exception of a school reader that was first printed in 1972 and last published in 1976 intended to be used in the first three years of primary school education (although, as Williamson (1993) reports, no school in the entire Rivers State area recommends it). It is unsurprising, therefore, that local linguists and senior members of the community have speculated that the pattern of language use is changing across generations within the indigenous Ikwerre population, with the strong indication that the use of NPE is starting to dominate interactions.

The time is ripe, therefore, to systematically investigate the social and linguistic mechanisms underlying the alleged changes in the language behaviours of different generations in the Port Harcourt Ikwerre community, particularly since, to my knowledge, this is the only study of its kind to attempt such an analysis. Before moving on, I believe it is pertinent at this point to say something about the history and evolution of NPE and why it has become an important part of the Ikwerre linguistic repertoire. This is the focus of the discussions that follow.

2. 4 The history and evolution of NPE

Here, I look at NPE and its speakers and attempt to answer the question of whether the language is a Pidgin or Creole. I also explore the genesis and development of NPE.

2. 4. 1 NPE and its speakers

NPE is said to be one in a line of English-lexifier Pidgins and Creoles spoken along the West African coast and in African Diaspora communities spread along the Atlantic basin. Among these related Pidgin varieties, Cameroonian Pidgin is closer in form to NPE than are, for instance, Sierra Leonean and Jamaican Krio. However, these Pidgins and Creoles have in common a significant number of semantic, grammatical and phonological features and structures (see Faraclas, 1996; Holm, 2000; Kulick, 1997; Sebba, 1997).

It is estimated that there are over 75 million people who speak NPE as a second language, and the number of first language speakers is put roughly between 4 to 8 million. These numbers are increasing all the time because the NPE is very popular with younger members of the polity, who constitute a greater number of the population of Nigeria, which is estimated to be about 133 million. NPE is the most widely spoken language in the country. It is different from the other 400 or so Nigerian languages because members of every regional, ethno-linguistic and religious group in the country speak it. It is further distinguished from NSE due to the fact that it is spoken by members of every socio-economic group, while only those Nigerians with many years of formal education can claim to speak NSE with any proficiency.

Thus, Knowledge of NPE is fast becoming indispensable for everyday practical communication and the understanding of issues affecting the Nigerian (see Agheyisi, 1970; Breitinger, 1996; Chapters 1, 5, 6 & 7, this study; Faraclas, 1996; McArthur, 2003; Mafeni, 1971; Poplack, 2000).

It is rather disappointing to note that despite the overwhelming evidence within Nigeria that NPE is in all respects the most logical choice for a national language, it is accorded little or no recognition by Nigeria's language policy planners and administrators. Official attitudes towards NPE remain largely negative, sustaining flawed notions passed on from the colonial era that NPE is some type of 'broken English'.[24]

2. 4. 2 Pidgin or Creole?

Based on my observations in Port Harcourt, I tend to agree with Faraclas (1996: 3) that the name Nigerian 'Pidgin' English is to some extent misleading, since the NPE-speaking community includes people who speak the language as a pidginized speech form, as a creolised speech form and/or as a decreolized speech form. For example, for an Ikwerre market woman whose use of NPE is restricted to business transactions, the language is a Pidgin in the true sense of the word. For her children who speak NPE to their Kalabari schoolmates, the language is depidginizing or creolising. For the Igbo man who speaks NPE with his Efik wife, and especially for his children, who speak NPE with their parents and each other, the language is not a Pidgin at all, but a Creole. For the child from an elite Port Harcourt family who grows up speaking NPE,

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[24] See National Policy on Education, 1981.

but who hears NSE at home, on formal occasions, at school and on the radio and television, NPE is in all probability a decreolized speech form.

For the sake of convenience, NPE can be divided into three sets of social lects. Firstly, acrolectal (decreolized) varieties which show significant influence from NSE. Secondly, basilectal (pidginized or repidginized) varieties which show significant influences from other Nigerian languages, and thirdly, mesolectal (creolized) varieties which typify the speech of those who use NPE in most of their daily interactions or who have learned it as a first language. It is common in practice for most speakers to change their lect or variety of NPE in accordance with social context. For example, a bank clerk may use a basilectal variety in the market, a mesolectal variety with colleagues at work and an acrolectal variety with his line manager. However, this study adopts mesolectal varieties of NPE for all descriptions, analyses and examples, unless otherwise stated (after Faraclas, 1996).

2. 4. 3 Genesis and evolution of NPE

According to Faraclas (1996), Nigeria's expansive and vigorous population and age-long tradition of ethnic and linguistic diversity and forbearance led to the emergence of a highly mercantile society with large urban centres centuries before the landing of Portuguese merchants who traded pepper and slaves from the Nigerian coastal area. The Portuguese first arrived in Benin (city) at the end of the 15th century. From the mid 16th century, the British took over as major trading partners. With the abolition of the slave trade at the beginning of the 19th century, British colonial interests shifted to agricultural production for exportation to Europe. However, even before these contacts with Europeans, city life, intermarriage, trading and travel brought Nigerians

who speak different languages into close contact with one another for thousands of years. Thus, bilingualism and multilingualism have always been practiced in most parts of Nigeria (see earlier discussions in Chapters 1 and 2, this study; Batibo, 2005).

For these reasons, it is very likely according to Faraclas (1996) that a pidginized form of Nigerian languages existed and was in use many centuries before the arrival of the first Europeans. Support for this claim is found in northern Nigeria around the Lake Chad basin where non-native speakers of Hausa use a pidginized form of Hausa in the markets while a pidginized variety of Igbo is spoken at present in some Niger Delta markets in the south.[25]

As has been highlighted above, NPE may well have developed from one or several such pidginized Nigerian languages that were spoken along the coast before the arrival of the Europeans. However, due to the importance of the European trade and the reluctance of the Europeans to learn other languages, European words might have been substituted for Nigerian words for ease of communication. Since the Portuguese arrived first, a few Portuguese-derived words like *sàbi* 'know' and *pìkîn* 'child' would have been initially adopted, but as the British colonial dominance over Nigeria increased, more and more English words would have been integrated into the language. This view is similar to that postulated by Mufwene (2001), who sees no abrupt discontinuity in the development of creoles, but rather normal, uninterrupted language transmission, with a continuous trajectory from the lexifier to specific creoles. He highlights the role of the *Founder Principle* (Mufwene, 1996), the disproportionate influence of the populations which founded colonies or arrived early in them, and of their languages (see also Mufwene, 1997, 2002). It is significant that the lexifiers involved were often non-standard varieties of European languages,

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[25] For more details on the origin of Pidgins and Creoles, see Goodman, 1985; Holm, 1989, 2000; Mafeni, 1971; Shnukal & Marchese, 1983; Winford, 1997.

sometimes koines themselves. Further, in the case of Nigeria, with British colonial administration came European education through missionaries, many of whom were Krio speakers from Sierra Leone – mostly ex-slaves or descendants of 'repatriated' slaves from the Caribbean (see section 1.1, Chapter 1 for details).

This notwithstanding, with Faraclas (1996), I would like to argue that it is impossible to say for certain whether NPE developed from marketplace contacts between European traders and the various ethnic groups along the coast or from the influence of missionaries from Sierra Leone. We can assume, however, that both of these factors played some part, but it is important that scholars exercise some care not to over emphasise the role of either the traders or the missionaries in the evolution of NPE. In the frantic search for origins, creolists typically ignore the fact that at every stage of its history, NPE has been used primarily as a means of communication among Nigerians rather than between Nigerians and traders, missionaries or other foreigners. From the evidence available it is difficult if not impossible to state clearly any cogent synopsis for the origin and evolution of the NPE that does not assign a significant role to impact from the linguistic models with which southern Nigerians have always been the most familiar: the structures that typify the languages of southern Nigeria.

Having given an overview of the Nigerian Pidgin-speaking community and the origin and evolution of the language, in Chapter 3, the focus is on examining the different approaches adopted by various researchers to study bilingualism and language choice that have a bearing on this project.

2. 5 Conclusion

This chapter has looked at the origins and migratory patterns of the Ikwerre people. The various suggestions surrounding these issues have been explored and the tradition linking them to the Igbo tribe has emerged as the strongest and most plausible explanation.

In the last section of this chapter the discussion focused on the Ikwerre of the Port Harcourt area where the present study is situated. The reasons for selecting this location were because of the friendship ties and extensive personal contacts I maintain in the city, which are vital for successful community-based sociolinguistic study. Equally important is the fact that the area has a large indigenous Ikwerre population and, thus, is likely to be more representative of the Ikwerre communities in Rivers State.

As highlighted previously, given that a majority of the people who live in Port Harcourt are not indigenes of Ikwerreland and, therefore, tend to use NPE in their daily interactions, this language is now beginning to dominate interactions both within and across generations in the Ikwerre community.

My observations and findings regarding this apparent language change shall be presented in Chapters 5-7 of this study.

Chapter Three

The Study of Bilingualism and Language Choice

As indicated in the last chapter, the aim in this next one is to provide a brief critical review of different perspectives on the study of bilingualism and language choice.

This chapter is divided into eight sections: Section 3.0 presents a brief overview of the different disciplines in which the study of bilingualism is considered relevant (see Appel & Muysken, 1987; Ellis, 1985; Fasold, 1984; Genesee, 2003; Green, 2000; Klein, 1986; Meisel, 2000; Olber, Zatorre, Galloway & Vaid, 2000; Romaine, 1989; Spolsky, 1989; Wardhaugh, 2002 for overviews); Section 3.1 presents a review of classical perspectives on multilingualism, focusing particularly on such topics as diglossia and domain analysis (Fishman, 1967; Fishman, Cooper & Ma, 1971; Ferguson, 1959, 1972; Weinreich, 1953); Section 3.2 explores the concept of language conflict (see Pütz, 1994; Schmid, 2001); in Section 3.3, I present a synthesis of the diglossia, domain analysis and language conflict models, looking particularly at points of similarity and dissimilarity in the perspectives; Section 3.4 describes the interactional approach to the study of bilingualism, concentrating on conversational code-switching (Auer, 1984a, b, 1988, 1990, 1991, 1995, 2000; Gumperz, 1982; Li Wei, 2005; Myers-Scotton, 1976, 1980, 1982, 1983, 1993, 1999, 2000; Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai, 2001; Myers-Scotton, Finlayson & Calteaux, 1998); the main thrust of Section 3.5 is a critical discussion of the social network concept (Bortoni-Ricardo, 1985; Gal, 1979; Li Wei, 1994; Li Wei, Milroy & Ching, 2000; Milroy & Milroy, 1978; Milroy, 1980, 1987a); Section 3.6 looks at language

attitudes (Baker, 1992; Bosch & De-Klerk, 1996; Cargile & Giles, 1998; El-Dash & Busnardo, 2001; Fasold, 1984; Gal, 1979; Lambert, Hudson, Gardner & Fillenbaum, 1960; Lawson & Sachdev, 1997, 2000; Thibault & Sankoff, 1999; Woolard & Gahng, 1990) and finally, Section 3.7, the conclusion to the chapter, presents a summary of the important points herein discussed.

3. 0 Introduction

In the history of the study of bilingualism different definitions have been applied. According to Bloomfield (1984), a bilingual should possess 'native-like control of two or more languages', while in McNamara's (1969) view a bilingual should be somebody who has some second-language skills in one of the four modalities (speaking, listening, writing, reading), in addition to his first-language skills.

In agreement with Appel & Muysken's (1987: 3) view, I would argue that the problem of a *psychological* definition, in terms of proficiency, seems to be insurmountable, not because of measurement problems (which are complex enough by themselves), but because it is impossible to find a general norm or standard for proficiency. Thus, in this study, a *sociological* definition is preferred, after Weinreich (1953: 5), who said that 'the practice of alternatively using two languages will be called bilingualism, and the persons involved bilinguals. Put simply, the term bilingualism as used in this thesis applies to a person(s) who utilises two languages in the accomplishment of their routine communicative tasks (see discussions in Chapter 1, 2 and subsequent Chapters of this study).

Invariably, the study of bilingualism has increasingly attracted interest from various fields of study. For instance, since the 1960s, numerous investigators have

studied bilingualism and language choice patterns across different disciplines, naturally adopting varied perspectives and approaches relevant to their particular field of inquiry. Thus, for example, historical linguists have studied bilingualism from the point of view of its use as an explanation for certain changes in language (Andersen, 1995; Andersen & Koerner, 1990; Blake & Burridge, 2003; Campbell, 2004; Ghatage, 1962; Lass, 1997; Lehmann, 1992; Trask, 1996). Psycholinguists have employed the study of bilingualism to explicate the acquisition of proficiency in another language (Cairns, 1976; Ellis, 1985; Foss & Hakes, 1978; Garman, 1990; Gleason & Ratner, 1998; Kess, 1976; Klein, 1986; Spolsky, 1989; Smith, 1973; Steinberg, Nagata & Aline, 2001; Taylor & Taylor, 1990). Researchers working in the field of contact linguistics are equally interested in the study of bilingualism. These researchers, as Romaine (2004) observes, often seek to describe changes at the level of linguistic systems in isolation and abstraction from speakers. Sometimes they tend to treat the outcome of bilingual interaction in static rather than in dynamic terms, and lose sight of the fact that the bilingual individual is the ultimate locus of contact. That is, bilingualism exists within cognitive systems of individuals, as well as in families and communities. For example, psychologists have investigated the effects of bilingualism on mental processes, while sociologists have treated bilingualism as an element in culture conflict and have looked at some of the consequences of linguistic heterogeneity as a societal phenomenon (Fishman, 1964, 1965, 1968; Greenfield, 1972; Parasher, 1980; Rumbaut & Portes, 2001). In the field of education, bilingualism has been studied in connection with public policy and to address questions relating to the alleged link between bilingualism and intelligence (Cummins, 2003; Lippi-Green, 1997; Mufwene, Rickford, Bailey & Baugh, 1998; Paulston, 2003; Tucker, 2003), whether certain types of bilingualism are good or bad,

and the circumstances under which they arise are the foci of interest. Finally, according to Romaine (ibid.), in international studies, bilingualism is seen as an essential element in cross-cultural communication.

Nevertheless, within the broad spectrum of *linguistic* studies of bilingualism and language choice, different approaches and emphasis abound. For example, Muysken and his associates (DiSciullo 2002; DiSciullo, Muysken & Singh, 1986; Muysken, 1990, 1991, 1995, 2000, 2005, 2006), have been working predominantly within the framework of generative grammar and have attempted to specify structural constraints on code-switching (i.e. the ability to use more than one language within a single utterance), the major micro-interactional manifestation of bilingualism. Investigators working with mixed language data are cognisant of the fact that there are constraints of some kind at major constituent boundaries or semantic unit boundaries, on the switch point (although few have managed to put forward constraints to which counter-examples have not been increasingly suggested, see for instance, Bhatt, 1997a, b, 1999, 2001a, b; Bhatt & Hancin-Bhatt, 2002; Ezeizabarrena, 2003; Hinzelin, 2003; Kupisch, 2003; Möhring & Meisel, 2003). Muysken and his colleagues have sought to capture the evident but elusive regularities in code-switching behaviour by positing various kinds of borrowability hierarchies and switched constituent hierarchies.

The work undertaken by Poplack, Sankoff and their associates on Spanish/English code-switching data taken from New York City's Puerto Rican community and the Ottawa-Hull corpus, a computerised corpus of French/English data (See Poplack, 1980, 1981, 1990; Poplack, Wheeler & Westwood, 1987; Poplack, Sankoff & Miller, 1988; Sankoff & Poplack, 1981; Sankoff & Mainville, 1986; Sankoff, M'Barek & Montpetit 1987; Sankoff, Poplack & Vanniarajan, 1991),

represents the most extensive work on bilingual language choice from a purely linguistic perspective. They were the first to attempt to formulate general syntactic constraints, where they propose that Spanish/English code-switching can be generated by a model of grammar that is governed by two constraints, namely, the *free morpheme* and *equivalence* constraints, respectively.

The former predicts that a switch may not take place between a bound morpheme and a lexical form unless the lexical form has been phonologically integrated into the language of the morpheme. Thus, to take an example from Spanish/English bilingual speech, this constraint would predict that ***flipeando*** – 'flipping' would be permissible, but that ****catcheando*** would not be, because ***catch*** has not been integrated into the phonology of Spanish, and therefore cannot take the Spanish progressive suffix ***–eando***. The ***equivalence constraint*** predicts that code switches will tend to occur at points where the juxtaposition of elements from the two languages does not violate the syntactic rule of either language. In other words, code-switching will seem to take place at points where the surface structures of the two languages map onto each other. This implies that a language switch can occur only at boundaries common to both languages and that switching cannot take place between any two-sentence elements unless they are normally ordered in the same way (Romaine, 2004: 126-7).

While it is undeniable that these studies have broadened our understanding of the internal linguistic structures of bilingual speech, they nevertheless, appear to have drawn many investigators away from the fact that bilingual language choice is *predominantly a social phenomenon*. As Mackey (1962: 51) pointed out long before these arguments and counterarguments were prevalent, *bilingualism* is not a phenomenon of language, but a characteristic of its use. It is not a feature of the code

but of the message. It does not belong to the domain of 'langue', but of 'parole'. A lot has been written on the social significance of bilingualism.[26]

Hence, I concur with Li Wei, Milroy & Ching (1992), that the most important point about a *social* account of bilingualism is its capacity to provide a general, interpretative framework within which various data sets can be analysed and compared. Even within the mainly social dimension of the study of bilingualism and language choice, various researchers adopt many different approaches. Like Bisong (1995), Li Wei (1994), Li Wei, Milroy & Ching (2000), Woolard (1985), I shall in my own investigation make a distinction between *macro-societal* and *micro-interactional* models, which I see as being critical to the way in which many researchers of bilingualism and language choice have conceived and situated their work. These researchers point out that this distinction corresponds generally to the dichotomies of structural versus interactional (or positivistic versus anti-positivistic) approaches in sociological research.[27]

3. 1 Classical perspectives of multilingualism

Scholars who are engaged in the study of bilingualism, generally share a common belief that the communicative resources that bilinguals draw on in their everyday discourse is socially determined, and that individual speakers do not just avail of these resources or follow communicative conventions in a random or mechanical manner. However, differences arise concerning the approaches adopted to describe the conceptualisation of the nature of achievement and management of that orderliness.

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[26] Appel & Muysken, 1987; Auer, 1990, 1991; Poplack, 1978, 1980, 1981, 1988, 1990, 1993; Poplack & Meechan, 1998; Poplack *et al.*, 1988; Romaine 1989; Sankoff & Poplack, 1984, 1987; Sankoff & Mainville, 1986; Poplack *et al.*, 1987; Sankoff *et al.*, 1991.

[27] See also Breitborde, 1983; Cuff, Sharnock & Francis, 1990; Eisenstadt & Helle, 1985; Giddens, 1984, 1989; Grimshaw, 1987; Knorr-Celtina & Cicourel, 1981; Silverman, 1985.

For instance, the macro-societal approach is based on the functional differentiation of languages in bilingual communities. In other words, the macro-societal perspective views language choice as being orderly because the social structures that determine the choices can be characterised as such.

By way of exemplification, under this model, I shall discuss the concept of *diglossia* as proposed by Ferguson (1959). Ferguson's article on diglossia is now considered the classic reference for the concept. This and Fishman's (1967, 1972a, b) revision, as well as the *domain analysis* proposal are reviewed in the following sections (Fishman 1965, 1972c, d).

3. 1. 1 Diglossia

According to Hudson (2003), the American linguist Charles Ferguson in proposing the diglossia model was attempting to deal with the problem of describing the structure of Arabic. However, instead of characterising the language in terms of its discrete features, he found that describing a speech community of Arabic was, in fact, a more adequate approach to take:

> I wanted to characterise a particular kind of language situation, taking a clear case that was relatively easy and uncontroversial to characterise. However, the idea of doing that was to make the clear case just one slot in a taxonomy of some sort ... Ultimately the taxonomy would be replaced by some set of principles or frame of reference in terms of which this kind of thinking about language and this kind of research should be done. My goals, in ascending order were: clear case, taxonomy, principle, theory (Ferguson, 1991: 215).

Thus, in Ferguson's view of diglossia, the term refers to a specific relationship between two or more varieties of the same language in use in a speech community in different functions. He also makes a distinction between *diglossia* and the alternate use of a standard language and regional dialect (for example, see: Auer & Hinskens, 2005; Auer, Hinskens & Kerswill, 2005; Berruto, 2005; Kerswill & Trudgill, 2005; Kristiansen & JØrgensen, 2005; Pedersen, 2005; Rosenberg, 2005; Taeldeman, 2005; Woolhiser, 2005). Ferguson's (1959) article, entitled 'Diglossia', has become a classic study of the phenomenon in which it is defined as:

> Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialect of the language, which may include a standard or regional standard, there is a very divergent, highly codified, often grammatically more complex, super-posed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of literature, heir of an earlier period or another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written purposes, but is not used in any sector of the community for ordinary conversation (Ferguson, 1959: 336).

He goes on to identify the nine features of diglossia as: – function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardisation, stability, grammar, lexicon and phonology.

Function is the most important feature of diglossia according to Ferguson. In his concept, there are two fairly distinct varieties of the same language, one of which is termed the *High dialect* (H) and the other the *Low dialect* (L). For example, in Arabic, H is classical Arabic, the language of the Koran, and L applies to the various non-standard forms of the language, which differ from one Arab country to another. One crucial outcome of diglossia is that the functional distribution of H and L implies

that there are certain situations where only the H variety is appropriate and acceptable and others in which only L can be used, with very minimal overlap. That is, the functions requiring the uses of H are pre-selected, formal and exclusive. Those in which the L variety can be used are informal and relaxed.

Based on Ferguson's distinction of the situations in which the H and L are appropriate, it would be a serious *faux pas* to use the wrong variety in an inappropriate situation. For instance, if a Muslim cleric were to give a sermon in a mosque in the L variety of Arabic, he would be considered silly and unfit for the job in Ferguson's view. Equally, a speaker who used H in an informal conversation would be ridiculed or seen as pompous. The implication is that in Ferguson's conception of diglossia, all members of a bilingual community are viewed as being constrained in their language choice, at best simply reflecting a set of pre-established community-wide norms. Thus, in this model, frequent and rapid code-switching, which has been observed as a major attribute of conversational interaction in bilingual societies, is completely eliminated. As Eckert (1980: 1054) and Hudson (2003: 343) point out, complementary distribution of the coexisting languages virtually eliminates the possibility of random choice.

Another problem with this concept (diglossia) is its inability to account for change over time. Ferguson (1959) associates diglossia with a notion of stability, but evidence from research on bilingualism and language choice has since shown that this association is highly misleading. The fact is that some bilingual communities/groups appear to maintain their language less effectively than others and their patterns of language use undergo changes as time passes. Therefore, within diglossia it is almost

impossible to account for the social and linguistic processes involved in language maintenance and shift within and across bilingual communities.[28]

Modifications to Ferguson's classical concept of diglossia have been suggested in order to accommodate bilingual settings where one language variety is beginning to be used for functions formally reserved for another. For example, Fishman (1967, 1972a) revised and expanded Ferguson's original proposal by proposing terms of reference that permit the linguist to account for bilingualism and diglossia, and the inter-relationship between the two, within one conceptual framework. Fishman lays less emphasis on the importance of situations with only two language varieties. He allows for the presence of several codes, although the separation is said to be most often along the lines of a High language, on the one hand and a Low language on the other. He restricts the term *diglossia* to cases in the middle range of linguistic relatedness (more difference than there is between styles, less than there is between separate languages). Fishman accepts the view, which he credits to John Gumperz, that diglossia exists not only in multilingual societies which officially recognise several *languages*, and not only in societies which utilise vernacular and classical varieties, but also in societies which employ separate dialects, or functionally differentiated language varieties of whatever kind (Fishman, 1972a: 92).[29]

Fishman represents the relationship of diglossia in a quadrant diagram, which he then discusses in some detail (see Table 1 below). In a speech community with both diglossia and bilingualism, almost everyone would have to know both H and L, and the two varieties would have to be distributed in a manner typical of diglossia. Diglossia without bilingualism refers to two distinct groups within a single political,

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[28] See further Adley-SantaMaria, 1997; Anonby, 1999; Batibo, 2005; Buda, 2002; Crawford, 1990; Dorian, 1981; Edwards, 1986; Fishman, 1991, 2001; Gal, 1979; Kulick, 1997; Manuelito, 2002; Schiffman, 1996.

[29] See Gumperz, 1961, 1962, 1964a, 1964b, 1966 for details of his contributions to the topic of diglossia.

religious, and/or economic entity. One is the ruling group that speaks only the High language. The other, normally a much larger group, has no power in the society and speaks the low language exclusively.

Table 1 The relationship between bilingualism and diglossia

Bilingualism		Diglossia +	Diglossia -
	+	1 Both diglossia and bilingualism	2 Bilingualism without diglossia
	-	3 Diglossia without bilingualism	4 Neither diglossia nor bilingualism

Source: Fishman (2003: 360)

Fasold (1984) observes that those diglossic communities without bilingualism are not *speech communities*, since the two groups do not interact, except minimally through interpreters or by using a pidgin language.

Fishman refers to communities where there are large numbers of bilinguals, without restrictions on one language to one set of circumstances and the other to another set, as bilingualism without diglossia. Either language may be used for almost any purpose. Bilingualism without diglossia gives rise to what has often been called 'leaky diglossia'. This refers to cases in which one variety 'leaks' into the function formerly reserved for the other. He also makes allowance for style-level linguistic differentiation in his concept of diglossia, hence, we have the fourth possible pattern, neither diglossia nor bilingualism. This pattern requires that there must be only one linguistic variety in existence and no differentiation of roles requiring even stylistic

differences in speech, at least stylistic differences that would result in High and Low styles. The double negative quadrant of Table 1 is according to Fishman, 'self-liquidating' (Fishman, 1972a: 105-6).

The shortcomings of this expanded model stem from the structural-functional view of society that underpins the diglossic framework. Like Ferguson's model, the first difficulty derives from the way in which the language choices of individual bilinguals are characterised. They are depicted as mere reflections of community-wide norms, and Fishman uses the term 'choice' quite literally to describe the language behaviours of individual bilinguals, although, the use of the term is hardly apt since the model actually restricts the possibility of choice. Every member of a bilingual community is portrayed as being constrained to 'proper usage' (Fishman, 1972b: 435). Under this concept there is no parameter for handling individual or group variation within a structural-functional framework of this kind due to the emphasis on norms and consensus as central characteristics of social relations and social activity.

Secondly, in Fishman's work, power is treated as a secondary phenomenon while norms and values are seen as being the most basic features of social activity. That is, diglossia is seen as a natural and commonsense reality. The model is bereft of any explanation of the social origins of the functional division of labour between High and Low languages. Diglossia simply represents this division of labour as a natural form of social and linguistic order, thus, implicitly perpetuating the High language. The inadequacies of the diglossic framework have been clearly portrayed by Eckert (1980) in her study of a Gascon-speaking community in Ariége. She points out that, in this community, Gascon and French are not 'separate and equal' but 'separate and unequal' (Eckert 1980: 1053).

Thirdly, Fishman like Ferguson, is preoccupied with the notion that diglossia breeds stability, but as has been observed by many investigators, most situations of bilingualism with or without diglossia are characterised by variation and change (Martin-Jones, 1989: 112). Moreover, Eckert (1980) argues that diglossic situations can actually embody the source of change. For instance, among linguistic minorities, the conflicts inherent in diglossia can be a significant factor in language shift to the dominant language. Eckert says:

> The functions of the standard language exist in opposition to those of the vernacular, and this opposition can operate as a powerful force of assimilation, by interacting with and reinforcing social evaluation of the domains in which the two languages are used (Eckert, 1980: 1050).

She explains further, that, given certain configurations of economic conditions and social inequality, minority languages may not be able to survive any type of diglossic situation. This view is echoed by Managan (2004), who argues in her study of language choice and code-switching in Guadeloupe that the extensive use of code-switching (along with bivalency) makes the diglossia model almost irrelevant in describing the distribution of linguistic codes in the French West Indies today. She suggests that Guadeloupe's linguistic landscape is better thought of as a potentially relatively stable bilingual situation marked by widespread code-switching.

The fourth problem with this model is the inadequacy of the notion of language use. Martin-Jones (1989) points out that in the early formulation of the model, speech situations were differentiated in rather vague socio-psychological terms with reference to degrees of formality.

Fishman tried to put forward a number of modifications to the notion of situation of language use from a sociological standpoint (1971, 1972a, b). Adopting the concept of 'domain' as a starting point, he attempted to link the analysis of language use in face-to-face encounters with 'widespread cultural norms and expectations' (Fishman, 1972b: 441) operating at the macro-level of social relations. In the next section, I shall discuss the concept of *domain analysis* as put forward by Joshua Fishman.

3. 1. 2 Domain analysis

Another way of investigating language choice from a sociological standpoint was introduced by Joshua Fishman (1964, 1965, 1968). Fishman proposed that there were certain institutional contexts, called *domains*, in which one language variety is more likely to be appropriate than another. Domains are characterised by constellations of such factors as location, topic, and participants. The aim of domain analysis is to find out the descriptive and analytical variables that determine language choice. For example, mother and child (participants) talking about the child's birthday party (topic) in the kitchen (location/setting) would be classified as a *family* domain, and this domain would require the use of a special language or language variety that would be different from, say, that which would be used in a *school* domain between a teacher and student.

Fasold (1984: 183) explains that domain analysis is related to diglossia, and some domains are more formal than others. He adds that in a community with diglossia, the Low language is the one that will be selected in the family domain, whereas the High language will most often be used in a more formal domain, perhaps

education. Fishman's domain analysis has influenced a lot of research on bilingualism and language choice. One such research was that undertaken by Greenfield (1972) on the choice between Spanish and at least three congruent components: persons, places, and topics. Apart from Greenfield's work, other studies have adopted the domain analysis model in their exploration of individual and societal multilingualism. Such studies include those of Dattamajumdar (2005), Hohenthal (1999) and Lawson & Sachdev (2004).

In Greenfield's (1972) study, in order to test whether a combination of these three factors were actually associated in the minds of members of the community, a questionnaire was distributed in which subjects were given two congruent factors and asked to select the third, as well as the language that they would use in that combination of circumstances. For example, subjects were told to think of a conversation with a parent discussing a family matter and asked to select the place among 'home', 'beach', 'church', 'school', and 'work-place'. In this particular case, one hundred per cent of the subjects selected the expected 'home' location. With one exception (selection of 'beach' as the appropriate location for the friendship domain), the expected congruent third component was selected by at least 81 per cent of the subjects. Finally, Greenfield asked his subjects to indicate which language was most appropriate for a given domain. The result showed that the New York City Puerto Rican community appeared to be diglossic, with Spanish as the Low language and English as the High language.[30]

Hohenthal (1999) is more or less an adaptation of Parasher's (1980) study of 350 educated people in two Indian cities. The only difference between both studies is the method of data collection and subject populations. That is, whereas Hohenthal

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[30] See Fasold, 1984: 183-4 and Greenfield, 1972: 23 for more details.

used the internet to email her questionnaire to 30 highly educated informants resident in three Indian States of Uttar Pradesh, Haryana and Rajasthan; Parasher studied 350 educated Indians and conducted the survey in person in the two cities. It is, however, interesting to note that both studies reported patterns similar to those found in Greenfield's (1972) study. Other studies reporting similar trends include Dattamajumdar (2005) and Lawson & Sachdev (2004). In these studies the authors report that the use of English dominated in the public domains (i.e. school, place of work, friendship and social functions), while the various mother tongues are used predominantly in the more private domains such as in interactions with family and relatives.

Greenfield's (1972) work is hailed by many as confirmation of the theoretical validity of the domain concept. However, such studies are fundamentally flawed because they leave unanswered the question of how domains ought to be identified in practice, and Fishman for his part does not provide any taxonomy or a set of principles for delimiting domains. Rather, he suggests that the designation of the relevant domains obviously require a good deal of inside knowledge of the communicative behaviour and the sociocultural features of particular speech communities (Fishman, 1972b: 441). In other words, Fishman understands quite rightly that the same domain may not be equally applicable and significant to different communities or to all members of a single community. For example, if we consider the seven domains studied by Hohenthal (1999) – family, friendship, neighbourhood, transaction, education, employment, and government, those who are without jobs are unlikely to find talking to an 'employer' in a 'work-place' about 'how to do your job more efficiently' a meaningful domain. Also, an illiterate informant (an informant without any form of formal schooling, say) may find the domain of education

(participants: teacher/student; location: college; topic: how to design a pinhole camera) irrelevant. Additionally, speakers' perceptions of domains may differ depending on their backgrounds and social positions.

Moreover, it is equally important to point out that not all decisions on language use can be attributed to factors determined by social structure (Hoffmann, 1991: 179-80). That is, the congruence of domain components in itself is problematic. People are constantly on the move in our contemporary society, and often find themselves in situations where they may come across people they know unexpectedly. For instance, a client may suddenly meet his solicitor in a football stadium and start talking about their favourite football teams and players. It is not at all certain how such 'incongruent' circumstances can be accounted for under Fishman's concept of *domain analysis*. This raises the question of the interactive effect of extra-linguistic factors upon language choice. Various studies have shown that while macro-societal factors such as setting and topic do influence speakers' language attitudes to a certain degree, the main determinant of language choice is the *interlocutor* (see Gal, 1979; Li Wei, 1994; Li Wei *et al.*, 2000).

This point is taken up and coherently argued by Bell (1984/1997), who postulates that language variability at all levels, is a matter of *audience design* - 'people are responding primarily to other people' (Bell, 1984: 197). Equally, I observed while collecting data for this study that the idea of deciding beforehand which language is spoken by whom and with whom in bilingual/multilingual societies is very problematic. In fact, speakers in bilingual communities can gravitate in their code choice from one end of the choice spectrum to the other in one burst of interaction, thus, indicating that the bilingual speaker's code choice is rather more fluid than it is static as the earlier models would suggest. For instance, in Example 1

below, we notice that speakers A and B (two fathers in their mid to late forties) were chatting away in the Ikwerre language about the weather until a third party (also a parent within the same age range as A and B) joined the conversation and the code changed to NPE. Rather interestingly, when the same third-party left the conversation, speakers A and B reverted to the Ikwerre language again.

Example 1: (Three Ikwerre fathers in conversation about the weather)

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1 A: Nwa nna (.) N'miri ki zogbu anyi o (.) Ka mgbe echie ko oki izo.

My brother, the rain has continued now for two days unabated.

2 B: O nu oge ya (2.0) kwusi itamu.

It is the wet season now. So stop complaining.

3 A: (Calls out to a man walking by) Nwoke bia we bia!

Hey! Come-come.

4 C: (Comes over and joins the two men) *Na hau una dey*?

How are you?

5 A: *Wi dey fain, sef se dis ren wey no wan // stop*

We are fine. It is only this rain that won't stop.

6 B: *// Im tu dey komplen* (.) *Na di ren dey anoyam so.*

He is always complaining. It is the rain that is annoying him.

7 C: *Eni wey mek una sidon* (.) *a wan rich maket bai somtin* (C shakes hands and continues on his way). (3.0)

Anyway, I will leave you two to it. I am going down to the market to buy some stuff.

8 B: Nwa nna nmiri ka no izo // sike o:.

My brother, there is no sign this rain is about to stop.

9 **A:** Ana macho iga Aba taa (.) eche gim na oga enwe kwa isi...

I was planning to travel to Aba. I do not think I can make it anymore.

(*The italicised items represent switches to NPE*)

The above extract fully exemplifies Bell's (1984/1997) observation that interlocutors tend to mimic each other's language choice. Hence, I agree with Martin-Jones (1989) that it is imperative to point out that domain analysis appears to be a rather rigid and deterministic account of the way in which situations of language use come to be defined. Communicative interaction and code choice among bilinguals is seen as a mere reflex of macro-level statuses and structures. This view leaves unexplained the issue of how 'large-scale social processes' come to influence the 'connotations' of dominant and dominated languages.

Studies of bilingualism and language choice that investigate the relationship of dominant and dominated languages come under what is known as 'language conflict'. This perspective of bilingualism and language choice incorporates a historically and materially based understanding of the relationship of domination, exploitation and conflict between emerging classes and ethnic groups within successive levels of political-economic organisation. This account of bilingualism and language choice is the focus of discussion in the next section.

3. 2 Language conflict

The earliest studies of bilingualism incorporating a conflict approach were those undertaken by the Catalan linguists working in Spain. This approach was furthered by research carried out on varieties of Catalan and Occitan spoken in southern France.[31]

The initial focus of the work of these researchers was on reinterpreting the notion of diglossia. As early as 1972, a Research Group on Diglossia was set up at the University of Montpellier. The work of this Research Group and that of the Catalan Sociolinguistic Group has continued to draw on developments in conflict theory over the last thirty years.[32]

According to Martin-Jones (1989: 118) the social phenomena and social processes seen as primary by those working within this tradition are:

1. The ways in which divisions between linguistic groups are related to class divisions and to political and economic relations within the framework of the state;
2. The processes involved in the imposition of power and the reproduction of power relations; and
3. The nature of conflicts and social struggles generated by relations of power. In other words, the main argument put forward by these researchers is that the two languages involved in diglossia are unequal in relation to social status.

As it relates to Africa, Batibo (2005) writes that there seems to be an expanded form of language conflict – almost in the Darwinian sense of survival of the fittest (Darwin,

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[31] Aracil, 1985; Bernardó & Rieu, 1973; Couderc, 1974; Eckert, 1980; Gardy & Lafont, 1981; Kremitz, 1981; Ninyoles, 1969; Vallverdú, 1970.
[32] See Fairclough, 1988; Grillo, 1989; Martin-Jones, 1989; Wardhaugh, 1987.

1859). In each African country there is a horizontal competition as the respective languages come into contact, and there is also a scramble for roles as people have to choose which language to use in which situation or relationship. While some languages continue to increase the number of domains or functions in which they are used, hence, moving upwards, others find themselves on the losing side. Thus, in most countries in Africa the general trend is that the dominant languages that are used as national means of communication seem to gain over the other languages.

Moreover, the dominant languages that are used as national media have gained so much status and prestige that they are pushing the minority languages into a marginalised position. The resultant effect of this is that the speakers of the minority languages easily lose their loyalty to their language and prefer their children to become proficient in the dominant language as it is judged to offer more socio-economic and political benefits (Batibo, 2005: 28). For countries like Nigeria (see Chapter 1, Section 1.3 for details) it is the ex-colonial language which remains the most privileged as it is considered to represent a compromise in the absence of a single dominant national language. Thus the language conflict in Africa has given rise to four linguistic phenomena namely code-mixing, code-switching, borrowing and linguistic interference pervasive in almost all African speech communities.[33]

These four linguistic phenomena are testament to the fact that the pattern of language choice and use in Africa is highly complex. However, the languages that Africans have at their disposal do not all have the same status, some being more prestigious than others. Those which are high in status are also the ones that are used in more formal, technical or public domains. The hierarchy tends to favour the former colonial languages over the indigenous ones as already pointed out above. The

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[33] See Batibo, 2001a, b, 2003a, b; Batibo & Mosaka, 2000; Batibo & Smieja, 2000; Batibo & Tsonope, 2000; Calteaux, 1994; Igboanusi & Ohia, 2001; Nurse, 2000; Myers-Scotton, 1993.

minority indigenous languages are at the bottom of the hierarchical structure and are, in most countries, marginalised in that they are not accorded any public function or socio-economic prestige. Indeed, I agree with Batibo (2005) and Smieja (1999) that the scramble for domains has intensified not only the phenomena of competition and conflict between languages but also the frequency of code-mixing, code-switching, borrowing and interference. Such cases are an indication that there is considerable dynamic interplay – or, put simply, push and pull – between languages, which may eventually result in some being overpowered. The end result of the linguistic dynamic at play in Africa will inevitably be the giving way by the weaker and less prestigious languages.

The issue of language conflict is as significant today in Spain as it was in the late 1960s when the Catalan linguists started their work. In present day Catalonia there is autonomy and the people have created a strong cultural nationalism based on their language, Catalan, that has permitted peaceful relations with Madrid, guidance for identity, and a way to assimilate immigrants into the society. However, in the Basque Country, historical and political factors have practically paralysed cultural revival, as no aspect of the culture can be spoken about without considering the political baggage that it carries. Thus, the evolving processes of political nationalist ideology in the Basque Country, how it has manipulated and in most instances hindered cultural nationalism, with language as its key hostage, is clearly illustrated in current research concerned with this region of Spain (Bartens, 2001; Castells & Jauregui, 2005; Grech, 2005; Hilton, 2001; McMillen, 2001; Resina, 2005; Wickman, 2004; Yates, 1998).

A major theme shared by these researchers is the fact that the imposition of power generally takes place in conditions of struggle. Hence, their view of diglossia is

that it is characterised by conflict rather than by complementarity. They employ, for instance, the notions of power and solidarity to illustrate the symbolic value assigned to local language versus 'other language'. Under the conflict model, a local language functions as a vehicle for community social solidarity and an intrusive language as the language of power epitomised in the form of economic activity, administration and communications which core society establishes in the periphery.

The symbolic oppositions between different linguistic systems, which these studies depict, are by no means restricted to bilingual, ethnic minority communities. They also underlie the social stratification of, for instance, English. The quantitative studies of standard versus non-standard English carried out by William Labov (1966, 1972a) in the United States and Peter Trudgill (1974, 1983) in Norwich, England have adopted the concept of *social class*, an important notion of Marxist conflict theory, in the explanation of both synchronic and diachronic variation.

3. 3 Diglossia, domain analysis and language conflict

To sum up the discussion of the three models of studying bilingualism and language choice - *diglossia, domain analysis,* and *the conflict model* -- it is important to emphasise that all three models agree that the communicative resources that bilinguals draw on in their everyday interaction are determined by higher-order social structures.

They aim to discover the descriptive and analytical variables that constrain language choice. The chief difference is that diglossia and domain analysis share the basic assumption of the functional distribution of languages in society. That is, they share the same basic concept of High varieties being reserved for formal purposes and Low varieties for less formal, more personal uses.

On the other hand, the conflict model provides more insight into the social arrangement of languages and sees diglossia as being characterised by conflict rather than complementarity. In other words, the conflict model describes the inequality and struggle between languages.

In Section 3.4, I present a discussion of the interactional approach, which differs from the earlier perspectives in terms of focus and methodology.

3. 4 The interactional approach

In the last section, I reviewed models drawing mainly on sociological traditions. That is, these models approach a problem like language choice by searching for a social structure such as domains. On the other hand, the interactional approach is more interested in people's psychological processes than in large societal categories. Such research is more people-centred than society-centred. Important work on the interactional aspects of bilingualism has been carried out by a host of researchers, however in this section the discussion will centre purely on the concept of code-switching.[34]

3. 4. 1 Conversational code-switching

The rich literature that has accumulated in the past two decades testifies to the fact that code-switching is in fact pervasive in bilingual communities around the world. That is, code-switching is a natural outcome of bilingualism. Many bilingual speakers

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[34] Auer, 1984a, 1984b, 1988, 1991, 1995, 1998, 2000; Baker, 2001; Chan, 2003, 2004; Gafaranga, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001; Gafaranga & Torras, 2002a; Gumperz, 1971, 1982, 1992a, 1992b, 1996; Halmari, 1997; Hammink, 2000; Poplack, 1980; MacSwan, 1997, 1999; Myers-Scotton, Calteaux & Finlayson, 1998, 2000; Myers-Scotton, 1976, 1980, 1982, 1983, 1993, 1998, 2000; Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai, 2001; Paugh, 2005.

may display code-switching phenomena without being aware of it. Others, when forced not to code-switch in their daily conversation, experience immense difficulty and near break-down in communication (Li & Tse, 2002).[35]

All these phenomena, Chan (2003: 22-23) writes, are explained by the idea that code-switching is used strategically to achieve various social or communicative purposes, often unconsciously or subconsciously. Much earlier, Gumperz (1982: 75-84) put forward a number of discourse functions that code-switching is seen to realise such as: quotations; addressee specification; interjections; reiteration; message qualification and personalisation versus objectivisation. An important part of Gumperz's approach relies on the symbolic distinction between *we* vs. *they* embodied in the choice of codes. In other words, the tendency is for the minority language to be regarded as the 'we' and the majority language as the 'they' code. The 'we' is the in-group, informal, personalised activities, while the 'they' code typically signifies out-group, more formal relations. Thus, in example 2 below from my corpus data of Ikwerre-NPE switching, Ikwerre serves to mark the in-group talk and NPE the out-group:

Example 2: (Ikwerre-NPE code-switching)

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1 A: 'Anyi nde na asu asusu anyi (.) ma ha na e *yuzu Pidgin for skul.*'

'We' [their parents] speak our language (the Ikwerre language), but 'they' [the younger generation] speak NPE at school.'

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[35] Li Wei, 1998, 2002; Reershemius, 2001; Romaine, 2004; Sebba, 1993; Sebba & Wootton, 1998.

The switch from Ikwerre to NPE in the above example stresses the boundaries between 'them' (the younger generation) and 'us' (the parent generation). This generalisation is, however, very problematic and not as clear-cut as Gumperz suggests. Evidence from the current study (see Chapter 7) suggests that, in fact, either Ikwerre or NPE can function as **we-code**, depending on the occasion and the age group concerned. Thus, I concur with the concern raised by a number of scholars prior to this research about the inadequacy of the *we-*, *they- code* proposal by Gumperz as a way of accounting for specific instances of language alternation/code-switching.[36]

Stemming from Gumperz's (1982) work, the general view is that code-switching acts as a contextualisation cue (Auer, 1995, 1998). Code-switching "contextualises" by highlighting in a certain context against which inferences are drawn. For instance, in (2) above we can infer from the speaker's statement a signal of an attitude of distance and disapproval toward the younger generation for not speaking Ikwerre. However, recent research (especially that of Chan (2003, 2004)) argues that the communicative role of code-switching may go even further beyond contextualisation cues in Gumperz's sense. Chan (2004), for instance, argues that code-switching is quintessentially a *textualisation cue*, which "frames" elements in a discourse that are to be interpreted in some way different from the preceding text. The implication being that the act of switching rather than the switched code is the most essential cue. Under this analysis, contextualisation is only one of the pragmatic functions of code-switching. In making this argument Chan (2004) proposes two taxonomies, namely, the three-fold motivations of code-switching (i.e. social, pragmatic, and processing) and three levels of pragmatic meanings that code-switching may convey (i.e. ideational, interpersonal, and textual). The main

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[36] See further Gafaranga, 2000; Gafaranga & Torras, 2002b; Joergensen, 1998; Kulick & Stroud, 1990; Li Wei, 1998; Sebba & Tate, 1986; Sebba & Wootton, 1998; Stroud, 1992, 1998.

shortcoming of Chan's argument, as he rightly observes, is that these taxonomies are tentative assumptions. More investigation is needed to prove and substantiate these hypotheses.

Researchers such as Carol Myers-Scotton (1983, 1993, 1999) and Peter Auer (1984a, 1988, 1991, 1998, 2000), have been greatly influenced by Gumperz's approach to code-switching and have built on his work on the social meaning and discourse functions of language choice respectively and in turn, their work has influenced aspects of my own analyses so I review their contributions below.

3. 4. 2 Markedness Model

Myers-Scotton (1983, 1993) observed that in many of the world's bilingual communities, fluent bilinguals sometimes engage in code-switching by producing discourses which, in the same conversational turn or in consecutive turns, include morphemes from two or more of the varieties in their linguistic repertoire. In various publications, Myers-Scotton developed the theme of CS (code-switching) as a tool for the speaker and an index for the addressee of the negotiation of interpersonal relationships, with participants cast within a "rational actor" framework, weighing costs and rewards of choices made against a backdrop of awareness for all interaction types of "unmarked vs. marked" choices. Her argument was based on what she termed the *Markedness Model* (MM).

The MM is more centred on the notion that speakers make choices because of their own goals. Of course, they cannot ignore some consideration for listeners. Afterall, without listeners, there is no conversation (Myers-Scotton, 2006: 158). Further, the MM is an attempt to establish a principled procedure that both speakers

and listeners use to judge any linguistic choice that they might make or hear as more or less marked, given the interaction in which it occurs. She (Myers-Scotton, 1993) explains that the procedure that is utilised is this: As part of our communicative competence, and based on experience in our communities, we come to develop a sense that there is a continuum of choices for a particular interaction type that are considered unmarked.

Thus, unmarked choices are those that are more or less expected, given the ingredients of the interaction (participants, topic, setting, and so on.). For example, Myers-Scotton (1993) refers to a Rights and Obligations set (RO) as part of the normative expectations for each interaction type. These expectations illustrate an unmarked way to behave. Concerning language, the unmarked choice is the linguistic reflection of any specific RO set, but only in a specific interaction type (Myers-Scotton, 2006: 159). Therefore for bilinguals in the Port Harcourt Ikwerre community, the unmarked choice to use to elderly relatives at family gatherings is Ikwerre. This linguistic choice is indexical of the RO set. Thus, in the words of Myers-Scotton (ibid.), when a speaker makes the unmarked choice, he/she is causing no social ripples because participants expect such a choice, based on experience.

However, one of the most significant characteristic of the MM is not what it has to say about unmarked choices, but what it tells us about marked choices. According to the model marked choices are those that are not predicted, given the RO set that is in effect. Hence, the question: why do speakers make marked choices? The model is based on a negotiation principle, and according to Myers-Scotton (1993: 114) it states:

> Choose the form of your conversation contribution such that it indexes the set of rights and obligations which you wish to be in force between speaker and addressee for the current exchange. (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 114)

Under this principle (and the model as a whole), making a marked choice is a negotiation for an RO set other than the one that is unmarked for the current exchange. Put simply, the speaker making a marked choice is requesting for a new situation, for a new RO set to be in effect. Thus, a choice that is marked in interaction X would be unmarked in interaction Y, the one that the speaker wishes to be in effect. Broadly speaking, a marked choice is a negotiation about the speaker's persona (who the speaker is) and the speaker's relation to other participants. Thus, Myers-Scotton (2006: 160) points out that making a marked choice is a negotiation about either the solidarity or the power dimension (or both).

Writing in 2001, Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai, state that earlier formulations of the Markedness Model (MM) (e.g. Myers-Scotton, 1993) argued for the central role of cognitively based calculations, but they did not develop precisely how linguistic choices translate into social meanings, nor did they emphasise the link with rationality. For example, although it was said that marked choices are negotiations to change the social distance, the model offered no principled basis to argue for one interpretation involving a change in the social distance that is not gained by another. They go on in this article to recast the MM of (1983, 1993, 1999) more explicitly as a Rational Choice Model (RC), following Elster (1979, 1989, 1997). The MM presupposes that as part of their general cognitive architecture all speakers have a *markedness evaluator.* This abstract component underlies the capacity to

conceptualise markedness. Specifically, as a sociolinguistic construct, markedness refers to the capacity to develop the following three abilities:

- Most important is the perception that relevant linguistic choices for a specific interaction type fall along a multidimensional continuum from more socially unmarked to more marked.
- In addition, speakers learn to recognise that the markedness ordering of choices is dynamic. It depends on the specific interaction type, as well as on how the individual interaction develops.
- Lastly, speakers develop the ability to provide relevant interpretations for all choices, marked as well as unmarked, given the interaction type. What the markedness evaluator offers is not a set of rules, but rather a process for evaluating potential choices. The interpretations that speakers attach to linguistic choices have to do with the speaker's projection of his/her own persona and relations with other participants. Thus, any choice a speaker makes is perceived as indexing a desired (RO) set between participants. All participants interpret a choice against the backdrop of those choices that index the more unmarked RO sets for a specific interaction type. As a corollary, this means that they also recognise some choices as indexing more marked RO sets (see Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai, 2001: 8-11).

The main thrust of the MM is a reliance on the notion of intentionality in human actions (Levinson, 1995). That is, actors intend their actions to reflect goals or attitudes, and observers attribute intentions to actions. They also give at least a nod toward the notion that innate architectures coordinate readings of cost-benefit

analyses of competing choices. In interpersonal contexts, such architectures can also be seen to coordinate readings of intentionality.

The MM as recast by Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai (2001) aims to be the concept that unifies all the identified types of code-switching, however, this framework as a model of linguistic choices is limited in three ways. Firstly, social mechanisms such as rationality allow us to explain, but do not necessarily predict, future choices individuals will make. Secondly, a rational choice model does not necessarily produce quantitative evidence. Thirdly, such models do not claim that actors always make what others (e.g. analysts) might consider to be rationally based choices, nor do they claim that actors always make the best choices from an objective standpoint. According to Elster (1997: 761) Rational Choice models are subjective through and through. To be rational does not mean that one is invariably successful in realising one's aims. It means only that one has no reason to think that one should have acted differently, given what one knew (and could have known) at the time.

Inspite of the identified shortcomings of the MM it seems that various aspects of the model can be used to explain instances of conversational code-switching uncovered in my Port Harcourt data as detailed in Chapter 7. Having said this, it is equally important to review another approach adopted in the analysis of code-switching behaviour stemming form the work of Gumperz (1982). This approach is based on *Conversation Analysis* (CA); applications of this model to bilingual speech are most associated with Peter Auer. This model views social meanings as a product of the conversation itself as they are co-constructed by participants. Therefore, in the section following immediately below I review those aspects of the model put forward by Peter Auer (1981, 1983, 1984a, 2000) that will be drawn on in subsequent chapters.

3. 4. 3 Sequential analysis model

The major motivation for this work is a reaction against Gumperz's classification of discourse functions of code-switching (see Section 3.4.1 above). Auer asserts that listing the functions of code-switching is fraught with a lot of problems.[37]

Furthermore, he makes the case for a distinction between *transfer* vs. *code-switching* and *participant-related* vs. *discourse-related* language alternation. Auer argues that looking at language alternation (here the term language alternation is used to cover both *code-switching* and *transfer*) in conversation, especially in sequential terms, one notices two major patterns. Firstly, language alternation from language X to language Y is followed by further talk in language X, either by the same or by other participants. According to the second pattern, language alternation from language X to language Y is followed further by talk in language Y, by the same or other participants. Apparently, there is a difference in how language alternation affects the language of interaction (the 'base language'). In the first case, we speak of transfer: no renegotiation of the language of interaction is observed. The stretch of speech formulated in the other language has a built-in and predictable point of return into the first language. In the second case, we speak of code-switching: the new language invites succeeding participants to also use this new language. Auer points out that not using this language may be interpreted as disregarding the first speaker's language preference and/or competence (in the case of participant-related switching) or the new 'footing' (in the case of discourse-related switching).

In other words, the sequential arrangement of language choice presents a reference point within which we can interpret the functions or meanings of

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[37] For a detailed account see Auer, 1981, 1983, 1984a, b, 1988, 1998, 2000.

conversational code-switching. For instance, Auer (1991) identifies a number of sequential patterns of language choice. The first pattern is illustrated thus: ***Pattern Ia: ...A1 A2 A1 A2 // B1 B2 B1 B2...*** In this pattern, a language of interaction (base language or unmarked language) **A** has been established; at a certain point, speaker **1** switches to language **B**; this new language choice is accepted by speaker **2** as the new language-of-interaction so that beyond the switching point, only **B** is used. In most instances this pattern is taken to be the prototypical case of conversational code-switching. An alternate pattern would be: ***Pattern Ib: ...A1 A2 A1 A2 A1 // B1 B2 B1 B2...*** This pattern represents an instance of code-switching occurring within a single speaker's turn. Auer identifies another pattern of language choice that can be represented as follows: ***Pattern IIa: ...A1 B2 A1 B2 A1 B2 A1 B2...*** Here, speaker **1** consistently uses one language but speaker **2** consistently uses another language. This pattern of language choice is not normally sustainable in spontaneous conversation. After a short run of divergent language choices, one participant usually accepts the other's language, and the sequence continues with an agreed language as the language-of-interaction. The resulting pattern takes this form: ***Pattern IIb: ...A1 B2 A1 B2 A1 // A2 A1 A2 A1...*** What these patterns share is that a change of language necessitates a change in speakership. It is generally observed, however, that bilingual speakers keep language choice open by switching between languages within a turn. The recipient of a turn which contains two languages may continue in this mode, giving rise to pattern **IIIa**, or choose the language he or she thinks is appropriate or preferred, giving rise to pattern **IIIb**.

Pattern IIIa: ...AB1 AB2 AB1 AB2...

Pattern IIIb: ...AB1 // A2 A1 A2...

Code-switching could occur in the middle of a speaker's turn without affecting language choice for the interaction at all. Such momentary 'lapses' into the other language usually occur because a word, a phrase or another structure in language **B** is inserted into a language **A** frame. The insertion has a predictable end. This pattern is represented schematically as thus: ***Pattern IV: ...A1 [B1] A1...*** This pattern is what Auer refers to as *transfer.* Auer's argument is that the interpretation of functions and meanings of code-switching is determined by the sequential patterns of language as outlined above.

As was pointed out earlier, Auer makes a distinction between *discourse-related* and *participant-related* code-switching. He explains that discourse-related code-switching helps in the organisation of bilingual conversation in an interaction episode, whereas participant-related code-switching allows for the assessment by participants of the speaker's preference for and competence in one language or the other. For instance, the function of code-switching of patterns **Ia** and **Ib** is usually seen as contextualising some features of the conversation, e.g. a shift in topic, participant constellation, activity type, and so forth, and is therefore discourse-related. In patterns **IIa** and **IIb,** the function of code-switching is interpreted as a negotiation of language-of-interaction and tells us something about participants' preferred choices, hence the designation 'participant-related' code-switching. It has to be pointed out, however, that such a distinction is not always as clear-cut as Auer himself observes. For example, in the case of patterns **IIIa** and **IIIb,** the turn-internal switches that occur in such an ambiguous turn may serve a discourse function: such as in the case of other-language reiterations for emphasis, or topic/comment switching; but the fact of keeping the language choice open also provides information about the speaker

and his/her conceptualisation of the situation. Thus, switching of this turn-internal type is both discourse-related and participant-related.

According to Auer (2000), the main motivation for making a distinction between discourse-related and participant-related code-switching is because the discourse functions of code-switching have been copiously dealt with in the existing literature, while processes of language negotiation and preference-influenced or competence-influenced language choices are usually not discussed under conversational code-switching, but are deemed to be determined by higher order (macro-societal) or psycholinguistic factors. What Auer's study of German/Italian code-switching portrays is that participant-related code-switching ought to be seen as a contextualisation cue. What that contextualisation is, however, transcends discourse structures to incorporate the social attributes and relationships of the participants.[38]

He argues further, that although, neither the value of the grammatical nor that of the macro-sociolinguistic perspective can be denied, it seems that both have to be incorporated into a third, more basic perspective which is to investigate the contribution of language alternation to members' sense-making activities. He states that this may fruitfully be done in the framework of conversation analysis, which, taking into account grammatical restrictions where necessary, can work up and relate to larger scale sociolinguistic statements. Consequently, Auer (1984a: 5-6) states that the conversational analytic approach has two main advantages, namely:

1. It gives priority to what Auer (1984a) describes as the sequential implicativeness of language choice in conversation. That is, the effect of a

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[38] For example, Gardner-Chloros, 1991; Ludi, 1987; McClure & McClure, 1988.

participant's choice of language at a particular point in the conversation on subsequent language choices by the same and other participants.

2. It 'limits the external analyst's interpretational leeway because it relates his or her interpretation back to the members' mutual understanding of their utterances as manifest in their behaviour'.

Finally, Auer's work can be summarised thus: code-switching is not necessarily related to a metaphoric function (in Gumperz's sense). Often, it 'just' takes part in the organisation of discourse. As a contextualisation strategy, it is comparable to prosodic parameters, such as intonation, loudness or pitch level; most speakers have a preference for one language. By code-switching, they display this preference or, at least, their better competence in that language. Code-switching is always an attempt to renegotiate the language of interaction, at least temporarily; and both competence-related switching and competence-related transfer demonstrate that typical aspects of language contact mix with aspects of second language acquisition.

I intend to show in Chapter 7 of this study that certain aspects of the MM and sequential analysis model can be employed rather innovatively to catalogue and explain the functions of code-switching between Ikwerre and NPE in Port Harcourt. Moreover, in this study, I aim to present a coherent account of the relationship between code-switching and language choice by individual speakers, and of the relation of both to the broader socio-economic and political contexts prevalent in the Ikwerre community of Port Harcourt City, Nigeria. In doing this I will carry out ***social network*** and ***language attitude*** analyses to see how they interact with other variables such as age, gender and level of education to offer adequate interpretations

of the link between the macro-sociological and micro-interactional aspects of language variation and change in Port Harcourt.

The importance of doing personal network analysis in this study lies in the fact that it has been shown in other studies (Bortoni-Ricardo, 1985; Gal, 1979; Li Wei, 1994; Li Wei *et al.*, 2000; Milroy, 1987a, b) to be a viable means for relating not only interactional and community levels of analysis, network structure can relate to social, economic and political structure. Further, with regard to language attitudes, the underlying assumption in this study is that in a society, social (or ethnic) groups have certain attitudes towards each other, relating to their differing social positions. Here, therefore, as Appel & Muysken (1987: 16) have previously done, I argue that these attitudes affect attitudes towards cultural institutions or patterns characterizing these groups such as language, and carry over to and are reflected in attitudes towards individual members of the groups. Therefore, based on these assumptions it was felt appropriate to incorporate both analyses in this study. In the following sections I present a review of both models, starting with the social network concept.[39]

3. 5 Social network model

The introduction of the social network concept to sociolinguistic studies is an attempt to challenge the traditionalist view of using a social class model that has been superimposed beforehand as a means of organising and identifying speaker groups. Under the traditionalist (i.e. social class model) framework, speakers are set apart in terms of their socio-economic status in society. However, this approach raised disagreements among researchers as to what factors precisely should be taken into

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[39] See further, Auer, 2000; Chafe, 1987; French & Local, 1986; Hymes, 1974; Jefferson, 1989; Local, 1986; Local, Wells & Sebba, 1984.

account in defining such status (although it has been the practice to consider income, occupation, education, residence and life style as important. For instance, see Goldthorpe, 1985; Labov, 1966; Sankoff & Laberge, 1978; Trudgill, 1983 for details).

According to Milroy (1987a, b), these characteristics can be ordered in accordance with the way they are evaluated by society at large – for example, a banker would be ranked higher than a cleaner, and a university professor higher than a registrar. If everyone can be assigned a rating based on numerical values of a combination of these characteristics, society can be ordered into strata. The scale can be segmented into upper, middle and lower classes, with as many subdivisions as the analyst wishes to make. To differentiate groups of speakers in this way seems to reflect social reality to a certain degree and is seen as a common sense way of ordering large amounts of variable linguistic data, like those collected by Labov in New York City (1966, 1972a,b). Be that as it may, as Assche (2005: 232) correctly observes, these studies are, however, based on evidence collected in developed countries from highly selected samples, and/or special populations. Further, White & Watkins (2000: 338) add that it is hazardous to generalise from populations with considerable social and economic differentiation [in developed countries] to less stratified contexts of rural areas in developing countries. Moreover, Milroy (1987a: 14) also cautions that we must not lose sight of the fact that the groups we end up with by segmenting our scale – such as 'lower class', 'working class', 'middle class' – do not necessarily have any kind of objective, or even inter-subjective reality.

In an attempt to redress these problems with regard to the United Kingdom, in 2001, the Office of National Statistics introduced the 'National Statistics Socio-economic Classification' (NS-SEC) to replace the 'Social Class' (SC) and 'Socio-economic Groups' (SEG) models. The NS-SEC is an occupationally based

classification but has rules to provide coverage of the whole adult population. Conceptually, the NS-SEC aims to differentiate positions within labour markets and production units in terms of their typical 'employment relations'. Among employees, there are quite diverse employment relations and conditions, that is, they occupy different labour market situations and work situations. Labour market situation equates to source of income, economic security and prospects of economic advancement. Work situation refers primarily to location in systems of authority and control at work, although degree of autonomy at work is a secondary aspect. The NS-SEC categories thus distinguish different positions (not persons) as defined by social relationships in the work place - i.e. by how employees are regulated by employers through employment contracts. Three forms of employment regulation are distinguished.

1. In a 'service relationship' the employee renders 'service' to the employer in return for 'compensation' in terms of both immediate rewards (e.g. salary) and long-term or prospective benefits (e.g. assurances of security and career opportunities). The service relationship typifies Class 1 and is present in a weaker form in Class 2.
2. In a 'labour contract' employees give discrete amounts of labour in return for a wage calculated on amount of work done or by time worked. The labour contract is typical for Class 7 and in weaker forms for Classes 5 and 6.
3. Intermediate forms of employment regulation that combine aspects from both forms (1) and (2) are typical in Class 3.

The classification also separately identifies categories for large employers in its operational version, and for small employers and the self-employed with no

employees in both the operational and analytic versions (see NS-SEC, 2004). In applying the NS-SEC model in non-Western-industrialised societies, one encounters similar difficulties as those inherent in the earlier SC model. That is, such models work better in populations with considerable social and economic differentiation [in developed countries] than in less stratified contexts and less-industrialised communities. In fact, according to Rose & O'Reilly (1998) and Rose & Pevalin (2000), the NS-SEC is based on the 'Goldthorpe Schema' (see Erikson & Goldthorpe, 1992; Goldthorpe, 1980/1987, 1997), and is central to delineating the structure of socio-economic positions in modern societies and helping to explain variations in social behaviour and other social phenomena. Further, by adopting the concept of social class in an earlier study in Norwich, Trudgill (1974: 33) points to its abstractness, the general fluidity of status groups, and the difficulty of assigning individuals to specific groups. Membership of a group labelled 'lower-middle class' does not necessarily form an important part of a person's definition of his social identity. Milroy (1987a, b) argues that smaller-scale categories are available which reflect the fact that there are social units to which people feel they belong and which are less abstract than social classes.

For this smaller-scale, more concrete, unit we ascribe the term social network. It is this definition of the concept that she used to order the eight linguistic variables analysed in her study of three inner-city communities in Belfast (Milroy & Milroy, 1983). Rather than attempting to explain the patterns of variation uncovered in terms of large-scale, abstract concepts such as social class, she concentrated her attention on the specific social relationships contracted by individual speakers observed via a participant observation methodology. A six-point scale was designed to measure the density and multiplexity of personal network ties with regard to 'structural' and

'interactional' properties respectively, known as a 'network strength scale' (Milroy, 1987a: 141-2). On the scale, each individual was allocated a score at some point with respect to a number of indicators of these two network properties. These indicators were used as conditions that had to be met for a relatively dense and multiplex network structure, and the network strength score was determined by the summation of the individual indicator scores. The relationship existing between network strength and language variation was examined by means of Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) and Spearman Rank Order Correlation tests. The latter indicated a positive and significant relationship between network scores and language scores on five of the eight variables investigated, as illustrated in Table 4 adapted from Milroy (1987a: 154).[40]

Table 2 Linguistic variables correlating with network scores for all subjects

Variable	r	t	N	Level of significance
(a)	0.529	3.692	37	0<0.01
(th)	0.485	3.591	44	0<0.01
(←²)	0.317	2.142	43	p<0.05
(ε¹)	0.255	1.709	44	p<0.05
(ε²)	0.321	2.200	44	p<0.05

N = number of subjects tested for a given variable.

We learn from the table that when the scores on the network scale increase, the linguistic scores also increase. One general conclusion, which may be drawn from this multidimensional analysis of language variability, is that personal network structure in these communities is of very great importance in predicting language use,

[40] For more on the subject of network strength see also these studies from other disciplines: Campbell & Lee, 1991; Erickson, 1996, 2004; Marsden, 1987, 2003; Snijders, 1999; van der Gaag & Snijders, 2003, 2004.

i.e. a dense, multiplex personal network structure predicts relative closeness to vernacular norms (Milroy, 1987a: 160).

The Belfast projects were primarily based on the premise that the natural tendency of language is to diverge. Relatively convergent states can be described as arising from language maintenance through agreement on, or acceptance of, particular norms of usage in the community. To the extent that linguistic changes take place in speech communities, however, they take place against a background of language maintenance, and the extent to which they are successful depends on the interplay of these two sets of social influences – those that encourage maintenance (or stability), on the one hand, and those that encourage change (or divergence), on the other (Milroy, 1992: 11-10). From this we see that by adopting an anthropological framework, the Milroys have made a distinction between relatively weak and strong network ties. This assertion becomes clear when we consider the fact that strong network links have been shown to be 'a norm maintenance mechanism', whereas weak ties are seen as facilitators of linguistic change, because they often provide the links between different groups through which new influences are diffused.[41]

Empirically, the presence of weak ties is more difficult to study than strong ties, because weak networks are associated with large communities where the people are socially/geographically mobile and thus tend to contract large numbers of open-ended ties, rarely forming into closed clusters (see also Assche, 2005). Bortoni-Ricardo's (1985) account of dialectal adjustment of rural migrants to Brazlandia, a satellite city of Brasilia, is an example of a sociolinguistic application of network analysis, which examines linguistic change, and broadly weak network ties. Bortoni-Ricardo, like Milroy (1987a, b) did not adopt a stratificational analysis because it did

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[41] See further Li Wei, 1994; Li Wei *et al.*, 2000; Milroy, 1987a, b; Milroy, 1992.

not adequately discriminate between the individuals under study, most of whom were economically deprived. The main motivation for Bortoni-Ricardo was that the change from rural to urban ways of life called for a move away from an insulated network, composed mainly of kinsfolk and neighbours, to an integrated urban network, where the ties were less multiplex with a resultant wider range of social contexts. To measure the changing patterns of the migrants' social relationships, Bortoni-Ricardo created two network indices: the *migration index* and the *urbanisation index.* The integration index indicated numerically certain vital characteristics of the three persons with whom each migrant most frequently interacted, i.e. whether or not they were kinsfolk, or whether the ties had been established in the pre-migration period. The score allocated to each migrant was meant to show progress in the transition from an insulated to an integrated network type, and therefore was a device for investigating loose-knit types of personal network structure. The urbanisation index was used to supplement this structural measure, illustrating the degree to which the members of each migrant's personal network were integrated into urban life. Bortoni-Ricardo selected four linguistic variables as indicators of the migrants' dialect diffuseness, portraying a movement away from the norms of the Caipira dialect, which is the rural dialect. Like Labov (1966, 1972a) and Milroy (1987a), Bortoni-Ricardo analysed these variables quantitatively such that individual speaker's linguistic scores were correlated with the two network indices so as to ascertain the relationships between language behaviour and social networks. The results demonstrated significant correlations between changes in network ties and dialect diffuseness.[42]

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[42] These studies have also used models comparable with social networks to explicate bilinguals' linguistic behaviour, Coupland, Giles & Henwood, 1988; Coupland, Giles & Wiemann, 1993; Giles & Coupland, 1991.

The examples of the application of the social network approach to sociolinguistic study discussed in this section indicate the kind of relationship that might exist between micro-and-macro-sociological concepts as they concern the interpretation of language variation and change. There is little doubt that some form of integrated social model is needed, because when interpreting linguistic data, although such terms as class, prestige and standard language are often used they are rarely adequately defined, with the result that there is much vagueness, ambiguity and circularity in their use. Hence, the *social network concept* is an attempt to devise a social model that will represent various ethnic and class groups as both internally structured and connected to each other with varying degrees of strong and weak ties.

3. 5. 1 Doing Social network analysis

According to Li Wei *et al.* (2000), It was the case that personal social networks were mainly viewed as contextualised within a wider social framework, which was marked-off to allow emphasis to be placed on developing less abstract modes of analysis that could account more readily for the unpredictability of human behaviour.[43]

It is, however, important to say that such marking-off is mainly a methodological issue and does not illustrate an ontological reality. Mitchell (1986: 74) suggests that while no one can claim that personal network structure is independent of the broader social framework, which often constrains individual behaviour, a fundamental postulate of network analysis is that when an individual is related to others to form a social network, the interpersonal ties and their embedded resources

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[43] For more on social network analysis, see Borgatti, 2005; Borgatti, Everett &Freeman, 2004; Borgatti & Molina, 2003; Kadushin, 2005; Klovdahl, 2005; Krebs, 2003, 2004; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Noh & Rieger, 2004; Padgett & Ansell, 1993; Pentland, 2004; Singer, 2004; Stephenson & Zelan, 1989; Teten, Fisher & Allen, 2004; Waring, 2002; Watts, 2003.

constitute the focal individual's social capital which can help him/her not only for pursuing political or economic goals but also for coping with crises or emergencies (Baron & Schuller, 2000; Bian & Ang, 1997; Bourdieu, 2005; Levy & Pescosolida, 2002; Lin, 2001; Marsden & Lin, 1982; Thoits, 1992, 1995). Such a focus makes the social network approach a useful tool for sociolinguists investigating relatively clearly definable communities like the Ikwerre of Port Harcourt, as well as for researchers from other disciplines.[44]

Social networks may be seen as a boundless web of ties, which reach out through a whole society, linking people to one another, however remotely. In more practical terms, social networks are generally 'anchored' to individuals, and interest focuses on relatively 'strong' first-order network ties; i.e. those persons with whom ego directly and regularly interacts. This principle of 'anchorage' effectively limits the field of network studies, generally to something between twenty and fifty individuals (See Fu, 2005; Li Wei *et al.*, 2000). It is important to make a distinction between 'strong' and 'weak' ties contracted in everyday life, employing the notions of 'exchange' and 'interactive' networks elaborated by Milardo (1998: 26-36). Milardo explains that exchange networks constitute individuals such as kin and close friends with whom ego not only interacts routinely, but also exchanges direct aid, advice, criticism, and support. While interactive networks consist of persons with whom ego interacts frequently (and perhaps over prolonged periods of time) but on whom ego does not depend for personal favours and other material or symbolic resources. An example of an interactive tie would be that between a fishmonger and customer. In addition to exchange and interactive ties, a third type is also generally recognised,

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[44] See also Assche, 2005; Bakken, 2000; Baron & Schuller, 2000; Barrett & Li, 1999; Beaverstock, Taylor & Smith, 1999; Burt, 1990; Chan & Lee, 1995; Chiu, Ho & Liu, 1997; Fu, 2005; Gu & Liu, 2002; Lee, Ruan & Lai, 2005; Li Wei, 1994; Li Wei *et al.*, (2000); Milroy, 1987a; Moffatt & Milroy, 1992; Schatz, 2002; Watkins & Warriner, 2003; White & Watkins, 2000; Zulu & Chepngeno, 2003.

namely, those associated with a 'passive' network. Passive ties are described as those that entail an absence of regular contact, but are valued by ego as a source of influence and moral support. Examples would therefore be physically distant relatives or friends. The social network model studies the identities of the people with whom the speaker regularly interacts, in addition to the speaker's own identity. This approach hinges on the belief that there is a dialectic link between speakers' linguistic behaviours and interpersonal relations. That is, speakers' language use is influenced and determined by the types of social contacts they have, and, alongside this function, it actively contributes to the social relations which speakers maintain. Thus, instead of focussing on some *ad hoc* categorisation of speakers, this perspective commences with empirically observable behaviours of individual speakers and examines how speakers develop their social identities through interaction (Woolard, 1985, 1989, 1998, 2001).[45]

A classical example is an account of language choice and shift in a Hungarian-German bilingual community in Oberwart, Austria by Susan Gal (1979). In this study she employed an implicational scale technique innovatively to articulate and illustrate observed choices in a range of domains as well as differences between speakers of separate social characteristics. Implicational scales are used to rank both speakers and interlocutors – people with whom the speaker interacts – in terms of their language use. Language choice as a concomitant of one's idea of group membership is vividly portrayed when we have an understanding of the language-choice patterns that Gal found interesting. She found orderly patterns of language choice when individual selection patterns were placed on an implicational scale table with speakers ranked on

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[45] Baron *et al.*, 2000; Bian & Ang, 1997; Bonacich, 1987, 1991; Borgatti, 2005; Freeman, Borgatti & White, 1991; Hollinger & Haller, 1990; Lareiter & Baumann, 1992; Lee *et al.*, 2005; Levy & Pescosolida, 2002; Lin, 2001; Marsden, 1987; Marsden & Lin, 1982; Thoits, 1992, 1995; Wellman, 1992, 2003; van der Poel, 1993.

the vertical axis and interlocutors on the horizontal. Such patterns are also present in the implicational scales for men and women in my Port Harcourt data which are presented in Tables 3 and 4 below. The speakers who are listed towards the top of the scales are those who use mainly Ikwerre (**I**) on more occasions and with more interlocutor types, whereas those who use more NPE (for the sake of convenience the symbol 'P' is used in all instances of the use of NPE) are listed towards the bottom. Interlocutors are also ranked according to the language choices of the vertically ranked speakers. That is, those who are spoken to in Ikwerre by more speakers are listed towards the left and those spoken to more in NPE towards the right. The use of **I** with any given interlocutor implies that **I** will be used with all interlocutors to the left of the scale, while if **P** is used with any interlocutor, it will be used with all interlocutors to the right of the scale. The use of both **I** and **P** to the same interlocutor will appear between the use of only **I** and the use of only **P**, and these are the situations where code-switching may but not necessarily occur. Any choice that does not fit this pattern is considered 'unscalable', scalability being the percentage of cells that fit the scale model. Eighty-five percent (85%) scalability is normally considered to be a sufficient approximation of perfect scaling (Gal, 1979; Fasold, 1990; Li Wei, 1994; Li Wei *et al.*, 2000). On the horizontal axis, grandparents are listed to the far left and children to the right, illustrating that Ikwerre is generally used to the grandparents and NPE to the younger generation. As in Li Wei *et al.* (2000), this addressee ranking largely corresponds with the speaker ranking on the vertical axis, where grandparents appear towards the top of the scales and children towards the bottom.

Table 3 Observed language choice patterns by male speakers (Scalability: 91.4%)

No. of speakers	Speaker age	Level of education	Generation cohort	Interlocutors											
				1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1A	83	0	GF	I	I	I	I	I	-	I	I	I	I	I	I
2B	75	0	GF	I	I	I	I	I	-	I	I	I	I	I	I
3C	70	0	GF	I	I	I	I	I	-	I	I	I	I	I	I
11A	56	5	F	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	-	IP	IP	IP	IP
12B	55	5	F	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	-	IP	IP	IP	IP
13C	54	5	F	-	I	I	I	I	-	I	-	IP	IP	IP	IP
14D	52	5	F	I	I	I	I	I	-	I	-	IP	IP	IP	IP
4I	67	5	GF	I	I	IP	IP	I	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
5J	65	5	GF	I	I	IP	IP	I	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
15E	45	5	F	I	I	IP	IP	I	-	IP	-	IP	IP	IP	IP
16F	43	5	F	I	I	IP	IP	I	I	IP	-	IP	IP	IP	IP
17G	42	20	F	I	I	IP	IP	I	I	IP	-	IP	IP	IP	IP
18H	40	10	F	I	I	IP	IP	IP	I	IP	-	IP	IP	IP	IP
19I	36	10	F	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	-	IP	IP	IP	IP
20J	34	10	F	-	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	-	IP	IP	IP	IP
31A	29	15	CH	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
32C	26	15	CH	I	I	IP	IP	IP	I*	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
33D	26	20	CH	I	I	IP	IP	IP	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
35A	25	20	CH	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
37A	23	10	CH	I	I	IP	IP	IP	I*	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
38A	22	10	CH	-	I	IP	IP	IP	I*	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
43D	18	10	CH	I	I	IP	IP	IP	I*	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
39C	21	10	CH	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
40C	20	10	CH	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
48H	16	10	CH	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
52C	15	10	CH	-	I*	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
58H	13	10	CH	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	I*	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
59B	13	10	CH	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
53E	15	10	CH	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
62B	12	5	CH	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
66D	11	5	CH	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
44F	18	10	CH	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	P	P
49G	16	10	CH	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	P	P
55H	14	10	CH	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	I*	IP	IP	IP	IP	P	P
63G	12	5	CH	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	P	P
67E	11	5	CH	-	IP	P	IP	IP	IP	P	IP	IP	IP	P	P
71I	9	5	CH	-	IP	P	IP	IP	IP	P	IP	IP	IP	P	P
75J	6	0	CH	-	IP	P	IP	IP	IP	P	IP	IP	IP	P	P

A – J = Family membership. Generation cohort: GF = Grandfather, F = Father, CH = Child. Level of education: 0 = Did not attend school, 5 = Attended primary school, 10 = Attended secondary school, 15 = Attended post-secondary school, 20 = Attended university. Interlocutors: 1 = Grandmother, 2 = Grandmother's generation, 3 = Mother's generation, 4 = Mother (spouse), 5 = Grandfather's generation, 6 = Grandfather, 7 = Father's generation, 8 = Father (spouse), 9 = Child (male), 10 = Child (female), 11 = Child generation (male), 12 = Child generation (female). Scalability is calculated as the percentage of cells

that fit the scale model, and 85 per cent scalability is normally considered to be a sufficient approximation of perfect scaling (Gal, 1979; Fasold, 1990; Li Wei, 1994).

Table 4 Observed language choice patterns by female speakers (Scalability: 91.8%)

No. of speakers	Speaker Age	Level of education	Generation cohort	Interlocutors 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
6A	74	0	GM	-	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I
7B	72	0	GM	-	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I
8C	65	0	GM	-	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I
9I	64	0	GM	-	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I
10J	60	0	GM	-	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I
21A	53	0	M	-	I	I	-	I	-	I	I	I	I	I	I
22B	52	5	M	I	I	I	-	I	-	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP
23C	50	5	M	I	I	I	-	I	I	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP
24D	49	5	M	I	I	I	-	I	I	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP
25E	44	5	M	I	I	I	-	I	-	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
26F	40	5	M	I	I	I	-	I	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
27G	39	5	M	I	I	I	-	I	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
28H	38	5	M	I	I	I	-	I	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
29I	33	10	M	I	I	IP	-	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
30J	30	10	M	-	I	IP	-	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
34A	26	20	CH	I	I	IP	I	IP	I*	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
42A	19	10	CH	I	I	IP	I	IP	I*	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
45A	18	10	CH	I	I	IP	I	IP	I*	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
36A	24	10	CH	I	I	IP	IP	IP	I*	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
41B	20	10	CH	I	I	IP	IP	IP	I*	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
46B	18	10	CH	I	I	IP	IP	IP	I*	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
54B	15	10	CH	I	I	IP	IP	IP	I*	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
64C	12	5	CH	I	I	IP	IP	IP	I*	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
47C	17	10	CH	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
50C	16	10	CH	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
51D	16	10	CH	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
56D	14	10	CH	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
60D	13	10	CH	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
57E	14	10	CH	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
61E	13	10	CH	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
65F	12	10	CH	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
68F	11	5	CH	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
70G	10	5	CH	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
69H	11	5	CH	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	P	P
72H	9	5	CH	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	P	P
73H	8	5	CH	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	P	P
74I	7	0	CH	-	IP	P	IP	IP	IP	P	IP	IP	IP	P	P
76J	4	0	CH	-	IP	P	IP	IP	IP	P	IP	IP	IP	P	P

A – J = Family membership. Generation cohort: GM = Grandmother, M = Mother, CH = Child. Level of education: 0 = Did not attend school, 5 = Attended primary school, 10 = Attended secondary school, 15 = Attended post-secondary school, 20 = Attended university. Interlocutors: 1 = Grandmother, 2 = Grandmother's generation, 3 = Mother's generation, 4 = Mother

(spouse), 5 = Grandfather's generation, 6 = Grandfather, 7 = Father's generation, 8 = Father (spouse), 9 = Child (male), 10 = Child (female), 11 = Child generation (male), 12 = Child generation (female).

Therefore, the implicational scale presented in Tables 3 and 4 imply that Ikwerre tends to be used by grandparents and to grandparents, Pidgin, by contrast, is preferred by the younger generation, particularly amongst age-mate interactions. However, both Ikwerre and Pidgin may be employed by parents to parents. This outcome is not entirely surprising, since younger people are the most likely to adopt the newer concept of the social order (see Auer 1981, 1983, 1984a; Bortoni-Ricardo, 1985; Gal, 1979; Li Wei, 1994). The distribution of speakers on the scale is indicative of a society undergoing language shift (more will be said on this issue subsequently). Gal (1979) asserts that it is through this kind of association between language and interlocutor types that languages acquire their social symbolism. For example, since in Port Harcourt, Ikwerre is basically associated with grandparents, it may be described as the 'we-code' for that generation and for older speakers more broadly (see example 2, section 3.4.1 above). NPE, on the other hand, which is the language used mainly by the younger generation, may be viewed as the 'we-code' for this generation. Thus, as researchers such as Gafaranga (2000), Gafaranga & Torras (2002b), Joergensen (1998), Kulick & Stroud (1990), Li Wei (1998), Sebba & Tate (1986), Sebba & Wootton (1998) and Stroud (1992, 1998) have observed, even this tentative generalisation, which takes some account of intergenerational change in patterns of language use, repudiates any assumption that the ethnic language of the community is the 'we-code' and the language of the majority the 'they-code' as Gumperz (1982) postulates.[46]

[46] See also Section 3.4.1 above for an exemplification of Gumperz's 'we-code', 'they-code' proposal.

Upon closer examination of Tables 3 and 4, it is obvious that a much more comprehensive analysis is required to fully account for the interaction between the social and the stylistic dimensions of language choice displayed on the implicational scales. For instance, speaker number 4I and 5J (two grandfathers), who are aged 67 and 65 respectively are ranked lower on the scale than other members of their generation and four fathers who are much younger than these speakers, indicating that the two grandfathers use more NPE dominant patterns. Equally important to note is the fact that speakers listed towards the bottom of the scales are not always the youngest members of the younger generation. Therefore, I concur with Gal (1979), Li Wei (1994) and Li Wei *et al.* (2000) that because such variations in language choice patterns cannot be accounted for entirely by the variables of age and generation cohort, the social network variable becomes relevant.

However, in as much as the theoretical motivation for positing social network as a speaker variable can be made relatively explicit, its use presents certain problems, the first of which concerns the measurement and quantification of network structure; for like SC and ethnicity, the ill-definedness of the network concept can make it difficult to operationalise. Fundamentally, Milroy (1987a/1995) explains that the concept is a social rather than a psychological variable, its main purpose being to enable the researcher to compare individuals in such a way as to focus on differences between them with respect to *degree of integration* into a set of relationships which constitute a group capable of exerting normative pressure. The difficulty is that the *indicators* of this integration which are capable of being treated quantitatively (to enable such a comparison) are likely to be culturally determined and to vary from one community to another.

A further major disadvantage associated with the use of the social network variable is that it is most readily operationalised to study speakers whose networks are of a relatively close-knit type and cannot easily handle socially and geographically mobile speakers whose personal network ties are not predominantly dense or multiplex. Loose-knit networks are hard to deal with mainly because a multi-valued speaker variable like social network demands a comparison of speakers who differ from each other in certain respects – let us say in respect of the multiplexity of the ties which they have contracted at the workplace – but are still similar enough to each other in other related respects to make such a comparison meaningful (Milroy, 1987a/1995: 106-108).

From a methodological standpoint it has been shown in the examples cited here, that the social network approach is very useful, especially for researchers of minority and other low-status sub-groups in the population. It offers a means of approaching an analysis where the concept of SC is difficult to apply; this is a problem (see for example, Matsumoto, 2001; Milroy (1987: 109)) commonly encountered by researchers studying minority ethnic groups, migrants, rural populations or populations in non-industrialised societies. In addition, the social network concept provides a procedure for dealing with variation between speakers at the level of the individual rather than the group.[47]

This notwithstanding, I found that studies which rely solely on social network analysis are rarely straightforward in certain respects (see for example, Reynolds, 1999, 2000; Hvenekilde & Lanza, 2000). Therefore, while network analysis offers in-

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[47] Examples of other sociolinguistic studies adopting the social network approach include Edwards, 1986 who examined British Black adolescents in the Midlands; Edwards, 1990, focusing on Detroit Black English speakers; Labrie, 1988, investigating Italians in Montreal; Lippi-Green, 1989 who worked on a rural Alpine rural community in Austria; Schmidt, 1985 which focused on Australian aboriginal adolescents and Schooling, 1990 who studies the Melanesians of New Caledonia.

depth insights into the social mechanisms underlying linguistic change, there are speakers among my Port Harcourt Ikwerre sample (see further Chapter 6 of this study), whose linguistic behaviours cannot be comprehensively explained by merely examining the number of ethnic versus non-ethnic ties they contract in their exchange networks. For these speakers, we need to have recourse to other factors, such as perhaps the link between social networks and the concept of communities of practice.

3. 5. 2 Social network analysis and communities of practice

According to Wenger (1999), communities of practice are formed by people who engage in a process of collective learning in a shared domain of human endeavour: a tribe learning to survive, a band of artists seeking new forms of expression, a group of engineers working on similar problems, a clique of pupils defining their identity in the school, a network of surgeons exploring novel techniques, a gathering of first-time managers helping each other cope. In other words, communities of practice are groups of people who share a concern or a passion for something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly. With regard to this thesis, they could be low-level civil servants or market traders united consciously or unconsciously by the passion and commitment they share for their calling.

Thus, the basic argument made by Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger (1991; and Wenger, 1999) is that communities of practice are everywhere and that we are generally involved in a number of them - whether that is at work, school, home, or in our civic and leisure interests. In some groups we are core members, in others we are more at the margins. Being alive as human beings means that we are constantly engaged in the pursuit of enterprises of all kinds, from ensuring our physical survival

to seeking the most lofty pleasures. As we define these enterprises and engage in their pursuit together, we interact with each other and with the world and we tune our relations with each other and with the world accordingly. Put succinctly, we learn new ways of doing things, including new ways of talking. With the passage of time, this collective learning results in practices that reflect both the pursuit of our enterprises and the attendant social relations. These practices are thus the property of a kind of community created over time by the sustained pursuit of a shared enterprise. Smith (2003) explains that the characteristics of such communities of practice vary. Some have names, many do not. Some communities of practice are quite formal in organisation, others are very fluid and informal. However, members are brought together by joining in common activities and by what they have learned through their mutual engagement in these activities (Wenger 1998). In this respect, a community of practice is different from a community of interest or a geographical community in that it involves a shared practice.

As Milroy & Milroy (1992: 2) have emphasised, a fundamental postulate of network analyses is that individuals create personal communities that provide them with a meaningful framework for solving the problems of their day-to-day existence. It is common knowledge that day-to-day problems change, as do people, thus Eckert (2000: 34-35) suggests that if dense and multiplex networks enforce conformity to the vernacular, as shown by Milroy (1980), they do so by consolidating symbolic resources, making the same resources appropriate in multiple settings. Nevertheless, networks are only more or less dense or multiplex, and "leakage" is no doubt crucial to the formation of the new way of talking. For while people may concentrate their social and linguistic activity, they get around, engaging in a variety of endeavours and in a variety of communities. To the extent that linguistic influence is linked with the

making of social meaning, it is to be observed in groupings of people who are mutually engaged in the construction of new meaning. The co-construction of linguistic change and social meaning will take place in just those interactions in which social identity is at issue – in which speakers are constructing new nuances of meaning; not simply reconfirming the old. Meaning, therefore, is made as people jointly construct relations through the development of a mutual view of, and relation to, the communities and people around them. This meaning-making takes place in myriad contacts and associations both within and beyond dense networks (see Eckert, 2000: 34-35).

Further, when describing social networks, analysts specify particular kinds of ties: ties that frequently represent co-operation in a community of practice. A multiplex network cluster is a cluster whose members' communities of practice overlap significantly. Linguistic homogeneity within these clusters, then, is a function of continual mutual engagement in practice. A very important feature of community of practice, and most significant to the study of variation, is meaning-making. An illustration of this process occurred during a group interview that Sue Uhland and Penelope Eckert did in a northern California community in 1985 with seven high school students who constituted a self-conscious community of practice (this study is reported on in, Eckert (2000)). According to Eckert (2000: 38-39), they, that is the students, had defined themselves as a "subculture," based on a style, set of values, and a currently popular music genre called "dirge." They quite consciously distinguished themselves from the predominant social categories in the high school - preppies and stoners, the local equivalents of jocks and burnouts - and they particularly abhorred what they saw as the snobbishness and class-consciousness of many kids in their affluent high school. And although dirge music and style were

related to punk and new wave, these kids distinguished themselves carefully from those two styles. Sue Uhland and Penelope Eckert report in this study that as they sat around the table in a coffee house near the high school, they described their style, its origins, and the values that underlay it. Among these values were a commitment to egalitarianism, fighting racism and elitism, and openness to new ideas. At one point, a girl whom Eckert called Jane showed her a picture of her sister that she kept in her wallet. Hanging from the wallet was a short chain with a skull, and another skull was drawn on the leather of the wallet. Eckert commented on the skull, and it became clear that the skull was a key symbol as the entire group showed her their other skulls, worn on the person in the form of rings, pins, tattoos, and so on. So she asked, "What does it mean?" Jane said, "Death." The others nodded their heads gravely in assent. After a pause, though, a boy whom she named Charles looked confused and said, "But I thought it meant 'pirates.'" There ensued a discussion of the relation between death and pirates in their symbolic practice. The group concluded that of course they were not really embracing death, after all they were fairly happy kids. But talking about and focusing on death was a particular form of resistance for white middle class teenagers, not unlike the resistance that pirates represented for them. In other words, in focusing on death, they were setting themselves aside from the norms for white middle class adolescents in just the way pirates set themselves aside from the norms of law-abiding society. A pretty sophisticated discussion, and a sophisticated conclusion that on the one hand allowed Charles's belief to be included and on the other renegotiated the meaning of the skull. Symbols don't always get negotiated so overtly, but this was a rare opportunity to see the workings of the social construction of

meaning. It is apparent that the effort to resolve the differing views was in the interest of maintaining the community – not just keeping the community together, but maintaining a particular set of relations and rights of participation in the community (see Eckert, 2000: 36-38).

Therefore, I will argue in Chapter 6 (Sections 6.4 and 6.5) in agreement with Eckert (2000) that to capture the process of meaning-making we need to focus on a level of social organisation at which individual and group identities are being co-constructed, and in which we can observe the emergence of symbolic processes that tie individuals to groups, and groups to the social context in which they gain meaning. Other than carrying out network analyses, within this project, I have also examined affective measures of attitude which might equally be capable of giving insights into the individual's degree of integration with the group. In the discussions that follow below, I present a discussion of the study of language attitudes from the *mentalist* and the *behaviourist* viewpoints; then I set out the rationale that motivated the viewpoint adopted in this thesis.

3. 6 Language attitudes

One of the subjects that social psychologists are most interested in is the study of language attitudes. Given, as Appel & Muysken (1987: 16) correctly observe, the fact that "languages are not only objective, socially neutral instruments for conveying meaning, but are linked up with the identities of social or ethnic groups has consequences for the social evaluation of, and the attitudes towards languages".

In general terms the study of language attitudes has been based on two theoretical approaches: the *behaviourist* approach and the *mentalist* approach.

According to Fasold (1984: 147-148), under the behaviourist perspective attitudes are to be found simply in the responses people make to social situations. Further, he (Fasold) comments that this viewpoint makes research easier to undertake, since it requires no self-reports or indirect inferences. It is only necessary to observe, tabulate, and analyse overt behaviour. However, Agheyisi & Fishman (1970: 138) warned earlier that attitudes of this sort would not be quite as interesting as they would be if they were defined mentalistically, because they cannot be used to predict other behaviour. Nevertheless, Fasold (1984) argues that the more straightforward behaviourist approach, in which attitudes are just one kind of response to a stimulus, certainly cannot be ruled out.

On the other hand, under the mentalist perspective attitudes are viewed as an internal, mental state, which may give rise to certain forms of behaviour. It can be described as 'an intervening variable between a stimulus affecting a person and that person's response (see Appel & Muysken, 1987: 16; Fasold, 1984: 147). It is this latter perspective that is adopted in this thesis to examine the Ikwerre language attitudes. The thinking behind adopting the mentalist view is based on the fact that most research work on language attitudes is based on this perspective (to mention just a few, see Appel & Muysken, 1987; Baker, 1992; Bosch & De-Klerk, 1996; Cargile & Giles, 1998; El-Dash & Busnardo, 2001; Gao & Zhou, 2000; Hoare, 2001; Hoare & Coveney, 2000; Hussein & El-Ali, 1989; Ioratim-Uba, 1995, 2001; Lawson & Sachdev, 1997, 2000; Long, 1999; Mgbo-Elue, 1987; Moreau, 1990; Payne, Downing & Fleming, 2000; Pieras, 2000; Thibault & Sankoff, 1999; Woolard & Gahng, 1990; Zhou, 1999). In addition, it provides interesting results that can be used to predict other behaviour (Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970).

It is important to mention that although the mentalist view has been widely adopted by researchers of language attitudes, it poses significant research problems because internal, mental states cannot be directly observed, but have to be inferred from behaviour or from self-reported data which are often of questionable validity (see Fasold, 1984). This notwithstanding, under the mentalist approach two methods are primarily employed for exploring language attitudes. They are the *questionnaire/interview* and the *matched guise technique*. I present a critique of both methods of investigating language attitudes in the following section.

3. 6. 1 Methods of language attitudes research

Earlier studies, like Gal's (1979) work in Austria, employed only a direct questioning method to investigate attitudes amongst inhabitants of Oberwart to their languages (German and Hungarian). As I mentioned in the preceding section, direct self-reports of this kind delineating which language is spoken in which context can be of dubious validity, especially in politically self-conscious contexts. For instance, researchers such as Boix (1993), Cohen (1974), Ferrer & Sankoff (2003), Lieberman (1975), Woolard (1992) and Woolard & Gahng (1990) have warned against using only the direct method to assess language attitudes, because it may fail to reveal language values that respondents are unaware of or are unwilling to admit for prestige reasons. In other words, such explicitly elicited attitudes may not always correlate exactly with the possibly unconscious attitudes which are revealed by more indirect methods of investigation. This last point is significant with regard to bilingual Ikwerre speakers, who are faced with the negative official government attitudes towards NPE, which is depicted as 'broken English' and language fit only for the uneducated poor.

Thus, it was felt that it would have been difficult to obtain reliable data from the respondents about their attitudes towards the language if I had just relied only on a direct method. They may, naturally, not have been inclined to give answers that would pass them off as uneducated and poor or as preferring NPE over their native language - Ikwerre. So, to alleviate this problem, it was deemed appropriate to combine both direct questioning and indirect methods. In combining both methods, a large pool of comparable data is obtained and it is easier to see if both sets of data corroborate each other.

A host of indirect methods for obtaining data about language attitudes have been proposed by various researchers and these include Fishman's (1971) use of the commitment measure to examine attitudes among Puerto Ricans; the investigation of the impact of language on persuasion, undertaken with Hebrew/Arabic bilinguals in Jericho, which is reported on in Fishman, Cooper & Ma (1971), and Williams' (1976) studies of teachers' evaluations of children's speech. However, the method used in this study is the matched guise test technique which was developed by Lambert *et al.* (1960). This methodology makes use of tape recordings of speakers who each read the same text in two or more different guises; these could be different languages, dialects or accents. Groups of respondents are then asked to listen to these recordings and, on the basis of voice cues only, to assess the speakers in terms of given personality traits or other variables. The respondents are not made aware that the recorded voices are not all of separate individuals, but include matched guises of the same speaker. Lambert (1967: 94) points out that the matched guise test seems to reveal judges' more private reactions to the contrasting group than direct questionnaires do.

As such, it is no surprise that it has been readily employed as a complement to more direct methods of gathering data, for example, by Lieberman (1975) in her study

of St Lucian bilinguals, where the matched guise test showed that St Lucians rate their Patois higher than English, despite the generally expressed view (derived from direct questionnaire data) that English is superior to Patois. According to Bentahila (1983: 94) that aspects of dialect or accent provide information about social class has often been noted (see Labov, 1966), but the matched guise technique has shown other associations; for instance, Strongman & Woosley (1967) found in their test that Yorkshire-accented Englishmen were judged to be more honest and reliable than London-accented speakers, while the latter were judged to be more self-confident than the former. In bilingual communities, the two languages may give similarly different impressions. In the study carried out by El Dash and Tucker (1976) they found that speakers in Egypt were judged to be more likeable, intelligent and religious and to have more leadership qualities when they spoke Classical Arabic than when they spoke Colloquial Arabic or British or American English. In the study of minority language groups matched guise tests have provided valuable information about some minority language groups' views of themselves. Carranza & Ryan (1976) found that Mexican Americans tend to downgrade Spanish speakers in comparison to English speakers; Tucker & Lambert (1972) discovered that African-Americans living in the U.S.A rated speakers of Black English lower than speakers of Standard White American English. Lambert *et al.* (1960) found that French Canadians tend to downgrade their own language group, in contrast to English Canadians, who rate own group more favourable. A follow-up study by Lambert *et al* (1966) showed that this tendency to view their own group unfavourably is present in French Canadians as young as twelve years old. On the other hand, Bourhis, Giles & Tajfel (1973) and Bourhis & Giles (1976) found that Welsh respondents, on the contrary, had a positive self-image, judging speakers of Welsh and of Welsh-accented English more

favourably than speakers of R.P. English; they can thus be contrasted with the French Canadians who seem to give prestige to the majority language.

More recently, Hoare (2001) successfully used both the questionnaire and matched guise test in her study of language attitudes of school-age children and young people towards three language varieties in Brittany. The matched guise test was also used rather innovatively by Bender (2001, 2004) to illustrate one particular methodology for discovering whether speakers have knowledge of another kind of pattern in language: the 'soft' or non-categorical grammatical constraints which are evident in the distribution of sociolinguistic variables. The results of her matched guise test indicated that speakers do have knowledge of the non-categorical constraint tested.[48]

The most significant fact about the matched guise method is that it permits the comparison of the impressions made by pairs of voices which vary only with respect to the language used. Bentahila (1983: 95), reports that Saint-Jacques (1977) used a rather similar kind of test with Japanese and English speakers, but, in fact, failed to observe this basic principle. Instead of using pairs of guises from the same speaker, he used a different speaker for each reading, so that the judgements he collected were not of the same speaker in different guises, but of two different people. It is obvious, in this case, that the differences in judgement could be attributed not only to the language differences but also to differences between the speakers' voices, and the results cannot, therefore, be regarded as conclusive evidence that the language used affects attitudes.

In spite of the successful and wide application of the matched guise technique in many language attitudes studies, there are a number of problems inherent in it. A

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[48] Other studies adopting the matched guise technique include the following: Blas-Arroyo, 1999; Dailey-O'Cain, 2000; Hyrkstedt & Kalaja, 1998; Jaffe & Walton, 2000; Maeno, 2000; Papapavlou, 1998; Preston, 1999; Van-Reydt & Ammon, 1999.

discussion of these problems and measures taken in this study to ameliorate them is the concern of the next section.

3. 6. 2 Matched guise technique: Problems and remedies

The first problem inherent in the purest application of the matched guise technique is that in order to control the content of the language samples the same passage should be read by each speaker in each language (in translated form). But as Fasold (1984) states, this introduces one variable as it controls another; the speakers may be judged as performers of readings, and not on the basis of the language variety they are using. To ameliorate this problem, the speakers used in the matched guise experiment in this study are educated to the same level (University graduates) and are fluent in both the Ikwerre language and NPE, thus eliminating the problem of the respondents judging them on their reading performance as against the language variety being used.

Secondly, it has been noted (for instance, Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970; Fasold, 1984) that the attempt to control content can lead to a related difficulty: the possible incongruity between language variety and topic. To address this problem the passage chosen for the matched guise experiment is a folktale commonly told by all Ikwerre people (both young and old), emotionally neutral and makes use of everyday diction.

A third problem is that of demonstrating validity, especially in attitude studies relying solely on questionnaires. In this study as I indicated in section 3.6.1 above, to overcome this problem both questionnaires and matched guise tests have been combined to investigate language attitudes. This means that data obtained through one method can be compared and checked with the other for corroboration.

A final difficulty associated with the matched guise technique is connected with its artificiality (Fasold, 1984; Bourhis & Giles, 1976). Asking listeners to judge people by their voices only, though it does give maximum control over other variables, is in the words of Fasold (1984: 154-155) 'a bit far removed from real-life contexts.' In as much as I agree with this observation, within the context of a three year Doctoral research programme, one is too constrained by both time and money to undertake extensive attitudes surveys like those of Bourhis & Giles (1976). Therefore, so long as the advantages of the matched guise technique outlined in the previous section outweigh the disadvantages, it becomes a very important tool together with social network analysis to help account for an individual's degree of integration with the group.

3. 7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have attempted to present a discussion of some of the concepts associated with societal multilingualism and what I consider to be the main approaches to the study of bilingualism and language choice. Each of these models is distinctive and they are largely differentiated by the importance attached to the relationship between social structures and the individuals' linguistic behaviour in his/her community. The macro-societal approach views language choice as being orderly because the social structures that determine the choices are orderly, whereas the interactional approach is more people-centred and searches for individual motivations rather than social structures.

However, from the discussion it becomes apparent that neither of these two approaches adequately answers the question of the link between social structures and

an individual's language use, rather, the tendency in these models is to think that an individual's language use can be subsumed in social structure and *vice versa*. It has also been amply demonstrated that the social network model, by focussing on the observable language behaviours of the individual speaker, provides a framework within which it might be possible to make a sociological and interactional link. At the same time it allows for systematic and quantitative investigation of the processes through which speakers interact and exploit the linguistic resources available to them in their community to exert control over their linguistic behaviours and that of others.

Additionally, it was also illustrated that because language use is inextricably associated with certain attitudes towards a language(s) and its speakers, it becomes important to understand why one language is chosen over another. This, as the discussions in this chapter underline, can be effectively done by doing language attitudes analysis. In order to overcome the attendant problems inherent in language attitudes studies, this thesis proposes to incorporate both direct and indirect methods in the investigation of Ikwerre attitudes to language (both Ikwerre and NPE).

In the next chapter the discussion will centre on the data collection methodology employed in this study and issues of research ethics.

Chapter Four

Data Collection: Methodology and Ethics

4. 0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on outlining the data collection methods and the ethical issues involved in this sociolinguistic study. In this project, a mixture of data collection methods is employed, such as: participant observation; tape recordings of naturally-occurring conversation in social encounters and face-to-face ethnographic language use interview. In addition to these data collection methods, this thesis has investigated the respondents' degree of integration with the Port Harcourt Ikwerre community by doing social network and language attitudes analyses. For the latter both language attitudes questionnaires and matched guise tests have been utilised. The reasoning behind using an array of fieldwork techniques is to ensure that a rich pool of comparable data is collected with the increased likelihood that conclusions reached from the findings are relevant not only to the Port Harcourt Ikwerre community, but also applicable to similar settings across the world.

In this Chapter, the discussion will proceed under the following headings: Section 4.0 presents an introduction, laying out the general aims of the chapter as a whole, while in Section 4.1, I give a brief description of the informants consulted in this study. In this section also, I present a discussion of age and sex as sociolinguistic variables (Eckert, 1997; Wodak & Benke, 1997); in Section 4.2, the focus is on providing an outline and evaluation of participant observation methodology,

highlighting the advantages and disadvantages of doing participant observation in Nigeria; Section 4.3, discusses the stages of fieldwork for this study and statistical software and procedures applied in this thesis; Section 4.4 sets out the procedure for the analysis of the informants' language attitudes; Section 4.5, examines the techniques utilised to collect data for the analysis of the informants personal social networks; in Section 4.6, I review the importance of tape recorded data and clarify how exactly these materials were obtained and analysed; the discussion in Section 4.7 focuses on how I gained access to, built and sustained trust with my selected informants during the fieldwork. In this section I also describe the strategies utilised in this study to ameliorate the problem of the observer's paradox (Labov, 1972b; Milroy, 1987/1995); in Section 4.8, I give an overview of contemporary issues relating to ethics in research in general and with particular reference to my own study; finally, Section 4.9 gives a summary of the various topics covered in this chapter.

4. 1 Informants

The linguistic data used in this study were drawn from everyday conversations I recorded from members of ten Ikwerre families in the Choba area of Port Harcourt. The people from these ten families were also included among the seventy-six men and women (i.e. men = 38, women = 38) whose language choices I systematically observed and noted during the fieldwork phase. Without any exception, the (25 = men, 25 = women) informants who answered the face-to-face interview questions at the exploratory phase of this project, were also included among those who were latter

systematically observed. Table 1 immediately below gives an illustration of the composition of each family used in this study.[49]

Table 1 Composition of each family

Families	Male	Female
A	6	6
B	4	5
C	6	5
D	4	4
E	3	3
F	2	3
G	3	2
H	4	4
I	3	3
J	3	3
Total = 10 Families	**38 Males**	**38 Females**

Members of these ten families formed the core population with whom I worked most closely and got to know best. As with the practices articulated in Gal (1979) and Li Wei (1994), because conversations often involved visiting relatives and buying and selling in small corner shops and local markets, the tapes contain exchanges within and across three generations. Furthermore, it was important that the individuals who were tape recorded included speakers of varying ages, because in choosing the rest of the informants I also aimed to represent a range of ages (see Tables 2 and 3 below). The youngest of the 76 speakers was 4 years old and the oldest was 83 and the sample as a whole fell into three generational cohorts: grandparents (5

[49] See Appendix I for more information about the interview schedule used in this study.

= male, 5 = female), parents (10 = male, 10 = female) and the younger generation (23 = male, 23 = female).[50]

Table 2 Generation cohort

Cohort	Male	Female
Grandparents	5	5
Parents	10	10
Younger (Children)	23	23
Total = 3 Generations	**38 Males**	**38 Females**

Table 3 Distribution of speaker age

	Male	Female
Mean age of all speakers	31.7	28.7
Mean age by generation:		
Grandparents	72	67
Parents	45.7	42.8
Younger (Children)	17	14.2
Oldest speaker	83	74
Youngest speaker	6	4

From the above discussion and tables it should be apparent that this study consulted more younger speakers of both sexes (46 = younger speakers) than parents (20 = parents) and grandparents (10 = grandparents). There are a number of reasons why this is the case. Firstly, as I pointed out in Chapter 2, section 2.2.3 that, on

[50] See Table 1, Chapter 2 for information on the occupational distribution of the informants used in this study.

average, the composition of the families I observed in Port Harcourt was made up of father, mother and six children. Therefore, since I was observing 10 family groups (see Table 1 above) it is only natural that the children will outnumber their parents and grandparents. Equally important is the fact that the population of the Port Harcourt Ikwerre community is composed of more young people than the elderly (see Nigerian Census, 1989). Thus, it is not surprising that this is also reflected in the informant sample used in this thesis. Secondly, in similar studies elsewhere in the world, it has been shown that young people are the most mobile and economically active and, therefore, the most likely candidates to embrace new ways of doing things and new speech forms. In fact, in these studies they are seen as the harbingers of linguistic change (see for example, Auer, 1984a, b, 2000; Bortoni-Ricardo, 1985; Eckert, 1989, 2000; Edawards, 1986; Gal, 1979; Joergensen, 1998, 2003; Kulick, 1997; Li Wei, 1994; Li Wei *et al.*, 2000; Sebba, 1993). Therefore, as in these studies, the assumption here is that the speculated language change in progress in the Port Harcourt Ikwerre community is more than likely to be led by this group of speakers.

Furthermore, the discussion also shows that, in addition to age the informants' linguistic behaviours have been investigated with due regard for eliciting potential gender (i.e. male/female) differences between speakers. I mentioned in Chapter 2, section 2.2.2 that since male/female roles are so differentiated in the Ikwerre community, this study among other things seeks to examine whether there will be any linguistic behaviours motivated by gender in the data collected in Port Harcourt. Given the increasing importance attached to age and sex in research such as this in section 4.1.1 immediately below, I present a global discussion of the relevance of both variables to sociolinguistic investigation.

4. 1. 1 Age and sex as sociolinguistic variables

According to Eckert (1997: 151), aging is central to human experience. It is the achievement of physical and social capacities and skills, a continual unfolding of the individual's participation in the world, construction of personal history, and movement through the history of the community and of society. Hence, if *aging* is movement through time, *age* is a person's place at a given time in relation to the social order: a stage, a condition, a place in history. That is, age and aging are experienced both individually and as part of a cohort of people who share a life stage, and/or an experience of history.

The study of age in relation to language, Eckert (1997) observes, particularly the study of sociolinguistic variation, lies at the intersection of life stage and history. The individual speaker or age cohort of speakers at any given moment represents simultaneously a place in history and a life stage. Age stratification of linguistic variables, then, she says can reflect change in the speech of the community as it moves through time (historical change), and change in the speech of the individual as he/she moves through life (age grading).

A great deal of community studies of variation use mainly chronological age to group speakers. Indeed, as Eckert (1997: 154) correctly observes: to the Western social scientist, chronological age is age. However, differences in age systems across cultures can have significant sociolinguistic implications. For example, in the Ikwerre traditional society, as amply discussed in Chapter 2, the headship of any given clan must go to the oldest male member of the maximal family, even if he is the youngest person compared to the women in that particular family. Hence, cross-cultural differences may show differences in life events, in the domains that are significant for

the definition of those events, in the relative importance of generation and birth order, in the construction of cohorts and so on (see Eckert, 1997: 156). Although the relation of chronological age to biological and social age is approximate, it is given primacy in industrial society. The answer to an inquiry about an individual's age is invariably given in chronological terms, not in terms of family or institutional status, or in terms of physical maturation. Indeed, family and institutional status and biological maturation are taken as indicators of chronological age, rather than *vice versa*. This can be reversed in societies that do not traditionally use chronological age. Fortes (1984: 110) reported observing the Ashanti assigning a chronological age of 16 to females at the time of their nubility ceremonies, even though their actual birth dates were unknown. Eckert (1997: 156) comments that this was apparently a way to align their own assessment of these women's age with colonial law, under which women aged 16 and over were classified as adults.

Furthermore, because the span of ages is so great, it is difficult for community studies to achieve fine-grained age differentiations with any statistical significance. This has led to the grouping of speakers, frequently in fairly broad age ranges or cohorts. Community studies have defined cohorts *etically* and *emically*. Under the etic approach speakers are grouped in arbitrarily determined but equal age spans such as decades (for example, Labov, 1966; Trudgill, 1974), while speakers are grouped according to some shared experience of time under the emic perspective (see for instance, Horvath, 1985 and Wolfram, 1969 who in their respective studies grouped speakers according to general life stage). The latter approach is the perspective adopted in this study in grouping the 76 speakers into three generational cohorts, representing all those who have grandchildren (grouped as grandparents); all those who are married and have children (grouped as parents) and their unmarried offspring

(grouped as younger (children) speakers). Such grouping corresponds largely to the patterns already in existence in the Ikwerre society (see Chapter 2), and have also proved useful in similar studies elsewhere (for example, Gal, 1979; Li Wei, 1994; Li Wei *et al.*, 2000).

A number of investigations (Anderson, 1990; Edelsky, 1977; Houston, 1969; Staley, 1982) have repeatedly reported gender differences in many aspects of linguistic behaviour by speakers as young as 4 years old. However, Wodak & Benke (1997: 127) stress that studies of gender-specific variation are often contradictory, depending on the author's implicit assumptions about sex and gender, the methodology, the samples used and so on. Further, they cite Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (1992: 90) who state that, "women's language has been said to reflect their [our] conservatism, prestige consciousness, upward mobility, insecurity, deference, nurture, emotional expressivity, connectedness, sensitivity to others, solidarity. And men's language is heard as evincing their toughness, lack of affect, competitiveness, independence, competence, hierarchy, control."

Wodak & Benke (1997: 128) argue further that in their view, many studies have neglected the context of language behaviour and have often analysed gender by merely looking at the speakers' biological sex (see the arguments in Coates, 1990; Eckert, 1989; Nichols, 1983). Instead, they (i.e. Wodak & Benke, 1997) propose that a context-sensitive approach which regards gender as a social construct would lead to more fruitful results. In as much as I sympathise with this proposition, time and space constraints will not permit me to go into all the levels of arguments that they have marshalled in support of it (see Wodak, 1997; Wodak & Benke, 1997 for details). Suffice it to say here, therefore, that the term 'gender' as used in this study refers simply to the state of being male or female. As I stated in the last section, one of the

aims of this study is to discover whether men and women in Port Harcourt make different or similar language choices and if they are indeed different, to find out why that may be so.

In order to fully understand and account for the sociolinguistic implications of these variables on the language choice patterns of my selected informants I embedded myself in the community as a participant observer. In section 4.2, I turn my attention to a discussion of the methodology which this practice rests on.

4. 2 Participant observation

According to Dereshiwsky (1999), participant observation is, ostensibly, a straightforward technique. By immersing him/herself in the subject being studied, the researcher is presumed to gain understanding, perhaps more deeply than could be obtained, for example, by questionnaire items only. Thus, the view of participant observation taken in this study is that described by Denzin (1989: 158), who sees the method as a research strategy that simultaneously combines document analysis, interviewing of respondents and informants, direct participation and observation, and introspection. Arguments in favour of this approach include reliance on first-hand information, high face validity of data, and the application of relatively simple and inexpensive methods. When engaged in participant observation, the researcher collects information in and about a specific social location – an organisation, office group, neighbourhood, school, club, etc. Some scholars use the term "ethnography" to describe the product or results of what Denzin and others label participant observation. As Eckert (2000: 35) rightly observes that, to capture the process of meaning-making, we need to focus on a level of social organisation at which

individual and group identities are being co-constructed, and in which we can observe the emergence of symbolic processes that tie individuals to groups, and groups to the social context in which they gain meaning.[51]

The primary core of ethnography is the concern with the meaning of actions and events to the people we seek to understand. Some of these meanings are directly expressed in language. Many are taken for granted and communicated only indirectly through actions. But in every society people make constant use of these complex meaning systems to organise their behaviour, understand themselves and others, and to make sense of the world in which they live. These systems of meaning constitute their culture; ethnography, therefore, always implies a theory of culture (Spradley, 1980: 5). As a major ethnographic data collection technique, participant observation is distinct from direct or non-participant observation methodology in relation to the role of the researcher, which moves from detached observer of the situation to the dual role of participant *and* observer of the situation.

The significance of participant observation in explaining the social symbolism of code choice can be seen in the work of Blom & Gumperz (1972) in Norway, where they adopted an ethnographic approach to the observation of vernacular speech. This investigation entailed an explicit analysis of local cultural categories before any structured elicitation of language was accomplished. It is, however, important to note that Blom and Gumperz were not basically concerned with examining the structural patterns of the standard and non-standard dialects of Hemnesberget, the community they were investigating. Rather, their aim was to identify the situation in which the bidialectal speakers shifted from one code to another and to explain this code-switching behaviour with respect of its social significance for speakers. In order to do

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[51] See also Denzin, 2001, 2002; Denzin & Lincoln, 2003a, b; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998.

this, Milroy (1987b) points out that Blom and Gumperz found it necessary to focus on the relationship between choice of code and the local systems of social values more explicitly. This meant that Blom and Gumperz invested a considerable amount of time in undertaking relatively unstructured observation. During this period they came to understand the social symbolism of the standard and non-standard dialects of Hemnesberget, without which it would have been unlikely that they would have comprehended in any detail the opposition between local and non-local values in terms of which they subsequently explained switching between the codes. The main outcome of their observation method was that they were able to generate the hypothesis that code choice for the locals was constrained by what they termed 'local team' membership of interlocutors (i.e. insider status), rather than by the topic under discussion.

At this stage it is important to point out that, in as much as the methodology of participant observation has been widely adopted in the field of sociolinguistics as a vital data collection method, it is fraught with a number of problems in its implementation. In the next section, I present a discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of doing participant observation in Nigeria.

4. 2. 1 Doing participant observation in Nigeria: Advantages and disadvantages

In this present study, the low literacy rates and peculiarities of non-Western host community social structures make the use of participant observation compelling as the primary data collection method, despite current innovations in qualitative research (see section 2.3.1 this study and Ezeh, 2003). Further, according to Jorgensen (1989), the methodology of participant observation allows the fieldworker a flexible approach

in obtaining data and is especially appropriate when little is known about the phenomenon. There are important differences between the views of insiders as opposed to outsiders and the phenomenon is somehow obscured from public view.

Moreover, many researchers agree that the very high quality of the data in terms of capacity to provide a good sample of everyday language is essentially the main argument for the adoption of a participant observation method (Denzin, 1989; Labov, 1981; Milroy 1987b to mention just a few). In addition, participant observation is capable of giving insight into the social and communicative norms of the community. It allows access not only to information on informal social ties and organisation, but also to data relevant to the fields of study generally described as 'ethnography of speaking' (Denzin, 1989; Saville-Troike, 1982, 2003) and 'interactional sociolinguistics' (Gumperz 1982).

Another advantage is that highlighted by Labov (1981: 25), i.e., that participant observation by emphasising deeper studies of groups and social networks, leads to an increased understanding of linguistic behaviours. That is, the method can uniquely explain why a speaker's language occupies a particular position in a wider social structure. For example, Milroy (1980) reported that information collected during the Belfast community studies enabled the researchers to attempt such an explanation in terms of group pressure to adopt vernacular norms exerted upon an individual whose interpersonal ties were largely local, dense and multiplex. It was argued that the strength of these pressures was roughly in proportion to the centrality of the speaker's position in the close knit group. Conversely, persons occupying peripheral positions in such a group were more exposed to external standardizing pressures. As was mentioned in the last section, while the usefulness of participant

observation in providing a rich source of interactional data is quite obvious, the method is not without its problems.

Firstly, Labov (1981) noted with respect to the Philadelphia neighbourhood studies that no matter how good the data, there is no way, in the absence of a supplementary broader study, of locating it in a wider sociolinguistic context. We simply do not know how it fits into the system of sociolinguistic variation and stratification in the city as a whole. The implication of this for the study of linguistic change in progress is that such a study needs information on the language of a range of social groups and generational cohorts (Milroy, 1987b: 78).

Another criticism often levelled at participant observation studies is that they are extremely demanding in terms of tact, energy, persistence, time and emotional involvement. Strong (and sometimes quite intense) relationships with individuals are built up over a period of even a few weeks. Due to this level of involvement, it is the view among some researchers that it is often quite difficult to persevere with tape recordings during the observation period (for instance, see Labov, 1981). I have to argue, on the contrary, that the inability to combine the method with tape recording is less relevant nowadays since most individuals around the world are no longer uncomfortable with being tape-recorded as long as their permission is explicitly sought and the rationale for their participation is clearly explained.[52]

Thirdly, participant observation is viewed by some investigators as being wasteful, and the opposite of Labov's (1981) telephone 'survey', in view of the fact that many more speakers and hours of speech are usually recorded than can be

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[52] See also Li Wei, 1994, 1998; Sebba, 1993; Trudgill, 1986.

analysed. This view is not completely true since a number of studies (including this one) have shown that the reverse is, in fact, the case.[53]

Labov (1981: 4) has also said that the technical quality of participant observation data is often poor and indeed for certain kinds of acoustic analysis, the naturalness of the recordings (with overlapping speaker turns e.g.) can prove problematic in certain respects. However, because contemporary researchers use modern high-specification recording equipment, which can produce fine-grained linguistic data for individual speakers even in natural settings, this is less of a problem than it used to be. For example, I did not experience any problems in Port Harcourt in obtaining plenty of recordings of sufficient technical quality to be analysable.

Additionally, it is the view of a number of researchers (see Milroy, Li Wei & Moffatt, 1991) that the bane of participant observation is the lack of data that is specific, comparable and applicable to wider contexts. To overcome this problem of directly comparable and specific data, in this present study, as mentioned in section 4.0 above, I have supplemented material obtained through participant observation with information gathered through face-to-face ethnographic language use interviews. This allowed for the collection of data that was amenable to quantitative analysis and applicable to similar environments elsewhere in the world. Additionally, the face-to-face interview/questionnaire format was chosen over a written questionnaire for the following reasons:

1. While it can be argued that a written questionnaire distributed to informants to complete and return to the researcher might be an easier and less time-consuming way to obtain specific and comparable data, the fact still remains

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[53] See Li Wei, 1994, 1998; Li Wei *et al.*, 2000; Milroy, 1987b.

that this is only true for highly literate informants. In a third world setting such as Port Harcourt, employing a written questionnaire will be a near complete failure, due to the low levels of literacy. Using a written questionnaire would increase the likelihood that the informants would report inaccurate and inadequate information. Thus, the face-to-face interview format allowed me the flexibility of being informal and less rigid. It also meant that I knew exactly who was answering what and at what time and place. Further, I was able to fine tune and adjust the questions as required, doing away with what did not work and appeared ambiguous, and retaining the elements that work.

2. Equally, it has been pointed out that speakers do not always report accurately on their own language behaviour and several reasons account for this: (a) Reports are usually mediated through stereotypical views of language that reflect stereotypical attitudes to groups, including the speaker's own group. Milroy (1992) and Corrigan (2004) in studies from quite divergent communities both observe that the expected pattern of response is that where a language or variety has high prestige, speakers will often claim to use it, and where it is of low prestige they will deny knowledge of it. One can only imagine what the outcome would be if informants were left to their own devices with a questionnaire. (b) The wider public, generally, do not possess the necessary awareness of which aspects of their language use are of interest to linguists, nor do they usually have access to a sufficiently precise vocabulary for reporting them. Thus, since I knew exactly what aspects of my informants language use were of interest to me, I was able to go in with the right questions to extract the necessary information. As mentioned earlier, the questions were adjusted as appropriate, unlike a written questionnaire that

could not be changed once distributed. Conversely, one might argue that my presence could have biased the responses to the face-to-face interviews in a particular direction. It is important, however, to bear in mind that while this may be a valid criticism, as Dorian (1981) also reported in her rural Scottish highlands study, in the Port Harcourt Ikwerre community questionnaires are unfamiliar and the informants may have refused to participate because they are intimidated by the uncertainties of the task. Further, since the same subjects were used in the interview and observation phase of this research it was possible to check the self-reported data against my observation notes and *vice versa*.

Beyond these issues, doing participant observation in Nigeria where there is widespread poverty among the populace raises serious personal challenges for the ethnographer. For instance, while doing participant observation in Port Harcourt I became so close to some of my informants that a number of them wanted much more from our interaction than just the fieldworker-subject relationship. On a number of occasions I was introduced to certain ladies whom I was told wanted to date me. Others expected some material reward from me in return for their co-operation with the study. To counter these issues as best I could, I sensitively made my 'suitors' aware that I was happily married and was generous with regard to any material/financial rewards to subjects to the limit of my budget, reminding them from time to time that the research effort was largely self-financed. It is important that the reader understands that these overtures and requests were signs of acceptance or integration for the stranger (the fieldworker) if he gets to the point where he is expected to satisfy such obligations. Thus, one should view these expectations and

advances positively in terms of integration in the light of the social life of the group (see Chapter 2 of this study). Further, it would appear that the fundamental concept in the Ikwerre society is that anyone who is better off materially/financially than his peers, or prepatently so, should use his/her wealth in such a way as to attenuate the misfortune of others. Moreover, such incidents as recounted here are not peculiar to this community.

Ezeh (2003: 195), working in the Orring community, reported a similar case where 'clearly, potential material benefits from the undertaking [research] had been overrated, leading to veiled, and sometimes overt, rivalry among those of them who believed they were the ones to be involved more closely with me'. Two other Nigerian ethnographers, Izugbara (2000) and Nsugbe (1974), who worked on other Nigerian groups reported similar situations. Outside Nigeria, Lee (1984: 7-8) reports that he had to abandon his original research design among the !Kung and refocus on the study of what he termed 'the paradoxes of generosity and selfishness that seemed to lurk beneath the surface of their lives.' This was after he read egotism into certain demands of the spokesman of the foragers' band he was to investigate. He used the expressions 'floored' and 'stunned' to describe the effect of this on him.

The view used to be that mere application of discretion in dealings with the members of the host community might take away the difficulty of suspicion of the intention of the ethnographer (Evans-Pritchard, 1951: 78-79) but actual field experience (Izugbara, 2000; McCall, 2000) demonstrates otherwise. Thus, with Ezeh (2003: 195-196), I argue that these situations are some of the challenges the ethnographer should prepare their minds for, as a result of the differences in the social facts among the world's cultures. Further, it seems that certain categories of problem are constant for ethnographers working outside their own community whatever else

may be the origin of such researchers. Problems arising from cultural disparity should be expected by ethnographers working outside their own communities, even when the host community is of the same nationality as theirs. It will then be wrong, for instance, to expect that in Nigeria, a Hausa group member investigating the Yoruba group will, for the mere fact that both are Nigerian, expect they will be spared the culture-driven problems that a British person or a Canadian faced with a similar task may anticipate and this is an important general finding of this research. It is important, though, to make clear that in this study I was received very warmly indeed within the community and was helped by the informants to ensure that the project came to fruition. I will return to some of these issues in subsequent sections of this chapter.

Furthermore, the participant observation procedures for this study were both phenomenological and empirical in approach. That is, the fieldwork for this study was explicit and involved in-depth systematic study of the language choice patterns of the Ikwerre of the Port Harcourt area. Both approaches entail seven elements outlined below:

- *Awareness of time*: I recorded the temporal phases of research according to the sequence of experience of my observation in relation to the community. For example, the arrival of a guest to a host's home as I was about to leave.
- *Awareness of the physical environment*: I recorded the relations of people to their physical environment as they perceived it, not as I conceptualised or even experienced it.
- *Awareness of contrasting experiences*: The experiences of people under contrasting social circumstances (for example, during family meals, buying and selling in local markets and interactions between grandparents and

grandchildren, etc.) were recorded. This is because meanings cannot be assessed under just one set of circumstances since they are relative to the setting.

- *Awareness of social openings and barriers*: I recorded the changes in meanings as I was increasingly admitted into narrower social and more intimate domains, moving from stranger-to-member-to-insider.

- *Enumeration of frequencies*: I noted the various categories of observed behaviour, as is standard practice in interaction analysis.
- *Informant interviewing*: To establish social rules and statuses. The informants to be interviewed were systematically sampled based on age, gender and generation cohort and observations of their linguistic behaviour were undertaken in a semi-structured face-to-face question-and-answer format.
- My *participation* in this community aided me to observe and detail its members' language choices with different interlocutors and under different circumstances.

In other words, the phenomenological approach emphasises inter-subjective understanding and empathy, while the empirical stresses systematic observation and recording of the social environment in which speakers interact. However, I have to add (following Dereshiwsky, 1999) that this distinction is, of course, more a matter of emphasis than a strict dichotomy. Next, I outline the stages of the fieldwork for this thesis.

4. 3 Doing Fieldwork

Formal fieldwork for this study commenced in May 2003 and lasted until September of the same year. However, informal contacts were established as early as December 2001 through family and friends in the target community and are still on-going.

A participant observation methodology was chosen as the primary data collection technique mainly because the Ikwerre people of Port Harcourt are largely unknown with regard to their internal organisation, norms and values. This methodology is therefore especially appropriate since it allows a logic and process of inquiry that is flexible and places special interest in human meaning and interaction as viewed from the perspective of insiders as opposed to outsiders. Moreover, this approach makes it possible for the investigator to gather and interpret social behaviours in naturalistic everyday life situations and settings.

The fieldwork for this study followed the three stages of observation suggested by Spradley (1980), but with some adaptations: Stage I - descriptive, Stage II - focused, and Stage III - selective. I started the fieldwork with wide focused observations, since I sought to obtain a fairly rapid overview of the demography of the target community. At this stage I combined descriptive observations with face-to-face ethnographic interviews. Findings from this stage of the fieldwork provided evidence that the family is the single most important unit of social structure in the Ikwerre community (see Chapter 2, Section 2.2.3 for details about the role of the family in Ikwerre society). This outcome had a huge impact on the latter stages of the fieldwork. Also, during this phase an important objective was to discover if there were divergent patterns of socialisation and language use exhibited by different generations of speakers.

As a result of these initial observations, I, naturally, used the family as the starting point and basic unit for the second stage of participant observation. Here, the main focus was on speaker variation in language choice patterns with different types of interlocutors, though I was also interested in language attitudes amongst different cohorts of speakers and in ascertaining the social network ties existing between and across members of different generations. As noted in section 4.1 above, a total of 76 speakers consisting of three generational cohorts were selected from ten family groups. Information about their language attitudes and social network ties was obtained through a combination of direct observation, face-to-face interview/questionnaire elicitations and matched guise experiments. After identifying the general patterns of language choice on a broad level, the scope of the observation narrowed to allow for selective observations of specific linguistic behaviours at the interactional level in comparable settings. In other words, at the selective observation stage, I focused on code-switching in intergenerational conversations. A substantial amount of tape-recorded data of naturally-occurring conversation was made involving different family members.

From the preceding discussion, it should be apparent that the fieldwork for this study followed a dialectic process of data collection and analysis analogous to that advocated by Li Wei (1994). That is, the choice of what exactly was to be the focus of the investigation depended on what had been observed and understood already. In fact, descriptive observations of the social context carried on even when the scope of study became narrower and more focused.

Following in section 4.3.1 is an outline of the statistical software and procedures utilised in the analysis of the data presented in Chapters 5 and 6 of this project.

4. 3. 1 Statistical analysis

The statistical analyses presented in this study were carried out on SPSS 12 for Windows and MINITAB 14, while the Bar-Charts were produced using Microsoft Excel. SPSS and MINITAB are powerful and robust computer statistical analysis software packages, which are easily learnt, flexible and very useful for data manipulation.[54]

The initial descriptive statistical analysis of the data collected in Port Harcourt indicated that it came from a 'non-normal population' (see next chapter for details). In statistical terms this means that the sample data are not normally distributed, therefore 'parametric' tests could not be applied to them. A parametric test subsumes that the data is:

1. Normally distributed data: It is assumed that the data are from a normally distributed population.
2. Homogeneity of variance: This assumption means that the variances should not change systematically throughout the data.
3. Interval data: Data should be measured at least at the interval level. In other words, this means that the distance between points of your scale should be equal at all parts along the scale.
4. Independence: This is based on the assumption that data from different subjects are independent, which means that the behaviour of one participant does not influence the behaviour of another.

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[54] See Field, 2002 and Norušis, 2004 for details on doing statistics with SPSS; Ryan & Joiner, 1994 and Ryan, Joiner & Cryer, 2005 for data manipulation using MINITAB; Woods, Fletcher & Hughes, 1986 on doing statistics in linguitics.

Since, as I pointed out above that my Port Harcourt Ikwerre data showed a deviation from normality (i.e. they did not meet the criteria for the application of parametric tests), I turned to non-parametric tests as a means of testing the hypotheses of interest.

According to Field (2002: 49), non-parametric tests are sometimes known as assumption-free tests because they make no assumptions about the type of data on which they can be used. Most of these tests work on the principle of ranking the data, that is, finding the lowest score and giving it a rank of 1, then finding the next highest score and giving it a rank of 2, and so on. This process results in high scores being represented by large ranks, and low scores by small ranks. The analysis is then carried out on the ranks rather than the actual data. This is an ingenious way around the problem of using data that breaks the parametric assumptions. However, this ingenuity has a drawback: by ranking the data we lose some information about the magnitude of difference between scores and because of this non-parametric tests are less powerful than their parametric counterparts. According to statisticians (Field, 2002; Norušis, 2004), the notion of statistical power is fairly simple: it points to the ability of a test to find an effect that genuinely exists. Therefore, by saying that non-parametric tests are less powerful, we are saying that if there is a genuine effect in our data, then a parametric test is more likely to detect it than a non-parametric one. Thus, there is an increased chance of a type II error (i.e. more chance of accepting that there is no difference between groups when, in reality, a difference exists). In real terms, you are more likely to miss a significant effect if you use a non-parametric test. In order to combat this shortcoming, a host of statistical procedures abound (see Field, 2002 for overviews). The ones discussed here, are specifically those utilised in this project.

1. Correlation: It is regularly fascinating for researchers to know what relationship exists, if any, between two or more variables. A correlation, therefore, is a measure of the linear relationship between variables. The relationship between variables could be *positive* or *negative* or *not related*. If positive, it would mean for example, that the more 'fatty-foods' that A eats the 'fatter' A becomes; if negative, the more 'fatty-foods' that A eats the 'thinner' he becomes; the relationship could be not related at all, which would mean that A's weight remained constant regardless of how much 'fatty-foods' he ate. Essentially, there are two types of correlation: *bivariate* and *partial*. A bivariate correlation is a correlation between two variables, whereas a partial correlation looks at the relationship between two variables while 'controlling' the effect of one or more additional variables. The latter applies to parametric data and the earlier to non-parametric data. Since, the data analysed in this study is non-parametric, the bivariate correlation procedure was selected. This procedure is calculated using Spearman's correlation coefficient, a non-parametric statistic. Spearman's tests works by first ranking the data, and then applying parametric equation to those ranks.
2. Comparing two means: It is not always that researchers are merely interested in looking at which variables co-vary, or predict an outcome. Instead, the focus might be to explore the effect of one variable on another by systematically altering some aspects of that variable. So, to test for the effect of one variable on another, this thesis uses the *t*-test. There are two types of *t*-test, namely: the *independent samples t*-test and the *paired-samples t*-test. The earlier is utilised when there are two experimental conditions and different subjects were assigned to each condition. Since, this was not the

case in this study; the *t*-test used is the *paired-samples t*-test. This is used when there are two experimental conditions and the same subjects took part in both conditions of the experiment.

3. Comparing several means: The *t*-test is a very useful tool in data manipulation, however, it is restricted to situations in which there are only two levels of the independent variable (i.e. two experimental groups). It is common, in most sociolinguistic research, to run tests in which there are three, four, or even five levels of the independent variable and in these cases the *t*-test is inappropriate. Instead, a technique called analysis of variance (ANOVA) is preferred. ANOVA has the advantage that it can be utilised to manipulate situations in which there are several independent variables. That is, with ANOVA it is possible to tell how these independent variables interact with each other and what effects these interactions have on the dependent variable. An ANOVA produces an *F-statistic* or *F-ratio*, which is similar to the *t*-statistic in that it compares the amount of systematic variance in the data to the amount of unsystematic variance. However, ANOVA to borrow the words of Field (2002: 244) is an *omnibus* test, which means that it tests for an overall experimental effect. Therefore, there are things that an ANOVA cannot tell us. Although ANOVA tells us whether the experimental manipulation was generally successful, it does not supply specific details about which groups were affected. This is where the correlation test and *t*-test discussed above emerge as very important complementary tests to ANOVA in a study such as this one.

Having presented a global perspective of the statistical packages and procedures adopted in this research, I now turn my attention to a discussion of the matched guise experiment and language attitudes questionnaire employed to analyse the language attitudes of these 76 informants and the methods used to obtain the social network data.[55]

4. 4 Language attitudes tests

For the tests, two Ikwerre bilinguals (a man and a woman) were each recorded reading the same 40 second passage twice, once in Ikwerre and once in NPE (see sample text in Appendix VII). The four voices were ordered so that Ikwerre versions alternated with NPE ones, and no voice was followed immediately by its matched guise. Like Ferrer & Sankoff (2003) in their Valencia study, the instructions for the test and the questionnaire that were administered to the respondents were both given in Ikwerre and NPE, depending on the preference of the informant in question. The respondents were told at the beginning of the test that they would hear four speakers reading the same passage, some in Ikwerre and some in NPE. The fact that they would hear the same speakers' voices twice was concealed from them.

Before listening to each voice, the sixty-one out of the seventy-six respondents who were old enough and could read and write, were given a response sheet containing ten traits (see Table 4 below) on which they had to rate the speaker. The traits presented to the respondents for their judgments were selected based primarily on observations and general impressions, and are traits used successfully in other matched guise tests in bilingual communities across the world. Further, I have to point

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[55] See Chapters 5 and 6 this study for detailed presentations of the statistical analyses of the Port Harcourt Ikwerre data.

out that the choice of traits was also largely influenced by Ikwerre culture and tradition. Stemming from my ethnographic survey of the community I noticed, for instance that unlike in most Western industrialised societies where being 'thin' is synonymous with beauty, in this community the opposite is the case. For them a 'thin person' is not beautiful at all, rather such a person is seen as suffering, poor and unable to feed oneself (as illustrated in Table 4 below, where 'beautiful' and 'thin' are at opposite ends of the rating scale). Therefore, the traits were words normally used in the Ikwerre community and by selecting these I was able to overcome difficulties I would have faced had I chosen traits with no Ikwerre or NPE equivalents.

Each voice used in the matched guise test was played once, and the respondents were given enough time to complete all their ratings for this voice before the next one was played to them. In order not to exclude the remaining fifteen informants (consisting of: 8 grandparents (3 = men/5 = women); 1 = mother; 2 = boys; 4 = girls, who were illiterate and far too young to complete the task without assistance), their responses to the guises were elicited individually and verbally, employing either Ikwerre or NPE as appropriate to each informant. Although the end-result was extremely useful, this was a painstaking and arduous exercise, because I had to play the guises and elicit speaker responses separately for each speaker so as to avoid individuals being influenced by the answers of their peers.

In selecting the passage to be read for the matched guise test, care was taken to select a passage that was emotionally neutral, i.e. free from strong expressions of feeling which might influence the respondents' view of the speakers' personalities. The style of the passage was informal and it had only everyday vocabulary. In fact, I used a popular folk tale common to the Ikwerre and this was, of course, transcribed into NPE for the Pidgin version. As I have already mentioned in Chapter 3, section

3.6.2, Agheyisi & Fishman (1970) stress the significance of maintaining compatibility between topic and style of speaking in selecting passages for this purpose, since otherwise the respondents' reactions may be affected by the incongruity of one or other of these.

Table 4 Matched guise rating scale

Traits	5 +	4 +	3 +	2 +	1 +	Traits
Attended school	-	-	-	-	-	Did not attend school
Modern	-	-	-	-	-	Not modern
Ambitious	-	-	-	-	-	Un-ambitious
Hardworking	-	-	-	-	-	Lazy
Honest	-	-	-	-	-	Not very honest
Friendly	-	-	-	-	-	Unfriendly
Beautiful	-	-	-	-	-	Thin
Tall	-	-	-	-	-	Short
Generous	-	-	-	-	-	Not very generous
Confident	-	-	-	-	-	Not confident

The main consideration in selecting the speakers (actors) for the matched guise experiments was that they be representative of Ikwerre balanced bilinguals, that is those who can converse in both Ikwerre and NPE fluently and with ease. I did not want to compare impressions given by speakers who were not fluent in NPE, because in such cases there would be too many obvious inherent contrasts between the two guises, the speaker's fluency in Ikwerre contrasting with his/her difficulty in NPE and *vice versa*. Instead, it was felt to be more interesting to look for subtle contrasts which might exist between the two guises that were equally fluent and confident. Accordingly, the actors recorded were fluent bilinguals who themselves were

members of the Port Harcourt Ikwerre community, but not part of the informant sample.

Unlike Bentahila's (1983) study of bilingual Moroccans' attitudes to their languages, which focused on the accents of the matched guise speakers, the present study makes a departure from this and focuses on the impressions the languages used by the two speakers in each guise created in the minds of the respondents. Therefore, the aim of my matched guise test was to investigate how the informants' attitudinal judgements were influenced by non-linguistic factors. The participants in the attitude analysis were required to rate the speakers for each of the traits listed in Table 4 on a five-point scale. For example, for the trait *honest,* the scale would cover the range from 'very honest', through the neutral point, 'neither honest nor dishonest', to the extreme of 'not very honest'. Thus, a rating of 'very honest' would be represented by 5 on the scale, that of 'not very honest' by 1, and so on. Once collected and collated, these scores (presented in Tables 5-10 of Appendix III) were statistically analysed to see what relationship exists, if any, between language attitudes and the identified language choice patterns.[56]

At the end of the matched guise test the participants were then administered a short face-to-face language attitudes questionnaire for comparative purposes (see Figure 1 below).

Figure 1 Language attitudes questionnaire

Language proficiency

a. If you had to describe how well you speak Ikwerre, which would you say?

3 = Perfect Ikwerre (Like an indigene of Ikwerreland).

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[56] See Chapter 5, section 5.4 for a presentation of the statistical analysis applied to the language attitudes scores. May I also acknowledge the productive comments of Professor Peter Patrick, who suggested to me ways of making the traits more culture specific.

2 = Very well.

1 = Moderately well.

0 = Hardly at all.

b. If you had to describe how well you speak NPE, which would you say?

3 = Perfect everyday Port Harcourt NPE.

2 = Very well.

1 = Moderately well.

0 = Hardly at all.

Language preference

c. Which language do you use when you talk to people: Ikwerre or NPE?

3 = All the time.

2 = Most of the time.

1 = Some times.

0 = Not at all.

The first question asked about the respondents level of proficiency in speaking either Ikwerre/and or NPE, while the second question sought to ascertain the respondents favourite language (that is, their language preference). Answers to these questions it was believed would provide insights into which language is preferred over another in a speaker's routine day-to-day interactions.

4. 5 Gathering social network data

According to Fu (2005), any study of personal networks faces a fundamental problem: how to conceptualise and measure a network's size and range. It is difficult to

delineate a personal network precisely because, conceptually, there is usually no clear boundary around a network, and many network members change over time. In practice, it is also nearly impossible, or at least impractical, to list all of the members in an egocentric network. In order to overcome this issue, a number of studies have attempted to make estimates by using various network generators in surveys, such as name generator (Burt, 1984; Campbell & Lee, 1991; Fischer, 1982; Marsden, 1987, 2003), position generator (Erickson, 2003, 2004; Lin & Dumin, 1986; Lin, Fu & Hsung, 2001; Lin, 2001) and resource generator (Snijders, 1999; van der Gaag & Snijders, 2003, 2004).

Others (Lonkila, 1999; Pool & Kochen, 1978) have explored personal networks by using a contact diary approach, which requires the informant to keep a personal log of all contacts of any sort for a number of sample days. A major drawback in all these methods is that they apply to Western industrialised societies with high literacy levels, and thus, cannot be so efficiently utilised in the Port Harcourt Ikwerre community with low to nil literacy rates. Hence, in this study, I have adopted a combination of participant observation and ethnographic face-to-face interviews to collect data on individuals' social network ties.

It was decided to examine the exchange and interactive networks of the 76 respondents, because they exert different degrees and kinds of influence upon speakers' language behaviour. The exchange networks of the 76 speakers used in this study were selected in two phases. Firstly, participant observation elicited an initial list of about twenty-five to thirty-five non-kin contacts with whom the speakers interacted regularly and relied upon for personal favours and other symbolic or material resources. This list was then presented to the speaker during the interview phase so as to ascertain whether the ties included were indeed deemed by him/her as

important relations. The list was further adjusted in line with the speaker's response to arrive at a final list of twenty non-kin contacts per speaker, and this forms the basis for the resulting analyses of the speaker's exchange networks. The figure of twenty such contacts was arrived at on the basis that this is normally taken as an acceptable and reasonable basis for quantitative analysis (see Mitchell, 1986).

The restrictions that I placed on the nature of these ties are also worth noting. For instance, I found that the larger families in Port Harcourt (see Table 1 above) usually have a greater number of family members with whom they interacted regularly and depended on for the exchange of material goods, services and for moral support. Therefore, it would have been unfair on the smaller families with lesser numbers of kin members in the first place to allow an analysis of their exchange networks where some respondents in the sample would have more kin members than others in their exchange networks. It was, therefore, decided to exclude kin from the exchange networks in order to make sure that each respondent had the same number of non-kin contacts in their ties for ease of computation and analysis.

Furthermore, it was also deemed that this strategy was appropriate for early twenty-first century Port Harcourt given the findings of Fischer (1982), Hollinger & Heller (1990) which suggested that as a result of economic modernisation and urbanisation, kinship ties are loosened while non-kin relations tend to gain importance in personal social networks. Moreover, some people interact and exchange goods and services with their relatives on a regular basis simply as part of routine family life, therefore, the decision to concentrate on non-family ties was aimed at allowing for more potentially significant differentiations between speakers.

It is important at this stage to qualify what the term 'regularly' as used in the previous paragraph means. Li Wei (1994) explains that the term 'regularly' when

referring to his Chinese community research could signify exchange networks that were daily, weekly or even monthly as long as his subjects deemed such contacts to be so. He stresses that the intervals between meetings were often bridged by contacts over the telephone. However, the term as employed in this study is rather stricter and refers to the people with whom ego physically interacts with either everyday or no fewer than five days a week. Despite recent modernisation in Port Harcourt, with the concomitant emphasis on non-kin ties, the very nature of African societies is such that close knit networks are pervasive. The Ikwerre community of Port Harcourt is no exception in this and it was clear from my observations even prior to the fieldwork phase that interactions within social networks were very dense and multiplex. Unlike Western industrialised societies where modern means of communication are widely available, people meet up in Port Harcourt almost every evening to interact with others whom they rely upon for the exchange of goods and services, praise, criticism and moral support. Hence, it was felt necessary to stipulate a relatively high number of physical weekly encounters in order for an exchange to be classed as truly regular.

To measure the speakers' levels of social integration, I have devised two network indices namely an 'indigenous' and a 'generational' index. The former measures the number of Ikwerre versus non-Ikwerre ties out of the twenty exchange network ties listed for each speaker. The generational index, on the other hand, captures the contrast between the number of people interacted with who belong to the same generation as the speaker and those who they also regularly interact with but belong to other age groups (either younger or older). The position taken in this study is that those speakers whose network ties (exchange or interactive) are predominantly composed of indigenous ties would tend to make use of Ikwerre-dominant language choice patterns because they are constrained by the composition of their networks,

conversely those with fewer indigenous ties would display less traditional linguistic behaviours such as the use of bilingual and NPE-dominant language choice patterns. In a similar vein, those speakers whose social networks are composed mainly of age-mates would be more likely to strictly exhibit linguistic behaviours characteristic of that generation, whereas those who also interacted out with their own age cohort may be exposed to and therefore employ a greater range of linguistic choices.

Given these parameters with respect to my strategies for correlating social networks and language choices amongst the Port Harcourt Ikwerre, it is important to bear in mind that I have modified and adapted the indices employed by others addressing similar research questions so as to suit the very unique setting in which this study was carried out. I have mentioned already my departures from the scheme used fruitfully in Li Wei (1994); in addition, my constraints on the calculation of indices in Port Harcourt are also a radical departure from those used by Bortoni-Ricardo (1985); Gal (1979) and Milroy (1987a). My motivation for doing so stems partly from my prior knowledge of the social dynamics of Port Harcourt and partly from the suggestion in Milroy (1987a), that the indices and measurements used in a social network analysis must reflect the conditions which have repeatedly been found important in a wide range of network studies in predicting the extent to which normative pressures are applied by local community. Moreover, they must be recoverable from data collected in the field and easily verifiable. Thus, the 'indigenous' and 'generational' indices used in the analyses I intend to present in Chapter 6 were constructed with the above principles in mind.

The same indices (indigenous and generational) were also used in the analysis of the 76 speakers' interactive networks. As with the exchange networks, the names of twenty people with whom the informants interacted routinely but did not rely upon

for moral support and the exchange of goods and services were elicited. What I found, as I mentioned earlier in Chapter 2, section 2.2.3, was that in Port Harcourt, people did not make such marked distinctions between their exchange and interactive networks. That is, in a given informant's exchange networks, the people who they exchanged goods and services with were not mutually exclusive with those contacts in this network type. This is a direct result of the extended family system typical of the Port Harcourt Ikwerre (described at some length in Chapter 2 and illustrated in Example 3 of the same chapter).

Suffice it to say at this juncture that due to differences in level of education and occupation amongst the informant sample, certain speakers are bound to have more people in their exchange and interactive networks than others. In order to achieve a sufficiently balanced analysis, therefore, it was decided to collate equal amounts of contacts for each individual (20 ties per speaker). The number of these contacts who were Ikwerre and who belonged to the same generation were computed and used to construct 'indigenous' and 'generational' indices. Here also, as in the previous discussion, the assumption is that those informants with more indigenous than non-indigenous ties in their interactive personal networks will display the use of Ikwerre-dominant language choice patterns, whereas those with fewer indigenous ties would tend to use more bilingual and NPE-dominant language choice patterns. Equally, those speakers whose social networks are composed of chiefly their age-mates would display linguistic behaviours associated with that particular generation.

Finally, I want to stress that while the aim of analysing my informants' social networks is not solely to measure the structural properties – density and reachability – of these ties (see Mitchell, 1969, 1986). Instead, I intend to use the technique (after Edwards, 1986; Gal, 1979; Li Wei, 1994; Li Wei *et al.*, 2000 and Milroy,

1987a/1995), to demonstrate the respondent's degree of integration with the Ikwerre community and how this affects their linguistic behaviours (i.e. their language choice patterns). It is my belief, that the informants language attitudes and personal network ties would be reflected in their code choice and what they do with their chosen code(s), therefore it was important that this was investigated. To do this I recorded the respondents communicative interactions in pertinent settings. Following immediately below I outline how the conversational data for this project was gathered. For the analytical framework utilised to analyse the conversational data, see Chapter 3, section 3.4.3 and Chapter 7 of this study.

4. 6 Tape recordings

In this study, in order to fully investigate the complex discourse strategies underlying speakers' choice of Ikwerre and/or NPE, an amount of spontaneous conversation was recorded using a SONY M-560V micro-cassette recorder. The recordings were later digitised and transferred onto compact discs to ensure their longevity and preserve the quality of the original data (see Allen *et al.,* in press). To guarantee that the data was reasonably characteristic of normal, everyday behaviour and that each data-set was comparable, I recorded conversations shortly before, during and shortly after meal-times, during children's play-time, and interactions that arose when family visits took place. The rationale for choosing these situations is that, in an African setting like the Ikwerre community of Port Harcourt, such occasions offer the greatest opportunity for capturing both inter-generational and intra-generational conversation. However, I did

not entirely exclude other settings and situations and made recordings in a range of other pertinent situations, whenever and wherever it seemed appropriate.[57]

I sought permission initially from the head of the households (usually the fathers and grandfathers) before I tape recorded the conversations, and I was fortunate enough not to encounter any insurmountable objections (largely, I believe, because of the cordial relations that I had built through extended contact with the subjects both prior to and during the fieldwork phase). Moreover, people in contemporary Port Harcourt are not as unfamiliar with tape recordings as subjects would have been, for instance, when Labov undertook his New York survey back in 1966 and this will no doubt have helped. In fact, most people in Port Harcourt own personal tape recorders which they use to record neighbourhood concerts and church services for play back. Therefore, the informants quickly lost self-consciousness seconds after I switched on the tape recorder.[58]

Having said this, I have to add that it was not as straightforward in all situations as the above discussion would suggest. When I arrived in Port Harcourt in May 2003 the local elections had just been held and the story making the rounds then was that it was not free and fair. Indeed, most of my informants confided in me that a prominent local politician had rigged the results to his advantage. Given this scenario there was some tension in the air, people did not know who to trust because everyone suspected everyone as aiding and abetting the local chieftain. It happened that at the end of my second week in the community there was going to be a neighbourhood meeting where a recent report of vandalism by some local youths was to be discussed.

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[57] The reader should note that differences in setting between these interactions and the more intimate types were borne in mind during the subsequent analyses. Further, I recorded interactions at neighbourhood meetings, schools, market stalls, coach stations, and in bars and local restaurants in the company of some of my informants, etc.

[58] See also Li Wei, 1994; Milroy, 1987a, b; Sebba, 1993; Trudgill, 1986 for their accounts of tape recording subjects in Newcastle upon Tyne, Belfast, London and Norwich.

I was informed of the meeting and invited to it by my main contact person in the community. He had already introduced me to a handful of people, therefore I saw this as an opportunity to get to meet many more people. Being a stranger to the gathering, before the meeting commenced I was introduced to those who did not know me already and my purpose in the community was declared. My contact person informed them that I would just sit in and observe. He also asked (i.e. on my behalf) the other parents and young adults present that if it was okay with them that I would like to tape record some of their interactions. This request met with no obvious objection for as long as the reported vandalism was the subject of their deliberation. However, midway through the discussions it strayed from the topic of the destruction of public/private property in the neighbourhood by local youths to heated accusations and counter accusations against several parties suspected of masterminding the election fraud. At this point I was harshly ordered to switch off the recording equipment and to go and wait outside. Initially, I was surprised and taken aback by this action. I was later informed by my main contact person that they were scared I could be a journalist or perhaps working for the politician in question. To quote his exact words:

'Dem tok se:y (.) dem no-no yu from Adam. Se:y yu fit bi jonalist (.) yu fit sef de wok for chif.'

'They said [that] they did not know you from Adam, that you could be a journalist or indeed, working for the chief'.

After he gave me this information their reaction at the meeting made sense to me. Trust and acceptance as a member of the 'inner-circle' is very fundamental to successful research of this kind.

Another challenge to recording subjects concerning trust, which I encountered in the first month of the fieldwork, was the wall of excuses put up by some husbands making it difficult for me to get through to their spouses to tape record them. These excuses ranged from statements like: 'they were going to the market' to 'they will be cooking the family dinner'. In fact, anything these men could do or say to keep me from capturing these women alone on tape was done at this time. It was not until after several weeks of living in the community and participating in their lives were those barriers that almost scuppered this project finally lifted. Once trust was built and my purpose/intentions and good faith became clear to most people, I was allowed to come and go freely in the community. Those restrictions, spoken/unspoken and physical, were gradually removed and replaced by endearing friendships. From that time onwards I no longer copiously asked for permission each time I was due to record as there was an understanding that this was part of the relationship between them (the informants) and me (the fieldworker).[59]

The issue of trust is a very important one in participant observation research, starting with a discussion of gaining access into the host community, I elaborate on this topic in the sections that follow. However, in the next section immediately below I discuss the transcription procedure adopted in the analysis of the spoken data.

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[59] See also Ezeh, 2003; Izugbara, 2000; Lee, 1984, who report similar situations in their ethnographic studies.

4. 6. 1 Analysis of the tape recorded data

As I pointed out in Chapter 1, section 1.4, tape recordings of the seventy-six informants in routine conversations was made and analysed sequentially to highlight instances of conversational code-switching, and how this device is deployed by the speakers to realise various communicative goals. It has already been noted in this chapter that I assumed the role of a participant observer, which offers the best opportunity to capture potentially relevant linguistic behaviours such as turn-taking (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974); gaps/silence (Coates, 1995); topic-shift (Psathas, 1995); overlapping talk and how people 'repair' breakdowns in conversation (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2002; Markee, 2000), *inter alia.*

The first step taken in analysing the data (see Chapter 7 of this study for a detailed analysis and discussion of Ikwerre-NPE conversational code-switching) was to transcribe the recordings. It was felt that a full transcription of each recording was a necessary, although, time-consuming venture because of the very limited descriptions of Ikwerre-NPE code-switching behaviour available in scholarly literature. Since my research was to be the first systematic investigation of the phenomenon. I was not certain what behaviours my recordings would highlight. Moreover, after Stubbs (1983: 228), I felt that the 'estrangement effect' that transcription inevitably involves would allow me to notice patterns and structures that perhaps I would have missed by simply listening to the tapes.

The method I adopted was to initially make a rough handwritten transcription of the data-sets while in the field in Port Harcourt. Upon my arrival back in Newcastle upon Tyne, the tape recordings were digitised as I mentioned in section 4.6 above, using 'Audio Cleaning Lab Deluxe 2004' software. This allowed me to mark certain

points on the recording, shuttle quickly back and forth, and accurately measure the lengths of pauses, turns etc. Later, I typed up my initial field transcriptions on my laptop computer and then listened to the recordings several times to attempt to fill in any missing or ambiguous extracts. As the transcriptions in Chapter 7 illustrate, I adopted a 'basic transcript' (Ochs, 1979/1999) format and I have not attempted to show phonological features except where these refer to sound play. According to Ochs (1979: 44), one of the important features of a transcript is that it should not have too much information. A transcript that is too detailed is difficult to follow and assess. A more useful transcript is a more selective one.

I decided against transcribing certain sections of the tape recorded data for various reasons. For example, I pointed out earlier that when I arrived in Port Harcourt the local elections had just been held and there was speculation that it was neither free nor fair. It happened that on a particular occasion I was invited by one of my informants (speaker 19I in Table 2 of Chapter 3) to accompany him and other friends for a night out at a local bar. I had earlier asked him if I could record interactions at the bar and he was okay with the idea. It transpired, however, that when under the influence he mentioned having received money from a local politician to help falsify election results. He stated that he worked as a returning officer at the said election. This information was captured on tape. Although, speaker 19I did not specifically request that I wipe this detail off the tape I unilaterally decided not to use it based on issues of responsibilities of the data collector/researcher to informants/subjects as outlined in the BAAL guidelines (1994), Data Protection Act (DPA, 1998) and the Human Rights Act (HRA, 1998). Moreover, I felt that using such information, although rich in code-switching behaviour may damage 19I's character in the community and attract personal harm to his person and family if he

were subsequently identified through the transcripts. Cameron (2002: 23) makes the point that people who live in small and close-knit communities (like the Ikwerre community of Port Harcourt) are often worried about the possibility that individual speakers and people mentioned in their talk will be recognisable to those reading the transcript, with potentially embarrassing consequences. Thus, in this study I have used numbers to identify each informant and letters of the alphabet for family groupings (see Tables 2 and 3 of Chapter 3 and Table 1 of this chapter). In addition, I have also used pseudonyms in the transcript and my analytic comments for both the informants and anyone else they speak about to maintain confidentiality and anonymity.

As soon as the transcription was done I could start analysing the data. Like Wade (1997) I approached it with few expectations of what I would find, however I was guided to some degree by the work of such bilingual code-switching analysts as Auer (1984a, b, 1988, 1990, 1991, 1995, 1998, 2000; Gafaranga, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001; Gafaranga & Torras, 2002a, b; Gal, 1979; Gardner-Chloros, 1991; Gumperz, 1982, 1992a, b; Li Wei, 1994, 1998; Li Wei *et al.*, 2000; Myers-Scotton, 1976, 1980, 1982, 1983, 1993, 1999, 2000; Myers-Scotton *et al.*, 1998; Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai, 2001; Sebba, 1993; Sebba & Wootton, 1998) and conversation analysis theoreticians (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984; Beatie, 1983; Coates, 1995; Heritage, 1989; Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2002; Jefferson *et al.*, 1987; Local, 1996; Ochs, 1979/1999; Sacks *et al.*, 1974; Ten Have, 1991, 2000).

Rather than looking for instances of a particular type of code-switching behaviour, I initially examined each transcript for all types of behaviour already in the literature from other similar bilingual situations. Once these behaviours had been identified I began the process of codifying them. At this point I made recourse to the literature for guidance on appropriate classifications. For example, I had identified a

number of code-switching behaviour that involved turn-taking in non-dyadic conversations. As a guide to categorising and explicating this data I made use of Coates' (1995), Hutchby & Wooffitt's (2002) detailed descriptions of conversational analytic techniques and related behaviours occurring in other bilingual communities across the world (for instance, in the works of Auer, 1984a, b, 2000; Li Wei, 1994, 2000 *et al.*; Myers-Scotton, 1993, 2002; Sebba, 1993). I decided not to consider the grammaticality/structure of the code-switching data. This decision was due to the necessity of restricting the scope of my data collection and analysis task. However, I hold the view that future investigation into the grammatical and syntactic conventions of Ikwerre-NPE code-switching will be invaluable as a topic for further investigation since it is already clear to me that significant differences exist between NSE speakers and NPE speakers at the levels of morphology and syntax as I have already pointed out in an article titled 'A basic description and analytic treatment of noun clauses in Nigerian Pidgin' to be published in the *Nordic Journal of African Studies* (see further, Agheyisi, 1971, 1983, 1988; Faraclas, 1985a, b, 1986a, b, 1987, 1988, 1990, 1996; Faraclas *et al.*, 1984; Ihemere (forthcoming, a)).

Finally, in this thesis where it has been possible, I have attempted to record non-verbal behaviour where it is a salient accompaniment to verbal behaviour, drawing copiously from my observational notes. It is, however important to point out that these notes are limited in their coverage, for as Ochs (1979/1999) correctly observes, while the researcher's eyes are focused on notes, contextual changes in the situation at hand are not being taken in. While I agree with Ochs, in this regard, it is important to note that she made these observations largely with regard to child language studies. In my experience, of adult-adult speech behaviour, non-verbal behaviours tend to be seen to co-occur with language but do not necessarily constitute

part of the idea conveyed (for instance, see Extract 4 in Chapter 7 of this study). By and large, the message content is considered to be conveyed through language (Ochs, 1979: 52). The transcription symbols (see Table 15 in Appendix V) for both verbal and non-verbal behaviour used in this study are adapted from Hutchby & Wooffitt (2002), Ochs (1979/1999) and Psathas (1995). It is worth mentioning, here, that in 2000 a group of researchers including Mark Sebba, Penelope Gardner-Chloros and a host of others under the 'Language Interaction in Plurilingual and Plurilectal Speakers Group (LIPPS Group)' produced what they call 'The LIDES Coding Manual'. The aim of this manual according to the LIPPS Group is to establish a basic standard for transcribing bilingual interactional data and create a central resource to enable researchers to share their data with each other. They claim that researchers in bilingualism at the moment can only share data by making a private arrangement. Meanwhile, researchers in other fields such as language acquisition have both standard ways of transcribing and coding data, and international databases to which they can contribute and on which they can draw for comparative data. I commend the efforts of this group and hope to draw on their recommendations later on when I decide to prepare my bilingual data for deposition in an international data- base (see The LIDES Coding Manual, 2000; Sebba & Dray, in press).

Therefore, it is important to bear in mind that although the transcription conventions detailed in Table 15 of Appendix V obviously do not represent all the distinctions that can be made in the analysis of talk. They do, however, aim to convey to the reader a description of those features relevant to the analysis of the organisation of talk-in-interaction with respect of Ikwerre-NPE conversational code-switching. In the next section, I present a discussion of issues relating to gaining access.

4. 7 Gaining access

As I mentioned in section 4.6 of this chapter, the major problem faced when carrying out any research is often that of access (Alty & Rodham, 1998). Access has been linked with essential elements of building rapport, like 'establishing trust and familiarity, showing genuine interest, assuring confidentiality and not being judgemental' (Glassner & Loughlin, 1987: 35). It has also been viewed as an initial phase of entry to the research setting around which a bargain is struck; a process in which the researcher's right to be present in a social setting may need to be continually negotiated (Lee, 1993: 122). Other researchers, believe that access is best promoted by reassuring 'gatekeepers' that confidentiality will be maintained, a report will be produced upon request, or at the end of a study. Assurances of confidentiality may demonstrate the trustworthiness of a researcher, while a promised report may cause participants to feel they will also get something from the research (Alty & Rodham, 1998: 277).

Informed consent - that is, divulging one's identity and research purpose to everyone is considered a central issue of professional ethical codes and guidelines (see AQR guidelines, 2005; BAAL guidelines, 1994). According to Adler & Adler (1994) and Woods (1992), some researchers have sought access to intimate settings behind 'fronts' by using covert methods, and have deceived subjects. They have not told them about the research role or purpose of research. Further, in Adler & Adler's (1994) view, deliberately to embark upon a research project using covert methods is likened to skating on thin ice. Researchers who adopt covert methods argue that impression management is part of human social life and the notion of people wearing masks is not hard to apply to covert research. 'Fronts' are not always easy to penetrate

and some ethnographers have resorted to covert measures to explore behind the scenes. In the debate about covert research, some ethnographers argue strongly against the approach, because the practice runs against the principle of 'informed consent'. It invades privacy, contaminates private spheres of life and involves deception (See further, Cameron, 2002; Coates, 1995; Johnstone, 2000).

Hence, according to Woods (1992: 379), some 'seek to justify covert research they have conducted (like Humphreys, 1975), and others see some as unavoidable (see Denzin, 1968). Woods (ibid.) elaborates upon the fact that "consent" is not a straightforward business, there is a "hierarchy of consent", senior personnel acting as "gatekeepers" and subordinates possibly being forced to participate. Also, the researcher encounters so many people during a typical study, often casually, that it is sometimes impossible to secure the consent of all. Further, it is common knowledge that ethnographers rarely tell all of the people they study everything about the research. It is not surprising then, that gaining informed consent is not straightforward, nor is it easily achievable (de Laine, 2000).

The participant-observer who enters a setting to do fieldwork is required to engage in appropriate activities for the situation, while simultaneously observing people, activities and physical aspects of the situation (Spradley, 1980: 54). Access to the group's interpretive framework is needed for communicating with participants in ways they find immediately recognisable and acceptable. The actor who is able to suspend doubt in the security of their socially situated self and contribute to the group may find their properly staged performance rewarded by rich data (de Laine, 2000: 39). However, Lee (1993: 133) points out that physical access is a precondition for social access, that the latter may become problematic because the researcher is likely to be culturally incompetent and make mistakes. The participant-observer must

interact with people with different assumptions about what behaviour is appropriate for the situation. The researcher's codes, 'recipes' or scripts may be at variance with cultural and interpersonal scripts by which members abide that have evolved in a setting with the duration of time. It is necessary to try to understand how the other person/s experienced you – what they expected you to do (Okun, Fried & Okun, 1999: 146) in order to make adjustments to one's behaviour.

Gaining access to intimate settings could mean uncovering data that reflect negatively on organisations, people and activities. Actors who gain access by ethical or other means to observe the 'inside' secrets of the troupe may be obliged as a member to perform dubious activities they would rather not know about. Deception and fear of being discredited may be risks that are characteristic of covert fieldwork and may cause the researcher to experience considerable research-related stress. One's sense of security may be placed under threat where deception has been used and disclosure is feared. With risk of discrediting information being brought forth there are the attendant possibilities of humiliation, embarrassment and abuse, and an inevitable halt to the research. The 'real' ethnographer behind the mask may, therefore, be one who is basically insecure (de Laine, 2000).

These statements make Malinowski's (1922) observation relevant even today, when he says that the ethnographic quest has been to understand the beliefs, values, fears and aspirations, the implicit meanings of a people and how they make sense of their world. Grasping the 'native's point of view' is the goal that successive generations of fieldworkers have tried to follow. Thus, following Malinowski (1922) and Milroy (1987b), I introduced myself initially in the community not in my formal capacity as a researcher, but as a 'friend of a friend' mentioning the name of a person who is an insider with whom I had made previous contact and from whom I obtained

names of informants who I could approach. My adoption of this technique in Port Harcourt had the effect of guaranteeing my good faith; moreover, members of the group appeared to feel some obligation to help me in my capacity as a friend of a friend, so that I acquired some of the rights as well as some of the obligations of an insider. Furthermore, my role, at any rate, was defined as rather different from that of a researcher. Except for the initial apprehension expressed by the informants in the first few weeks of my arrival in the community (see earlier sections of this Chapter), the overriding effect of adopting this dual role, that of friend of a friend and researcher is that it made it possible for me to be accepted as an insider, which created the opportunity to obtain rich and incisive tape-recorded interaction data and to carry-out relatively structured interviews without causing any further feelings of mistrust or anxiety from the informants. Closely related to the issue of access is that of field relationship, which will be discussed in the next section.

4. 7. 1 Field relationships

Once in the field and in close contact with the local community, the researcher may find that what is expected is not so much the enactment of a method, but engagement in a relationship, or the role of friend (Lipson, 1989: 50 and section 4.2.1 this study). Fieldwork requires the inquirer to confront controversies, which have been described in the literature as wrestling with 'problems of self identity and relationship' (Schwandt, 1995: 133). Problems of identity and researcher-respondent relationships in actual fieldwork, for a truly ethical outcome, require 'organisation of the connections between self, other and world, and reflection on what is right to do and good to be as a social inquirer' (Schwandt, 1995: 134).

If we focus only on the intellectual angle of research then we miss out on the human side. The dual roles of friend and researcher create the possibility of collecting information willingly shared, as well as unwittingly conveyed (Hansen, 1976: 132). Further, as de Laine (2000) rightly points out, the ethnographer may use confidences passed between friends as data. A paradox of the communicative process is that the more relaxed the participants are in the company of the researcher, the less likely the transfer of personal and secret information will be inhibited, and the more likely betrayal and trust could occur with disclosure. The individual's rights of privacy may be best protected by ensuring subjects are aware that the friend is also a researcher, and by careful consideration of materials that should be kept 'off record' even when this is not explicitly requested by subjects.

Furthermore, dual roles are shown to create ethical implications with disclosure and publication. It is virtually impossible in long-term fieldwork to assume the stance of a neutral observer. However, there are degrees to which one is involved during fieldwork in social, ethical and emotional terms. The utterly detached observer, who stands aloof and is 'dispassionate', would seem to be unable to blend the right kind of cognitive, emotional and ethical capabilities which will successfully unite the analytical with the moral. We know, as Rosaldo (1994: 183) points out, that the researcher takes to the field a repertoire of roles and face-saving practices; that their multiple roles include 'learner', 'friend' and 'collaborator'; and that such roles unite the researcher and other people in bonds of friendship, rather than isolate and detach them. This implies that long-term immersion in the field is a complete experience that requires the researcher to invest all of his/her intellectual, emotional, political, intuitive and moral resources. Additionally, it has been explained that one may equate the covert researcher, who conceals identity, deceives others and betrays trust, as a

morally neutral and 'dispassionate' observer, in some ways akin to the positivistic-oriented 'scientists', who remain detached from people they observe in the field, but the comparison is too simplistic. The self of the covert researcher may be experienced variously, as not 'dispassionate' and uncaring but sympathetic toward the feelings and concerns of subjects, and yet also seemingly an unfeeling and morally neutral observer for whom relationships and people are not personally meaningful. To stand 'dispassionately' aside at crucial moments is to be an 'outsider' in external appearance, but internally the identity is by no means detached or concealed. According to de Lane (2000) and Mitchell (1991), there are no dispassionate observers, only researchers who are represented and experienced. The important point, here, is that when the researcher is party to secret information the impact of personal obligations and relationships on research might be pronounced.

Bearing these important issues in mind, I made a point during my own fieldwork of systematically playing back tape-recorded interactions to the subjects and deleting information in their presence that they were not comfortable with. For instance, on one occasion while I was visiting with two of my informants, a row broke out between the husband and his wife. I captured the heated exchange on tape and would have wanted to include it in my analysis, given the interesting code-switching effects I observed. However, after I stepped in to mediate between the couple, they both asked me to erase this portion of the tape which, of course, I did immediately so as to sustain the trusting relationship that we had already achieved.

4. 7. 2 Field relationships and linguistic competence of the fieldworker

Field relationships may be affected by the linguistic competence of the fieldworker. It is generally believed that if the investigator's linguistic ability is compatible with that of the people under study, fieldwork should progress smoothly and successfully. According to Li Wei (1994), native speaker-like competence certainly helps the fieldworker to uncover some of the minute linguistic details, particularly of non-standard varieties. However, there are only a few field linguists who can lay claim to such competence. The norm is that non-native speakers of the languages or dialects they are investigating undertake most sociolinguistic studies.[60]

For example, Moffatt's (1990) sociolinguistic study of Punjabi/English-speaking children in Newcastle upon Tyne proves the point that even monolingual investigators can conduct systematic studies of code-switching and code-mixing successfully, if the appropriate methodology is followed. Furthermore, this observation makes my earlier argument in section 4.2.1 relevant, here also, that certain categories of problem are constant for ethnographers working outside their own community whatever else may be the origin of such researchers. Problems arising from cultural disparity should be expected by ethnographers working outside their own communities, even when the host community is of the same nationality as theirs. This notwithstanding, to my mind, the outsider factor will be strongest for the fieldworker lacking competence in the language of the host community.

One way of overcoming this barrier would be to make use of a team of fieldworkers recruited locally. For example, Edwards (1986) reports on a study of a Black English community, which recruited more than one fieldworker. Although this

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[60] See also Koziol, 2000.

creates the opportunity for division of labour and increased access to the target community, it also raises a number of problems. The issue of comparability of data is pertinent here, since differences in gender, age and the ethnicity of the fieldworkers may lead to the emergence of divergent perspectives on the language situation under investigation. In this regard, Li Wei (1994) stresses that while such different perspectives are themselves valuable information, they may create problems in interpreting data. Therefore, since, I have linguistic competence in both Ikwerre and NPE, and due to limitations on my personal finances and time, the fieldwork for this present study was undertaken by me personally.

4. 7. 3 Minimising the observer effect

The observer effect arises as a consequence of direct observation. The problem is this: everyday language is the central concern of the linguist, and substantial amounts of high-quality tape recordings of speech are needed to describe it. However, it is common knowledge that speakers will tend to shift away from their everyday normal language in situations where they are being tape-recorded by an outsider. Therefore, the very act of tape recording is likely to distort the object of observation (see for example, Kite, 1991; Labov, 1972b).

According to Milroy (1987b), one of the major tasks of a fieldworker who wishes to obtain reasonable quantities of good data may be seen as that of moving towards a resolution of the observer effect. In this study, the choice of participant observation methodology allowed me to participate in the social lives of the informants and share with them the rights and obligations accorded to insiders. In this way the informants became less conscious of their speech as they viewed me as one

of them. As already pointed out above in section 4.7.1, a paradox of the communicative process is that the more relaxed the participants are in the company of the researcher, the less likely the transfer of personal and secret information will be inhibited. Also, through extended contact and familiarity with the subjects I was able to achieve one of the cardinal principles of ethnographic research, that is, an understanding of the subjects' own perspectives on their language and social context.

4. 8 Ethics

The emergence of new forms of social research, especially critical participatory and applied research, has meant that fieldworkers must make their research goals explicit and seek permission from and respect the privacy of the subjects. As such, a central concern of the field has been to explicate and extend traditional ethical models to deal with the new activism. The new 'activism' calls for social relationships that are intimate and close and requires researchers to demonstrate more authenticity, sensitivity, maturity and integrity than in earlier research in the social sciences.[61]

In contemporary fieldwork, the trend is for more participation and less observation. Detachment of the subject from the researcher and the research is rejected. The gap between researcher and subject has to be closed and there is to be communion with methods, analysis and interpretation, and with social relationships. Problems in fieldwork arise when researchers over-step the boundaries of conventional and sensitive topics, public and private space, overt and covert methods, field notes to texts, and overlap roles and relationships. The researcher who demonstrates empathy and care and engages on an emotional level with subjects can

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[61] See also BAAL guidelines, 1994; Lincoln, 1995.

enter the ground of the therapist, but without the same training and back-up support in sociology and anthropology needed for debriefing or counselling services and sessions. Overlapping or multiple roles and relationships present researchers with a range of complex and unavoidable ethical and practical dilemmas. Friendships which facilitate access to confidences and physical regions that are private and secret can make problematic the disclosure and publication of personal information. For instance, in her book *Women Talk* (1995), the linguist Jennifer Coates describes how she recorded a group of her friends surreptitiously over a period of more than a year. The group met regularly at one another's houses; when it was Coates's turn to be host she would get her teenage son to come into the room, ostensibly to look for a tape, and as he pretended to do this he would unobtrusively turn on the tape recorder. Eventually, Coates decided to tell her friends what she had been doing. To her surprise and horror, they felt exploited, betrayed and very angry (Cameron, 2002: 22). It is obvious from this account that the ramifications of presuming too much can be awful, not just for the informants but also for the researcher. It can lead to damaged field relationships and great concern for the fieldworker.

Research goals can become complicated when ethical and professional obligations to disclose and publish clash with moral and personal obligations to subjects (see for example, the Data Protection Act, 1998; Human Rights Act, 1998), to ensure secrets be kept private, confidentiality maintained and trust preserved. When various parties with different interests and expectations clash there can arise an ethical and practical dilemma for which there is no satisfactory solution, but only a compromising experience that must be lived through and lived with (de Laine, 2000: 2). The 'ethics of relationships' that is established in the field between the researcher and subject carries over into the text. The author must accord the subject the same

respect in print as would be conveyed in the face-to-face situation. In effect, one must not say in print what would not be said to someone's face (Hornstein, 1996). Thus, when confronted with an ethical dilemma, the researcher needs more than just a set code of ethics for a way forward. The researcher needs some understanding of how to use the code together with other resources to make a decision that is more 'right'. The individual's intentions, motivations and ways of cognitively structuring the ethically sensitive situation are equally important to ethical and moral practice as are conforming to or violating an ethical code. Ethical decision-making includes being consciously aware of one's values, principles and allegiance to ethical codes, intuition and feelings, within a context that is characterised by professional and power relationships (de Laine, 2000: 3). Thus, the debate rages whether subjects' permission is to be sought before capturing them on tape (audio or onto video) or recording them surreptitiously.

Generally, the view in sociolinguistics that has come to the fore is that surreptitious recording should be banned. A close parallel to the view that it is wrong to record speakers without their knowledge may be found in the controversy surrounding the use of telephoto lenses in photography. The main argument for this caution is that since a magnetic tape or a photograph provides a near permanent record of behaviour, the subject is entitled to be aware that such a record is being made. Hence, it is important that the fieldworker strives to remain ethical while pursuing his/her research objectives (Cameron, 2002; Cameron, Frazer, Harvey, Rampton & Richardson, 1997; Preston, 1985; Larmouth, Murray & Murray, 1992; Murray & Murray, 1996). The impact of all these issues on this study and how they were dealt with have been outlined in sections 4.2.1, 4.6 and 4.7 of this chapter.

4. 9 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have attempted to detail the data collection media utilised in this study. Equally, issues of field relationships and ethics in field research have been dealt with. Moreover, an important objective of this chapter has been to clearly state the stages of fieldwork and the rationale behind the adoption of a mix of data collection methods in this project.

Overall, here, the central aim has been to present an explicit and systematic description of the principal data collection methodology, stages of fieldwork, field relations and procedures for the study. In Chapter 5, I present descriptions of the informants' language choice patterns and attitudes analysis.

Chapter Five

Patterns of Language Choice and Language Attitudes Analysis

5. 0 Introduction

In this chapter, I shall present descriptions of the language choice patterns of members of the Ikwerre community of Port Harcourt. These descriptions are based primarily on the analysis of the systematic participant observations noted above that were made in this community in the summer of 2003. During this period I also constructed an interview schedule relating to language choice and related matters (see Appendix I). The aim of the interview schedule (as already noted in chapter four) was to collect data on language choice patterns that could in some ways supplement direct observations.

Firstly, while it can be argued that my presence might have influenced the informants language behaviour in some instances, because my observations were over a protracted length of time and were conducted in a wide range of situations, it was not possible that they could have been affected by people's impression management in the same way as a set of questions asked and responded to in a single sitting. Secondly, by employing the interview schedule, it was much easier to make comparisons and generalizations since similar amounts and types of data about every respondent were supplied. It is important, I believe, to highlight here that it was virtually impossible for me to observe and tape record all 76 speakers used in this study all the time in every interaction, but in most cases the recordings supplied

detailed information about linguistic transactions difficult for speakers to recall and verbalise as, for example, the details of instances of conversational language switching.

After spending several weeks doing participant observation in Port Harcourt it became apparent to me that it would be rather too simplistic to attempt to analyze the choices made by bilingual Ikwerre speakers along the lines of classical approaches to the study of bilingualism and language choice (see Chapter 3, section 3.1), i.e. assuming that one language is spoken at home and another in school, work and street. Such formalisms are common sociolinguistic strategies, taking their starting points as the alternation among variants and attempting to predict the choice of code based on knowledge of macro-sociological factors available in the society. A number of studies have adopted such models to predict language choice in multilingual communities, or to predict the use of some other sociolinguistic alternate such as address forms or personal pronouns. Models of language choice based on this strategy are flawed in two ways: firstly, in many instances and particularly in Port Harcourt, as in Oberwart (Gal, 1979), it is not possible to predict language choice through knowledge of its situational correlates. Secondly, the models organized as diglossia, domain analysis, and decision trees or flow-charts surmise that patterns of language choice are static. As a result, the kinds of variability that reflect change over time cannot be accurately represented in them (for a detailed critique of such models, see Chapter 3 of this study; Fasold, 1984; Hoffmann, 1991; Hudson, 1992, 2003; Martin-Jones, 1989).

Such concepts, however, can explain some kinds of inter-informant variation. For example, if teenage boys systematically choose languages differently from teenage girls in a multilingual community, then one node in a decision tree can be *sex of speaker*. If a given speaker is a teenage boy, then one set of choices applies; if a

teenage girl, then another set applies. In this way, the model can incorporate the pattern of the entire group without excluding certain kinds of variation among individuals. Further, it would seem that if informants' usage differs by age, as it does in my Port Harcourt data (see Tables 3 and 4, Chapter 3), this too can be included in a decision-tree model in much the same way that sex differences can be. Nevertheless, the incorporation of age differences presents unique difficulties. For example, in Port Harcourt, the choices of an 83-year old were very dissimilar from the choices of a 13-year old. If the same decision tree, with a choice point for age, is employed to describe the choices of both the 83-year old and the 13-year old, then the model is assuming *age-grading* of language choice (see Coulmas, 2005; Eckert, 1997 for more on age-grading and sociolinguistic variation). In effect, such a decision tree applies to the entire group and implicitly states that an individual of 83 did, at the age of 13, make the choices predicted by the model for present day 13-year olds. Correspondingly, the model assumes that the 13-year old, upon reaching 83, will behave as the 83-year old does today.

Put succinctly, the decision-tree and similar models assume that synchronic variation that is correlated with age is essentially a portrayal of life-cycle changes and not changes over time in the community. When, as is the case in Port Harcourt, evidence from participant observation shows that age differences in usage are not correlated with individual life-cycles but illustrate change over time one must question such assumptions. Thus, the macro-sociological models are inadequate to fully account for the processes underlying the linguistic change taking place in this particular community. In Port Harcourt both conversational language switching and variation between speakers of different ages take place, thus, necessitating that some alternative model, which could accurately incorporate both, was needed. After periods

of extensive participant observation in Port Harcourt I found, like Bell (1984/1997), Clyne (2003), Gal (1979), Li Wei (1994), Li Wei *et al.* (2000), Nakajima (2005), Zareena (1997), *inter alia* that by examining speakers' choices of language(s) according to different interlocutors it was possible to make predictions of language choice in a majority of instances.

Hence, as was mentioned above, I shall in this chapter focus on presenting detailed descriptions of the language choice patterns of the 76 informants with different interlocutors. After comparing the observation (Tables 3 & 4, Chapter 3) and face-to-face interview data (Tables 1 & 2, Appendix II) and finding that both corroborate each other, it was decided to utilize the observational data for presentation and subsequent statistical analysis. Further, in doing this, it was deemed appropriate not to examine extra-linguistic factors such as topic and setting separately, therefore, following Bell's (1984/1997) audience design theory, I shall focus mainly on the informants' language choices as a reaction to different interlocutors, assuming here that non-audience factors are subordinate to audience types.

5. 1 Interview versus participant observation data

A comparative analysis was done to see whether the face-to-face interview and participant observation data validate each other. Unlike Gal (1979), in this study the same number and character of interlocutors used in both the observation and interview have been kept the same. The motivation behind this was to allow for a comparison of similar data sets and avoid being in a situation where certain interlocutors would have been dropped because they could not be observed or new ones introduced that were not in the interview data, as was the case in Gal's work (see Gal, 1979: 102–104,

121–122). Thus, by keeping the interlocutor types constant it was possible to accurately assess whether the outcomes of the self-reported and participant observation data were a match.

Furthermore, I also ran the face-to-face interviews first so as to minimize my impact on the informants' answers. As Gal (ibid: 120) noted in her study, one of the reasons she thought her interview data agreed so much with her direct observation data was that the people were already aware that she knew their language use in many situations, having spent a year observing them. One might argue from this that Gal was implying that her informants were careful in their answers in order not to deviate from the choices she already claims to have observed them making. This, I felt somewhat restricts the ability of the informants to make free assessments of what they consider to be their language choice patterns. Consequently, I have taken a different route: running the interviews first before I got too familiar with the informants. This I felt offered the respondents freedom to respond to the interview questions whichever way they chose. It also provided data that I thought was a very close sample of the informants own self-judgments of their language use with different interlocutors. The results of the comparative analysis showed a high degree of agreement between observation and interview responses suggesting that this interpretation seems reasonable. Average agreement, for instance, was 91.4% (men) and 91.8% (women) for all the informants who appear on both the observation and interview scales (see Tables 3 and 4, Chapter 3, section 3.5).

The language choice patterns are conceptualized and shown in matrices, with male and female speakers listed separately. Speakers are ranked on the vertical axis, and on the horizontal axis is a list of family and non-family interlocutor types, namely, people with whom the speaker interacts. Empty cells indicate inapplicable

relations and any choice that does not fit the scale model is taken to be *unscalable* – marked by an asterisk (*). I have chosen six types of non-family interlocutors who are categorized according to generation and sex, after Li Wei (1994). The problem of representing age differences that are not life-cycle differences is solved because, although speakers of different ages appear as individuals in the matrix, the relationship between the choices of individuals and the pattern of the group is explicit and apparent when one scans the matrix vertically (see detailed descriptions in Chapter 3, section 3.5.1 and a discussion of age as a sociolinguistic variable in section 4.1.1 of Chapter 4). It has to be made clear that the interlocutor and language categories of these scales are culturally determined. The matrices themselves in no way make interpretations of communicative strategies or intentions, but basically summarize usual unmarked usage. Thus, interpretations of intention, or function, will be needed to account for choices between Ikwerre and NPE in those interactions illustrated with (IP; I = Ikwerre, P = NPE), where both are appropriate. To answer this question, later in this chapter I present an analysis of the informants' language attitudes towards Ikwerre and NPE, and in Chapter 6, I shall present a further analysis of the subjects' social networks. The assumption is that perhaps by performing such analyses we would have a better understanding of the underlying motivations for the choices displayed on the scales. Additionally, the matrices do not offer predictions of when each language will be chosen in conversational language switching, but rather depict when code-switching is likely to occur at all. Therefore, I return to a discussion of code-switching in Chapter 7.

Next, I present a description of the language choice patterns of the seventy-six informants investigated in this study. To do this I have taken the participant observation data from the implicational scales (Tables 3 and 4, Chapter 3) and

arranged them in matrices according to three generational cohorts – grandparents, parents and younger (children).

5. 2 Language choices by three generations

Here, the discussion will commence with a brief description of the variations in language choice patterns of the ten couples, who make up the core of the sample – the parents' generation, then it will move on to a discussion of the choices of the grandparents' generation and lastly, those of the younger subjects. I shall also offer a summary and discussion of the overall patterns for the 76 speakers after each generation has been examined separately.

5. 2. 1 Parents' generation

Table 1 below, illustrates observed choices of language(s) by ten male speakers of the parents' generation ranked according to age in the vertical axis. Eleven interlocutors are listed here under two categories: 1–5 are family members and 6–11 are non-family members. It is noticeable that only Ikwerre is used with female members of the grandparents' generation, irrespective of whether they are family or non-family members – interlocutors 2 and 7. The ten fathers speak Ikwerre and NPE to their children and their children's age-mates of both sexes – interlocutors 4 and 5 (family members), and 10 and 11 (non-family members). Two out of the ten speakers (speakers 19I and 10J), who are the youngest of the ten fathers, use both Ikwerre and NPE with the male grandparents of the family, while three speakers (18H, 19I, 20J) use both languages (Ikwerre and NPE) with male non-family members of the

grandparents' generation. Six speakers (15E, 16F, 17G, 18H, 19I, and 20J) use both Ikwerre and NPE with their spouses and male non-family members of their own generation – the parents' generation. Three speakers (18H, 19I and 20J) use both Ikwerre and NPE with non-family members of their wives' generation – interlocutor 9. As can be seen from Table 1, none of the speakers uses only NPE with any of the interlocutors.

Table 1 Language choice by ten fathers (Observation)

Interlocutors												
Speakers		**Family Members**					**Non-Family Members**					
No	Age	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
11A	56	-	-	I	IP	IP	I	I	I	I	IP	IP
12B	55	-	I	I	IP	IP	I	I	I	I	IP	IP
13C	54	I	I	I	IP	IP	I	I	I	I	IP	IP
14D	52	I	I	I	IP	IP	I	I	I	I	IP	IP
15E	45	-	I	IP	IP	IP	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP
16F	43	I	I	IP	IP	IP	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP
17G	42	I	I	IP	IP	IP	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP
18H	40	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	I	IP	IP	IP	IP
19I	36	IP	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	I	IP	IP	IP	IP
20J	34	IP	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	I	IP	IP	IP	IP

A–J = Family membership. Interlocutors: 1 = Grandparent (male), 2 = Grandparent (female), 3 = Spouse (wife), 4 = Child (male), 5 = Child (female), 6 = Grandparent generation (male), 7 = Grandparent generation (female), 8 = Parent generation (male), 9 = Parent generation (female), 10 = Child generation (male), 11 = Child generation (female).

Table 2 below, like Table 1 above, portrays observed language choices by the wives of the ten male speakers of the parents' generation. Like their husbands, these women use only Ikwerre with female grandparents of the family and non-family members – interlocutors 2 and 7. However, in contrast to their husbands, one speaker (speaker 21A) uses only Ikwerre with all interlocutors.

Table 2 Language choice by ten mothers (Observation)

		Interlocutors										
Speakers		**Family Members**					**Non-Family Members**					
No	Age	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
21A	53	-	-	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I
22B	52	-	I	I	IP	IP	I	I	I	I	IP	IP
23C	50	I	I	I	IP	IP	I	I	I	I	IP	IP
24D	49	I	I	I	IP	IP	I	I	I	I	IP	IP
25E	44	-	I	IP	IP	IP	I	I	I	I	IP	IP
26F	40	I	I	IP	IP	IP	I	I	I	I	IP	IP
27G	39	I	I	IP	IP	IP	I	I	I	I	IP	IP
28H	38	I	I	IP	IP	IP	I	I	I	I	IP	IP
29I	33	I	I	IP	IP	IP	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP
30J	30	IP	-	IP	IP	IP	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP

A–J = Family membership. Interlocutors: 1 = Grandparent (male), 2 = Grandparent (female), 3 = Spouse (husband), 4 = Child (male), 5 = Child (female), 6 = Grandparent generation (male), 7 = Grandparent generation (female), 8 = Parent generation (male), 9 = Parent generation (female), 10 = Child generation (male), 11 = Child generation (female).

Another speaker, (speaker 30J) uses both Ikwerre and NPE with male grandparents of the family, but Ikwerre only with non-family members of the same generation. This

speaker is the wife of speaker 20J from Table 1, who displays similar language choice patterns, except that in the man's case, he also uses both Ikwerre and NPE with non-family members of the grandfathers' generation as well. All the female speakers but one (speaker 21A) use both Ikwerre and NPE with their children and their children's friends (interlocutors 4, 5, 11 and 12), while six out of the ten speakers (speakers 25E, 26F, 27G, 28H, 29I and 30J) use both languages with their spouses. Unlike their husbands, however, only two female speakers (speakers 29I and 30J), use both Ikwerre and NPE with non-family members of the parents' generation, while the rest use only Ikwerre with these interlocutors. As in the fathers' data, no mother in the sample uses only NPE with any of the interlocutors.

Looking at both tables (Tables 1 & 2), it becomes very obvious that the major differences in the language choice patterns of these couples can be found in the language(s) used in interactions with non-family members. For example, three fathers use both Ikwerre and NPE with male non-family members of the grandparents' generation, while no mother from the sample displays such a pattern. Also, six male speakers choose both languages with male non-family members of their generation as opposed to just two female speakers who interact with the same interlocutor using Ikwerre and NPE. These findings indicate that generally more fathers than mothers use both Ikwerre and NPE (as against the use of Ikwerre only) with these interlocutors. It also shows that women's (mothers') language choice patterns align more to those of their own group than to those of their husbands, similar to the findings reported in Li Wei's (1994) Chinese community study. In this study, Li Wei, also reported that more men than women of the parent generation employed Chinese and English with the same interlocutors (male non-family members of the grandparent and parent generations), as opposed to Chinese only. He equally found that the

women's language choice patterns conformed more to those of their own group than to those of their husbands. I will explore these variations in language choice patterns between these groups of speakers further, in Chapter 6, when a discussion of their social network ties and its impact on their language behaviour is presented. Next, I consider the language choice patterns of the grandparents' generation who are the parents or parents-in-law of the ten couples.

5. 2. 2 Grandparents' generation

Table 3, depicts the observed language choices by five male grandparents.

Table 3 Language choice by five grandfathers (Observation)

		Interlocutors										
Speakers		**Family Members**					**Non-Family Members**					
No	Age	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1A	83	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I
2B	75	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I
3C	70	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I
4I	67	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP
5J	65	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP

A–J = Family membership. Interlocutors: 1 = Spouse (grandmother of the family), 2 = Parent (female), 3 = Parent (male), 4 = Child (male), 5 = Child (female), 6 = Grandparent generation (male), 7 = Grandparent generation (female), 8 = Parent generation (male), 9 = Parent generation (female), 10 = Child generation (male), 11 = Child generation (female).

The structure of the matrix remains essentially the same as in Tables 1 and 2 above. However, interlocutor 1 in Table 3 now indicates spouses of the grandparents, 2 and 3 the parent generation, who are the ten married couples, and 4 and 5 the younger speakers (children). The interlocutor types under the non-family members category has also changed with regard to the speaker's generation.

As Table 3 shows, three speakers (1A, 2B, and 3C) use only Ikwerre with all interlocutors, while two speakers (4I and 5J), retired ship factory workers, use only Ikwerre with their wives (the grandmothers of the family), and male and female non-family members of their own generation. The same speakers (4I and 5J) use both Ikwerre and NPE with all other interlocutors. Again, no one uses only NPE with any of the interlocutors.

Table 4 Language choice from five grandmothers (Observation)

		Interlocutors										
Speakers		**Family Members**					**Non-Family Members**					
No	Age	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1A	74	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I
2B	72	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I
3C	65	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I
4I	64	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I
5J	60	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I

A–J = Family membership. Interlocutors: 1 = Spouse (grandfather of the family), 2 = Parent (female), 3 = Parent (male), 4 = Child (male), 5 = Child (female), 6 = Grandparent generation (male), 7 = Grandparent generation (female), 8 = Parent generation (male), 9 = Parent generation (female), 10 = Child generation (male), 11 = Child generation (female).

In sharp contrast to the males and to the females of the parents' generation, all the five grandmothers in the sample use only Ikwerre with all interlocutors as illustrated in Table 4 above. As well as displaying the language choice patterns of these speakers, these two tables (Tables 3 & 4) assist to clarify an important aspect of the language choice patterns of the ten couples as presented in Tables 1 and 2 above. That is, speakers only use both Ikwerre and NPE with those who themselves use both languages. For instance, with the two male grandparents (speakers 4I and 5J in Table 3), and speak only Ikwerre if the interlocutors are themselves Ikwerre monolinguals (for example, all the female grandparents). This pattern is in agreement with Bell's (1984/1997) argument that speakers design their speech according to their audience.

In the next section, I present descriptions of the observed language choice patterns for members of the younger generation (23 = male; 23 = female speakers).

5. 2. 3 Younger generation

In Table 5, we have the observed language choices by the 23 male younger speakers. Six family relations are listed here: 1 and 2 indicate grandparents of the families (male to the left of female), 3 and 4 parents, and 5 and 6 siblings. 7–12 are non-family member interlocutors of both sexes, of the grandparents, parents and younger speakers' generations. This table shows that only Ikwerre is used with grandmothers (interlocutor 2) by all speakers. Also, some younger speakers, whose grandfathers are Ikwerre monolinguals, try to use Ikwerre only with these interlocutors, as well as their close family friends (like speakers 32C, 37A, and 38A, and 43D, 55H and 58H).

Table 5 Language choice by twenty-three male children (Observation)

Interlocutors													
Speakers		**Family Members**						**Non-Family Members**					
No	Age	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
31A	29	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	I	IP	IP	IP	IP
32C	26	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	I	IP	IP	IP	IP
33D	26	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	I	IP	IP	IP	IP
35A	25	IP	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	I	IP	IP	IP	IP
37A	23	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	I	IP	IP	IP	IP
38A	22	I	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	I	IP	IP	IP	IP
39C	21	IP	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	I	IP	IP	IP	IP
40C	20	IP	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	I	IP	IP	IP	IP
43D	18	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	I	IP	IP	IP	IP
44F	18	IP	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	P	P
48H	16	IP	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
49G	16	IP	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	P	P
52C	15	IP	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
53E	15	IP	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	I	IP	IP	IP	IP
55H	14	I	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	P	P
58H	13	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
59B	13	IP	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
62B	12	IP	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	P	P
63G	12	IP	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
66D	11	IP	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
67E	11	IP	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	P	P	P	P
71I	9	IP	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	P	P	P	P
75J	6	IP	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	P	P	P	P

A–J = Family membership. Interlocutors: 1 = Grandparent (male), 2 = Grandparent (female), 3 = Parent (male), 4 = Parent (female), 5 = Brother, 6 = Sister, 7 = Grandparent generation (male), 8 = Grandparent generation (female), 9 = Parent generation (male), 10 = Parent generation (female), 11 = Child generation (male), 12 = Child generation (female).

I shall show later in this chapter and in Chapter 7, that due to differences in linguistic attitudes, some speakers, whose grandparents and parents use Ikwerre only or Ikwerre-dominant patterns still prefer the use of NPE over the Ikwerre language. Thus, when they use this language with interlocutors, who possess limited or no proficiency in NPE, they are signalling distance and lack of socio-linguistic accommodation (Giles & Wiemann, 1987; Street & Giles, 1982). Some of these speakers include speakers 31A, 35A, 39C, 40C, 59B, and 62B, whose grandparents are clearly Ikwerre monolinguals, yet they employ NPE when speaking with these interlocutors.

All twenty-three speakers use Ikwerre and NPE with male non-family members of the grandparents' generation – interlocutor 7. Ten speakers, however, use only Ikwerre with female, non-family members of the oldest age cohort (interlocutor 8), while thirteen other speakers use Ikwerre and NPE with the same interlocutor. Table 5 also shows that seven speakers (44F, 49G, 55H, 63G, 67E, 71I and 75J), use only NPE with female and male members of their own generation (interlocutors 11 and 12). Equally, all twenty-three male speakers use both Ikwerre and NPE with their siblings (interlocutors 5 and 6), and male and female non-family members of their parents' generation (interlocutors 9 and 10). Three speakers, however (speakers 67E, 71I and 75J) speak only NPE to these interlocutors (i.e. male and female non-family members of the middle-aged cohort).

The language choice patterns of the twenty-three female members of the younger generation used in this study is largely similar to those of their brothers (see Table 6 below).

Table 6 Language choice by twenty-three female children (Observation)

Interlocutors													
Speakers		**Family Members**						**Non-Family Members**					
No	Age	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
34A	26	I	I	I	I	IP	IP	IP	I	IP	IP	IP	IP
36A	24	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	I	IP	IP	IP	IP
41B	20	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	I	IP	IP	IP	IP
42A	19	I	I	I	I	IP	IP	IP	I	IP	IP	IP	IP
45A	18	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	I	IP	IP	IP	IP
46B	18	I	I	I	I	IP	IP	IP	I	IP	IP	IP	IP
47C	17	IP	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	I	IP	IP	IP	IP
50C	16	IP	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	I	IP	IP	IP	IP
51D	16	IP	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	I	IP	IP	IP	IP
54B	15	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	I	IP	IP	IP	IP
56D	14	IP	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	I	IP	IP	IP	IP
57E	14	IP	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
60D	13	IP	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	I	IP	IP	IP	IP
61E	13	IP	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
64C	12	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	I	IP	IP	IP	IP
65F	12	IP	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
68F	11	IP	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
69H	11	IP	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	P	P
70G	10	IP	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
72H	9	IP	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	P	P
73H	8	IP	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	P	P
74I	7	IP	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	P	P	P	P
76J	4	IP	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	P	P	P	P

A-J = Family membership. Interlocutors: 1 = Grandparent (male), 2 = Grandparent (female), 3 = Parent (male), 4 = Parent (female), 5 = Brother, 6 = Sister, 7 = Grandparent generation (male), 8 = Grandparent generation (female), 9 = Parent generation (male), 10 = Parent generation (female), 11 = Child generation (male), 12 = Child generation (female).

There are only minimal contrasts in the choices of language with the twelve interlocutors. For example, in Table 5 seven male younger speakers use only NPE with their age-mates (interlocutors 11 and 12) of both sexes, as opposed to five female speakers (speakers 69H, 72H, 73H, 74I and 76J) illustrated in Table 6. Also, in Table 6, ten female speakers are shown to use both Ikwerre and NPE with female non-family members of their grandparents' generation, whereas thirteen male speakers in Table 5 speak both languages to this type of interlocutor. Further, three female speakers (34A, 42A and 45A) use Ikwerre only with their mother. One explanation for this could be found in the set-up of traditional African homes, where the daughters and their mothers together do all the shopping, cooking and household chores (see Chapter 2). Most importantly, these speakers' mother also happens to be the only Ikwerre monolingual parent in the entire sample (see speaker 21A, Table 2 above).

In addition, Table 6 shows that, unlike some of their male siblings, ten female speakers whose grandparents (speakers 1A and 6A, 2B and 7B, 3C and 8C from Tables 3 and 4 above) are Ikwerre monolinguals also use the same language with these interlocutors. Apart from these differences, the language choice patterns for both male and female speakers of the younger generation are, by and large, similar. These descriptions are consistent with those reported in other studies examining language choice patterns among siblings in bilingual communities across the world (see Auer, 1984a; Gal, 1979; Li Wei, 1994; Moffatt, 1990). Later in this Chapter we will see the impact of attitude on language choice patterns among siblings just as Dorian (1994) also found in her East Sutherland project where Gaelic-English language choice depended on attitude.

In this section, I have presented a description of the observed language choice patterns of 76 speakers who belong to three generational cohorts (grandparents,

parents and children). The language choice patterns were taken from the implicational scales (Tables 3 & 4, Chapter 3) and presented in matrices, following Li Wei (1994, 2000 *et al.*). In these matrices we see that all 76 speakers, but nine (3 = male; 6 = female speakers), vary their language choices with regard to interlocutor types. The majority of the speakers use both Ikwerre and NPE with a range of interlocutors except, as Li Wei (ibid.) also found in his Chinese community project, when the interlocutors are female grandparents within the family with whom all speakers interact only in Ikwerre in the Port Harcourt study. Rather interestingly, these matrices display significant variations in language choice patterns that hold between speakers both within and across the three generations. For example, all the five grandmothers in the sample use only Ikwerre in all instances with all interlocutors, while two out of the five grandfathers actually use both Ikwerre and NPE in some situations with some interlocutors. In the parents' generation, eight speakers (6 = males; 2 = females) use both Ikwerre and NPE with non-family members of their own generation, while the other twelve parents (4 = males; 8 = females) speak only Ikwerre with the same types of interlocutor. Looking at the grandparent and parent generations it appears that women tend to marginally use Ikwerre-dominant patterns more than their male counterparts. As we saw in the matrices, five out of the 46 younger speakers (3 = males; 2 = females), use only NPE with non-family members of the parent generation. While twelve of them (7 = males; 5 = females) also use NPE only with their age-mates (interlocutors 11 and 12). However, a greater majority of these speakers use both Ikwerre and NPE with more interlocutors in more situations than their parents and grandparents. Thus, it is important that further analysis is carried out to account for such inter-speaker variations as highlighted in the descriptions.

5. 3 Language choice and speaker variables

Based on the descriptions presented in the last section, I have generally categorised four patterns of language choice for communication with family members and seven with non-family members. The intra-family language choice patterns recorded for each of the 76 speakers all fall into one of four distinct types in Table 7 below.

Table 7 Generalised patterns of language choice with family members

	Interlocutors						
Patterns	1	2	3	4	5	6	Number of speakers
I	I	I	I	I	I	I	9
II	I	I	I	I	IP	IP	13
III	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	21
IV	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	33

1 = Female grandparent, 2 = Male grandparent, 3 = Female parent, 4 = Male parent, 5 = Male child, 6 = Female child.

Table 8 Generalised patterns of language choice with non-family members

	Interlocutors						
Patterns	1	2	3	4	5	6	Number of speakers
I	I	I	I	I	I	I	9
II	I	I	I	I	IP	IP	11
III	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	7
IV	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	26
V	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	11
VI	IP	IP	IP	IP	P	P	7
VII	IP	IP	P	P	P	P	5

1 = Grandparent generation (female), 2 = Grandparent generation (male), 3 = Parent generation (female), 4 = Parent generation (male), 5 = Child generation (male), 6 = Child generation (female).

By contrast, as regards interactions with non-family members, their individual language choice patterns conform to one of seven different patterns given in Table 8 above. In these Tables, pattern I, indicates the use of Ikwerre only in all situations, pattern II, is categorised as an Ikwerre-dominant pattern, while patterns III and IV can be described as bilingual patterns, and either Ikwerre only (used with female grandparents of the family), or both Ikwerre and NPE is used with female grandparents outside the family. Patterns V and VI (Table 8) are best described as bilingual patterns, characterised by the predominant use of both Ikwerre and NPE with most interlocutors in most contexts. Pattern VII, indicates the use of NPE only with the parent and younger generations outside the family. This pattern can, therefore, be categorised as a NPE-dominant bilingual pattern.

Having presented the categories, I now attempt to find out if speakers who make the same choices also share similar social traits. Here, different from the descriptions presented above, I am now attempting to distinguish speakers according to the linguistic characteristics they exhibit, rather than identifying language choice patterns in terms of predefined social classifications. The social characteristics of the speakers that I have assessed include age, sex, level of education and attitude.

5. 3. 1 Age of speaker

To find out what relationship holds, if any, between age and language choice patterns of the 76 speakers, I carried out descriptive statistical analyses of the groups on SPSS 12 for Windows (see Chapter 4, section 4.3.1 for a discussion of the statistical software and procedures used in this study). The results of the statistical analysis showing the mean age of speakers for each pattern is presented in Table 9. To fully

highlight the significance of the group mean ages presented below I have transformed these into two histograms with normal curves (Figures 1 & 2).

Table 9 Mean age of speakers of different language choice patterns

	No. of speakers	Group mean age
With family members		
Pattern I	9	68.44
Pattern II	13	39.15
Pattern III	21	32.28
Pattern IV	33	15
With non-family members		
Pattern I	9	68.44
Pattern II	11	48.09
Pattern III	7	46.42
Pattern IV	26	21.76
Pattern V	11	12.72
Pattern VI	7	12.57
Pattern VII	5	7.4

Figure 1

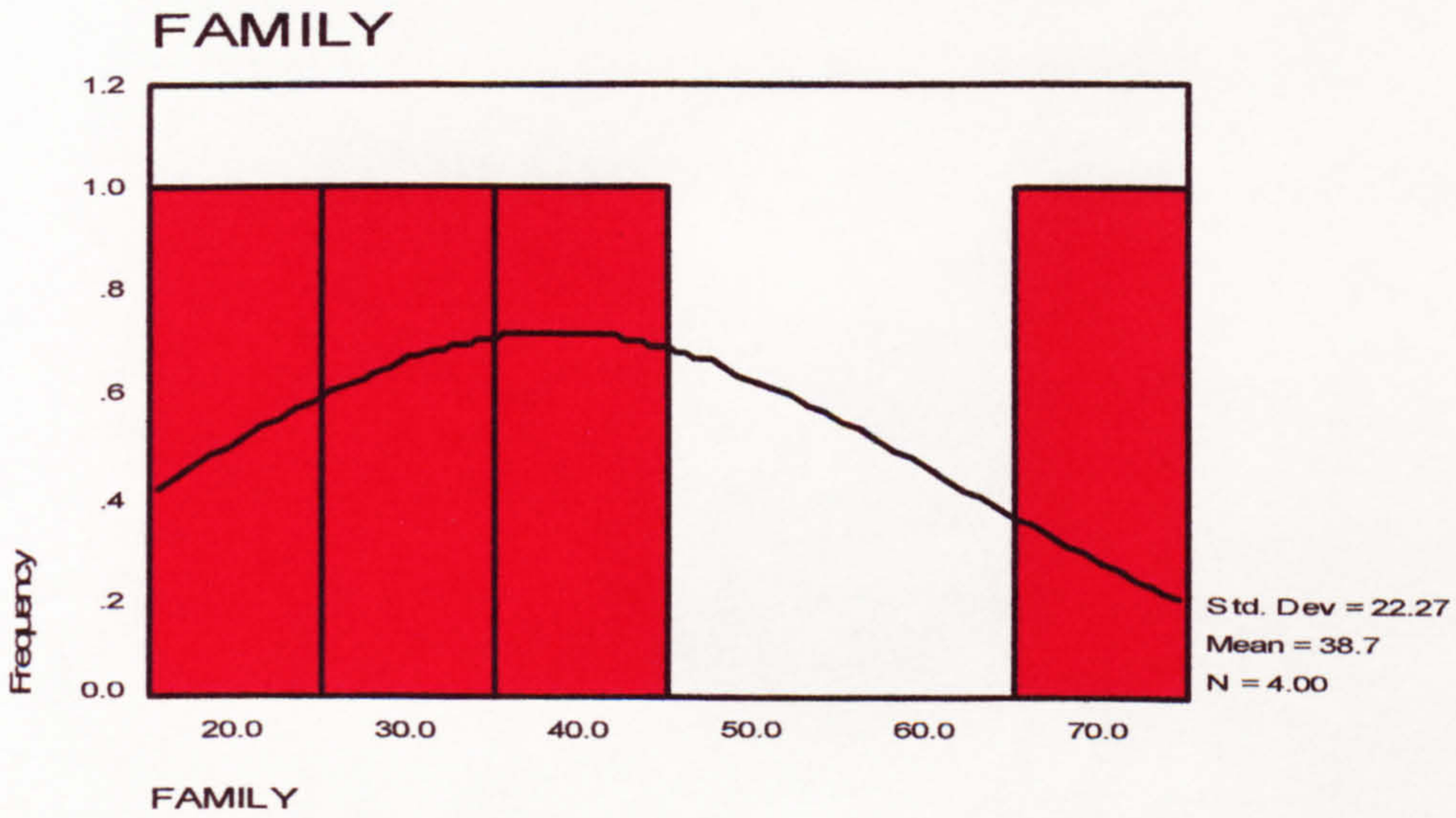
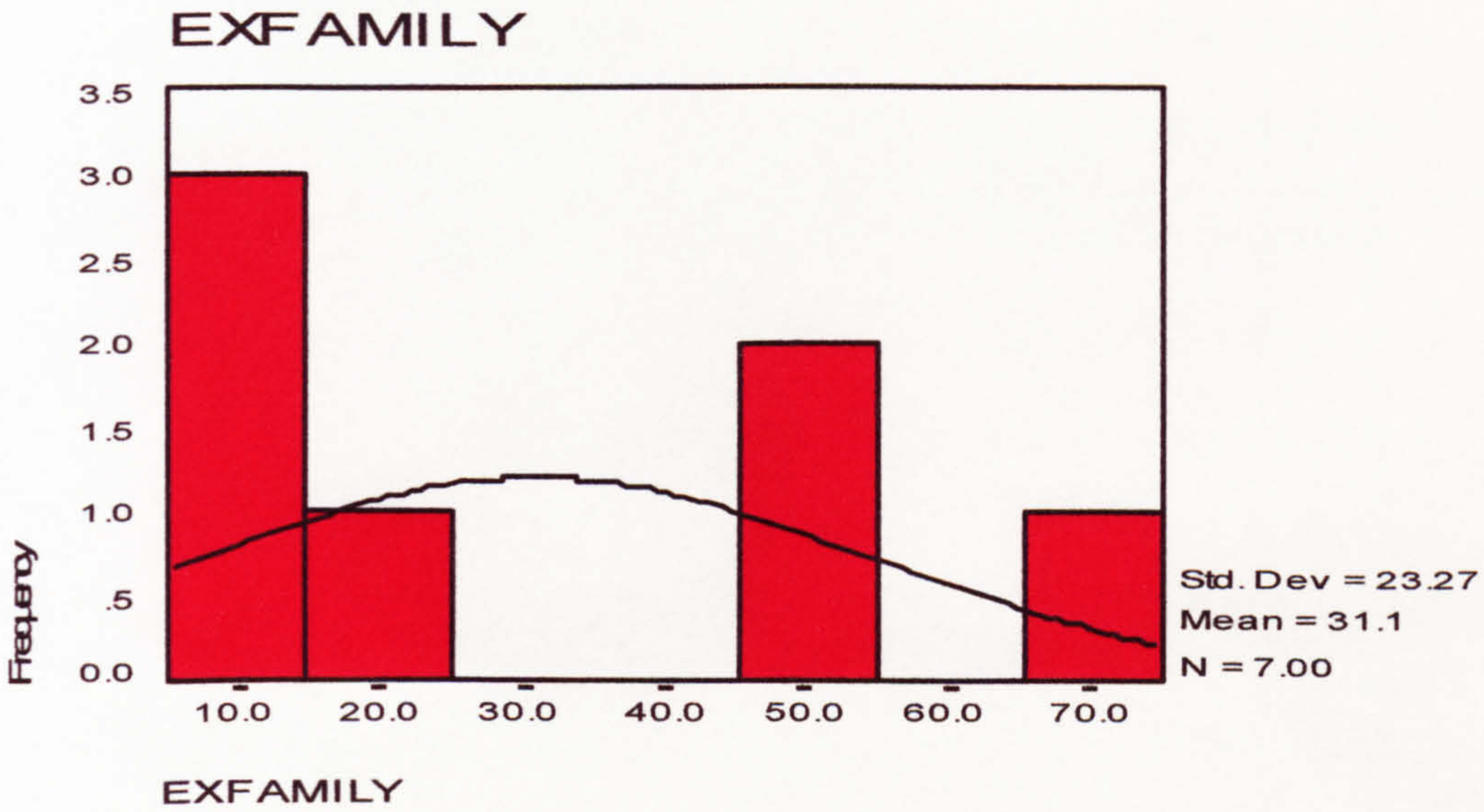


Figure 2



A careful examination of the histograms reveal that the mean age of speakers for interaction with family members (patterns 1 – 4) is 38.7 years, while that for non-family member interaction (patterns 1 – 7) is 31.1 years. The variability scores are 22.27 and 23.27 for family and non-family interactions respectively. That is, the standard deviation for both groups. What these scores tell us is that the speakers of patterns 1 – 4, namely, interactions with family members, appear to be older than speakers of patterns 1 – 7, i.e. interactions with non-family members, whereas we have slightly more variation between the patterns for non-family member interactions. Further, the shapes of the curve on the histograms indicate that the distribution of scores in both groups is not normal. This is, further confirmed by the value of kurtosis and skewness for both groups (kurtosis = 1.394, skewness = .764 family; kurtosis = -1.190, skewness = .635 non-family). If the distribution were normal, the values of kurtosis and skewness would be zero. Therefore, as I pointed out in Chapter 4, non-parametric tests as opposed to parametric ones would be appropriate here. Based on

the information in Table 9 above, it can be stated with confidence that Ikwerre-dominant language choice patterns, those listed towards the top of the scales in Tables 3 and 4 of Chapter 3, are used by older speakers, and the bilingual and NPE-dominant patterns, those listed towards the middle and bottom part of the scales, are used by younger speakers. It is, however, interesting to observe in Table 9, that, except for speakers of pattern 1 in both groups, speakers of patterns 2 – 4 for communication with non-family members are on average older than speakers of similar patterns for family member communication. Thus, confirming my earlier observation that it would appear that some older speakers are using language choice patterns that would normally be associated with younger speakers. In order to further explore such variations, more analysis of other social characteristics of the speakers is needed.

5. 3. 2 Sex of speaker

Table 10 displays the numbers of male and female speakers who make the same language choices with family and non-family members. As in the last section, the figures are also presented in bar-charts (Figures 3 & 4).

Table 10 Distribution of male and female speakers of different language choice patterns

	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total
With family members			
Pattern I	3 (7.89)	6 (15.78)	9
Pattern II	7 (18.42)	6 (15.78)	13
Pattern III	11 (28.94)	10 (26.31)	21
Pattern IV	17 (44.73)	16 (42.10)	33
With non-family members			
Pattern I	3 (7.89)	6 (15.78)	9
Pattern II	4 (10.52)	7 (18.42)	11
Pattern III	5 (13.15)	2 (5.26)	7
Pattern IV	13 (34.21)	13 (34.21)	26
Pattern V	6 (15.78)	5 (13.15)	11
Pattern VI	4 (10.52)	3 (7.89)	7
Pattern VII	3 (7.89)	2 (5.26)	5

Total: 38 males and 38 females; percentage in brackets.

Figure 3 Distribution of male and female speakers of different language choice patterns (Family)

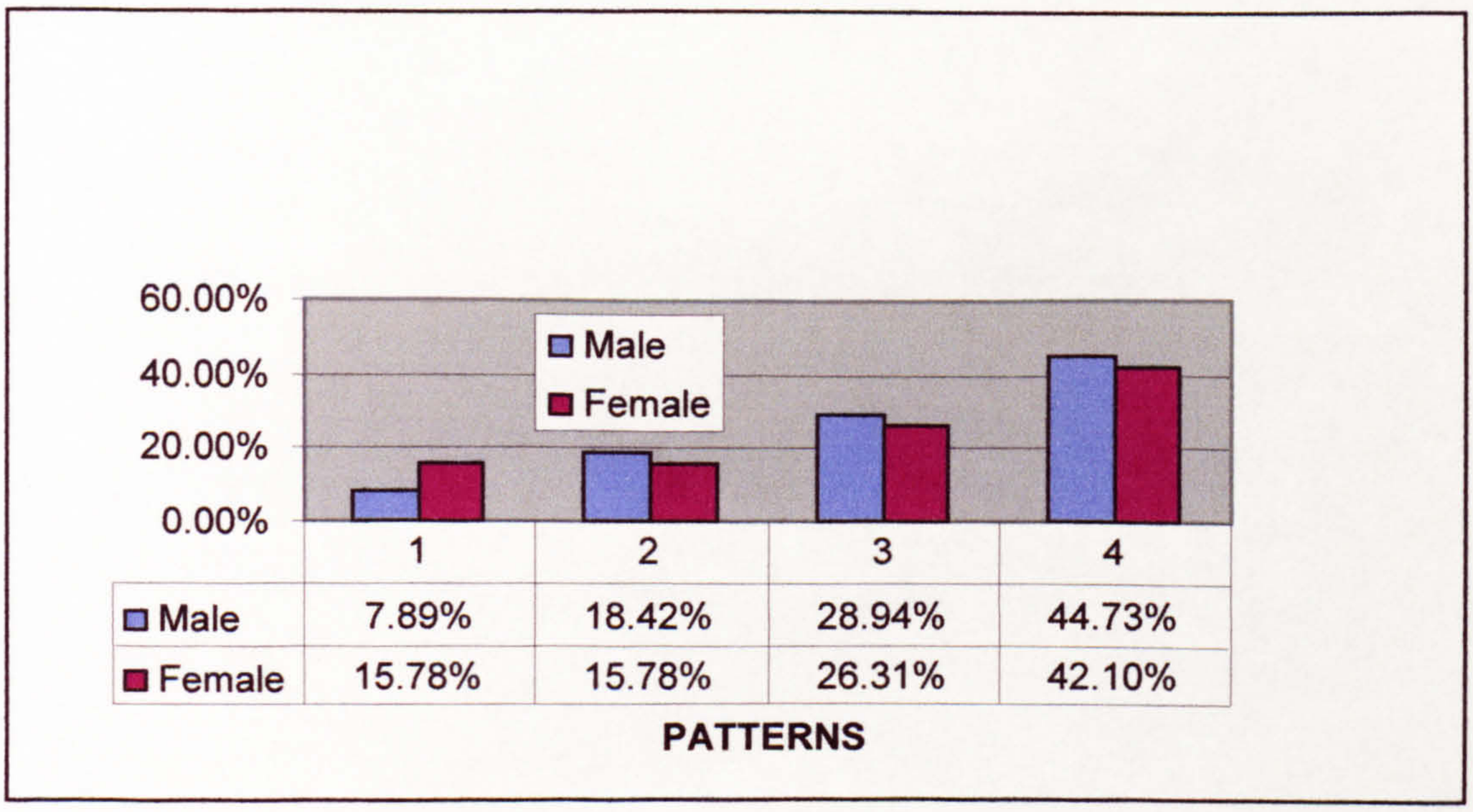
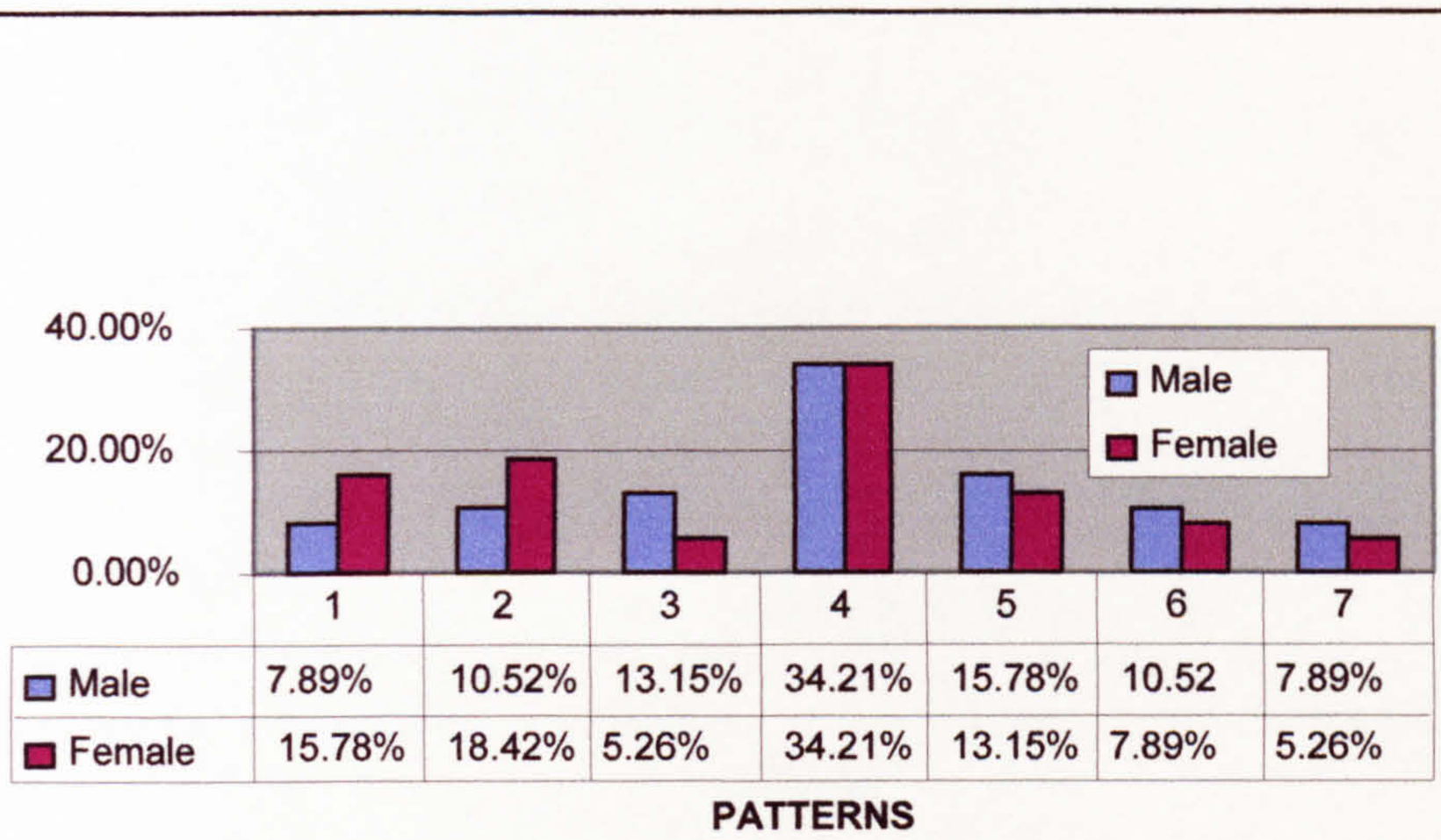


Figure 4 Distribution of male and female speakers of different language choice patterns (Non-Family)



	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Male	7.89%	10.52%	13.15%	34.21%	15.78%	10.52	7.89%
Female	15.78%	18.42%	5.26%	34.21%	13.15%	7.89%	5.26%

PATTERNS

In both bar-charts we notice that the trend suggests that more women than men appear to use the Ikwerre-dominant patterns for both family and non-family member interactions. This finding tends to confirm earlier observations from previous sections of this chapter. That is, in Port Harcourt more women (33%), than men (23%) use Ikwerre-dominant language choice patterns. Also, 77% of all male speakers in the sample employ the bilingual and NPE-dominant patterns in their daily interactions as opposed to 67% of the women folk (see the table and figures above).

Further, information from Tables 9 and 10, tell us that more female speakers than their male counterparts have remained largely Ikwerre monolinguals. However, what they do not say is that language choice is categorically motivated by sex of speaker alone in this community. Therefore, in the next section I explore the

relationship between age and sex and how these variables affect the informants' language choices.

5. 3. 3 The effect of age and sex on language choice

To investigate the impact of age and sex on the speakers linguistic behaviours, I have carried out a number of *t*– tests to compare the mean ages of male and female speakers associated with different language choice patterns. Of particular interest, here, are the results that pertain to the NPE-bilingual dominant patterns. The results of the *t*-tests indicate significant differences for speakers of patterns 3 ($t = 2.434$ $p < 0.038$) and 4 ($t = 4.547$ $p < 0.001$), for interaction with family members. Similar results are also returned for patterns 4 ($t = 3.338$ $p < 0.006$), 5 ($t = 9.000$ $p < 0.001$), and 6 ($t = 20.000$ $p < 0.002$) for interactions with non-family members. In all these cases, the male speakers are older than their female counterparts as clearly illustrated in Table 11 below. Furthermore, these results tend to corroborate the earlier observations, made in sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2 above, that, rather marginally, older male speakers in Port Harcourt are beginning to adopt language choice patterns similar to those of the younger generation (i.e. bilingual-dominant patterns), while their older female counterparts have remained largely Ikwerre monolinguals or tend to adopt the Ikwerre-dominant patterns, thus, giving rise to the type of ongoing language variation reported here.

Table 11 Mean age of male and female speakers of different language choice patterns

	Males		Females	
	No. of speakers	Group mean age	No. of speakers	Group mean age
With family members				
Pattern I	3	76	6	65
Pattern II	7	42.14	6	35.66
Pattern III	11	36	10	28.3
Pattern IV	17	17.05	16	12.81
With non-family members				
Pattern I	3	76	6	65
Pattern II	4	54.25	7	44.57
Pattern III	5	52.4	2	31.5
Pattern IV	13	25.76	13	17.76
Pattern V	6	13.33	5	12
Pattern VI	4	15	3	9.33
Pattern VII	3	8.6	2	5.5

To further explore the underlying motivations for these differences in language choice patterns, I have also considered the level of education attained by the speakers.

5. 3. 4 Level of education attained

Other than age and sex, the level of education attained by each speaker was examined to see whether differences in patterns of language choice is influenced by differences in the length of time spent in an educational system where Nigerian Standard English (NSE) is the medium employed in teaching in schools. The widely held view among

the Ikwerre whom I interviewed and observed during the fieldwork stage of this study was that NPE is spoken by those Ikwerre who have been exposed to some form of formal education (see Chapter 2 of this study). In particular, the grandparents complained that the younger generation of Ikwerre people are losing the ability to speak the Ikwerre language because they spend all their time talking in NPE.[62]

The following extract in Example 1 below, would seem to support the view expressed by the grandparents about the language situation with regard to younger speakers. In this extract, four younger speakers in their late teens to early twenties are sharing their experiences about when and with whom they speak NPE. The interaction took place at a local play-ground during a youth event.

Example 1: (A = male, 18; B = A's sister, 20; C and D = A's friends, 16 and 22 years old respectively)

---

1 A: ⌜ *Na awa dayalet nau…*

= ⎨

2 B: ⌞ *Na awa dayalet nau…*

We speak our dialect [Ikwerre sometimes]…

3 C: *…bot* (.) *no-bi ol di taim wi de kari awa dayalet tok tu awa papa.*

…but, we don't often talk to our father in Ikwerre.

4 D: *Mi* (.) *wen a de veks a no de kari awa dayalet tok* (.) *a: de yuz Pidgin=*

For instance, when I'm angry I don't use Ikwerre. I use Pidgin.

5 C: *=Mi tu* (the girl echoes)

Me too.

---

[62] See also Elugbe & Omamor, 1991; Forde, 1968; Mafeni, 1971.

6 D: *=bikos for wen a de tok,* (.) *a no de fit tok awa dayalet wel-wel* (.) *Na im mek wen a de veks na Pidgin a de kari tok.*

The reason why I use Pidgin is because when I'm angry I can't speak Ikwerre fluently, so I use Pidgin.

7 A: *na so ma broda.* PT (gesturing)

That's how it is my brother.

8 C: *Yu si* (.) *se a de tok for awa dayalet a de tok laik peson we no fit tok wel*(.) *So a no de fit tok am well...*

You see, when I speak Ikwerre it makes me stammer because I just can't speak it fluently.

The Ikwerre notion of who speaks NPE is the opposite of that expressed by some linguists who suggest that all Pidgins are examples of unsuccessful or incomplete second language learning. To accept this view, is to assume that second language learning is not successful until the learners achieve native-speaker like command of the target language being learned (in this case Nigerian Standard English). Thus, I agree with Sebba (1997), that a more pragmatic view would be to see certain Pidgins as representing successful second language learning from the point of view of their users, who learn just enough to communicate what they need to communicate and no more. Hence, energy is not expended on the unrealistic aim of learning the finer details of grammar and pronunciation. The focus is on successful communication within a limited range of interactions. Taking this as my starting

point, I decided to investigate the role played by level of education attained by the speakers with regard to the choice between Ikwerre and / or NPE.[63]

Based on participant observation and direct face-to-face interviewing of the informants, I designed a five point scale to measure the level of education attained by each informant. A score of [0] is assigned to those who did not attend / or are not attending school, [5] points for those who attended / or are attending primary school, a score of [10] is given to those who went through / or are receiving secondary school education, [15] points is allotted to those who attended / or are attending a post-secondary school (for example, colleges and trade schools), and those who are university trained / or are receiving university education get a score of [20]. Table 12, displays the average level of education attained by each of the 76 speakers and their language choice patterns.

[63] For detailed discussions on the role played by education in bilingualism see Baker, 2000; Bialystok, 2004; Cook, 2001; Dornyei & Schmidt, 2002; Doughty & Long, 2003; Klein, 1986; Lafford & Salaberry, 2003.

Table 12 Average level of education attained by male and female speakers

Patterns	Male			Female		
	No. of speakers	Mean age	Level of education	No. of speakers	Mean age	Level of education
Family members						
Pattern I	3	76	**0**	6	65	**0**
Pattern II	7	42.14	**8.5**	6	35.66	**9.16**
Pattern III	11	36	**9.5**	10	28.3	**8**
Pattern IV	17	17.05	**8.5**	16	12.81	**7.18**
Non-family members						
Pattern I	3	76	**0**	6	65	**0**
Pattern II	4	54.25	**5**	7	44.57	**5**
Pattern III	5	52.4	**8**	2	31.5	**10**
Pattern IV	13	25.76	**10.7**	13	17.76	**10.76**
Pattern V	6	13.33	**8.33**	5	12	**8**
Pattern VI	4	15	**8.75**	3	9.33	**5**
Pattern VII	3	8.6	**3.33**	2	5.5	**0**

Rating scale: 0 = Did not / or not attending primary school, 5 = Attended / or attending primary school, 10 = Attended / or attending secondary school, 15 = Attended / or attending post-secondary school, 20 = Attended / or attending university.

These figures tend to indicate that the nine Ikwerre monolingual speakers of pattern 1 for family and non-family member interactions have not received any form of formal education; therefore, this may well be an explanation for their lack of competence in the use of NPE. Further, an analysis of variance procedure (ANOVA, see also rationale for using this procedure in Chapter 4, section 4.3.1) was applied on the scores giving the following results: $F = 8.39$ $p < 0.027$ (male – family members);

$F = 6.\ 95\ p < 0.039$ (female – family members); $F = 8.49\ p < 0.013$ (male – non family members); $F = 6.22\ p < 0.028$ (female – non family members). Although these figures indicate moderately significant differences between groups for both male and female speakers with family and non-family members' interactions, they, however, fail to highlight a very important fact. That is, that two female speakers (speakers 74I and 76J, Table 4, Chapter 3), who were 7 and 4 years old respectively, and 76J's brother (speaker 75J, who was 6 years old, Table 3, Chapter 3), were not attending school at the time the fieldwork for this study was conducted. Hence, they received a score of zero like the eight grandparents and one female parent. These three speakers' score of zero is crucial, since they all use predominantly NPE-dominant language choice patterns in their interactions with most interlocutors both within and outside their family circle. Further examination of the implicational scales (Tables 3 & 4, Chapter 3) reveals that their grandfathers and parents (speakers 4I, 5J, 19I and 29I, and 20J and 30J) are highly bilingual. These findings tend to suggest contrary to the widely held view among the Ikwerre that only those members of their community with some form of formal education use NPE in their daily interactions. What can be said, however, is that those speakers who did not attend school do not use the language at all in their interactions with any of the interlocutors (for instance, the eight grandparents and one mother).

Finally, in this section, variations in language choice patterns tend to be linked mainly with age, older speakers preferring to use either Ikwerre only or the Ikwerre-dominant language choice patterns, while the language choice patterns of younger speakers appear to display the adoption of either bilingual or NPE-dominant patterns. Generally, sex of speaker and level of education do not seem to categorically influence the language choice patterns of the 76 speakers under study, except that

marginally, a greater number of older male speakers than their female counterparts have adopted bilingual patterns. Additionally, all those who attended or are attending school do use NPE, although, the use of NPE by any speaker is not necessarily dependent on their educational status. Cumulatively, therefore, these observations suggest that a language shift from Ikwerre monolingualism to NPE-dominant bilingualism is underway in the Port Harcourt Ikwerre community within and across all three generations.

In order to adequately account for why certain speakers whose grandparents and parents are largely Ikwerre monolinguals or tend to use Ikwerre-dominant patterns still select NPE as their choice code, I explored the variable of language attitudes. So, in the next section, I discuss the reported attitudes to their community languages (Ikwerre language and NPE) amongst the Ikwerre groups, and how these attitudes help to perpetuate the language choices described above.[64]

5. 4 Language attitudes analysis

From the evidence presented so far in this chapter, it has been shown that an inter-generational language shift from Ikwerre monolingualism to NPE-dominant bilingualism is presently taking place in Port Harcourt. Thus, the fate of the Ikwerre language will most significantly depend to a large degree on local contemporary linguistic attitudes.

As Baker (1992: 12) observes, an attitude has three components, the cognitive, involving thought and beliefs; the affective, concerned with feelings and emotions; and the connotative, referring to a readiness to act. With regard to languages, all three

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[64] See Chapter 4, for information about the informants and detailed discussions of the procedures employed in the analyses of the respondents language attitudes.

components combine to reflect an attitude to a language. The latter could thus be said to consist of a mental disposition, an emotive feeling and a willingness to take action. Such feelings could be positive, negative or indifferent and I was keen to investigate the extent to which they did or did not correlate with language choices made by the Ikwerre of Port Harcourt.[65]

By using a short language attitudes questionnaire (see Chapter 4, section 4.4), I devised a four-point scale ranging from 0–3 to collect information on the informants self-assessments of their language proficiency in Ikwerre and NPE. Here, proficiency refers to the ability to speak Ikwerre and / or NPE fluently (i.e. native-speaker like command) in family and non-family member interactions. I also elicited from the informants which language, Ikwerre and / or NPE, they preferred to use in their normal everyday interactions. Detailed scores for each speaker are displayed in Tables 3 and 4, Appendix III.

In order to investigate the relationships that hold between the variables age, gender and level of education, and the various scores (i.e. language proficiency and language preference scores), I carried out a series of bivariate correlation tests using Spearman's rank order correlation coefficient (see Chapter 4, section 4.3.1 for details).The basic assumptions relevant here, are as follows:

1. Speakers who return higher scores for proficiency in Ikwerre would also select this language as their preferred choice for interactions with most interlocutors; hence they will have a propensity to adopt Ikwerre-dominant language choice patterns.

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[65] See also Batibo, 2005; Crystal, 1992; Genesee & Holobow, 1989; Hamers, 1989; Hogg *et al.*, 1989; Johnson, 1989; Lasagabaster, 2005; Luhman, 1990; Ngata, 1989; Ross, 1987; Vousten *et al.*, 1989; Ytsma, 1990 for more on language attitudes across a range of communities.

2. On the other hand, those who report lower scores for proficiency in the Ikwerre language would deselect this code as their preferred choice for interactions with most interlocutors, thus, they would use NPE-dominant patterns.
3. Since the variable age has been shown so far in the analyses to be strongly associated with variations in language choice patterns, it is predicted that older speakers (of both sexes) would score higher than younger speakers of both sexes on the Ikwerre scale. The reverse would thus be the case on the NPE scale, hence, confirming the observations made earlier that a process of language shift is underway in the Port Harcourt Ikwerre community led by the younger generation.

5. 4. 1 Language proficiency

5. 4. 1. 1 Correlations between age and language proficiency scores

The correlation test results indicate that age of male speakers correlates positively with language proficiency scores on the Ikwerre language scale ($r = 0.915$ $p < 0.001$) and negatively with the scores for NPE ($r = -0.467$ $p < 0.002$). These results give the indication that older male speakers appear to return higher scores on the Ikwerre scale, while younger male speakers score highly on the NPE scale. Similarly, the correlations test results for female speakers mirrors that of their male counterparts: Ikwerre language scale ($r = 0.922$ $p < 0.001$), NPE scale ($r = -0.797$ $p < 0.001$).

5. 4. 1. 2 Correlations between sex and language proficiency scores

Similar to the observation in section 5.3.2, there were no significant gender differences in the language proficiency scores. What has in fact emerged is that older speakers of both sexes score more highly on the Ikwerre scale, whereas younger males and females score higher on the NPE scale.

5. 4. 1. 3 Correlations between level of education and proficiency scores

Here, also, there was found to be no significant correlation between levels of education attained by male speakers on the Ikwerre scale. This finding would suggest that this variable has nothing at all to do with the ability to speak Ikwerre by these speakers. However, level of education positively correlates with male proficiency scores for NPE ($r = 0.483$ $p < 0.001$). What this result indicates is that all male speakers who attended or are attending school returned high scores for proficiency in NPE. Nevertheless, it should not be interpreted as suggesting that only those who attended or are attending school can speak NPE, given the previous discussion as regards the pre-school age children (speakers 74I and 76J, who were 7 and 4 years old respectively, and 76J's brother, speaker 75J, who was 6 years old) in the sample.[66]

On the other hand, a moderately negative correlation was found for female speakers on the Ikwerre scale ($r = -0.285$ $p < 0.041$) and positive correlations on the NPE scale ($r = 0.660$ $p < 0.001$). Here, the indication is that both middle aged and older female non-educated and educated speakers alike returned high scores on the Ikwerre scale (see Table 4, Appendix III), thus, confirming earlier findings in sections

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[66] See Section 5.3.4 above for detailed discussions on the role of education in language choice in Port Harcourt.

5.2.3, 5.3.1-5.3.3 that marginally more women than men adopt Ikwerre-dominant patterns. With regard to the NPE scale, like their male counterparts, all female subjects who attended or are attending school scored higher on this scale. However, as in the last section, this result is not to be taken to indicate the exclusive use of NPE by only those speakers who received or are in receipt of formal education.

5. 4. 2 Language preference

5. 4. 2. 1 Correlations between age and language preference scores

Here the correlation results for male speakers are positive and significant on the Ikwerre scale ($r = 0.896$ $p < 0.001$), and negative but significant on the NPE scale ($r =$ -0.731 $p < 0.001$), indicating that older male speakers tend to prefer to use Ikwerre more than NPE for their routine interactions, conversely, younger male speakers select NPE more for their every day interactions with most interlocutors. The exact scenario is the case also with female speakers: positive and significant correlations on the Ikwerre scale ($r = 0.843$ $p < 0.001$) and negative but significant results on the NPE scale ($r = -0.843$ $p < 0.001$). Further, as was the case in my analyses of other variables, no significant gender related differences were found for speakers of both sexes with regard to language preference. Thus, the indication is that both older male and female speakers tend to select Ikwerre as their preferred code and younger speakers of both sexes choose NPE as their language of choice for interactions with most interlocutors within and outside the family.

5. 4. 2. 2 Correlations between level of education and language preference scores

Additional tests were carried out to investigate the relationship between level of education and language preference scores. The results returned moderately negative correlations on the Ikwerre scale (r = -0.322 $p < 0.024$) and positive correlations on the NPE scale (r = 0.447 $p < 0.002$), suggesting that some mid-to-older aged male speakers (whether they attended school or not) returned higher scores on the Ikwerre scale (see Appendix III). This confirms the observation made in earlier sections that the norm for older speakers is the use of Ikwerre only or Ikwerre-dominant patterns. By contrast, all male speakers who attended or are attending school also scored highly on the NPE scale, indicating that all those who attended/or are attending school can speak NPE. Fairly similar results are also reported for female speakers: Ikwerre scale (r = -0.439 $p < 0.003$), and NPE scale (r = 0.685 $p < 0.001$). As has been noted already, these results mask the fact that some speakers who select NPE for most of their interactions had no formal education. For instance, the three younger speakers highlighted in section 5.3.4 above.

5. 4. 3 Correlations between language proficiency and observed language choice patterns

By using the informants' language proficiency score for Ikwerre and NPE it is possible to rank all the speakers according to their scores. As a first step, the observed language choice patterns (four for interaction with family members and seven for non-family member communication) can be utilised as another set of ranks. That is, from pattern I, referring to Ikwerre monolingualism to pattern VII, i.e. NPE-dominant

bilingualism. By doing this, rank order correlations between language ability scores and language choice patterns can give some indication of whether speakers who use Ikwerre with more interlocutor types also use the language for wider communicative purposes. In the same way it can also show, if those who speak more NPE possess a better command of the language and use it for their normal everyday communication. The results of the rank order correlations are given in Table 13.

Table 13 Correlations between language choice patterns and language proficiency

	Males		Females	
Patterns	*r*	*p*	*r*	*p*
Family members				
Ikwerre	-0.733	< 0.001	-0.794	< 0.001
Pidgin	0.501	< 0.001	0.755	< 0.001
Non-family members				
Ikwerre	-0.873	< 0.001	-0.874	< 0.001
Pidgin	0.479	< 0.001	0.793	< 0.001

Positive correlations indicate higher language proficiency scores and higher (NPE-dominant) language choice patterns, and negative correlations indicate higher language proficiency scores but lower (Ikwerre-dominant) language choice patterns. The results presented in Table 13 seem to indicate that speakers who score higher on the Ikwerre scale do indeed use Ikwerre only or Ikwerre-dominant language choice patterns with both family and non-family member interlocutors, while those who score higher on the NPE scale use bilingual and NPE-dominant patterns.

So far, here, the statistical analyses have all confirmed the assumptions set out in the introduction to section 5.4 above. However, most importantly they confirm the

observation made in earlier sections that the process of language shift is underway in Port Harcourt from Ikwerre-dominant to NPE-dominant bilingual language choice patterns and that it is led by younger speakers. Equally, they also show that, marginally, more-older male speakers than their female counterparts are beginning to adopt language choice patterns similar to those of the younger speakers. Thus, indicating that the language shift taking place in this community is inter-generational and that males are taking the lead in this innovation.

In the next section, I turn my attention to a discussion of the results of the matched guise experiments carried out on the informants to explore further, the impact of attitudes on linguistic behaviour.

5. 4. 4 Matched guise experiment

As noted earlier, the 76 informants have been put into three groups reflecting their generational cohort and a series of paired sample *t*-tests were carried out to see whether any relationship exists between choice of code and language attitudes in Port Harcourt. The assumption, here, is that the Ikwerre language (L_1) will have symbolic value as the mother tongue and will be associated with those traits that symbolise traditional values of honesty, friendliness and generosity. While NPE (L_2) will be associated with education, employment, modernity and so on. The *t*-test results are given in Tables 14 to 16 below.[67]

[67] See Chapter 4, Section 4.4 for information on why these particular traits were chosen.

Table 14 Contrasts between Ikwerre and NPE guises (Younger speakers)

Traits	Ikwerre	NPE
Attended school	n.s	**t= -24.560 p < 0.001**
Modern	n.s	**t= -30.518 p < 0.001**
Ambitious	*t = 2.638 p < 0.011*	**t= -32.539 p < 0.001**
Hardworking	n.s	**t= -24.850 p < 0.001**
Honest	**t = -28.995 p < 0.001**	**t= -7.952 p < 0.001**
Friendly	**t = -14.553 p < 0.001**	**t= -8.387 p < 0.001**
Beautiful	n.s	**t= -24.094 p < 0.001**
Tall	n.s	**t= -37.290 p < 0.001**
Generous	**t = -24.946 p < 0.001**	**t= -6.653 p < 0.001**
Confident	n.s	**t= -32.758 p < 0.001**

Entries in **bold** indicate positive judgments; the *italicized* ones mark negative judgments in either guise. Not significant results are indicated by the abbreviations: n.s.

Table 15 Contrasts between Ikwerre and NPE guises (Parents)

Traits	Ikwerre	NPE
Attended school	*t= 9.178 p < 0.001*	**t= -6.535 p < 0.001**
Modern	*t= 7.592 p < 0.001*	**t= -8.770 p < 0.001**
Ambitious	*t= 9.595 p < 0.001*	**t= -17.456 p < 0.001**
Hardworking	**t= -2.699 p < 0.014**	**t= -6.039 p < 0.001**
Honest	**t= -13.754 p < 0.001**	*t= 5.865 p < 0.001*
Friendly	**t= -7.978 p < 0.001**	n.s
Beautiful	*t= 3.775 p < 0.001*	**t= -2.272 p < 0.035**
Tall	*t= 5.612 p < 0.001*	**t= -14.320 p < 0.001**
Generous	**t= -22.617 p < 0.001**	n.s
Confident	*t= 7.406 p < 0.001*	**t= -9.281 p < 0.001**

Entries in **bold** indicate positive judgments; the *italicized* ones mark negative judgments in either guise. Not significant results are indicated by the abbreviations: n.s.

Table 16 Contrasts between Ikwerre and NPE guises (Grandparents)

Traits	Ikwerre	NPE
Attended school	*t= 12.685 p < 0.001*	**t= -5.078 p < 0.001**
Modern	*t= 8.594 p < 0.001*	**t= -3.099 p < 0.013**
Ambitious	*t= 18.647 p < 0.001*	**t= -2.903 p < 0.017**
Hardworking	**t= -2.756 p < 0.022**	*t= 4.440 p < 0.002*
Honest	**t= -5.053 p < 0.001**	*t= 13.606 p < 0.001*
Friendly	**t= -4.863 p < 0.001**	*t= 9.263 p < 0.001*
Beautiful	**t= -3.476 p < 0.007**	*t= 3.900 p < 0.004*
Tall	*t= 2.491 p < 0.034*	**t= -4.088 p < 0.003**
Generous	**t= -4.351 p < 0.002**	*t= 9.179 p < 0.001*
Confident	*t= 9.073 p < 0.001*	**t= -4.492 p < 0.002**

Entries in **bold** indicate positive judgments; the *italicized* ones mark negative judgments in either guise. Not significant results are indicated by the abbreviations: n.s.

In these Tables, positive and significant *t*-test results on either the Ikwerre or NPE guise for any trait, indicates that the latter has been judged negatively by the speakers, whereas, a negative but significant result signifies a positive judgement for that individual trait by the speakers. In addition, results marked as not significant (n.s) on either guise would indicate a negative judgement for the given trait by a majority of the speakers in that group. These indicators are fully recoverable from the speakers' individual scores in Tables 5-10 of Appendix III.

As might be expected, the younger speakers of both sexes judged the NPE guise positively on all ten traits, thus, confirming observations made in the last section,

that the language shift taking place in Port Harcourt is led by this group of speakers. All three groups are also in agreement that the speaker of the NPE guise as opposed to the speaker of the Ikwerre guise attended school. This finding is interesting, because the two actors used in the experiment are Ikwerre graduates from the University of Port Harcourt, who were working in the Rivers State civil service (see Chapter 3, section 3.6.2 and section 4.4 of Chapter 4 for more details). Further, it highlights, as mentioned in section 5.3.4 of this chapter that the Ikwerre believe that only those who attended school use NPE. I have demonstrated to the contrary that this notion is not entirely accurate. Also, my informants judged the speaker of this guise to be more modern, more ambitious, taller and more confident than the speaker of the Ikwerre guise. Although younger speakers judged the NPE guise positively on all the traits, it would appear, nevertheless, that, comparatively speaking (that is, comparing the *t-values* in Tables 14-16), the speaker using the Ikwerre guise was judged by all to be more *honest*, *friendly*, and *generous* - traits that pertain to feelings of morality and traditional values.[68]

Overall, it seems then that in Port Harcourt, NPE is believed to be used by modern and upwardly mobile people by members of the three generations under investigation. For the younger generation and their parents it is also thought to be used by *hardworking* and *beautiful people*. These findings tend to confirm the general views among the Ikwerre community of Port Harcourt which also emerged during my participant observation. In fact, one father told me in NPE while doing fieldwork for this study that:

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[68] See also similar findings in Baker, 1992, 1993; Bentahila, 1983; Hoare, 2001; Ioratim-Uba, 1995, 2001; Oyetade, 1996; Yamamoto, 2001.

Example 2

'Di dez don pas wen we go tink sey tu spik onli Ikwerre wi go-go far for laif for dis awa kontri. Naim mek a de spik di langage en' a no de stop ma pikin dem tu spik-am'.

'The days are gone when people thought they would make progress in life by speaking Ikwerre only in this country. This is why I speak the language [NPE], and I do not stop my children from speaking NPE'.

Attitudinal dispositions, such as these reported here, have also been noted by other researchers working in the African continent. Adegbija (1994), Batibo (2005) and De Klerk (2000) for instance, observe that most parents wish their children to have proficiency in the ex-colonial language to improve their chances of social promotion and economic advancement, even at the expense of their autochthonous language. However, in most African communities the ex-colonial languages are restricted to a small proportion of the elite. The only prestigious language would, therefore, be the prominent lingua franca, (in this case NPE). Hence, in many cases, parents want their children to be proficient in L_2 instead of L_1. Such an attitude, they argue, contributes greatly to the language shift process. Therefore, according to Ihemere (forthcoming, b), these results of the Ikwerre attitudes go a long way to buttress the fact that in minority ethnic groups such as this one, the language of wider communication is the most preferred code because of the socio-political and socio-economic benefits it accords those who have competence in it.

Casting our minds back to Tables 14-16, it is evident from the results of the matched guise test that members of the grandparents' generation display favourable attitudes toward Ikwerre. They see it as the language that embodies feelings of honesty, conscientiousness, friendliness, beauty and generosity. These attitudes go a long way to explain why this group of speakers have remained largely Ikwerre monolinguals. On the other hand, the younger generation and a large proportion of their parents (male and female alike) display overwhelmingly positive attitudes toward the use of NPE, which equally explains, why they make the type of code choices illustrated in the implicational scales in Tables 3 and 4 of Chapter 3. That is, the use of bilingual and NPE-dominant patterns with most interlocutors.

In sum, since the NPE guise was judged more favourably on the ten traits than the Ikwerre guise by all the groups, it is possible to submit that this is very strong evidence in support of earlier findings that the language shift taking place in this community cuts across generations. That is, although older Ikwerre speakers of both sexes are doing their utmost to use the Ikwerre language regularly, these results appear to suggest that local contemporary linguistic attitudes with regard to the middle-aged cohort and especially the younger generation tend to favour NPE-dominant bilingual patterns over Ikwerre-dominant ones.

Finally, given that the number of respondents used in this study is relatively small (76 people in total), I have taken care not to over-generalize my findings. However, since I did ensure that the informants whose language choice patterns I have uncovered here do represent a cross section of Port Harcourt Ikwerre indigenes, the observations are not insignificant. For instance, they clarify the apparent language shift taking place in this community and allow us to gain insights into the use of both Ikwerre and NPE in Port Harcourt now and in the future. Moreover, by incorporating

matched guise tests in a study of language choice and shift, this thesis has contributed to existing research in language attitudes by, firstly, investigating in some detail the attitudes towards Ikwerre and NPE of young people, their parents and grandparents in Port Harcourt, including questions of perceptions about the future of the Ikwerre language. Secondly, it has added to the methodology of research into language attitudes and use, most significantly by combining direct and indirect techniques within the same project to collect data and gain insights into prevailing local linguistic attitudes in Port Harcourt.

5. 5 Evaluation of the integrated approach

This study has raised and addressed questions which are of significance not only for the future of the Ikwerre language and NPE, but also for language choice and attitudes research methodology more generally. It has been shown here that it is possible to combine both direct and indirect methods in the elicitation of data on language attitudes that can be analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively.

To my knowledge, such an integrated approach has not been used before in the study of language use and attitudes towards any of the minority languages spoken in Nigeria or in indeed with respect to Pidgin languages in general. Furthermore, this research project demonstrates the possibility of modifying existing methods of gathering language attitudes data by integrating self reports with matched guise experiments within a single study, thus, clarifying and elaborating upon results obtained through quantitative methods.

5. 6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have rigorously and systematically explored the language choice patterns of 76 Ikwerre informants from Port Harcourt. The results tend to show that a rapid inter-generational language shift from Ikwerre monolingualism to NPE-dominant bilingualism is presently underway. This shift is further epitomised in a remodelling of usual language choice patterns with different types of interlocutors. I have also examined a number of variables and found that age is an important factor associated with this change in language choice, with older speakers using only or mainly Ikwerre-dominant patterns in wide ranging contexts and younger speakers utilise both Ikwerre and NPE or principally NPE to fulfil various communicative functions.

However, I have to make the point that age singularly does not fully explain the entire social and psychological stimuli fundamental to the language shift process in this community. Hence, I concur with Coulmas (2005), Eckert (1997), Gal (1979) and Li Wei (1994), that age may misleadingly imply that variations in language choice illustrate life-cycle changes rather than changes over time, a major flaw found in static models of language choice (see discussions in sections 5.0 and 5.1, of this chapter). A life-cycle change in language choice can plainly be described as that of a speaker who has been speaking only Ikwerre since childhood and starts to speak a mixture of Ikwerre and NPE upon turning sixty years old or *vice versa*. There is no evidence in this sample of 76 speakers that this is the case in Port Harcourt. Rather, evidence from the data analysed here, shows synchronic variations that occur both within and across generations. For instance, while typically the grandparents have remained largely Ikwerre monolingual, two of the male grandparents have acquired

NPE and use it with a range of interlocutors. Although, the greater majority of members of the younger generation (children) use both Ikwerre and NPE, some of them have started to use only this language with their age-mates and members of the parents' generation. It is also worth mentioning that with certain types of interlocutors (e.g. female grandparents of the family) all the speakers use only Ikwerre, while with other types of interlocutors both Ikwerre and NPE or NPE only may be used.

In order to adequately account for such variations, I have looked at factors other than age that are capable of explaining the underlying processes whereby speakers make their choices. For instance, I have investigated the informants' language attitudes. The results of the questionnaire (and particularly the matched guise tests described in this chapter) suggest that a Port Harcourt Ikwerre bilingual's judgements of a person are quite significantly influenced by what language he/she speaks, and that they may also obtain different impressions of an individual's character, status and level of education depending on whether the person is speaking Ikwerre or NPE. It would also appear that in Port Harcourt a bilingual is viewed more favourably when he/she speaks NPE than when they speak Ikwerre. Members of this community, it would seem rate speakers of NPE highly with regard to level of education attained, modernity and general sophistication. Such findings as those reported here are very important to bilinguals because, if they have an awareness of the effect of their speech and how they are perceived, then they can exert influence on others' language behaviour and attitudes towards them by deliberately varying their choice of language.

In Chapter 6, I explore further, the social network variable to see how, together with the extralinguistic variables considered in this chapter they affect the processes underpinning the language shift underway in Port Harcourt.

Chapter Six

Impact of Social Network Ties on Language Choice

6. 0 Introduction

In this Chapter, I shall be looking at the social networks of the 76 informants, whose language choice patterns were described in the last chapter. The objective is to see how their linguistic behaviours are further constrained and shaped by the types of social contacts they maintain. The general belief is that by examining an individual's social networks we are better placed to understand how speakers in interaction influence each other's language choices and thus, either sustain linguistic diversity or promote hegemony.

As I explained in Chapters 3 and 4, social networks are the sum total of the people with whom a speaker interacts, and the analysis of these networks primarily assesses a person's level of concatenation within unofficially composed social groups. This web of ties can act as a 'norm enforcement mechanism', so that persons belonging to particular networks display analogous social behaviours, including linguistic norms, different from those manifested by non-members.[69]

Thus, here, as already mentioned above, the aim is to investigate the relationships between social networks and language behaviour within the Ikwerre community in Port Harcourt. In Chapter 3, section 3.5 and section 4.5, Chapter 4, I discussed at length the two types of personal network ties (exchange networks and

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[69] See Burt, 1990; Chang & Fu, 2003; Choe, 1998; Hsung, 1999; Khan, *et al.*, 1999; Kuan *et al.*, 2002; Li Wei, 1994; Li Wei *et al.*, 2000; Moffatt & Milroy, 1992; Romaine, 2000; Zlotnik, 1989.

interactive networks) investigated and the rationale for examining these social networks. Moreover, since this project is about an indigenous people, it was felt necessary to concentrate on first-order networks. That is, those contacts with whom ego is in regular interaction. Within the first-order networks, a distinction is usually made between exchange and interactive networks. Exchange networks are often described as including the people with whom the probability of rewarding exchanges is high, or individuals with whom the probability of unrewarding exchanges is high as in conflict-habituated relationships (see Milardo, 1988: 26).

Generally speaking, those members of the exchange network are the kinfolk and close friends on whom the seventy-six respondents rely for direct aid, advice and criticism, support and interference, as confidants for their judgements or for personal favours. Structurally and interactionally, exchange networks are 'strong ties', whereas interactive networks are said to be loosely structured and 'weak'. Thus, the latter are composed of a subset of people with whom ego interacts frequently and probably over prolonged periods but, in this network type, the probability of rewarding exchange is low. While such a strict demarcation may be true of Western, industrialised societies, as I mentioned in Chapters 2 and 4 of this study, Ikwerre community members in Port Harcourt do not perceive there to be such clear-cut distinctions between their exchange and interactive networks. In fact, the line between the two types of networks is rather blurred due to the fact that people regarded close work colleagues and school-mates as part of their extended family.

This fundamental difference between interactive and exchange networks in a non-Western society is to be expected given the findings of other social network analysts, such as Hollinger & Haller (1990), Laireiter & Bauman (1992), Marsden (1987), van der Poel (1993), Wellman (1992), and more recently, Lee *et al.* (2005).

They have all observed that the kinds of support which the focal individual obtains from sources depends not only on the structural characteristics of his/her personal social network, but also on macro social-cultural forces, like economic modernisation, urbanisation and cultural orientations. Hence, in the course of economic modernisation and urbanisation (as is the case in today's Port Harcourt, since the discovery of petroleum and the attendant rise in allied industries), kinship ties are loosened while non-kin relations tend to gain ascendancy in personal social networks.[70]

This issue is explicated further later in this Chapter, when it is shown that the linguistic behaviours of nine parents from the data sample can only be explained fully by making recourse to other variables such as their language attitudes, level of education, occupations and the composition of their interactive as opposed to their exchange networks. Operationally, however, social networks are boundless. They link people to one another throughout the whole society, however remotely. Social network researchers (for instance, Assche, 2005; Fu, 2005; Li Wei, 1994; Milardo, 1988) are, therefore, of the view that it would be absolutely impractical and unnecessary in most studies to attempt to identify all the network members of a particular individual or a family. Thus, empirical evidence suggests that for practical purposes, social networks are primarily 'anchored' to individuals. Thus, as I have earlier pointed out in Chapter 4, section 4.5, this study examined twenty contacts per each of the seventy-six speakers used in this thesis.

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[70] See Chapter 2 of this study for further details.

6. 1 Contrasts in social network patterns by generations

6. 1. 1 Exchange networks

Below in Table 1, is a presentation of the summary of Ikwerre ties in the exchange networks of male and female speakers across three generations which I obtained from the participant observation and ethnographic face-to-face interviews described at length in Chapter 4, section 4.2.

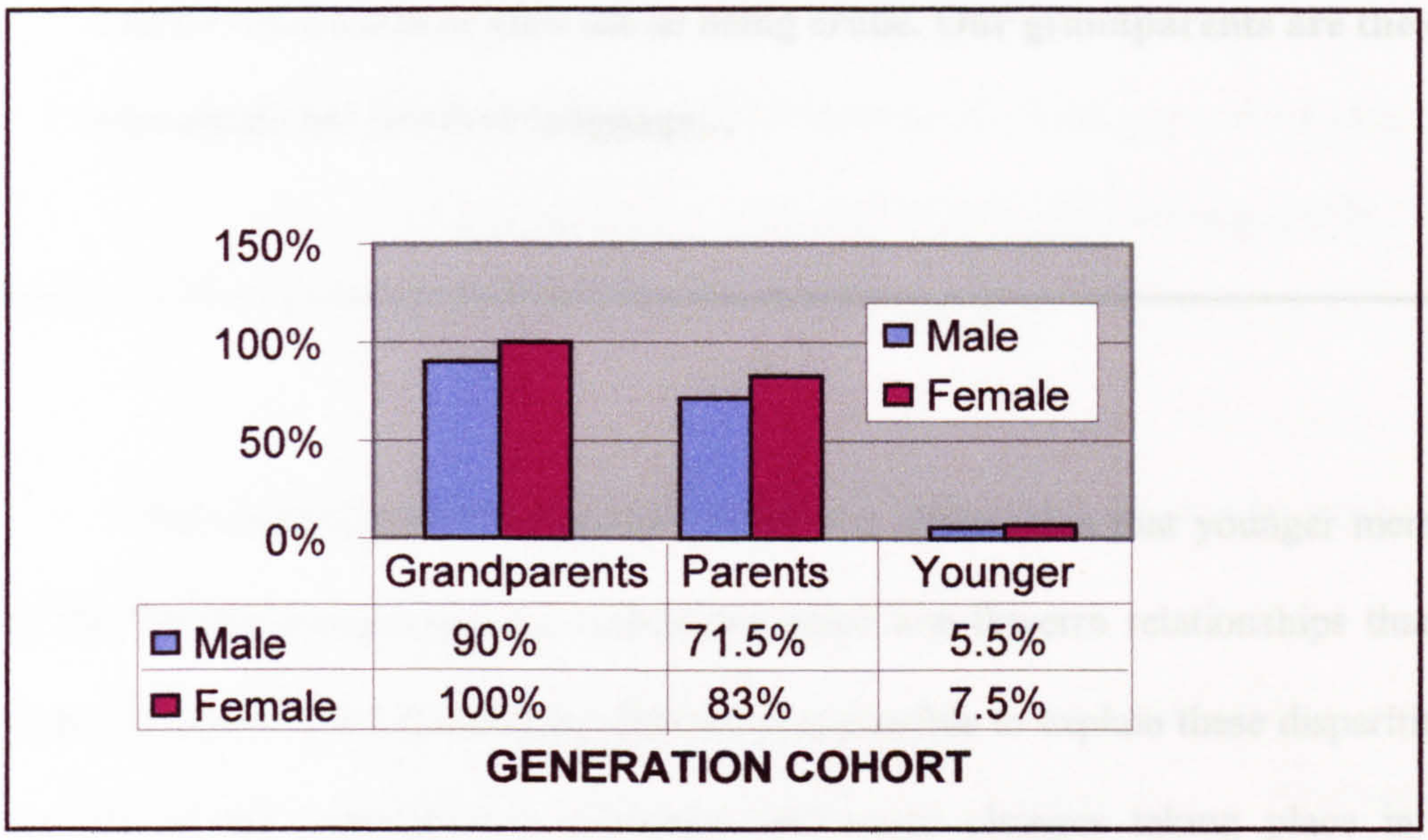
Table 1 Average number of 'indigenous' ties in exchange networks by generation and sex

	Males		Females	
Generation cohort	Number of speakers	Average Ikwerre ties	Number of speakers	Average Ikwerre ties
Grandparents	5	18(90%)	5	20(100%)
Parents	10	14.3(71.5%)	10	16.6(83%)
Younger speakers	23	1.1(5.5%)	23	1.5(7.5%)

Total: 20 ties per speaker, Percentage of ties in brackets.

The figures displayed in Table 1 do indicate that a larger proportion of the grandparents and parents contract mainly Ikwerre ties in their exchange networks. Also, it is noticeable that the five grandmothers used in the sample have no non-Ikwerre ties, at all. On the other hand, the younger speakers, unlike their parents and grandparents, have fewer ethnic ties in their exchange networks. The information in Table 1 is further illustrated in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1 Indigenous ties in exchange networks



These figures tend to show that, with respect to exchange networks, the grandparents and parents have primarily remained highly indigenous-oriented. That is, they have contracted few close friendship ties with persons outside the Ikwerre-speaking community, whereas, the younger generation it would seem have departed from such indigenous-based networks, and have forged relationships with mainly non-Ikwerre contacts as the extract below in Example 1 illustrates.

Example 1: (A = Male, teenager and B = fieldworker)

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1 A: *...meni of ma frend dem no bi* Ikwe-Ikwerre (1.0) *a no dey tok* Ikwerre *wi'dem*

//o =

...many of my friends are not Ikwerre. I don't speak Ikwerre with them

2 B: // Why?

3 A: = *a no wan luk lokal for dia: ai* (0.4) *na awa granpapa an' mama dem dey tok*

for Ikwerre…

I don't want them to view me as being crude. Our grandparents are the ones who speak the Ikwerre language…

The above example seems to confirm the observation that younger members of the Ikwerre community are contracting more non-Ikwerre relationships than the older members of the community. Further, it is possible to explain these disparities by looking at the contemporary economic and social changes taking place in Port Harcourt. As was discussed in Chapter 2, in the heyday of the grandparents and some of the older parents, the local economy in Port Harcourt and its environs was largely agrarian and, therefore, rural in setting. The few schools in place then were largely little village schools. Thus, Ikwerre relationships were restricted to the small number of pupils attending (for those who attended school at all), and to the local farming community, which is largely composed of Ikwerre indigenes. However, with the discovery of petroleum in the late 1950s and early 1960s, came an influx of skilled and semi-skilled workers from across Nigeria to fill the vacancies in the emerging petrochemical plants and refineries. Additionally, Port Harcourt houses Nigeria's second largest shipping port. All these factors have come together to transform this community into a vibrant metropolitan society. Thus, the hitherto small village schools have become large urban schools serving not only Ikwerre children, but also the large numbers of non-Ikwerre pupils/students. Therefore, younger Ikwerre speakers are making new friends with non-Ikwerre people from school and their various neighbourhoods.

When a comparison is made between the inter-generational differences in indigenous ties within the exchange networks, and the number of generational ties (age-mate ties) that both male and female speakers of the three generations establish, they do not seem to differ significantly. This can be seen by scanning Table 2 and Figure 2 below.

Table 2 Average number of 'generational' ties in exchange networks by generation and sex

Generation cohort	Males		Females	
	Number of speakers	Average Ikwerre ties	Number of speakers	Average Ikwerre ties
Grandparents	5	13.4(67%)	5	11.5(57.5%)
Parents	10	10(50%)	10	11.8(59%)
Younger speakers	23	15(75%)	23	15.3(76.5%)

Total: 20 ties per speaker, Percentage number of ties in brackets.

Figure 2 Generational ties in exchange networks

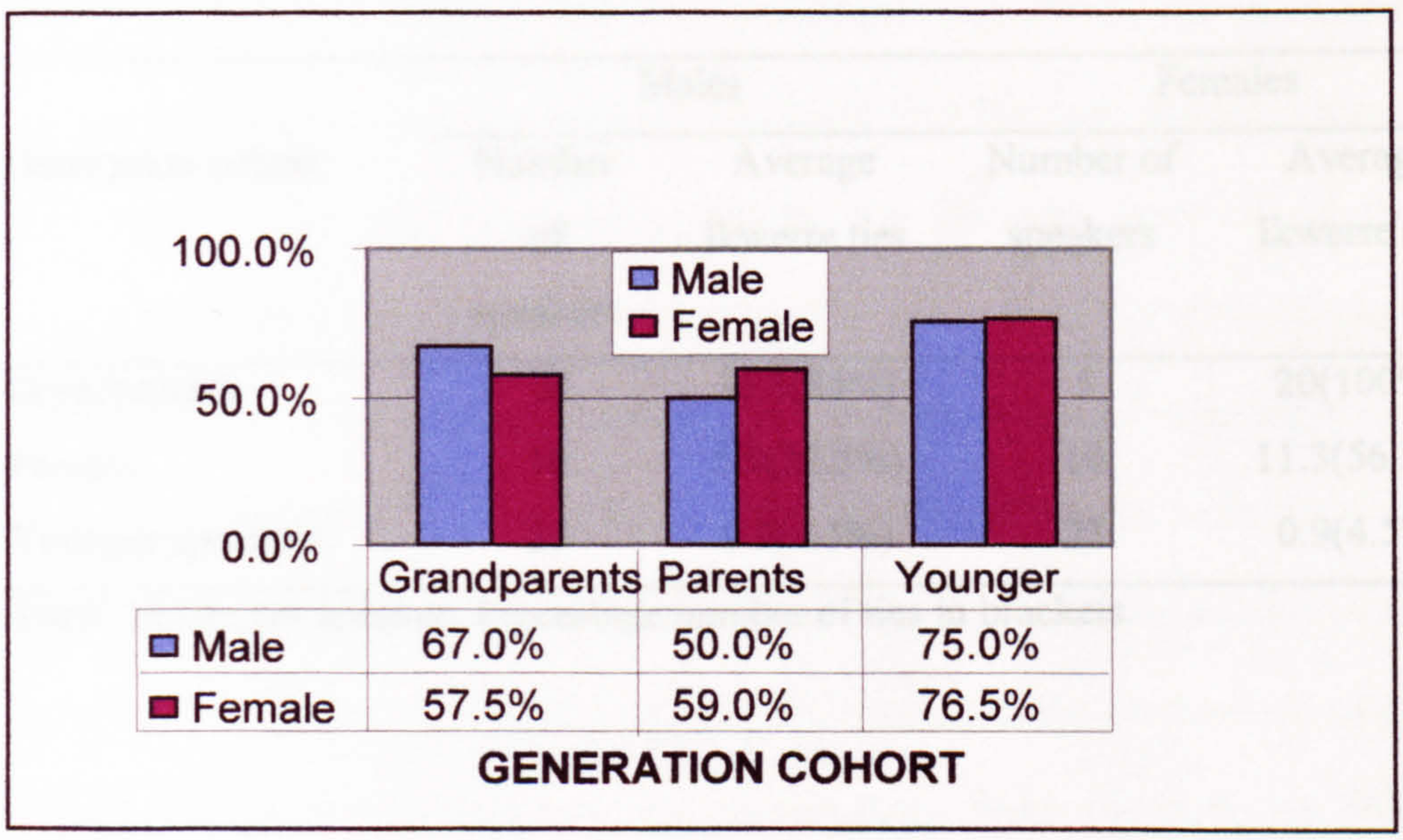


Table 2 displays the average number of contacts within the exchange network who belong to the same generation as the speaker. From the data presented here, it is evident that younger speakers appear to interact more with their peers, while the older generation split their interactions between their age-mates and others. In subsequent sections of this chapter, I shall discuss the implications such network patterns may have on the speakers' linguistic behaviours. Following, is a discussion of the interactive networks of the three generations under investigation.

6. 1. 2 Interactive networks

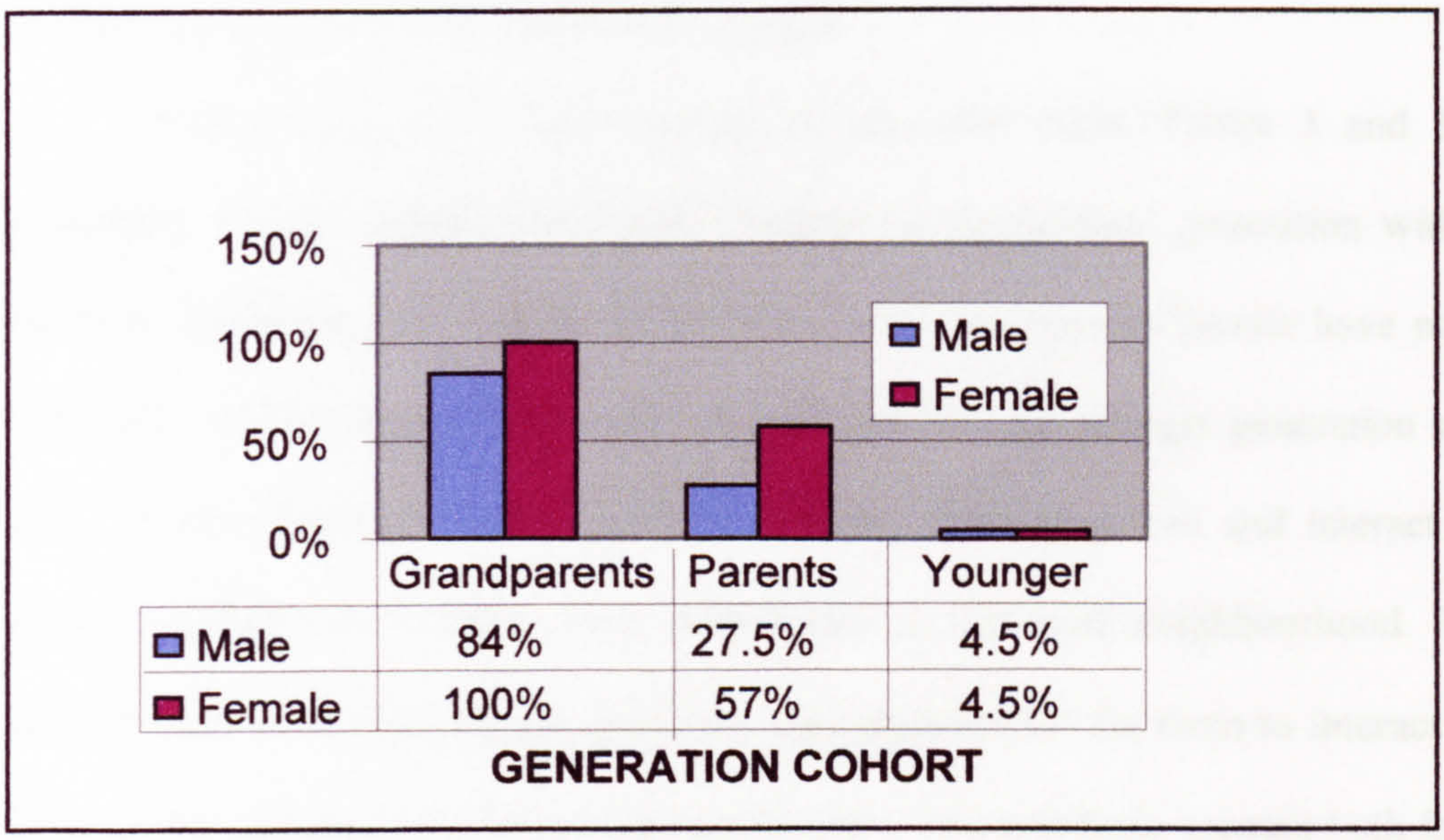
As in the above examples, Table 3, and Figure 3 depict the indigenous ties that male and female speakers of three generations in Port Harcourt contract in their daily interactions.

Table 3 Average number of 'indigenous' ties in interactive networks by generation and sex

Generation cohort	Males		Females	
	Number of speakers	Average Ikwerre ties	Number of speakers	Average Ikwerre ties
Grandparents	5	16.8(84%)	5	20(100%)
Parents	10	5.5(27.5%)	10	11.3(56.5%)
Younger speakers	23	0.9(4.5%)	23	0.9(4.5%)

Total: 20 ties per speaker, Percentage number of ties in brackets.

Figure 3 Indigenous ties in interactive networks



Once again, we find that the older speakers are prone to contracting more indigenous ties, while the reverse is the case with speakers of the younger generation. However, it is rather interesting to note that for male parents only 27.5% of them against 56.5% (female parents) maintain indigenous ties in their interactive networks, and the figure is even lower for the children at 4.5%. To explain these differences we need to re-examine the socio-economic context in which the Port Harcourt Ikwerre community finds itself in the early twenty-first century. For instance, eight out of the ten grandparents did not receive any formal education and have had no other employment except subsistence agriculture. Therefore, their opportunities of interacting with non-Ikwerre on a regular basis are fewer. On the other hand, all the male parents have received some formal education and are actively employed in local companies, factories and the civil service. By contrast, while some of the mothers are employed as traders in the local markets and corner-shops most of them are full-time

housewives. Hence, it is naturally only the employed parents who have improved chances of interacting with non-Ikwerre people.[71]

Furthermore, it is rather striking to note that when Tables 3 and 1 are compared, it is noticeable that those members of the parents' generation with the greatest opportunity for forging relationships with non-Ikwerre people have not, in fact, fully utilised these opportunities. By comparison, the younger generation spend most of their day-time hours outside the family where they mix and interact with mostly non-Ikwerre children from school and in the local neighbourhood. Thus, beyond their immediate family members, the opportunities for them to interact with Ikwerre monolinguals are narrowing significantly. This trend can account both for the very small number of Ikwerre contacts they maintain as part of their interactive networks, and the very few Ikwerre ties in their exchange networks as displayed in Table 1 above.

Shown in Table 4 and Figure 4, respectively, is information about the generational ties in the interactive networks of the speakers.

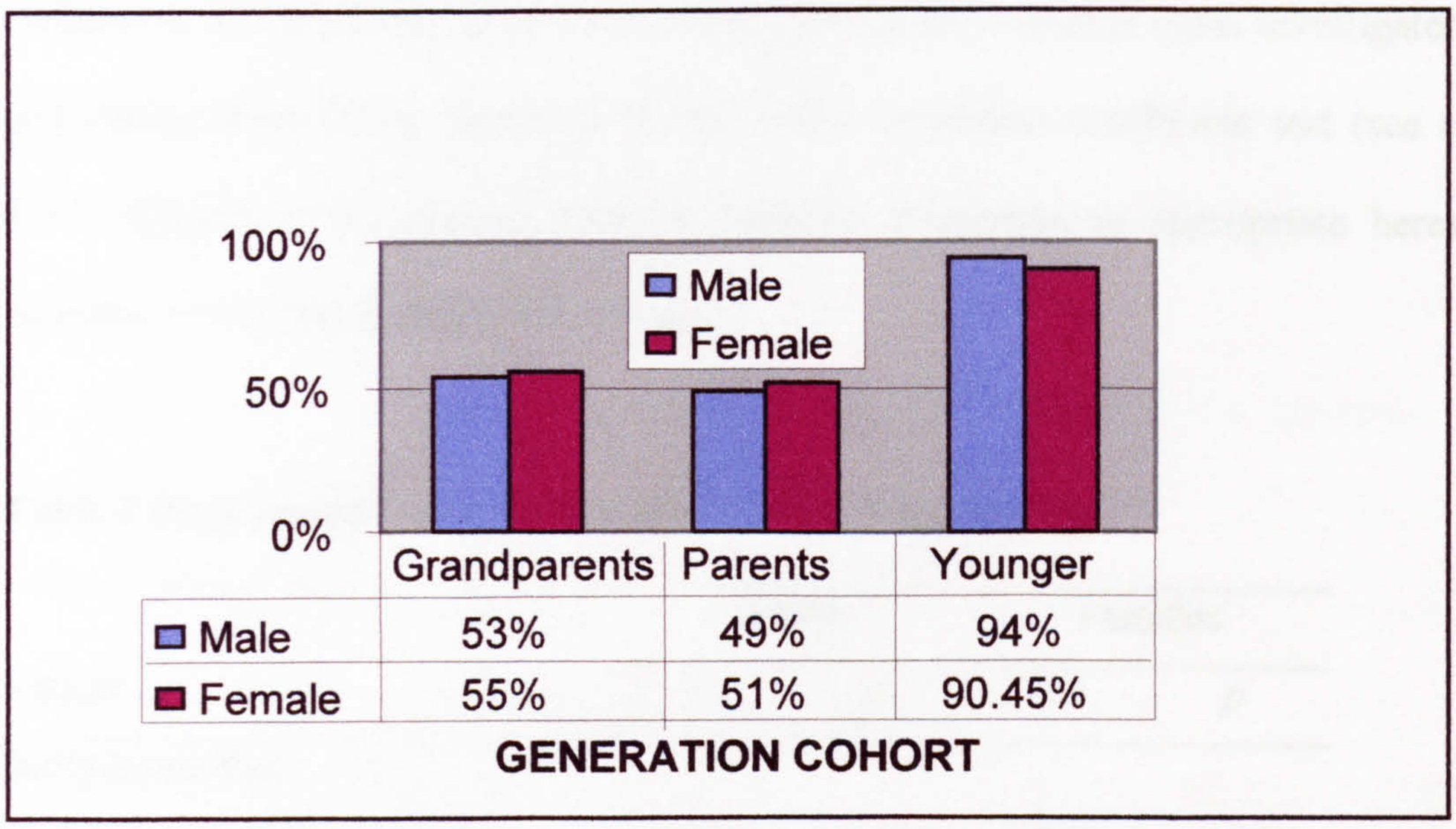
Table 4 Average number of 'generational' ties in interactive networks by generation and sex

	Males		Females	
Generation cohort	Number of speakers	Average Ikwerre ties	Number of speakers	Average Ikwerre ties
Grandparents	5	10.6(53%)	5	11(55%)
Parents	10	9.8(49%)	10	10.2(51%)
Younger speakers	23	18.8(94%)	23	18.08(90.45%)

Total: 20 ties per speaker, Percentage number of ties in brackets.

[71] See Chapter 2, Table 1 for information on the informants' occupations.

Figure 4 Generational ties in interactive networks



The information in the Table and Bar-chart demonstrate that about half of the interactive contacts of the grandparents and parents (male and female) belong to their own generation, and the other half are either older or younger speakers from other generations. This compares well with the patterns displayed in Table 2 and Figure 2 above, in which the exchange networks of the grandparent and parent generations are almost evenly divided between age-mates and non-peers. On the other hand, most of the daily contacts of the younger generation are with members of their own generation. An explanation for this trend can be found in the varying patterns of level of education and occupation with regard to the different generations (see Table 1, Chapter 2 and Table 12, Chapter 5).

6. 1. 3 Relationship between speaker age and network scores

From the Tables and Bar-charts presented above, it does seem that the indigenous indices of the two types of network correspond with speaker age. To confirm this observation, I

have taken each individual speaker's network scores (see Appendix IV for details) for indigenous and generational ties associated with the two network types investigated here, and ranked them using Spearman's rank order correlation coefficient test (see section 4.3.1, Chapter 4 for reasons why Spearman's correlation is appropriate here). The outcome of this test is displayed in Table 5.

Table 5 Relationships between network scores and speaker age

	Males		Females	
Indices	*r*	*p*	*r*	*p*
Indigenous ties:				
Exchange networks and age	0.901	< 0.001	0.909	< 0.001
Interactive networks and age	0.774	< 0.001	0.889	< 0.001
Generational ties:				
Exchange networks and age	-0.360	< 0.013	-0.496	< 0.001
Interactive networks and age	-0.636	< 0.001	-0.420	< 0.004

These results confirm the observation that age does, in fact, correlate significantly with the indigenous indices for both exchange and interactive networks. Thus, the suggestion is that the older the speaker is the more Ikwerre ties they establish, whereas the younger the speaker the fewer Ikwerre ties they tend to contract. The agreement between age and generational ties (i.e. 'age-mates ties') is vital. Table 5 shows negative but significant correlations between age and generational ties, suggesting that younger speakers tend to forge rather more age-mate ties than older speakers within their exchange and interactive networks. These findings are consistent with earlier

observations made in Chapter 5, and also agree with findings in other bilingual settings across the world.[72]

6. 1. 4 Relationship between exchange and interactive networks

Further, I ran rank order correlation tests to explore the relationships between the two network types, and the results are given in Table 6.

Table 6 Relationships between exchange and interactive networks

Gender	1	2	3
Men ($p < 0.005$)			
2	-0.350		
3	0.795	-0.305	
4	-0.639	0.311	-0.449
Women ($p < 0.005$)			
2	-0.418		
3	0.812	-0.455	
4	-0.391	0.462	-0.429

1 = Exchange networks (Indigenous ties), 2 = Exchange networks (Generational ties), 3 = Interactive networks (Indigenous ties), 4 = Interactive networks (Generational ties) Number of speakers: 38 – men, 38 – women.

Evidence provided by the correlation tests in Table 6, indicate (in parallel with Li Wei 1994: 128-129) significant and positive correlations between the two sets of indigenous indices, suggesting that speakers who have more Ikwerre ties as part of their exchange networks tend also to have more Ikwerre contacts as part of their interactive networks.

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[72] See De Klerk, 2000; Edwards, 1986; Gal, 1979; Li Wei, 1994, 1995, 1998; Li Wei *et al.*, 2000; Myers-Scotton, 2006; Raschka, Li & Lee, 2002; Tuominen, 1999.

On the other hand, those who contract more non-Ikwerre ties in their exchange networks appear to have more non-Ikwerre ties in their interactive networks. In the same vein, informants who interact more with members of their own generation in their exchange networks equally appear to have more generational ties in their interactive networks. By contrast, negative but significant correlations were found between indigenous and generational indices, indicating that subjects who have more Ikwerre ties do not as a necessity have as many generational ties. For instance, it is noticeable from Table 5 that younger speakers who maintain fewer Ikwerre ties seem to contract more generational ties.

When taken as a whole, these analyses of social distributions of exchange and interactive networks of the 76 informants, display broadly a move away from chiefly Ikwerre-dominant ties to mainly non-Ikwerre, age-mate ties across the three generations. This change is largely correlated with speaker age, with older speakers maintaining more indigenous ties, and younger speakers contracting more non-Ikwerre relationships with members of their own generation. At this point, therefore, it seems reasonable to suggest that there is an analogous relationship between this pattern of change in social networks and the language shift from Ikwerre-dominant monolingualism to NPE-dominant bilingualism described in Chapter 5. To fully understand this parallel relationship, in the next section I examine the link between the network patterns identified here and choice of code.

6. 2 Effects of social networks on language choice patterns

Here, the 76 speakers in the sample were grouped according to their language choice patterns in a similar manner to that used in Chapter 5 (see Tables 7 and 8 of Chapter 5 for

details). The mean network scores of each group was then computed autonomously in terms of 'indigenous' and 'generational' ties of exchange and interactive networks. Later, the mean scores of separate speaker groups were compared with each other to find out whether or not they were significantly dissimilar.

6. 2. 1 Relationship between exchange networks and language choice patterns

In Table 7 below, the mean scores of speakers of four different language choice patterns with family members on the indigenous index of exchange networks is displayed.

Table 7 Mean scores of speakers with four language choice patterns with family members on the indigenous index of exchange networks

	Males		Females	
Patterns	Number of speakers	Mean network score	Number of speakers	Mean network score
Pattern I	3	20	6	20
Pattern II	7	9.71	6	10
Pattern III	11	8.27	10	8.8
Pattern IV	17	2.41	16	2.06

Total: 20 ties per speaker: $F = 46.98$ $p < 0.001$ (Men), $F = 33.74$ $p < 0.001$ (Women).

It is observable that there are differences in the number of indigenous ties for each of the four patterns. The speakers of patterns 1 and 2 (Ikwerre monolingual and Ikwerre-dominant language choice patterns) appear to have a greater number of the contacts in their exchange networks composed of Ikwerre people, while speakers of patterns 3 and 4 (NPE-dominant bilingual patterns) contract fewer ties with other Ikwerre community members. By examining the indigenous ties contracted by male and female speakers of

the same language choice patterns, it is noticeable that there are no striking differences, thus confirming earlier findings in Chapter 5, that the ongoing language shift in Port Harcourt is not indexed by gender.

Table 8 Mean scores of speakers with seven language choice patterns with non-family members on the indigenous index of exchange networks

Patterns	Males		Females	
	Number of speakers	Mean network score	Number of speakers	Mean network score
Pattern I	3	20	6	20
Pattern II	4	15.5	7	17
Pattern III	5	13.8	2	13.5
Pattern IV	13	4.3	13	1.84
Pattern V	6	1	5	1.4
Pattern VI	4	1.25	3	1
Pattern VII	3	0.66	2	0.5

Total: 20 ties per speaker: $F = 6.94\ p < 0.022$ (Men), $F = 4.42\ p < 0.057$ (Female).

Similar contrasts are displayed in Table 8 for language choice patterns with non-family member interlocutors. Those speakers who are grouped under the Ikwerre monolingual or Ikwerre-dominant patterns (Patterns 1 – 3) have forged significantly more Ikwerre relationships than those speakers who adopt the bilingual and NPE-dominant patterns (patterns 4 – 7). These speakers clearly maintain fewer Ikwerre ties in their exchange networks. Moreover, the differences between male and female speakers of the same language choice patterns are not particularly marked as we have also noticed in other contexts. Illustrated in Tables 9 and 10 below, are the number of generational ties which the 76 speakers of contrastive language choice patterns contract in their exchange networks for both family member and non-family member interactions.

Table 9 Mean scores of speakers with four language choice patterns with family members on the generational index of exchange networks

Patterns	Males		Females	
	Number of speakers	Mean network score	Number of speakers	Mean network score
Pattern I	3	15.33	6	14.5
Pattern II	7	12.57	6	12
Pattern III	11	12.81	10	13.1
Pattern IV	17	14	16	17.75

Total: 20 ties per speaker: F test not significant for men and women.

Table 10 Mean scores of speakers with seven language choice patterns with non-family members on the generation index of exchange networks

Patterns	Males		Females	
	Number of speakers	Mean network score	Number of speakers	Mean network score
Pattern I	3	15.33	6	14.5
Pattern II	4	10	7	12
Pattern III	5	10.2	2	11
Pattern IV	13	13.46	13	15.76
Pattern V	6	14.5	5	15.2
Pattern VI	4	14.25	3	18.33
Pattern VII	3	17	2	20

Total: 20 ties per speaker: $F = 24.20$ $p < 0.001$ (Men), $F = 26.82$ $p < 0.001$ (Women).

The figures in Table 9 indicate only minor differences between speakers with diverse language choice patterns. This is further confirmed by results of the F test (ANOVA), which returned no significant differences between men and women. Further, what Tables 9 and 10 illustrate, is that speakers in Port Harcourt generally appear to

distribute their exchange networks fairly evenly between those who belong to their own generation and those who do not. However, speakers of patterns 4 – 7, in particular (non-family member interactions), seem to have established rather more generational ties. These results are especially important when they are related to the age differences between speakers using different language choice patterns discussed in earlier sections. That is, older speakers have largely maintained Ikwerre-dominant patterns, while younger speakers have shifted towards NPE-dominant bilingual patterns. Thus, the analysis of the link between social networks and language choice suggests that Ikwerre only and Ikwerre-dominant language choice patterns are the norm for age-mate interactions among older speakers, whereas, bilingual and NPE-dominant patterns are the norm for age-mate communication amongst younger speakers. Next, the discussion focuses on the relationship between interactive networks of speakers and language choice patterns.

6. 2. 2 Relationship between interactive networks and language choice patterns

The mean score of Ikwerre contacts within the interactive networks of speakers with four language choice patterns for family interaction is displayed in Table 11. The Table shows that speakers of pattern 1 (both sexes) have no contacts with non-Ikwerre people at all, while speakers of other patterns have more chances to forge relationships with non-Ikwerre people. Based on this link between social network and language choice, it can be suggested that the nine speakers of pattern 1 have been unable to use NPE because they have no social network contacts with non-Ikwerre people.

Table 11 Mean scores of speakers with four language choice patterns with family members on the indigenous index of interactive networks

Patterns	Males		Females	
	Number of speakers	Mean network score	Number of speakers	Mean network score
Pattern I	3	20 (100%)	6	20 (100%)
Pattern II	7	5.7 (28.5%)	6	8.16 (40.8%)
Pattern III	11	4.18 (20.9%)	10	4.4 (22%)
Pattern IV	17	0.76 (3.8%)	16	0.62 (3.1%)

Total: 20 ties per speaker: F = test not significant for men and women.

Hence, I concur with Li Wei (1994: 132-133) that this dialectic relationship between language use and personal network ties is vital to understanding the interactional process through which social structures form and transform themselves. It is evident here that speaker age does not seem to have the same kind of association with language choice as network structures do. That is, while it is possible to suggest that some speakers show certain linguistic behaviours because they are either old or young, it is not possible to say that speakers are either old or young because of their language choice. Therefore, while social networks are indubitably associated with speaker age, they go a long way in assisting to further explain the social mechanisms fundamental to language choice.

Table 12 Mean scores of speakers with seven language choice patterns with non-family members on the indigenous index of interactive networks

Patterns	Males		Females	
	Number of speakers	Mean network score	Number of speakers	Mean network score
Pattern I	3	20 (100%)	6	20 (100%)
Pattern II	4	9.5 (47.5%)	7	11 (55%)
Pattern III	5	7.6 (38%)	2	3 (15%)
Pattern IV	13	1.23 (6.15%)	13	1.23 (6.15%)
Pattern V	6	1.5 (7.5%)	5	0.4 (2%)
Pattern VI	4	0.75 (3.75%)	3	0.66 (3.3%)
Pattern VII	3	0.33 (1.65%)	2	0 (0%)

Total: 20 ties per speaker: F = test not significant for men and women.

Table 12 above, shows patterns of indigenous contacts similar to those displayed in Table 11 within the interactive networks of speakers of seven language choice patterns with non-family member interactions. It is observable from the results displayed in this Table that the major contrast is between speakers of Pattern 1 and those of other patterns. Again, there is no significant difference between male and female speakers of the same language choice patterns in terms of the amount of Ikwerre contacts in their interactive networks.

The number of generational ties within the interactive networks was also investigated and the outcome of the analyses is displayed in Tables 13 and 14, for all speakers taking both family and non-family member interactions into account.

Table 13 Mean scores of speakers with four language choice patterns with family members on the generational index of interactive networks

Patterns	Males		Females	
	Number of speakers	Mean network score	Number of speakers	Mean network score
Pattern I	3	17 (85%)	6	16.83 (84.15%)
Pattern II	7	17 (85%)	6	18.16 (90.8%)
Pattern III	11	16.36 (81.8%)	10	16.7 (83.5%)
Pattern IV	17	18.94 (94.7%)	16	17.75 (88.75%)

Total: 20 ties per speaker: $F = 6.63$ $p < 0.042$ (Male), $F = 9.52$ $p < 0.021$ (Women).

Table 14 Mean scores of speakers with seven language choice patterns with non-family members on the generational index of interactive networks

Patterns	Males		Females	
	Number of speakers	Mean network score	Number of speakers	Mean network score
Pattern I	3	17 (85%)	6	16.83 (84.15%)
Pattern II	4	16.5 (82.5%)	7	16 (80%)
Pattern III	5	15.2 (76%)	2	16 (80%)
Pattern IV	13	17.84 (89.2%)	13	17.30 (86.5%)
Pattern V	6	19 (95%)	5	18.2 (91%)
Pattern VI	4	18.25 (91.25%)	3	20 (100%)
Pattern VII	3	20 (100%)	2	20 (100%)

Total: 20 ties per speaker: $F = 70.73$ $p < 0.001$ (Men), $F = 59.58$ $p < 0.001$ (Women).

Tables 13 and 14 indicate that, in general, younger speakers tend to build more relationships with members of their own generation. Therefore, since these speakers maintain more age-mate ties, it would appear that the exclusive use of NPE and/or NPE-dominant bilingual patterns is the norm of peer group interactions among younger

speakers, whereas the use of Ikwerre only and/or Ikwerre-dominant patterns with age-mates is the norm for older speakers. Further, in both tables we see that speakers of bilingual and NPE-dominant language choice patterns interact almost entirely with members of their own generation, while those who use the monolingual Ikwerre and Ikwerre-dominant patterns interact with their age-mates as well as others. From this, it seems clear that cross-generational interactions instigated by older speakers would most likely be accomplished in Ikwerre or at least via an Ikwerre-dominant language choice pattern. This assertion is corroborated by data on usual language choice patterns of the grandparents' and parents' generations, presented in Chapter 5, which indicate that broadly-speaking these subjects habitually use Ikwerre and/or Ikwerre-dominant patterns as their principal language for communication. Similar findings have also been reported in other sociolinguistic studies carried out in Africa and elsewhere.[73]

Here, I have been able to show the dialectic relationship existing between social networks and language choice. It has also been established that speakers who belong to non-identical network groups behave differently linguistically, and those whose networks are chiefly indigenous-oriented seem to use the Ikwerre monolingual or Ikwerre-dominant language choice patterns more regularly in their interactions with most interlocutors. On the other hand, those whose networks are less indigenous-oriented tend to use the bilingual or NPE-dominant patterns. Therefore, differences in language choice between speakers also influence the speech of an individual speaker in diverse situations. Hence, this Port Harcourt community study is a good example of the manner in which speakers may adjust their language behaviour to identify linguistically with members of a given social group and to accommodate their audience as argued in Bell (1984/1997) and

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[73] Igboanusi, (2001), for instance, reports on sociolinguistic studies carried out in various communities in West Africa.

elsewhere. In the next section, I look at the relationship between language proficiency and social networks.

6. 3 Relationships between network types and language proficiency

In Chapter 5, Section 5.4.1, it was found from tests of correlation that older male and female speakers in Port Harcourt returned higher scores on the Ikwerre language proficiency scale, while younger speakers of both sexes scored higher on the NPE scale. In this particular section, the aim is to discover if speakers who maintain largely indigenous oriented networks also possess a better command of Ikwerre which they employ to fulfil varied communicative tasks and those whose networks are composed of mainly non-Ikwerre contacts have a better command of NPE which they also use for their routine interactions.

To do this, each individual speaker's language proficiency scores were ranked and correlated with their network scores (see Appendices III and IV), utilising the same procedure as that employed in section 6.1.3 above.

6. 3. 1 Relationship between exchange networks and language proficiency

In Table 15, the rank order correlations between language proficiency scores and indigenous ties of exchange networks of the 76 speakers are displayed. The results show significant and positive correlations between the indigenous index of the exchange networks, and language proficiency scores for Ikwerre language, for speakers of both sexes.

Table 15 Correlations between language proficiency scores and indigenous index of exchange networks

	Males		Females	
	r	*p*	*r*	*p*
Ikwerre	0.861	< 001	0.854	< 0.001
Pidgin	-0.495	< 001	-0.804	< 0.001

38 = Men, 38 = Women.

The implication, therefore, is that speakers of both sexes who have more Ikwerre ties within their exchange networks do indeed score higher on the Ikwerre scale and those who have more non-Ikwerre ties return lower scores on the same scale.

Comparatively-speaking, the correlations between the indigenous index of the exchange networks of the speakers, and their language proficiency scores on the NPE scale are significant but negative. Hence, it seems likely that speakers with fewer Ikwerre ties in their exchange networks possess a better command of NPE and those with predominantly Ikwerre contacts in their networks score lower on the NPE scale. Similar results are also reported for correlations between language proficiency scores and generational index of exchange networks as illustrated in Table 16 below.

Table 16 Correlations between language proficiency scores and generational index of exchange networks

	Males		Females	
	r	*p*	*r*	*p*
Ikwerre	-0.435	< 0.003	-0.472	< 0.001
Pidgin	0.308	< 0.030	0.302	< 0.033

38 = Men, 38 = Women.

Here, the implication is that because younger speakers of both sexes tend to have more age-mate ties than their grandparents and parents (see section 6.1.3 above), they return lower scores on the Ikwerre scale, but score higher on the NPE scale. This assertion is buttressed by the significant and positive correlation between the NPE scores and generational ties. This is further confirmation that NPE is used more by younger speakers in Port Harcourt as their code of choice for routine age-mate interactions. There follows a discussion of the relationships between interactive networks and language proficiency.

6. 3. 2 Relationship between interactive networks and language proficiency

The test results between language proficiency scores and the indigenous index of interactive networks are given in Table 17.

Table 17 Correlations between language proficiency scores and indigenous index of interactive networks

	Males		Females	
	r	*p*	*r*	*p*
Ikwerre	0.693	< 0.001	0.831	< 0.001
Pidgin	-0.475	< 0.001	-0.808	< 0.001

38 = Men, 38 = Women.

The results given in the above Table are significant, for - as shall be demonstrated shortly - certain speakers' linguistic behaviours in the Ikwerre community can only be accounted for by recourse to the composition of their interactive networks and other variables, as against their exchange networks only. Further, the correlations (in Table 17)

with Ikwerre language proficiency scores are positive, suggesting that speakers with more Ikwerre ties in their interactive networks employ Ikwerre for fulfilling a wide range of communicative tasks, while those with fewer Ikwerre contacts have a limited command of the language. On the other hand, the correlations with NPE scores are negative, indicating that speakers with more non-Ikwerre ties in their interactive networks score higher on the NPE scale than those with mainly Ikwerre ties. Therefore, it can be argued that there is a parallel link between social network and language proficiency. In other words, social networks of the speaker promote the acquisition and development of appropriate language ability and the speaker's proficiency in the relevant language determines the composition – Ikwerre or non-Ikwerre ties – of their social networks. The same observations can be equated with the results of the correlations between language proficiency scores and generational index of interactive networks presented in Table 18 immediately below.

Table 18 Correlations between language proficiency scores and generational index of interactive networks

	Males		Females	
	r	*p*	*r*	*p*
Ikwerre	-0.707	< 0.001	-0.375	< 0.010
Pidgin	0.439	< 0.003	0.318	< 0.026

38 = Men, 38 = Women.

From the Table we notice negative correlations between the scores for Ikwerre and generational ties. This suggests that speakers with more age-mate ties in their interactive networks score lower on the Ikwerre scale. On the other hand, the correlations between NPE scores and the generational index of the interactive networks are positive,

suggesting that speakers who interact more with members of their own generation (in this case younger speakers) score higher on this scale and use the language widely with most interlocutors.

6. 4 Exchange and interactive networks: A synthesis

It has been demonstrated in the above analyses that the exchange and interactive network types examined in this research correlate with Ikwerre language proficiency scores positively but correlate negatively with NPE on the indigenous index. This clearly indicates that speakers who contract mostly Ikwerre ties tend to speak Ikwerre language better and employ the language in their day-to-day interactions with most interlocutors. These speakers have also been shown to display limited proficiency in NPE. On the other hand, speakers whose networks are composed mainly of non-Ikwerre contacts appear to speak NPE better and use it in their routine social interactions.

Further, the results of the correlations between generational ties and language proficiency were negative with Ikwerre and positive with regard to NPE, suggesting that younger speakers, as also seen from earlier analyses of different variables, appear to contract more generational ties and have a poor command of Ikwerre, but return high scores on the NPE language scale. The older speakers of both sexes, by comparison, score lower on the NPE scale, but higher on the Ikwerre language scale, which is their code of choice for interactions with age-mates.

It is important, however, to point out that not all speakers who belong to the same generation returned the same scores on both the language proficiency scales and network indices. For instance, two male grandparents (speakers 4I and 5J in Table 3 of Chapter 3), aged 67 and 65, returned scores of 2 and 1 respectively, for language proficiency on the

NPE scale. A score of 3 is the maximum score any speaker can have, thus these grandparents scores indicate that they have the ability to speak NPE with a number of interlocutors. Equally fascinating, is the fact that when we examine these two speakers exchange networks it is seen that they interact with fewer Ikwerre people, than the other three grandfathers and five grandmothers, who do not have any non-Ikwerre contacts in their exchange networks, and, thus are Ikwerre monolinguals. Such a finding indicates that these differences can not be fully accounted for by just making reference to age of speakers alone. Thus, social network analysis should be thought of as merely assisting in any account of both group and individual differences in language behaviour. Having said this, in Port Harcourt there are other speakers who, though they have more Ikwerre ties in their exchange networks, still returned perfect scores for proficiency in NPE. Informants with this propensity include 16F, 17G, 18H, 19I, and 20J (five fathers), and 27G, 28H, 29I, and 30J (four mothers).[74]

For these nine speakers, we need to look elsewhere to explain their linguistic behaviour. Answers may be found in their scores relating to level of education (Tables 3 and 4 of Chapter 3) as well as occupation (these groups consist of low-level civil servants, factory workers and market traders: see Table 1 of Chapter 2) and they are also distinctive in having positive ratings for the NPE guise of the matched guise experiments (Table 9 of Appendix III). From these sources, it is observable that these speakers have received some form of formal education and are in contact with large numbers of non-Ikwerre people, and, perhaps even more crucially, that they display favourable attitudes towards NPE. Thus, although, on average, they tend to have more Ikwerre ties in their exchange networks, they still speak NPE very well with their non-Ikwerre contacts. Recall that in section 5.4.1 of Chapter 5, the correlational tests showed that while we

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[74] See Tables 3 and 4, Appendix III for scores.

could not say that only those who attended or are attending school could speak NPE, all speakers (male and female) who attended or are attending school returned high scores for proficiency in NPE. Moreover, when we look at their interactive networks we see that – apart from a single speaker - (27G – a female from the parental generation, detailed in Table 14 of Appendix IV), these informants have less than five Ikwerre ties in the indigenous index of their interactive networks.

Therefore, in as much as I agree with Li Wei (1994: 143) that the concept of social network does more than just account for both inter-generational (group) differences and intra-generational (individual) variation, analyses which rely on it are rarely straightforward in certain respects. Thus, while it does give in-depth insights into the social mechanisms underlying linguistic variation, there are speakers amongst the Port Harcourt Ikwerre whose linguistic behaviours can not be adequately explained by simply looking at the number of indigenous versus non-indigenous ties they contract in their exchange networks. For these speakers, as has been illustrated here, we needed to have recourse to other indexical factors and perhaps even the composition of their interactive networks for comprehensive explanations.

In line with Eckert's (2000: 34-35, 39) view, therefore, I would argue that networks are only more or less dense or multiplex, and "leakage" is no doubt crucial to the formation of new ways of talking (i.e. the use of NPE in more interactions with more interlocutors). For while people may concentrate their social and linguistic activity, they also get around, engaging in a variety of endeavours and in a variety of communities. To the extent that linguistic influence is associated with the making of social meaning, it is to be found in groupings of people who are mutually engaged in the construction of new meaning. The co-construction of linguistic change and social meaning will take place in just those interactions in which social identity is at issue – in which speakers are

constructing new nuances of meaning; not simply reconfirming the old. To capture the process of meaning-making, Eckert (2000) states that we need to focus on a level of social organisation at which individual and group identities are being co-constructed, and in which we can observe the emergence of symbolic processes that tie individuals to groups, and groups to the social context in which they gain meaning.

Further, I assert with Eckert (2000: 35) that Lave & Wenger's (1991) construct *community of practice* (see also Chapter 3, Section 3.5.2) is just such a level of social organisation. Communities of practice are an integral part of our daily lives, and a community of practice is an aggregate of people who come together around some enterprise (for example, at home, at work, at school, in our pastimes, etc.). United by this common enterprise, people come to develop and share ways of doing things, ways of *talking*, beliefs and values – in short, practices – as a function of their joint engagement in activity. It is significant, also, to note that it is not the assemblage or the purpose that defines the community of practice; rather, a community of practice is simultaneously defined by its membership and the shared practice in which that membership engages. The value of the construct *community of practice* is in the focus it affords on the mutually constitutive nature of individual, group, activity, and meaning. Moreover, I concur with Eckert (2000: 39) that viewing speakers in terms of the communities of practice that they participate in recognises the fluidity and complexity of identity and social participation, pulling us away from a tendency to "pigeon-hole" speakers. At the same time, communities of practice do not form freely and randomly in social space. The kinds of situations that people find themselves in, their needs, the kinds of responses they tend to have to these situations and needs, and the kinds of people and resources available to engage in these responses with, will vary depending on where they live in society. In other words, my position is that in communities like Port Harcourt, where L_2 (in this case

NPE) is the language of socio-economic and political upward mobility, there is the need to systematically investigate all the various factors assessed as being cognate in some way in underlying the reported linguistic change underway in the community.

In the last section of this chapter, I discuss the relationships between variation on the social and stylistic dimensions of language choice.

6. 5 Relationships between differences on the social and stylistic levels of language choice

After Gal (1979), Li Wei (1994, 1995) and Li Wei *et al.* (2000) *inter alia,* I have adopted the implicational scale technique with some modifications (see Tables 3 and 4 of Chapter 3) to illustrate both the social (speakers) and stylistic dimensions (interlocutors) of language variation.

Looking at the two implicational scales presented in Chapter 3, it is evident that the ranking of interlocutors on the horizontal axis follows a particular pattern. The interlocutors listed at the extreme left end of the scales are grandparents and those to the extreme right end are the younger generation. Such patterning would suggest that generally grandparents appear to attract more use of Ikwerre, whereas the younger generation seem to instigate more use of NPE. Further, this ranking largely mirrors that of the speakers listed on the vertical axis. That is, those who are listed towards the very top of the scales are grandparents and those towards the bottom are the younger generation. It is, therefore, plausible to postulate from the implicational scales and the analyses presented in this study that only Ikwerre is spoken by the grandparents and to members of their own generation. While the younger generation use NPE and speak this variety to members of their own generation. The use of both Ikwerre and NPE in Port

Harcourt may be said to be between parents. Therefore, as I mentioned earlier in Chapter 3, section 3.5.1, it is through this kind of relationship between choices of language(s) and specific types of interlocutors that languages gain their social symbolism. Thus, for example, it can be generalised that in Port Harcourt Ikwerre is essentially associated with the grandparents and older speakers, therefore it is the 'WE–CODE' for that generation, and NPE is mainly connected with the younger generation who see this language as their 'WE–CODE'. This generalisation, as I also pointed out in section 3.4.1 of Chapter 3, runs counter to Gumperz's (1982) view that the indigenous language of the community (in our case Ikwerre), would be the 'we–code' and the language of the majority 'they–code'. Therefore, Gumperz's postulation would be inadequate to account for variations that occur across generations within the same community. Other researchers such as Gafaranga (1998, 1999, 2000, 2001) and Gafaranga & Torras (2002a, b) have also commented on the inadequacy of Gumperz' (1982) 'we-code', 'they-code' proposal.[75]

Further, an in-depth examination of the implicational scales in Tables 3 and 4 (Chapter 3), indicate a far more complex relationship existing between the social and stylistic levels of language choice in Port Harcourt, than the generalisation given above. As has been demonstrated in Chapter 5, and elsewhere in this chapter, not all speakers who belong to the same age cohort make the same language choices. In some instances a number of speakers are listed either higher or lower than their age-mates on the scales. For example, speakers 4I and 4J in Table 2, aged sixty-seven and sixty-five respectively, are ranked much lower than the other grandfathers and even some fathers, implying that they use comparatively more NPE than Ikwerre. The implicational scale no doubt is an innovative device that helps to clearly display language choices at the stylistic and social levels, it does not, however, provide more details about the informants shown on it

[75] Others including Joergensen, 1993, 1998, 2003; Li Wei, 1994, 1998, 2002; Li Wei *et al.*, 2000; Sebba & Wootton, 1998; Stroud, 1998; Zimmerman, 1998 have also reported similar findings on the shortcomings of Gumperz's (1982) 'we – code', 'they – code' proposal.

beyond their language choices with various interlocutors. For instance, these two male grandparents, who exhibit, if you like, anomalous linguistic behaviours, attended primary school and are retired factory workers - unlike their peers. Moreover, when we scan Table 8, Appendix III, it is also apparent that, by contrast to the other grandparents, these speakers consistently display favourable attitudes towards NPE. These factors (working in unison with their personal network ties (amply discussed elsewhere in this chapter)) offer more far-reaching explanations of linguistic behaviour than a mere display of language choices on an implicational scale. The same applies to the other speakers, who, for example, are listed towards the bottom of the scales, but are not strictly the youngest speakers in the sample.

Moreover, as I began to argue in Chapter 5 and here also, language variation of this kind in communities like Port Harcourt cannot adequately be accounted for by singling out *a priori* just one indexical category, for instance, age or social network alone. What is required, instead, is to start out assuming that the assessed variables are all equally valid until your analyses show you otherwise. While, the importance of language attitude and social network analyses to this study should not be discounted, it has been evident, here and in the last chapter that these factors are constantly in interaction with a range of others (age, sex, and level of education, for example.).

Hence, any suggestions that we may typify the choice between Ikwerre and NPE by simply distinguishing the generations with which they are related and, in turn, deduce the social symbolism of the two languages is rather too facile. What the implicational scales tell us is that although specific languages can be associated with particular groups of informants, who belong to the same social networks, irrespective of their age and generation cohort, social network membership is also likely to differ at the individual level. As a result, social symbolism diverges depending on personal patterned variation as

well as interlocutor characteristics. Similar observations have also been reported by Dorian (1994) working in the former fishing communities of East Sutherland, Scotland. She found that the distinctive feature of what she termed 'personal-pattern variation' is that within exceptionally homogeneous single-village populations the speakers differ among themselves in the variants which they make use of (Dorian, 1994: 631, 648; Schreier, 2006: 26-27). This individuality in patterns of variant usage reported earlier in East Sutherland and now in Port Harcourt is a characteristic feature of personal patterned variation.

Therefore, here as in section 6.4, I argue further that because personal patterned variation appears contrary to common-sense expectation that members of close knit social networks should disagree markedly in their patterns of language choice and because, as Dorian (1994: 653) earlier pointed out, it is certainly counter to the kind of social network norming found by the Milroys in their Belfast studies (Milroy & Milroy, 1978; Milroy, 1987b) (and later by Li Wei (1994) in his Chinese community study), it is vital to find out the degree of individuality that personal patterned variation displays within social networks. This can be done as I argued above by assuming that the assessed variables are all equally valid until your analyses show you otherwise. Most importantly, however, in section 6.4 of this Chapter, I explained that viewing speakers in terms of the communities of practice that they participate in acknowledges the fluidity and complexity of identity and social participation, restraining us from a tendency to "pigeon-hole" speakers.

6. 6 Conclusion

From all the analyses presented in this chapter, it has become clear that variation in language choice patterns is closely associated with speakers' network ties. That is, those speakers who tend to adopt Ikwerre monolingual or Ikwerre-dominant language choice patterns generally maintain largely Ikwerre-centred networks – they interact almost exclusively or chiefly with other Ikwerre people.

On the other hand, it would appear that those speakers who use bilingual or NPE-dominant patterns have established more non-Ikwerre relationships, with some of them having predominantly non-Ikwerre contacts in their networks. These speakers engage more frequently with these non-Ikwerre contacts and place great value on such relationships.

Furthermore, it has also been shown, here, that speakers who employ bilingual or NPE-dominant patterns interact more within their own generation, while speakers who adopt Ikwerre monolingual or Ikwerre-dominant patterns network with both age-mates and others. Equally, there is a marked distinction between the younger generation and the two older generations with regard to both their social network and language choice patterns. From the evidence supplied in this chapter, it is noticeable that the younger generation who use the NPE-dominant language choice patterns as their principal language have contracted large-scale ties with non-Ikwerre members of their own generation. However, the network ties of the older cohorts, who have a preference for Ikwerre only or Ikwerre-dominant patterns, have remained strongly indigenous-based but not exclusively limited to interactions within their own generation. The result of such generational dissimilarities would be that any conversation instigated by older speakers is

more than likely to take place in Ikwerre, while, for the younger generation, the code of choice is NPE.

As we also saw in the discussions in this Chapter, the kind of norming ascribed in the literature to the concept of social networks is rarely absolute in certain respects because of personal patterned variation. Therefore, this study suggests that to account for such dissimilarity in variant selection patterns, it is important that all factors assessed and the communities of practice that individuals participate in are held as valid in underlying linguistic change until proven otherwise by your analyses.

In the next chapter, I turn my attention to the linguistic impact of the bilingual NPE-Ikwerre patterns, which this and the previous chapter have viewed largely from a social perspective, by offering an in-depth analysis of the code-switching phenomena captured in my data.

Chapter Seven

Ikwerre-NPE Conversational Code-Switching

7. 0 Introduction

In the last chapter I discussed the social dynamics of the language choice patterns observed in the Ikwerre community of Port Harcourt, noting that speakers who contract predominantly Ikwerre ties tend to use Ikwerre-dominant language choice patterns, whereas those who network with the out-group prefer to conduct their communicative interactions bilingually. Overall, it was demonstrated that older speakers prefer the former, while it is younger speakers who adopt NPE-dominant bilingual patterns.

The observations in both Chapters 5 and 6, indicate that, although Port Harcourt clearly meets the classic criteria for being described as a bilingual community (see Fishman's (1969) classification of nations reviewed in section 1.3, Chapter 1 of this study), it would be too simplistic to assume that code-switching takes place all the time amongst all individuals and groups of speakers. For instance, the implicational scales illustrated that nine out of the seventy-six speakers used in this study lack any ability to converse in NPE and hence are Ikwerre monolinguals. Thus, the ability to code-switch between Ikwerre and NPE is not community-wide.[76]

In fact, the use of conversational code-switching in this community - as in many others - is symbolic and purposeful, although the switches are made below the level of consciousness (see Labov (1994) 'indicators'), i.e. without effort or hesitation, or even

[76] See also Heller, 1995; Li Wei, 1994; Poplack, 1988.

extensive thought. Put simply, speakers are naturally aware of what the preferred language is for an ensuing interaction and they switch to manipulate or define the situation as they wish and to convey nuances of meaning and personal intention. These speakers also code-switch to create linguistic solidarity especially between individuals who share the same ethno-cultural identity (see Sert, 2005; Trudgill, 2000).

Code-switching is regarded by most researchers as an intricate and complex mode of discourse, one with several rules that govern its use. These regulations are not only grammatical (Lamidi, 2004; Lipski, 2005; MacSwan, 1997, 2000; Poplack, 1981, 1982, 2001); but social (Gafaranga, 1998, 1999, 2000; Gafaranga & Torras, 2002a, b; Jan, 2003; Johnstone, 2004; Koziol, 2000; Ng & He, 2004), and linguists have only started to explore the depths of this phenomenon and its implications, not only for the study of bilingualism, but also to further our understanding of social and communicative interactions among various sets of people.

In this chapter, therefore, a detailed discussion of how Port Harcourt Ikwerre-NPE bilinguals employ code-switching as a linguistic resource (for instance, see Bourdieu, 2005) for realising particular communicative goals will be presented. The conversations used as examples in the discussions that follow are taken from my data-set of tape-recorded interactions. As I pointed out in Chapter 3, while the focus of analysis is primarily on discourse structures, the fundamental objective is to link interactional-level code-switching traditions to the community-level language choice and language shift patterns identified and presented in Chapters 5 and 6.

7. 1 Code-switching: Framework

From the review of the perspectives on the study of code-switching in Chapter 3 (Sections 3.4.2 and 3.4.3) we notice, especially that Peter Auer (1984a, b, 1998, 2000), and others (Gafaranga & Torras, 2002b; Li Wei, 1994, 1998, 2002; Li Wei *et al.* 2000), who investigate bilingual code-switching within a CA framework come up with some distinct differences from the MM that emphasise the role of norms about the social meanings that are associated with using one language variety rather than another. For instance, Auer (1995: 123, 1998: 2-3) makes four major points about the choices bilinguals make in a bilingual conversation:

1. CA analysts try to avoid employing what Auer calls "pre-established external categories" in interpreting the social meaning in interactions involving bilingual code-switching (1998: 2). In other words, CA analysts see the role of societal norms regarding language use as being less significant and emphasise instead that social meanings can be "locally produced".
2. Hence, they argue that there is a level of conversational structure which is "sufficiently autonomous" from larger societal factors (1998: 3).
3. Proponents of the CA paradigm stress paying attention to the overall organisation of the discourse, especially sequences of how codes are alternated. According to Auer (1995: 123), the situated meaning of code-alternation cannot be stated unless a sequential analysis is carried out. The same cue may receive a different interpretation on different occasions.

4. Finally, CA analysts in general emphasise that a fine-grained transcription of any speech event is required to capture probable nuances in how social meaning is formed.

Emerging from the above discussion, it would seem that CA analysts are uncertain that one can refer to a given language as a marked choice in a specific interaction type unless the discourse structure of a particular interaction itself provides evidence as to the markedness of that choice. The implication, Myers-Scotton (2006: 171), is that CA analysts would not agree that speakers, through experience and the workings of a markedness evaluator, arrive at markedness readings for how different languages will be normatively perceieved in a specific interaction type. That is, CA contrasts sharply with the MM on this point.

As far as this project is concerened, it should be apparent by now stemming from the descriptions and analyses presented in Chapters 5 and 6 that such factors as age, gender, level of education, social networks and language attitudes do influence the language choice decisions of the subjects with different interlocutors. Therefore to discard these factors as irrelevant or insignificant to the code-switching behaviours uncovered in my Port Harcourt Ikwerre community data would amount to denying the obvious. Further, based on the review presented in Chapter 3, it does seem that the difference between a CA analysis of bilingual conversation and that under the MM is a matter of degree rather than absolutes. Most analysts would agree that large-scale social factors cannot tell the whole story of why two languages are used in the same conversation. But they do pay attention to previous associations of languages in the community (i.e. the situations in which they are regularly used, by whom, and for what purposes) (see also, Myers-Scotton, 1993, 2006).

Therefore, instead of over emphasising the notion of "local" construction of meaning to the exclusion of other sense making mechanisms, the position taken in this study is that the participants bring with them to the interaction knowledge of the symbolic value of the languages in the community, as well as their own statuses and values of persons of similar statuses. Moreover, as I pointed out in Section 3.4.1 of Chapter 3, the MM and sequential analysis model both have their theoretical foundations in the work of John Gumperz (1982), and his notion of contextualisation cues. Gumperz (1982) has emphasised that listeners find social meanings in conversations by paying attention to various "pointers" that are embedded in the discourse. They are refered to as contextulisation cues because the idea is that the cues give listeners the context (or connections) that assist in interpreting the speakers' meanings. Consequently, although I have alluded to such CA principles as turn-taking, adjacency pairs, preference, overlapping talk and repair in this chapter, explanations of the code-switching behaviours attested in my Port Harcourt Ikwerre data are given along the lines of an interactionist account in the tradition of Gumperz (1982).

Before moving on to a presentation of the code-switching behaviours uncovered in my Port Harcourt data, in the section following immediately below, I offer a brief discussion of the different types of code-switching.

7. 1. 1 Types of code-switching

It is possible to differentiate conversational code-switching into three types. That is, in a particular conversation, it is very likely to see two speakers employing different languages in sequential turns (Type 1). Also, within a turn, one speaker might switch language at sentence boundaries (Type 2), which is referred to in the literature as inter-

sentential code-switching. Types 1 and 2 are closely related in that the end of a sentence is potentially a turn transition point (see the examples given below). Finally, the third type (Type 3) of code-switching pertains to different elements within a sentence being uttered in different languages. The following examples from my data corpus instantiate all three types:

Example 1: Type 1 (One-speaker-one-language)

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1 Teenager: *Gud ivnin // sa.*

Good evening sir.

2 Father: // nna:: baya.

My son, come in.

3 Teenager: *Yu dey bizi nau?*

Are you busy now?

4 Father: anwere iku?

(2.0)

Do we have an appointment?

5 Teenager: *No, sa.*

No, sir.

Example 2: Type 2 (One-speaker-two-languages, but switching takes place at sentence boundaries)

1 Woman: Kini bu aha i?

What's your name?

2 Girl: *Ma nem bi Mary.*

My name's Mary

3 Woman: (1.0) *Mary bi ya tru-tru nem?* Ke mgbe iji gbanwe aha?

[Is] Mary your real name? When did you change your name?

Example 3: Type 3 (Different components within an utterance being coded in different languages)

1 A: Ona eme *entaviuu abaut* onu Ikwerre.

He's doing interview(s) about Ikwerre language.

2 B: Bia:-we-bia: (.) I nwere *granchaidi?*

Come - - come. Do you have a grandchild?

There is agreement among researchers (see, for instance, Myers-Scotton, 1976, 1983; Poplack, 1980) that different bilingual communities or groups within a community select distinctive code-switching strategies. For instance, Type 3 code-switching (intra-sentential) is primarily associated with stable bilingual communities with an established history of language contact, whereas, Type 1 code-switching, which relates to contrastive choices of language between speakers at turn boundaries, marks conversational interactions involving speakers of varied language abilities and attitudes. In the present study, code-switching behaviours typified by examples 1 and 3 above are most prevalent in my Port Harcourt conversational data corpus. That is, in this community, code-switching usually takes place at turns and in most cases various constituents within sentences are coded in different languages.

The main reason for this, as highlighted in previous chapters, can be related to language attitudes and differential preferences across generations as well as to the established history of language contact in Nigeria. Further, Type 3 code-switching (intra-sentential code-switching), has also been copiously studied by Carol Myers-Scotton (see for instance, Myers-Scotton, 1993, 2002; Myers-Scotton & Jake, 2000, 2001) under the Matrix Language Frame model (MLF) and the Four Morpheme (4-M) model. Her central argument is based on the thinking that in the syntax of intra-sentential code-switching one language is dominant and determines the overall morpho-syntactic properties of code-switched utterances. The other language simply supplies certain lexical categories, and the role of its grammar is very limited. In this model the dominant language (the Matrix Language) determines word order and supplies all the functional categories in the code-switched utterances. The other language (the Embedded Language) only provides lexical items and fits them into appropriate slots in the structure with typical Matrix Language characteristics. This idea is formalised as the Morpheme Order principle and the System Morpheme principle of the MLF model. These are testable hypotheses referring to the existence of asymmetry between the languages implicated in code-switching. According to these principles only one language (the source of the frame) supplies both morpheme order and frame-building system morphemes to the frame; such morphemes are referred to as outsider late system morphemes under the 4-M model (Myers-Scotton, 1993:83; Myers-Scotton, 2002: 59).

Although this thesis is not concerned primarily with investigating the grammar of Ikwerre-NPE code-switching, but rather with discourse functions, certain instances of Type 3 code-switching in my data can only be fully explained by making recourse to the arguments set out above. In the section immediately below, I turn my attention to a discussion of the code-switching behaviours attested in my Port Harcourt Ikwerre

community data from an interactionist account perspective (see Chapter 3, Section 3.4.1 and 3.4.2).

7. 2 Conversational code-switching in Port Harcourt

7. 2. 1 Turn-taking

Crookes (1990: 185) gives what he called a "common" definition of a turn as "one or more streams of speech bounded by the speech of another, usually an interlocutor". It was this complex system by which speakers in conversation manage to take turns at speaking that fascinated Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson in their paper '*A simplest systematics for the organisation of turn-taking for conversation*' published in 1974. The turn-taking model proposed by Sacks *et al.* (1974) takes its foundations from the idea that turns in conversation are resources, which, like goods in an economy, are distributed in systematic ways among speakers (see also Bourdieu, 2005). They note three very basic facts about conversation:

1. Turn-taking occurs;
2. One speaker tends to talk at a time; and
3. Turns are taken with as little gap or overlap between them as possible.

Evidently, this proposal is not, by any means, suggesting that there is never more than one speaker talking at a time, or that gaps and overlaps do not take place. However, the point being made here is that, ideally, the norm is for as much inter-speaker coordination as possible. That is, however, not just an abstract ideal. In empirical materials we find

that, overwhelmingly, speaker change occurs with minimal gap and overlap, illustrating that participants themselves orient to the ideal of coordination.[77]

This fact can be further illustrated in the following example from my data corpus of Ikwerre-NPE code-switching.

Example 4: (Two fathers talking about a mutual friend of theirs)

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1 A: Chi-Chima si naya bu o:nye oru // <u>bekee =</u> < ↑ (A: Looking up toward left at B)

Chima says that he is a civil servant.

2 B: // mu nwa bu kwa onye oru bekee (0.2) ↓ (B: Looking down at his feet)

I'm also a civil servant.

3 A: = unu na aru na *di-di sem <u>ofis</u>*?

Do you work in the same office?

4 B: *No* (.) > ↑ (B: Looking up toward right at A) °*no-no*° (.) *no bi for di sem ofis*…

No. [We do] not [work] in the same office.

In example 4, we have two fathers (A and B), sitting outside in the evening chatting in the Ikwerre language about work before they were joined by a third party and the above conversation ensued. A, is introducing the third party to B, who happens to have the same profession as the person being introduced. As the above example indicates, next speakers' turns occur appropriately and with minimal gaps. Turn transition is achieved smoothly at turn transition relevance places (TRP) with minimal overlaps, and aurally

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[77] See also Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2002; Psathas, 1995.

projected. The first speaker (A) ends speaking and the next speaker starts until a completion point, at which a return to first speaker takes place. Therefore speaker change is recurrent.

Additionally, the code-switching in this example is employed primarily to signal turn handovers, in a manner akin to prosodic and gestural cues in monolingual conversations. Similar patterns have also been reported by Li Wei (1994) and Sebba & Wootton (1984, 1998). For instance, Sebba & Wootton (1998) found that in conversations involving London Jamaicans, they appear to switch language at turn-final positions to mark turn completion and turn transition. It is equally interesting to note that the conversation in example 4, goes on in the Ikwerre language until A, in his second turn, switches from Ikwerre to NPE within the same utterance – 'Unu na aru na (*di sem ofis* - NPE)', which prompts B to respond in NPE for his final turn. Beyond this, here, B is employing NPE to mark distance between him and the third party, and also for emphasis. If we cast our minds back to Chapter 6, I showed that the Ikwerre language is the 'WE-code' for the older generation – the language of ethnic solidarity. Thus, for speaker B to resort to NPE in his final answer is very symbolic as a marker of distance and emphasis, to assert, in this particular case, the fact that although both subjects have similar professions they do not work in the same office. Earlier research into code-switching of this kind frequently described it as functioning as a procedure for addressee specification, emphasis or reiteration in exactly this manner.[78]

Example 5: (Conversation between a grandfather and his male teenage grandchild)

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1 A: … ndi enyi gi ha ru-ru madu ole?(.) PT (A: Pointing at B)

---

[78] See Gumperz, 1982; McClure, 1977; Williams, 1980; Zentella, 1981.

How many friends have you got?

2 (1.5)

3 A: Ha bu ndi IKWERRE? PT (A: Still pointing at B)

Are they Ikwerre people?

4 B: *Dem plenti* (.) *som dem bi Ikwerre.*

They're many. Some of them are Ikwerre.

5 A: Ha bu ndi ebiri gi?

Are they your age-mates?

6 B: *Uhm* (2.0) *twelf or tartin.*

Uhm... [may be] twelve or thirteen [years old].

7 A: **Uhuh...

Example 5, presents a grandfather having a conversation with his teenage grandchild. In both examples (i.e. extracts 4 and 5), it is noticeable that turn length differs and that the size of a turn could be as small as a one word utterance ('Uhuh' – A's last turn in example 5), which is, nevertheless, perceivable as a meaningful unit to speakers. Further, in this extract we see that A asks B in Ikwerre - 'How many friends have you got?' A, allows a pause, albeit, a short one, for B to respond, and we can locate a TRP at this point by means of grammatical completion. In dyadic situations like this one, B is normally expected to be the next speaker, although, not necessarily at the first TRP. B, however, passes up on the first opportunity to respond to his grandfather's question and A, therefore continues with a follow-up question. A's interrogative structure and gesture specifically marks the selection of B as the next turn speaker, and turn transition is

subsequently accomplished when B answers his grandfather's queries. The flow of the conversation in example 5 is typical of most interactions between parents and children or grandparents and children in Port Harcourt and can be termed *unaccommodating*, because the younger person consistently responds in a contrastive code (see also Example 25 below). The younger speaker, who evidently clearly understood his grandfather's questions because he answered them correctly, could have chosen to answer in Ikwerre, but he did not. The reason behind this, as we already saw in Chapter 5, is likely to relate to the fact that members of the younger generation in Port Harcourt appear to have more favourable attitudes towards NPE than Ikwerre. They see NPE as their 'WE – language' (the language of modernity and socio-economic upward mobility, see Chapter 5, section 5.4.4), and associate Ikwerre with the old and uneducated.

Often, code-switching in Port Harcourt is a conversational ploy and at the same time a rhetorical tool to evince an emotion. This is the case in the extract in example 6 below. A small girl of about four, while playing with her younger brother of two, hit him on the head with a stick. Her mother, who was nearby, walked up to the little girl and started scolding and shouting angrily.

Example 6: (Interaction between a mother and a girl of four)

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1 A: BIA (.) PT ↓ (A: Looking down and pointing animatedly at B) Ara o:: na agbai:::!

Come [here] (.) Are you crazy!

2 B: ... (3.0)

3 A: Ara o na agbai?

Are you crazy?

4 B: (sobs)

5 A: *Kom hi::ya: (.) Yu de kraze?* (.)

Come here (.) Are you crazy?

6 B: °No° (.) a no de kraze (.)

No (.) I am not crazy.

7 A: *Yu no go chop tude til ya fada kom-bak!*

You won't eat today till your father comes back!

In the piece cited in extract 6 above, the woman started with a command ('come [here]') in Ikwerre and as the little girl did not respond she (her mother) continued animatedly by repeating her question still in Ikwerre 'Are you crazy?' The child only responded to her angry outburst by sobbing. Eventually, the girl's mother repeated the initial command and question in NPE, only then did she get a verbal response from the girl (in NPE). After the girl's response, her mother underlined her anger and disgust at what she had done by threatening her in NPE - 'to go without food until her father comes back from work'. It is important to point out here that this example is of particular significance because of the widely held belief in Port Harcourt that the only people who speak and understand NPE are those with some form of formal education (see Chapter 5, section 5.3.4). At the time this conversation took place, the young girl was not in receipt of any form of formal education, thus, her contact with NPE must have been through her social network (that is, friends and family members). It is also noteworthy, here, that in this last example, as in a majority of instances of language switching in my data, the expression of strong emotions, disagreements and the last word in competitive conversational

sequences are often symbolized by a switch from Ikwerre to NPE, especially among the parent and younger generations (see also Gal, 1979; Li Wei, 1994; Myers-Scotton, 2000).

So far then, we have been examining data involving dyadic conversations. However, turn taking analyses are often not this straightforward as competition between speakers leads them to utilise different devices to allot, take hold of, or keep possession of the right to talk in a conversation. These devices are most apparent when more than two speakers are involved. In dyadic talk the identity of a next turn speaker is usually clear, whether or not the turn has been specifically allocated, whereas in conversations involving more than two speakers, self-selection by one or another speaker takes place unless the next turn speaker is already specified.[79]

In the example that follows below, it is noticeable that code-switching is also used to illustrate the competitiveness of self-selection in multi-party conversations. The conversation in Example 7 is a good case in point since it took place as I was just about to leave the home of one of my respondents (a grandfather). As we were walking out of his living room he saw the head teacher of the local primary school and the following conversation took place.

Example 7: (Conversation involving a grandfather A, female head teacher of the local primary school B, and C myself – the researcher)

---

1 A: Bia we – bia (1.0) PT ↑ Ada anyi bia we-bia we–bia (.) (A: Looking up, pointing and beckoning on B to come over)

Come – come (1.0) Our daughter come – come (.)

2 (6.0) [We (C and A) both look on as B walks towards us greeting…]

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[79] See especially the findings in Coates, 1995.

3 B: I no di // la

How are you?

4 A: // I ga aju nu ya ajuju maka Ikwerre = > PT ↑ (A: Looking up toward right

And pointing at C)

You will ask her questions about Ikwerre language.

5 C: *Oka:y.*

6 A: = I na aga ulo-akwukwo? ↑ (A: Looking up at B, who is now standing directly

opposite A)

Are you going to your school?

7 B: *Yes.*

8 A: Obu Onye isi na ulo-akwukwo anyi (.) = > (A: Looking toward right at C as he

talks)

She is the head teacher at our school.

9 C: Uh:-uhuh:

10 A: = (.hh) o choro iju gi ajuju (.) maka onu Ikwerre (A: Making eye contact with B

in front of him).

He wants to interview you about Ikwerre language.

11 (2.0)

12 B: *Okay* = (.) < ↑ (B: Looking up toward her left at C)

13 C: *Yu go fit mek taim for mi?*

Can you make some time for me?

14 B: = *Okay* (0.4) *wi dey straik nau*(.) *a go fit si yu tumorow.*

Okay. Because of the strike I will be able to see you tomorrow.

15 C: *Thank you.*

16 (1.5)

17 **B:** > (B: Looking to her right at A) Mekanu // mo

Thank you for what you did for me (B selects A the grandfather by switching to Ikwerre to thank him for doing her some favour some time in the past).

18 **A:** // Ime nem ada anyi]...

I should be the one thanking you our daughter.

Similar to the features that Li Wei (1994, 2000 *et al.*) reported in his Tyneside Chinese community study, in the above example we see the different choices of language by different speakers in consecutive turns. All the speakers self-select (aided by such non-verbal cues as gaze and posture) and after A's initial turn their choices of language are different from that in the preceding turn. This type of contrasting choice of code is different from the previous examples of code-switching presented earlier in this section, since in this case it is performed by different speakers. Further, I concur with Li Wei (1994: 160-61) that such a distinction is nevertheless important, because of the discourse and socio-cultural meanings contextualised. Hence, the inferences drawn by participants from the two types of code-switching may be different. That is, code-switching by the same speaker, as illustrated in Examples 4 and 6 above, depicts the speaker's readiness and capacity to accommodate the other speakers involved in the conversation (see, for instance, Giles, 1980; Giles & Coupland, 1991; Giles & Powesland, 1997; Giles & Smith, 1979). Whereas, contrastive choices of language by different speakers in sequential turns, as exemplified in Examples 5 and 7, indicate not only the preference and competence of

the participants, but also their role relationships. Therefore, some speakers may have the ability to comprehend *Language A* but reply only in *Language B*, while others might insist on maintaining a preferred *Language A* as a symbol of the respect due to them on account of their place in the community or family. This point is bolstered when we consider that the two speakers in both examples containing contrastive choices of language (Examples 5 and 7) are grandparents. As I previously demonstrated in Chapters 5 and 6, the overwhelming majority of this group of speakers prefer to address interlocutors and be addressed in Ikwerre only. Thus, they use Ikwerre to underline their esteemed position as preservers of the language and culture of their people in the midst of what they consider the lack of willingness on the part of the younger generation to learn and use Ikwerre (see for example, Extract 2 in section 2.2.1 of Chapter 2). Consequently, it is also the case that most members of the grandparent generation actually lack linguistic competence in NPE.[80]

Further examples of such contrastive choices of language are given below in **Example 8**, which tend to bear out different role relationships within families in Ikwerreland (see Chapter 2 of this study for details). In this extract we encounter an interaction between a man and his wife, talking about their plans for the day:

Example 8: (A = Husband, B = Spouse)

---

1 **A:** ... I manu si-si i-i ya azi ha *bai twelf* (1.0)

Do you know if you'd be back by twelve (O'clock).

2 **B:** Eh?

What?

---

[80] See Chapter 5 and 6 this study for detailed discussions, also Myers-Scotton *et al.*, 1998; Paugh, 2005.

3 A: A-sim (.) si iza azi <u>redi</u> *bai twelf.*

I said, will you be ready by twelve (O'clock).

4 B: O weru nye ka sinu ya ji abia oge // ahu.

The handyman said that he would be around then.

5 A: *// Na so* (0.4) *so e go bi bai dat taim*]...

Is that so. So it will be by that time...

Here, as in examples 5 and 7 above, it is noticeable that speaker A makes no attempt at all to accommodate to his wife. This can be interpreted in three ways; firstly, the man can be seen as employing NPE to underline his authority and position as head of the family (see Chapter 2 of this study), echoing the function highlighted in Example 6. Secondly, as I have already observed in the preceding paragraph, it is possible that speaker B has no competence in NPE and thus prefers to respond in Ikwerre only. Thirdly, in Chapter 5, I was able to demonstrate that Ikwerre is viewed as the language embodying Ikwerre culture and morality, thus, it is equally possible that the woman is using this language as a mark of respect for and submission to her husband.

The examples we have seen in this section, have focused our minds on the use of code-switching at turn transition points and in the next section I turn my attention to a discussion of instances of adjacency pairs in the interaction data collected in Port Harcourt.

7. 2. 2 Adjacency pairs

One of the most significant aspects of conversation is that particular sets of utterances customarily come in pairs. For example, questions and answers, greetings and return greetings, or invitations and acceptances/declinations. Simply put, these are pairs of utterances which are ordered, that is, there is a recognisable distinction between first and second parts of the pair. Additionally, the supplied first pair parts necessitate certain second parts or a limited range of seconds. Therefore, an invitation is the first part of the 'invitation-response' adjacency pair, and we understand that invitations should be followed by a precise and limited range of responses. That is, invitations should be followed by acceptances or declinations, and not greetings, for example. In Example 9 immediately below, the conversation is between a father and his son (in his early twenties) in discussion about an impending party.

Example 9: (Conversation between a father A and his son B, who is in his early twenties, about attending a traditional wedding party)

---

1 A: ...okwa iga abia nu?

You are still attending the party?

2 (3.0)

3 A: N' ulo Chima (.) I ga // abia!?

At Chima's house. You're coming?

4 (2.0)

5 B: *// a wan rest for haus // insted* =

I want to stay home and rest instead.

6 A: GINI? (.) Isi na iga:-aga:! (A: Very animated now, throwing his hands up in the air)

What? (.) You said you were attending.

7 B: = ngwa nu (1.0) agam aga...

Okay. I will go with you as promised...

The extract in Example 9, is very interesting because it is observable that A's first turn, here, seems to imply a 'Yes' response. Notice, however, the 2.0 second gap which signals a dispreferred reply, thus, A is forced to specify whose party it is and emphatically demands an answer from his son in his next turn by reiterating his question. The gap after A's second turn (2.0 seconds) is significant as B ponders his reply to A's promptings. B evidently does not want to go along with the assumption expressed in A's turn. Hence, he constructs his response so that it exhibits two main features of dispreferred turn shapes. Firstly, the response is composed so that the disagreement is as weak as possible (see Sacks, 1987: 58). Notably the use of *insted* (instead) in the last segment of B's response gives the impression that he is open to persuasion. Secondly, B's disagreement is not expressed earlier on when he could have done so, after A's first turn, indicating that perhaps his latter reply to A's question was not something he had already planned before getting into the conversation. This point of view is made clearer when we see how easily B yields to A when he is reminded of his earlier promise to attend the party referred to in A's last turn. Therefore, preferred actions are characteristically performed straightforwardly and without delay, while dispreferred actions are typically delayed, qualified and accounted for. It is equally important to point out that B's initial refusal to

attend the party is expressed in NPE which differs from his father's choice of language (Ikwerre) in the immediately preceding turn. However, B's final acceptance to attend the party is in Ikwerre, which matches A's choice of language but is different from the language which B employed to mark his refusal. Thus, in this exchange NPE is the language used for marking a dispreferred second pair part, while Ikwerre is employed to symbolise agreement and solidarity.

Furthermore, it is vital to point out that the parts of adjacency pairs do not necessarily need to be rigidly adjacent at all. There are systematic insertions that can legitimately come between first and second pair parts (by way of illustration, see the examples in 10 and 11 below). The point, however, is that some classes of utterances are conventionally paired such that, on the production of a first pair part, the second part becomes relevant and remains so even if it is not produced in the next serial turn (see Schegloff, 2000). It is obvious from these examples that not all conversational sequences are analysable as paired sets of utterances or as linked to the forgoing and succeeding utterances in a linear mode. In Examples 10 and 11 instances of the use of pre-sequence, a type of conversational structure that prefigures or clears the ground for a latter interactional episode are displayed. Pre-sequences simultaneously mark the boundary of two such episodes and in the current data this boundary is generally signified by code-switching:[81]

Example 10: (A, female in her twenties is outside chatting generally with her brother B when suddenly it started to rain)

---

1 A: ...*ren don kom oh!* PT ↑ (A: Looking up and pointing at the sky)

---

[81] See also Levinson, 1983; Li Wei, 1994; Li Wei *et al.*, 1995, 2000.

It's started to rain!

2 (2.0)

3 A: Irie la - - irie la uri- ? ↓ (Looking down at B)

Have you eaten?

4 B: °Mba° (0.4)

No.

5 A: *I: bi laik se som fud de for // haus*

It looks like there is some food left inside.

6 B: *// a beg mek we go insaid*]…

Please let's go inside...

In Example 10, the gap after A's first turn marks turn completion, but B does not fulfil his turn, and A carries on. However, A's utterance 'Have you eaten?' is not an amplification of her earlier statement ('It's started to rain!'), but is material inserted in the main body of the discourse as a precondition for the ensuing enquiry as to whether B has eaten, which is tantamount to a pre-sequence. In the example, the boundary between pre-sequence and target sequence is marked by code-switching, while in monolingual discourse, as Levinson (1983) demonstrates, pre-sequences are often marked prosodically or phonologically in various ways – intonation, stress, rhythm, tone, etc. In extract 11 below there is another such pre-sequence deployed in a bilingual conversation. In this extract we meet two teenage boys talking about a new coach company and their exorbitant fares.

Example 11: (Two boys in their late teens talking about the high fares charged by a certain coach company)

---

1 A: ...ima *dat lokziri bos?* PT (A: Pointing at a coach driving past)

Do you know that coach company?

2 B: uh:u: // h

(Yeah)

3 A: // odi oke onu].

Their fares are too high.

4 (2.0)

5 A: *A don bai // radio* =

I've bought a radio.

6 B: *// na wich kain yu bai?*]

What brand did you buy?

7 A: = *na Soni:.*

It's [a] Sony.

The extract in Example 11, is another instance of a pre-sequence used to signal a change in the topic under discussion. We notice that B's answer to A's question is in the form of a back channel ('uhuh'). The use of this device by B shows his continued attention to what A is saying, but no intent on B's part to seize the occasion to take over the conversation. Deploying such a device is not just peculiar to bilingual speakers in Port Harcourt. Other researchers like Bani-Shoraka (2005) and Sebba (1993) have reported the

use of similar devices in other bilingual settings. As can be seen in this example, B does not fulfil his next turn, thus, A, carries on by switching from Ikwerre to NPE. This switch of code also marks a change in the topic of discussion. A went from talking about an expensive coach company to announcing to B that he has bought a radio, which is in no way related to the earlier subject matter they were talking about. This sudden change of code has the desired effect of arresting B's attention as he quickly responded in the same language (NPE) to ask for further information regarding what brand of radio his friend has bought. In the final example in this section, I consider the use of insertion sequences. In this context, I was in one of my informants home as a guest to a child-naming ceremony with an Ikwerre undergraduate from the University of Port Harcourt, who doubled as my driver during the fieldwork.

Example 12: (A is B's father and C is A's wife. A has asked B his daughter to get some drinks for their guests)

---

1 A: ...bia: -- bia: (.) wetere ndi obia nmai =

Go and get drinks for the guests

2 B: *for wer:?*

Where would I find the drinks?

3 A: = *aks ya mo:da* (0.2) *im no:u wer: di // drink de.*

Ask your mother she knows where the drinks are.

4 B: Ma:ma:! Ma: // ma:! =

5 C: // GINI?

What is it?

6 B: = Ke ebe mpa do were nma:nya:? = (B: Moving in the direction of the kitchen)

Where does our father keep the drinks?

7 C: GINI?

What?

8 B: = anyi nwere nmanya na - - ulo: a:? (0.4)

Do we have drinks in this house?

9 C: Odika anyi nwere nmanya na // usekwu.

I think [that] there are some drinks in the kitchen.

10 B: // *Papa* (.) (Referring back to A) *NA HAU: MENI BOTUL YU WO:NT?* (B: Shouting on top of her voice from the direction of the kitchen)

Dad, how many bottles do you want?

11 A: *BRING—OL!* ... (A: Shouts back in reply from the living room)

Bring all.

Here, A's request to his daughter B to get some drinks for their guests forms a first part, but B's response is a question which makes-up another first part and in turn necessitates a second part. A reroutes B's question by directing her to 'Ask your mother...?', B, acknowledges this in her next turn by calling out to her mother C. She follows her summons up by putting her dad's question to C 'Where does our father keep the drinks?' C responds to this query by asking for further clarification, to which she replies by rephrasing the earlier question. C replies by supplying B with the required information she needs to locate the drinks. B's last turn refers back to her dad A in order to ascertain how many bottles he wants and this clearly signifies that she has found the drinks.

Taking another look at the example, it is noticeable that the first instance of language switching takes place when B inserts a question in the slot for second pair part, equally, she employs a code (NPE) that contrasts with her father's (Ikwerre) first part. A's response to B's inserted question is also in NPE, thus forming a paired sequence. A, then selects another interlocutor, altering the participant constellation and marked by B's subsequent code-switching from NPE to Ikwerre. The ensuing conversation between B and C continues mainly in Ikwerre until B finally locates the drinks in the kitchen and selects A again, thus, marking another change in the participant type signified by a code change from Ikwerre to NPE. The final question and answer pair is in NPE. The entire sequence taken together is a vivid display of the adaptation of interlocutors to the community-wide organisational patterns of conversation. Further, it also illustrates their effective employment of code-switching as a strategic device not only to contextualise but equally to accommodate and so assist one another to keep track of these patterns as they go along.

Broadly, the above examples show the use of code-switching to demonstrate the insertion of material(s) in bilingual conversations, similar to the way different kinds of prosodic and phonetic markings are employed in monolingual speech to mark turn-continuation and restarting. They also lead me to concur with Local (1992: 220) and Li Wei (1994: 176) that code-switching constitutes a resource available to participants (especially bilinguals) to 'indicate the status of parts of their talk'. Thus, in the extracts presented here we notice that the participants utilise code-switching to highlight inserted material that is to be comprehended differently from the principal subject matter of the conversation. Therefore, code-switching to a bilingual communicator is a strategy deployed to signify the recommencement of a conversation at the termination of an interactive encounter. Its main functions seem to be steering the conversation in a

different direction and assisting the interlocutors with keeping track of the general direction of the conversation by mapping out complexly nested structural patterns in the interaction.

Section 7.2.3 below describes code-switching in my Ikwerre-NPE data as it relates to preference organisation. Preference organisation, like adjacency pairs subsumes that after a first pair-part, the next utterance is, at first, heard as a relevant response to the first, as a fitting second pair-part. When that is not possible, when there is no response, or when it does not 'fit', that is an *accountable* matter, a 'noticeable absence' (Ten Have, 2000: 113). The discussion and explication of this phenomenon is the focus of the section that follows immediately below.

7. 2. 3 Preference

Roger & Bull (1989) suggest that the concept of 'preference' was developed to characterise basic differences in the ways that alternative 'second' actions (for example, accepting or rejecting an invitation) are routinely realised. Here, preference does not refer to the psychological motives of individuals, but rather to recurrent and structural features of the design of turns linked with particular activities, through which interlocutors can make sense of the kinds of action a turn is performing (see also Yule, 1996). In this context, the term gains its currency from the fact that these features tend to maximise the likelihood that 'preferred' actions will occur and, correspondingly, to minimise the occurrence of 'dispreferred' actions.

Research into preference organisation indicates that, for a variety of first actions such as assessments, invitations, proposals and offers/requests, particular dispreferred second actions (usually disagreements, rejections and refusals) are routinely avoided,

withheld or delayed in many different types of social contexts involving a great variety of speakers. In terms of design features, preferred actions are overwhelmingly performed directly and with little or no delay. Dispreferred actions, by contrast, display the following features either singly or in combination:

1. The action is delayed within its turn or across a sequence of turns;
2. The action is commonly prefaced or qualified within the turn in which it occurs;
3. The action is commonly accomplished in mitigated or indirect form and
4. The action is usually accounted for.[82]

The examples in extracts 13 and 14 below exemplify the above assertions:

Example 13: (A is a mother, who is inviting her two little girls B and C to eat dinner with her)

---

1 A: ...BIA rie nri! (2.0) OF ↓ (A: Looking down and offering two plates of food to B and C)

Come and eat!

2 B: (Ignoring her mother's offer, B addresses her sister C who is playing with a ball)

Na wetin bi dat for ya // hand?

What's that in your hand?

3 A: // Nti ochiri nu! (.) BIA NU KI: // TA::!

Are you deaf! Come here immediately!

4 C: *// a no // hongri*

---

[82] For extensive summaries, see Davidson, 1984; Heritage, 1984, 1998; Levinson, 1983; Pomerantz, 1984; Roger & Bull, 1989; Wootton, 1981.

I am not [hungry...

5 B: *// a wan ple bol*]

[I want to play with my ball.

6 A: (To C) ↓... Nyem-m mu ya KITAA-KITAA =

... Hand it over to me right now.

7 (To B) = isi-isi .hh na ina hu: <u>eri-ri nri</u>?

Are you saying that you're not hungry?

8 B: *Na so* (0.3) *a wan <u>ple</u> bol* ↑ (The little girl starts to sob)

Yes. I want to play with the ball.

The above extract presents us with an example of a dispreferred second pair part, where the addressee declines an invitation by turning her/his turn attention to another party in the conversation cycle. A's invitation to her daughters to come and eat is completely ignored by the girls. B shows her declination by asking her sister a question rather than responding to her mother's invitation. When the mother (A) of the girls in her next turn reacts angrily to her daughters' behaviour, the girls simultaneously verbalise their refusal to her invitation. While visiting the head teacher of the local primary school (see participant B in Example 7 above) I ran into one of my younger informants registering to join a new class. In the course of talking to the head teacher (my micro-cassette recorder was switched on, having obtained her consent to record) I captured the interaction below between my younger informant and her new teacher.

Example 14: (Interaction between a teacher A and a girl of ten B, who is registering to join her class)

---

1 A: … Nye num ahai?

… Give me your name?

2 B: (1.5)

3 A: *A se wetin bi ya nem*?

I said, what's your name?

4 B: *Oh! Ma nem bi Juliet…*

Oh! My name is Juliet...

In this example, B does not initially respond to the teacher's question in Ikwerre, and she reiterates her question by switching to NPE. This reiteration in NPE can be taken as the teacher's unconscious knowledge that perhaps the child does not understand Ikwerre and B's silent response to the Ikwerre question symbolises her reply as dispreferred.

What is significant here is that in all the above examples, the second pair parts of the dispreferred responses are expressed in a code different from the language used in the turn immediately preceding the dispreferred reply. This apparent lack of code choice homogeneity has been shown to operate in other bilingual settings. For example, Auer (1984a) in German/Italian code-switching, Gal (1979) in German/Hungarian code-switching in Oberwart, Joergensen (1998) in Danish/Turkish language alternation, Li Wei

(1994, 1995 *et al.*) in English/Chinese code-switching in Newcastle upon Tyne and Sebba & Wootton (1984, 1998) in London English/Jamaican Creole code-switching.[83]

It is also valid to suggest, stemming from the analyses of the extracts presented above, that dissimilarity of code choice is a tool employed by speakers in Port Harcourt to signal dispreference in bilingual conversations. Auer (1991) makes the case that code-switching is the most important discourse marker in bilingual conversations in the sense that obvious aberrant (that is 'marked') choices of language are more noticeable than other linguistic attributes. This argument might be the reason why code-switching is used in my own data as a substitute by the speakers for other language specific dispreference markers. While it is evident in the examples above that pauses can co-occur with code-switching in the conversational contexts cited, dispreference markers such as *well* and *but* do not occur when contrastive code choices are employed by speakers to symbolise dispreference in the present data. This is interesting because NPE is one of the English language lexifier Pidgins. This issue is a matter for prospective research. However, suffice it to say for present purposes that a possible reason for the non co-occurrence of these English discourse markers is that NPE structure has, over the years, been modified in interesting ways by the various substratal Nigerian languages (see also, Faraclas, 1996).

Crucially, from the perspective of the research hypotheses at the core of this dissertation, the above extracts highlight the fact that the dispreferred second pair parts which are signalled by code-switching from Ikwerre to NPE occur predominantly in inter-generational interactions. Hence, we notice this phenomenon particularly in conversations between parents and children as well as grandparents and both of the younger generations, in which the latter groups often use NPE to mark their dispreferred

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[83] See also other instances mentioned in Stroud, 1998; Gafaranga, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001; Gafaranga *et al.*, 2001, 2002.

responses to the Ikwerre first pair parts spoken by the older generation. Seldom do speakers of the same generation employ code-switching to signal dispreference in conversations. Having said this, I have one instance in my Port Harcourt data-set of an occasion when speakers of the same generation use code-switching to signal dispreference. In Example 15 below, we see two fathers in a local bar, A is offering B an alcoholic beverage, and B declines the offer by switching from Ikwerre to NPE.

Example 15: (A and B, two fathers in a local bar)

---

1 A: …**nwa nna-nwa nna (.) nwa nna (.) bia were n' // mmai: OF ↑ (A: Looking up and offering a bottle of local brew to B, who has just walked into the bar)

Hey! My brother, come and have a drink with us.

2 B: (B: Shaking hands with A) // imenem (.) *a don enta nu: cho:: // ch*

Thank you. I have joined a new church

3 A: // <@> inaghi e were out aba (0.3)

So, not even one bottle.

4 B: *no::-no::…*

No, no…

Due to the rarity of such occurrences, the observation made earlier that seldom do speakers of the same generation use code-switching to mark dispreference in conversation corroborates earlier findings presented in Chapters 5 and 6. That is, code choice correlates with generational cohort in Port Harcourt. Next, I present a discussion

of the concept of overlapping talk. The concept of overlapping speech is most significant in terms of speaker transition, competition for the floor, and so on which curtail the strict operation of the turn-taking system.

7. 2. 4 Overlapping talk

As we saw in section 7.2.1 above, natural conversation typically proceeds by a more or less orderly exchange of speaker turns, but it is also characterised by periods of simultaneous or overlapping speech. Overlapping talk can be viewed as an indicator of an incoming speaker's failure to take notice of whether the current speaker has or has not finished. Looked at from this perspective, overlapping talk can be seen as having a disruptive effect on the flow of the speaker's utterance, which is most certainly the case where the listener tries to take the floor by ignoring turn-taking rules. While overlapping speech may appear to be disorderly, I argue that evidence from the examples cited so far in this chapter indicate that most instances of overlap occur in the environment of possible TRP. Further, Roger & Bull (1989) add that overlapping speech also comprises signals which are intended to convey to the speaker that the listener is attending to what is being said, as well as a number of non-verbal cues such as head-nods and smiles, also thought to serve a similar monitoring function in conversation. Examples 16 below, as well as the other instances, cited above, typify the type of overlapping talk that occurs in the Port Harcourt data:[84]

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[84] See also Cameron, 2001; Coates & Sutton-Spencer, 2001; Markee, 2000 for further descriptions of this phenomenon.

Example 16: (Two young adults in a local bar arguing about the cost of international phone calls)

---

1 A: … *Na ten Naira* ka iga eji kpor ali-gbekei.

It costs ten Naira (Nigerian currency) to call overseas.

2 B: *Na lai::!*

It's a lie!

3 A: O *te::n Naira* bu ihe obu!

It's ten Naira, that's what it is!

4 B: *Te:n Naira*… (2.0) *NA LAI::* (.) O *spendiya forti-minits* (.) Y*u no:u hau mo:ch?*

Ten Naira…. It's a lie, if you spend forty-minutes. Do you Know how much?

5 A: o *ten Naira* bu ihe eji akpor ali gbekei (.) O *spendiya forti-minits* o *// for hondred Naira* =

It's ten Naira, that's what it costs to call overseas (.) If he spends forty-minutes, it would cost four hundred Naira.

6 B: *For hondred Naira!*

Four hundred Naira!

7 A: =*yes* (.) *na for hondred Naira!*

Yes, four hundred Naira!

Example 16, presents an instance of overlapping talk when, in their third turns, B echoes the last segment of A's answer to his earlier question about how much it would cost for a

forty-minute phone call '...Four hondred Naira!'. B's echo indicates disbelief rather than agreement with A. Further, this overlap takes place at a likely TRP. This observation supports the case made by Hutchby & Wooffitt (2002: 54) that while overlapping speech may appear to be disorderly, in most instances, the overlap occurs in the environment of possible TRP. This extract does not just simply exemplify an instance of overlapping talk. It is also another example of the use of Type 3 code-switching (intra-sentential, see discussion in sections 7.1.1 and 7.2.6 of this chapter), which as I said in section 7.1.1, is primarily associated with stable bilingual communities with an established history of language contact.[85]

The young adults involved in extract 16, disagreed over the cost of making international calls from a mobile phone as they shared drinks in a local bar. What is fascinating here is that the two had an opinion about the cost of phone calls, which they consistently expressed in NPE. For instance, A in his first turn states that the cost of international phone calls is 'Ten Naira a minute', while, B retorted animatedly that 'It's a lie'. B is not suggesting that A is a liar. However, his answer is an expression of his disagreement with A over the actual cost of phone calls abroad. We notice in this example the use of NPE as a rhetorical tool for evincing emotion, in this case, divergent views. The argument proceeds with both parties holding firm to their ideas about the actual cost of international calls. In order to win the argument, B asks A, how much it would cost for a 'Forty-minute phone call', to which A replies authoritatively in NPE that it would cost *'four-hondred Naira'*. B, after this assertion, dropped the argument and accepted A's apparent expert opinion.

Closely related to the phenomena of overlapping speech is that of repair organisation. Repair organisation concerns ways of dealing with various kinds of

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[85] See Chapter 1, for a discussion of the linguistic context in Nigeria.

'trouble' in the interaction's progress, such as difficulties of (miss)hearing or understanding. These are the issues I turn my attention to in section 7.2.5 below.

7. 2. 5 Repair

This is a generic term employed to account for a wide range of phenomena, from common errors in turn-taking, such as those involved in much overlapping speech, to any of the forms of what may be taken as *correction* – that is, substantive faults in the contents of what someone has said. Fundamental to repair organisation is that it has to be initiated and once this has occured it creates an urgency which can lead to a postponement, or even abandonment, of a projected next action (see Ten Have, 2000: 116).[86]

Further, Hutchby & Wooffitt (2002: 61) elucidate that the repair system embodies a distinction between the initiation of repair (marking something as a source of trouble), and the actual repair itself. There is also the distinction between repair initiated by self (the speaker who produced the trouble source), and repair initiated by other. Thus, four types of repair have been distinguished in the literature.

1. Self-initiated self-repair – Repair is both initiated and carried out by the speaker of the trouble source:

[86] For a detailed discussion of *repair* in CA see Jefferson, 1972, 1987; Schegloff, 1979, 1987, 1992.

Example 17: (Conversation between two female friends, A is married and in her forties, while B is single and in her mid-twenties)

---

1 A: …ihapu la enyi gi nwoke ahu? (0.3)

Have you left that your boyfriend?

2 B: *N-no - - no a neva liv-* (.) *kom na hu tel yu se a don li:v-am*?

No – no, I haven't left-. [But] who told you that I have left him?

Example 17, is a case of self-initiated self-repair, here speaker B begins to reply to A's question '*No-no - - no a neva liv-*' and then ends that in mid-production in order instead to assert '[*But*] *who told you that I have left him?'*

Example 18: (A is a mother asking B, her teenage daughter, if she wanted to do the shopping in the local market or accompany her to the farm)

---

1 A: E horo iga ahia (.) ka obu isorom (.) > ↑ (A: Looking up toward right at B) ga na oru (2.0)

Is it doing the shopping or going to the farm with me, which one is it?

2 B: *Mm::* (.) *fa:* -:- no (.) *a min maket...*

Mm-mm, fa:- no, I meant market...

Example 18, is another instance of self-initiated self-repair, however, unlike in the previous example, here the self-initiated self-repair relates to an incorrect word selection, B's cut-off *'fa*[rm]-'. It is obvious from B's answer that she preferred doing the market shopping than going to the farm with her mother.

2. Other-initiated self-repair – Repair is carried out by the speaker of the trouble source but initiated by the recipient:

Example 19: (A is an elderly family friend of B and C, two boys in their teens. A met the boys playing outside and he is asking them if their father is inside the house)

---

1 A: Mpa unu ono na ime ulo?

Is your dad inside the house?

2 B: *Yes.*

3 (2.0)

4 C: *Yu sho::r?* (.) .hh *i- i- eh im –*

Are you sure? Hh eh-eh- he -

5 B: *im-im bi de haus...*

[Well], he was inside the house.

Example 19 is an instance of other-initiated self-repair. C's turn *'Are you sure? Hh eh-eh he -'* illustrates what is known as next-turn repair initiator (NTRI). Other NTRIs in NPE may be words like *wetin* 'what', *na so* 'is that so'/'yes' and the use of expressions like

aha 'huh', or non-verbal gestures such as a *quizzical look.* NTRIs can fulfil several functions in conversation. For instance, they can function as partial repeats of the prior turn, as in the following examples.

Example 20: (A is telling B his friend, both in their late-twenties, that he has started a new job in Port Harcourt)

---

1 A: ...nna ebidolem oru <u>na Port Harcourt</u>.

2 (1.5)

My friend, I have started a new job in Port Harcourt.

3 B: *<u>for Port Harcourt</u>?*

In Port Harcourt?

4 A: *Na so* (0.2) *For Port Harcourt…*

Yes. In Port Harcourt…

Example 21: (Two young mothers both in their early thirties are talking about how well their children are doing at school, when B asks A where her daughter was as she has not seen her since she came in)

1 A: … ona ehi <u>ura</u>.

She is sleeping.

2 B: *<u>sliipin</u>?*

Sleeping?

3 A: *A-beg* (.) *shi de riid.*

I'm sorry, she is reading.

4 B: *A-for se* (.) *sliip bai dis-ta:im.*

I was surprised at her being in bed by this time.

In Example 20, it would appear that B must have misheard A as to where he is going to be starting his new job, whereas in Example 21 we see a case of a 'slip of the tongue' by the first speaker. In both these cases the co-participants in the conversation do not merely supply the 'correct' word if you like, nor do they plainly reveal that a mistake has been made. What they do is to partially repeat the prior turn and, thus signify the trouble source. On examining this turn, the first speaker can deduce that there was a problem connected to their preceding utterance, and the partial repeat of the foregoing turn denotes for them the exact source of the trouble. It is equally important to add that as a trouble source has been pinpointed but not repaired speakers can assay the NTRI as establishing the relevance of self-repair.

3. Self-initiated other-repair – The speaker of a trouble source may try and get the recipient to repair the trouble, for instance, if a name is proving troublesome to remember.

Example 22: (A is male in his late twenties and B is his friend of similar age. A is telling B where their friend (the one in extract 16) is going to start working soon)

---

1 A: *Im go stat wok for fa:...*(.) *A no fit se di wod agen* (.) *im go de make somtin* (.)

Ke ihe ana akpor ya (0.3)

He is going to start working in a fa[ctory]... I can't even pronounce the word.

He will be making things (.) How do you say the word?

2 B: *O::h! for faktri* (0.2)

Oh, in a factory.

3 A: *A:ha:* (.) *faktri...*

Yes, factory.

In Example 22 we see an example of self-initiated other-repair. The first speaker's hint about his difficulty in remembering a particular word (in this case the word *factory*) actuates the second speaker's repair.

4. Other-initiated other-repair – The recipient of a trouble-source turn both initiates and carries out the repair. This is closest to what is conventionally understood as 'correction'.

Example 23: (A is one of my respondents in his forties introducing me B (the researcher) to one of his friends C)

---

1 A: Osi *London* (.) Ona agba ajuju maka onu Ikwerre (1.0)

He's from *London*. He is doing research on Ikwerre language.

2 B: *Newcastle* (.)

3 A: *Newcastle* ka osi (.) Oga aju gi ajuju mgbe inwere ohere (1.5)

He's from *Newcastle*. He'll interview you in your free time.

4 C: Ngwa: nu:.

Okay.

Example 23, illustrates an instance of other-initiated other-repair. In the extract, we notice that B (the researcher) makes an explicit correction which is then noted and accepted by A in his succeeding turn.

The examples cited above are very important in that they show that code-switching is a vital tool for effective and successful communication. However, it would seem that most research into bilinguals' code-switching behaviour, especially those adopting the most stringent form of the CA perspective, tend to neglect other important communicative functions that speakers accomplish by code-switching. In my Port Harcourt data, I observed and tape recorded interactions in which code-switching is used for the expression of what, here, I term 'sweet nothings' and 'taunts'. These and other functions that bilinguals in Port Harcourt fulfil by code-switching are the focus of the section that follows immediately below.

7. 2. 6 Other functions of code-switching

1. 'Sweet nothings' and 'taunts'

To my mind, this is a behaviour that has not been adequately reported in the literature on bilingual code-switching. This notwithstanding, I observed and recorded many speakers of the younger generation switching from Ikwerre to NPE for a term of endearment to

'label', if you like, their close friends. This usually occurs during introductions or greetings, typified by the extract in Example 24:

Example 24: (The conversation is between a girl (A) and a male friend (B), both are in their early twenties)

---

1 A: *Hey*! (.) *dia:mi: - - dia:mi:* (.) no aka na egbum mgbu // o =

Hey! My dear - - my dear (.) I've got pain in my arm.

2 B: // *kom hi:ya bebi-m*

Come here my baby.

3 A: = chei *dia::mi::* <@> hapu mu o:: (.) *dia::mi::* hapu mu o…

Oh! My dear (laughter), leave me alone, my dear leave me alone.

The function expressed here can be equated to the use of such terms as 'darling', 'babe', and so forth in monolingual discourse. Conversely, other speakers also code-switch when taunting someone as in the next example:

Example 25: (A and B are two male friends in their mid-twenties making derisory remarks about another boy, who has just refused to buy them drinks)

---

1 A: …o nwa *bi:://f*

…he is an animal.

2 B: // *im bi no bodi for ma ai*]

…he is nobody in my sight.

In this example, the function is equivalent to taunting or name-calling in a monolingual discourse. It also shows as I mentioned earlier in Chapter 4 and 5, that the informants in this study were not at all reluctant to express their minds and feelings freely before me. They saw and took me for an insider, and thus could speak in much the same way as they would have had I not been present. Moreover, such examples tend to support the arguments put forward by Myers-Scotton (1993, 2002) and Myers-Scotton & Jake (2000, 2001) that the Matrix Language plays a dominant role in providing more morphemes in a given code-switching discourse and in shaping the overall morpho-syntactic properties of code-switched utterances. From the above examples and the ones cited below we see that Ikwerre is the Matrix Language. This is evident from the fact that every element in the clause follows Ikwerre word order rather than English (the lexifier language of the NPE), indicating that only one language supplies morpheme order (i.e. Ikwerre). Therefore, such words as *dia:mi:* (my dear) and nwa *bi:://ʃ* (a taunt meaning: he's an animal) in extracts 24 and 25 appear to be borrowings from NSE embedded in Ikwerre syntactic frame. Further, this makes my observations in Section 2.4.2 of Chapter 2 relevant, here. That is, the borderline between what is NPE and NSE is quite fuzzy. As can be noticed in the above examples and the other instances of code-switching detailed in this chapter and elsewhere in the thesis, it would seem that some speakers aim for NSE but end up with constructions similar to NPE. This is most noticeable in the speech of those who received or are in receipt of formal education, or those surrounded by speakers who fall into the former category (e.g. speakers 74I, 76J and 75J highlighted in Chapter 5, Section 5.3.4).

Another function that I attested in my data is what here I will describe as 'clarifications'. As used in this thesis, it refers to a word or group of words usually occurring directly after another noun or pronoun, and standing for the same thing (see Gucker, 1985).

2. Clarifications

This is another function of code-switching attested in my Port Harcourt Ikwerre data. I found that by code-switching these speakers are able to provide further clarification for a subject/object, usually with a characterisation and association.

Example 26: (A is a father in discussion with B (the fieldworker) about his family)

---

1 A: …nwatakiri ahu (.) PT ↓ (A: Looking down and pointing to a child playing outside) *we dey ple:: for domot na ma pikin*.

…the child, who is playing in front of the house, is my son.

2 B: Ok…

Example 27: (The extract here, took place between me (B: the fieldworker) and one of the grandfathers (speaker 4I) who uses bilingual-dominant language choice patterns)

---

1 A: Ulom - - ulom (2.0) PT (A: Pointing in the direction of a mounted water container) *er—er* (.) *nia: dat big tank* (1.5) *wey yu kom dia*, (.) *jos aks of mi.*

My house - - my house. Er-er, [my house is the one] near that big tank.

When you get there, just ask for me.

2 B: (B: Nodding in acknowledgement) …

The function of the appositives in the above examples (Examples 26 and 27) is that of supplying more information and further signification, to aid the understanding of the other party in the ongoing interaction.

3 Objections

According to Slabbert (1999: 63), the strategy of code-switching is more often deployed as a form of accommodation rather than alienation. In general, I would agree with this view, though there are certain instances in my data when code-switching is clearly deployed to illustrate objection by one party to another in an ongoing interaction, as the example below demonstrates:

Example 28: (Another example of an inter-generational talk between a mother (A), instructing her daughter (B) not to use a particular pot in the kitchen)

---

1 A: Esi kwala la ite o!

Don't cook that thing in that pot!

2 B: 2.0 (B: Goes for the pot and ignores her mother's instructions)

3 A: Esi kwala la ite o!

Don't cook that thing in that pot!

4 B: 2.0 ↑ (B: Looking up at her mother, but saying nothing)

5 B: .hh anwa la'muo::! (1.0)

Do not try me!

6 B: *ma::ma:* (.) *awan kuk-am for di pot.*

[But] mother I want to cook it in that pot.

7 A: agwa lam gi (.) esi kwala - - esi kwala la ite ahu!

I have told you, don't go near that pot!

In this example, it is noticeable that B refuses to fulfil her mother's directives, while her mother holds her ground by insisting that her instructions be carried out. The 'conflict' between mother and daughter is acted out in the opposing choice of codes. Thus, bilinguals have the facility not only to utilise code choice to mark accommodation but also to signal the lack of it.

Having highlighted these examples, it is important to point out that the approach (see Chapter 4 and elsewhere in this Chapter) used to collect these data have their limitations. The first constraint that I would like to draw attention to from a scientific point of view is that the study in its entirety may not be easily replicated since I did not fully restrict nor fix the course of the interactions for the interlocutors reported here. They were not given any script on any particular topic to recite, nor did I ask each of them one particular question to allow me to maintain absolute control over their code-switching behaviour on a given topic. The participants spoke freely, and I also spoke freely, in much the same way as I would have had I not been doing this study. In addition, I did not record the whole day's worth of interaction for each informant. I interacted with many informants, sometimes for a long period of time, and sometimes for a limited time, and the total time spent doing formal fieldwork in the Port Harcourt Ikwerre community was five months. Hence, it is impossible for me to claim in this study to have observed and recorded all the possible code-switching behaviours possible across several settings within the community. All the examples cited here are instances of code-switching that

just occurred in conversations I observed or took part in, which I not only recorded on tape, but also wrote down on paper when some interesting code-switching behaviour caught my attention. Therefore, it is very possible that I must have missed some important interactions and thus overlooked certain functions which code-switching can perform in this community since it was not feasible for me to be with or around the interlocutors at all times.

However, there was a systematicity in my collection strategy which suggests that when all the code-switching instances detailed in this chapter are taken into account and weighted against findings from other bilingual communities such as those investigated by Li Wei (1994), Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai (2001) and Myers-Scotton *et al.* (1998), *inter alia* it is reasonable to suggest that an important finding of this doctoral dissertation is that code-switching is essentially a discourse strategy that allows bilingual speakers to accommodate and collaborate with each other. By changing from one language to another, speakers signal their awareness of likely trouble spots in the interactional process and repair those which have already arisen. Failure to do so in line with the matrix of contextualisation cues and conventions apparently accepted by co-participants can, as has been demonstrated, lead to the breakdown of an ongoing conversation. Generally, the tendency is for speakers to use the language with which they feel more comfortable, the interpretations that speakers attach to linguistic choices have to do with the speaker's projection of his/her own persona and relations with other participants. Thus, any choice a speaker makes is perceived as indexing a desired Rights and Obligations (RO) set between participants. All participants interpret a choice against the backdrop of those choices that index the more unmarked RO sets for a specific interaction type. As a corollary, this means that they also recognise some choices as

indexing more marked RO sets (see Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai, 2001: 9 and Chapter 3, Section 3.4.2 of this study).

Finally, from the discussions presented in this chapter, it is evident that code-switching is employed by bilinguals in Port Harcourt not only to manipulate, influence or define a given situation as they choose but also to convey nuances of meaning and personal intention. It is likewise a device used by the speakers to convey communicative effects or inferences, and signal certain social purposes, such as the exclusion of participants and the declaration of a certain identity or social role by the speaker.

7. 3 Conclusion

Based on the explanations of code-switching behaviours given in this chapter, it is possible to submit that the Port Harcourt data lends considerable support to the arguments put forward by Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai (2001) that bilingual speakers possess an innate *markedness evaluator* as part of their communicative competence. This strategy allows them to identify which language in the community repertoire is marked and which is unmarked in a given interactional context and also that the selection of one language over another is socially significant. In effect, this ability defines bilingual speakers as being ingenious and conceptual social performers who use to good advantage all the linguistic and paralinguistic resources accessible to them in order to accomplish specific communicative charges while acting within a particular set of community-wide norm(s), i.e. rights and obligations (RO).

Further, as applied to the Port Harcourt Ikwerre community data, the generational and network defined language choice predilections detailed in Chapters 5 and 6 offer us a normative framework by which it is possible to explicate the different code-switching

behaviours attested in this chapter. For instance, it has been shown that bilingual speakers switch codes to attract attention to details of the proposed direction of conversation. Language switching can be utilised by the same speaker to signify turn allocation, and repairs. Equally, code-switching as a bilingual linguistic strategy can be deployed by different speakers in successive turns to contextualise self-selection as next turn speaker, cutting in (overlapping talk), dispreferred second pair parts, and embedded sequences. Additionally, code-switching by the same speaker or different speakers engenders meaning by establishing a distinction in code choice for two tracts of conversation, thus becoming a device usable to perform similar interactional tasks parallel to gestural movement, pitch variation and gaze.

Lastly, the various instances of code-switching behaviours represented in this chapter can be summed up as being symbolic and purposeful, although, sometimes the switches are made without effort, hesitation, and extensive thought. Nevertheless, the speakers deploy the device of code-switching to accomplish intended communicative effects and inferences.

Chapter Eight

Conclusion

This thesis is a sociolinguistic study of the language choice patterns of the minority Ikwerre ethnic group of Port Harcourt City, Nigeria. As detailed in Chapter 1, it primarily aimed to present a systematic and coherent account of the extent and patterning of Ikwerre-NPE bilingualism within the Ikwerre community, focusing on: (i) the means by which people in this community deploy two different codes in their day-to-day communicative interactions and (ii) the social and attitudinal motivations for language choice at both the group and individual level. To satisfy these objectives this study has taken into account the pre-existing linguistic, socio-economic and macro-sociological distinctiveness of the Ikwerre community. Thus, it has investigated prevailing local attitudes towards Ikwerre and NPE by incorporating matched guise tests to deepen our understanding of the processes of language choice and shift operating in this community. This was done to demonstrate that contemporary local linguistic attitudes working together with personal network ties would offer fuller and more adequate explanations of why members of the Port Harcourt Ikwerre community select either Ikwerre and/or NPE in their normal every day interactions. Thus, in this concluding chapter, I shall present summaries and implications of the main findings of this study, followed by a brief discussion of directions for future research.

8. 1 Summary and findings

Generally, the systematic and rigorous exploration of the language choice patterns of the 76 Ikwerre informants from Port Harcourt revealed that an inter-generational language shift from Ikwerre monolingualism to NPE-dominant bilingualism is presently underway in the community. This shift is characterized by a transformation of the customary language choice patterns with different interlocutors. For instance, while the grandparents have remained largely Ikwerre monolingual, two of the male grandparents have acquired NPE and use it with a range of interlocutors. Although, the greater majority of members of the younger generation (children) use both Ikwerre and NPE, some of them (7 = boys; 5 = girls) have started to use only NPE with their age-mates and 5 out of these 12 younger speakers use the same language with members of the parents' generation. It is also worth mentioning that with certain types of interlocutors (e.g. female grandparents of the family) all the speakers use only Ikwerre, while with other types of interlocutors both Ikwerre and NPE or NPE only may be used. Further, variations in language choice patterns tend to be linked mainly with age, older speakers preferring to use either Ikwerre only or the Ikwerre-dominant language choice patterns, while the language choice patterns of younger speakers appear to display the adoption of either bilingual or NPE-dominant patterns. Broadly, sex of speaker and level of education do not seem to categorically influence the language choice patterns of the 76 speakers under study, except that marginally, a greater number of older male speakers than their female counterparts have adopted bilingual patterns.

An analysis of the relationships that hold between the variables age, sex, level of education, and the various scores for language proficiency and language preference (see Appendix III) indicate that older speakers of both sexes score higher on the Ikwerre scale

for language proficiency and also preferred this language as the code of choice for their routine interactions. By contrast, younger speakers of both sexes scored lower on the same scale and conversely dispreferred Ikwerre as their code of choice. No significant gender-related correlations were signalled by the tests. In addition, all those who attended or are attending school do use NPE, although the use of NPE by any speaker is not necessarily predicated upon their educational status.

The paired samples *t*-tests applied to the scores of the matched guise experiments revealed that younger speakers of both sexes judged the NPE guise more favourably on all the ten traits, thus confirming the finding that the language shift taking place in Port Harcourt is led by this generation of speakers. They were closely followed by their parents, who also reported more favourable attitudes toward NPE than the Ikwerre language. Overall, the emerging trend showed that Ikwerre is the language that embodies such traditional values as honesty, friendliness and generosity. NPE, on the other hand, is seen as the language of those members of their community who attended school and is associated, for instance, with modernity, ambition, hard work and confidence as well as positive values for height and beauty, as culturally defined within this community. From these analyses it was shown that in addition to age, local contemporary linguistic attitudes demonstrated by parents and the youngest generation, in particular, tended to favour NPE-dominant bilingual patterns over Ikwerre only or Ikwerre-dominant patterns.

This project also examined the informants' exchange and interactive networks (see Chapter 6 for details), using two indices: indigenous index and generational index. In the literature, interactive networks are described as being composed of a subset of people with whom ego interacts frequently and probably over prolonged periods. However, compared to exchange networks, the probability of rewarding exchange is said to be low. In other words, ego does not rely on these people for direct aid, advice and criticism,

support and interference. I argued in this thesis that while such a distinction is perhaps strictly true of certain societies, in the Ikwerre community of Port Harcourt, people do not make such clear-cut distinctions between their exchange and interactive networks. Unlike Li Wei (1994) and Matsumoto (2001) who found existing structures in the communities they studied to make such fine distinctions between exchange and interactive networks, in Port Harcourt, as in Urban Sheffield (Reynolds, 1999, 2000) and Oslo (Hvenekilde & Lanza, 2000), I found such distinctions to be too subtle for the present investigation. In fact, the line between the two network types in my research area is rather fuzzy, thus giving rise to personal patterned variation in code choice. That is, the social network analyses showed that not all speakers who belonged to the same generation returned the same scores on both the language proficiency scales and network indices. For instance, two male grandparents (speakers 4I and 5J in Table 3 of Chapter 3), aged 67 and 65, returned scores of 2 and 1 respectively for language proficiency on the NPE scale. As I have already indicated in Chapter 6, a score of 3 is the maximum score any speaker can achieve, thus, it would appear that these grandfathers have acquired the ability to speak NPE and that they do, in fact, use it with a number of interlocutors. Reviewing the composition of their exchange networks reveals that compared to the other three grandfathers and five grandmothers, who interact only with Ikwerre people, these speakers (speakers 4I and 5J) interact with considerably fewer Ikwerre contacts. Also interesting to note, is that when we scan the implicational scales in Chapter 3, it is noticeable that some of the speakers listed towards the bottom of the scales are not the youngest speakers of the younger generation. Once again, indicating that such differences can not be fully accounted for by simply making reference to age alone. Hence, social network analysis assisted in some way to account for both group and individual differences in language behaviour. Having said this, it was also shown in this project that

nine (five fathers = speakers 16F, 17G, 18H, 19I and 20J; four mothers = speakers 27G, 28H, 29I, and 30J) out of the 76 speakers in the subject sample returned perfect scores for proficiency in NPE, although they have more indigenous ties in their exchange networks. To account for this apparent anomaly, there was the need to look to other potential factors. The reasons why these speakers behave the way they do could be found in their attitudes toward NPE (see Tables 5-10 in Appendix III); their level of education (Tables 3 and 4, Chapter 3); as well as their communities of practice – these informants were mostly market traders, factory workers and low-level civil servants (see Table 1 of Chapter 2). Based on this information, it is observable that these speakers have received some form of formal education, express favourable attitudes toward NPE and have the opportunity to interact with large numbers of non-Ikwerre indigenes through their professions. As a consequence, although they tend to have more Ikwerre ties on average in their exchange networks, they still use and speak NPE very well with their non-Ikwerre contacts. Further, recall that in Chapter 5, the statistical analyses showed that all those speakers who attended or are attending school could speak NPE. The most significant fact, however, is that a closer examination of the composition of these particular speakers interactive networks (Tables 13 and 14 in Appendix IV), reveal that but for one speaker (speaker 27G – a mother), these informants have less than five Ikwerre ties each in the indigenous index of their interactive networks.

Emerging from the above account, it is evident that the main clusters of a social network do vary contingent on the community's characteristics (Milroy, 1987b). Therefore, it is important that before any detailed systematic network analysis can commence, the fieldworker must investigate the general patterns of interaction and communal social organisation (Matsumoto, 1998; Milroy & Li Wei, 1995). This is why I argued in Chapter 6 that given the peculiarities of the linguistic attitudes toward Ikwerre

and NPE, and the socio-political/economic factors present in the Ikwerre community of Port Harcourt, it would be rather too simplistic to explain away the linguistic behaviours of certain individuals (especially the nine parents) by merely looking at the number of ethnic ties versus non-ethnic ties in their exchange networks. For such speakers, a more elaborate account is needed that takes a cognate look at all the various levels of variables involved in the language shift process as that presented in this study. That is, this study posits that there are disadvantages to simply running social network analyses in the non-western host communities that Port Harcourt Ikwerre typifies, namely, those that are undergoing massive socio-economic/political transformation which lead to people continually banding together under communities of practice. Therefore, to merely suggest that behaviours (linguistic and otherwise), particularly, choice of code in interaction is simply constrained by the number of ethnic versus non-ethnic contacts in their exchange networks is rather facile.

Furthermore, the analysis of the code-switching data showed that members of the two older generations chiefly employ Ikwerre in their routine interactions and on occasion switched to NPE to signal turn allocation and repair in cross-generational interactions involving younger members of the Ikwerre community. In the examples detailed in Chapter 7, it was illustrated that members of the younger generation in inter-generational conversations involving their parents or grandparents use NPE as a marker of dispreferred responses. Equally significant was the use of silence, to also signal dispreferred second-pair parts. The use of silence as a marker of dispreferred second-pair parts is crucial in that it symbolises lack of linguistic competence and lack of linguistic accommodation (see Chapter 7 for details). Additionally, the informants employed NPE almost entirely in conversations involving members of their own generation, switching only to Ikwerre to mark a topic shift or the entrance of a parent or grandparent into the

conversation. From the analyses of the informants' linguistic proficiency in Ikwerre and NPE, it is possible to make a link between linguistic proficiency and some of the code-switching behaviours instantiated in the examples presented in this study. However, a more substantive interpretation is that these code-switching behaviours are both attitudinal and network-related symbolic devices deployed by the speakers to achieve diverse communicative effects. In addition, this thesis demonstrated the additional use of code-switching in Port Harcourt for endearments and taunting, clarifications (i.e. as appositives) and the expression of objections (or what Gumperz, 1982 refers to as 'objectivisation'). This study saw it fit to include these here, because the interactionist account of bilingual code-switching offers such a possibility. Other observations reported here are important in providing affirmation for models that have already been suggested on the basis of different kinds of bilingual community, thereby giving them fresh impetus and confirming their universality.

The various analyses given in this study showed that the language shift taking place in the Port Harcourt Ikwerre community was being accomplished through different degrees of bilingualism (see Chapter 5) allowing me to construct a broad typology on a bilingualism continuum so as to account for all the language choice patterns observed. This typology is supplied in section 8.2 immediately below.

8. 2 A typology of bilingualism

The typology presented here draws mainly on observations of language choice patterns of 76 members of the Port Harcourt Ikwerre community detailed in Chapter 5 of this study. Although this model was constructed with particular reference to the Ikwerre community of Port Harcourt, it should be generally applicable to other bilingual settings where a

weaker language - L_1 (Ikwerre) experiences copious effects due to the pressure from the stronger language - L_2 (NPE). These effects as I observed in my Port Harcourt Ikwerre data include the following (after Batibo, 1992, 1997, 1998; Williamson, 2003):

- Assumption by L_2 of the higher status in the pattern of language use, so that it is used in inter-ethnic domains such as trade, administration and wider communication;
- Diminishing domains of use of L_1 in favour of L_2, to the extent that L_1 is retained mainly for cultural expression and secret ritual;
- The development of negative attitudes towards L_1 since it is seen as a language of no socio-economic value;
- Progressive imperfection in the learning of L_1, with eventual ceasing of transmission of L_1, children acquire only L_2;
- Progressive reduction in the stylistic variation and structural complexity of L_1 as it becomes simplified;
- Massive language interference, code-switching and borrowing from L_2 as L_1 becomes totally 'invaded' by the former;
- Progressive lexical impoverishment of L_1, as children fail to acquire the full range of vocabulary.

It is important to bear in mind that all these effects need not be in place simultaneously, and some will be more noticeable than others. Further, the linguistic reduction of L_1 will tend to co-occur with cultural reduction as well. There follows a list and brief descriptions of the five types of bilingualism revealed by this study that typify

the various degrees of language shift taking place in the Port Harcourt Ikwerre community:

Type 1: Relative monolingualism

The grandparents in the informant sample used in this study fall into this category, as they speak mainly Ikwerre L_1. Some of them are in incidental contact with NPE, for instance, speakers 4I and 5J who are bilingual, but a greater majority of the speakers remain monolingual and use their autochthonous language in all or most contexts. Most of these speakers are rural, conservative and not much exposed to education, urban life, migration or inter-ethnic activity (see Chapter 2 of this study for details).

Type 2: Bilingualism with L_1 prevalence

This type typifies the case of some of the mothers in the informant sample (see Chapter 5), who are market traders, utilising L_2 (NPE) as a lingua franca or second language in the secondary domains. That is, L_2 is used mainly in public functions and for wide communication, such as inter-ethnic interaction and buying and selling, while L_1 remains the language used in most intra-ethnic interaction and family life.

Type 3: Bilingualism with L_2 predominance

In this type of bilingualism, L_2 is now the primary medium and L_1 has assumed the status of secondary language. This usually happens when the L_1 and L_2 are in an asymmetrical relationship. That is, a relationship of unequal partnership and L_1 is therefore unstable.

Due to the great prestige and more widespread use elsewhere of L_2, it is increasingly employed in the other contexts of L_1 until it assumes most of the contexts that previously belonged to L_1. At this point, L_2 becomes the most frequently used language and the form with which the speakers are more at ease. This typifies the case of most of the parents and their children, as seen in the analyses presented in this study. These speakers use NPE at home with their spouses and children, at work, in their market stalls, with friends from school and the neighbourhood. For these speakers, L_1 is confined mostly to family and cultural activities. It is at this stage that extensive code-switching from L_2 is observable when members of the community speak L_1. This type of activity is a real indicator of language shift in progress.[87]

Type 4: Limited use of and lack of competence in L_1

Some researchers have referred to this stage variously as pidginization (Dimmendaal, 1989) or creolization (Thomasson & Kaufman, 1988). Here, the use and even competence in L_1 have become hugely limited. Bilingualism reaches this stage when the functions of L_1 are so reduced that people use L_1 forms only in specific situations, like initiation ceremonies, rituals, or folkloric performances. In such communities, the ability to use L_1 in its original form and, by implication, their stylistic competence in the language has been lost. This is the case with some of the younger speakers in my data sample (see Chapters 5 and 7 of this study for details). They have completely lost the ability to speak Ikwerre and now can be regarded as native speakers of NPE. Such speakers, as demonstrated in Chapter 6, also maintain little or no indigenous ties in their personal networks. Further, under this type, only a few members of the grandparents'

[87] See Chapter 7 of this study; Myers-Scotton, 1992, 2006; Smieja, 2000.

generation might still be familiar with the linguistic forms of L_1 as originally used (see Example 2 in Chapter 2).

Type 5: L_1 as a substratum

The predominance of L_2 may become so immense that it replaces L_1 altogether. At this stage L_1 can be described as dead as it is no longer used in the community. However, the community may have kept its ethnonym and some of its traditions. Some linguistic elements of L_1 may be evident as vestigial features in L_2. These linguistic elements from L_1 evident in L_2 may include prosodic, phonetic, phonological, semantic or lexical items. It is important to note that, this is not yet the case with the Ikwerre language in Port Harcourt. However, if the linguistic findings highlighted by this project continue unchecked, then, in the not too distant future NPE (L_2) may completely replace the Ikwerre language as the primary language, at least with regard to the Ikwerre community of Port Harcourt. In this community a combination of attitudinal, personal network characteristics, socio-economic and political factors are forcing the use of the Ikwerre language to very restricted contexts, while the use of NPE is widespread and increasingly encroaching on domains formerly reserved for L_1 (the autochthonous language).

Since this study is essentially about the language situation in the Ikwerre community of Port Harcourt, in section 8.3, I present further implications of these findings for this community, after this, in section 8.4, I discuss the implications for Nigeria's language policy.

8. 3 Implications of the findings for the Ikwerre community of Port Harcourt

In most African societies, issues of language are not taken seriously, in fact, they are taken for granted. However, the reality is that languages do change, become altered and even disappear completely over time if not promoted. Hence, for the Port Harcourt Ikwerre community the implications highlighted here are critical. Moreover, they also hold resonance for communities elsewhere in the world similar to Port Harcourt that are undergoing linguistic change.

1. Loss of ethnic medium

It is widely acknowledged that languages are useful for the accumulation, storage and conveyance of a people's ethnic or cultural heritage from one generation to another. For instance, most African societies have developed rich cultures that are anchored and expressed through each society's L_1 (i.e. the Ikwerre language in the case of the Ikwerre people). This rich cultural heritage manifests itself in the narration of stories; fables; proverbs; idioms; sayings; riddles; songs; totems; and verbal education. Given that younger generations of the Ikwerre investigated in this study display unfavourable attitudes towards their native language, the carrier of their cultural experiences, and the fact that they are beginning to move away from ethnic based network ties, it becomes evident that there might be a break in this transmission and a concomitant loss of the people's cultural heritage.

2. Loss of ethnic identity

A very crucial role served by language is that it offers its speakers a means of self-identity, that is, the ability of a particular group to mark itself out from others and align with those who share the same linguistic heritage. Although, it is very likely for a group to distinguish itself by unique racial features, clothing, culinary tastes, types of houses they build and live in or other peculiar traits, it is a people's language that sets them apart from others most precisely. The distinction that language offers can not be over emphasised, since globalization has resulted in many cultures in the twenty-first century sharing similar dress sense, sampling each others' culinary delights and living in almost identical buildings. Thus, the importance of holding onto the distinction that one's language affords becomes increasingly important. NPE, which is the language that Port Harcourt Ikwerre people are selecting over the Ikwerre language, is considered 'no man's' language in Nigeria. That is, it is used by every tribe and ethnic group within the polity. Hence, it does not carry an ethnic identity. Although, it does show substrate features, for example, the NPE spoken in the southeast of Nigeria is marked by features from the dominant L_1 (Igbo), that spoken in the west by Yoruba (the dominant L_1), and in the north by Hausa (the dominant L_1), however, it does not typify any ethnic group in the same way as someone speaking the Ikwerre language can be identified as being Ikwerre. One may argue that, in fact, this is good for a country like Nigeria (see Chapter 1 of this study), because the adoption of NPE by all will bring about national unity. The reverse is, however, the case, because all the regional giants (Igbo, Yoruba and Hausa) maintain their languages, while the minority ethnic communities are losing theirs.

3. Loss of ethnic solidarity and social cohesion

Closely related to the issue of ethnic identity (see Chapters 1 and 2), is ethnic solidarity and cohesion. Language can be utilised to promote these since, as I highlighted above, people who share the same language tend to align with each other. As a direct result of the language shift currently taking place in Port Harcourt, there is a salient demarcation of the society into the class of modern people (people who use NPE and NSE), composed mainly of members of the younger generation and many of their parents, and the class of the old and uneducated (composed of members of the grandparents' generation). Therefore, with this apparent language shift comes a breakdown in that shared sense of belonging, ethnic solidarity and social cohesion.

I shall continue this discussion in the next section, where I introduce some of the implications of my findings for Nigeria's language policy.

8. 4 Implications of the findings for Nigeria's language policy

I want to make the case here that although this project has highlighted the fact that some younger speakers in the sample are close to being classified as native speakers of NPE, the issue still remains that the authorities in Nigeria owe it as part of their duty to its peoples to see that the policy on education is executed fairly and efficiently. If this is done, it will go a long way to maintain and save minority languages like the Ikwerre language and preserve the people's cultural heritage. There is to my mind no better place to do this, than through the medium of formal education, which receives large-scale funding from the central and State governments.

Various reasons have been adduced in support of the use of mother tongue as a medium of instruction in formal education. For instance, experience has shown in Africa and various other places that cognitive development is achieved faster if the mother tongue, rather than a Language of Wider Communication (LWC), is used as the Language of Instruction (LoI) in primary education (see Bamgbose, 1984; UNESCO *Advocacy Brief*, 2005; Yates, 1995). According to Akinnaso (1993), the report of a research project carried out at the behest of the Nigerian government, called the 'Ife' project, on the effects of the use of mother tongue LoI shows that:

- The cognitive and academic performance of the pupils in the project schools was better than that of their counterparts in the mainstream schools.
- Pupils educated in Yoruba (the mother tongue being tested) throughout the six years of primary education were no less proficient in the L_2 (in this regard Nigerian Standard English) than pupils educated in L_2 during the last three years.
- The gains that children reportedly made when instructed in their mother tongue fell into various categories – cultural, affective, cognitive, socio-psychological and pedagogic.

It is noteworthy that these views, in fact, are supported by research carried out even outside Africa. Therefore, the importance of the use of the mother tongue in education is not peculiar to Nigeria or even Africa as a whole.

Klein (1994) reported that between 1978 and 1981 the University of Bradford, United Kingdom, undertook a study on the effects of a one-year bilingual programme on 5-year-old Punjabi-speaking children. The performance of a control group working only in English was significantly lower than that of children whose curriculum was delivered

half in English and half in Punjabi by a bilingual teacher. Similar results were also reported by the same group for Italian children (see other instances of 'best practice' in the United Kingdom highlighted in Verma, Corrigan & Firth (1995)). From the above we see that the mother tongue (L_1) is a vital component necessary in the development of any child who grows-up to become part of the national process of any given nation.

8. 5 Limitations

There are, of course, certain caveats associated with this research that I would like to raise here. In the first place, due to financial and time constraints, I was only able to live and do formal fieldwork in Port Harcourt for just five months. Although, I still maintain informal contacts with my informants through family and friends, perhaps this study would have benefited in terms of the observation of subjects over more extended periods and the gathering of larger amounts of conversational data had I been able to stay in the community for a year or longer. I also consulted much more with younger to middle aged informants, and I probably interacted more with men than I did with women (although not as a deliberate act), as I am male. Nevertheless, the observations and findings reported here, however cautious for these reasons do not detract from the fact that they provide interesting new data with respect to the manner in which bilingual linguistic behaviour changes as a result of external factors ranging from age to socio-contextual.

8. 6 What next?

Although this study has specifically focused on presenting a sociolinguistic account of language choice and shift in Port Harcourt, it is hoped that the findings here can be

generally applicable in other bilingual settings elsewhere in the world. This study has shown that the concept of social network does more than just account for both inter-generational (group) differences and intra-generational (individual) variation, however analyses which rely on it are rarely straightforward in certain respects. Thus, while it does give in-depth insights into the social mechanisms underlying linguistic variation, there are speakers in certain bilingual communities (for instance, the nine speakers in the Port Harcourt Ikwerre community) whose linguistic behaviours cannot be adequately explained by simply looking at the number of indigenous versus non-indigenous ties they contract in their exchange networks. Therefore, this project argues for an incorporation of affective measures of attitudes and personal network analysis within a broader framework of *Communities of Practice.* Such analyses would offer a more inclusive account of an individual's degree of integration with the group than reliance on social network analyses only. Perhaps future research could devise more complex analyses of relating the interaction between such social variables as age cohort, sex, and level of education, attitudes and social networks to such broader aspects of bilingual code selection. Further, it is important that researchers adopting the social network model be good ethnographers, so that they can modify and adapt the various approaches of this concept to reflect satisfactorily the attributes of the community under investigation, rather than attempting to force the community to conform to the existing sociolinguistic models.

It was also revealed in this study that local contemporary linguistic attitudes in Port Harcourt are favourable toward NPE. Therefore, it would be interesting in the future to explore further how and why exo-linguistic factors such as attitudes interacting with

socio-economic/political structures, personal social networks and language contact contribute to language maintenance and shift/loss.[88]

Finally, the conversational data attested in this thesis offers a convenient framework for further investigation of the interaction of code-switching to speaker's sense-making mechanisms and how these in turn relate to community level changes in language choice now (synchronic) and through time (diachronic). Additionally, this study has highlighted the fact that there is nothing in the literature on Ikwerre-NPE code-switching, therefore the interactional material uncovered by this project offers a basis for the investigation of the grammatical and syntactic conventions of Ikwerre-NPE code-switching. For instance, to address such questions as why pauses can co-occur with code-switching in the conversational contexts cited and such dispreference markers like *well* and *but* do not occur when contrastive code choices are employed by speakers to symbolise dispreference in the present data (see extracts 9 – 14 in Chapter 7 for specific instances of this phenomenon). This is fascinating because NPE is one of the English language lexifier Pidgins. It would be interesting, therefore, to understand if the possible reason for this non co-occurrence of these English discourse markers is that the structure of NPE has been influenced in interesting ways by the different substratal Nigerian languages. Further examples of such substratal influences on the structure of NPE can be seen in the extracts cited below:

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[88] It is my understanding that some work has begun already in this area by a number of researchers such as Batibo (1992, 1997, 1998) who has focused on the *Khoisan* languages of Southern Africa, Mesthrie (2005) on the *Indic* and *Zanzibari* communities of KwaZulu-Natal, Wicherkiewicz (2005) on *Karaim, Tatar,* and *Armenian* in Central-Eastern Europe, and a host of other researchers. I believe strongly that this area of research is very critical, as it is currently estimated by researchers working at the School of Oriental and African Studies University of London that a language disappears every fortnight. They claim that by the end of this century, around half of the world's 6,000 languages could be lost. Other researchers working in this area include: Golovko, 2005; Graaf, 2005; Kropp-Dakubu, 2005; Monaka & Chebanne, 2005; Mous, 2005; Naude & Le Roux, 2005.

1. Syntactic[89]

Topic-switching question: The topic of a verbal exchange can be transformed by asking a question beginning with *Wot of* (What about) and ending with any of these particles from different Nigerian languages such as *nko, kwanu, fa, sha, ba,* and so on: Wot of ya waif? OR Ya waif *Kwanu*?

What about 2ps wife 2ps wife TQF

What about your wife?

2. Morphology

Quantity: This term refers to number and amount as semantic categories. The structure often used to represent quantity in NPE is the reduplication of stative verbs: Di drink kom *boku-boku.*

ar drink +R be plentyR

Drinks were very plentiful.

3. Phonology

Coarticulated plosives /kp/ and /gb/ as well as *palatal nasal* /ɲ/ only occur in ideophones or loan words from Nigerian languages:

Im nok *kpom-kpom-kpom* for door.

3sP knockF ideophone p door

He knocked on the door.

4. *Lexical items* whose characteristics might lead one to group them as adjectives are in fact stative verbs in NPE: Di sup *swit.*

ar soup (be) sweet(F?)

[s] [adj? v?]

The soup is tasty.

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[89] See Appendix VI for abbreviations and symbols.

As it were, this thesis is an initial attempt at shedding light on some of these issues by undertaking a systematic sociolinguistic study of the language choice predilections of the bilingual Ikwerre community of Port Harcourt. In doing this, it has also contributed to bilingualism research more generally as it is hoped that the findings uncovered here will go a long way to further broaden our understanding of how bilingual speakers utilise the languages in their repertoire to achieve different communicative effects.

APPENDIX I

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

The following questions were asked in the context of an interview. I also made observational notes and tape-recorded the informants' responses. For each informant the names of relatives, friends and neighbours were used in questions about those categories of people. Informants were allowed to give lengthy and detailed responses if they so wished. In some cases I also probed further, and asked in more detail than the questions below indicate, about particular interactions that I had observed and seemed to be particularly interesting regarding my hypotheses. The questions were asked in both Ikwerre and Pidgin depending on the informants' language proficiency and preference. Furthermore, care was taken to ask each question of all informants.

1) Respondent's name:.....

2) Sex: male/female (circle as applicable)

3) Age:

4) Level of schooling: 0 = Did not / or Not attending school, 5 = Attended / or Attending Primary School, 10 = Attended / or Attending Secondary School, 15 = Attended / or Attending Post-Secondary School (e.g. Trade School or College), 20 = Attended / or Attending University.

5) Occupation: Retired, Civil Servant, Factory Worker, Clerical, Housewife, Trader, Subsistence Farmer/Never Employed.

6) Generation cohort: Grandparents, Parents, Children (younger generation)

LANGUAGE USE DATA

FAMILY MEMBERS

1. What language do you use when you talk to your father?
2. What language do you use when you talk to your mother?
3. What language do you use when you talk to your grandfather?
4. What language do you use when you talk to your grandmother?
5. What language do you use when you talk to your brother(s)?
6. What language do you use when you talk to your sister(s)?
7. What language do you use when you talk to your male children?
8. What language do you use when you talk to your female children?
9. What language do you use when you talk to your wife?
10. What language do you use when you talk to your husband?
11. What language do you use when you talk to your male grandchildren?
12. What language do you use when you talk to your female grandchildren?
13. What language do you use when you talk to your daughter-in-law?
14. What language do you use when you talk to your son-in-law?
15. What language do you use when you talk to your father-in-law?
16. What language do you use when you talk to your mother-in-law?

NON-FAMILY MEMBERS

1. What language do you use when you talk to people of your fathers' age?
2. What language do you use when you talk to people of your mothers' age?
3. What language do you use when you talk to people of your grandfathers' age?

4. What language do you use when you talk to people of your grandmothers' age?
5. What language do you use when you talk to your brothers' age mates?
6. What language do you use when you talk to your sisters' age mates?
7. What language do you use when you talk to your male children's age mates?
8. What language do you use when you talk to your female children's age mates?
9. What language do you use when you talk to your wife's age mates?
10. What language do you use when you talk to your husband's age mates?
11. What language do you use when you talk to your male grandchildren's age mates?
12. What language do you use when you talk to your female grandchildren's age mates?
13. What language do you use when you talk to your daughter-in-law's age mates?
14. What language do you use when you talk to your son-in-law's age mates?
15. What language do you use when you talk to your father-in-law's age mates?
16. What language do you use when you talk to your mother-in-law's age mates?
17. What language do you use when you talk to people same age as you?

LEVEL OF EDUCATION

SCHOOL

1. When did you start school?
2. How many years did you go to school? OR For how long have you been going to school?
3. In what language was/is the instruction conducted?

4. Who were/are your schoolmates? (Elicit as many names as the respondent can recall).
5. What language did/do you use when you talk to them in school? Outside of school?

SOCIAL NETWORK

FRIENDSHIP

1. Do you have any close friends?
2. Who are they? (Here I intend to elicit more names from each respondent and compare with names given above).
3. How old are they?
4. How many of your friends are male and female?
5. What language do you use when you meet your male friends?
6. What language do you use when you meet your female friends?

NEIGHBOURS

1. Who are your present neighbours? (Elicit more names).
2. Do you ever talk to your neighbours?
3. When usually? And what language do you use when you talk to your male neighbours?
4. And female neighbours? (Ask about each one separately and by name).
5. Which of your neighbours help if you need someone for a favour? What way do you talk to them?

6. Is there any park or open space in your neighbourhood where people sit outside in the evenings and at weekends? Where is it? Who sits there? Do you ever go there to sit? What way do you talk there? Where do you go to sit in the evenings and at weekends if you don't go there?

APPENDIX II

IMPLICATIONAL SCALES

Table 1 Interview - Language choice patterns by male speakers (Scalability: 92%)

				Interlocutors											
No. of speakers	Speaker age	Level of education	Generation cohort	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1A	83	0	GF	I	I	I	I	I	-	I	I	I	I	I	I
2B	75	0	GF	I	I	I	I	I	-	I	I	I	I	I	I
3C	70	0	GF	I	I	I	I	I	-	I	I	I	I	I	I
4I	67	5	GF	I	I	I	I	I	-	I	I	I	I	IP	IP
11A	56	5	F	-	I	I	I	I	-	I	-	I	I	IP	IP
5J	65	5	GF	I	I	I	I	I	-	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP
12B	55	5	F	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	-	IP	IP	IP	IP
15E	45	5	F	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	-	IP	IP	IP	IP
16F	43	5	F	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	-	IP	IP	IP	IP
13C	54	5	F	I	I	I	I	I	I	IP	-	IP	IP	IP	IP
17G	42	20	F	I	I	I	I	I	I	IP	-	IP	IP	IP	IP
19I	36	10	F	I	I	I	I	I	I	IP	-	IP	IP	IP	IP
18H	40	10	F	I	I	I	I	I	I	IP	-	IP	IP	IP	IP
37A	23	10	CH	I	I	I	I	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
38A	22	10	CH	I	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
14D	52	5	F	I	I	IP	IP	IP	I*	IP	-	IP	IP	IP	IP
55H	14	10	CH	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
35A	25	20	CH	I	I	IP	IP	IP	I*	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
43D	18	10	CH	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
20J	34	10	F	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	-	IP	IP	IP	IP
58H	13	5	CH	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
48H	16	10	CH	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
59B	13	10	CH	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	P	P
62B	12	5	CH	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	P	P	P	P	P	P
66D	11	5	CH	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	P	P	P	P	P	P

A – J = Family membership. Generation cohort: GF = Grandfather, F = Father, CH = Child. Level of education: 0 = Did not attend school, 5 = Attended primary school, 10 = Attended secondary school, 15 = Attended post-secondary school, 20 = Attended university. Interlocutors: 1 = Grandmother, 2 = Grandmother's generation, 3 = Mother's generation, 4 = Mother (spouse), 5 = Grandfather's generation, 6 = Grandfather, 7 = Father's generation, 8 = Father (spouse), 9 = Child (male), 10 = Child (female), 11 = Child generation (male), 12 = Child generation (female).

Table 2 Interview - Language choice patterns by female speakers (Scalability: 91%)

No. of speakers	Speaker Age	Level of education	Generation cohort	Interlocutors 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
6A	74	0	GM	-	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I
7B	72	0	GM	-	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I
8C	65	0	GM	-	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I
9I	64	0	GM	-	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I
10J	60	0	GM	-	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I
21A	53	0	M	I	I	I	-	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I
22B	52	5	M	I	I	I	-	I	I	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP
23C	50	5	M	I	I	I	-	I	-	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP
24D	49	5	M	I	I	I	-	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
25E	44	5	M	I	I	I	-	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
26F	40	5	M	I	I	I	-	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
27G	39	5	M	I	I	I	-	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
28H	38	5	M	I	I	I	-	IP*	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
29I	33	10	M	I	-	I	-	IP*	IP*	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
34A	26	20	CH	I	I	I	I	I	I	IP	I*	IP	IP	IP	IP
45A	18	10	CH	I	I	I	I	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
50C	16	10	CH	I	I	I	I	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
41B	20	10	CH	I	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
54B	15	10	CH	I	-	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
56D	14	10	CH	I	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
47C	17	10	CH	I	I	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
30J	30	10	M	-	-	IP	-	IP	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP
72H	9	5	CH	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	P	P	P	P
73H	8	5	CH	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	P	P	P	P
74I	7	0	CH	-	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	IP	P	P	P	P

A – J = Family membership. Generation cohort: GM = Grandmother, M = Mother, CH = Child. Interlocutors: 1 = Grandmother, 2 = Grandmother's generation, 3 = Mother's generation, 4 = Mother (spouse), 5 = Grandfather's generation, 6 = Grandfather, 7 = Father's generation, 8 = Father (spouse), 9 = Child (male), 10 = Child (female), 11 = Child generation (male), 12 = Child generation (female).

APPENDIX III

LANGUAGE ATTITUDES SCORES

Table 3 Language proficiency and preference scores (Male speakers)

Speakers	Age	Proficiency		Preference		Patterns	
		Ikwerre	Pidgin	Ikwerre	Pidgin	Family	Non-family
1A	83GF	3	0	3	0	I	I
2B	75GF	3	0	3	0	I	I
3C	70GF	3	0	3	0	I	I
4I	67GF	3	3	3	2	III	III
5J	65GF	3	3	3	2	III	III
11A	56F	3	3	2	2	II	II
12B	55F	3	3	2	2	II	II
13C	54F	3	3	2	2	II	II
14D	52F	3	3	2	2	II	II
15B	45F	3	3	2	2	III	III
16F	43F	3	3	2	3	III	III
17G	42F	3	3	2	3	III	III
18H	40F	3	3	2	3	III	IV
19I	36F	3	3	2	3	IV	IV
20J	34F	2	3	2	3	IV	IV
31A	29S	3	3	1	3	II	IV
32C	26S	3	3	1	3	II	IV
33D	26S	2	3	1	3	III	IV
35A	25S	2	3	1	3	IV	IV
37A	23S	2	3	1	3	II	IV
38A	22S	1	3	1	3	III	IV
39C	21S	2	3	1	3	IV	IV
40C	20S	1	3	1	3	IV	IV
43D	18S	1	3	1	3	III	IV
44F	18S	1	3	0	3	IV	VI
48H	16S	1	3	1	3	IV	V
49G	16S	0	3	0	3	IV	VI
52C	15S	1	3	1	3	IV	IV
53B	15S	0	3	1	3	IV	V
55H	14S	0	3	0	3	III	VI
58H	13S	0	3	1	3	IV	V
59B	13S	0	3	1	3	IV	V
62B	12S	0	3	1	3	IV	V
63G	12S	1	3	0	3	IV	VI
66D	11S	1	3	1	3	IV	V
67E	11S	0	3	0	3	IV	VII
71I	9S	0	3	0	3	IV	VII
75J	6S	0	3	0	3	IV	VII

A – J = Family membership. GF = Grandfather, F = Father, S = Son. Proficiency: 0 = Hardly at all, 1 = Moderately well, 2 = Very well, 3 = Perfect. Preference: 0 = Not at all, 1 = Sometimes, 2 = Most of the time, 3 = All the time.

Table 4 Language proficiency and preference scores (Female speakers)

Speakers	Age	Proficiency		Preference		Patterns	
		Ikwerre	Pidgin	Ikwerre	Pidgin	Family	Non-family
6A	74GM	3	0	3	0	I	I
7B	72GM	3	0	3	0	I	I
8C	65GM	3	0	3	0	I	I
9I	64GM	3	0	3	0	I	I
10J	60GM	3	0	3	0	I	I
21A	53M	3	0	3	0	I	I
22B	52M	3	2	3	1	II	II
23C	50M	3	2	3	1	II	II
24D	49M	3	2	3	2	II	II
25E	44M	3	2	3	2	III	II
26F	40M	3	2	3	2	III	II
27G	39M	3	3	3	2	III	II
28H	38M	3	3	3	2	III	II
29I	33M	3	3	2	3	III	III
30J	30M	3	3	2	3	IV	III
34A	26D	3	3	2	3	II	IV
36A	24D	3	3	1	3	III	IV
41B	20D	2	3	1	3	III	IV
42A	19D	2	3	2	3	II	IV
45A	18D	2	3	0	3	II	IV
46B	18D	1	3	1	3	III	IV
47C	17D	1	3	1	3	IV	IV
50C	16D	1	3	0	3	IV	IV
51D	16D	1	3	0	3	IV	IV
54B	15D	1	3	1	3	III	IV
56D	14D	1	3	0	3	IV	V
57E	14D	0	3	0	3	IV	IV
60D	13D	0	3	0	3	IV	V
61E	13D	0	3	1	3	IV	IV
64C	12D	1	3	1	3	III	V
65F	12D	0	3	1	3	IV	VI
68F	11D	1	3	1	3	IV	V
69H	11D	0	3	0	3	IV	VI
70G	10D	0	3	1	3	IV	V
72H	9D	0	3	0	3	IV	VI
73H	8D	0	3	0	3	IV	VI
74I	7D	0	3	0	3	IV	VII
76J	4D	0	3	0	3	IV	VII

A – J = Family membership. GM = Grandmother, M = Mother, D = Daughter. Proficiency: 0 = Hardly at all, 1 = Moderately well, 2 = Very well, 3 = Perfect. Preference: 0 = Not at all, 1 = Sometimes, 2 = Most of the time, 3 = All the time.

Table 5 Matched guise test aggregate scores in percentages – Ikwerre language (Group III: Grandparents – Male and Female)

Speakers	Age	Traits									
		Attended school	Modern	Ambitious	Hardworking	Honest	Friendly	Beautiful	Tall	Generous	Confident
Male:											
1A	83	60%	80%	40%	80%	100%	100%	100%	10%	100%	20%
2B	75	10%	40%	20%	60%	100%	100%	100%	60%	100%	10%
3C	70	10%	20%	10%	100%	80%	60%	100%	20%	100%	20%
4I	67	10%	10%	20%	60%	60%	80%	60%	20%	60%	40%
5J	65	10%	10%	10%	80%	80%	80%	80%	40%	60%	20%
Female:											
6A	74	40%	10%	10%	100%	100%	100%	80%	20%	100%	60%
7B	72	20%	10%	10%	100%	100%	100%	80%	10%	100%	10%
8C	65	10%	10%	20%	100%	100%	100%	100%	80%	100%	10%
9I	64	10%	10%	20%	80%	80%	100%	80%	80%	100%	10%
10J	60	10%	10%	20%	100%	80%	100%	80%	80%	100%	20%

A – J = Family membership. Speakers: 5 = Male, 5 = Female.

Table 6 Matched guise test aggregate scores in percentages – Ikwerre language (Group II: Parents - Male and Female)

Speakers	Age	Traits									
		Attended school	Modern	Ambitious	Hardworking	Honest	Friendly	Beautiful	Tall	Generous	confident
Male:											
11A	56	10%	60%	20%	80%	100%	100%	10%	10%	100%	20%
12B	55	40%	40%	20%	60%	100%	100%	10%	10%	100%	20%
13C	54	10%	20%	20%	80%	100%	80%	20%	10%	100%	20%
14D	52	10%	10%	10%	100%	80%	80%	10%	10%	80%	40%
15E	45	10%	40%	10%	100%	60%	80%	10%	10%	80%	40%
16F	43	10%	10%	10%	100%	60%	80%	20%	10%	80%	10%
17G	42	10%	10%	10%	60%	60%	80%	20%	10%	80%	10%
18H	40	10%	10%	10%	80%	60%	80%	20%	10%	80%	10%
19I	36	20%	10%	10%	80%	80%	80%	10%	20%	80%	10%
20J	34	20%	10%	40%	80%	80%	80%	10%	20%	80%	20%
Female:											
21A	53	40%	40%	60%	40%	100%	60%	40%	40%	80%	20%
22B	52	60%	60%	20%	20%	100%	60%	20%	60%	100%	10%
23C	50	10%	20%	10%	80%	100%	60%	20%	20%	100%	10%
24D	49	10%	20%	10%	60%	100%	80%	20%	20%	100%	60%
25E	44	10%	10%	10%	20%	100%	80%	40%	40%	80%	10%
26F	40	10%	10%	10%	80%	80%	40%	40%	60%	80%	10%
27G	39	10%	10%	10%	60%	80%	100%	20%	20%	80%	10%
28H	38	10%	10%	10%	10%	80%	80%	20%	20%	80%	10%
29I	33	10%	10%	10%	20%	80%	100%	100%	20%	60%	10%
30J	30	10%	10%	10%	20%	80%	40%	20%	20%	60%	40%

A – J = Family membership. Speakers: 10 = Male, 10 = Female.

Table 7 Matched guise test aggregate scores in percentages – Ikwerre language (Group I: Younger speakers - Male and Female)

Speakers	Age	Traits									
		Attended school	Modern	Ambitious	Hardworking	Honest	Friendly	Beautiful	Tall	Generous	confident
Male:											
31A	29	10%	60%	10%	40%	100%	80%	20%	40%	80%	60%
32C	26	10%	20%	10%	10%	100%	80%	20%	10%	100%	10%
33D	26	10%	40%	20%	20%	80%	80%	20%	20%	60%	10%
35A	25	20%	10%	10%	10%	80%	80%	10%	10%	60%	80%
37A	23	10%	10%	10%	10%	80%	100%	10%	10%	80%	10%
38A	22	10%	10%	10%	10%	80%	100%	40%	40%	100%	10%
39C	21	10%	10%	10%	60%	100%	80%	10%	10%	80%	10%
40C	20	10%	10%	40%	80%	60%	80%	10%	10%	80%	10%
43D	18	40%	40%	20%	40%	80%	60%	10%	10%	80%	10%
44F	18	20%	10%	20%	20%	60%	40%	10%	10%	80%	10%
48H	16	10%	10%	10%	10%	100%	20%	10%	10%	80%	10%
49G	16	10%	10%	10%	10%	100%	10%	10%	10%	80%	10%
52C	15	10%	10%	10%	10%	100%	10%	10%	10%	80%	10%
53E	15	10%	20%	10%	40%	80%	10%	10%	10%	80%	20%
55H	14	10%	20%	10%	60%	80%	20%	10%	10%	80%	10%
58H	13	10%	20%	10%	10%	60%	40%	10%	10%	80%	10%
59B	13	10%	20%	10%	10%	60%	100%	20%	10%	60%	10%
62B	12	10%	10%	10%	10%	80%	100%	10%	10%	40%	10%
63G	12	10%	10%	10%	10%	100%	100%	10%	10%	100%	10%
66D	11	20%	10%	10%	10%	100%	80%	10%	10%	100%	10%
67E	11	20%	10%	20%	10%	60%	80%	10%	10%	100%	10%
71I	9	10%	10%	10%	10%	60%	60%	40%	10%	100%	10%
75J	6	10%	10%	10%	10%	80%	60%	20%	10%	100%	10%
Female:											
34A	26	60%	40%	10%	10%	80%	80%	20%	10%	100%	20%
36A	24	40%	20%	10%	10%	60%	40%	20%	10%	80%	40%
41B	20	10%	10%	10%	10%	100%	80%	10%	20%	60%	10%
42A	19	10%	10%	10%	10%	100%	80%	40%	40%	80%	10%
45A	18	10%	10%	10%	10%	100%	100%	60%	60%	80%	10%
46B	18	10%	10%	10%	10%	100%	100%	20%	10%	80%	10%
47C	17	10%	10%	10%	10%	80%	100%	10%	10%	80%	10%
50C	16	10%	10%	10%	10%	60%	80%	10%	40%	80%	60%
51D	16	10%	10%	10%	10%	80%	80%	10%	20%	100%	10%
54B	15	20%	10%	10%	10%	100%	80%	10%	20%	100%	10%
56D	14	20%	10%	10%	10%	100%	80%	10%	10%	80%	10%
57E	14	10%	10%	10%	10%	100%	100%	10%	10%	60%	10%
60D	13	10%	10%	10%	10%	100%	100%	10%	10%	60%	10%
61E	13	10%	10%	10%	10%	80%	100%	10%	60%	100%	20%
64C	12	10%	10%	20%	10%	80%	100%	20%	10%	100%	40%
65F	12	10%	10%	40%	10%	60%	60%	10%	20%	100%	60%
68F	11	10%	10%	10%	20%	60%	80%	10%	10%	80%	10%
69H	11	10%	10%	10%	10%	100%	60%	10%	20%	60%	10%
70G	10	10%	10%	10%	10%	80%	100%	10%	20%	40%	10%
72H	9	10%	10%	10%	10%	100%	100%	20%	10%	60%	10%
73H	8	10%	10%	10%	10%	100%	100%	20%	10%	100%	10%
74I	7	10%	10%	10%	10%	80%	100%	10%	10%	60%	20%
76J	4	10%	10%	10%	10%	80%	100%	20%	10%	80%	10%

A – J = Family membership. Speakers: 23 = Male, 23 = Female.

Table 8 Matched guise test aggregate scores in percentages – Pidgin (Group III: Grandparents - Male and Female)

Speakers	Age	Traits									
		Attended school	Modern	Ambitious	Hardworking	Honest	Friendly	Beautiful	Tall	Generous	confident
Male:											
1A	83	100%	80%	80%	10%	20%	20%	40%	80%	40%	100%
2B	75	100%	80%	80%	20%	40%	60%	40%	100%	20%	80%
3C	70	80%	100%	80%	40%	20%	40%	20%	80%	60%	80%
4I	67	100%	80%	60%	80%	20%	40%	60%	100%	20%	100%
5J	65	60%	100%	100%	60%	40%	20%	80%	60%	20%	80%
Female:											
6A	74	100%	80%	80%	10%	20%	20%	20%	100%	40%	80%
7B	72	100%	60%	80%	10%	20%	20%	40%	100%	20%	80%
8C	65	80%	100%	100%	20%	20%	20%	40%	80%	20%	80%
9I	64	80%	100%	100%	40%	20%	20%	60%	80%	40%	100%
10J	60	100%	100%	100%	20%	20%	20%	10%	80%	20%	100%

A – J = Family membership. Speakers: 5 = Male, 5 = Female.

Table 9 Matched guise test aggregate scores in percentages – Pidgin (Group II: Parents - Male and Female)

Speakers	Age	Traits									
		Attended school	Modern	Ambitious	Hardworking	Honest	Friendly	Beautiful	Tall	Generous	confident
Male:											
11A	56	80%	80%	100%	100%	20%	20%	80%	100%	20%	60%
12B	55	60%	80%	100%	80%	40%	20%	100%	80%	20%	100%
13C	54	40%	60%	100%	80%	40%	20%	100%	100%	40%	100%
14D	52	40%	60%	80%	80%	20%	20%	80%	100%	40%	100%
15E	45	80%	80%	80%	100%	20%	20%	80%	100%	40%	100%
16F	43	60%	60%	80%	100%	20%	40%	100%	100%	60%	80%
17G	42	100%	100%	80%	100%	20%	60%	100%	80%	60%	60%
18H	40	100%	80%	100%	80%	20%	20%	80%	80%	80%	80%
19I	36	60%	60%	100%	60%	20%	20%	80%	100%	20%	100%
20J	34	80%	100%	100%	80%	20%	40%	100%	100%	20%	100%
Female:											
21A	53	100%	100%	100%	20%	60%	20%	40%	60%	20%	100%
22B	52	80%	100%	100%	60%	50%	20%	20%	100%	20%	100%
23C	50	80%	100%	100%	80%	40%	40%	20%	100%	20%	60%
24D	49	80%	100%	100%	40%	40%	40%	20%	100%	20%	80%
25E	44	100%	100%	80%	80%	20%	60%	40%	80%	20%	80%
26F	40	100%	100%	80%	80%	20%	40%	40%	80%	40%	80%
27G	39	100%	100%	80%	60%	40%	40%	20%	100%	40%	80%
28H	38	100%	100%	100%	100%	40%	40%	20%	100%	40%	60%
29I	33	100%	100%	100%	100%	20%	100%	100%	100%	60%	40%
30J	30	60%	40%	100%	100%	20%	40%	20%	100%	60%	100%

A – J = Family membership. Speakers: 10 = Male, 10 = Female.

Table 10 Matched guise test aggregate scores in percentages – Pidgin (Group I: Younger speakers - Male and Female)

Speakers	Age	Traits									
		Attended school	Modern	Ambitious	Hardworking	Honest	Friendly	Beautiful	Tall	Generous	confident
Male:											
31A	29	60%	60%	80%	60%	20%	60%	100%	100%	20%	80%
32C	26	80%	60%	80%	80%	40%	20%	100%	100%	20%	80%
33D	26	100%	80%	60%	60%	40%	20%	100%	100%	20%	100%
35A	25	80%	60%	80%	60%	60%	40%	100%	100%	20%	100%
37A	23	100%	100%	60%	60%	60%	40%	100%	100%	20%	100%
38A	22	100%	100%	80%	80%	20%	40%	100%	100%	40%	100%
39C	21	100%	100%	60%	40%	20%	20%	100%	100%	40%	100%
40C	20	80%	60%	100%	80%	20%	40%	100%	100%	40%	100%
43D	18	60%	80%	80%	100%	20%	20%	100%	100%	20%	100%
44F	18	80%	100%	60%	100%	20%	60%	80%	100%	20%	100%
48H	16	40%	60%	80%	100%	40%	20%	100%	100%	40%	100%
49G	16	80%	60%	100%	100%	20%	40%	100%	100%	40%	100%
52C	15	100%	100%	100%	100%	40%	20%	100%	100%	60%	80%
53B	15	100%	100%	100%	100%	20%	20%	100%	80%	40%	60%
55H	14	100%	100%	100%	100%	20%	20%	100%	100%	20%	40%
58H	13	100%	100%	100%	100%	40%	20%	100%	100%	20%	100%
59B	13	100%	100%	100%	100%	60%	20%	100%	100%	20%	100%
62B	12	100%	100%	100%	100%	20%	100%	100%	80%	20%	100%
63G	12	100%	100%	100%	60%	20%	40%	100%	80%	60%	100%
66D	11	100%	100%	100%	80%	100%	80%	100%	60%	40%	100%
67E	11	100%	100%	100%	40%	100%	40%	100%	80%	20%	100%
71I	9	100%	100%	100%	60%	100%	20%	100%	100%	20%	100%
75J	6	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	20%	40%	100%	20%	100%
Female:											
34A	26	100%	100%	100%	100%	20%	100%	80%	100%	20%	100%
36A	24	100%	100%	100%	100%	40%	60%	60%	80%	20%	80%
41B	20	100%	100%	100%	100%	40%	60%	60%	80%	40%	80%
42A	19	100%	100%	100%	100%	40%	60%	40%	80%	40%	60%
45A	18	60%	100%	100%	100%	40%	40%	40%	100%	60%	60%
46B	18	60%	100%	100%	100%	60%	40%	60%	100%	60%	100%
47C	17	80%	100%	100%	100%	60%	60%	60%	100%	20%	100%
50C	16	20%	100%	100%	100%	40%	60%	100%	100%	20%	100%
51D	16	100%	100%	100%	100%	40%	40%	100%	60%	100%	100%
54B	15	100%	100%	100%	100%	60%	40%	100%	80%	80%	100%
56D	14	100%	100%	100%	100%	60%	60%	100%	80%	60%	100%
57E	14	100%	100%	100%	100%	60%	60%	100%	60%	40%	100%
60D	13	100%	100%	100%	1005	60%	80%	100%	60%	40%	100%
61E	13	100%	100%	100%	100%	60%	80%	100%	100%	40%	100%
64C	12	100%	100%	100%	100%	60%	100%	80%	100%	20%	100%
65F	12	100%	100%	100%	100%	80%	100%	60%	100%	20%	100%
68F	11	100%	100%	100%	100%	80%	100%	100%	100%	60%	100%
69H	11	80%	100%	100%	100%	80%	100%	100%	100%	60%	100%
70G	10	80%	100%	100%	100%	80%	60%	60%	100%	60%	100%
72H	9	60%	100%	100%	100%	100%	80%	60%	100%	100%	100%
73H	8	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	80%	100%
74I	7	100%	100%	100%	1005	100%	100%	60%	100%	60%	100%
76J	4	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	80%	100%	40%	100%

A – J = Family membership. Speakers: 23 = Male, 23 = Female.

APPENDIX IV

SOCIAL NETWORK SCORES

Table 11 Exchange networks (Male speakers)

Speakers	Age	Indices	
		Indigenous	Generational
1A	83GF	20	15
2B	75GF	20	16
3C	70GF	20	15
4I	67GF	16	11
5J	65GF	14	10
11A	56F	17	10
12B	55F	15	12
13C	54F	18	9
14D	52F	12	9
15E	45F	14	10
16F	43F	13	9
17G	42F	12	11
18H	40F	16	10
19I	36F	13	12
20J	34F	13	8
31A	29S	2	15
32C	26S	2	18
33D	26S	1	17
35A	25S	1	10
37A	23S	2	15
38A	22S	1	16
39C	21S	1	14
40C	20S	1	15
43D	18S	1	10
44F	18S	2	17
48H	16S	1	18
49G	16S	1	17
52C	15S	1	15
53E	15S	1	12
55H	14S	1	13
58H	13S	1	17
59B	13S	1	18
62B	12S	1	15
63G	12S	1	11
66D	11S	1	12
67E	11S	1	16
71I	9S	1	17
75J	6S	0	18

Ties = 20 per/speaker. A – J = Family membership. Speakers: 5 = Grandfathers (GF), 10 = Fathers (F), 23 = Sons (S).

Table 12 Exchange networks (Female speakers)

Speakers	Age	Indices	
		Indigenous	Generational
6A	74GM	20	16
7B	72GM	20	17
8C	65GM	20	15
9I	64GM	20	14
10J	60GM	20	13
21A	53M	20	12
22B	52M	18	10
23C	50M	19	15
24D	49M	16	13
25E	44M	17	11
26F	40M	16	12
27G	39M	18	11
28H	38M	15	12
29I	33M	14	13
30J	30M	13	9
34A	26D	3	18
36A	24D	4	18
41B	20D	2	17
42A	19D	3	16
45A	18D	1	15
46B	18D	1	13
47C	17D	1	14
50C	16D	2	17
51D	16D	3	16
54B	15D	1	12
56D	14D	1	18
57E	14D	1	17
60D	13D	1	14
61E	13D	1	16
64C	12D	2	13
65F	12D	2	18
68F	11D	1	17
69H	11D	1	15
70G	10D	1	12
72H	9D	1	20
73H	8D	1	20
74I	7D	1	20
76J	4D	0	20

Ties = 20 per/speaker. A – J = Family membership. Speakers: 5 = Grandmothers (GM), 10 = Mothers (M), 23 = Daughters (D).

Table 13 Interactive networks (Male speakers)

		Indices	
Speakers	Age	Indigenous	Generational
1A	83GF	20	18
2B	75GF	20	18
3C	70GF	16	15
4I	67GF	15	17
5J	65GF	13	15
11A	56F	12	18
12B	55F	10	17
13C	54F	11	15
14D	52F	5	16
15B	45F	3	14
16F	43F	4	12
17G	42F	3	18
18H	40F	2	16
19I	36F	2	15
20J	34F	3	19
31A	29S	1	18
32C	26S	1	18
33D	26S	2	19
35A	25S	1	16
37A	23S	0	17
38A	22S	0	15
39C	21S	0	19
40C	20S	1	20
43D	18S	2	20
44F	18S	1	16
48H	16S	1	17
49G	16S	6	19
52C	15S	1	20
53E	15S	1	20
55H	14S	1	20
58H	13S	2	18
59B	13S	0	20
62B	12S	0	20
63G	12S	0	19
66D	11S	0	18
67E	11S	1	20
71I	9S	0	20
75J	6S	0	20

Ties = 20 per/speaker. A – J = Family membership. Speakers: 5 = Grandfathers (GF), 10 = Fathers (F), 23 = Sons (S).

Table 14 Interactive networks (Female speakers)

Speakers	Age	Indices	
		Indigenous	Generational
6A	74GM	20	18
7B	72GM	20	17
8C	65GM	20	16
9I	64GM	20	15
10J	60GM	20	18
21A	53M	20	17
22B	52M	16	18
23C	50M	14	16
24D	49M	13	17
25B	44M	12	15
26F	40M	9	13
27G	39M	10	16
28H	38M	3	17
29I	33M	4	18
30J	30M	2	14
34A	26D	1	20
36A	24D	1	20
41B	20D	1	20
42A	19D	5	18
45A	18D	2	19
46B	18D	0	20
47C	17D	0	20
50C	16D	0	17
51D	16D	0	16
54B	15D	2	15
56D	14D	2	12
57E	14D	1	13
60D	13D	1	15
61E	13D	1	20
64C	12D	0	11
65F	12D	0	20
68F	11D	1	20
69H	11D	2	20
70G	10D	0	20
72H	9D	0	20
73H	8D	0	20
74I	7D	0	20
76J	4D	0	20

Ties = 20 per/speaker. A – J = Family membership. Speakers: 5 = Grandmothers (GM), 10 = Mothers (M), 23 = Daughters (D).

APPENDIX V

TRANSCRIPTION SYMBOLS FOR VERBAL AND NON-VERBAL BEHAVIOUR

Table 15 Transcription symbols

(0.5)	The number in brackets indicates a time gap in tenths of a second.
(.)	A dot enclosed in a bracket indicates a pause in the talk of less than two-tenths of a second.
=	The 'equals' sign indicates 'latching' between utterances. For example: S1: na jun // sevuntisevun = S2: // jun sevunti-sevun S1: =na im e go bi S2: na im (.) ok.
//,]	Two forward slashes placed at the beginning of utterances as in the above example indicate the onset of overlapping talk, and ']' placed at the end of overlapping utterances marks the end of the overlap.
<@>	Indicates laughter.
.hh	A dot before an 'h' indicates speaker in-breath. The more he's, the longer the breath.
( )/[]	Brackets may enclose the transcriber's comments on contextual or other features.

-	A dash indicates that the prior word or sound has been cut-off sharply.
:	Colons indicate that the speaker has stretched the preceding sound or letter. The more colons, the greater the extent of the stretching.
!	Exclamation marks are employed to show an animated or emphatic tone.
.	A full stop indicates the end of a sentence.
,	A comma indicates a pause shorter than a full stop.
?	A question mark indicates a question.
Underlined	Underlined fragments indicate speaker emphasis or partially repeated segments.
CAPITALS	Words in capitals mark a section of speech noticeably louder than that surrounding it.
°	Degree sign is employed to indicate that the talk they encompass is spoken noticeably quieter than the surrounding talk.
*	An asterisk indicates a 'croaky' pronunciation of the immediately following section.
...	Horizontal ellipses indicate that an utterance is partially reported, that is, parts of the same speaker's utterance are omitted.
Numbering	Numbering in a transcript is arbitrarily done for convenience or reference (Psathas, 1995: 78). Line numbers in this study are not intended to be measures of timing or number of turns or utterances. Silences between talk may also receive line numbers.

XXX	Inaudible utterance.
Eye gaze	↑ Looks up. ↓ Looks down. > Towards right. < Towards left. Example: < ↑ S1 (Looks up toward left of bookcase at dad's graduation photos).
Gestures	PT: Pointing. R: Reaching. OF: Offering.
Participants	Participants are identified in the left column by a letter code after Psathas & Anderson (1990: 80). They suggest that within the CA framework 'the respective membership categories of the participants are not deemed relevant, except as they appear / are accomplished in the course of the interaction'. So, in this study, in transcripts of 'ordinary' conversations I have used letters or generic names such as 'man'; 'woman'; 'father'; 'mother'; 'teenager' and so on.

APPENDIX VI

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Table 16 Abbreviations and symbols

adj	Adjective
ar	General article
F	Factative tense/aspect/modality
p	(General) proposition
P	Pronoun
R	Reduplicated form
+R	Realis modality
s	Subject
TQ	Topic-switching question
V	Verb
2, 3	Persons

After Faraclas (1996: xiii-xv)

APPENDIX VII

SAMPLE TEXT USED IN THE MATCHED GUISE EXPERIMENTS

Ikwerre version

Title: Nnwo Agwo Nu Nnwo Awo

(Baby snake and baby frog)

O duru out obochi Nnwo Awo hi nu mini wukwasi nu mkpomkpo eli, whnu Nnwo

Once upon a time, baby frog leapt out of the water and saw baby snake. They made

agwo. Be lawuru me enyi, bite masi egwuri igworogwu. Nga be lawuru duru oro, nne

friends and started to play. When they both got home, frog's mum asked frog if he

awo sikwa nnwo a hne o znernu. Nnwo Awo kanu a nu Awo bu wiri Agwo. O do nnwo a

played with baby snake? Frog's mum cautioned him that he is snake's food and

ka nu nsni be gwurima izu berere. Nne Agwo sikwa masi nnwo a hne o znernu. Nnwo a

must not play with baby snake again. Snake's mum also asked baby snake who he

kanu a nu nwa whnurnu Nnwo Awo, be lawuru me enyi. Be bitemasi egwuri igworogwu.

played with. He answered that he played with his friend baby frog. Snake's mum

Nne a kanu a nu Awo bu wiri Agwo. O kanu a O nwugwu a, gbu, ri, ngobula o duru a

told him that frogs are food for snakes. Next time when you see baby frog catch it

ehni. Odu out obochi Nnwo Agwo zne ngeri mini sukwu enyi a. Nnwo Awo whuya n'olu

and eat it. So, one day baby frog and baby snake met each other again and baby

mini. Nnwo Agwo kanu a o whuya mkpomkpoeli ma be gwuri kpa be gwuri. Nnwo Awo

snake invited baby frog to come out of the water and play with him as before, but baby frog refused.

kanu a o va n'olu mini hne nwa zi; Nnwo Agwo kanu a nu nwa maa kpa be gwu mini.

Rather, he asked baby snake to come into the water to play with him. Baby snake

Nnwo Awo kanu a "Nhne wam Nne I kanu I, Nne ke m kannam me ya masi". Nnwo

told baby frog that he couldn't swim. Then, baby frog responded that the thing his mum told him, his own mum has also told him too.

Awo ziba mini, whume. Enyi gbatoma, iron be sihnasi rikne tem du tna.

Baby frog jumped into the water and swam away. From that day onwards frogs and snakes became enemies.

<u>Pidgin version</u>

Title: Snek Pikin an Frog Pikin

(Baby snake and baby frog)

E rich wan dey, frog pikin jomp from wota on top drai land go sii snek pikin. Tuu dem

Once upon a time, baby frog leapt out of the water and saw baby snake. They made

stat tu bi frend an stat tu ple-ple. Wen dey rich haus, mama frog aksam im de ple wit

friends and started to play. When they both got home, frog's mum asked frog if he

snek pikin? Frog mama tel frog sey – yu bi snek fud. Mama frog dro im pikin iya, sey

played with baby snake? Frog's mum cautioned him that he is snake's food and

mek im no ple wit snek pikin egen. Mama snek tuu, aks im pikin wey im go. Im pikin

must not play with baby snake again. Snake's mum also asked baby snake who he

tel-am sey im de ple wit frog pikin, sey tuu dem na frend. Mama snek kom tel im pikin

played with. He answered that he played with his friend baby frog. Snake's mum

sey, frog na snek fud. Wen yu si frog kach-am, chop-am. E kom rich wan dey egen, snek

told him that frogs are food for snakes. Next time when you see baby frog catch it

pikin go for kona wota go kol frog pikin, ma frend kom mek wi pley as wi de ple. Frog

and eat it. So, one day baby frog and baby snake met each other. Baby snake invited

pikin tel snek pikin kom for wota mek wi pley as wi de ple. Snek pikin tel frog pikin mi

baby frog to come out of the water and play with him as before, but baby frog

no sabi swim. Frog pikin tel snek pikin, dat tin wey ya mama tel yu, ma mama e don tel

refused. Rather, he asked baby snake to come into the water to play with him. Baby

snake told baby frog that he couldn't swim.

mi kwa. Frog pikin enta wota. Frend don finis. Na so enimi dey for dem tuu rich todey.

Then, baby frog responded that the thing his mum told him, his own mum has also told him too. Baby frog jumped into the water and swam away. From that day onwards frogs and snakes became enemies.

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GLOSSARY OF FOREIGN WORDS

- **Abia:** One of the States in southeastern Nigeria, which bounds Rivers State to the north.
- **Abua:** One of the many minority tribes located in Rivers State.
- **Akalaka:** This is the half brother of ***Ochichi***, claimed by the Ikwerre people who believe that they descended from the Benin Kingdom as their ancestor.
- **Akpor:** One of the seven major Ikwerre groups of communities.
- **Akwa Ibom:** Rivers State shares a border with Akwa Ibom State to the north.
- **Alimini-Isiokpo:** The direct off-springs of ***Akalaka*** and ***Ochichi*** according to Ikwerre oral traditions.
- **Aluu:** An Ikwerre village.
- **Aluu-igwuruta:** One of the seven major Ikwerre groups of communities.
- **Amadi:** A common Igbo male name also shared by the Ikwerre, meaning 'son of our people' (i.e. true native of the land).
- **Anambra:** An Igbo speaking State in southeastern Nigeria that shares Rivers State northern borders.
- **Andoni:** A minority tribe in Rivers State.
- **Arochukwu Igbo:** A group of people located in the Igbo-hinterland. This place is claimed to be the primordial home of the Ikwerre people by those who believe the Ikwerre to be part of the Igbo stock.
- **Asa:** An Igbo speaking people located in Rivers State,

believed to have settled here due to population explosion and soil degradation that took place hundreds of years ago in the Igbo hinterland.

- **Awka:** A town deep in the Igbo-hinterland, seen by many as the primordial home of the Igbo people of Nigeria.
- **Bartholomeo:** One of the many Rivers that flow through Rivers State.
- **Bayelsa:** This one of the Niger-delta States that border Rivers State to the west.
- **Benin:** A vibrant and expansive ancient Kingdom in pre-colonial Nigeria, and today is the capital of Edo State.
- **Biafra / Biafranns:** The name adopted by the Igbo people during their war of secession from Nigeria, 1967-1970.
- **Bonny:** The name of a river that flows through Rivers State,

and name of a largely Igbo speaking town within the State.

- **Choba:** An Ikwerre community in Port Harcourt where the fieldwork for this study was conducted.
- **Edo:** One of the thirty-six States of Nigeria.
- **Egbeda:** One of the direct descendants of ***Akalaka*** and ***Ochichi***.
- **Ekenta:** Claimed to be the founding father of the Ogba and Ogbakiri people within Ikwerreland by those who trace their origins through the old Benin Kingdom.
- **Ekpeye:** A minority tribe found in Rivers State.
- **Elele:** An Ikwerre town.
- **Eleme:** An Igbo speaking people, who are the immediate neighbours of the Ikwerre.
- **Emohua:** An Ikwerre town.

- **Emohua-Ogbakiri:** One of the seven major Ikwerre groups of communities.
- **Engenni**: A minority ethnic group located in Rivers State.
- **Etche:** A groups distinct from the Ikwerre people located in Rivers State.
- **Ezi nuoro:** Nuclear family.
- **Hausa:** A major regional language spoken in northern Nigeria.
- **Ibaa:** An ethnic minority group within Rivers State that also claims the Benin Kingdom descent like the Ikwerre people.
- **Ibani:** A minority ethnic group found in Rivers State.
- **Igbani:** An ethnic minority group located in Rivers State.
- **Igbo:** The largest ethnic group in Esatern Nigeria and one of the national languages of the country.
- **Ijo:** A minority ethnic group found in Bayelsa and Delta States of Nigeria. Some Ikwerre oral traditions claim that the people descende from the Ijo group of people.
- **Ikwerre people:** A minority ethnic group in southeastern Nigeria located in Rivers State. Their language is called **Ikwerre.**
- **Imo:** An Igbo speaking State that borders Rivers State to the north.
- **Isiokpo:** An Ikwerre town.
- **Iwhuruoha:** The traditional name of Ikwerreland in pre-colonial Nigeria.
- **Kalabari:** A minority ethnic group in Rivers State.
- **Mbam:** Clan.
- **Mgbu:** Maximal families descended from a common ancestor.

- **Ndele:** This minority group also like the Ikwerre trace their origins to the Ijo people, based on age long contacts through marriage and trading.
- **Ndoki:** An Igbo speaking.
- **Ndoni:** One of the many minority ethnic groups that makeup Rivers State.
- **New Calabar:** An important river that flows through Rivers State.
- **Nnyenweli:** Head of the village.
- **Nsukka:** A town in the Igbo-hinterland.
- **Obelle:** An Ikwerre community.
- **Obio:** An Ikwerre community.
- **Obio-Akpor:** One of the seven major Ikwerre groups of communities.
- **Ochichi:** The half brother of ***Akalaka***, believed to be the ancestor of those Ikwerre who claim to have descended from the old Benin Kingdom.
- **Ogba:** An Ikwerre town.
- **Ogba-Egbema:** One of the seven major Ikwerre groups of communities.
- **Ogba-Ige:** A traditional festival that symbolises brotherhood.
- **Ogbakiri:** An Ikwerre community.
- **Ogbodo:** An Ikwerre community.
- **Ogoni:** A minority ethnic group located in Rivers State.
- **Okigwe:** A town in the Igbo hinterland, believed together with ***Awka*** to be the primordial home of the Igbo people of Nigeria.
- **Okpo-Wagidi:** The ancestor of the people who trace their origin through the ***Arochukwu-Igbo***.
- **Okrika:** An ethnic minority group in Rivers State.

- **Omademe:** An Ikwerre community.
- **Omagwa:** An Ikwerre town.
- **Omerelu:** An Ikwerre town.
- **Omuanwa:** An Ikwerre community.
- **Onumnarna:** A village.
- **Orashi:** A river that flows through Rivers State.
- **Oratta:** An Igbo speaking people.
- **Orlu:** A town in the Igbo-hinterland.
- **Oro:** Minor family.
- **Owerri:** The capital of **Imo State.**
- **Ozuzu:** The ancestral home of *Ochichi*.
- **Rime ogba:** Minimal family.
- **Rumuigbo:** An Ikwerre town.
- **Rumuji:** An Ikwerre town.
- **Rumukurushi:** An Ikwerre town.
- **Rumunnadi:** Children of my father-in-law.
- **Sombreiro:** A major river in Rivers State.
- **Umuigbo:** An Ikwerre town.
- **Umukurushi:** An Ikwerre town.
- **Wali:** A common Igbo name for boys, shared also by the Ikwerre people. It has same meaning as the name ***Amadi*** highlighted above.
- **Wezena:** The ancestral father of ***Ogbakiri*** people, who trace their origin to the old Benin Kingdom.
- **Yoruba:** Yoruba language is spoken by the Yoruba people of Western Nigeria.