

NUPE-YORUBA ENDOGLOSSIC BILINGUALISM IN  
SAARE/T SARAGI COMMUNITY IN KWARA STATE

By

SOLOMON OLUWOLE OYETADE  
B.A. (Hons.), M.A. (Ibadan)

A thesis in the  
Department of Linguistics and African Languages

Submitted to the Faculty of Arts in partial  
Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
of the  
UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN  
IBADAN, NIGERIA

AUGUST 1990

## DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the Glory of God,  
and to the memory of my Late brother,  
Master Samuel Adebajo Oyetade. To you, I  
pledge my everlasting love.

---

**ABSTRACT**

The purpose of this study was to explore the pattern of bilingualism among the two contiguous ethno-linguistic groups in Şaare/Tsaragi community with a view to ascertaining the extent of the influence of concomitant demographic, socio-economic and socio-cultural variables on their bilingualism. Attention was therefore focused on three inter-related issues for this purpose, namely, the comparative analysis of the degrees of bilingualism of our respondents in Nupe and Yoruba, their functional distribution across specific domains and the attitudes of these respondents to these languages and their speakers.

Data were collected from 180 respondents through a multidimensional interview schedule, a listening comprehension exercise and participant observation. Eleven hypotheses were postulated and tested using three statistical procedures: the t-test, Analysis of Variance (ANOVA), and the chi-square test of significance. Simple percentages were also employed in some cases.

The following are the major findings of the

study.

1 There were just minor variations between Nupe and Yoruba speakers. Each group was discovered to be more proficient in its mother tongue than in the second language. In addition the Nupe appeared to be more proficient in Yoruba than were the Yoruba in Nupe, but the difference was not statistically significant in all cases ( $t = 2.32, p < .05$ ;  $t = 0.59, p > .05$ ).

2 No age group could be said to be superior to the others with regard to bilingual ability ( $F = 1.83, p > .05$ ) for the Nupe;  $F = 1.37, p > .05$  for the Yoruba).

3 There is a significant difference between the proficiency of males in the Nupe group and that of their female counterparts ( $t = 2.05, p < 0.5$ ). This shows that the males in the Nupe group are more proficient in Yoruba than the females. Among the Yoruba the reverse is the case. There is no statistically significant difference in their levels of proficiency in Nupe ( $t = 1.95, p > .05$ ).

4 Couples who shared both Nupe and Yoruba are

more proficient in Yoruba than those who did not ( $\bar{x}_1=3.15$  and  $\bar{x}_2=2.76$ ) but the difference between them was not statistically significant ( $t = 1.11$   $p > .05$ ).

5 The neighbourhood was the most conducive avenue for the acquisition of the respective second language.

6 Education and occupation are not significantly related to ability in the second language among the two groups.

7 There was no significant relationship between proficiency in the second language and attitude to its speakers ( $\chi^2 = 1.06$  and  $2.46$ ,  $p > .05$  for the Nupe and  $\chi^2 = 1.72$  and  $1.42$ ,  $p > .05$  for the Yoruba).

8 The in-group language was commonly used in the respective group. But the pattern of language choice in the neighbourhood and at work pointed to a case of convergence from the Nupe side to the Yoruba linguistic behaviour.

Based on the findings we made a number of recommendations. Among others, it has been recommended that adult literacy programmes should accommodate second language learning in realization that age might

not constitute any limitation to second language learning. This work underscores the immense benefits of a study like this for the nation. For example, it has shed some light on the language situation in a part of the country. It can therefore be an aid to language planning decisions at the national or state level. It is therefore recommended that this study be replicated in other parts of the country.

The completion of this study owes a great deal to the encouragement and support of a number of well-meaning individuals. Their contribution in various ways to the success of this work is hereby gratefully acknowledged.

In this connection, special mention must be made of my mentor, Dr Adekunle Adeniran, first for stimulating my interest in this area of linguistics with his skill in the exposition of ideas in the field and secondly for his thorough supervision of this work. I will be for ever grateful to him for setting me off on this adventure and for his effective guidance each step of the way. In the same vein I wish to thank very sincerely Dr Tony Obilade of Language and Communication Arts Department for his special interest and his unalloyed support and assistance at every stage of this work.

I am also indebted to all my lecturers in the Department of Linguistics and African Languages: Professors Ayo Bangbose, Olatunde O. Olatunji, Ben Elugbe, Drs Augusta Phil Omamor, D K O Owolabi, E O Olukoju and Afqlabi Qlabode for the sound knowledge

imparted to me at every stage of my academic career in this department and for their moral support on this work.

I wish to acknowledge with thanks Dr Isaac S G Madugu, my past lecturer in this department and a prince from Pategi in the Lafiaji Emirate for introducing me to the Ndaƙƙoƙo of Tsaragi. His letter of introduction bore a royal stamp which cleared all obstacles of misgivings and apprehension that I could have encountered in the field. I wish to thank him also for providing me with a Nupe comprehension passage which formed part of my instruments. Similarly, Mr Matthew Gimba deserves special thanks for helping me with the recording of the passage.

My gratitude also goes to the Olúpáko of Saare, His Royal Highness, Alhaji G Abubakar and the Ndaƙƙoƙo of Tsaragi, Alhaji Abdulahi Salihu Kƙoƙo for the attention given me and their tremendous assistance in supplying me the necessary information on their respective section of the community and finally for permitting me to interview their subjects. Similarly I wish to present my profound appreciation to Mr and Mrs Yakubu Gana for hosting me and feeding me throughout the period of the field work and also Mr Usman Jimoh and family



for their hospitality whenever I stopped over at Ilqrin in the course of my field-work. Revd John Isa of the Bible School Tsaragi deserves to be thanked for his ready assistance while on the field.

Special mention must be made of my research assistant, Alhaji Abdullahi Zakar, a student at the Department of English, University of Sokoto, who worked untiringly with me on this project. He brought his intelligence and dedication greatly to bear in eliciting information from my Yoruba respondents. I wish him the very best of luck in his academic endeavours. I equally register my profound appreciation to my numerous informants and subjects for the bubbling zest and enthusiasm with which they responded to my questions.

I cannot forget to acknowledge the kindness of Deacon Dr Meshack Ogunniyi, Dr Adigun Agbaje and Mordi Chinedum through whom I was able to find my bearing in the awe-inspiring world of statistics, Mr Ayọ Odewumi of our Computing Centre deserves a very big appreciation for his inexhaustible patience in coding and reducing all the morass of ideas in my data to a language intelligible to the computer.

I wish to thank my friends and colleagues Drs

Akin Akinlabi, Dọtun Ogundeji, Lanre Bamidele, Lekan Oyeleḡe, Francis Egbokhare and Noma Owens-Ibie whose examples and moral support prompted me on in this daunting race. Similarly, my other friends Şegun Awoleḡe, Kunle Adepegba, Kunle Awotokun, Peter Bọbade, Joseph Ilọri, Ahmed Kawu, Akinyeḡe Adedokun, Tunde Yaqub and Moni Taiwo deserve special thanks for their various contributions to the success of this work. My sincere gratitude goes to the brethren of the University of Ibadan Christian Family Fellowship and the Wednesday prayer group of the Faculty of Arts for constantly lifting me up in prayers and for ministering to my spiritual upliftment in the course of this work. I confess that this work is the Lord's doing and it is marvellous in our eyes.

Mr Kelim Oḡenloa deserves my sincere gratitude for typing this work with dispatch and painstakingly too. I wish to commend his humane and unassuming approach to the prosecution of this project. May the Almighty God continue to uphold him.

At this juncture it is pertinent to express my profound appreciation to the entire members of the Oyetade family. To my brothers and sisters for their good will, and especially to Bimḡo who was there

attending to all my needs and for sharing most of my anxious moments on this job with me. I will remain eternally grateful to my loving parents Mr and Mrs M O Oyetade, who could sacrifice anything for the sake of education. They have always been unrelenting in their support for me, both morally, financially and materially. I pray for God's continued blessing on them and may they live long to reap the harvest of their labour on everyone of their children.

And to God, the Immortal, the Invisible, the Only wise and the source of all wisdom and intellect I give my immortal praise, for wisdom inspired and strength provided thus far in this endless way of wits.

S Oluwole Oyetade.

## CERTIFICATION

I certify that this work was carried out by  
Mr Solomon Oluwole Oyetade  
in the Department of Linguistics and African  
Languages, University of Ibadan, Ibadan.



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SUPERVISOR

Adekunle Adeniran  
B.A., Dip.Ling. (Ibadan), M.A. (Leeds),  
Ph.D. (Ibadan).  
Reader in the Department of Linguistics  
And African Languages, University of  
Ibadan, Ibadan.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

#### 1.0 Introductory Remarks

This thesis is a study of bilingualism in the Şaare/Tsaragi community. In this chapter we present the curious history of the community, and the present day co-existence pattern of its inhabitants i.e. the Yoruba and the Nupe. As preface to this we give an account of bilingualism in Nigeria. Comments are also passed on the observation of some scholars on bilingualism in Nigeria. Following from this, the problem investigated and the significance of this study are presented. All these will constitute the background information on which the whole investigation is hinged.

#### 1.1 The Şaare/Tsaragi Community

##### 1.1.1 Location

According to Storms (1948) Şaare was situated on a main motor road thirty-four miles south of Jebba. Apparently the road had shifted. The community is no longer on the main road to Jebba, it is on the Ilqirin-Lafiaji road which branches off from the Jebba main road some 63 kilometres from Ilqirin. This place is popu-

larly called Şaareḡ junction. Şaareḡ/Tsaragi is not more than three kilometres away from the junction. This composite community is located at the foot of a chain of hills called Agbonna Hills (see the sketch of the town in the appendix). One will be significantly struck by the building patterns of the two sections of this community. The Yoruba section of the town consists of rectangular houses, while the houses on the Nupe side are predominantly round in shape.

The interesting thing about Şaareḡ and Tsaragi is that it is difficult to make a clear-cut distinction between them; an unsuspecting stranger may not know when he has moved away from Şaareḡ (Yoruba-speaking) and has entered Tsaragi (Nupe-speaking). In fact, the two sections may be referred to as a twin city. At some time in the past, Şaareḡ was the common name, and it was the name which appeared in maps for both towns. Later, cognizance was given to its composite nature. This is done by the use of a parenthesis, e.g. Şaareḡ (Yoruba) or Şaareḡ (Nupe) to indicate the part referred to in the context. This shows that the name Tsaragi is recent.

### 1.1.2 Historical Background

Accounts of the origin of these settlements in written form are scanty. Most of what we have on them are mainly from oral tradition and care must be taken in using such evidence as its reliability cannot be vouched for, most especially here, where the two communities are perpetually at their silent wars of primacy. In this section we will attempt a reconstruction of the history of this settlement blending and balancing oral tradition with the little written account that we have. Our written sources are accounts of the history of Tsaragi district put together by V. F. Biscoe, Assistant District Officer in 1918<sup>1</sup>, and another recorded in the archives of the Kwara State Arts Council.<sup>2</sup>

#### 1.1.2.1 Origin

The two written accounts of the founding of Şaarę/Tsaragi are similar in some respects. One major area of disagreement, however, is that only one of them recognized that the Yoruba elements came to this present settlement in two waves. This is the account

in the archives of the Kwara State Arts Council.

According to this account, the founder of Şaarę was Qsójà, a famous hunter from the old Qyq. He was said to have escaped from Qyq in the last quarter of the 18th century (about 1791) during the Nupe raid of old Qyq.

Qsója together with his people left old Qyq in the wake of the war and came to settle in a big valley at the foot of the hills. They had to settle there for two reasons: the hills provided protection in case of war; there was also an all season stream called Sóqsę which flowed in the valley and from which water was easily got. Many other Yoruba people escaping from their beleaguered towns joined them in this settlement. This can be said to represent the first wave of Yoruba settlers in this community.

The second wave of the Yoruba came to the present-day Şaarę from Gudu, a town in the Nupe territory. The records have it that the Yoruba came to Gudu from lún - a town near the present-day Oro-Agó about the year 1800 having been forced to flee by the Ibadan forces who invaded their town. They consequently founded a town

called Sàkámò in this Nupe territory. For fear of being attacked by a certain Nupe warrior who was raising an army to fight Etsu Nupe,<sup>3</sup> they again left Sàkámò and came south-west to Şaare to join Qsaja and his group who had been living there. This was probably between 1809 and 1810.

Shortly afterwards, however, probably after only a few weeks, the Nupe began to desert Gudu for the same reason that the Yoruba left. They built themselves a new town adjoining the Yoruba town and called it Tsaragi. The period between the settlement of the Yoruba and the Nupe in this location was short; this might account for why neither of the groups did not and still does not give in to the other as the first settlers. Each of these peoples have their own oral tradition about the origin of the settlements different from these two written accounts in some degrees. It will be necessary for us at this juncture to have a look at one of such oral accounts from each side.

#### 1.1.2.2 Yoruba Tradition of Saare Settlement

The Yoruba claim to have settled in this location for not less than ten years before the Nupe came to



join them from Gudu, their original home. The Nupe were said to be well received by the Yoruba. The compound where the Nupe were first received and settled is now called Asúré Tápà in Şaarę. Soon after their arrival their number increased rapidly. Added to this tradition, the Nupe had certain peculiar habits which the Yoruba, their hosts did not approve of. They were therefore separated from the Yoruba and given a spot near a fig tree which is called Ọpòtọ́ in Yoruba. This place grew as a town adjoining that of the Yoruba. According to this tradition, the title of the leader of the Nupe, Ndakpòtọ́ was derived from the name of the tree. Ndakpòtọ́ is said to be a corruption of the Yoruba "baba idí Ọpòtọ́" literally translated as "father who resides beside/under an ọpòtọ́ tree. This is because "Ndá" means father in Nupe and is translated as "baba" in Yoruba.

### 1.1.2.3 Nupe Tradition of Tsaragi Settlement

The story above may be a matter of conjecture among the Yoruba; not only is the Nupe version different, the etymology of the Nupe word "Ndakpòtọ́" bears no correlation to any tree as the Yoruba version suggests.

According to the present Ndakpoto, the title means a man who sold cheaper things. It is the name of one of the earliest Nupe settlers.

According to the Nupe tradition, Ndakpoto and Nda-Isa Chikangi first settled at Ogudu (the former Gudu that we have come across) before going over to Sokunti. While at Sokunti village, Nupe hunters used to hunt for wild animals at the present site of Tsaragi. One hunter named Ndacedogun in one of his hunting expeditions discovered the Yoruba who were said to have fled from their original town because of a war outbreak, and were looking for a place to settle. This hunter took them to Sokunti. It is not clear whether they were allowed to settle with them at Sokunti or were given the present site of Saare to live in. It was claimed that after some years the Nupe at Sokunti came and settled at the present site of Tsaragi as a result of constant misunderstandings among the ruling families.

This account appears not too reliable because it leaves some loose ends. Firstly, it does not tell us whether Nda-Isa or Ndakpoto was the ruler both at

Sokunti and later at Tsaragi when eventually they came over. Secondly it does not give us any indication about where the Yoruba came from or what led to their migration to the present site. Nor does it give us a clue as to how the town is jointly inhabited by the Nupe and the Yoruba. It is perhaps nothing but a ploy by the Nupe to perpetuate their claim of ascendancy.

Whatever might be the situation in the past, we now have a composite community in Şaaré/Tsaragi. Which of the two groups first settled there, the reasons which brought them to settle there, and which encouraged the other group to join are matters for conjecture. What is important for us here is to examine the present-day reality of their co-existence in the light of the past and draw certain inferences on their language use here.

### 1.1.3 Political Situation

In the pre-colonial days Şaaré and Tsaragi communities were subject to the supreme authority of the Fulani. The Fulani suzerainty, was, however, ended at about 1898 by the intervention of the Royal Niger Company forces. This ushered in the British colonial rule.

Under the British, Şaaré and Tsaragi were jointly administered as a district under the Ilqirin Native Authority. Consistent with the British policy of indirect rule, the responsibility for local administration was left largely in the hands of traditional authorities. The Ndákpotó of the Nupe was recognized as the district head. However, things began to fall apart in 1946 when Tsaragi was merged with Lafiaji Native Authority, leaving Şaaré in the Ilqirin Native Authority. The ruler of each section had authority over his people and was responsible for their welfare. They did not exercise a joint control over the two communities. Even now Şaaré and Tsaragi are under different local government authorities.

It looks strange that in spite of their contiguity, Şaaré and Tsaragi are under different local government administrations. The community remains one of the problematic areas in Kwara State. This is because of the insuperable problem of determining the boundary between the Ifelodun and the Edu local government areas. The line of demarcation between the two local governments becomes blurred as soon as one gets to Şaaré and Tsaragi

where Ifelodun local government area of jurisdiction terminates and that of Edu begins. This has been to the displeasure of the two sides and it has occasioned communal clashes in the past. At present there is no open confrontation, though a subtle hostility still marks their relationship over the boundary issue.

## 1.2 Aspects of Communal Existence

### 1.2.1 Social Amenities

In spite of the picture of antagonism above, there are still areas of co-operation between the two segments. For example, the provision of electricity in the community is a product of joint co-operative effort from the two sides. A joint committee comprising both sides was set up for fund raising, and electricity was eventually brought to the community through the Rural Electrification Board before the National Electric Power Authority assumed supply.

Apart from this, the two sections of the community are united by the same public institutions. For instance, a postal agency which was established by community efforts from the Yoruba segment now serves the whole

community. Similarly both parties use the same health institutions regardless of their location and ownership. In 1975 a Health Centre was built in the Yoruba section for the use of the entire community. It was in 1983 that another one was established in the Nupe section. The two health centres serve the two segments of the population. In actual fact, both have been using the same Native Authority dispensary and another clinic established by the UMCA 51 years ago.

### 1.2.2 Education

We can also draw attention to the area of co-operation between the two groups in the development of education. The first primary school in the town was established in 1928 in the Nupe section. Because there was no room for expansion it was moved to the Yoruba section in 1935. The school was built by the two ethnic groups and it is logical to assume that the catchment area for enrolment in the school was the two communities. Therefore children from both the Nupe and the Yoruba sections used to attend the school. However, the introduction of Universal Primary Education in the mid-70s necessitated the building of

more schools. Another school was established in the Nupe section independent of the Yoruba. This is why the population of pupils in the respective primary school is now entirely homogeneous. But teachers are posted to these schools regardless of their linguistic background.

There are three secondary schools in the twin community. Two of these secondary schools in the community are located in the Yoruba section, while the third is on the Nupe side. The students in these schools are ethnically mixed, though secondary schools on either side are predominantly populated by students from the side in which they are located. As would be expected at the secondary school level, there is no language problem; English is the language of instruction but the students freely use either language when not receiving lessons.

### 1.2.3 Economic Activities

The economic activities in this community centre around agriculture and trading. The men mostly engage in farming while the women are mostly traders. The Nupe-Yoruba ethnic dichotomy is not pronounced in this

sphere of life. There used to be a common market where agricultural products and other goods were available for the use of the whole community. It was in 1946 that the Nupe established yet another market on their own side. In spite of the fact that separate markets now exist, there is no exclusion of any sort. People go to do business in whichever market they prefer.

The Nupe in particular are versatile traders. Their trading ventures are not restricted to these markets. They go to the neighbouring villages and farms to buy agricultural products like groundnut, guinea corn, maize, etc., from farmers. These are then resold in the markets in this community and other neighbouring towns. This buying and selling has provided a favourable avenue for peaceful co-existence between the two ethnic groups. It also promotes Nupe-Yoruba bilingualism.

#### 1.2.4 Religion

Formerly there was co-operation between the Nupe and the Yoruba in religion. They attended the same church and the same mosque before things fell apart. In 1925, a church was established by the UMCA at the



boundary between the two sections to serve both groups. But in 1935, a separate church was built for the Yoruba. This was sequel to the difficulties encountered by the missionaries to have them worship in one church. The difficulties relate to language and to the fact that the Nupe did not embrace christianity in large numbers. Since then the Nupe and the Yoruba have not been worshipping together. The two sides now have their separate churches. It is necessary to add that there exists a Bible School in the Nupe section of the town. Students are mainly Nupe speakers. Apart from Bible instruction , there are intensive courses in the reading and writing of Nupe. At the end of the three-year course in this institution, the students are sent out as Catechists in various Nupe towns and villages.

As was the situation among the christians, the moslems from both sides were using one mosque. This lasted until 1976 when there was a fight between them. It happened that a Yoruba man accidentally knocked down a Nupe man with his motor-cycle during one of the moslem festivals. This occasioned a communal fight, which finally culminated in the severing of worship ties between the Nupe and the Yoruba. The Yoruba now

have a magnificent mosque in their section while the Nupe have continued using the old mosque situated on the boundary between the two sections.

In the final analysis, the aspects of communal co-existence discussed above appear deceptive. There is a high level of ethnic consciousness among the two groups. This has largely promoted cleavage between them. This does not bear any restriction to age, sex or educational attainment. In fact one of the informants attributed the differences between them to the upsurge in education. Now that the people are educated, they ask questions about their origin in relation to that of their neighbours, what belongs to them by right, etc.; and these accentuate discord. There is friendship on individual basis among them but this is not so wide-spread in the community. Inter-marriage is not also wide-spread. In fact the Yoruba do not approve of inter-marriage but the Nupe appear to be liberal on this issue. It will therefore be interesting to find out whether these factors have a bearing on the linguistic situation in these settlements.

### 1.3 The Linguistic Situation in Şaare/Tsaragi

The major languages spoken in Şaare and Tsaragi are Yoruba and Nupe. There are also English, which is the official language in Nigeria; Hausa, the dominant language in the northern part of the country and Fulfulde spoken by the Fulani cattle rearers who come to this community from their tents in the surrounding villages. The domains of the routine use of these languages differ considerably. This community is characterized by stable wide-spread bilingualism. Most of the Nupe speak Yoruba in addition to Nupe, their mother tongue but the reverse is not generally true of the Yoruba. Relatively few of the Yoruba speak Nupe as their second language despite the contiguity of their settlements. Bilingualism existing in these settlements is therefore mostly non-reciprocal.

#### 1.3.1 Language Teaching at the Primary School Level

English being the official language of Nigeria is used as the medium of instruction in schools located in this community. In the primary school in the Yoruba-speaking part, Yoruba is used as the medium of instruction in the early stages, while Nupe is similarly used

in the Nupe-speaking part. Although teachers of both linguistic backgrounds can work in either part, cognizance is given to <sup>the</sup> linguistic competence of the teachers in allocating classes to them for teaching. Teachers who do not speak Yoruba are given the upper classes of primary school to teach where they are supposed to be using English as the medium of instruction. The same thing obtains on the Nupe side: the Yoruba-speaking teachers are assigned only to the upper primary school classes.

Apart from the use of Yoruba and Nupe as media of instruction at the initial stages of education in the respective part, only Yoruba is taught as a subject in the curriculum both at the primary and secondary school levels. Efforts are now in the pipeline to develop a curriculum for Nupe at the two levels.<sup>4</sup>

### 1.3.2 Language Teaching at the Secondary School Level.

At the secondary school level the use of English as a medium of instruction is the rule, but outside the classroom, language use is dependent on the pupil's preference. Informal communication between students or

between students and teachers takes place in either Nupe or Yoruba depending on where the school is located or the linguistic background of the interlocutors. Yoruba is also often used among the students. The extent of Nupe usage relative to Yoruba in the secondary schools located in respective sections will be revealed in the analysis of our findings in this investigation.

### 1.3.3 Language Use in the Market

It is a little difficult to tell a person's ethnic group on the basis of his/her language use in the market. Both Yoruba and Nupe are used in the two markets in this community. Proficiency in Yoruba among the Nupe market women is high. Hardly can we find a Nupe woman who is not able to communicate intelligibly in Yoruba. Among the Yoruba market women, however, Nupe proficiency is rather low. A good number of them can only exchange greetings and bargain over merchandize. But generally these two languages are mostly used in the markets.

### 1.3.4 Language in Religion

In the Yoruba-speaking section, Yoruba is the

indisputable language of religion, whether it be traditional religion, Islam or Christianity.

### 1.3.A.1 Christianity

The major christian denomination in Şaaré is the UMCA. Its services are conducted solely in Yoruba. Apart from the UMCA, there are other denominations such as the Anglican, the C.A.C., the Cherubim and Seraphim, etc. The practice is the same in all these churches as far as language use is concerned.

In the Nupe-speaking section, Nupe is similarly used in christian religious worship. There are only two christian denominations in this section. They are the UMCA and the C.A.C. In the UMCA both Nupe and English are used, but they are not used within the same service. An English service is usually conducted early in the morning for the literate ones who prefer it, while the Nupe service follows later in the morning.

The second christian denomination, the C.A.C., with membership of about one hundred is an off-shoot of the one at Şaaré which was founded in 1945. The church was established on the Nupe side in 1979. Although it is

located in the Nupe-speaking side, majority of its members are Yoruba. Most of them are non-indigenes. They are people from other Yoruba-speaking towns like Kabba, Ilorin, Ibadan, Ilesa, etc., who have come to this town on account of trade and other economic ventures. In spite of the dominance of the Yoruba ethnic group, attention is given to the few Nupe who are members. These are mostly young men and women. Services are conducted mostly in Yoruba but such things as sermons, notices and silent prayer topics are interpreted simultaneously by someone designated for the job. Surprisingly this interpreter is a Yoruba man from Kabba, a carpenter, but he has been living in Tsaragi since 1949. Apart from this, there is nothing else of linguistic interest in their mode of worship.

#### 1.3.4.2 Islam and Traditional Religion

As far as the Islamic religion is concerned, language use in the two sections of this town bears certain similarities to each other. Services are conducted in Arabic interspersed with Nupe in the Nupe-speaking mosque and with Yoruba in the Yoruba-speaking part. In traditional religion, however, the

indigenous languages are exclusively used on both sides. Here the forms of the language used can range from the cultic to the everyday language of the people.

### 1.3.5 Language Use in Public Institutions

Language use in public institutions is a matter of preference, regardless of the type of transaction, official or private. Choice is made between English; Nupe and Yoruba. It is not uncommon to find officials who speak the same language communicating in their mother tongue on governmental transactions. However, when it comes to written communication English is the obvious language of choice. With regard to oral communication the principal consideration for the choice of a particular language is the language background of the interlocutors.

### 1.3.6 Hausa and Fulfulde in Saare/Tsaragi

#### 1.3.6.1 Hausa

Mention has been made of the presence of Hausa in these settlements, especially in the Nupe-speaking part. It is common to find most Nupe who are 25 years or above able to speak Hausa. The use of Hausa



among those who are under 25 is not wide-spread. This distribution pattern of Hausa resulted from the language policy of the former northern region where Hausa was an official language. Those in Tsaragi who attended schools during the first republic or before had Hausa taught to them while their own language was not taught at all. Apart from this formal exposure to Hausa, the people are also informally exposed to Hausa through their market activities and other joint enterprises.

A good number of Hausa immigrants have also settled in this town. Hausa is the language of communication in any transaction involving the Hausa and those who speak Hausa among the natives. Only a handful of the Yoruba community can communicate in Hausa. Hausa, however, is not <sup>as</sup> widely used as Nupe and Yoruba <sup>are</sup> in this twin community.

#### 1.3.6.2 Fulfulde

Fulfulde is another language used in this community. The users are the Fulani who reside in the surrounding villages. Only two or three of our respondents claimed some degree of proficiency in Fulfulde. The Fulani who speak the language usually come to the town for

commercial activities only and they are readily noticed by their queer appearance in the markets. Their men are particularly notorious for reckless drinking in beer parlours. Their language is only useful among them since its knowledge is not wide-spread among the majority of the people in the communities.

The above gives a rough picture of the linguistic situation in these settlements. The picture will become clearer and our description more definitive with our subsequent analysis. We shall be able to concretize the relative strength of the two major languages attested here and account for the factors that are responsible for this.

#### 1.4 Bilingualism in Nigeria

Bilingualism is an inevitable sociolinguistic phenomenon in Nigeria. This derives from her high degree of multilingualism. There is contact between speakers of many Nigerian languages producing bilingual individuals and societies in the country.

Following Kloss (1967), two types of bilingualism may be recognized in Nigeria, namely "endoglossic" and semi-endoglossic" bilingualism (for want of a better

term).<sup>5</sup> Endoglossic bilingualism implies knowledge of two indigenous Nigerian languages adequate for the communicative needs of the bilingual. Conversely, semi-endoglossic bilingualism implies a similar knowledge of a foreign language (in our own case, English) and an indigenous language.

These two types of bilingualism are not of recent origin. Despite the incessant inter-tribal wars that characterized the periods before colonization, there is evidence to show that different tribes in Nigeria had dealings with one another, and this fostered bilingualism in each other's languages (Dike, 1956; Alagoa, 1964; Ikime, 1965; and Akinjogbin and Ayandele, 1980). Thus inter-ethnic trade relations could be taken as the root of endoglossic bilingualism.

The other type involving English is traceable to the earliest period of contact between people of coastal areas like Warri, Brass, Calabar, etc. and the European traders. This was probably between 15th and 16th centuries (Banjo, 1970 and Adetugbo, 1978). For purposes of business transaction between the natives and the Europeans, a language that was easy to learn by both parties had to be evolved. This gave rise to a pidgin

which was initially Portuguese-based, because of the Portuguese dominance of the coastal trade. The Portuguese were later displaced by the British and this gave rise to the English-based pidgin.

The real teaching and learning of Standard English did not begin until the wake of missionary activities and colonization. This was sequel to the abolition of slave trade. This period could be regarded as a convenient starting point for dating bilingualism involving English in Nigeria. The factors which encouraged its initiation have been extensively discussed in Ayandele (1966), Qmqlęwa (1975) and Adeniran (1977).

Afqlayan and Bamgboęe (1980) have categorized bilingualism into three stages on the bases of historical and descriptive perspectives. These are the natural, the enforced and the voluntary stages. The natural stage according to them refers to the periods before the amalgamation of northern and southern Nigeria in 1914. This type of bilingualism came into being as a natural process and it was acquired informally. According to them the languages involved were obviously the

indigenous ones. As can be noticed in Adetugbo (1978), the languages need not necessarily be indigenous languages.

The period between 1914 and 1960 witnessed the enforced stage of bilingualism. According to Afqlayan and Bangboşe "the bilingual individual was created by colonial might" (p 218). This kind of bilingualism involved indigenous languages and the English language. To be able to serve as minor functionaries in government and as intermediaries between the colonial government and the people, knowledge of English was essential. The third stage of Nigeria's bilingualism began after independence and it is the voluntary stage. In this case, to be bilingual and in what languages were the choice of the individual.

The extent to which the second stage of bilingualism was enforced at the level of the individual is not that obvious. Bilingualism in English and an indigenous language was the exclusive privilege of those who were able to attend schools in those days, and education was by no means compulsory. If it was in terms of education policy adopted by the colonial

administration, the period after independence has not presented any radical departure from what obtained in the colonial period to justify their categorization as different stages. This is because our educational policy has been a continuation of that of the colonial power. It is also not clear whether one can categorize bilingualism in Nigeria into stages from the historical point of view. Rather, it would be proper to see bilingualism in terms of mode of acquisition and the type of languages involved.

In this connection, two types of bilingualism are suggested, viz, natural (or informal) and formal bilingualism. Natural bilingualism is brought about by informal exposure to two indigenous languages, while formal bilingualism,<sup>6</sup> comes about by formal education. This obviously refers to the learning of the English language in addition to the mother tongue. These two perspectives will enable us to account for those who are bilingual in two indigenous languages, not as a result of formal education regardless of the period - pre-colonial, colonial or contemporary. This is because people are still attaining bilingual proficiency in two

indigenous languages in the present time as they were in the pre-colonial days. In the same way, formal bilingualism is the acquisition of bilingual proficiency in both English and the mother tongue regardless of the period.

Seen from whatever perspective - historical, descriptive, individual or societal - the Nigerian situation presents a favourable context for the study of bilingualism. There is a cross-current of contact between the languages spoken in Nigeria. Here we can isolate bilingualism in major Nigerian languages like Hausa and Yoruba. Similarly there are bilingual individuals in major and minority languages. Finally, individual and societal bilingualism are wide-spread in the country.

The above introduction has laid bare the various manifestations of bilingualism that could receive research attention. Attempt will therefore be made in this study to examine a case of bilingualism involving two indigenous languages in a composite community. We have seen the historical basis of their co-existence. We shall endeavour to show the socio-cultural factors that encourage the maintenance

of bilingualism in the community. Through this particular work, we shall be able to enrich our understanding of bilingualism and contribute to the ever increasing work on the concretization of the phenomenon.

### 1.5 Statement of the Problem

Previous works on bilingualism in Nigeria have concentrated largely on bilingualism in English and major Nigerian languages. The bases of such studies in Nigeria have been usually linguistic or educational rather than purely sociolinguistic. For instance works of scholars like Banjò and Tòmòri can be said to be of linguistic interest. Banjò (1969) did a structural comparison of Yoruba and English at the syntactic level, while Tomori (1967) analysed errors by pupils in the process of learning English as a second language.

Ayòdele (1980) and Obanya (1973) are motivated by educational interests. Ayòdele investigated the performance of Nigerian Grade II teacher trainees at the productive and receptive levels of oral English. He discovered among other things that women do not perform significantly better than men in both skills and that age



correlates positively and significantly with performance in oral English. Obanya (1973) examined bilingualism and related factors of success in foreign language learning. He discovered that there is a positive correlation between their degrees of bilingualism and their success in learning French.

Apart from these are other studies which are remarks or observations on bilingualism or bilingualism-related issues like interference, code-switching, code-mixing or interlarding, etc. These are however scattered in various journals and publications in and outside the country. The preponderance of attention on bilingualism involving English is justified for the pedagogical and theoretical implications it holds for second language learning and teaching, and for the insight it gives into the nature of the phenomenon of bilingualism in this part of the world.

However, one obvious problem in these works, which has motivated the present study is that they are mostly directed at secondary school pupils or university undergraduates. This has resulted in findings which are of limited validity, in that such works are carried

out under strictly controlled experimental conditions. This fact becomes obvious when one realizes that majority of respondents in many of these studies hardly employ English for communicative purposes outside the confines of the school. This suggests that bilingualism in this case may be restricted to specific aspects of the bilingual's life. Therefore a more revealing finding on a bilingual's ability and use of his two languages may emerge if he is carefully studied over a period of time. But this is made difficult by the fact that only very few people speak English at home to make this possible. Therefore one way of obviating this problem is to focus attention on bilingualism involving two Nigerian languages in quite natural settings.

We have therefore selected this composite community for the study of bilingualism. The study has been designed to discover whether those demographic, socio-economic and socio-cultural variables that have been used to account for different degrees of bilingualism in English could be relevant to bilingualism involving two Nigerian languages. We shall also seek to establish the influence of these variables on attendant issues like language choice or use and language attitudes in this

community. Apart from the languages under focus, the popularity of languages like Hausa and English in this community will be established.

More specifically, the study will provide answers to the following research questions:

- 1 What is the extent of bilingual proficiency among the two groups?
- 2 Do the subjects' degrees of bilingualism influence their language choice?
- 3 Do the subjects' degrees of bilingualism vary with regard to demographic, socio-economic and socio-cultural variables?
- 4 In what situations do the subjects employ each of the languages for communicative purposes?
- 5 Is the direction of use of these languages leading to language shift or maintenance?
- 6 What is the attitude of the subjects to their mother tongue on the one hand, and their second language together with its speakers on the other?
- 7 Do the subjects aspire to greater mastery in the languages as a result of their attitudes to the native speakers or the functions of the languages?

Through these questions, it is hoped that a detailed

description of bilingualism and its demographic, socio-economic and socio-cultural correlates in this composite community will be presented.

#### 1.6 The Significance of the Study

Ferguson (1966) claims that the availability of accurate, reliable information on the language situation of a country can be influential in making policy decisions and is of tremendous value in planning and carrying out the implementation of the policies. An examination of what is involved in the language situation of a country will reveal that we are yet to have an adequate picture of it in this country. Taking language situation as a total configuration of language use in a community, involving the identification of the languages and their varieties in the linguistic repertoire of the community, their distribution in terms of use and user, as well as community attitude to them, we can hardly boast of works whose central concern deals with this venture. If, as it appears, the nation is not yet in a position to embark on a national survey, isolated works like the one we seek to embark upon here from the different parts of the

country can be put together to give a picture of the linguistic situation in the country.

Crucially too, of recent there has been an implicit recognition of the importance of indigenous languages in the educational process as a means of preserving the people's culture and also for achieving national unity (Federal Government, 1981; Federal Constitution of Nigeria, 1979). This has not been backed up with concrete steps on the part of the government as to how indigenous languages can be adequately utilized for other crucial purposes besides education, national unity and identity, technological transfer and international communication.

In this connection, linguists have pointed attention to more fundamental issues which need be tackled before adequate utilization can be made of the indigenous languages. For example, how many languages are spoken in the country? How many people speak what languages as first and second languages? What is the extent of <sup>the</sup> development of the major languages relative to the minor or the minority ones? What is the attitude of people to the languages in their repertoire i.e., their mother tongue on the one hand and all other

secondary language(s) they control on the other? Such questions have far-reaching implications for our educational and socio-political well-being as a nation, and can as yet not be answered with any degree of certainty. This work can provide the framework for answering some of these questions on a wider scale, for instance the questions of attitudes to languages and relative developments of different languages, thereby contributing to language planning decisions.

The Şaare/Tsaragi contact situation will enable us to see the relative importance of Yoruba, a major Nigerian language and Nupe, its minor counterpart, among their speakers. At this auspicious time, one should like to find out what gains or losses these languages have made over the years. More importantly, the work will be able to reveal whether the government policy of encouraging people to learn either Hausa, Igbo or Yoruba as second language in addition to their mother tongue is going to be met with any success. Because if people are apathetic to learning a second language in this natural situation where its knowledge is almost indispensable, then we should begin to think

seriously about the feasibility of the said policy.

At the realm of theory, this study will provide *some* empirical bases for generalizations about bilingualism and language use in multilingual countries such as Nigeria. An area of great theoretical interest in the study of bilingualism involves the description of language proficiency. It is hoped that this study will provide a Nigerian perspective for the measurement of bilingualism.

## NOTES

- 1 See File 6,282 - Sharagi District - History and Re-assessment Report - 1918. Kaduna Archives.
- 2 This second account was said to have been recorded by David Abolaji Afolabi. It is available in the Research Department of the Kwara State Arts Council, Ilorin.
- 3 For details, see Biscoe's account (i.e. note 1). Although he recognized that Ọsọjà had been living in this place, he was without any followers.
- 4 This is from personal communication with Mr Gana, the Vice-Principal of Government Secondary School, Ọsaarẹ. He informed me that teachers of language and language enthusiasts in Kwara and Niger States have got themselves together to fashion out a curriculum and readers in Nupe for use in school. One Mr Adams of the Niger State Ministry of Education was said to be in charge. Efforts to get more information on how far these people have gone with this task did not yield any positive result.
- 5 The problem with this label is that it can as well be semi-exoglossic, since it refers to bilingualism in English and Nigerian languages. Yet we are wary to call this type of bilingualism exoglossic because it is not the same as bilingualism in say French and English which are foreign languages.



6. We will not use the term "unnatural bilingualism" because it can connote unreal or pseudo-type bilingualism.
  
7. With the present military administration, it appears the indigenous languages are receiving some attention. For example the manifestoes of the two political parties have been translated into several indigenous languages. There is an indication that the 1981 provision in the National Policy on Education that the mother tongue be used at the initial stage of education is going to be implemented. However, the Federal Minister of Education has been attacked on this and active debates are still going on as to whether the mother tongues could be suitably utilized for education at this level.

## CHAPTER TWO

### ISSUES IN THE THEORY OF BILINGUALISM: A LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.0 Introduction

Bilingualism exists on a world-wide scale. As a result of its global spread, it has received considerable attention from researchers of various interests. Different aspects of the phenomenon have been empirically studied. However, up to now we can hardly lay our hands on any cohesive theory as there has been no consensus among researchers as to how it is to be satisfactorily defined and accurately measured. This review will examine a number of studies which have attempted to grapple with its essence in terms of definition, typologies and measurement. Since this work intends to be a contribution to the description and measurement of societal bilingualism, it shall review some attendant sociolinguistic issues. Such issues will include language choice and attitudes, language maintenance and shift, bilingualism and biculturalism, etc. These will provide the theoretical background for the present investigation.

## 2.1 Definitions of Bilingualism

The term "bilingualism" has been found to be definitionally elusive because attempts to provide a systematic and universally acceptable definition for it have met with difficulties. This derives from the relative nature of the phenomenon and the different biases brought into its studies by scholars. This prompts Beardsmore (1982) to say that bilingualism has "open-ended semantics". In this section, we shall attempt a discussion of some notable definitions of the phenomenon. Our discussion will be done in accordance with the two discernible dimensions of bilingualism, namely, the individual and the societal.

### 2.1.1 Individual Bilingualism

An examination of definitions of bilingualism using the individual as the frame of reference reveals three perspectives: the perspective that places accent on fluency in two languages, that which emphasises just the use of two languages, and that which considers bilingualism as a relative ability. They all have one limitation or the other as will be pointed out in the

discussion below.

#### 2.1.1.1 Fluency in two Languages

The most popular of the definitions that place accent on fluency in two languages is given by Bloomfield. He characterizes bilingualism as "the native-like control of two languages" (Bloomfield 1933: 56). This view considers bilingualism in absolute terms. It is similar to that of Theiry (1978) who considers as a true bilingual "someone who is taken to be one of themselves by the members of two linguistic communities at roughly the same social and cultural levels" (quoted in Grosjean 1982: 146).

The inadequacy of these definitions has been spotted by many scholars (Obanya, 1973; Adeniran, 1977; Beardmore, 1982; Grosjean, 1982, etc.). Considering Bloomfield's definition, for instance, how do we objectivize "native-like control", when we know in actual fact that native speakers of a language do not have the same degree of proficiency in their languages? If we stretch the problem inherent in this definition further, we can query what constitutes a language; which itself has

remained problematic in linguistic circles. According to Obanya (1973) how do we describe a person who knows a standard as well as the non-standard variety of the same language?

As we know language proficiency presupposes possession of some language skills. With regard to the above definitions, what skill shall we single out for consideration? A person may not control all the language skills in equal degree in his two languages. He may be able to speak, write, read and understand one of the languages he masters, whereas he may only speak his other language. Finally as a second language learner, one only approximates the native speaker's competence. Therefore with regard to these definitions not many people would qualify as bilingual if we were to count only those who have equal facility in their two languages to the extent that they can be mistaken for monolinguals in each of them. Then we would run into difficulties in describing many people who use two languages on a regular basis but do not maintain "native-like" control of both. We will not want to regard them as monolinguals, yet definitions of bilingualism in absolute terms will also not accommodate

them.

#### 2.1.1.2 Definitions Emphasising Usage

The second perspective on bilingualism is equally problematic. It stresses the bilingual's use of the two languages available to him. Weinreich defines bilingualism as "the practice of alternatively using two languages". He calls the person involved a bilingual (Weinreich 1953: 5). Mackey (1957) adopts this perspective and defines bilingualism as the alternate use of two or more languages. The problem with these definitions is that they do not state how well the two or more languages should be known and how much use is made or is to be made of the languages.

Grosjean (1982) also adopts a functional definition of bilingualism. He refers to it as "the regular use of two languages" (p 1). According to him, far too much weight has been put on fluency to the neglect of other factors such as regular use of two languages, their domains of use, and the bilingual's need to have certain skills (reading and writing, for instance) in one language but not in the other. He opined that any linguistic description of bilingualism that takes into

account such factors will be more complex than one which takes a single index of fluency. Fluency in whichever of the language skills in the two languages is determined primarily by use. And language use in turn is determined by need. A person is therefore fluent in the skills he uses as a result of his need.

#### 2.1.1.3 Definitions of Bilingualism as a relative ability.

The recognizable progress that has been made in the study of bilingualism over the years derives from its recognition as a relative phenomenon. This makes it amenable to measurement either for an individual or a society. For instance, Halliday et al. (1964) consider bilingualism as a relative ability in the following words:

Bilingualism is recognized wherever a native speaker of one language makes use of a second language, however partially or imperfectly. It is thus a cline, ranging, in terms of the individual speaker, from the completely monolingual person at one end, who never uses anything, but his own native language or 'L1', through bilingual speakers, who

make use in varying degree of a second language or 'L2', to the endpoint where a speaker has complete mastery of two languages and makes use of both in all uses to which he puts either (pp 77-78).

Another definition in the same vein is by Haugen (1969). He considers bilingualism as beginning from the point where the speaker of one language can produce complete, meaningful utterances in the other language up to the level at which a person can pass for a native speaker in more than one linguistic environment. While it is possible to describe bilingualism from the lowest level to the highest level of ability in a second language, scholars do not accept that bilingualism implies ability to produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language. This is because it is the initial stage of bilingualism rather than bilingualism itself. It is this stage that Diebold (1961) calls incipient bilingualism. Secondly what constitutes a complete meaningful utterance can be a word, a phrase or a sentence. This criterion of complete meaningful utterance is an elastic conception of bilingualism. It will allow many people to be regarded as bilingual, because in its terms, those



people who are capable of uttering some isolated words or sentences are equated with those who are highly skilled in two languages to the point of ambilingualism.

The notion of continuum in the conception of bilingualism is also favoured by Macnamara (1969). He agrees that the four language skills i.e. speaking, listening, reading and writing should be used to qualify a person as bilingual. If he possesses any of these skills in whatever degree in the second language, then he is a bilingual. This is the view that has formed the basis of research in bilingualism in the past few years. For the reason that bilingualism is relative, it can be measured in individuals and in societies. Different methods have therefore been devised to measure it. These will be discussed in the latter sections of this work. However, we shall take a look at the second dimension along which bilingualism has often been defined or described, namely, the societal dimension.

## 2.2 Societal Bilingualism

Other definitions of bilingualism emphasize the societal perspective of the phenomenon. These definitions are equally problematic like the earlier

ones which focus on bilingualism from the individual perspective. A look at some of these definitions will reveal this to us.

Aucamp (1926) quoted in Beardsmore (1982), in defining bilingualism places accent on the society:

Bilingualism is the condition in which two living languages exist side by side in a country, each spoken by one national group, representing a fairly large proportion of the people.

(Beardsmore 1982: 2)

This definition seems to suit our study location, Şaare/Tsaragi. This is because it is composed of two ethnic groups, Nupe and Yoruba each using its language. But there are a lot of bilingual individuals from the two sides and this is why it is possible for the two groups to maintain socio-economic interaction.

Similarly Malherbe (1969) sees bilingualism as "the co-existence in the same individual or community of two distinct sets of Linguistic symbols of communication (i.e. two languages)". As far as these definitions are concerned, the first one can be said to be referring to contiguous unilingual communities and has

very little to do with bilingual groups. The second one, on the other hand, ignores the fact that in societies where two languages are spoken, individual bilingualism may not necessarily be wide-spread. In fact, according to Beardsmore (1982) the notion of bilingualism goes beyond the situation where only two languages are used. In his words:

... the term bilingualism does not necessarily restrict itself to situations where only two languages are involved but it is used as a shorthand form to embrace cases of multi-or plurilingualism (p 4).

From whichever perspective one looks at it, bilingualism is difficult to define satisfactorily. This is why Mackey (1969) suggests that rather than try to define bilingualism, scholars should focus on methods of its description and measurement. This is based on the concensus that bilingualism is a relative phenomenon. Rather than talk about it in absolute terms, it should be regarded as a cline having at one end absolute unilingualism, and at the other end bilingualism or ambilingualism. This will have the potentiality of accommodating different types of

bilingualism. Seen in this way bilingualism thus becomes measurable either for an individual or a society.

Macnamara's (1969) view referred to above has been the frame of reference for research in bilingualism. According to him bilingualism, being a relative phenomenon has four aspects: its degree, its function, alternation and interference. The issue of degree refers to how well a bilingual knows his two languages, while function relates to the uses<sup>to</sup> which the bilingual puts the two languages in his pattern of behaviour. Alternation and interference respectively deal with the bilingual's ability to change from one language to the other and how well the bilingual keeps his languages apart i.e. not allowing one of his languages to influence the other.

All these different manifestations of bilingualism have received research attention. However, in our own investigation, the first two aspects of bilingualism listed above, viz, degree and function will engage our attention in the community under study. For our purpose, we shall regard as bilingual anybody who could use two languages in a sustained discourse

without any obvious difficulties. Therefore anybody with this ability in Nupe and Yoruba will qualify to be our subject for this investigation.

### 2.3 Typologies of Bilingualism

When definitions do not make bilingualism easy to conceptualize, solace is found in typologies. Its typology is established in bipolar terms and is descriptive of features of bilingualism in an individual or within a community. Unlike the definitions which make bilingualism an abstraction, its typology enables us to work within a clear frame of reference within a larger field. Secondly it allows us to steer clear of the danger of overgeneralization. Our interest here is not to provide an exhaustive list of the types (since they vary from one scholar to another and different indices are used to establish them) but to examine those that are relevant to societal bilingualism which we engage in studying.

#### 2.3.1 Societal Vs Individual Bilingualism

A distinction is usually made between societal and

individual bilingualism. This is very crucial to our present study. Societal bilingualism refers to a society using two or more languages in different domains e.g. one language for official purposes while the other language is used for other purposes. Individual bilingualism on the other hand refers to an individual who speaks two or more languages in different circumstances or domains.

### 2.3.2 Stable Vs Unstable Bilingualism

Another distinction is made between stable and unstable bilingualism. This is synonymous with the distinction made between transitional and long-term or established bilingualism by Lewis (1972). This describes a stage of bilingual development in a community. It is unstable when a second language is just launching its assault on a monolingual community, but it has not been able to make much impact in this community because of a composite of factors which may be political, historical, economic, etc. In short the fate of this new language is not yet decided. Bilingualism becomes stable when the aforementioned factors act in favour of the second

language such that people now adopt it in addition to their first language. In a society characterized by unstable bilingualism, the roles of the two languages are not clearly delineated, while with stable bilingualism, the two languages are allotted different roles and are kept separate from each other.

### 2.3.3 Elitist Vs Mass Bilingualism

The dichotomy between elitist and mass bilingualism refers to the relationship between foreign and indigenous languages. Elitist bilingualism is brought about when a few people are trained in a foreign language in addition to their mother tongue. This lucky set of individuals are then engaged in jobs where they will be able to use this foreign language in the service of their nation. Lewis (1972) reports that this was the case in Russia in the past where French was the second language of the elite. Mass bilingualism on the other hand refers to the generality of the people who are mostly uneducated but are able to speak two indigenous languages. Mass bilingualism of this nature is largely unplanned. It may be rare except in frontiers of two language areas. In Nigeria we have the Yoruba-Edo and

Nupe-Yoruba border areas. According to Lewis (1972) elitist bilingualism involving a foreign language is now becoming a mass phenomenon in Russia. This derives from universal secondary education where the learning of a foreign language is compulsory.

#### 2.3.4 Vehicular Vs Cultural Bilingualism

The distinction between vehicular and cultural bilingualism is also introduced by Lewis (1972). According to him, vehicular bilingualism refers to a limited knowledge of a second language. It arises in a situation of contact, where one of the languages is used only for very limited purposes or for minimal transactions. This kind of bilingualism does not make any demands on the bilingual with respect to his cultural affiliations. Cultural bilingualism, in contrast, is comprehensive bilingualism. In this case the second language is acquired as a means of entry into the total culture related to the language.<sup>1</sup> Therefore the language is well-mastered such that the bilingual can pass for a monolingual speaker of the language. These types of bilingualism can be noted



among immigrants. In some cases the vehicular type is typical of the older generations of immigrants, while their offsprings may exhibit cultural bilingualism. It should be borne in mind that whichever type characterizes a society is dependent on a composite of factors: linguistic, socio-cultural and socio-political.

### 2.3.5 Diglossia and Bilingualism

Pertinent to the discussion of societal bilingualism is the distinction which Fishman (1967) makes between bilingualism and diglossia.<sup>2</sup> Bilingualism essentially characterizes individual linguistic behaviour, while diglossia refers to how two different languages or more, or varieties are utilized in a society, such that different languages or varieties are allotted distinctive functions in the society. Fishman later establishes four kinds of relationship that are possible between bilingualism and diglossia, viz, societies characterized by both diglossia and bilingualism; diglossia without bilingualism; bilingualism without diglossia and societies without any of the two i.e. neither bilingualism nor diglossia. We need

to have a look at each of them.

#### 2.3.5.1 Both diglossia and Bilingualism

This situation exists in a community where two related or unrelated languages are used, but each is used in certain well-defined domains. For a community to be characterized by both bilingualism and diglossia, almost everyone would have to know the High and the Low varieties, and the varieties or languages must be functionally differentiated such that they are used for mutually exclusive functions.

A situation approximating diglossia and bilingualism obtains in Paraguay. More than half of the national population speaks both Spanish and Guarani. The languages stand in diglossic relation to each other, in that Spanish is the official language utilized in government, for all formal education, and in the court. Guarani on the other hand is the home language. It is employed as a means of intimacy and group solidarity (Rubin 1972). Fasold (1984) also gives the German-speaking cantons of Switzerland as an example of a bilingual-diglossic speech community. Because of their efficient education system, nearly all school-age and

older Swiss Germans are able to communicate in Swiss German and Standard German. Typical of all diglossic situations, each of them is allotted clearly different functions in the community.

#### 2.3.5.2 Diglossia without Bilingualism

This refers to a community where two languages or more are spoken, but where individuals are not bilingual. This situation could arise as a result of forced political and economic unity. In such polities separate cultural units come under one political umbrella, but each has its own identity and allegiance. Boundaries exist which make linguistic access impossible either way, and so they rely only on translators and interpreters.

Typical examples of societies where this situation existed are African and Asian colonies of European nations in the early days of colonialism. In these countries the respective European languages were the High varieties, while the several languages of the community were the Low. Communication was only possible between the colonizers and the local people through

interpreters and other auxiliary staff in the service of the colonial government. In Europe this situation was not rare before the First World War, but nowadays there is no such situation. For instance, it is reported by Fasold (1984) that it was fashionable for nobles to speak only French, at a time in the history of Russia, whereas the masses spoke only Russian. Abdulaziz (1972) reports that Tanzania is characterized by diglossia without bilingualism. This is because almost all Tanzanian citizens speak Swahili, while knowledge of English is restricted to the elite .

#### 2.3.5.3 Bilingualism without Diglossia

This is the designation given by Fishman to communities where there are large numbers of bilingual individuals, but functions are not specified for the two languages or the varieties of language that they speak. For example, there is no wide-spread agreement as to which language to use between interlocutors for communication concerning what topics or for what purpose. Either language may be used for the same set of functions. This type tends to be transitional and

it exists at the early stages of bilingualism. The end result of bilingualism without diglossia can be a new variety of both languages in the community, or ultimately one of the languages may give way to the other. Verdoodt (1972) gives the example of <sup>the</sup> German-speaking area of Belgium as a community where bilingualism without diglossia has led to a shift from German to French.

#### 2.3.5.4 Neither Diglossia nor Bilingualism

A society characterized by neither diglossia nor bilingualism is very rare. In such a society, there must be only one linguistic variety such that it will not be possible to talk about role specialization. Also there will be no stylistic differences to make categorization into High and Low styles possible. This is probably the situation in small, isolated and sedentary populations, located in the jungles or on top of mountains.

As can be seen from the above discussion only two out of these four types of communities are stable ones. These are societies characterized by both

diglossia and bilingualism and those characterized by diglossia without bilingualism. Examples of such communities have been given. Through this study we should be able to identify which situation operates in the community under study. With this broad survey we shall be able to say what kind of bilingualism is at work in the Saare/Tsaragi community and show how it is different from or similar to those already discussed as common in the literature on the subject.

#### 2.4 Measurement of Bilingualism

In realization of its relative nature, attempts have been made to measure bilingualism. Implicit in the notion of measurement is the use of units of a quantitative nature. But language is a very complex phenomenon which does not lend itself too readily to mathematical treatment. Though certain aspects of language such as range of vocabulary, speed of reading and comprehension can be assessed to some extent in quantitative terms, one still encounters some difficulties. For example, one needs to differentiate between the range of words understood and that actually used with regard to vocabulary

measurement. Furthermore, there are aspects of language which are not so amenable to objective measurement e.g. elegance of expression. Difficulties still exist in establishing equivalent measures for oral and written media of language. The problems become further intricate when it comes to designing equivalent measures of proficiency for two languages. This is why psychologists have devised indirect measures of bilingualism. In this section we shall consider some of these methods and decide on which one we shall adopt for this investigation.

In an attempt to get around the problems involved in measuring bilingualism directly, a number of indirect measures have been devised. Macnamara (1967, 1969) groups these various indirect measures of bilingualism into four categories. These are rating scales, tests of verbal fluency, flexibility tests and test of dominance. These are brief, ingenious methods that yield information on the overall proficiency in two languages.

#### 2.4.1 Rating Scales

The rating scale uses the Language Background Questionnaire (LBQ). The respondents are required to estimate the extent to which each of their two languages is used at home or in their home environment. They may be asked to rate their ability in their two languages. In addition a rating scale may elicit information pertaining to the respondent's language use, that of his father, mother, siblings and general language use in his environment. The aggregate score of the subject in all these questions thereby represents a single rating for the subject.

Macnamara (1969) employs rating scale for his Montreal study. He discovers that the language background questionnaire is in no case the best predictor of bilingualism. However, he discovers that self-rating of bilingual ability is more powerful than the LBQ in that they made significant contributions to twelve out of the fifteen regressions. Nevertheless it should be borne in mind that social pressures can distort the validity of both LBQ and self ratings.



### 2.4.2 Tests of Verbal Fluency

These tests are owed to the pioneering works of Lambert and his associates. In the tests subjects are expected to respond to stimuli produced in the two languages under focus within certain time limits. Examples of such tests include, reading of passages in two languages, asking the subjects to say as many different words as they can in one language, and later in the other within a specified time. The resulting differences in scores are taken to show the language background of the respondent.

Macnamara (1969) again used the following three fluency tests: word-completion, speed of reading and word-naming in his study. He discovers that word-completion can be a valid measure of bilingual proficiency in reading and writing, but it is not the best predictor. On the other hand, speed of reading fared as a very powerful predictor of all the four language skills. On the whole, word-naming was discovered to be the weakest predictor of bilingual proficiency (cf Fishman et al., 1971 and Adeniran, 1977). It appears not to contribute in any significant

way to reading comprehension and to aspects of speech.

### 2.4.3 Flexibility Tests

Flexibility tests seek to discover the manipulative ability of subjects in their two languages. Macnamara's (1969) richness of vocabulary test among three groups of Irish-English bilingual college students is a good example of flexibility test. In it, subjects were presented with a series of phrases and sentences in the two languages. Certain words were underlined, then the subjects were asked to write as many words or expressions which were synonymous with those underlined. He concluded that further studies are needed to determine how well richness of vocabulary predicts various aspects of bilingual competence.

Lambert, Havelka and Gardner (1959) employ another form of flexibility test. They asked their subjects to identify as many English and French words as possible in the nonsense word DANSONODENT. The idea behind the two kinds of flexibility test is that subjects will give more words in whichever of the two languages they are proficient. Other examples include word association

and word-frequency estimation. Lambert et al. (1959) discover a high correlation between the data got through this method and language background questionnaire ratings. This test has also been reported to contribute significantly to the prediction of vocabulary scores, and surprisingly to the prediction of grammar scores, both in speech and in writing.

#### 2.4.4 Tests of Dominance

In dominance tests, subjects are usually presented with ambiguous stimuli which could belong to either of the two languages they speak. Then they are asked to pronounce or interpret them within a certain time limit. The assumption behind this is that their reaction will reflect whichever of the languages they control... better, and this is regarded as the dominant language. Various tests of dominance have been employed by Lambert and his associates and their findings found to correspond positively to their subjects' degree of bilingualism.

In one of such studies, Lambert, Havelka and Gardner (1959) used words like chance, silence and

important as stimulus words. They asked their subjects to read them aloud to detect whether they would ascribe English or French pronunciation to them. These words were, however, not presented in isolation. They were randomly presented in the middle of either clearly English or French words. It was discovered that measures obtained with this test correlated with measures of degree of bilingualism based on linguistic background of the respondents.

#### 2.4.5 Comments on Indirect Measures of Bilingualism

The first problem about the tests described above is that they are indirect measures of bilingualism. In as much as they are indirect measures, the performances which they describe, for example in terms of speed of naming words, the number of words produced in certain time limit, may not be a true reflection of the degree of bilingualism. Furthermore, the tests lose sight of the fact that ability in a language varies with respect to a range of domains. For example a bilingual individual might be more proficient in one language in a discussion pertaining to domestic chores than in

another pertaining to governmental bureaucracy.

This prompts Malherbe (1969) to say about measurement of bilingualism: "It is doubtful whether bilingualism per se can be measured apart from the situation in which it is to function in the social context in which a particular individual operates linguistically. The only practical line of approach ... is to assess bilingualism in terms of certain social and occupational demands of a practical nature in a particular society" (p 50).

In recognition of this inadequacy, Fishman et al. (1969) utilized a number of contextualized measures of bilingualism in their Barrio study. These measures were designed to locate bilingualism in specific domains or areas of life of some Spanish-English bilinguals in a Puerto Rican neighbourhood near New York. Some of the tests discussed above were employed, but they were closely tied to specific domains. The domains they explored were the family, neighbourhood, religion, education and work.

Cooper and Greenfield (1969), for example, used word frequency estimation to measure bilingualism.

Their subjects were asked to rate the frequency with which they used certain words or heard people use them. The subjects were regarded as most proficient in the domain with the highest score. Although the aggregate of the scores can give a picture of the degree of bilingualism, just a simple test like this is unreliable, in that speakers cannot be accurate or certain in their rating of the frequency with which a word is encountered or used. This therefore makes the data unreliable and misleading. Just like self-reported data there could be considerable information distortion, depending on the socio-cultural values the society attaches to each of the languages in question.

Other tests devised to measure the degree of bilingualism are word-naming and word-association. These have been discussed above as tests of verbal fluency. Word-naming in particular has been found to be the weakest predictor of bilingual proficiency (Macnamara, 1969). Fishman et al. use these methods in relation to certain domains. Again being able to produce a few words or associate some words with some domains does not make a person bilingual. As a result

of exposure to a second language many people would be able to name many isolated words in their second language without actually being able to use them in any organized discourse. Yet, word-naming test would show them to be bilinguals of some sort.

Furthermore, once a set of words has been given for some domains in the first language, it will not be so difficult to recall equivalent words in the second language. That may lead to false information about proficiency in the second language. Finally, factors of intelligence or memory limitations and other socio-psychological variables cannot be divorced from these exercises.

Equally problematic is the question of how utilizable these indirect measures of bilingualism are in a predominantly illiterate setting. A study like ours designed to describe and measure bilingualism at a societal level, taking cognizance of a wide-range of demographic and socio-cultural variables can hardly employ these methods without procedural difficulties. This is because they are largely applicable to respondents who can read and write. In this connection,

Macnamara's (1969) advice on the measurement of bilingualism is relevant. He suggests that scholars should decide on the skills they want to determine, based on the objective of their investigation and the exigencies of the situation. This is why we have isolated those skills which can be easily determined by a combined measure of bilingual skill adequate for both literate and illiterate subjects. These will be discussed fully in the next chapter devoted to methodology.

Nevertheless, we find Cooper and Greenfield (1969) which was part of the Barrio study relevant to the present investigation. Their study was concerned with language use in the greater New York city among Spanish-English bilinguals. Cooper and Greenfield gathered data pertaining to language use in the family, neighbourhood, religion, work and education domains. The subjects were asked to rate their ability in Spanish and English. On language use for example, respondents were asked to rate the degree to which they used Spanish with parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles and other older relatives; or with brothers and sisters and other relatives of the same age, or with children



or grandchildren and other younger relatives at home. This information was later correlated with demographic variables like sex, age, birthplace, occupation, education, number of years in the United States of America on the one hand, and linguistic information on the other.

We are in favour of Cooper and Greenfield's approach because it does not focus on bilingualism per se in specific domains of language use, but on how the bilinguals use their languages in these domains. This approach is compatible with Grosjean (1982) who sees bilingualism in terms of regular use of two languages. In this approach we are able to see that instances of language choice by individuals in certain domains can be a pointer to their degree of bilingualism, and this can characterize the whole society rather than just a test of word-naming on selected subjects. The result of a study like this can be extrapolated to the community at large to show whether one of the languages available to it is receding, or becoming dominant over the other. This method will be adopted in this work with some modification. For example, in addition to self-rating of language

ability, listening comprehension will be used as a measure of bilingualism. We intend to discuss this fully in the next chapter.

## 2.5 Issues in the Study of Societal Bilingualism

This section is devoted to other concomitant issues in the study of societal bilingualism. They include the following: language choice, language attitudes, language shift and maintenance, bilingualism and biculturalism, bilingualism and education, and bilingualism and ethnicity. All these are areas of research in their own right. But we are not going to explore them fully in this review. Only similar works which are relevant to our investigation shall be examined. This will provide a theoretical orientation for our investigation.

### 2.5.1 Language Choice

One of the key issues in the study of societal bilingualism is language choice. When a person speaks more than one language a conscious effort is made to choose whichever is appropriate in different situations.

A monolingual also has to choose from the different varieties or styles of speech available to him. In bilingual societies, this becomes a regular process as different languages are earmarked for different functions. Certain factors such as the setting, the participants, the topic and the function of the interaction have been postulated as determinants of language choice (Ervin-Tripp, 1968; Rubin, 1968; Fishman, 1965; Fishman, Cooper and Ma, 1971, etc.)

Studies abound where these factors or certain aspects of them have been shown to influence language choice. Rubin (1968) for instance, reports that the proficiency of the participants in the languages available to them is of paramount importance in the bilinguals' language choice in Paraguay. She reports that the head doctor in Luque, Paraguay speaks Guarani or Spanish with his patients as dictated by the facility of the patients in the two languages. If the patient feels more comfortable using Spanish, Spanish will be the language of discussion between them, otherwise Guarani will be used.

A choice could be made between two or more

languages depending on who the interlocutor is. For example, Rubin (1968) reports that Guarani-Spanish bilinguals use Spanish with strangers and mere acquaintances, whereas with friends and other intimate persons Guarani is used. Again it is reported that among young Paraguayans, Spanish is used at the beginning of courtship, but as soon as they are used to each other, Guarani takes over from Spanish.

A similar situation has been reported by Ullrich (1982) among the Haviks, a caste in South India. In conversation with high status interlocutors like doctors, lawyers, etc., the language used is the most formal which is English. This is in cognizance of the status of the addressee. But with strangers the situation is different; the status of the person is no longer relevant, rather it is the question of non-solidarity and unfamiliarity. Here both English and Hindi are mostly used. With friends and relations, however, the relationship is that of solidarity. Therefore, Kannada, the ethnic language, is primarily used.

Situation is another factor of language choice. This refers to a wide variety of things, including location, formality or informality, etc. Rubin (1968)

again reports that Guarani and Spanish are functionally differentiated in terms of location. In the rural location, Guarani is mostly used while in the urban setting Spanish is mostly used.

Among the Haviks of South India, language use patterns indicate the presence of situational determinants of language choice along formal and informal dimensions (Ullrich, 1982). For example, in formal situations like work, school, job interview and business transactions, English is widely reported among the respondents who are engaged in jobs where its use is possible. However, it should be noted that each of these formal situations is inherently structured. Therefore other languages could be used depending on the participants. But generally speaking, English is used in formal situations. Interaction in other situations apart from these, is conducted in the ethnic language, Kannada.

The topic is another factor that has been shown to influence language choice. According to Ervin-Tripp (1968), topic is the content or the referent of speech. It includes both gross categories such as subject matter (economics, household affairs, etc.) and the

propositional content of speech. Ervin-Tripp's finding concerning immigrant Japanese women who had married Americans is of relevance. Such women would use English when talking to their husbands, children and neighbours about things pertaining to American ways of life. For instance, they would use English to discuss American food and clothing among other things. But Japanese is used to discuss personal concerns or issues relating to Japanese milieu with their Japanese friends.

This topical segregation of language might have been the reason why Fishman (1965) observes that some topics are better handled in one language than another. This could be as a result of the bilingual's mastery of that language for that topic or non-availability of appropriate terms suitable for a topic. For example, very many bilingual Nigerians can hardly discuss science and technology in their indigenous languages without making recourse to English. This is due to no other reason than the fact that English is replete with scientific and technological terms compared with our indigenous languages. On this issue Whiteley (1974)

is of relevance: "It is certainly true amongst the younger generation that language choice is also determined by the topic of conversation: Many people report that they talk about work or education or politics in English, while others mention politics as a subject for Swahili - 'when discussing academic or political issues we tend to use English ... one has to know Swahili to become a politician" (p 345).

The last set of factors which have been discovered to influence language choice come under the function of interaction. "Function" in this sense refers to the intent of interaction; that is, what goal one wants to achieve by using which language. One purpose has to do with status raising. For example Rubin (1968) reports that in Paraguay some upwardly mobile individuals in Luque insist on using Spanish in situations where Guarani would be normally expected.

Equally relevant is what Gal (1979) discovers among German-Hungarian bilinguals in Oberwart, Austria. She discovers two types of conversational language switching involving German and Hungarian. One type is non-reciprocal while the other can be described as unpredictable.

The nonreciprocal often occurs between parents and children. It is so called because the older person consistently uses Hungarian while the younger person consistently replies in German. This is particularly so as the languages symbolize two ideals. Hungarian symbolizes the old way of life and the peasant community, whereas German represents the urban and future-oriented society. Therefore the youths want to wean themselves from the stigma attached to the use of Hungarian.

The unpredictable conversational language switching on the other hand is not characteristic of any age; both the old and the young could adopt it. Any of the speakers may be using Hungarian during the course of interaction before switching to German to achieve a specific effect on the listener. This use according to Gal is for the "expression of momentary communicative intent" (p 100). It may be to convince, to win an argument, to show one's authority or superiority, etc.

One other important factor that can be isolated under function of interaction is the desire to include or exclude another person in the interaction pattern.



Just as bilinguals change languages to include monolinguals, they may also choose a language to exclude someone in the on-going interaction. For instance on the situation in Kenya, Muthiani (1979) notes thus:

Swahili is used as a lingua franca intensively between Africans and Asians but if an African and an Asian meet a European, it will be highly probable that they will switch to English if they intend to include him in the discussion. The reverse is also predictable - an African and a European will switch from English to Swahili if they want to include an Indian in their discussion. Here the two parties are assuming that the third party does not understand English. Should their assumption be wrong, they will then switch back to English (p 384).

A similar situation is reported in Johnson (1973) among bi- or trilinguals in Larteh, Ghana. Larteh is the language used at home among members of the family. However, other languages, notably Twi and English are also used for specific purposes. For instance, school children may speak Twi or less frequently English with

each other, for the fun of it, or chiefly so as not to be understood by younger children or elderly people. Adults too sometimes speak Twi to exclude young children from what they are discussing. This situation also exists in Kenya among the younger generation. They use English at home when they want some privacy.

A particular work in Nigeria which reflects the influence of some of the factors that have been discussed is Adekunle (1978). It examines the pattern of language use among Nigerian English-speaking bi- or multilinguals. This is to ascertain whether there is sharp compartmentalization in the role of the languages in their repertoire (that is, if use is dichotomized between a common Nigerian language like Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba) a common mother tongue, pidgin and English. The work reveals that language choice among English speaking bi- and multilingual subjects is dependent on the language background of their interlocutors, social roles of the interlocutors, setting, topic, and purpose of conversation (Adekunle, 1978).

The most astonishing finding of the work is that many Nigerians who are fluent in their mother tongues

do not write them. Some of them do go through a third party who could read letters written in English if it becomes necessary for them to write members of their family who do not understand English. This is a pointer to the fact that most of the people who are technically referred to as bilingual are not fully bilingual in that they do not possess skills in their two languages in equal degree.

Central to the pursuit of studies on language choice is the concept of 'domains of language use'. According to Fishman (1972) these are institutional contexts in which one language or a variety of a language is considered more appropriate than another. Domains subsume other factors such as location, topic, and participants. They are organized into specific sets of role-relations. For example, it is possible to have the home or family domain and under it we can have role relations involving husband and wife, father and son, daughter and mother, etc. In the official domain it is possible to have role relations involving boss and subordinate, equal Vs equal, etc. This implies that a person who speaks more than one language

does not necessarily use all these languages in each social setting. He uses whichever is appropriate to the domain, topic and the expected pattern of behaviour appropriate to the relationship between the participants.

Domain analysis has been utilized by a number of scholars for studies on language choice or use in bi- or multilingual societies. Greenfield (1972) is a particularly relevant study. His work is part of the popular Barrio study conducted by Fishman and his team among Spanish-English bilinguals of Puerto Rican neighbourhoods in New York.

Greenfield sets out to find the extent to which choice of Spanish and English is mediated by the congruent components of persons, place and topics. By the aid of a questionnaire, Greenfield presents his subjects with two congruent factors and asks them to select the third. They are also asked to give the language considered appropriate for that combination of circumstances. For example they are asked to think of a conversation on family affairs with a parent. Then they are asked to indicate the place where such

conversation could take place out of home, beach, church, school and work-place. All the subjects selected home as the appropriate place. For similar questions, overwhelming percentages of the respondents selected the appropriate places. This shows quite clearly that the respondents are aware of the association between the factors of persons, place and topic.

Having selected the right domain, the subjects are later asked to indicate the language that goes with each on a 5-point scale. For instance, 1 on the scale indicates all Spanish, 2 means more Spanish than English, 3 is used for equal use of Spanish and English, 4, more English than Spanish, and 5, indicates all English. The results are averaged such that a low average reflects more Spanish while a high one indicates more of English. In the final analysis the result shows that Spanish is mostly chosen where intimacy is salient e.g. in family and friendship. English on the other hand is the language used in situations where status difference is involved, e.g. in education and employment.

The finding is similar to that of Parasher (1980) who studies the pattern of language use of 350 .

educated people in two Indian cities. The domains examined include the family, friendship, neighbourhood transactions, education, government and employment. Unlike in Greenfield's study, Parasher's domains are not systematically delineated for persons, places and topics.

The result shows that the family domain is an exclusive preserve of the mother tongue. In the high domain of education, government and employment English use tends to be predominant. However, one astonishing finding is that English is also widely reported in the friendship and neighbourhood domains which are undeniably low domains. This is accounted for by the fact that majority of the educated Indian subjects do not share a common mother tongue. Also, Hindi, the national language does not catch on as much in Southern India. Furthermore, if the discussion among friends centres around issues pertaining to education, science and technology, they cannot choose any other language apart from English regardless of the setting or the degree of intimacy between them.

Studies of this nature where the pattern of

language choice appears diglossic exist in Africa. Notable ones are O'Barr (1971) Abdulaziz-Mkilifi (1972), Johnson (1973) and Whiteley (1974). Whiteley's work will be taken as a representative of these works. His work centres on patterns of language use among twenty mother-tongue groups in rural Kenya. A multi-dimensional approach is used in eliciting information on language use among the groups. For instance, questionnaire, interview schedule, diary analysis as well as personal observation are all employed.

Just as in the above studies reviewed, the home is earmarked for the routine use of the mother tongue. Nevertheless, English and Swahili are also reported in some degrees. The frequency of use tends to be in inverse proportion to <sup>the</sup> age of the speaker. The use of the languages is also <sup>more</sup> common among male than female respondents. Furthermore they are used to signal one or more of the following in the pattern of interpersonal relations: exclusion, status reinforcement, shift in the level of formality and topic of discourse (cf Johnson, 1973; Gal, 1979).

In the market domain, Swahili is mostly used. All buying and selling in the markets, even in the post

offices and in the departmental stores are largely conducted in Swahili. It is reported by a respondent that Asian shop owners usually double the price of their goods if a customer speaks English. This is because, he will be taken as a stranger who can be taken for a ride.

In the employment domain, i.e. for those who are engaged in office or civil service jobs, Swahili and English are used. Nevertheless there is a discernible pattern in the use of the two. Swahili is used for communicating with the general public or with subordinate staff. English on the other hand is used for communicating with fellow officers or superiors. As in the other previous studies, we are able to see that different languages are clearly allotted to specific domains; the choice of language is mediated by a composite of factors including location, participants and topic. All these studies clearly reflect the sociological approaches to the study of language choice. The other approach, <sup>i.e. the</sup> social-psychological will engage our attention below.



### 2.5.1.1 Socio-Psychological Studies of Language Choice

Language choice has also been studied from the socio-psychological point of view. Studies in this area derive inspiration from Giles's (1973) accommodation theory of linguistic behaviour. According to Giles, accommodation takes the form of convergence when a speaker chooses a language or a variety of a language to suit the needs of his addressee. The converse of this is divergence; it operates when a speaker makes his language quite unlike that of his interlocutor.

Which one of these two speech behaviours is manifested by a speaker is dictated by a number of factors. He may want to express some values, attitudes and intention towards his interlocutors. In short, accommodation theory suggests that people subject their speech to various modifications when talking to others to reduce or accentuate linguistic and social differences between them. This is, however, guided by the interlocutors' perception of the interaction situation.

In mixed communities whatever strategy is adopted

may be motivated by a number of reasons. Members of an ethnic group may be committed to maintaining their ethnic identity and cultural distinctiveness. This is therefore reflected in their language use with other groups. For example, they may consciously emphasise the features of their language in talking with out-group members. For example, Bourhis and Giles (1977) discover among the Welsh speakers in Britain, that the use of Welsh accent and the language itself helps to show ethnic distinctiveness. They find in the study that in addition to the Welsh accent the Welsh integrative group employed language switches as a divergence strategy to emphasise their ethnic identity. This is because the Welsh have almost been totally assimilated to the English wider culture. With the spate of ethnic and cultural revival, they now want to establish their distinctiveness from the English larger community.

While divergence strategy is used in intergroup relations to show ethnic distinctiveness, its counterpart, convergence is used as a means of ethnic integration among subordinate and dominant groups.

For example, it is possible for a subordinate group to converge to the dominant group if the only chance of social improvement is in the direction of acceptance by the larger group (Giles et al (1977)). Acceptance in the dominant social group is then guaranteed if the lower social group makes linguistic convergence. Therefore in dealing with members of the dominant group, those members of the subordinate group who consider it desirable and possible to make social gains in the larger society will converge in their language use.

However, it is not in all cases that subordinate groups converge to the linguistic medium of the dominant group. Downward convergence does take place such that members of the dominant group converge to the speech form of the subordinate group. Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) give the case of some upper-middle-class students in Britain, who adopted liberal ideals. This was demonstrated by rejecting the speech *and* dress styles expected of their class. Similarly English-speaking Canadians are now converging in varying degrees to the French-speaking group. This is said to be due largely to the awakening

nationalism in Quebec.

The review above shows the various dimensions from which language choice has been pursued. In all dimensions, certain factors have been recognized to account for different patterns of linguistic behaviour. It will be pertinent to mention here that all these factors do not work in a uniform way in all bilingual settings. Different factors are at work in different bilingual communities. In the present study therefore, we shall explore the various domains of language use. It is our hope that we shall be able to isolate the factors that guide the choice of either Yoruba or Nupe in each of these domains.

### 2.5.2 Language Attitudes

Language attitudes constitute one of the important subject matters of societal bilingualism. They are different from other types of attitudes because they are directed toward language. Under the purview of language attitudes are views concerning the "beauty" "communicativeness", "richness" and the like of language. Language attitudes also reflect the social significance

of language or language varieties. This derives from the fact that language attitudes do not centre on language alone, but also on the attitudes towards the users of a language.

Literature is replete with works which reflect these different dimensions of language attitudes. Hesbacher and Fishman (1965) is an example of the study of language-directed attitude. Their study centres on the attitudes of Polish and Yiddish speakers in Eastern Pennsylvania to their respective mother tongues. Nearly all the respondents express preference for their mother tongue in pseudo-linguistic terms. This is evident in these excerpts from two Polish respondents in the work:

Polish is a difficult language with a wealth of expression. It has a beautiful vocabulary (p 156)

My favourite language is Polish because it is a purer language in itself, more conducive to arousing sentimentality; and more useful in expressing finer shades of thought (p 156)

We see that these expressions of preference are

language-directed, and they may not necessarily be consistent with linguistic realities. For nothing makes one language "purer" than another. Linguistics has also shown that all languages are equally expressive and adequate for the needs of their users.

In most bilingual situations, one language is usually considered more prestigious than the other. This may be as a result of the functions it performs, or the status of its users (cf Ferguson, 1959; Hesbacher Fishman, 1965; Rubin, 1968 and Gal, 1979). Such a language therefore evokes a positive attitude from its speakers. According to Ferguson, attitudes such as this are often exaggerated such that the prestige language is considered more 'beautiful', more 'expressive' more logical and better able to express abstract thoughts. The other language on the other hand is felt to be ungrammatical, 'concrete', 'coarse'. In bilingual communities minority languages are negatively regarded in this way by the dominant group. This is the way the Walloons who are French speakers consider Flemish in Belgium (Grosjean, 1982), and the English-speaking Canadians talk about French before Bill 101 was passed in Quebec.<sup>3</sup>

Attitudes such as this among other things have influence on day-to-day language use. Marshall (1982), describing bilingualism in Vacherie, a Southern Louisiana town, reports that many white bilinguals are reluctant to admit that they speak creole French, one of the varieties of French spoken in this area in addition to English. This is because of the inferior status of creole French. As a result of the social stigma attached to this variety of French, English is freely used at its expense among creole French/English bilinguals.

Language attitude is closely associated with attitudes toward the users of a language. This brings to the fore the social significance of language attitudes. Language attitude studies have revealed how ethnic groups regard themselves vis-à-vis other ethnic groups. The data for this have been ingeniously elicited with the aid of "matched-guise" technique. This technique was developed by a social-psychologist, William Lambert and his colleagues of the McGill university (Lambert et al., 1960).

In this technique bilingual speakers are recorded reading the same passage in their two languages. But

the two languages are not recorded one after the other for a bilingual. They are randomized on the tape in such a way that it will not be possible to detect that the voices belong to the same set of people. These recordings are then played to bilingual judges to assess the personality characteristics of the speakers, taking a cue from their voices. The idea behind this is that if the same person is rated differently in the different guises, it has to be the difference in language that is responsible, since all other things, e.g. voice quality, content of the passage, remain constant.

Through this technique Lambert and others have been able to show how the English and French-speaking Canadians regard each other. On the whole, the French-speaking Canadians have a more favourable disposition towards their English-speaking counterparts. But the reverse does not hold true. For instance the French-speaking respondents rate the English-speaking group favourably on ten out of fourteen personality traits above their own group (Lambert et al 1960; Lambert, 1967). The result here, no doubt, is a reflection of the prevailing attitude within and between the groups. And this is usually



the case when one group is politically, culturally and economically dominant over the other. However, the pattern is now changing with the upsurge in nationalism which culminated in the recent legislation establishing French as the official language of the province of Quebec (Smith, Tucker and Taylor, 1977).

As expressly manifest in the foregoing, language attitudes are of relevance in a number of applied contexts. In as much as attitudes toward a language reflect the attitudes towards its speakers, it helps to shed light on the dynamics of ethnic mixing and the extent of tolerance or otherwise existing among various socio-cultural groups in ethnically heterogeneous polities. Furthermore, it has been shown that attitudes are essential ingredients of second language learning. For instance, correlational studies in Canada have revealed that attitude is more consistently related to achievement in the second language than aptitude (Gardener, 1982).

Finally language attitudes underpin planning strategies. In full realization of the benefits of language attitudes, one of our tasks in this work will be a description of language attitudes in the Saare/

Tsaragi community. It will involve ascertaining what the attitudes of native speakers of Nupe and Yoruba are to their respective language, on the one hand, and their attitudes to their second language. In many bilingual settings, language attitude is very crucial as it is one of the many factors that account for which languages are learned, used and preferred by bilinguals. This is of particular relevance to the present climate of language policy in this country. It is our hope that we shall come up with conclusions which will have implications for language planning and language policy implementation in the country.

### 2.5.3 Language Maintenance and Language Shift

Another recurrent theme in the study of societal bilingualism centres on language maintenance and language shift. Fishman sums up the relationship between language maintenance and shift in the following words:

the study of language maintenance and language shift is concerned with the relationship between change (or stability) in language usage patterns, on the one

hand, and ongoing psychological, social or cultural processes on the other hand in populations that utilize more than one speech variety for intra-group or for inter-group purposes.<sup>4</sup>

(Fishman 1964: 32)

As evident in this quotation, bilingualism is an essential requirement of these phenomena. However, it is by no means a sufficient condition for either shift or maintenance to occur. Language shift and maintenance are also dependent on the prevailing psychological and socio-cultural climate of the bilingual society. This implies that shift from or maintenance of a speech form in a bilingual community is dependent, for instance, on the user's perception of the values of that speech form in the socio-cultural milieu of that community.

Quite a number of interrelated factors have been discovered by scholars to give impetus to either language maintenance or shift. We do not attempt here to give an exhaustive discussion of all these factors. Rather, we shall make a quick reference to a few as exemplified by earlier scholars. It will be instructive to cite Tabourett-Kellar (1968), Grosjean (1982) and Fasold

(1982) in this regard. First we shall take a look at language maintenance.

### 2.5.3.1 Language Maintenance

Grosjean (1982) gives the geographical concentration of a group as an important factor in language maintenance. He cites the example of a number of immigrant groups in the United States; they are cultural minorities but have been able to maintain the day-to-day use of their language because of their concentration in a geographical location. Examples of such groups include - the German language Islands in Ohio and Texas and the urban concentration of the Chinese in New York. Perhaps this is why the Hausa-speaking and Nupe-speaking immigrants in Ibadan have been able to retain their languages.<sup>5</sup>

Of greater impetus to either language maintenance or shift is language attitude. If a group is emotionally attached to its language and has pride in its literary and cultural heritage it will make efforts to maintain it and pass it on to the future generation no matter how great the onslaught of another language on it.

One of the ways of ensuring intergenerational

continuity of a language is by establishing parochial schools where the language is taught. Cultural groups and independent newspapers may be established to safeguard a language from extinction. Examples of such groups are the Greek community in Montreal, the Spanish in Jersey city, as well as Yiddish and Polish-speakers in Pennsylvania (Smith, Tucker and Taylor, 1977; Fishman, and Hesbacher, 1965 and Fishman et al 1971).

The maintenance of French against the onslaught of English in Montreal can be attributed to the two factors above. Although English is more prestigious than French, French-speaking Canadians are able to retain French because of their concentration in Quebec, and the nationalist fervour which generated a positive attitude to their ethnic group and their language.

Also important to language maintenance and shift is the extent to which a language is used as the language of religion. The domain of religion in most cases exhibits the highest degree of resistance to the out-group language. Even in cases of languages at the verge of total extinction, the domain of religion still proves salient. This accounts for why there are still

traces of African languages, notably Yoruba, in some religious worships and festivals in some South American countries. Grosjean (1982) notes that in cases where a religion is closely linked to a particular national group and its language, it helps to maintain this language. This according to him accounts for why the Mennonites, the Amish and the Hutterites are the only German Islands in the U S.

### 2.5.3.2 Language Shift

Language shift has received far more considerable attention from scholars than language maintenance. Among the factors that significantly account for language shift, migration, industrialization and its attendant economic opportunities, governmental policy decisions, as well as the prevailing attitude of the community of language users are salient. Nevertheless, we can hardly separate the workings of these factors from one another. This will become evident in the review below.

Migration, one of the factors that influence language shift, takes place in response to socio-economic needs. It may involve small groups moving

into a new environment where their languages no longer serve them. They gain proficiency in the language of the host country and as a matter of necessity become linguistically and culturally assimilated to the host community. The prime example of this type is the United States with many immigrants from Europe. So also are the Indo-Chinese, Korean, Cuban, and Haitian immigrants who migrated to the United States in the 19th and early 20th century (Fasold, 1984).

Newman (1970) also reports that a number of ethnic groups that speak Tera in the present Gongola State of Nigeria are not original speakers of the language. They have picked up the language from the host community of Tera speakers. This is backed up by the fact that these groups migrated to the present place at different times. They also have historical evidence pointing to their different origins.

Another type of migration may mean a larger group extending its domains by moving into contiguous areas. They then take control of small socio-cultural groups already there, resulting in political as well as linguistic imperialism. A classical example of this type is Rome who extended her control over the central

area of Italy and the Islands of Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica. Latin was then used as the language of administration, trade and civilization, and succeeded in displacing the original languages of these areas (Brosnahan, 1963). More recent examples include the Western migration of the descendants of the British colonists in the U.S. and the flooding of Glamorgan county, Wales, by English immigrants during the period 1861 to 1911 as a result of industrialization (Fasold, 1984; Dorian, 1980).

Three factors could be said to be corporately responsible for language shift in Brittany.<sup>6</sup> These are industrialization, governmental policy and community-wide attitudes. According to Timm (1980), the last quarter of the 19th century brought with it industrialization and urbanization in France. This made the Bretons to abandon the countryside for the cities in and out of Brittany. In the process they learn to speak French. Added to this is the obligatory primary education which began in 1886. This made it possible for Breton-speaking children to learn French before adulthood.



Apart from compulsory primary education in French, Breton was actively discouraged and repressed in the school premises. This was done by the means of an object 'le symbole' hung around the neck of any child heard speaking Breton. At the end of the day all the culprits would be punished or made to conjugate a French verb or write as many sentences in French as possible. With this practice Breton speakers developed a negative attitude toward their language in preference for French. This therefore made bilingual parents to pass on only French to their offsprings so as to save them from the embarrassment of speaking Breton. This psychological warfare against Breton was also greatly boosted by the French policy of national unity. This is because ever since the French revolution, they have tried to eliminate Breton and other regional languages considered as threats to national unity.

All these reasons have conspired against Breton in favour of French. Parents nowadays therefore prefer to have their children learn only French, the language associated with modernity, upward mobility and sophistication.<sup>7</sup> A similar kind of attitude has led

to the relegation of Hungarian in favour of German in Oberwart, Eastern Austria (Gal, 1979). Similarly, Dorian (1980) reports that the local Scottish Gaelic is being given up in the face of pressure from English in East Sutherland, Scotland, as a result of reasons similar to those above.

It should be added that language shift does not take place in a fell-swoop, neither does it take place in all bilingual situations. It can take place over a period of several generations in a society where more than one language is used. In addition certain factors like the ones discussed above have to act in favour of one language to the detriment of another. In most cases language shift takes its root among the youths in response to socio-economic situation of the time.

With respect to the community under study here, it can be said unequivocally that one of the pre-conditions of language shift exists. And this is wide-spread bilingualism. This is however restricted to the Nupe community. Even though, language maintenance and shift are incidental to our investigation, with the examination of bilingualism and language

use patterns here, we shall be able to show whether a process of maintenance or shift is evident in this community.

#### 2.5.4 Bilingualism and Biculturalism

Some studies in bilingualism have focused on the link between language and culture. Because culture is the way of life of a people (including its rules of behaviour; its religious beliefs, its laws, etc. which are largely transmitted through language) there is the tendency to believe that all bilinguals are bicultural since monolinguals belong to a culture. But Haugen (1956) believes that bilingualism and biculturalism are not necessarily co-extensive. This agrees with Soffietti's (1955) view that even though language gives expression to culture it does not mean that it is inseparably tied to specific cultures.

In this connection therefore, it will be possible to have situations where people are bilingual but remain monocultural or they may be bicultural and at the same time remain monolingual. Examples of the first type i.e. those that are bilingual but remain

monolingual are not hard to find. This is often the case among immigrant populations especially among the older generations. They may make little or no effort to cultivate the culture of the host community even though they speak their language. To this group can be added those that are rejected by the majority group. They are often prevented from mixing with the local population. In spite of their proficiency in the language of their hosts, they may not in any way adopt its culture. This is the case of immigrant workers who are employed for labour in countries like France and Germany (Grosjean, 1982).

The second situation involves biculturalism and monolingualism. According to Soffietti (1955), this could be the case in a situation where language shift has taken place. Although people no longer speak their language, they still hold on to their native customs, beliefs or value patterns in addition to the associated culture of their new language. Examples of these include some French-speaking Bretons and English-speaking Scots who have two overlapping cultures. This is the situation for many ethnic minorities in America, like Italian, Japanese, Polish American and American Jews.

Although these groups of people speak only English, they still exhibit traces of their cultures.

The distinction that is often made between instrumental and integrative motivation for learning a second language is relevant to our discussion here. Instrumental reasons centre on utilitarian purposes for learning a second language e.g. a better job or social upliftment. Integrative motivation on the other hand reflects a personal interest in the speakers of the second language and their culture. This can encourage the learning of a second language with a view to becoming a potential member of the group of its users (Lambert, 1967). Instrumental motivation promotes bilingualism without biculturalism while integrative motivation promotes bilingualism with biculturalism.

In a number of studies, scholars have been able to provide example of those who are bilingual and bicultural at the same time. For instance, Aellen and Lambert (1969) give the case of a group of adolescent children of English-French mixed parentage in Montreal as an example. This group of children do not manifest any abnormal tendencies like personality

disturbances and social alienation.

Equally relevant to the discussion of bilingualism and biculturalism is the problem of conflict of identity that often confronts a bilingual. Research findings among children of immigrants show that they can be classified into three or four groups based on their self-perception. Those in the first group can be described as ethnocentric. This is because they are committed to their ethnic group and its cultural heritage. Those in the second group on the other hand have 'rebelled' against their ethnocultural group in preference to the out-group. They have now assumed the outlook of the preferred group. Bilingualism for this group, according to Lambert (1977) is subtractive. The third group is the problematic one in that members of this group are ambivalent and they are not really sure of their identity (Child, 1943; Gardner and Lambert, 1972).

The term 'anomie' has been used to describe those in the third group. Anomie according to Beardsmore (1982) is "a feeling of personal disorientation, anxiety and social isolation" (p 126). This is brought about by confusion of identity and it typifies a people

who are not sure of where they owe their allegiance. Grosjean (1982) gives as an example of people suffering from anomie, a group of North African immigrants to France. They are neither considered as French nationals nor citizens of their respective African countries.

The community under focus in the present study presents a favourable avenue for interaction between bilingualism and biculturalism. Bilingualism is prominent among the Nupe but among the Yoruba, it is not wide-spread. It will be interesting to find out whether the social forces that are responsible for the prominence of Yoruba among the Nupe have given rise to biculturalism too.

#### 2.5.5 Bilingualism and Education

Studies on bilingualism have also focused on educational problems faced by linguistic minorities in linguistically heterogeneous countries. In such countries, bilingual education may or may not be encouraged depending on the political objectives of the nations concerned. If the aim is to ensure unification and to integrate the minority groups into

the larger groups, the minority language is discouraged. On the other hand, if the aim is to preserve ethnic identities, some recognition is given to minority languages.

With regard to the first situation where the minority language is not encouraged, it is believed that the child will encounter some problems. Since he does not speak the language of instruction, learning by him will be slowed down. This view is informed by UNESCO's (1968) report on vernacular education that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue.<sup>8</sup> Since the mother tongue is already well-known to the child, it will not be difficult for him to learn new things through it as it would be in any other language.

However, since the publication of the Unesco's report, the basic assumption that the child's mother tongue is the best educational medium has come under research attention. But the results of research on this subject have been inconclusive. In some studies, the results have shown that it cannot be proved convincingly that the mother tongue is of any inherent



superiority over other languages. This is the case with the Iloilo project in the Philippines (Ramos et al., 1967; Engle, 1975). The result of the Ife Six Year Primary Project on the use of Yoruba throughout the primary education proved positive in favour of the mother-tongue. However, one can say that the quality of instruction for the experimental group as opposed to the control group is one of the factors that account for this. We do not intend a critical review of this experiment here as this issue is only incidental to our present investigation. For details on the design and execution Afqlayan (1976) and Fafunwa et al. (1989) will be of relevance. However, this could be a subject matter of future research.

In addition to this is the disagreement among researchers on the effect of bilingualism on the child. While some scholars believe that bilingualism has negative effects on language development, educational attainment, cognitive growth, and intelligence of the child, others emphasise that bilingualism portends greater flexibility and creativity for the child. On the negative effects of bilingualism, Macnamara (1966)

tests Irish primary school children who use English at home but Irish at school and discovers that they are eleven months behind monolingual children in Arithmetic. So also Jones and Steward (1957) show that monolingual English children perform better than Welsh-English bilinguals in both verbal and non-verbal intelligence tests.

On the positive side mention can be made of Obanya (1973) where it is discovered that Yoruba-English bilingualism contributes positively and significantly to the learning of French.

The extent to which bilingualism can be said to have any effect (positive or negative) on the child is however, open to doubt. It is observed that negative effect of bilingualism is widely reported among linguistic minorities. This is why scholars believe that we cannot ascribe this to bilingualism per se but other factors must be taken into consideration. First, is the fact that they are forced to learn in a language different from the home language. Apart from the difficulties this will pose to the child, another problem stems from the fact that the child's mother

tongue may be inadequately learnt. This therefore will exert a limiting effect on skills in the second language. This position is supported by Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa (1976) who propose that there is a direct relationship between a child's competence in his first and second languages. Therefore if the first language is not well-mastered, competence in the language is affected and educational development through the second language may proceed rather slowly.

Furthermore, in cases where positive results are reported, it is not quite clear whether we can dissociate such findings from psycho-social differences existing between majority and minority language groups. According to Swain and Cummings (1979) positive findings are always reported among majority language groups in immersion programmes. In such cases knowledge of two languages is highly valued and the children are also of relatively high socio-economic status. Negative findings on the other hand are commonly reported among minorities who are forced to learn the majority language at the expense of their mother tongue.

As a result of these problems it is argued that bilingualism has no effect, positive or negative on the

child. This position is shown in the following words of McLaughlin:

In short, almost no general statements are warranted by research on the effects of bilingualism. It has not been demonstrated that bilingualism has positive or negative consequences on intelligence, linguistic skills, educational attainment, emotional adjustment, or cognitive functioning. In almost every case, the findings of research are either contradicted by other research or can be questioned on methodological grounds. The one statement that is supported by research findings is that command of a second language makes a difference if a child is tested in that language - a not very surprising finding.

(McLaughlin, 1978: 206 quoted in Grosjean, 1982: 206-7).

As earlier indicated, the subject matter of this section is purely incidental to this work. But it could be taken up in other future works on bilingualism in Nigeria. Nigeria as a multilingual country provides a favourable avenue for a study of this nature. This

is because there are ethnic minorities who have to learn willy-nilly in the languages of the majority in different parts of the country. It will be desirable to know whether there is a problem in this regard. This will also help educators and policy makers with regard to language choice in education.

### 2.5.6 Ethnicity

Another issue commonly discussed in relation to bilingualism is ethnicity. Ethnicity, following Isajiw (1974), can be thought of as a sense of group identity deriving from real or perceived common bonds such as language, race or religion. Each of these or all of them provide the people sharing them the motivation to regard themselves as one as opposed to others who do not have these in common with them. This leads Fishman (1977: 17) to consider ethnicity as "an aspect of a collectivity's self-recognition as well as an aspect of its recognition in the eyes of outsiders".

Furthermore, Fishman sees ethnicity largely in terms of paternity rather than partrimony. Paternity

implies common descent from primordial ancestors. Therefore it could be said that members of an ethnic group belong to the same kinship, and everything that characterises the group like language is a biological inheritance from their ancestors. These are then jealously guarded and are used by members of an ethnic group to differentiate themselves from other ethnic groups.

Two dimensions are commonly identified by scholars in the conception of ethnicity, namely objective and subjective aspects (Van den Berghe, 1971). While the objective aspect emphasizes the specific cultural criteria e.g. system of marriage, kinship, ancestral cult, language, initiation rites, etc., on the one hand, the subjective aspect focuses on how the people concerned define themselves and their neighbours. In this connection therefore, we need to point out that the degree to which ethnic groups see themselves as different from or similar to others varies greatly. At times it may not be consistent with objective realities. For example, on account of minimally different linguistic forms, subgroups may see themselves

as distinct from another group for purposes of ethnic aggrandizement (cf. Wolff, 1964). Conversely unrelated groups may cook up certain myths to perpetuate their claim of common descent with another preferred group. This shows that there may not be agreement in the way members of a group define themselves and the way they are defined by outsiders.

Ethnicity is manipulated for a number of issues in plural societies. It may, in actual fact, be detrimental to the peaceful co-existence of the different groups in such polities. Instances of clashes are reported in Montreal, Canada, between French and English-speaking Canadians on account of ethnic interests. So also in the U.K. a number of ethnic groups are fighting for recognition. A prominent example is the Irish. In a country like Nigeria, for instance, ethnicity permeates every aspect of the national life. It is wielded in political power distribution, revenue allocation and lately in educational opportunities. Aside from other factors, it is a constant guide to our successive governments in decision making and policy implementation.

Of the many markers of ethnicity language is by

far the most salient. Among members of an ethnic group language ceases from to be a means of communication. It symbolizes a bond of unity among its speakers, through which they can be separated or uniquely identified from other speech communities. This calls to mind Garvin and Mathiot's (1968) unifying and separatist functions of language. It is in language that the group's essence and its systematized ways of life find expression and meaning from generation to generation.

The property of language as a bond of unity usually evokes a positive attitude from its speakers. Therefore it is protected in some cases against relegation or impurities from other languages. This at times works against bilingualism. For example, Fasold (1984) reports that one of the reasons why Swahili has not been able to make much headway in Kenya as in Tanzania is because of large ethnic groups in the former country. These ethnic groups feel it beneath their dignity to learn a new language in so far as their languages are major languages. In other words, they want other people to learn their own particular languages. Furthermore as a result of the upsurge in ethnic awareness, the rate of French-English



bilingualism is on the downward trend in the Quebec province of Canada (Bourhis, 1983).

In recognition of the problems of ethnicity, any legislation in a plural society is approached with some caution. This is why bilingualism is institutionalized in countries like Belgium and Switzerland. Perhaps it is in recognition of the potentially disruptive nature of ethnicity in a multilingual nation as Nigeria that our policy makers have not been able to come out forcefully with a single national language.

As must have been noted from the foregoing, the emphasis is very much on the intensity to which the members of ethnic collectivities see their group as distinct from others, and their allegiance to the group. What we are interested in here, are the consequences of ethnicity rather than ethnicity per se. More specifically, we are interested in the role of ethnicity in the network of interaction between members of the two ethnic groups, especially in their language use habits. It should be noted that certain relationships cut across ethnic groups. These are friendship, education, joint economic activities and to a very restricted extent, marriage. All these

facilitate the learning and use of each other's language. This social and linguistic integration may be rebuffed or resented by members of an ethnic group. Because the use of another language may be considered treacherous or as a disregard for one's cultural heritage and what it stands for. It is therefore our desire in this work to concretize the place of ethnicity in the language use patterns of the groups under study.

#### 2.5.7 Summary

The first part of this literature review has concentrated on the conceptualization of bilingualism. An evaluation of definitions of bilingualism based on different perspectives has revealed that an entirely satisfactory definition can not be given to it. However, the consensus is to regard bilingualism as a relative ability. This has therefore necessitated the measurement of bilingualism either among a group of individuals or in a society.

In an attempt to circumvent the difficulties in trying to define bilingualism, scholars have come to realize that typologizing it would provide a clear

frame of reference amenable to research. A look was therefore taken at types of bilingualism relevant to our frame of reference i.e. societal bilingualism. Equally problematic is the measurement of bilingualism. Nevertheless certain indirect measures have been developed especially by social-psychologists. An examination of works in which they have been employed showed that they have varying degrees of reliability. Secondly, they can hardly be divorced from certain psycho-social factors like IQ, memory limitation, etc. We concluded that their adequate utility in a purely illiterate setting is open to serious doubts.

In the second part of the review, attention was focused on other necessary sociolinguistic concomitants of societal bilingualism. Chiefly we have focused on language choice, language attitudes, language maintenance and shift, ethnicity, etc. These have been the meeting points of researchers of various interests. On language choice, for instance, we reviewed a number of works from the sociological perspective, chiefly those that utilize domain analysis. Giles' accommodation theory from the realm of social-psychology

was also reviewed in relation to this study.

Additionally language attitude studies were also reviewed. We have been able to see how language attitude can shed some light on inter-ethnic relations. We<sup>have</sup> also discovered that language attitudes have implications for inter-generational continuity of a language. Bilingualism was also examined in relation to education. Of interest is the polemic on whether bilingualism is a liability or an asset to the educational development of the child. We however suggest that this subject matter be pursued in other future research, as it is purely incidental to our present investigation. The works reviewed above have therefore provided both the theoretical and methodological orientation for our present study. It is our hope that we shall be able to reveal the socio-cultural correlates of bilingualism in the community under investigation.

## NOTES

- 1 This issue is discussed in . greater detail under section 2.5.4 focusing on bilingualism and biculturalism.
- 2 The term "diglossia" was first introduced by Ferguson (1959) to describe a community where two varieties of a language are used, with each having clearly delineated functions. The two varieties differ with regard to prestige. The prestigious variety is called the High variety and it is used for formal purposes. The less prestigious is described as <sup>the</sup> Low variety used for day-to-day communication purposes and other less important functions. For details see Ferguson (1959). The term has, however, been extended beyond a situation where two language varieties are used. It now describes a society with any two languages with each performing different functions (see Fishman, 1967 and Fasold, 1984).
- 3 Bill 101 was passed in 1977 in an attempt to reduce the linguistic tension between the Francophone majority and Anglophone minority in Quebec. With this bill French was promulgated as the official language in the province of Quebec, Canada. For details see Bourhis (1983).

- 4 Fasold (1984) is particularly elucidating. He regards language shift as a process by which "a community gives up a language completely in favour of another one". So also in language maintenance "the community collectively decides to continue using even in the face of onslaught of another language (emphasis mine) the language or languages it has traditionally used (p 213).
  
- 5 It is a common feature in most major towns in Southern Nigeria to have quarters exclusively for Hausa immigrants from the North. These are called Sabongari. For example such Hausa settlements could be found in Ibadan, Ile-Ife, Sagamu, Osoybo, etc. A similar quarters exists in Ibadan for the Nupe. Although these immigrants have varying degrees of dealings with their host communities, they are still able to retain their languages. This is largely due to their segregation from the host community, and the fact that they keep constant touch with their home towns. For details especially on the Nupe-speaking immigrants in Ibadan, see Oyetade (1986).
  
- 6 This is one of the enclaves of ethnic minorities in France. Their language is called Breton. Other ethnic groups include Basques, Alsatians, Flemings, Catalans, etc. But the influence of French looms large in France and has almost wiped all these

minor languages out of existence. We can therefore say that France is technically a monolingual nation.

- 7 It is however reported that some people have constituted themselves into pressure groups to safeguard the languages against total relegation and to revive it (see Timm, 1980).
- 8 In actual fact, this is the report of the meeting of experts held in 1951. It was however published in 1953. But the one available to us is in Fishman (1968).

## CHAPTER THREE

### RESEARCH DESIGN AND PROCEDURE

#### 3.0 Introduction

The central aims of this investigation are: (1) a description of the abilities of our interviewees (people in this community) in the two languages spoken here, namely Nupe and Yoruba; (2) an examination of the functional distribution of Yoruba and Nupe in specific domains and (3) the attitudes of our respondents to their respective languages on the one hand and their attitude to their second language and their speakers on the other.

The method adopted for this work therefore is elicitation of information through a multidimensional interview schedule. Since we hope to ascertain the degree of our respondents' bilingualism, we also utilized a listening comprehension exercise to measure this as<sup>a</sup> supplement to the self-report of our interviewees on their degree of proficiency in both languages. As there may be discrepancies between subjects' self-report and their actual proficiency in a language, therefore we also found participant observation indispensable to this work.



Similar procedures have been used by others (O'Barr, 1971; White, 1971; Lieberman and McCabe, 1978; etc.). All these utilized, in varying degrees, the questionnaire/interview guide and participant observation. For instance, O'Barr investigated the extent of multilingualism in Usangi, a rural Tanzanian village with the aid of an interview guide designed to obtain information on language ability and use as well as language attitudes of the villagers. The research revealed that Usangi men are almost universally proficient in Swahili, whereas this is not the case for their women counterparts. Secondly, younger people have greater facility in Swahili than older people. Similarly, Lieberman and McCabe (1978) determined the degree of bilingualism in various domains and the consistency of language choice in them for a wide variety of mother tongue groups in Nairobi. They discovered that Gujarati mother tongue group specifically are shifting away from their language. The methods used in these works were adopted in the present investigation.

### 3.1 The Instruments

Two instruments were used to elicit information from our respondents, namely interview schedule and a listening comprehension exercise. Since the work is focused on the language situation in this community, we believe that using only literate people here cannot give us the true picture of the language situation in this town. This automatically makes the questionnaire approach undesirable or inappropriate. We therefore settled for the interview approach because this would accommodate a more heterogeneous sample including both literate and the illiterate. This interview approach has a lot of merit. Firstly, it allow for many informal observations and a kind of observer participation. Secondly, it enables the respondents to respond freely to our questions which could not have been the case when filling the questionnaire alone. Finally it enabled us to get detailed and reliable information from the subjects.

#### 3.1.1 The Interview Schedule

The interview schedule is divided into three parts. The first part was intended to elicit demographic informa-

tion and information on the respondents' level of proficiency in both Yoruba and Nupe. The second part was designed to ask for information on language use in specific domains, like home, school and at work, while the third part deals with language attitude and ethnicity-related matters. The questions in all these parts are not open-ended but are of the alternative answer type.

The first part of the schedule is a language background questionnaire. In it the respondent is asked to rate his proficiency in both languages in the four basic language skills; speaking, writing, reading and understanding. As far as speaking is concerned, those who were born and who grew up in Tsaragi or elsewhere in the Nupe-speaking areas are regarded as fluent speakers of Nupe but ability to speak Yoruba was evaluated differently. The respondents' ability in Yoruba was scored at the time of interview on the basis of their fluency when responding to our questions during the interview. This is because the interview was conducted in Yoruba. Those who are literate were asked how well they could read or write Nupe and Yoruba. They

were rated on a five-point rating scale - the highest possible degree of proficiency in any skill is 5 while the lowest degree is 1.

Similarly in the second part dealing with language use, specific domains of language use were indicated for the respondents to report their language use in them e.g. the home, work, school, religion, etc. We realized that different role-relationships are obtainable in these domains; therefore we had options like wife talking with husband and vice-versa, children talking to parents or other children, neighbours and friends or in a domain like work we had options like inferior vs superior, equals, etc. In the last section an opinionnaire was made use of through which the respondents' attitudes to the languages spoken in this town, and to those who speak them are ascertained.

### 3.1.2 The Listening Comprehension Exercise

Bilingualism involves a composite of skills. In measuring the extent of a person's bilingualism, the ideal thing therefore would be to study all the linguistic skills i.e. listening, speaking, reading

and writing in all the linguistic dimensions - phoneme, lexis, syntax and semantics. This seems impracticable within a single work. In actual fact, Macnamara (1969) advises that one should bear in mind particular skills one wishes to measure before setting out to measure bilingualism, and this should be dictated purely by the purpose for which such measures of bilingual proficiency are needed. In our own case we intend to show the relative extent of our respondents' bilingualism in both Nupe and Yoruba. To determine this we used both literates as well as illiterates. Apart from speaking, listening comprehension is the only logical option because both literates and illiterates are capable of the skill.

Apart from the limitations of the circumstances in which the research was conducted, our choice of listening comprehension exercise was motivated by Clark, Hutcheson and Van Buren's (197<sup>a</sup>) conclusion that comprehension does not only manifest understanding, it also reflects the language user's productive ability because it is items he is capable of producing that he understands.

The exercise consists of two comprehension passages

in both Yoruba and Nupe. The passages are stories recorded on tapes and they are <sup>of</sup> about 5 minutes duration each. Attempts were made to ensure that the passages are equivalent in terms of length and complexity. The first passage in Yoruba was prepared by the researcher, while the second one in Nupe was prepared by a Nupe native speaker who is also a seasoned teacher of linguistics. Each passage was followed by five multiple-choice questions. Some of these questions were designed to test comprehension of literal meanings or understanding of facts and information explicitly stated in the passages, while the other questions were designed to test comprehension of facts that could only be inferred from the passage.

### 3.2 The Sample

According to the 1985 projected population of Kwara State, Saare/Tsaragi community is populated by 45,514 inhabitants. The Yoruba native speakers in the community numbered up to 28,695 while their Nupe counterparts amounted <sup>to</sup> 14,819.<sup>1</sup> For practical reasons it was not possible to list all the bilingual members of this community and apply the random sampling technique

to them. The stratified random sampling technique was preferred because it has the merit of incorporating every sector of the community. The following sectors of the community were therefore surveyed for potential participants: the two markets in this community, places of worship, i.e. churches and mosques, schools and busy streets in the town. To be qualified, a respondent should lay claim to certain degree of proficiency in both languages. Cognizance was also given to things like ethnic background, age, gender, social status, etc, so as to make the sample truly representative.

It should be added that these sectors did not yield <sup>an</sup> equal number of willing respondents. In addition to the number of respondents selected there was a convenient sample of bilinguals numbering about forty got in their shops, homes and offices. We therefore had a pool of 300 potential subjects. We eventually selected 200 out of the 300 potential subjects through a process of random sampling. The sample was fixed at 200 because of the nature of the measurement procedures. A sample which could be conveniently handled during close observation was preferred so that members could

be interviewed in detail. We have therefore restricted our sample to this number because a larger number would be difficult to monitor effectively. We are confident that this number of respondents represents different age group, educational backgrounds and occupation among others. It was this group of willing respondents that the researcher and his assistant who is a native of this town attempted to interview and test with the comprehension exercise.

We were eventually able to interview a total of 180 respondents because some out of the number who initially signified their intention to participate withdrew. Secondly we could not use some of them because of their strikingly low level of proficiency in the second language. They were only able to greet and utter some isolated words in the second language. This we considered inconsistent with our definition of bilingualism in this work.

The respondents were divided into two groups: the Nupe mother-tongue group, numbering 125 and the Yoruba mother-tongue group which is 55 in number. With regard to the second method i.e. the listening



comprehension exercise, only 169 out of the total number participated. Again the Nupe mother-tongue group amounted to 118 while their Yoruba counterpart amounted to 51.

The disparity between the two groups of respondents should not suggest any sampling error. It has been reported earlier that Nupe-Yoruba bilingualism is more wide-spread among the Nupe mother tongue group than their Yoruba counterpart. It was therefore not necessary to have <sup>an</sup> equal number of respondents for both groups, as this will give a false impression about the bilingual situation in this community. Our sample therefore is a true reflection of the bilingual situation here. This sample is also heterogeneous enough in terms of distribution of social variables like age, gender, marital status, occupation and the like. This will become evident when the demographic profile of the sample is given in the next chapter.

### 3.3 Procedure

As mentioned above the interview was conducted in the second language for all categories of respondents

from both sides. As far as the measurement of proficiency in all the four language skills i.e. speaking, writing, reading and listening (comprehension) is concerned, the subjects were asked to rate their proficiency in each of them on a five-point rating scale as follows: excellent, very good, good, fair and poor. In scoring their ability, 5 was given for the highest degree of proficiency in any skill and 1 for the least. The spaces for reading and writing were left blank for those of our subjects who neither read nor write these languages. For speaking and understanding, however, the subjects were not taken for their words. They were rated on the basis of their performance during the interview. If a subject responds fluently in Yoruba without any difficulty, he is rated as excellent or very good in speaking the language; so also is he rated accordingly for understanding if the researcher does not have to explain himself repeatedly during the interview. The same was done for the Yoruba group by our research assistant who is a native-speaker of Nupe. Understanding was, however, validated after the interview had been completed through a listening comprehension exercise which is explained below.

For those of our subjects who were in secondary schools, the interview was conducted in groups in their schools. They were all given copies of the interview schedule to complete, but not all by themselves. The schedule was jointly completed by the subjects and the investigator with the assistance of the class teachers to maintain orderliness. The exercise started with the investigator explaining to them the motive behind the work. Each question was then read aloud and the possible options to it explained to them in the second language. The students were then instructed to choose whichever suited them and then to record it in the schedule. They were also instructed to add whatever information they considered relevant which was not given among the options provided. This was later followed by the listening comprehension exercise.

As can be seen in appendix III this exercise involved two passages, one in Yoruba and the other in Nupe. They were recorded on tapes and each of them was followed by five questions. Answers were also provided for the respondents. The respondents were instructed to listen carefully to the stories which

were going to be told on the cassette recorder and then answer the questions that followed each of them by writing whether it was a, b, or c. For example, the first question and the list of possible answers for the Nupe passage are shown here:

Zà gúkin le èmigún dozi nìmi ètàn kpókpórógi nana bo o?

How many of the people mentioned in the story were neighbours?

- a) (Sode and Tsoda)
- b) Emigbó-tán-gan-gùn to Sode to Tsoda.  
(Emigbó-tán-gan-gùn and Sode and Tsoda)
- c) Sode be Emigbó-tán-gan-gùn yin.  
(Sode and Emigbó-tán-gan-gùn)

For those of our subjects who were not literate, they were asked to give whichever of the three options they thought was the correct answer in ordinal number i.e. 1st, 2nd and 3rd. Their answers were recorded by the researcher himself. In all situations these tapes were played once for the respondents so as to ensure accuracy of judgement. The whole exercise lasted for about 15 minutes.

### 3. Result of Proficiency in Nupe and Yoruba

In determining proficiency in Nupe and Yoruba, two major language skills were eventually utilized. These are speaking and understanding (listening). Our desire was to compare the respondents' degree of proficiency in Nupe and Yoruba in all language skills i.e. speaking, reading, writing, and understanding, but in realization of the fact that the two groups consist of both the educated and the uneducated and since we wanted to find out whether education had a bearing on proficiency in the second language, it was assumed that using both reading and writing skill would place the educated respondents at an advantage over their non-educated counterparts. Therefore we settled for these two language skills. As earlier indicated, the subjects' proficiency in each skill was rated using a 5-point rating scale, ranging from 1-5, 1 being the least and 5 the highest level of proficiency.

Now that we had settled for two skills, speaking and listening common to all, a person's degree of proficiency was determined by the addition of his score in the two skills. This brought the total marks obtainable to 10 which was the highest level of

proficiency possible. Since this is a kind of impressionistic report, we sought to validate the subjects' self-report of their proficiency by the listening comprehension exercise in both languages. The total marks obtainable is 5 which indicates the highest possible level of understanding of the language.

The performance of the respondents will be presented in relation to the hypotheses which are postulated against them as stated below. Our findings will therefore be analysed in the following chapter. We shall presently highlight our research questions and hypotheses and present the assumptions motivating their postulation.

### 3.5 Highlight of Research questions, Hypotheses and Assumptions motivating them

The following are the research questions:

- 1 What is the extent of bilingualism among the two groups?
- 2 Do the subjects' degrees of bilingualism vary with regard to demographic, socio-economic and socio-cultural variables?
- 3 In what situations do the subjects employ each of the languages for communicative purposes?

4. Is the direction of use of these two languages leading to language shift or maintenance?
5. What is the attitude of the subjects to their respective second languages and their native speakers?
6. Can we account for the subjects' proficiency in terms of their attitude toward the languages and their speakers?
7. Do the subjects aspire to greater mastery in the languages as a result of their attitudes to the native speakers or the functions of the languages?

Closely connected with these questions the following hypotheses are postulated. Consistent with the standard practice in sociological research, these hypotheses are negatively stated, i.e. they are null hypotheses. Each of them is paired with a research hypothesis which is not explicitly stated and is a converse of the null hypothesis. In statistical procedures, the research hypotheses is proved if the null hypothesis is rejected. But if we cannot reject the null hypothesis, then the research hypothesis is not valid. We should be guided by this rule in reading these hypotheses.

H<sub>0</sub>! : There is no significant difference in the level of proficiency of Nupe speakers

in Yoruba and Yoruba speakers in Nupe.

The research hypothesis which is the converse of this is: There is a significant difference in the level of proficiency of Nupe speakers in Yoruba and Yoruba speakers in Nupe.

The motivation for this hypothesis is the assumption that the Yoruba are not as proficient in Nupe as are the Nupe in Yoruba. Since Yoruba as a major language is more dominant than Nupe, it is assumed that it is more likely for the Nupe to learn Yoruba rather than for the Yoruba to learn Nupe. This can facilitate a greater mastery of Yoruba among the Nupe than of Nupe among the Yoruba, if at all they learn Nupe.

This is further motivated by research findings in other parts of the world. Knowledge of the second language is usually high among immigrant populations, who have to learn the language of the host community for socio-economic reasons, whereas the language of the immigrants may not provide any attraction to the host community. A situation like this was observed by White (1971) among Indians and Fijians in a South Pacific city. The Indians acquired Fijian more than



Fijians did Hindustani. Although our situation does not present an immigrant-host relation in a strict sense, the languages in contact are not of equal status. Yoruba has a higher position than Nupe in the hierarchy of languages in Nigeria. It is therefore assumed that the language with a higher status will attract more speakers than another with a lower status. In addition, the Nupe in Kwara State are in close proximity to the Yoruba who are greater in number. It is assumed that communication needs will necessitate the two groups to have contact with each other and the stronger linguistic group will exert more influence on the weaker group.

The second and third hypotheses are similar. They are motivated by the same assumptions and will therefore be discussed together. First they are stated in null as follows:

$H_0^2$ : There is no significant difference in the proficiency of Nupe and Yoruba respondents in Yoruba.

$H_0^3$ : There is no significant difference in the proficiency of Nupe and Yoruba respondents in Nupe

Bearing in mind that the converse of these hypotheses

is our research hypothesis, it will be interesting if these two null hypotheses prove to be true. This is because the general expectation is that native speakers of a language should have far more superior proficiency in their language than second language users. It is even observed that no matter one's degree of proficiency in a second language, one only approximates the native speakers proficiency in that language. Considering the pattern of co-existence between the two groups in this community and the fairly long history of their co-existence it will not be too surprising if they have equal facility in each other's language. The eventual statistical test will be able to show this clearly.

Ho<sup>4</sup>: Male and female subjects do not differ significantly in their proficiency in the second language.

There are research findings which indicate differential proficiency in the second language in relation to sex. Research on societal bilingualism of this nature has shown that linguistic ability in a second language especially in a mixed community, is sex-determined and this is usually in favour of men.

For example, Lieberman (1971) discovers that more men among the French mother-tongue Canadians are bilingual in English and French than women of the same group in Montreal, Canada. This he explains in terms of men's usual engagement in jobs needing the use of English, whereas their women counterparts are engaged in home-making where little English is used.

One may in fact doubt the validity of this finding because it was based on census figures. Therefore on account of sheer number we cannot say that men are more bilingual than their women counterparts. O'Barr (1971) similarly discovers that Usangi men, in Tanzania are almost universally bilingual in their mother tongue and Swahili; while women are judged to speak Swahili which is their second language less fluently.

Other works, however, tend to suggest that women are ordinarily more bilingual than their male counterparts. Adeniran (1983) cites Garai and Scheifield (1968) as concluding that women have better fluency and greater facility with language than men. But according to Adeniran's finding, this conclusion cannot be sustained in that females in his sample do

not perform significantly better than their male counterparts. If these results are anything to go by, we shall say that among our respondents it could be either way. Both men and women or alternatively males and females have equal opportunities to learn the second language; our statistical test will be able to show us the direction of bilingualism among the two groups.

Ho<sup>5</sup>: There is no significant difference in the proficiency of couples who share Nupe and Yoruba and those who do not.

The hypothesis is motivated by the fact that few cases of inter-ethnic marriage were reported. The few cases were reported among the Nupe respondents alone; among the Yoruba no cases of inter-ethnic marriage were reported. It was therefore impossible for us to determine whether those who were involved in mixed marriages had a superior proficiency in the second language than those who were not. This hypothesis is therefore postulated and it is predicated on the assumption that couples who share Nupe and Yoruba will be communicating occasionally in the second language.

We expect this to facilitate greater proficiency in the second language among Nupe-Yoruba bilingual couples than their non-bilingual counterparts.

Ho<sup>6</sup>: Subjects belonging to different age groups will not differ in their proficiency in the second language.

Popular opinions tend to support the view that language learning is maturational and with regard to first language acquisition, adults perform significantly better than the youths. However, with regard to second language, the situation is reversed in favour of the youths. It has been discovered in various works that the youths are more proficient in their second language than adults (cf. Gal, 1979; Dorian, 1981 and O'Baar, 1971). In O'Barr (1971), for instance, it was discovered that younger people have greater facility in using Swahili, a second language than do older people. This is accounted for by the influence of education to which the youths are exposed. As far as our situation is concerned we cannot be categorical because Nupe-Yoruba bilingualism is wide-spread and both the old and the young equally have avenues for learning the second

language.

Ho<sup>7</sup>: Subjects will not differ in their proficiency in the second language with regard to different places of its acquisition.

This is motivated by the assumption that different places where a language is spoken present varying opportunities for language acquisition. If a language is mostly used in the neighbourhood or at school while it is hardly used at home, it is assumed that those who acquired this language in the neighbourhood or at school will have a higher proficiency than those who acquired it at home. We shall be able to determine whether our respondents vary considerably in their second language when the mean performances of those who acquired it in various places are statistically compared.

Ho<sup>8</sup>: Subjects will not differ in their proficiency in the second language as a result of their level of education.

It is believed that there will be a considerable disparity on our subjects' bilingual ability in terms of their level of education. Since the school is mixed

and children attend schools located in each other's neighbourhood (mostly at secondary level), it is believed that an avenue has been created for the effective learning of the second language. Even though it has not been reported that second language learners are taught their second language formally in school, informal interaction is largely conducted in the native languages of the community. That is, in the Nupe-speaking part, one expects Nupe to be used mostly. While in the Yoruba-speaking part, Yoruba is similarly used. It is assumed therefore, that the school will provide a veritable avenue for the acquisition and reinforcement of the second language.

Furthermore, in the past, the Nupe and the Yoruba attended the same primary school and were both taught in Yoruba. We can then assume that those who attended school at that time among the Nupe would display a higher degree of proficiency in Yoruba than those who did not attend school.

Apart from this, it is also believed that education facilitates mobility, and therefore we assume that some of our respondents above primary and secondary education

who are employed in the civil service are prone to transfer from one place to the other. These could come into contact with either of the languages in their different locations. More importantly, it is believed that education can facilitate the learning of any skill. This is because one has been equipped with different learning skills which one may not even be conscious of, but one utilizes such skills as different tasks present themselves. It is therefore assumed that educated respondents will be more bilingual than non-educated ones, and that their degree of bilingualism will be related to their level of education.

Ho<sup>9</sup>: Subjects will not differ in the proficiency in the second language as a result of their occupation.

Our expectation is that subjects will vary in their degrees of proficiency in the second language in terms of occupation, because there are occupations here where the use of either of the languages in contact will be of advantage. In some situations a language may be officially recognized in the employment domain. Therefore, anybody who wants to be employed will have to



learn the language. That is why immigrants in countries like U.S.A., France and Germany have to learn and be proficient in the hosts' languages. In our own case, neither of our focus languages is officially recognized in the employment domain. But it is our belief that certain jobs like trading and artisanship require proficiency in the two languages in contact. Therefore it is expected that respondents who engage in such occupations will have a superior degree of proficiency in the second language compared with those whose work requires less use of the second language.

In spite of the fact that neither of the languages is recognized in the official domain, we expect our respondents who are civil servants to be equally proficient in the two languages. Some of them are regularly transferred from one place to the other and come into contact with either of the languages elsewhere. Similarly because of the nature of some jobs, knowledge of the second language is important. For example, an Agricultural Extension Officer posted to this area can hardly get across to the farmers without using either of the languages in the area. It is in recognition of situations like this that the above hypothesis

is postulated. It is hoped that varying degrees of proficiency by occupational groups will be manifested.

Ho<sup>10</sup>: There is no significant relationship between proficiency in the second language and attitude towards its native speakers.

This hypothesis is motivated by studies in the social psychology of bilingualism. It has been discovered that if the speakers of a language constitute a positive reference group to another who are second language users, this may engender their interest in the language and lead to its greater mastery among them. But if the groups are not well-disposed toward each other, their respective languages may not provide any attraction to either of the groups. We therefore predicate this hypothesis on the findings that attitudes of second language speakers toward the native speakers of a language mediates their attitude toward the respective languages (see Lambert et al., 1960; Wolff, 1963; Labov; 1963, etc.). This is why we attempt to find out in this study whether we shall have something similar to what has been discovered

elsewhere or whether there will be any departure from them and what can be said to account for the departure.

Ho<sup>11</sup>: There is no significant difference in the proficiency of subjects who acquired the second language for integrative reasons and those who acquired it for instrumental reasons.

This hypothesis is motivated by the distinction that is often made between instrumental and integrative motivation for second language learning. Integrative motivation which is a desire to be accepted as a member of the group whose language is being learnt is said to promote a greater mastery of the language than instrumental motivation, which arises out of the utilitarian value of the second language (see sections 2.5.2 and 2.5.4 above). Through this hypothesis we shall be able to show what type of motivation encourages a higher degree of proficiency in the second language than the other among our respondents here.

### 3.6 Statistical Procedures

The hypotheses postulated require different statistical validations. Three basic statistical

tests were therefore utilized in testing them. These are the t-test, Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) and the chi-square test of significance. The t-test and ANOVA are mathematical variants, in that they work in the same way. In the two methods what we are concerned with mainly is the comparison of two or more groups of subjects with respect to their mean ratings, scores, etc. In our own case, we dealt with the mean ratings and scores of our subjects in their first and second languages between the two groups.

The t-test is used when we have just two groups, but ANOVA can be used for two or more groups. The t-test was therefore applied for the first five hypotheses and hypothesis eleven. This is because in each of these hypotheses there are two groups. The t-test was used because it is the best statistical test for comparing two groups or populations with regard to a particular variable. The formula used in computing the t-test is presented below:

$$t = \bar{X}_1 - \bar{X}_2 \sqrt{\frac{(n_1 + n_2 - 2)(n_1 n_2)}{(n_1 (S_1)^2 + n_2 (S_2)^2)(n_1 + n_2)}}$$

where  $\bar{X}_1$  = mean of the first group

$\bar{X}_2$  = mean of the second group

$n_1$  = the number of the first group

$n_2$  = the number of the second group

$S_1$  = the standard deviation of the first group

$S_2$  = the standard deviation of the second group.

$\sqrt{\quad}$  = the square root of

The calculation results in a t-value. To reject or accept the hypothesis therefore, the t-value derived from the calculation is compared with the critical t-values set out on standard statistical tables. If the observed t-value is the same or greater than the table value, the null hypothesis is rejected (i.e. there is a significant difference in the means of the two groups compared); otherwise the null hypothesis is retained.

Our second statistical test, ANOVA was utilized to test hypotheses 6-9. Unlike the t-test which is applicable only to two groups, ANOVA can be used to

compare two or more groups or populations. What it does is to show the extent of variance between the groups. Two independent estimates of population variance are then utilized. One is the variation between the groups, and the other within the groups. The estimate of the population variance based on the variation between groups is known as the mean square between groups while the other based on the variation within the groups is known as the mean square within groups. The variance ratio denoted by  $F$  is derived by dividing the mean square between groups by the mean square within groups i.e.

$$F = \frac{MS_B}{MS_W}$$

All these terms are summarized in the ANOVA table (See table 17 for example). It should be added, however, that each term shown in the table is represented by different formulae. The three major terms are sum of squares between, total sum of squares, and sum of squares within. They are respectively represented by the following formulae.

$$a) \text{ SS between} = \frac{(\sum X_1)^2}{n_1} + \frac{(\sum X_2)^2}{n_2} + \frac{(\sum X_3)^2}{n_3} - \frac{(\sum X)^2}{N}$$

$$b) \text{ SS total} = \sum X^2 - \frac{(\sum X)^2}{N}$$

$$c) \text{ SS within} = \text{SS total} - \text{SS between}$$

Where  $X_1, X_2, X_3$  = groups 1-3

$X$  = grand total for all the groups

$n_1, n_2, n_3$  = total number of cases in each group

$N$  = total number of all the groups

Just as in the t-test, the ANOVA calculation also yields a value for F, which is similarly compared with the critical values of F displayed in the statistical table. The null hypothesis is also rejected if the F value got is equal to or greater than the critical value of F on the statistical table.

Apart from the fact that the t-test and ANOVA are the best statistical tests that can be used to compare two or more groups with respect to a variable, they are employed in this study because of the nature of our data. Our groups are not of the same size and in such

situations the t-test and ANOVA are considered appropriate.

In order to test hypothesis 10, the chi-square test was considered appropriate, since what we wanted to determine was the relationship between two variables. The formula used is as follows.

$$\chi^2 = \sum \left[ \frac{(f_o - f_e)^2}{f_e} \right]$$

where  $f_o$  = observed frequency

$f_e$  = expected frequency

The result of this calculation is compared with the critical  $\chi^2$  value obtained from a coefficient of relationship table. Similarly the relationship is described as significant when the obtained  $\chi^2$  value is greater than the critical  $\chi^2$  value and non-significant when it is lower.



## NOTE

- 1 This information was made available to us by the National Population Commission, Ilorin. The Commission published a pamphlet containing the 1985 projected population of Kwara State. This was clearly spelt out according to towns and local governments.

## CHAPTER FOUR

4.0

### ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

In this chapter we attempt to answer the research questions, accepting or rejecting the hypotheses previously postulated. Information bearing on these questions and hypotheses was collected through an interview schedule which has been discussed in the previous chapter. For the purposes of analysis, the interview schedule was divided into three sections. The first section sought to elicit demographic information from the respondents. In this section we also attempt a measurement of the respondents' bilingualism during the course of interview.

The second section attempts to find out from the respondents the actual use of the two languages, Nupe and Yoruba in interactional situations like the home, neighbourhood, work, church/mosque, market place, school, etc. Since the community under focus is ethnically mixed, it is assumed that there could be attitudes of language loyalty and ethnic consciousness, therefore the third section is designed to elicit information on language-related attitudes and ethnicity.

Our analysis shall therefore proceed in these three different directions. In addition, the analysis is intended to determine whether there is a similar pattern of bilingualism, language use and language attitudes among the two groups in the community. First we present the demographic profile of the respondents from either side, so as to have a good background on which our subsequent findings and discussions will be hinged.

#### 4.1 Demographic Information

The demographic information which is crucial to this work includes the following: sex, age, marital status, educational qualification, occupation, place of acquisition of the second language, the extent of inter-ethnic marriage, languages spoken by spouses for the married couples, the frequency of communication in the second language, etc. All these are assumed to have some bearing on the degree of bilingualism and language use among our respondents. Therefore it will be

necessary to have a look at the distribution of our sample in terms of these variables. The respondents are divided into the two mother tongue groups. The Nupe mother-tongue group has 125 respondents while the Yoruba mother-tongue group has 55. This disparity has been explained as reflecting the situation in this community, namely that Nupe-Yoruba bilingualism is more wide-spread among the Nupe than among the Yoruba.

#### 4.1.1 Sex

As pointed out earlier the male respondents outnumber their female counterparts in both groups. The male respondents among the Nupe constitute 65.6% while the females are 34.4%. Among the Yoruba the ratio of male to female respondents is 56.4 to 43.6%. The table below summarizes the picture.

Table 1: Distribution of Respondents' Sex by Mother tongue group.

Sex	NUPE GROUP		YORUBA GROUP	
	No.	%	No.	%
Male	82	65.6	31	56.4
Female	43	34.4	24	43.6
Total	125	100	55	100

This clearly shows that we have more male bilinguals in both cases but does not suggest anything about the bilingual status of the male and the female in the two groups.

#### 4.1.2 Age

The subjects were divided into four age groups as follows: 10-20, these are mainly teenagers or adolescents, the 21-30 group, 31-40 and those who are above 40. The pattern of distribution of the respondents can be observed in table 2. It will be observed that the various age categories are fairly well represented in our sample.

Table 2: Distribution of Respondents' age groups by Language group

Age groups	NUPE GROUP		YORUBA GROUP	
	No.	%	No.	%
10-20	40	32.0	20	36.4
21-30	39	31.2	13	23.6
31-40	25	20.0	13	23.6
40+	21	16.8	9	16.4
Total	125	100	55	100

As shown in this table, among the Nupe, there is a slight difference in the proportion of respondents whose ages range between 10 and 20 on the one hand, and those between 21 and 30. They amount to 32 and 31.2% respectively. We have 20% and 16.8% for those within 31-40 and above 40 years. Among the Yoruba respondents, the percentage of respondents in various age groups tend to decrease progressively just as we have among the Nupe. For example the largest percentage of 36.4 are those between 10 and 20 years old. The age groups 21-30 and 31-40 equally constitute 23.4% of the sample.

The distribution among both ethnic groups seems to

suggest that bilingualism is more wide-spread among the younger generations than among their older counterpart. This becomes obvious considering those who are below thirty years on the one hand and those who are above forty years old on the other. It can be said that those who are between 31-40 represent the intermediate level in number because they are not up to those below them and are greater than those who are older than them. It is assumed that there is likely going to be a correlation between this pattern of distribution and their actual degree of proficiency in their respective second languages. Our subsequent analysis will be able to bring this out.

#### 4.1.3 Marital Status

Considering marital status, there seems to be a contrast between Nupe and Yoruba respondents. Among our Nupe respondents, the ratio of the married to single respondents is 64% to 36%, whereas among the Yoruba, marital status appears almost evenly distributed in that 50.9% were married as compared with 49.1% of single respondents. The sample, therefore is representative. This will enable us to see the differential

proficiency in Nupe and Yoruba on either side. Table 3 below shows the distribution of married and single respondents on either side.

Table 3: Distribution of Respondents in terms of Marital Status by language group

Marital Status	NUPE GROUP		YORUBA GROUP	
	No.	%	No.	%
Married	80	64	28	50.9
Single	45	36	27	49.1
Total	125	100	55	100

#### 4.1.4 Education

Education is one of the variables assumed to have some relationship with proficiency in the second language. The basis for this assumption has been given. We therefore wish to know those of our respondents who have one form of formal education or the other. The following table gives the educational profile of the respondents on either side.



Table A: Distribution of subjects in terms of levels of Formal School Education by language group

Education	NUPE GROUP		YORUBA GROUP	
	No.	%	No.	%
No formal education	34	27.2	10	18.2
Primary	22	17.6	12	21.8
Secondary	47	37.6	26	47.3
Post-Secondary	22	17.6	7	12.7
Total	125	100	55	100

As can be seen from the table those who have secondary education are predominant in the two samples. They amount to 37.6% of the Nupe respondents and 47.3% of the Yoruba respondents. The reason for this, it can be said, is that for some people formal education terminates at this stage and because some of the products of secondary schools are employed in government establishments, many parents strive <sup>to ensure</sup> that their children attain this level of education. This may be the reason why they are well-represented in the two samples.

Those who have post secondary education seem to constitute the minority among both groups. This is a

reflection of the actual situation in the country, not many people attain this educational height. And with regard to this community, it will be safe to attribute the low number of people with higher educational qualification to the sub-urban nature of this town. The town does not facilitate their stay because there are little or no job opportunities commensurate with their level of education. Apart from the secondary school teachers and some officials at the local government secretariat in the town, there are no establishments where people with higher qualification can work. In fact, not all people with higher educational background will be bilingual in Nupe and Yoruba. With these samples we shall still be able to determine whether bilinguals differ in their level of proficiency with regard to their different levels of education.

#### 4.1.5 Occupation

Another demographic variable of interest is the occupation of respondents. For the purpose of our investigation, we categorized the respondents into five occupational groups, viz, trading, farming, schooling,

artisan, and civil service. Below is the distribution of our respondents in terms of occupation.

Table 5: Occupational distribution of Respondents by language group

Occupation	NUPE GROUP		YORUBA GROUP	
	No.	%	No.	%
Trading	25	20	12	21.8
Farming	18	14.4	2	9.1
Schooling	42	33.6	19	34.5
Artisan	17	13.6	10	18.2
Civil Service	23	18.4	9	16.4
Total	125	100	55	100

As the table shows the samples have more students. They are 33.6 and 34.5 for the Nupe and Yoruba respectively. This goes to show that the students are more exposed to the respective second languages than other occupational groups. However, we shall endeavour to find out whether the students are correspondingly more bilingual than the other groups.

Among the Yoruba, the next highest occupational

group are the traders who constitute 21.8%. This is followed by 18.2 and 16.4 of artisans and civil servants respectively. The meagre 9.1% belongs to the group of farmers. This distribution among the Yoruba should not suggest any sampling error. Those who are bilingual in both languages apart from school children are those for whom knowledge of Nupe is relevant for their trade. These are traders and artisans who have to communicate in some degrees with their customers and clients. Farmers on the other hand may not need to be bilingual in Nupe, while civil servants too may need only a working knowledge of Nupe.

The distribution of the various occupational groups among the Nupe seems a little even with only little differences. The largest group, 33.6%, are students while the smallest, 13.6% are artisans. Just as among the Yoruba, the second largest group are the traders who are 20% of the sample. This seems to present a real picture in that there are very many traders who appear to be bilingual. As earlier noted there exists two markets in this community, one on either side of the town. There is no restriction of any sort; people of the two ethnic groups are free to

go to either market for their commercial transactions. This therefore facilitates bilingualism among this category of workers. Through our statistical analysis we shall be able to determine whether the respondents vary in their degree of bilingualism in relation to their different occupations.

#### 4.1.6 Place of Acquisition of the Second language

As reported earlier, we sought to find out from the respondents where they learnt/acquired their second languages i.e. Yoruba for the Nupe group and Nupe for the Yoruba group. This becomes necessary because in some published works on bilingualism, the place of acquisition of a second language has been shown to have a bearing on the degree of bilingualism. This is in fact, one of the reasons for the distinction between coordinate, compound and subordinate bilingualism originally proposed by Weinreich (1953), but which has been modified by Ervin and Osgood (1954). In our survey, four possible places of acquisition were provided for the respondents, out of which they were to indicate which one represents the place where each acquired their

respective second languages. The options are: the home, the school, the neighbourhood and elsewhere. The "elsewhere" in this context represents other Yoruba or Nupe towns apart from Šááré where the second language could also be acquired. The responses of our respondents to this question are shown below.

Table 6a: Place of Acquisition of Yoruba by the Nupe

Place of Acquisition	No.	%
Home	24	19.2
School	18	14.4
Neighbourhood	64	51.2
Elsewhere	19	15.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>125</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 6b: Place of Acquisition of Nupe by the Yoruba

Place of Acquisition	No.	%
Home	7	12.7
School	6	10.9
Neighbourhood	37	67.3
Elsewhere	5	9.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100</b>

The neighbourhood best facilitates the learning of the second language because in both groups more than 50% of the total population acquired their respective second languages there. For example, among the Nupe 51.2% acquired Yoruba in the neighbourhood while an overwhelming percentage of 67.3% of the Yoruba group similarly acquired Nupe in the neighbourhood.

Among the Nupe, the home is another place where Yoruba is acquired. Up to 19.2% claimed to acquire Yoruba at home. This seems a bit surprising in that few cases of inter-ethnic marriages were reported. Those who claimed to have Yoruba wives on the Nupe side amount to 6.4%. This we believe will not encourage communication much in the second language. The factor which probably accounts for this emerges when we consider the percentage of couples who are both bilingual in Nupe and Yoruba. They amount to 83.3% of the married respondents among the Nupe. If the assumption that these couples will be occasionally communicating in Yoruba is right, it will be right to conclude also that Yoruba could be transmitted to their children in the process.

This observation has implications for the process

of language shift and language maintenance. The actual picture will emerge when the domains of language use are explored. However, since we are not sure whether those who claimed to have acquired their second language at home among the Nupe are children alone, it is possible to suggest that if there are adults in this group, they might have acquired Yoruba in the same way.

Those who learnt Yoruba elsewhere i.e. in other places outside Şaare/Tsaragi amount to 15.2. These are people who have worked in various Yoruba towns before. In this category are drivers, mechanics and ex-servicemen whose jobs have taken them to various Yoruba towns. The school group has the smallest percentage of 14.4. This suggests that the value of the school as a potential place for the acquisition of Yoruba is little. Apart from those who might have acquired Yoruba formally at school in the olden days,<sup>1</sup> majority of our respondents in this group did not learn Yoruba formally but learnt it as a result of their exposure to the language without any formal teaching. In actual fact, these days, the primary schools are ethnically segregated because the media



of instruction in the early stages are the respective mother tongues. It is only at the secondary level that pupils attend schools on either side of the town.

Aside from the overwhelming majority of the Yoruba respondents who learnt Nupe in the neighbourhood, the other groups are almost evenly distributed, for example 12.7% claimed to have learnt Yoruba at home. Contrary to the situation among the Nupe respondents, marriage pattern is virtually endogamous. None of the Yoruba respondents married Nupe women or Nupe men. Similarly, of the population of married couples among the Yoruba (5) i.e. 19.5% shared Nupe and Yoruba. This therefore suggests that acquisition of Nupe by the Yoruba cannot be facilitated by these factors. The only factor which can be said to account for this is the residence pattern of the Yoruba. Some of them live in the same houses with the Nupe, in spite of the fact that the town is ethnically divided. It may be the case that Nupe is acquired from members of the same household. The population of those who claimed to have acquired Nupe at home among the Yoruba therefore is 12.7%.

About 11% of the Yoruba respondents claimed to

have acquired Nupe at school. This is certainly not by any formal instruction because Nupe is not taught at all as a subject on the curriculum at any level of education in the schools located in the Yoruba section. These people must have therefore picked up Nupe through interaction with their Nupe friends at school. Finally 9.1% of the Yoruba acquired Nupe in other towns apart from Isaragi. We consider that the same explanation for those Nupe respondents who learnt Yoruba in other Yoruba towns apart from Saare will apply to the Yoruba respondents. It is hoped that these various places of acquisition will have a bearing on the level of proficiency of our respondents in both Nupe and Yoruba.

#### 4.2 The Popularity of the Second language within the respective group

With the aid of three or four questions we sought to determine the popularity of each of the two languages among native speakers of its opposite number. First, married respondents were asked to give the languages spoken by their spouses. Among the Nupe married respondents, the overwhelming percentage of 83.3%

claimed to have spouses who speak Yoruba. Among the Yoruba the result is radically different. Only 19.1% reported to have spouses who speak Nupe. Similar responses were got through the question which sought to know from parents the languages spoken by their children. More than a half of the Nupe married respondents, 55.3% claimed that their children speak Yoruba. Among the Yoruba, however, only 32% claim to have children who speak Nupe.

Another question which has a bearing on this issue addresses the frequency with which respondents use the language of their opposite number in communicating within their ethnic groups. Our assumption is that if the second language is used for in-group communication, this is a reflection of one's proficiency and confidence in one's ability in that second language rather than an indication of ethnic solidarity. The following three options: Hardly, sometimes and Never were given and the subjects were asked to indicate which represents their practice. The table below shows the responses of our respondents to this issue.

Table 7: Frequency of Use of the Second language by language group

Frequency of Use	NUPE GROUP		YORUBA GROUP	
	No.	%	No.	%
Hardly	51	40.8	38	69.1
Sometimes	62	49.6	17	30.9
Always	12	9.6	-	-
Total	125	100	35	100

A close examination of the distribution of the responses of the subjects will reveal that Yoruba is more popular among the Nupe than Nupe among the Yoruba. Among the Yoruba, no one reported to use Nupe always. Similarly majority of them i.e. 69.1% hardly use it. It is only about 31% of the sample who sometimes use Nupe. Among the Nupe, however, Yoruba is more utilized. Apart from 9.6% of them who claimed its use always, about 50% of them sometimes use it. While 40.8% of them also claimed to hardly use Yoruba.

This finding is quite interesting and is perhaps due to the status of Yoruba. Yoruba occupies a more

dominant position over Nupe and for purposes of political and joint economic enterprises more Nupe are learning Yoruba. This is usually the case where minority and majority groups are in close proximity. It is usually the case that the majority language exerts certain influence on the minority language, to the extent that members of the minority groups have to learn the majority language.

In certain cases where the majority language confers certain privileges on the learners in terms of job opportunities and political advantages, it is universally learnt second to the first language. Even in the process, ethnic minorities have been reported to shift away from their mother tongue to the majority language. This finding therefore has an implication for language shift. But this is a tendency rather than a clear case of language shift. Until we are able to examine the various domains of language use among our respondents and weigh the extent of the use of either of the two languages, we shall not be able to sustain this observation.

There is another finding which seems to contradict the above observation. We asked the respondents to

indicate their language or languages of general communication. To answer the question, the respondents were asked to reflect for some moment and consider the totality of their day-to-day interaction with different people and indicate the language or languages they use most. The language reported to be generally used are Nupe, Yoruba and English. It is noteworthy that the language mostly used by respondents is their respective mother tongue. Thus as high as 96% of the Nupe respondents claimed exclusive use of Nupe, while among the Yoruba, an equally overwhelming percentage of 98.2 claimed absolute use of Yoruba as their language of general communication. This therefore seems to contradict the former finding which tended to suggest a tendency to language shift among the Nupe. Therefore as earlier noted until concrete domains are examined for language use, we would not be able to determine whether there is a trend toward language shift.

#### 4.3 Popularity of other languages apart from Nupe and Yoruba

It is worthy of note that apart from Nupe and

Yoruba a good proportion of our respondents from either side speak other languages. Other languages of interest to us are Hausa and English. All of our respondents who have some formal education reported to have varying degrees of proficiency in the English language. This is to be expected anyway since English is the nation's official language and it is the dominant educational language from the primary to the university level of education. Hausa is also a popular language among the Nupe. It is more common among them than it is among the Yoruba. The table below brings this observation out clearly.

Table 8: Other languages Spoken apart from Nupe and Yoruba

Languages	NUPE GROUP		YORUBA GROUP	
	No.	%	No.	%
Hausa	18	17.5	4	8.9
English	41	39.8	36	80
Eng./Hausa	44	42.7	5	11.1
*Total	103	100	45	100

\* This represents only those who are able to speak other languages apart from Nupe and Yoruba not the total number of respondents in both groups.

For accurate interpretation of this table we need to realize that there are respondents who speak Hausa but who do not speak English. So also <sup>do</sup>/we have those who are educated and who speak both English and Hausa. Hence there are three options in the table. To get the actual percentage of those who speak either Hausa or English therefore, we have to add the percentage of those who speak Hausa alone to that of those who speak it and English. The same thing will also be done to determine those who speak English i.e. by adding the percentage of the speakers of English alone to that of those who speak both English and Hausa. Doing this, for the speakers of Hausa among both groups we have a ratio of 60.2% to 20% where 60.2% represents those Nupe respondents who speak Hausa while only 20% of the Yoruba are similarly proficient in Hausa.

English is common to both groups with as much as 83% of the Nupe reporting ability in it, while among the Yoruba as much as 91.1% claimed its knowledge. This therefore suggests that slightly more of Yoruba respondents than Nupe have ability in English.

The high incidence of Hausa among the Nupe can be



explained in terms of the linguistic policy of the old northern Nigerian government. Hausa was adopted as the second official language in the whole of the northern region and it was even employed as the language of debate in the northern regional parliament. This town being part of the northern region, the people had to learn Hausa. Hausa was also actively encouraged at school during the time. People who were of school age and who were attending school in the early days of independence were taught Hausa at school as opposed to their mother tongue.

One could then argue that since the Yoruba too were in this region, Hausa ought to be wide-spread among them also. The general tendency for the Yoruba in the region was to look to the west for inspiration because they saw and perhaps still see themselves as northerners by accident, while the Nupe find it more convenient to identify with the north, with the assimilating influence of Hausa. According to the information we gathered from the field, the books used to teach Yoruba in schools in the west were also employed to teach in the Yoruba schools in this town. From the communication perspective, the more

people there are who share a person's native language, the less likely it is that that person will need to learn another language. Therefore since Yoruba is like Hausa a dominant language in a part of Nigeria, its speakers here may not see much need in learning Hausa.

Finally with respect to the symbolic aspect of language, members of larger groups are likely to feel that it is beneath their dignity to learn some other languages; other people should learn theirs. These may be the reasons why the use of Hausa is not as widespread among the Yoruba as it is among the Nupe.

#### 4.4 Verification of the Hypotheses

This section analyses the specific data in exploration and verification of the various hypotheses. As background, the proficiency levels of our subjects in their respective mother tongues and second language were ascertained. With the aid of a t-test, we compared the proficiency levels to see whether the subjects displayed equal mastery of their two languages or not. It was discovered that they all maintained a significantly superior degree of proficiency in their mother tongues compared with their second languages as can be seen in

their mean scores and the t-values in both measures of bilingualism. The analyses and results are shown in the tables below.

Table 9

T-test values showing the Differences between Proficiency in Nupe and Yoruba of the Nupe group by Observation and listening Comprehension Test.

9a) Self report and observation

Variables	N	df	Mean	Standard Deviation	Level of Significance	Critical Value	t-value	Result
Proficiency in Nupe	125	124	9.95	0.21	.05	1.64	14.57	Significant
Proficiency in Yoruba			8.05	1.45				

$P < .05$

b) Listening Comprehension Test

Variables	N	df	Mean	Standard Deviation	Level of Significance	Critical Value	t-Value	Result
Nupe Comprehension	118	117	3.65	1.03	.05	1.67	3.23	Significant
Yoruba Comprehension			3.17	1.12				

$P < .05$

Table 10

T-test values showing the differences between Proficiency in Yoruba and Nupe of the Yoruba group by observation and listening comprehension Test.

10a) Self report and observation

Variable	N	df	Mean	Standard Deviation	Level of Significance	Critical Value	t-Value	Result
Proficiency in Yoruba	55	54	9.90	0.39	.05	1.68	10.58	Significant
Proficiency in Nupe			7.47	1.70				

$P < .05$

10b) Listening Comprehension Test

Variables	N	df	Mean	Standard Deviation	Level of Significance	Critical Value	t-Value	Result
Yoruba Comprehension	51	50	4.15	0.12	.05	1.68	6.51	Significant
Nupe Comprehension			3.05	1.33				

$P < .05$

As showed in Tables 9 and 10 we are left in no doubt that the respondents are not equally proficient in their first and second languages. They are more proficient in their mother tongues as to be expected. But we note that the Nupe maintained a slightly higher degree of proficiency in Yoruba than their Yoruba counterparts in Nupe. This forms the basis for our first hypothesis which sought to confirm whether the two mother tongue groups are equally proficient in each other's language. We therefore state our first hypothesis thus:

$H_0^1$ : There is no significant difference in the level of proficiency of Nupe speakers in Yoruba and Yoruba speakers in Nupe.

In order to test this hypothesis, the t-test was applied. The result of this test is also presented in table 11 below:

Table 11

Result of the t-test for the comparison of Nupe Speakers' Proficiency in Yoruba and Yoruba speakers' Proficiency in Nupe by Observation and Comprehension Test

a) Self-report and observation

Variables	N	df	Mean	Standard Deviation	Level of Significance	Critical Value	t-Value	Result
NPY	125	178	8.05	1.45	.05	1.96	2.32	Significant
YPN	55		7.47	1.70				

$P < .05$

Key: NPY = Nupe Proficiency in Yoruba,  
YPN = Yoruba Proficiency in Nupe



## b) Listening Comprehension Test in Yoruba and Nupe

Samples	Variable	N	df	Mean	Standard Deviation	Level of Significance	Critical Value	t-Value	Result
Nupe group	Yoruba Comprehension	118	167	3.17	1.12	.05	1.96	.59	Not Significant
Yoruba group	Nupe Comprehension	51		3.05	1.33				

$$p > .05$$

The t-test values in Table 11a suggest a significant difference in the level of proficiency of Nupe speakers in Yoruba and Yoruba speakers in Nupe. This is because the t-value is greater than the critical value which means that the null hypothesis is rejected using this measure of bilingualism. The Nupe are observed to have a statistically significant level of proficiency in Yoruba, than the Yoruba in Nupe. This result is significant at .05 level of significance. But the result of the second measure of bilingualism shown in table 11b is at variance with this conclusion. This is because the t-value is less than the critical value. We must then say that the degree of proficiency of the Nupe in Yoruba is superior to that of the Yoruba in Nupe. In any case there are other hypotheses which will enable us to see clearly whether the groups vary significantly in their levels of proficiency in each other's language.

Hypothesis 2 ( $H_0^2$ ) was the next tested. For convenience we restate it thus:

$H_0^2$ : There is no significant difference in the proficiency of Nupe and Yoruba respondents in Yoruba.

The t-test was also applied to verify the hypothesis. Our findings are shown in the tables below:

Table 12

T-Test values showing the differences between Yoruba and Nupe Proficiency in Yoruba

12a) Self report and observation

Sample	N	df	Mean	Standard Deviation	Level of Significance	Critical Value	t-Value	Result
Yoruba group	55	178	9.90	0.39	.05	1.96	9.31	Significant
Nupe group	125		8.05	1.45				

$p < .05$

12b) Listening comprehension test in Yoruba

Sample	N	df	Mean	Standard Deviation	Level of Significance	Critical Value	t-Value	Result
Yoruba group	51	167	4.15	0.12	.05	1.66	5.41	Significant
Nupe group	118		3.17	1.12				

19a

$P < .05$

The results of the t-test presented in the tables above show that there is a significant difference in the proficiency levels of Nupe and Yoruba respondents in Yoruba with our two measures of bilingual proficiency. In both cases the T-values are greater than the critical values at .05 level of significance for a two-tailed test. With these results we must reject the null hypothesis and uphold its converse as proved.

A similar issue was examined in  $H_0^3$ . We sought to discover whether the Nupe native speakers have the same degree of proficiency as their Yoruba counterparts in Nupe. The hypothesis is stated as follows:

$H_0^3$ : There is no significant difference in the proficiency of Nupe and Yoruba respondents in Nupe.

Our findings in regard of the hypothesis are shown in tables 13a and b. They respectively represent the result of the t-test using self-report and observation on the one hand, and listening comprehension test on the other as measures of bilingual proficiency.

Table 13

T-test values showing the differences between Nupe and Yoruba Proficiency in Nupe

13a) Self report and observation.

Samples	N	df	Mean	Standard Deviation	Level of Significance	Critical Value	t-Value	Result
Nupe group	125	178	9.95	0.21	.05	1.96	15.99	Significant
Yoruba group	55		7.47	1.70				

$P < .05$

13b) Listening comprehension test in Nupe

Samples	N	df	Mean	Standard Deviation	Level of Significance	Critical Value	t-Value	Result
Nupe group	118	167	3.65	1.03	.05	1.96	3.14	Significant
Yoruba group	51		3.05	1.33				

$P < .05$



The results of the t-test also indicate a statistically significant difference in the proficiency of the Nupe and Yoruba respondents in Nupe. We have to reject the null hypothesis because using both measures of bilingualism, the t-values got when the t-test was applied are greater than the critical values. The results of hypothesis 2 and this particular one reveal that native speakers are more proficient in their first language than those who speak the languages <sup>a</sup> as/second language.

It was felt that proficiency in the second language could be sex-related. It was therefore hypothesized thus:

Ho<sup>4</sup>: Male and female subjects do not differ significantly in their proficiency in the second language.

To verify this hypothesis, the mean scores of male and female respondents of the two groups using our two measures of bilingual proficiency were statistically compared. The results of our statistical comparison are summarized in the tables below. The results of the Nupe group are first presented.

Table 14

T-test values showing the differences between Nupe Male and Female Proficiency in Yoruba

14a) Self report and observation

Samples	N	df	Mean	Standard Deviation	Level of Significance	Critical Value	t-Value	Result
Males	82	123	8.10	1.43	.05	1.96	.65	Not Significant
Females	43		7.93	1.51				

$P > .05$

14b) Listening Comprehension Test in Yoruba

Samples	N	df	Mean	Standard Deviation	Level of Significance	Critical Value	t-Value	Result
Males	82	116	3.31	1.14	.05	2.00	2.05	Significant
Females	36		2.86	1.04				

$P < .05$

Tables 14(a) and (b) show contradictory results with regard to proficiency in Yoruba among the Nupe male and female respondents. In the test of proficiency by observation, the result suggests no statistically significant difference in the levels of Yoruba proficiency among the two groups, whereas by the test of comprehension, we should hesitate to accept the null-hypothesis because the t-value shows a statistically significant difference in favour of the males at .05 level of significance. Taking the two results together, the male respondents show slightly greater proficiency over their female counterparts.

We also verified this hypothesis among the Yoruba respondents to see whether a similar situation exists among them. The results of the test are shown in table 15(a) and (b) below.

Table 15

T-test values showing the differences between Yoruba males and females' Proficiency in Nupe

15a Self report and observation

Samples	N	df	Mean	Standard Deviation	Level of Significance	Critical Value	t-Value	Result
Males	31	53	7.35	1.45	.05	2.02	-1.16	Not significant
Females	24		7.87	1.87				

$P > .05$

15b Listening comprehension test in Nupe

Samples	N	df	Mean	Standard Deviation	Level of Significance	Critical Value	t-Value	Result
Males	31	49	2.77	1.23	.05	2.02	-1.95	Not significant
Females	20		3.50	1.39				

$P > .05$

The results of the t-test observed from these tables show that the differences in the two groups are statistically insignificant at .05 level of significance for a two-tailed test. Thus our null hypothesis, that male and female subjects will not differ significantly in their proficiency in the second language is retained among the Yoruba. It is significant to note that among the Yoruba respondents unlike the situation among the Nupe, the female respondents appear to have a slightly higher degree of proficiency in Nupe than the male. Nevertheless, the differences in their levels of proficiency are statistically insignificant.

We were not able to formulate any hypothesis concerning marriage pattern because there are very few cases of inter-ethnic marriage. However, it was felt that the linguistic background of married couples could affect their level of proficiency in the second language. This is therefore the subject matter of hypothesis 5 which is stated thus:

Ho<sup>5</sup>: There is no significant difference in the proficiency of couples who share Nupe and Yoruba and those who do not.

Tables 16(a) and (b) present the finding in respect of the hypothesis.

Table 16

T-test values showing the differences between bilingual and Monolingual Couples' Proficiency in Yoruba

16a) Self report and observation

Samples	N	df	Mean	Standard Deviation	Level of Significance	Critical Value	t-Value	Result
Bilingual couples	64	75	8.28	1.53	.05	2.00	2.62	Significant
Monolingual couples	13		7.07	1.38				

$P < .05$



16b) Listening comprehension test in Yoruba

Samples	N	df	Mean	Standard Deviation	Level of Significance	Critical Value	t-Value	Result
Bilingual couples	57	68	3.15	1.11	.05	2.00	1.11	Not Significant
Monolingual couples	13		2.76	1.23				

$P > .05$

As could be seen in table 16a, the t-value indicates a statistically significant difference in the means of couples who share both Nupe and Yoruba and those who do not at .05 level of significance, and this is in favour of those who share both languages. Again our test of comprehension yields a contradictory result in that the t-value obtained is less than the critical value (see table 16b). Therefore we hesitate to say that this hypothesis is proved. Nevertheless it could be concluded that bilingual couples have the tendency of having a superior proficiency in the second language than their monolingual counterparts. This is obvious in the mean scores of both groups shown in tables 16(a) and (b). In both cases bilingual couples perform better than monolinguals, but with regard to table 16b the bilingual couples have just a slight edge over their monolingual ones. We were unable to test this hypothesis among the Yoruba respondents because it was not possible among them. As earlier reported the percentage of those who claimed to have spouses who could use both languages is quite negligible.

To test hypotheses 6-9, we employed the Analysis of Variance. This statistical procedure and the

reasons motivating its use have been discussed in section 3.6. We need not repeat this here. We shall therefore state our hypotheses as before and follow them with the result of our statistical analysis. Details of the mean scores of different categories are presented in Appendix 1.

Ho<sup>6</sup>: Subjects belonging to different age groups will not differ in their proficiency in the second language.

Table 17 below summarizes our findings on this issue.

Table 17a

Analysis of Variance on second language Proficiency of  
Different Nupe age groups

self-report and observation

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F	Significance of F
Between groups	3	11.4699	3.8233	1.834	Not Significant
Within groups	121	252.2920	2.0846		
Total	124	263.7119			

$P > .05$

The result shows that different age groups do not perform significantly better than one another (for details, see the mean scores of each age-group in table 1 or appendix 1). To be able to accept this hypothesis our F-Value should be greater or equal to 2.70 which is the critical value of F on the statistical table for the critical value of F. Therefore we shall retain our null-hypothesis that Nupe subjects do not differ in their proficiency in the second language with regard to age. For us to conclusively sustain this finding we need to see the performance

of the different age groups in the comprehension test in Yoruba. Table 17b below presents our finding on this.

Table 17b

Analysis of Variance on the performance of different Nupe age groups in Yoruba listening Comprehension Test

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F	Significance of F
Between groups	3	5.2016	1.73	1.372	Not significant
Within groups	114	114.0611	1.26		
Total	117	149.2629			

$$P > .05$$

With this test of bilingual proficiency the null hypothesis is again sustained in that the difference in the means of the groups are not statistically significant. For them to be significant at .05 level, we need an F-value which is greater or equal to 2.70 which is the critical value of F displayed on the statistical table. It will be interesting to find out whether the same

situation exists among our Yoruba respondents. Therefore we shall have a look at the performance of the Yoruba respondents in Nupe and see whether this bears any correspondence with age. Tables 18(a) and (b) summarize the result of the Analysis of Variance on the mean proficiency of different Yoruba age groups in Nupe by observation and listening comprehension.

Table 18

Analysis of Variance on the Performance of different Yoruba age groups in Nupe by observation and listening comprehension.

a) Self-report and observation

Source	Df	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F	Significance of F
Between groups	3	26.0303	8.6768	3.361	Significant
Within groups	51	131.6792	2.5819		
Total	54	157.7095			

$P < .05$

b) Listening Comprehension Test in Nupe

Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F	Significance of F
Between groups	3	7.1465	2.3822	1.37	Not significant
Within groups	47	81.6772	1.7378		
Total	50				

$p > .05$

The analysis shown in table 18a indicates a statistically significant difference in the performance of different Yoruba age groups in Nupe. This is because our F value, 3.361 is greater than the critical F value of 2.79 found in the statistical table at the .05 level of significance. We therefore tentatively reject the null-hypothesis. However, with the analysis in table 18(b) we are wary to accept this hypothesis, as the result indicates a statistically insignificant difference in the performance of the various age-groups among the Yoruba. The calculation yields 1.37 as the F value when we need up to 2.81 to reject the null hypothesis. Nevertheless we can say that proficiency in Nupe in the various age groups among the Yoruba is biased towards the youth, using the term as suggested by the Nigerian government.<sup>2</sup> They have a slight edge over their more elderly counterparts as can be seen in table 5 of Appendix 1 (especially the section on listening comprehension). Statistically, however, all the groups are at par with one another as far as proficiency in Nupe is concerned.

The next variable assumed to have a bearing on the level of proficiency in a second language is the



place of its acquisition. We therefore hypothesize thus:

Ho<sup>7</sup>: Subjects will not differ in their proficiency in the second language with regard to different places of its acquisition.

This hypothesis is tested as before among Nupe and Yoruba respondents using observation and listening comprehension exercises as measures of bilingualism. First we present the result among the Nupe respondents in the tables below.

Table 19

Analysis of Variance on the mean Nupe Proficiency in Yoruba for places of acquisition by observation and listening comprehension.

a) Comprehension observation and self report

Source	Df	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F	Significance of F
Between groups	3	.4770	.1590	0.73	Not significant
Within groups	121	263.2347	2.1755		
Total	124	263.7117			

$P > .05$

b) Yoruba listening comprehension test

Source	Df	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F	Significance of F
Between groups	3	4.7108	1.5703	1.238	Not significant
Within groups	114	144.5519	1.2680		
Total	117	149.2627			

$P > .05$

With the application of analysis of variance to the data got through the aid of our measures of bilingualism, (see appendix 1 table 2) it is clear that no place of acquisition seems to have any inherent value over the others with respect to proficiency in the second language. As can be seen from tables 19(a) and (b), the results show no statistically significant difference in the mean scores of respondents irrespective of the different places where they acquired Yoruba. To reject the null hypothesis in both cases we need F value as high as 2.70 at .05 level of significance but we end up with 0.73 in the first test whereas in the second test the F value is 1.236. We have to uphold the null hypothesis. One had expected those who claimed to acquire the second language in the neighbourhood to display a higher degree of proficiency in Yoruba, since the highest concentration of our respondents belong to this category. This finding has, however, revealed that there is nothing specially facilitative about the different places of acquisition of Yoruba among the Nupe.

It will be necessary to determine the situation among the Yoruba respondents too. Therefore the tables below summarize their own performance in Nupe.

Table 20

Analysis of Variance on the mean Yoruba Proficiency in Nupe for places of acquisition by observation and listening comprehension

a) Observation and self-report

Source	Df	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F	Significance of F
Between groups	3	5.9479	1.9826	.715	Not significant
Within groups	51	141.4337	2.7732		
Total	54	146.3816			

$P > .05$

b) Nupe listening comprehension test

Source	Df	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F	Significance of F
Between groups	3	3.1820	1.0607	.582	Not significant
Within groups	47	85.6816	1.8222		
Total	50				

$P > .05$

Just like the finding among the Nupe, these results also sustain our null hypothesis in that there is no statistically significant difference in the mean scores of the Yoruba respondents who acquired Nupe in various places. The mean scores of various places of acquisition of Nupe can be seen in table 6 of Appendix 1. Of all the places of acquisition we are more interested in the neighbourhood because the largest number of people claimed to have acquired Nupe there. The result of our statistical test seems to cast doubts on the veritability of the neighbourhood as a potential place for Nupe acquisition among the Yoruba. This result is plausible when one considers the fact that more Nupe are bilingual in Nupe and Yoruba than the Yoruba are in Yoruba and Nupe. Therefore there is the probability that most communications take place in Yoruba. This does not facilitate Nupe acquisition by the Yoruba because the use of Nupe is somehow more limited to the Nupe than Yoruba is to the Yoruba native-speakers.

Education was also assumed to have a bearing on the level of proficiency in the second language. We therefore state below hypothesis 8 postulated on this issue:

$H_0^8$ : Subjects will not differ in their proficiency in the second language as a result of their levels of education.

The results of analysis of variance to test this hypothesis among the two groups are presented in the tables below. First we shall present the findings among the Nupe respondents.

Table 21

Analysis of Variance on the mean Nupe Proficiency in Yoruba for different educational levels by Observation and Listening Comprehension

## a) Observation and self-report

Source	Df	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F	Significant of F
Between groups	3	20.7702	6.9234	3.448	Significant
Within groups	121	242.9414	2.0078		
Total	124				

$P < .05$

## b) Listening Comprehension Test in Yoruba

Source	Df	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F	Significant of F
Between groups	3	8.3062	2.7687	2.239	Not significant
Within groups	114	140.9565	1.2365		
Total	117	149.2627			

$P > .05$



With the first measure of bilingualism, the result shows that there is a statistically significant difference at .05 level in the means of the various groups. This is shown by the F value in table 21a. It is greater than 2.70 which is the expected critical value of F at that degree of freedom. This makes us to reject the null-hypothesis at first and accept the research hypothesis that subjects will differ in their proficiency in the second language with regard to their level of education. But an examination of the mean scores of the various groups as shown in Appendix 1, table 3 reveals a very curious result: those who have no formal education are not inferior to their educated counterparts. Those with only primary education also performed better than people with higher educational qualifications. This therefore casts serious doubts on the validity of our conclusion that subjects will vary in their level of proficiency in the second language as a result of their education.

The true picture has, however, emerged with the result shown in table 21b. This result shows that

there is no significant difference in the proficiency of the various educational groups. If the difference in their proficiency in the second language is to be significant, our F value should be as high as 2.70. We therefore retain our null-hypothesis on this issue. This shows that the minor variations in the scores of the various educational groups shown in the appendix are due to chance.

Having examined the Nupe proficiency in Yoruba in relation to their levels of education, we turned our attention to the Yoruba respondents to see whether their proficiency in Nupe could be said to be dependent on their respective levels of education.

The results of analysis of variance on their scores are summarized in the tables below.

Table 22

Analysis of Variance on the Mean Yoruba Proficiency in Nupe for different Educational levels by Observation and listening comprehension

a) Observation and self-report

Source	Df	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F	Significance of F
Between groups	3	3.9875	1.3292	.484	Not significant
Within groups	51	137.4385	2.7488		
Total	54	141.4259			

$P > .05$

b) Nupe Comprehension Test

Source	Df	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F	Significance of F
Between groups	3	5.98	1.99	1.169	Not significant
Within groups	47	78.51	1.70		
Total	50	84.50			

$P > .05$

With the two measures of bilingual proficiency, the results of our test show that there is no statistically significant difference in the mean levels of Nupe proficiency of the various Yoruba educational groups. In table 22a the expected critical F value is 2.79 while in 22b it is 8.81 but we have .484 and 1.169 respectively. They are less than the expected critical values in both cases. We therefore retain our null hypothesis. But it could be maintained that among the Yoruba, proficiency in Nupe increases progressively with the level of education (see Appendix 1, table 7). However, the differences in the levels of proficiency of the different educational groups are minute.

The last variable assumed to have a bearing on proficiency in the second language is occupation. This has been explored in our ninth hypothesis. The hypothesis is stated below:

Ho<sup>9</sup>: Subjects will not differ in their proficiency in the second language as a result of their occupation.

The results of the test of this hypothesis are presented in the tables below. First, we consider the

results of the investigation of the influence of this variable among the Nupe respondents before we move on to examine the same among the Yoruba.

Table 23

Analysis of Variance on the Mean Nupe Proficiency in Yoruba by Nupe Occupational groups

a) Observation and self-report

Source	Df	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F	Significance of F
Between groups	4	20.6080	5.1520	2.543	Significant
Within groups	120	243.1039	2.0259		
Total	124	263.7117			

$P < .05$

b) Listening Comprehension Test in Yoruba

Source	Df	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F	Significance of F
Between groups	4	5.6096	1.9447	1.103	Not significant
Within groups	113	143.6533	1.2713		
WTotal	117	149.2629			

$P > .05$

The ANOVA shows a statistically significant difference in the mean scores of the various occupational groups as self-reported (table 23a). This is because the F-Value got, i.e. 2.543, is greater than 2.46 which is the expected critical value of F. However, the result of <sup>the</sup> comprehension test shown in table 23b negates the finding because it indicates a statistically insignificant difference in the mean scores of the various occupational groups. To reject the null hypothesis we need an F-Value of 2.46 but what we have is 1.103. We are therefore made to retain the null hypothesis. This therefore constitutes a discrepancy in our finding because by the first method we discovered that the various occupational groups maintain varying degrees of proficiency which are statistically significant. In spite of this finding, we may still claim that various occupational groups vary only in small ways in their proficiency in the second language (see Appendix 1, table 4). This therefore suggests that knowledge of the second language is not uniformly needed in all occupations and that education contributes

to the result got here i.e. in the appendix. It can be observed that groups engaged in occupations needing some measure of formal education performed slightly better than others.

We shall presently turn our attention to the Yoruba respondents to see whether their own patterns of performance in Nupe bear any relation to their occupations. The findings are shown in the tables below.



Table 24

Analysis of Variance on the Mean Yoruba Proficiency in Nupe by Yoruba Occupational groups

a) Observation and self-report

Source	Df	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F	Significance of F
Between groups	4	7.7787	1.9447	.697	Not significant
Within groups	50	139.6029	2.7921		
Total	54	147.3816			

$P > .05$

b) Listening Comprehension Test in Nupe

Source	Df	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F	Significance of F
Between groups	4	13.5789	3.3947	2.075	Not significant
Within groups	46	75.2446	1.6358		
Total	50	88.8235			

$P > .05$

Tables 24a and b show that the various occupational groups do not differ significantly in their levels of proficiency in Nupe. They seem to constitute a homogeneous class. This is because for them to be regarded as having significantly different levels of proficiency we need up to 2.57 and 2.56 as critical  $F$  values for tables 24a and b respectively, but we have .697 and 2.075 for both tables. We therefore have to retain our null hypothesis. But although this null-hypothesis is retained we can still see that various occupational groups maintain differential proficiency in Nupe. A look at the mean scores of various occupational groups as shown in appendix 1 table 8 reveals this clearly. As far as the mean scores of the various groups in the listening comprehension exercise are concerned, the civil servants, the students and the artisan classes can be said to constitute a homogeneous group, whereas traders and farmers constitute another. We can dichotomize their mean scores such that the first homogeneous group perform better than the second group. One can clearly see the influence of education

in this pattern of performance among the Yoruba because it is those who are educated that are engaged in occupations where performance could be said to be relatively higher. We had concluded earlier on that our subjects do not vary significantly in their second language as a result of their level of education. We can then say that perhaps it is the kind of task given the respondents that is responsible for the different performance between the educated and non-educated. It may be the case that the listening comprehension exercise placed the educated at an advantage over their non-educated counterparts. However, this was controlled as much as possible.

The next hypothesis which is hypothesis 10, sought to discover whether there is any relationship between proficiency in our respondents' respective second languages and attitude towards their native speakers. It was hypothesized as follows:

$H_0^{10}$ : There is no relationship between proficiency in the second language and attitude towards its native speakers.

The hypothesis was tested using the chi-square

test of significance. Since all our respondents are bilingual in varying degrees, two levels of proficiency were eventually used. These are fair and good. These two levels were arrived at differently in our two measures of bilingual proficiency for every subject. The scoring of every subject in all the four language skills had been reported in Chapter 3.

Two skills, speaking and understanding were used just as in the previous statistical tests. This made the highest level of proficiency in the second language to be 10 with the self-reports and our observation of bilingual ability. On the basis of his/her score out of 10, a subject was categorized as fair or good with regard to his/her level of proficiency. Going by self-reports, majority of our respondents scored more than 6. We therefore conclude that this is not a stringent method. Rather we categorized anybody who scored 6 marks or below as having a fair degree of proficiency in the second language, while a score above 6 was considered good.

With respect to the second test of bilingual Proficiency i.e. the listening comprehension exercise,

the maximum score is 5. This measure is considered more stringent than the previous one. Thus if a subject scored 2 and below he was considered to have a fair degree of proficiency but if he scored 3 and above, he was rated as having a good degree of proficiency.

In determining the attitude of the subjects to the native speakers of their respective second languages, they were asked to indicate the extent to which they considered the other group trustworthy. This is due to the fact that attitudinal questions are hardly ever asked directly. To this indirect question of attitude, we have three possible alternative responses, "not at all" which represents an extremely negative attitude; "to some extent", as an outright positive attitude. The tables below summarize our results on the relationship between proficiency in the second language and attitude towards its native speakers.

Table 25a

Nupe Attitude to Yoruba Native Speakers and Nupe Proficiency in Yoruba

Attitude	Levels of Proficiency in Yoruba					
	Fair		Good		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Negative	5	20	17	17	22	17.6
Moderately Positive	18	72	67	67	85	68
Positive	2	8	16	16	18	14.4
Total	25	20	100	80	125	100

$$\chi^2 = 1.06 \quad df = 2 \quad P > .05$$

The result of the  $\chi^2$ -test shows no significant relationship between proficiency in the second language and attitude toward its native speakers. We then retain the null-hypothesis because we need 5.99 at .05 level of significance to reject it. This implies that there could be other factors apart from attitude towards the native speakers of a language that will account for proficiency in the second language.

As can be seen from the table, the percentages

of those who have either good or fair proficiency in Yoruba are not evenly distributed. Hence the chi-square test shows no relationship between proficiency and attitude toward the native speakers.

Just like the above result there is no statistically significant relationship between the Nupe performance in Yoruba comprehension and their attitude towards the Yoruba. The result is similarly shown below.

Table 25b

Nupe attitude to Yoruba Native Speakers and Nupe performance by Yoruba listening Comprehension

Attitude	Levels of Comprehension					
	Fair		Good		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Negative	5	14.7	17	20.2	22	18.6
Moderately Positive	26	76.5	52	61.9	78	66.1
Positive	3	8.8	15	17.9	18	12.7
Total	34	28.8	84	71.2	118	100

$$\chi^2 = 2.46 \quad df = 2 \quad P > .05$$

Similar results were got among the Yoruba respondents. The chi-square test shows no statistically significant relationship between their proficiency in Nupe and their attitude toward Nupe speakers. The results are shown in the tables belows.



Table 26a

Yoruba attitude to Nupe Native Speakers and Yoruba Proficiency in Nupe

Attitude	Levels of Proficiency in Nupe					
	Fair		Good		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Negative	9	40.9	8	24.2	17	30.9
Moderately Positive	10	45.5	19	57.6	29	52.7
Positive	3	13.6	6	18.2	9	16.4
Total	22	40	33	60	55	100

$$\chi^2 = 1.72 \quad df = 2 \quad P > .05$$

Table 26b

Yoruba attitude to Nupe Native Speakers and Yoruba Performance in Nupe listening Comprehension Test

Attitude	Levels of Comprehension					
	Fair		Good		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Negative	7	38.9	8	23.5	15	28.8
Moderately Positive	8	44.4	20	58.8	28	53.8
Positive	2	16.7	6	17.6	8	17.3
Total	17	34.6	34	65.4	51	100

$$\chi^2 = 1.42 \quad df = 2 \quad P > .05$$

These results should not be taken as if there is no relationship between the two variables. Research findings earlier cited in Chapter Two show a relationship between them. Perhaps in this case other factors are accountable and these may be more responsible for proficiency in the second languages of our respondents than their attitudes toward their owners.

The last hypothesis also borders on language attitudes. It sought to verify the claim that instrumental and integrative reasons for learning a language could account for different levels of proficiency in the language. This issue is the subject of our last null-hypothesis which is the eleventh. It states thus:

Ho<sup>11</sup>: There is no significant difference in the proficiency of subjects who learn the second language for integrative reasons and those who learn it for instrumental reasons.

The t-test was applied to test this hypothesis. Our findings among the two groups of respondents are shown below.

Table 27

T-test values showing the differences in the proficiency levels of those who learnt Yoruba for instrumental and integrative Reasons.

27a) Self report and observation

Reasons	N	Df	Mean	Standard Deviation	Level of Significance	Critical Value	t-Value	Result
Instrumental	85	114	8.16	1.34	.05	2.00	0.19	Not significant
Integrative	31		8.10	1.45				

$P > .05$

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27b) Listening Comprehension Test in Yoruba

Reasons	N	Df	Mean	Standard Deviation	Level of Significance	Critical Value	t-Value	Result
Instrumental	81	110	3.37	1.05	.05	2.00	2.31	Significant
Integrative	31		2.83	1.18				

$P < .05$

The results in the tables above are contradictory. In the first table, we obtained a T-value which is less than the critical value, therefore we tentatively retain the null hypothesis. With the result shown in the second table, however, we have to reject the null hypothesis and accept the research hypothesis that there is a significant difference in the levels of proficiency of those who acquire Yoruba for instrumental and integrative reasons among the Nupe. This is evident in the obtained t-value and the critical value shown in the table. The former is greater than the latter. Therefore we reject the null hypothesis. It should be noted, however, that those who acquired Yoruba for instrumental reasons have a higher proficiency than those who acquired it for integrative reasons.

The same issue was also examined among the Yoruba respondents. The result of the t-test on the mean levels of proficiency of those who acquired Nupe for either instrumental or integrative reasons are presented below.

Table 28

T-test values showing the differences in the proficiency levels of those who learnt Nupe for Instrumental and integrative Reasons

28a) Self report and observation

Reasons	N	Df	Mean	Standard Deviation	Level of Significance	Critical Value	t-Value	Result
Instrumental	47	49	8.75	1.89	.05	2.02	1.44	Not significant
Integrative	4		7.51	1.64				

$P. > .05$

28b) Listening Comprehension Test in Nupe

Reasons	N	Df	Mean	Standard Deviation	Level of Significance	Critical Value	t-Value	Result
Instrumental	43	45	3.25	1.31	.05	2.02	1.13	Not significant
Integrative	4		2.50	0.57				

$P > .05$

The results of this test indicate a statistically insignificant difference in the mean levels of proficiency of those who acquire Nupe for either instrumental or integrative reasons among the Yoruba. This is evident in the obtained T-values and the critical values in both tables. In both cases, we require a critical value as high as 2.02 to reject the null hypothesis but we come up with 1.44 and 1.13 respectively for tables 28a and b. Therefore we have to retain the null hypothesis. It should be noted that even though our research hypothesis is not confirmed among the Yoruba, as it is with the Nupe, one thing is common to the results got from both groups: those who acquire their respective second language for instrumental reasons have a higher level of proficiency in it than those who acquire it for integrative reasons. This seems to be at variance with findings in earlier works.

The issues touched <sup>on</sup> above constitute the results and findings of our hypotheses. We intend to have some detailed discussion of these findings in the next chapter. We shall presently turn our attention



to language use in specific domains to see the functional allocation of roles to the two languages under consideration.

#### 4.5 Domains of Language Use

Domain analysis constitutes one of the special areas of societal bilingualism. Domains according to Fishman are institutional contexts in which a language is used, and these are organized into specific role-relationships. For details see section 2.5.1 above. Different communities present different kinds of domains of language use. In the present investigation the following domains were recognized: the home, work, school, market and religion. The number of situations allocated to each of these domains varied. For example, at home, there are seven possibilities of different interlocutors communicating among themselves. For communication in the various domains recognized in this study, three major languages were reported to be used. These are Nupe, Yoruba and English, but they could be used alternately within a discourse, therefore three other possibilities were

recognized, namely, Nupe and Yoruba, Nupe and English, Yoruba and English.

For purposes of data analysis, the subjects were categorized into subgroups e.g. for language use at home, we have parents and their children belonging to two separate groups. The school constitutes a domain for the school children and it is equivalent to the work domain of the working class. Language use by traders and women was examined in the market domain.

In the religious domain, language use in private prayers was the only context of use examined. This is based on the assumption that language use in churches and mosques located in either side of the community is predictable and there may not be any deviation from both sides. The responses of our subjects are therefore presented below domain by domain. First we focus our attention on language use at home.

#### 4.5.1 Language Choice at Home

On language use in this domain, respondents in each language group were divided into two sets, namely,

the adult subjects and the children. They were all asked to indicate the language they normally use at home with the following people: husband, wife, relations, children, etc. Table 29 below summarizes the self-reports of our respondents from both sides.

Table 29  
Self-Reports of Language Use at home by Adult Subjects  
(1) Nupe Native Speakers

Context	1 NUPE		2 YORUBA		3 ENGLISH		4 NUPE & YORUBA		5 NUPE & ENGLISH		TOTAL	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
When talking to your husband	30	90.9	-	-	-	-	1	3.0	2	6.1	33	100
When talking to your wife	40	85.1	-	-	-	-	3	6.4	4	8.5	47	100
When talking to your relation	75	96.1	1	1.2	-	-	2	2.5	-	-	78	100
When talking to your children	67	85.8	3	3.8	2	2.6	1	1.2	5	6.4	78	100
When talking to your neigh- bours .. ..	52	66.6	1	1.2	-	-	25	32.0	-	-	78	100
When talking to your Nupe friends who speaks both Nupe and Yoruba .. ..	58	74.3	-	-	-	-	13	16.6	7	8.9	78	100
With Yoruba friends who speak both languages .. ..	8	10.2	53	69.2	-	-	16	20.5	-	-	78	100

Table 29  
 Self-Reports of Language Use at home by Adult Subjects  
 ii) Yoruba Native Speakers

	1		2		3		4		5		TOTAL	
	NUPE		YORUBA		ENGLISH		NUPE & YORUBA		YORUBA & ENGLISH			
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
When talking to your husband	-	-	11	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	100
When talking to your wife	-	-	16	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	16	100
When talking to your relations	-	-	27	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	27	100
When talking to your neighbours .. .. .	-	-	26	96.3	-	-	1	3.7	-	-	27	100
When talking to your children	-	-	27	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	27	100
When talking to your Nupe friends who understand both languages .. .. .			22	81.5	-	-	5	18.5			27	100
When talking to your Yoruba friends who understand both languages .. .. .			26	96.3	-	-	1	3.7	-	-	27	100

As can be seen in the tables above, Nupe is chiefly the language of communication at home among the Nupe adult subjects when communicating with various interlocutors. As high as 90.9% of the women claimed absolute use of Nupe in talking with their husbands at home. A similar situation was also observed among husbands too as 85.1% claimed to use only Nupe alone in communicating with their wives. It is significant that Yoruba was not reported at all as the sole language of communication among husbands and wives. Only meagre percentages i.e. 3 and 6.1%, claimed to use both Nupe and Yoruba alternately on the one hand, and Nupe and English on the other among the women; while 6.4% and 8.5% of their husbands use a similar combination of languages to communicate with their wives. This situation can be accounted for by the low degree of mixed marriages between the two groups in this community. This is why the mother tongue is mostly utilized among parents at home.

Communication between adult subjects and their relations is also principally done in Nupe as 96.1%

of them reported using Nupe when talking to their relations. So also in communicating with the children a similar overwhelming percentage of 85.8% would use Nupe. We notice that low percentages of 3.8 and 2.6% of parents reported the use of Yoruba and English respectively between them and their children. They are the few who are married to Yoruba and those with high educational background.

The neighbourhood does not appear to be as mixed as one would expect judging by the contiguity of the two communities. Thus in this domain we have up to 66.6% of the adult population who reported exclusive use of Nupe when talking to their neighbours. Yoruba has a little impact here in that we have a small number of the respondents who report either Yoruba alone or both Nupe and Yoruba as represented by 1.2% and 32% respectively. In this case we can conclude that Yoruba is used only when occasion calls for it or that it is gradually gaining grounds among the Nupe. This observation is supported by those who claimed to use Yoruba alone in communicating with their Yoruba

friends even when such friends understand both Yoruba and Nupe. The Nupe in this category amount to 69.2%. When one considers the fact that as native speakers of Nupe, they have the option to use their mother tongue to communicate with friends since such friends also speak Nupe, this finding becomes interesting. The use of Yoruba thus shows that the Nupe speakers do give concession to Yoruba speakers by converging to the use of Yoruba. This may be due to the perceived dominance of Yoruba over Nupe.

In conclusion, it can be said that among Nupe parents, communication is mostly done in Nupe, although one notices that Yoruba is beginning to make some appreciable impact, at least in some restricted situations. It will be necessary to examine communication patterns at home among Yoruba parents too to enable us to see whether or not similar patterns exist between the two groups of parents.

Yoruba is generally used at home among the Yoruba married respondents. All of them reported exclusive use of Yoruba at home when talking to their



spouses, their relations and children. This should not be surprising since the marriage pattern among the Yoruba is mostly endogamous. Again, Nupe is not as popular among the Yoruba as Yoruba is with the Nupe. This accounts for why Nupe is not often used among the Yoruba respondents. Just 1 out of the 27 adult respondents among the Yoruba representing 3.7% of the total sample reported the use of both Nupe and Yoruba in talking with their neighbours. The remaining 96.3% use only Yoruba. This shows that the Yoruba do not care much about the mixed nature of the neighbourhood. Even though the neighbourhood is mixed, it appears the Yoruba do expect Nupe speakers to use Yoruba to communicate with them. A comparison of this with the pattern of response among the Nupe in table 29 above, for those who reported the use of Yoruba on the one hand and Yoruba and Nupe on the other reveals the dominance of Yoruba in this community. This is evident in about 33% of the Nupe claiming either Yoruba alone or Yoruba and Nupe as compared with just 3.7% of the Yoruba claiming to use both Yoruba and Nupe.

In talking to their Nupe or Yoruba friends who speak/understand both languages, Yoruba is mostly reported. This is contrary to the situation among the Nupe where they converge, as it were, to the language background of their friends. This again reflects the dominant position of Yoruba in 'the twin' community. Among the Nupe cognizance, is taken of the ethnic/linguistic background of their friends. Thus, rather than talk to such friends only in Nupe, (since they speak it) a good proportion of the Nupe would use Yoruba. This is accounted for by the fact that when two languages which are not of equal status are in contact, there could be a process of dominance and recession. In the present case Yoruba seems to be gaining dominance while Nupe is receding as the patterns of language choice among the Nupe show.

A more comprehensive picture of language use at home will emerge when we examine the language use of children at home. This will enable us to compare their patterns of language choice at home with those of their parents. In the table below language use patterns among the children from both sides of the community are displayed.

Table 30

## Children's language Use at Home

## 1) Nupe Native Speakers

Contexts	1		2		3		4		5		TOTAL	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
When talking to your father	44	93.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	6.4	47	100
When talking to your mother	44	93.6	1	2.1	-	-	1	2.1	1	2.1	47	100
When talking to your grand- parents .. .. .	46	97.9	1	2.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	47	100
When talking to your elder brothers and sisters ..	33	70.2	-	-	2	4.3	7	14.9	5	10.6	47	100
When talking to your younger brothers/sisters ..	39	83	-	-	-	-	7	14.9	1	2.1	47	100
When talking to children in the neighbourhood ..	22	46.8	3	6.4	-	-	22	46.8			47	100

11) Yoruba Native Speakers

Contexts	1		2		3		4		5		TOTAL	
	NUPE No	%	YORUBA No	%	ENGLISH No	%	NUPE & YORUBA No	%	YORUBA & ENGLISH No	%	No	%
When talking to your father	-		28	100	-		-		-		28	100
When talking to your mother	-		28	100	-		-		-		28	100
When talking to your grand- parents .. .. .	-		28	100	-		-		-		28	100
When talking to your elder brothers/sisters .. ..	-		22	78.6	1	3.6	-		5	17.9	28	100
When talking to your younger brothers/sisters .. ..	-		24	85.7	-		-		4	14.3	28	100
When talking to other children in the neighbourhood			18	64.3					10	35.7	28	100

There is no radical departure from the pattern of communication observed among the parents and that of their children. Overwhelming percentages of Nupe children reported exclusive use of Nupe in communicating with various interlocutors. Even in communication involving children within the same family we still have overwhelming percentages. For example 70.2% of the children claimed to use Nupe alone when talking to their elder brothers and sisters, while 83% reported to use only Nupe in talking to their younger brothers and sisters. The impact of Yoruba is a little felt among Nupe children. Even though none of them laid claim to its exclusive use in communicating with other children, older and younger, still 14.9% claimed to use Yoruba with Nupe in talking among themselves.

The influence of education is also slight among Nupe children as only low percentages of them, 4.3 and 10.6, claimed to use English alone or alternate it with Nupe. Thus Nupe is seen to be strong and dominant among its users.

However, we observe that Yoruba is as much used as Nupe in the neighbourhood with as high as 46.8% of the children claiming to communicate in both Nupe

and Yoruba with other children in the neighbourhood. To this percentage can be added 6.4% of those who would use Yoruba alone. This response reinforces our earlier observation that the neighbourhood best facilitates the learning of the second language (see tables 6a and b). This is because both languages are actively used in the neighbourhood; in the process of interaction the second language is acquired. Nevertheless, no place of acquisition was discovered to be inherently superior to other avenues for learning the second language (see the result of hypothesis 7).

In the Yoruba group, there were 28 children. Their pattern of response does not present any radical break from that of their parents. Yoruba is mostly used among them. For example in talking to their father, mother and grandparents at home, no other language is used save Yoruba. There seems to be a similar pattern among Nupe children and Yoruba children as far as communication involving their siblings is concerned. For instance, as high as 78.6 and 85.7% used Yoruba to communicate at home with elder brothers and sisters and younger brothers

and sisters respectively.

One striking thing among Yoruba children is that unlike their Nupe counterparts who to some extent communicate with their siblings at home using both Nupe and Yoruba, Yoruba children did not report a similar combination. For them, communication with their siblings is either in English only or in both English and Yoruba. 3.6% and 17.9% of the Yoruba juvenile sample report these patterns of choice. Similarly 14.3% claimed to communicate in both English and Yoruba with their younger brothers and sisters. This shows that among the Yoruba children Nupe does not provide them much attraction at home while English language does. This is understandable in that knowledge of Nupe does not command any prestige whereas knowledge of English does. In any case, it can be said that Yoruba is now in the process of making its incursion into Nupe homes as can be observed in columns 2 and 4 of tables 29 and 30, a situation which may have implications for the future survival of Nupe as a mother tongue.

In communication with other children in the neighbourhood, as high as 64.3% claimed exclusive use

of Yoruba while those who claimed to use both Nupe and Yoruba constitute 35.7%. This again presents a slight difference between what exists among Nupe children. While a little 6.4% of them claimed to use Yoruba to communicate with other children in the neighbourhood, none of them reported the use of Nupe. In fact, among the Nupe equal percentages of children reported either Nupe alone or Nupe and Yoruba. This is shown by 46.8% who reported either option. This again reflects a kind of convergence to the Yoruba linguistic practice among Nupe children, and further reinforces our earlier observation that Yoruba appeared to be gaining more speakers from the Nupe side.

#### 4.5.2 Language choice at work

Having had a look at language choice at home among adult and children populations from both sides, we shall now examine the patterns of language choice for communication in the employment domain. We present below the responses of our respondents who are engaged in occupations, where the kind of role-relations we



we sought to examine in this investigation are possible. For instance, it was assumed that communication could take place between superior and subordinate officials or between officials of equal status when discussing different topics, whether private or official. The data in table 31 below is elicited by the question: "What language do you use at work when discussing with these categories of people?".

Table 31  
Language Choice at Work  
1) Nupe Native Speakers

Context	1		2		3		4		5		6		TOTAL	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Discussing official matters with superiors	4	12.9	1	3.2	20	64.5	1	3.2	3	9.7	2	6.5	31	100
Discussing official matters with subordinates	4	12.9	-		13	41.9	3	9.7	9	29	2	6.5	31	100
Discussing official matters with equals .. .. .	6	19.4	-		13	41.9	4	12.9	5	16.1	3	9.7	31	100
Discussing private matters with superiors .. .. .	8	25.8	4	12.9	10	32.3	3	9.7	4	12.9	2	6.5	31	100
Discussing private matters with subordinates .. .. .	14	45.2	2	6.5	3	9.7	4	12.9	6	19.4	2	6.5	31	100
Discussing private matters with equals .. .. .	14	45.2	1	3.2	4	12.9	7	22.6	4	12.9	1	3.2	31	100
When merely chatting ..	6	19.4	1	3.2	5	16.1	9	29	5	16.1	4	12.9	31	100

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11) Yoruba Native Speakers

Context	1		2		3		4		5		6		TOTAL	
	NUPE		YORUBA		ENGLISH		NUPE & YORUBA		ENG & NUPE		YORUBA & ENGLISH		TOTAL	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Discussing official matters with superiors .. ..	-		1	9.1	7	63.6	-		-		3	27.3	11	100
Discussing official matters with subordinates .. ..	-		2	18.2	4	36.4	2	18.2	-		3	27.3	11	100
Discussing official matters with equals .. ..	-		2	18.2	5	45.5	-		-		4	36.4	11	100
Discussing private matters with superiors .. ..	-		9	81.8	1	9.1	-		-		1	9.1	11	100
Discussing private matters with subordinates .. ..	-		8	72.7	1	9.1	2	18.2	-		-		11	100
Discussing private matters with equals .. ..	-		9	81.8	-		2	18.2	-		-		11	100
When merely chatting .. ..	-		5	45.5	-		2	18.2	-		4	36.4	11	100

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A close examination of the table above reveals that it is hard to say which language is dominant among the Nupe respondents in the work domain. This is because the distribution of responses to the various options in the table tends to be fairly evenly spread. It is noted that English has a slight edge over other languages for discussing official matters with different categories of workers. This is quite possible if the workers do not share the same language. But in situations where the officials have the same language in common, official transactions can be carried out in this language even though English is the official language expected in this domain. We must say, however, that this is restricted to oral communication only. English is the rule for all written communication.

Contrary to the slightly dominant position of English in discussing official matters at work, the pattern of communication in private matters and with various interlocutors is tilted in favour of Nupe. Only 32.3% of the respondents claimed to use English with superior officers for private matters, while with subordinates and equals, 45.2% each claimed to

use Nupe.

Yoruba is also employed by the Nupe to some extent in the work domain. A few of the Nupe in our sample use it alone or with English in some contexts. This is possible because the work domain is ethnically mixed and for those Nupe who speak Yoruba, they obviously use the language to communicate with the Yoruba native speakers in the same establishment. Since most Nupe are bilingual in Nupe and Yoruba it is also possible that they use the language within their own ethnic group.

The pattern of language choice in the work domain among the Yoruba follows the Nupe pattern. English is dominant in the discussion of official matters. The pressure on the language of course varies with who the interlocutors are. For instance less and less use is made of English as we move down the official hierarchy: 63.6%, 45.5% and 36.4% respectively for each of the categories of workers i.e. superiors, equals, subordinates.

In discussing private matters at work, Yoruba is mostly used regardless of the interlocutors. This

seems to be different from the pattern among the Nupe. A look at table 31 clearly brings out the predominant choice of Yoruba for private matters, as 18.8, 72.7 and 81.8% claimed to employ Yoruba in discussing private matters with their superior officers, subordinates and equals respectively. Yoruba also alternates with English in some degrees when discussing whatever and with whichever interlocutors.

The choice of language in situations like this is usually guided by <sup>the</sup> topic of discussion and the formality of the situation. But among our respondents it is the relationship with the interlocutor that determines choice. Thus if the addressee is a boss with whom one maintains a close association, communication will take place in the native medium when discussing official matters. The other important consideration is the expediency of the code for the topic of discussion.

Consistent with our earlier observation, Yoruba appears to be more popular with the Nupe than Nupe is with the Yoruba. This is showed by an examination of the table above. 18.2% of the Yoruba consistently employ Nupe and Yoruba at work when communicating about

official and private matters with their subordinates and equals, and when merely chatting. But among the Nupe, Yoruba is more widely employed although in some cases it alternates with English. The percentages in columns 2, 4 and 6 bring this out clearly. It thus becomes clear that the Yoruba do not make much use of Nupe in spite of their bilingualism; rather it is the Nupe that communicate more in Yoruba. Issues relating to this finding will be further discussed in the next chapter.

#### 4.5.3 Language Choice in Secondary Schools

Language choice in the school domain was also examined among the secondary school students in our sample. The school in this regard bears a correspondence to the work domain of the civil servants. The table below summarizes the language choice patterns of this category of students in school. The data presented were got through a question, which required the students to indicate the language(s) usually used for non-formal communication with their teachers, and others when not receiving instruction. This is based

on the assumption that for formal purposes English is used because it is the official and the language of education in Nigeria. It is hoped that the relative status of the two languages under consideration will be revealed among the students.



Table 32

## Language choice of Secondary School Students

## 1) Nupe Native Speakers

Context	1		2		3		4		5		6		TOTAL	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Informal discussion with teachers .. ..	3	7	-		33	76.7	-		7	16.3	-		43	100
Discussion with Senior students .. ..	3	7	-		34	79.1	-		6	14	-		43	100
Discussion with junior students .. ..	6	14	1	2.3	28	65.1	1	2.3	7	16.3	-		43	100
Discussion with classmates	4	9.3	1	2.3	25	58.1	1	2.3	9	20.9	3	7	43	100
In general discussion ..	6	14	2	4.7	20	46.5	4	9.3	7	16.3	-		43	100

ii) Yoruba Native Speakers

Context	1	2	3	4	5	6	TOTAL No. %
	NUPE No. %	YORUBA No. %	ENGLISH No. %	NUPE & YORUBA No. %	ENG & NUPE No. %	YORUBA & ENGLISH No. %	
Informal discussion with teachers .. ..	-	6 26.1	15 65.2	2 8.7	-	-	23 100
Discussion with senior students .. ..	-	3 13	14 60.9	4 17.4	-	2 8.7	23 100
Discussion with junior students .. ..	-	8 34.8	11 47.8	2 8.7	-	2 8.7	23 100
Discussion with classmates	-	11 47.8	9 39.1	1 4.3	-	2 8.7	23 100
In general discussion ..	-	11 47.8	5 21.7	1 4.3	6 26	6 26	23 100

In non-formal situations at school among the Nupe, English is claimed to be mostly used as can be seen by the percentages of people who reported its exclusive use. This should not surprise us much because English is the official language and its use in educational institutions is the rule. Additionally in some of these secondary schools, regulations are enacted to enforce its use. This is responsible for the high incidence of the choice of English among this category of students (see Column 3).

English is also used alongside the other two languages, Nupe their mother tongue and Yoruba, their second language. In this kind of situation, code-switching and code-mixing are bound to feature prominently in speech forms. We thus have a handful of students reporting the use of both English and Nupe on the one hand and English and Yoruba on the other in their informal communication. On the whole Yoruba is the least used at school by the Nupe (see column 2 in particular). This finding seems to contradict our assumption that the school is a potentially strong context for learning a second

indigenous language. This is because the secondary school is ethnically mixed and informal communication can easily take place in any language. As may be inferred from the choice patterns here, the school may not be all that auspicious for the learning of a second indigenous language after all.

The schools' regulation is that communication should be in English. This appeared to be the case among the Nupe students as evidenced by the higher incidence of English when compared to any other language. The situation among the Yoruba students appears somewhat different. In communication with their teachers, senior and junior students they mostly used English, but with classmates, and in general discussions, regardless of who the addressees are, Yoruba is mostly used. The reason for the choice of English among these students is not difficult to see. English is the language of formal relationship. It is therefore the appropriate language of communication between them and the teachers, seniors and the junior students. In addition to this reason perhaps English is chosen for communicating with the juniors for purposes of ego boosting. They may want to assert

their superiority over the junior students. Therefore English is the appropriate language to use for this purpose. As for communication with classmates, Yoruba is chosen because it is the appropriate language for informal relationship, the type that exists among classmates.

In ranking the degree of utility of the various languages at school among students on both sides, we have the following order. Among the Nupe: English, being the highest in the hierarchy, then Nupe and English, followed by Nupe, Yoruba and English, Nupe and Yoruba and finally Yoruba alone as the lowest in the hierarchy. Note that Yoruba is employed in three forms among the Nupe. i.e. either singly, or with English and Nupe. Among the Yoruba, there appears to be a different ranking. Again English ranked highest among them, but it only had a slight edge over Yoruba which ranked second. They are followed by the combination of Yoruba and English and Yoruba and Nupe. This goes to show that Nupe is not as much employed by Yoruba students as Yoruba is employed by the Nupe students. This is still a pointer to the dominance of Yoruba over

Nupe in our study area.

#### 4.5.4 Language Choice in the Market

Language choice and language use in the market domain were also examined. Communication takes place when people buy and sell. We therefore asked those of our respondents who were traders and all women to indicate which languages they usually use when buying or selling something to another person who is bilingual in Nupe and Yoruba. It is assumed that a language chosen in this domain must be the dominant language for the person, since she could use any of the two languages because her interlocutor shares the same language with her. The table below summarizes (in percentages) the responses of our subjects from both sides in respect of their language use in the market.

Table 33

## Language Use in the Market

Context	YORUBA		NUPE		NUPE & YORUBA		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>i) <u>Nupe Native Speakers</u></b>								
When buying from or selling to another Nupe/Yoruba bilingual .. .. .	2	4.3	22	47.8	22	47.8	46	100
<b>ii) <u>Yoruba Native Speakers</u></b>								
When buying from or selling to another Nupe/Yoruba bilingual .. .. .	13	50	-		13	50	26	100

Although certain of our Nupe respondents claimed exclusive use of Nupe, it can be inferred from this table that language use is not particularly in favour of any of the two languages. We notice for instance that as high as 47.8% claimed to use either Nupe alone or alternate it with Yoruba depending on which of the languages the customer used to initiate his transaction.

The patterns of language use in the market among the two groups appear uniform. For example, among the Yoruba we have equal proportions of those who would use Yoruba alone or either Yoruba or Nupe in buying and selling transactions with another bilingual.

#### 4.5.5 Language Choice in Religion

The domain of religion is the last domain examined for language use. Language use here, either in churches or mosques is predictable. Nupe and Arabic are mostly used in mosques among the Nupe. Among the Yoruba, Yoruba and Arabic are similarly used in mosques. In churches, however, the respective mother tongue of each side is mostly used. Nevertheless English is employed in varying degrees in the church. For instance, English is used alongside Nupe at the United Missionary Church of Africa and at the Bible school located in the Nupe-speaking part.

Among the Yoruba, there is considerable code-switching involving Yoruba and English among church dignitaries in sermons and in giving notices.



Choruses are also sung either in English or Yoruba. This is why we have not attempted a complex analysis of this domain.

However, the respondents were asked to give the language they usually use in their private prayers. This is consistent with Mackey's (1968) claim that the degree of proficiency in a language depends on its function, and this could be such things as praying, counting, and reckoning among others. It is claimed that the language which is dominant for the bilingual is used for these internal functions. It is significant to note that the respondents overwhelmingly reported using mostly their respective mother tongues. Details of their responses are shown in table 34 below.

Table 34

## Language Use in Private Prayers

Languages	NUPE GROUP		YORUBA GROUP	
	No.	%	No.	%
Nupe	107	85.6	-	-
Yoruba	2	1.6	39	70.9
Arabic/Nupe	10	8.0	-	-
Nupe/Yoruba	2	1.6	-	-
Yoruba/Arabic	-	-	4	7.2
English/Nupe	2	1.6	-	-
English/Yoruba	-	-	12	21.8
Total	125	100	55	100

The table above shows 85.6% of the Nupe compared with about 71% of the Yoruba claiming exclusive use of their mother tongues in private prayers. There is also a noticeable impact of Yoruba on the Nupe in this domain as at least 1.6% of our sample reported the use of either Yoruba alone, or Yoruba and Nupe in their prayers. When this percentage is taken together with those earlier seen in other domains,

we can hardly conclude that these are exceptional cases. It may perhaps mean that Yoruba is gradually making its inroads into domains where one would expect the use of Nupe. It should also be noted that English is actively utilized among the Yoruba in their private prayers. This, no doubt, constitutes the class of well-educated ones who can pray in English. The incidence of English in this context should, however, not suggest a dominance of English.

The fore-going are the domains of language use examined in this study. The various results got through our analysis shall be fully discussed in the next chapter. But it goes without saying that language use patterns here are mostly in favour of the mother tongues. Nevertheless, the second indigenous languages are also utilized in varying degrees, with Yoruba being more utilized by the Nupe than Nupe is used by the Yoruba.

#### 4.4 Language Attitude and Inter-ethnic Relations

Another area of concern in the study of societal bilingualism is language attitude. This is because attitude and inter-ethnic relations are crucial to the

understanding of why a second language is learnt and why it is used. Therefore it is one of the central concerns of this study and it will engage our attention in this section. In awareness of the fact that attitudes are hardly ascertained by direct questions, we asked a number of indirect questions to find out what their attitudes were to their respective mother tongue, their respective second language and their native speakers. Their responses to the pertinent attitudinal questions are presented below in percentages.

First our subjects were asked to indicate which languages in their repertoire they considered most prestigious. The mother tongues were considered most prestigious by their respective native speakers as reported by more than 90% of the subjects on each side. If few, at least some of our Nupe subjects considered Yoruba more prestigious but none of our Yoruba respondents considered Nupe so. Instead, a few of them would rather consider English as more prestigious. The table below summarizes the answers of our respondents to this question.

Table 35

## Languages considered Prestigious

Languages	NUPE GROUP		YORUBA GROUP	
	No.	%	No.	%
Nupe	118	94.4	-	-
Yoruba	3	2.4	52	94.5
English	2	1.6	3	5.5
No response	2	1.6	-	-
Total	125	100	55	100

The reasons given for considering their choice as most prestigious are mostly sentimental. With respect to their mother tongues, they expressed sentiments of loyalty. Since their respective native language belongs to their progenitors, they would like to be identified with the language. No other language could be more prestigious to them than their respective mother tongue. The reasons given by some for considering English most prestigious were couched in pseudo-linguistic terms, e.g. some said English was adequate for all purposes, and more expressive compared with indigenous languages.

Still on language-directed attitudes, the subjects were asked whether they considered the learning of their respective second language important in their group. Overwhelming percentages of respondents from both sides agreed that learning the second language is important. In fact they all expressed pride over being able to speak the second language. The result of this question and the supporting reasons are presented in the tables below and in the discussion which follows.

Table 36a

Importance of learning the Second Language

	NUPE GROUP		YORUBA GROUP	
	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	116	92.8	51	92.7
No	7	5.6	4	7.3
Not sure	2	1.6	-	-
Total	125	100	55	100

Table 36b

Reasons for Learning the Second Language

Reasons	NUPE GROUP		YORUBA GROUP	
	No.	%	No.	%
Instrumental	85	68	47	85.5
Integrative	31	24.8	4	7.3
No response	9	9.2	4	7.2
Total	125	100	55	100

Taking these two tables together, we conclude that members of each group overwhelmingly considered it important to learn the second language. It is surprising especially that the Yoruba group considered it important to learn Nupe, when in actual fact they hardly use Nupe. This then suggests that there may be discrepancies between claims and actual practice. It is instructive to note from table 36b that knowledge of the second language is considered important mostly for instrumental reasons (see also Akere, 1982). But a few of the sample considered knowledge of the second language important for integrative reasons. Among the Nupe we have up to a quarter of the respondents i.e. 24.8% and among the Yoruba as low as 7.3% considered knowledge of their respective second language important for integrative reasons.

Instrumental motivations border on the perceived importance of the second language for their day-to-day interaction with their neighbours and also for their commercial transactions with out-group members. Integrative reasons on the other hand border on reasons such as attraction to native speakers of the



second language or the language itself; others also claimed that the second language sounds pleasant to them. These two reasons or motivation, for learning the second language are said to give rise to differential proficiency in the second language. Integrative reasons in particular are said to facilitate a superior proficiency in the second language compared with reasons bordering on instrumental considerations. Our statistical test has been able to prove however that in the case of our respondents there is no difference in the levels of proficiency of those who learnt the second language for instrumental reasons and those who learnt it for integrative reasons (see hypothesis 11). But as we have seen, in our own case those who learnt their respective L2 appear to have a slight edge over their counterparts who learnt them for integrative reasons.

Having sufficiently examined language-directed attitudes among the two groups, attention was turned to inter-ethnic attitudes as this could possibly have a bearing on bilingualism involving the language of the other group. The subjects were asked the following questions which relate to inter-ethnic interactions:

Do you enjoy good relation with the Yoruba/Nupe?

Do you have close friends among them?

To what extent do you consider the Yoruba/Nupe trustworthy?

The responses of the subjects on either side show that there is a high degree of mutual tolerance: for instance 92.8% and 94.5% of Nupe and Yoruba speakers respectively claimed to enjoy good relation with the other group. Similarly 88.8% of the Nupe respondents and 78.2% of the Yoruba claimed to have close friends among their opposite members. With these results one can say that there is a tendency towards inter-ethnic integration. But one is a little surprised that in spite of this indication, Nupe-Yoruba bilingualism is prevalent only with the Nupe mother tongue group. It may be the case that Yoruba is more important as an interactional resource compared with Nupe in this community and this is why the Nupe have to learn it for their socio-economic well-being in this community.

It must be pointed out, however, that some members of the <sup>two</sup> groups are ethnocentric. This accounts

for why we did not have a hundred percent of positive responses for the above questions. This goes to show that some members are sceptical of the relationship that exist between their two ethnic groups in the community.

The last of the ethnicity-related question above deserves special attention, namely, whether the groups consider each other as trustworthy in their evaluation. The responses of our subjects to it are summarized in the table below.

Table 37

Degree of Trustworthiness

Degree	NUPE GROUP		YORUBA GROUP	
	No.	%	No.	%
Not at all	22	17.6	17	30.9
To some extent	85	68	29	52.7
To a great extent	18	14.4	9	16.4
Total	125	100	55	100

The table above shows that both groups have a similar rating for their counterparts, with the highest concentration having a moderately positive attitude towards the other group. But notice that the Nupe appear more liberal in their rating of the Yoruba, whereas the Yoruba did not approve of the Nupe as much.

In the foregoing we have been able to present our findings as they relate to our hypotheses. Responses to questions on language choice and language and inter-ethnic attitudes have also been analysed. Through this analysis certain patterns have been manifested. These we hope to discuss in the following chapter.

## NOTES

- 1 This has been mentioned in Chapter One. In the period between 1940s and the late 1960s, both groups were united by the same primary school. This primary school was located in the Yoruba section of the community. In this school Yoruba was the language of instruction for both groups at the initial stages of education so also it was taught as a subject in the curriculum to children from both sides.
  
- 2 The use of the term 'youth' in the Nigerian context refers to those who are 30 years old and below. This is the reason why those who are above thirty years old are exempted from the National Youth Service Corps Scheme.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### DISCUSSION OF IMPORTANT FINDINGS

#### 5.0 Introduction

In this chapter important findings are highlighted and discussed in detail. Attempts are also made to place our findings in wider perspective, while at the same time the peculiarity of the situation here is duly recognized. The discussion presented here will be done in consonance with the major sub-headings in Chapter Four.

#### 5.1 Demographic Data

In terms of distribution of different age groups, it was discovered that bilingualism is more wide-spread among the younger generations than their older counterparts in the two groups under consideration (see table 2). This result bears a corollary to Lieberman's (1981) finding in Montreal, Canada, that the incidence of bilingualism tends to decrease with age.

Through data from Canadian census, he discovered a rapid increase in bilingualism from early childhood to young adulthood and a further increase into middle age among French Canadians. But as soon as they get

to their 40s there is a progressive decrease in bilingualism until old age. This is explained in terms of educational requirement and the employment domain which place premium on knowledge of English in Montreal because English can be said to be superposed on French. Therefore as people leave school for various employments they increase their knowledge of English. But as soon as they get to old age and are leaving the work force, there is a drop in their ability in English, since it is not of much need again. This may probably account for why people in this category did not report themselves as bilingual.

While it might be true that a person's ability in a second language may become moribund if the language is not used on a regular basis, it borders on the absurd that one loses his bilingual ability completely in the process of growing old. Lieberman's conclusion in this respect is hardly reliable, moreso when his finding was based on census figures and not on any measure of bilingual proficiency. Therefore there may be little or no correlation between the distribution of a group and their actual degree of proficiency in

the second language.

In our own case, we shall say that bilingualism is wide-spread among the older respondents just as it is among the younger ones. But there is the tendency for more members of the youth category to be bilingual compared with their older counterparts. Different factors will therefore be responsible for the pattern of distribution in different situations. Our own situation does not seem to bear <sup>an</sup> exact relation to that reported above. First, the two languages under consideration are not employed in the employment domain - at least formally. Also there is no compulsory teaching of the second language to the out-group as we have in Montreal.<sup>1</sup> In actual fact, unlike Yoruba, Nupe is not taught as a subject even at the primary school level. Therefore, what accounts for bilingualism among the younger generation in our samples may not be education alone but other secondary factors like attitude and the degree of contact between these groups.

Other works which point attention to bilingual predominance among the youth as opposed to their older counterparts are O'Barr (1971) and Oyetade (1986).



O'Barr studied bilingualism in Usangi, a village in Tanzania and discovered that the youths are more bilingual when compared with the adult members of the community. Similarly in a pilot study on <sup>the</sup> socio-cultural context of language maintenance and shift in the Nupe settlement in Ibadan, Oyetade reported a superior degree of bilingualism in Yoruba and Nupe among the youth compared with their older counterparts. These discoveries were explained in terms of educational opportunities in the second language which are not open to adults.

Unlike Liberson's work whose conclusion was based on census figures our own findings were authenticated by the attempts made to measure the degree of bilingualism of the subjects. It can be maintained that the youths on both sides have ample opportunities to learn each other's language. This as we have noted above may not be due to the forces of education alone (since the two languages are not officially compulsory for out-group members to learn), but to the attitudes among the youth. The youth are often more zealous than adults to learn any skill whatsoever. This may

be the reason why they are mostly bilingual. Apart from this, the pattern of co-existence between the Yoruba and the Nupe facilitates mutual friendship, and this is more prevalent among the youth than among the elders. So also <sup>a</sup>majority of the youth help their parents to hawk goods on either side of the town. This may also contribute to why we have more of the youth who are bilingual on both sides.

This finding is based on the distribution of the respondents. One would have concluded that the youths have a superior degree of proficiency in the second language looking at this distribution. But our statistical analysis has revealed that in spite of the higher number of bilinguals in the youth category than in the older category, there is no statistically significant difference in their respective levels of proficiency in the second language (see tables 17 and 18). This shows that survey results like the one employed by Lieberman may not present a true picture of bilingualism in a community. It can only tell us how many people are bilingual in what languages, but it will not reveal their degree of bilingualism relative

to one another.

Another finding of interest is that bilingualism is more wide-spread among the Nupe than among the Yoruba respondents. Apart from the disparity in the number of respondents from both sides three other results point to the popularity of Yoruba among the Nupe whereas the converse is not true for Nupe among the Yoruba. First, among the Nupe married respondents, 83.3% are couples who share both languages i.e. Nupe and Yoruba. So also more than 50% of the Nupe parents claimed to have children who speak Yoruba, whereas among the Yoruba only 32% claimed that their children speak Nupe. Similarly, the Nupe reported more frequent use of Yoruba than the Yoruba of Nupe.

These results bear much similarity to previous findings in other parts of the world, for example, Grosjean (1982) reported that Flemish (Dutch) - French bilingualism is more prevalent among the Flemings than it is among the Wallons in Belgium. So also in Montreal it has been shown that French-English bilingualism is the rule rather than the exception among the French mother tongue group than it is among the English mother tongue group. A similar situation

was reported in Nigeria by Wolff (1976) among the coastal people and people in the hinterland of the Niger-delta. While the hinterland people spoke Nembe and Kalabari as a second language, no corresponding bilingualism was reported for the coastal people.

In the first two cases, the pattern of bilingualism is explained not only in terms of socio-economic advantages which the knowledge of the second language confers on the learners but also in terms of the imbalance in prestige in a situation where a language of wider international impact is in contact with a language of more limited usefulness. In both Belgium and Canada, apart from the fact that French and English are languages of international status compared with other languages, their speakers occupy a formidable position both economically and politically. This therefore confers prestige on these languages as languages for socio-political and economic upliftment. This is the reason why these languages are learnt by speakers of other languages of lower status. Wolff's discovery also suggests that the coastal people are the politically dominant partners in the symbiotic relationship between the coast and the hinterland.

This therefore accounts for the non-reciprocal bilingualism which exist between the two groups.

The prevalence of Yoruba among the Nupe in our own case can hardly be accounted for in terms of the socio-economic benefits open only to the Nupe mother tongue group, because neither of these two languages is officially recognized by government for official transactions. The true picture emerges when one considers the hierarchy of importance of languages in Nigeria. Yoruba and Nupe belong to different hierarchies of importance in Nigeria. Yoruba is a major language whereas Nupe is a minor language. This is based on the numerical strength of the native speakers of each language. In most other places where this same pattern of bilingualism exists, it is the language with higher status that gains more adherents from speakers of lower status languages.

Although both ethnic groups have had a long history of association, Yoruba appears to be dominant and this is why more Nupes are learning Yoruba.<sup>2</sup> This observation is corroborated by the fact that in many major Yoruba towns like Ibadan, Lagos and Abeokuta, we have Nupe migrants. It thus appears that it is the

dominant group that is exercising an assimilatory pull on the weaker one. Some of the Nupe elements in the big cities have assimilated the Yoruba way of life to some extent. In fact some Nupe have been completely assimilated into the larger Yoruba cultural milieu. One only takes note of them in their lineage praise poetry and in towns like Lagos and Abeokuta where they still hold to their peculiar masquerade, Igúnnukó, known as Ndako gboya in Nupe.

The picture here also suggests a situation of immigrant-host relation where the immigrants of necessity must be proficient in the language of their host for job opportunities and other benefits (cf. Loishuffines, 1980; White, 1971 and Grosjean, 1982). If we had recourse to the history of this settlement presented in the first chapter of this work, we could say that the almost non-reciprocal bilingualism among the two groups is a pointer to the fact that the Nupe here are immigrants while the Yoruba constitute their host. Therefore the Nupe had to learn Yoruba to be able to cope with the economic and sociological demands of their new environment; it is this situation that has lingered on to the present time.

The explanation above seems plausible, yet it is not in all cases that the immigrants learn the language of their hosts (see Brosnahan, 1963 and Fasold, 1984). There are many examples of cases where the situation is reversed in favour of immigrants such that their language gains more prominence than their hosts' language. These may be in the form of language imposition.

Finally, the results discussed above have implications for language shift and maintenance. It could be said categorically that the Nupe in this community are more exposed to the risk of language shift than the Yoruba because bilingualism is more widespread among them. Most remarkable is the fact that over 80% of Nupe couples are bilingual in both Nupe and Yoruba and more than half of them also have bilingual children. One could postulate that with this result, the use of Yoruba is spreading in Nupe homes and, this could result in the Nupe gradually shifting away from the use of their mother tongue. We shall presently draw a conclusion on this issue when our findings on language use in various domains are fully discussed.

## Major Findings of the Investigation

5.2

### 5.2.1 Definition of bilingualism

Using our two methods of measuring bilingualism, i.e. self report and the listening comprehension exercise, it was discovered that the respondents on either side differ significantly in their first and second languages (see tables 9 and 10). They are not balanced bilinguals. In all cases they are more proficient in their mother tongues than their respective second language. This finding obviously raises questions on the conception of bilingualism as native-like control of two languages (e.g. Bloomfield, 1933). This in fact is ambilingualism and too lofty an ideal to attain. An insistence on ambilingual standard would have disallowed us to reckon with very many ~~out~~ of our respondents as bilinguals, when in actual fact, they possess some mastery of their respective second language, adequate enough for their communicative needs. With their self reports and our own observation we take them as bilinguals, regardless of the fact that they do not possess equal degree of proficiency in their first and second languages. In this connection, Fishman



(1971) notes:

From the point of view of sociolinguistics any society that produces functionally balanced bilinguals (that is, bilinguals who use both their languages equally and equally well in all contexts) must soon cease to be bilingual because no society needs two languages for one and the same set of functions (p 560).

Therefore, any definition that emphasises balanced proficiency in the two languages will make research on bilingualism a futile enterprise. We insist that our respondents are bilinguals regardless of their unequal degree of proficiency in their respective second language.

### 5.2.2 Bilingual Proficiency

Similar to the issue above, we discovered that our respondents are not as proficient as native speakers in the second language. The native speakers in all cases have a superior level of proficiency than second language users have. This supports the linguistic claim that no matter one's degree of proficiency in a second language, one only approximates the native speakers proficiency.

However, comparing the mean scores of the two language groups in each other's language, it is obvious that the Nupe are more proficient in Yoruba than are the Yoruba in Nupe (see Table 11). That the Nupe respondents tend to have a higher proficiency in Yoruba than the Yoruba have in their language is consistent with our earlier discovery that Yoruba is more popular and more widely used among the Nupe than Nupe is among the Yoruba. This has been accounted for in terms of disparity in the status of the two languages. Whereas Yoruba is a major language in terms of the population of its native speakers nationally, Nupe is a minor language. One can then say the larger the number of speakers of a language in a given multilingual nation like Nigeria, the more the sphere of influence of that language among non-native speakers. With the degree of socio-economic and political contact that exists among the two groups, one expects them to be proficient in each other's language.

### 5.2.3 Sex and Bilingual Proficiency

As regards the influence of sex on proficiency in

the second language, the two groups present a similar profile but for minor differences. First, from self-reports it was clear that sex is not a determinant of Yoruba proficiency among the Nupe. However through the listening comprehension exercise we discovered a statistically significant difference in their Yoruba proficiency in favour of men (cf tables 14a and b). On the other hand, the Yoruba men and women do not differ significantly in their proficiency in Nupe. But the women appear to have a slight edge over the men (see tables 15a and b).

Granted that theoretically both sexes can be equally proficient in their respective second languages, Lieberman's finding (1981) among French mother tongue group who are bilingual in French and English in Montreal, and O'Barr's (1971) in a rural Tanzanian village that men are typically more bilingual than women need to be reconsidered. In both cases the explanation given is that men's engagement in work outside the home (as opposed to women's home engagement) facilitates greater use of the second language. But it can be argued that this may be true only in situations where premium is placed on the second language in the employment domain,

and where more men than women provide the labour force e.g. in places like France and Germany where immigrants are employed for cheap labour.

The situation in our study location presents quite a different picture. In the first place neither of our focus languages is officially institutionalized in the employment domain. Secondly, the men on either side have equal chance as their women folk to learn the second language because they are all engaged in one activity or the other which guarantees equal exposure to the two languages. It should not surprise us therefore if both of them exhibit equal degree of proficiency in their respective second languages.

That the Nupe men have slightly greater bilingual proficiency than their women folk, contrary to the pattern among the Yoruba needs to be explained. We suspect that social interactions which facilitate increased bilingualism are more available for the Nupe men than for their female counterparts. When one considers various avenues other than the neighbourhood where the second language can be acquired, it is not surprising that the Nupe men have a superior knowledge

of Yoruba. For example, majority of our Nupe respondents of school age are boys attending school, and the school is, of course, one of the possible places of informal learning of second language. Secondly the influence of Islam may be at work here. Islam keeps the women in pudah whereas the men are out working and in the process learning the second language better.

Coming to the Yoruba respondents, their women folk appear to have a slight edge over their male counterparts. While the Nupe women may not have much opportunity to interact fully with the out-group members, there is no inhibition of any sort for the Yoruba women to interact. Majority of the women are petty traders in markets. For the purposes of effective commercial transactions with their Nupe clients they need a working knowledge of Nupe. This should explain their superior proficiency in Nupe to the proficiency of their men counterparts. There is also the popular opinion that women absorb or accommodate changes or innovation more easily than men. This is why they appear to learn second languages better and to be more proficient in them.

#### 5.2.4 Bilingual Proficiency and Linguistic Background of Couples

Our finding on this has been that couples who share both languages tend to have a higher level of proficiency than those who do not among the Nupe (see tables 16a and b). This obviously is due to the fact that such couples can and would often be shifting between their two languages thereby reinforcing each other's level of proficiency in both languages. This kind of mutual reinforcement will not exist where spouses do not have the two languages in common.

#### 5.2.5 Age and Bilingual Proficiency

The influence of age on proficiency in the second languages was also explored. It was discovered that in spite of the varying degrees of proficiency of different age groups, they do not vary significantly in their ability in the second language (see tables 17 and 18). Among the Yoruba respondents we are forced to accept this conclusion too, as the result of our statistical test on the data got from the second measure of bilingual proficiency reveals (table 18b).

This seems to be at variance with Gal (1979) and

Lieberson (1981) who discovered that bilingualism in the second language is age-related and that this is usually in favour of the younger generations. In these cases one of the salient factors is education. In such countries cognizance is given to school instruction in the second language which facilitates proficiency. The peculiarity of our own case derives from the fact that although many of the younger generations in our sample attend school, there is no rule as yet to compel them to learn a second indigenous language (see note 1). Secondly, Nupe is not even utilized beyond the primary school level. If at all the younger generations are ~~are~~ bilingual, they learn their second language informally both in the neighbourhood and in the school, therefore the younger generations have a level of proficiency which is not radically different from that of the older generation.

As earlier pointed out, the fact that the youths outnumber the adult counterparts should not be taken to mean that they possess a superior level of bilingual proficiency. We would not know this until a measure of bilingualism is employed to reveal the actual pattern of

bilingualism in a population. This therefore suggests that any data elicited from general census or voters' registers as sometimes utilized in advanced countries may not be too reliable study of societal bilingualism. Instead a rigorously controlled survey utilising at least a measure of bilingualism should be adopted. It is then that any conclusive statement should be made with regard to the demographic correlates of bilingualism.

#### 5.2.6 Place of Acquisition and Bilingual Proficiency

It was discovered that subjects' proficiency in their second language might not vary in terms of place of acquisition. This is contrary to our assumption that certain places of acquisition of a second language would facilitate the learning of the second language better than some others. It was discovered that those who learned their respective second language in places like the home, the school, the neighbourhood and elsewhere were not necessarily more bilingually proficient than one another. This showed that these various places present equal opportunity for the learning of the out-group language.



One then wonders why those among our subjects who acquired their respective second language at home were not significantly inferior to those who acquired theirs in other places, knowing very well that at home the respective first language was more often used. This then suggests that perhaps the second language is employed in some degree of home among the two ethnolinguistic groups. But judging from their/<sup>self</sup>report on language use at home, it is not clear whether the extent of the second language use at home can facilitate equal degree of mastery of the language as we have for other places of acquisition.

Nevertheless the statistical tests have revealed that in place of acquisition has any inherent merit over the others with regard to proficiency in the second language. However, our observation on the field showed the neighbourhood to be the most conducive avenue for the learning of the second language. This is because children of both groups could be seen playing and using either Yoruba or Nupe.

#### 5.2.7 Education and Bilingual Proficiency

Our investigation of the influence of education on

bilingualism revealed that going by self-reports, the degree of Nupe proficiency in Yoruba, their second language often varies with education. But the finding by the other measure of bilingualism, just like some of the instances above proved contrary. Furthermore, the distribution of scores of various educational groups in the two measures bears no relationship with each other (see table 3 of Appendix 1). For example, contrary to expectation, those who had just primary education among the Nupe are superior in Yoruba proficiency to those in other groups. This may be accounted for in terms of the former educational practice in this community when the two ethnic groups were united by the same primary school. During this time all pupils were taught in Yoruba. Those who had their primary education during this time are up to half of the total population of respondents with only primary education. This might be the reason why this group exhibited a superior degree of bilingualism over the remaining groups.

A close examination of the performance of the various educational groups revealed that among the Nupe the rate of proficiency in Yoruba drops progressively as

the level of education increases. This goes to show that the Nupe child no longer needs the second language as he progresses with his education. Although pupils attend secondary schools located on either side of the community, it is not mandatory for them to learn the second indigenous language. If anything the second indigenous language was only informally learnt in the school.

The result obtained by the second measure of bilingualism among the Nupe negates self-report. It suggests that subjects' levels of proficiency in Yoruba do vary significantly with regard to their level of education. Again contrary to the observed pattern in the self-report, the different mean scores tend to suggest that bilingualism increases as the level of education increases (see table 3 of appendix 1 on listening comprehension). Nevertheless, the educated groups do not constitute a homogeneous class as their performance varied in degree. For example, those who have post secondary education had the highest score compared with other groups. This is explained by their educational background. Education has sharpened their intellect and this seems to have made them more

proficient than the other groups.

In the Yoruba group, we find no statistically significant difference in the level of Nupe proficiency of the various educational groups. The findings by both methods are consistent (see tables 22a and b). This suggests that education among the Yoruba has no influence on their degree of bilingualism involving Nupe. This seems to contradict general theoretical postulations on the role of education in bilingual acquisition, especially where the target language is also the language of education. In such cases anybody who has acquired any level of education is usually more proficient in the language than those who have not. In our own case study, Nupe is not a language of education in the real sense of the term. It is only used as a medium of instruction in the lower levels of primary education only among the native speakers. It is not taught as a subject in the curriculum and therefore the Yoruba do not have any opportunity to learn Nupe in school.

#### 5.2.8 Occupation and Bilingual Proficiency

Another variable assumed to have influence on

bilingual acquisition is occupation. Statistical validation of our hypothesis on this subject among the Nupe, however, gave discordant results. Going by the first method, we found that the various occupational groups vary significantly in their levels of proficiency in Yoruba (table 23a). The artisan group appears the most proficient of all the occupational groups. But using the second method we found no significant difference between the groups (table 23b). We are then forced to conclude that in spite of the minute variations in the mean scores of the various occupational groups, no occupation seems to have any advantage over the others. But this result appears counter-intuitive in that one expects traders and the artisan class to have a superior level of proficiency compared to other occupational groups because of their constant use of the second language in their vocation. The result among the Yoruba respondents appears a little more realistic.

Among them, the level of proficiency in Nupe is statistically the same for all occupational groups using the two methods (tables 22a and b). However, the result

of the self reports among the Yoruba showed that school children were the most bilingually proficient (see table 8 of appendix 1). This is true with respect to the fact that the children have more contact with their neighbours than the other groups. Apart from the school which unites some of them with Nupe children, friendship between them and their Nupe peers is prevalent. Next in bilingual proficiency are the traders. This is explained by the fact that they make as much use of their second language as the first in the market.

As for the artisan class and those in the civil service who were rated as having the least degree of Nupe proficiency we can argue that they need not be highly proficient in Nupe as <sup>the</sup> majority of their customers from the Nupe side speak Yoruba. Similarly English and Yoruba are the languages mostly used at work by those in the civil service; therefore their lower degree of Nupe proficiency should not be too surprising. However, the mean scores of those in the civil service as measured by the second method (see table 8 of appendix 1) show that this claim cannot be sustained. In spite of

the fact that Nupe is not appropriate in the work domain, at least officially, the civil servants still performed better in Nupe than all other occupational groups taken together. We therefore conclude that education is remotely influencing our result here or in fact the comprehension test itself. It may well be the case that those of our respondents who are in the civil service and presumably well educated too are very much at home with this second measure of bilingual proficiency. This is why they have a seemingly superior level of bilingualism compared with the other occupational groups. Therefore there is nothing special about their level of proficiency in the second language.

#### 5.2.9 Relationship between Proficiency in the Second Language and Attitude toward its Native Speakers.

Our statistical test on this issue shows no significant relationship between proficiency in the second languages of our respondents and attitudes to their native speakers (see table 25-26). This finding seems to run contrary to the general claim that attitude towards a language whether "beautiful", "efficient", "rich", etc is often a reflection of attitude towards

the users of that language and that this facilitates a person's degree of mastery of the language. From our own study it has been shown that subjects do not differ much in their levels of proficiency in their respective second language irrespective of whether they are favourably disposed towards the native speakers or not. This lack of correlation between attitude and proficiency in the second language suggests that other factors beyond attitude are at work and these have the potentiality of making people proficient in the second language.

In this connection, Macnamara (1973) becomes relevant. He appears to take a contrary view that attitudes are of little importance in language learning. He notes that necessity may overpower attitude and this may be the case among immigrants who have to learn the language of the host community for their survival regardless of their attitude to the hosts. It could therefore be maintained that proficiency in a second language may owe much more to socio-economic and political exigencies than it does to attitudes. For example, the adoption of English by the Irish population is not accompanied by any favourable disposition towards



English speakers. Their learning of English was dictated by necessity.

Our finding here therefore illustrates the secondary role of attitude in second language learning. As we have previously shown (table 36b) the respective second language was learnt mostly for instrumental purposes. Therefore it is plausible to assume that it is this utilitarian reason that accounts more for our subjects proficiency in their respective second languages rather than their attitude to the native speakers of these languages.

#### 5.2.10 Reasons for Learning the Second Language and Bilingual Proficiency

Our interest in this issue stems from the distinction that has been made between instrumental and integrative motivations for second language learning and the belief that integrative motivation facilitates a superior degree of bilingual proficiency over instrumental motivation. Our finding from the two groups of respondents appears to contradict this claim. First among the Nupe we were able to establish a statistically significant difference between those who learnt Yoruba for instru-

mental reasons and those who learnt it for integrative reasons, but among the Yoruba there is no such difference between them. The significant thing, however, is that the direction is in favour of those who learnt the second language for instrumental reasons in all cases (see tables 27-28). This finding therefore casts doubts on the validity of the claim that integrative motivation promotes a greater mastery of a second language than instrumental motivation.

This finding is in a way similar to what we have seen in the preceding section. It seems to be the case that the respective second language is learnt out of necessity or need rather than out of preference for their native speakers and the desire to integrate with them.

Krashen (1981: 28) notes that instrumental motivation may take precedence as a predictor of achievement where there is a special need for second language acquisition and where there appears to be little desire to integrate. For example, Gardner and Lambert (1972) discovered that instrumental motivation was a better predictor of overall proficiency in second language

learning in the Philippines where English is the language of education and business but where it is rarely used in the home. Similarly, Oller, Baca and vigil (1977) reported a situation where integrative motivation played no role because of political ill-feelings. This is the case of Sixty Mexican-American females they surveyed in New Mexico. In spite of their high degree of proficiency, in English they still rated Americans negatively in certain crucial personality traits. This the researchers attributed to feelings of powerlessness under the American assimilatory process. In our own situation, it may well be the case that since both groups occupy equal socio-economic status and no group can be regarded as superior to the other, each language is mostly needed by out-group members for instrumental rather than for integrative purposes. Or in fact the land ownership issue may be remotely responsible for this.

### 5.3 Language Use

In this section we discuss our findings on language use in specific domains relating them to findings in other works.

### 5.3.1. Home

An examination of language use in the home domain in the community revealed that the respective mother tongue is mostly used among the two groups, as say between parents and children. However, we found that Yoruba is more employed among the Nupe than Nupe is among the Yoruba. This is evident in the language choice of Nupe children. In communicating with their siblings and in the neighbourhood some Yoruba is reported (see table 30(i) columns 2 and 4).

The pattern of language use in the Yoruba home is dissimilar to the one in Nupe home. Rather than alternate between Yoruba and Nupe, they appear to alternate between Yoruba and English (table 30(ii) Column 3). Among the Nupe children, there is a slight decrease in the use of Nupe, resulting in a corresponding increase in the use of Yoruba. Therefore we can say that among the Nupe, the process of language shift seems to be beginning.

### 5.3.2 Official Work

In this domain, English has an edge over Nupe and Yoruba, but these indigenous languages are also employed to some degrees. This is determined largely by the

topic of discussion and the relationship between the speakers. However, more use is made of Yoruba by the Yoruba at work than is made of Nupe by the Nupe. This may be explained in terms of the higher status of Yoruba compared with Nupe which we have remarked. It is then the case that the native speakers of Yoruba and others are conscious of this fact and they readily employ it in communication. It has also been revealed that in the work domain Yoruba has an ascendant position over Nupe, vide the percentages of the Nupe who claimed to use either Yoruba alone or Yoruba and Nupe or Yoruba and English at work when communicating with various people (table 31(i) columns 2,4,6).

When these are taken together they are greater than those who reported to use both Nupe and Yoruba among the Yoruba group. In actual fact none of the Yoruba speakers reported using Nupe alone in communicating with interlocutors at work (cf table 31(ii) columns 1 and 4). When one observes the pattern of Nupe use critically among the Yoruba, it will be concluded that its use is restricted to the lower domain of official work. It is used in communication

involving subordinates when discussing either official or private matters, with equals, or when merely chatting. This finding is quite different from what obtains with the Nupe respondents among whom the use of Yoruba permeates every aspect of the employment domain.

Our finding in respect of the use of Yoruba and Nupe in the work domain is similar to White's (1971) findings in a South Pacific city called Suva. There, he discovered that the Fijians tend to make greater use of their own language when interacting with addressees of other ethnic groups at work. While conversely the Indians use less of Hindustani and more of Fijian with various categories of interlocutors at work. Both findings i.e. ours and White's could be explained in terms of Gile's (1973) accommodation theory of linguistic behaviour (see section 2.5.1.1 below).

Our finding in the Şaare/Tsaragi community typifies a typical case of convergence at the initiative of the Nupe. The situation for this will be explained in terms of the relative status of the two socio-cultural groups in the community following Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977). In the Şaare/Tsaragi community, the Yoruba have been said to be numerically dominant while

the Nupe appear somehow subordinate. The Yoruba would appear to wish to remain dominant and that is why most of their communication at work is in Yoruba (cf their language use in the neighbourhood too i.e. table 29(ii) column 2). They must be assuming that the Nupe-speaking group were the people to make the necessary linguistic adjustments in communication with them (i.e. the Yoruba).

### 5.3.3 General Observation on Language Use in the Community

We consider Şaare/Tsaragi a diglossic community, following Fishman (1967). In Fishman's conception, diglossia does not depend on whether the two linguistic forms are of necessity genetically related. They may be totally unrelated languages but each must have quite different functions allocated to it in the community. Same is the situation here.<sup>4</sup> For instance the home domain is marked for the mother tongue i.e. Nupe among the Nupe respondents and Yoruba in the Yoruba group. The out-group language is mostly used when dealing with members of the other socio-cultural group. In ranking the languages Yoruba is accorded

the status of the H(igh) variety while Nupe is the L(ow) variety.

Still superposed on these two languages is English which is used mainly at work and at school by the educated. Nevertheless, both Nupe and Yoruba are utilized in varying degrees on both sides at work and at school. This is, however, mostly guided by the relationship between the participants and topic of discourse. For example, there is every likelihood of the choice of Nupe or Yoruba when discussing private matters with either superior, equal or subordinate workers while English is mostly used when discussing official matters. In some situations, concessions are given to disparity in status between interlocutors and therefore official matters could be discussed in the mother tongue .

With regard to the interaction of bilingualism and diglossia, this community presents a case of "partial diglossia" with bilingualism. It is partial in the sense that only the Nupe section of the community is almost universally bilingual, while on the Yoruba side, only a handful of people are bilingual.

When attention is focused on the educated ones



among the Nupe community, we face a triglossic situation similar to the one described by Abdulaziz (1972), who regarded the situation in Tanzania as triglossia. His discovery is based on the data he collected from 15 Swahili-English bilinguals, thirteen of who still spoke one indigenous language or the other. He discovered a two-way diglossic relationship between the languages in their repertoire, and the same kind of relationship between English and Swahili. In the former case Swahili is H while the respective mother tongues are the L. In the latter, English is the H and Swahili the L.

An examination of use of their languages by the educated class reveals this kind of situation. At times when communicating with members of the family and others who share the same language, the mother tongue i.e. Nupe is mostly used as the symbol of the group. But in the neighbourhood and in the work domain, the out-group language, i.e. Yoruba could be employed. In this regard, the in-group language is the Low variety while the out-group is the High variety. At the second layer of diglossia, English becomes the superposed variety on both Nupe and Yoruba. Therefore it is used

in extremely formal situations like the governmental work or the school domain, while the two low status languages are utilized in varying degrees here.

#### 5.4 Language and Inter-Ethnic Relations

An exploration of language and inter-ethnic attitudes among our respondents reveals that a positive attitude is exhibited towards their respective mother tongue. This is guided all the time by affective reasons. For example each group recognizes its language as the language of its progenitors and an exclusive possession through which the group can be uniquely identified. This finding therefore depicts language loyalty, which according to Weinreich (1953: 99) "designates the state of mind in which the language (like nationality), as an intact entity, and in contrast to other languages, assumes a high position in a scale of values, a position in need of being defended".

Thus Johnson (1974) discovered that the attitude of the Larteh of Ghana toward Larteh, their language, is one of loyalty because it is the language of their forebears, the marker of their ethnic identity and, the language with which they feel most comfortable.

Hesbacher and Fishman (1965) found a similar situation among Polish and Yiddish speaking immigrants in Pennsylvania. The two groups expressed a positive attitude to their respective language mainly for affective reasons.

Remarkably in our own study location a positive attitude has been exhibited toward their respective other language by both the Nupe and the Yoruba. But this is guided mainly by instrumental motivation. For example the reasons given by them were considered instrumental "Nupe or Yoruba is indispensable to our existence here", "I cherish ability to use many languages", "knowledge of Nupe or Yoruba is important for my trade". It enables me to mix freely with the Yoruba or Nupe", etc. Again, following Hesbacher and Fishman (1965) we shall say that the subjects exhibit a "split committment" to the two languages in their repertoire: their respective mother tongue because it symbolizes their ethnic identity and their second language, not only for its usefulness for their day-to-day interaction with the out-group neighbours, but also for purposes of joint economic enterprises.

It appears from this study that our respondents are positively disposed towards ability in their two languages. This, as Grosjean (1982) has shown, is usually the case in bilingual communities. This observation is supported with expressions of attitudes by bilinguals to bilingualism or to the languages they possess. Grosjean quotes two such expressions:

- a. People take pride in being bilingual because they are generally looked upon with respect. Some of the languages are dominant and being able to speak them is a great advantage. Ghana really encourages bilingualism. This is evident from the fact that the local languages are included in both the primary and high school curricula.
- b. My experience as a bilingual is a great one. This is because I have been able to communicate freely and with ease with others who are not my kinsmen (Grosjean 1982: 9).

In most cases attitude towards the two languages or more in contact may be equally positive, especially

when they are languages of international status or prestige e.g. English and French in Canada (Lambert, 1963). In our own case, the two languages are local and have differential status, but both are positively considered. This then suggests that the usefulness of the languages concerned in the immediate situation can generate a positive attitude toward them from their users.

It should be added, however, that most educated respondents among the Nupe recognized the ascendant position of Yoruba over Nupe both nationally and in their own community. This, they attributed to education. They held the view that Yoruba has a tremendous boost because it has long been utilized in education. They therefore suggested that Nupe too *should* be encouraged both by the state and Federal governments to become a language of education.

Finally, although the two groups here are generally positively-disposed towards each other, they express some reservations about each other. Perhaps this is why inter-ethnic marriage is not widespread between them in spite of the fact that friendship cuts across ethnic

boundaries. It is inferred that the respondents do not consider friendship as important as marriage which is a life-long affair. Whatever the case, the fact still remains that social interaction in this community is quite high. This is made possible by the fact that they speak each other's language to some extent. Just as Scotton (1975) observed for a group of bilinguals in Shomolu, Lagos, since they speak more than one language, the probability of communicating in each other's language is high and this helps to minimize ethnic suspicion and intrigues. This is exactly the situation here. Finally we may observe that the Federal government's clamour for peaceful co-existence is now yielding positive results here, and that is why there is a high degree of mutual tolerance in the community.

- 1 Even though the 1981 National Policy on Education stipulates the use of the 3 principal languages i.e. Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba. It has not been fully put into practice.
  
- 2 Nupe-Yoruba ethnic relations in the 20th century have historical antecedents. It appears that the ascendant position of Yoruba over Nupe has its roots in history. First, the old Qyq shared common frontiers with the Nupe and Bariba (Akinjogbin and Ayandele, 1980; Obayemi, 1980). Cases of inter-marriage were reported. A case in point was that of Sango's mother who was said to be the daughter of the Nupe King, Elempe (see Johnson, 1921, pp 149-151). Secondly, it was reported by Crowther, who had a shipwreck off Jebba in 1857, that he noticed a Nupe priest who had to invoke Ketsa, a deity believed to inhabit a rock in the middle of the river in Yoruba even though Yoruba was not his mother tongue (see Obayemi 1971: 243 and S A Crowther, 1857). The third was the evidence given by one of Mason's informants, M. Idrisu Alhassan, then a teacher at Bida Secondary School. He claimed that his progenitors who subsequently settled at Kpaki, near Mokwa were sent away from their homes south of the Niger, around Saare. He claimed that his grandmother and other emigrants of her generation spoke Yoruba (see Mason 1970).
  
- 3 Note 1 above is of relevance to this point.

- 4 Nupe and Yoruba belong to the Kwa group of Niger-Congo language family. But the relationship is not that close as to be regarded as dialects or varieties of the same language. They are therefore two languages.



## CHAPTER SIX

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 6.0 Introduction

In this chapter we attempt an overview of the whole investigation, recapitulating the important findings and drawing a conclusion on them. We also provide an assessment of the methods used, drawing a conclusion on their adequacy or otherwise. Finally in the light of the theoretical and practical implications of our findings a number of recommendations are made.

#### 6.1 Summary of Findings

The work has attempted to explore the pattern of bilingualism among two contiguous ethnolinguistic groups, taking cognizance of the influence of demographic, socio-economic and socio-cultural variables on bilingualism in the Şaare/Tsaragi community. In terms of methodology, three mutually complementary methods were used to elicit <sup>the</sup> information on which our analyses were based. These are a multidimensional interviewing schedule, a listening comprehension exercise and participant observation. These are some of the methods

usually adopted in sociological, social-psychological and anthropological enquiries.

The two groups under study present fairly identical patterns of bilingualism. First, members of each were discovered to display a significantly more superior level of proficiency in their mother tongue than their respective second language. The basis for this higher degree of proficiency was due to greater competence as well as the greater pressure usually naturally exerted on the mother tongue for communicative purposes in contrast to the second language which is only used in restricted circumstances.

The sample contained more members of the younger generation than their older counterpart. This tends to suggest a higher bilingual proficiency on the part of the younger ones as compared with the older generation. But the statistical evaluation of bilingual proficiency across the age groups revealed that no age group is superior to the other in this respect. We attribute this fairly uniform proficiency to the equal opportunities open to people of different age categories to learn the second indigenous language used in their neighbourhood. Perhaps there would have been differential

proficiencies across age groups if the second language focused <sup>on</sup> had been English language.

Analysis of other demographic data revealed a fairly uniform result with some minor variations. For instance, we found no significant difference in the levels of bilingualism of male and female respondents. But judging by performances in the listening comprehension exercise, the males among the Nupe appear to have a superior level of proficiency in Yoruba compared with their female counterparts. This has been remotely attributed to the influence of education and religious practice among them. Some of them are kept in purdah and this did not allow them much interaction with the Yoruba.

That there is no significant difference between male and female subjects among the Nupe casts doubts on the reliability of this method. It is perhaps the case that some respondents among the Nupe, for purposes of ego-boosting rated themselves as well proficient in the second language when in actual fact they are not. With the Yoruba group, however, although the hypothesis that subjects would differ in their levels of proficiency

in Nupe with regard to sex was not confirmed, the female subjects in our sample appeared to have a slight edge over their male counterparts. Their slight advantage was accounted for in terms of greater female engagement in market activities and their susceptibility to acquire new things including language as medium of interaction. Still the insignificance of their slightly higher proficiency suggests that the popular claim of superior female linguistic ability over men is more of an illusion rather than a reality (see also Adeniran, 1983).

It was discovered that couples who shared Nupe and Yoruba among the Nupe had a superior proficiency in Yoruba over those who did not. This was attributed to a kind of mutual bilingual reinforcement which would obtain between spouses since communication between them would sometimes be in Yoruba.

The place of second language acquisition was also discovered to have no bearing on the degree of proficiency in the second language among the groups. We however found that the neighbourhood presents the most conducive context for the acquisition and mastery

of either language because of the high degree of social interaction existing between the two ethnic groups.

Concerning the influence of socio-economic variables like education and occupation, there are conflicting results. With regard to education, for instance, among the Nupe, using data from self-reports, the hypothesis that subjects varied in their second language was confirmed, with those who had only primary education having the highest degree of proficiency. This was explained in terms of the old educational practice in this community where both ethnic groups had one primary school. However, we are reluctant to accept this hypothesis as proved among the Nupe because the result was negated by the finding based on the second method.

The finding among the Nupe is similar to what we discovered among the Yoruba, viz, no educational group had a superior level of proficiency in Nupe over the other groups. But we can still point to the fact that these educational groups have varying degrees of proficiency which are not statistically significant. This points to the fact that both the educated and the uneducated have equal chances of learning

the second language and very well too. But it goes without saying that the level of education of our respondents has sharpened their intellect and this is why they seem to differ in small degrees in their second language.

The discovery above presents a similar situation to what exists between both Nupe and Yoruba with regard to the influence of occupation on proficiency in the second language. Data from self-reports from the Nupe confirmed the hypothesis that subjects would differ in their second language with regard to their occupation, whereas this conclusion was contradicted by the data got from the listening comprehension exercise. We discountenanced this result because occupational groups like traders and artisans who ought to have a remarkably superior level of proficiency in the second language did not perform any better than other occupational groups in spite of their greater exposure to their second language. Among the Yoruba group too, validity tests showed that no occupational group is superior to the others in Nupe. However, there are minor differences. Among both groups, we discovered that the influence of education is strong. This is

because those in occupations requiring some measure of formal education performed slightly better than those whose occupation required no formal education. And this does not mean that much of the second language was needed in their work.

The hypothesis concerning the relationship between proficiency in the second language and attitude to its native speakers was not confirmed. This indicates that the subjects did not differ much in their level of proficiency in their respective second language: irrespective of whether they have a positive or negative attitude to their native speakers or not. This finding should not suggest that the popular themes of language attitude in relation to language learning have no basis. But as we have noted, in some situations necessity may overpower attitudes as a determinant of proficiency in the second language. This same explanation will also account for the slightly superior level of proficiency those who learnt the second language for instrumental reasons have over those who learnt it for integrative or emotional reasons. This shows that we cannot as yet draw a

conclusion on the relationship between attitude and proficiency in the second language with a tone of finality. This study therefore provides an addition to previous research findings which suggest that the influence of attitude on language learning may be secondary.

That our hypothesis in most cases were not valid may perhaps be attributed to the type of bilingualism we dealt with in this study. This is endoglossic bilingualism, that is, bilingualism involving indigenous languages as opposed to that involving a foreign language (Kloss 1967). These two languages, Nupe and Yoruba are native to Nigeria. Although they could be learnt in school in varying degrees, they are unlike English whose use permeates all levels of education. It could be said that one's level of proficiency in English in Nigeria is commensurate with one's level of education. Perhaps if our study had focused on English we would have been able to confirm some of these hypotheses. Secondly neither of our focus languages confers on its users any special privilege as is the case with English. This may therefore account for why the respondents, particularly the Yoruba are largely apathetic



to learning them and why they are at par with one another in the two languages.

Finally, it was discovered that the Nupe speakers had a higher proficiency in Yoruba than the Yoruba speakers had in Nupe. This we attributed to the status of Yoruba as compared to Nupe, and the vitality of the Yoruba mother-tongue group. Their numerical superiority made them to exert certain influences on the Nupe mother-tongue group. This make them to use Yoruba, more than the Yoruba group are made to use Nupe. This conclusion was further supported by our findings on language choice, whereby Yoruba is more utilized in the various domains of language use among the Nupe than Nupe among the Yoruba.

Concerning language choice and language use on both sides, we found that the in-group language, i.e. the respective mother tongue is the language commonly used in the respective group . The second language is used only in certain restricted situations. Specifically the pattern of language choice in the neighbourhood and at work pointed to a case of convergence from the Nupe side to the Yoruba linguistic behaviour. This was also accounted for in terms of the

ascendant position of Yoruba over Nupe, made possible by the numerical superiority of the Yoruba mother-tongue group. When a total view is taken of the use of the languages in our respondents' repertoire we concluded that the situation in both groups illustrates a case of language maintenance. At the same time, however, we found that language shift is imminent among the Nupe though not yet at the incipient stage. To say that would this suggest that language shift is already evident among them.

Still concerning language use, we found that Şaare/Tsaragi represents a two-way diglossic situation on the Nupe side. Among the illiterate members of the community, Yoruba is superposed on Nupe. Each has clearly delineated roles in the community. The second direction of diglossia involved the educated class whose language repertoire and use, in fact, could be styled triglossic. English constitutes the superposed variety for this group and is reserved for work and all official domains, while either Nupe or Yoruba is mostly employed in other lower domains.

The third focus of this work is on language attitudes. We discovered that the respondents exhibit

a kind of split commitment to their two languages. Their respective mother tongues were positively regarded on emotional or sentimental considerations, while the second language was mostly preferred for instrumental reasons. In short, there was an attitude of language loyalty from both groups to their respective mother tongue.

## 6.2 Review of the Methodology of the Investigation

A number of issues need to engage our attention with regard to the methodology adopted for this work. First is the representativeness of the sample. In agreement with Haugen (1954) in studying a bilingual community, an intensive study of one or two informants would never give an adequate picture of bilingualism. We therefore made sure that our samples of respondents were representative. This was ensured by our sampling procedures discussed in section 3.2 above. The numbers we came up with on both sides were more than what we actually used. Some had to be dispensed with to ensure homogeneity. On the whole it can be categorically maintained that the numbers got from each side are commensurate with the distribution of bilingualism in

the respective group. Therefore we can extrapolate our findings with these respondents to the parent populations. This suggests that in the Yoruba section of the town Yoruba-Nupe bilingualism was not as wide-spread as Nupe-Yoruba bilingualism in the Nupe section of the community.

This work has also not focused essentially on the educated members of the community, or on the pupils in the secondary schools in the town. We wanted a more broad-based picture of bilingualism in this community rather than what it would have been if we had focused on these narrow sections of this community. Furthermore the interview was conducted mostly by the investigator in the homes or shops of the respondents. This has enabled him to make some pertinent observations in bilingual ability and language use which are crucial to this work. The interview was also carried out mainly in Yoruba for the Nupe respondents and this has enabled us to cross-check actual performance against claimed proficiency. The Yoruba respondents were similarly interviewed mostly in Nupe by an assistant who is a native

speaker of Nupe. Therefore the reliability of our data cannot be in doubt.

But in spite of all these measures the results got through our first method - a form of LBQ involving self-rating of one's proficiency and the second method i.e. the listening comprehension exercise were sometimes at variance with one another. This bears striking resemblance to Ronch, Cooper and Fishman's (1969) finding among Yiddish-English bilinguals. The bilinguals were given a word-naming test in Yiddish and in English. They were later asked to rate their use of both languages when talking to particular people e.g. husband, co-workers, etc. However, they found out that these two measures seemed to be substantially independent for this group. That is, for a given individual, we cannot predict a score obtainable from one technique from the other. This goes to show as Macnamara (1969) has pointed out, that the difficulties involved in composing appropriate measures of skills in two languages are quite enormous.

Our finding here has in a way reflected the seemingly enigmatic nature of bilingualism. As has

been pointed out, our subjects' self-reports might have been influenced by non-linguistic factors of ego-boosting or the socio-political attitude prevalent in the community. In any case, the plausibility of this explanation can be doubted considering the fact that subjects' self-reports on proficiency were gauged with their actual performance when communicating in the second language. This shows that this is a real snag in the study of bilingualism. We shall therefore conclude that other measures of bilingualism apart from self-report should always be employed in the study of bilingualism. For example, the cloze test and other standardized psychological tests could be employed. Nevertheless self-reported data can be pertinent as background information against which subsequent findings could be compared.

### 6.3 Implications of the Findings and Recommendations

Our sociolinguistic interests, both theoretical and practical extended considerably beyond the immediate community under study. Therefore consistent with Fishman (1969) we had explored bilingualism as a societal phenomenon which could be measured and described at community-wide level. The results of

such measures could be of great use to policy makers in formulating language policies for mixed communities.

In our study we discovered that all age groups maintained <sup>a</sup>fairly uniform degree of proficiency in their second language. This points to the fact that age is no barrier to second language learning and teaching contrary to the suggestion that at the onset of puberty, the brain loses its plasticity for language acquisition. And this is why the younger ones tend to have a superior ability in second language learning than adults. Granted that our finding is valid, adult literacy programmes could also be drawn up to include second language learning. For instance, attempts to ensure that secondary school pupils learn a second major Nigerian language for the sake of national unity (see the National Policy on Education, 1981) should not stop there. It could be extended to adults too through adult literacy programmes.

The popularity of Yoruba among the Nupe mother tongue speakers typifies the usual situation when languages of unequal status are in contact. The language with higher status usually gains ascendancy

over the one with lower status. This finding is indicative of the fact that many more instances of this abound across the country, especially in areas where the major Nigerian languages are in contact with minor ones. It is therefore recommended that this kind of study be replicated in other border communities within the country. By so doing a clear picture of the linguistic situation of Nigeria will emerge. It is only then that the Federal Government's preference for Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba as the languages to be learned second to one's mother tongue will find justification.

As revealed by this work, there is considerable degree of mutual tolerance between the two ethno-linguistic groups in this community. This portends a brighter future for this country when intrigues and suspicion would peter out completely. But it may well be the case that inter-ethnic attitude is influenced by bilingualism. In other words, since the two groups speak each other's language they might have been able to appreciate each other's way of life better, thereby purging themselves of the preconceived sentiments



commonly held toward the other group. Perhaps monolinguals in this community may exhibit a different pattern of inter-ethnic disposition, since they do not understand the out-group languages. Therefore in future studies attempts should be made to sample the views of monolinguals in bilingual communities on issues pertaining to inter-ethnic relations and compare them with those of their bilingual counterparts. This will provide an empirical basis for the merits of bilingualism as an aid to national unity as the Federal Government National Policy on Education seems to suggest.

As noted in the analysis, some of the findings are in conformity with the ones in earlier studies in the area, while others appear to refute previous claims. This points to the complex nature of bilingualism and raises fundamental questions concerning the level of mastery that a speaker should attain in his second language to be regarded as a bilingual. This has to be carefully determined because the results one gets will depend on one's definition of bilingualism. Apart from the need to explore further the question of definition, we recommend a more rigorous test of bilingual proficiency, whereby selected individuals in a bilingual

neighbourhood would be studied over a long period of time. It is hoped that by so doing more revealing findings will emerge on a bilingual's competence and utilization of the languages in his repertoire.

Several avenues for future research suggest themselves. For instance in the present work we did not consider the structural influence of the languages in contact on each other. That is, such things like borrowings, interference at different levels of linguistic analysis, code-switching, etc. did not come under our search light. Information bearing on these would have enabled us to reinforce our conclusion on patterns of language dominance. It is hereby recommended that future research on bilingualism among either small groups, or large aggregates should endeavour to explore these areas to see whether they have any demographic, socio-economic and socio-cultural correlates as Labov has demonstrated with regard to linguistic variables.

As has been noted above, the area needing most urgent attention relates to the description of language proficiency. This is by no means restricted to this work. The lack of reliable and standard measures of bilingual proficiency is a recognized

problem that plagues sociolinguistic studies all over the world. The most notable contribution to date, as far as we know in this country is Adeniran (1977).

Therefore it is recommended that students of bilingualism in Nigeria and in other African countries come up with an African paradigm for bilingual measurement, which will enable us to validly ascertain what constitutes bilingual ability. Studies in the areas suggested above would not only widen the coverage of the present study, but would also be of considerable theoretical interest.

#### 6.4 Limitations of this Study

Every study has some limitations. These are factors that the researcher was aware of but could do nothing about, because of the nature of the subject. The usual practice in behavioural research is to indicate these limitations so that future researchers may be aware of them and take adequate steps to ensure validity. In relation to the present work, it should be pointed out that two major measures of bilingualism were employed, namely self-rating and listening comprehension test. As in any study in the behavioural sciences which utilizes two independent measures, the findings derived

from the instruments do not always agree. In terms of our own study, the differences observed in the degree of proficiency in our subjects' second language may be due in part to the use of two different measures of bilingual proficiency. We are, however, reasonably sure that the differences in the degrees of proficiency obtained with these measures are not significant.

Another limitation of this study has to do with the use of self-report type of instrument. It is very difficult to determine the accuracy of the statements made by the subjects in self-reported data. This is because of the tendency of the participant to respond in the direction of social acceptability especially in studies of a sensitive nature. In other words our data might have been slightly influenced by this tendency. However, in spite of these limitations we are reasonably sure that our findings here are valid and reliable because of the rigorous sampling procedure and the use of multiple instrumentation.

Finally whatever the shortcomings of the present investigation may be, it represents a modest contribution to the ever-growing interest in the study of bilingualism. It is hoped that this work will stimulate further works on all the ramifications of the subject matter in Nigeria.

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APPENDIX I

MEAN SCORES AND STANDARD DEVIATION OF THE  
VARIOUS DEMOGRAPHIC CATEGORIES IN THE MEASURES  
OF BILINGUAL PROFICIENCY

(A)

NUPE GROUPTable 1

Mean Scores and Standard Deviation of  
Different Age Groups

Age groups	Self - Report and Observation			Listening Comprehension Test		
	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	N	Mean	Standard Deviation
10 - 20	40	7.94	1.35	40	3.05	1.09
21 - 30	39	7.92	1.36	39	3.45	1.15
31 - 40	25	8.64	1.49	23	2.91	1.20
41+	21	7.76	1.67	16	3.18	.98

Table 2

Mean Scores and Standard Deviation of  
Different Places of Yoruba Acquisition

Places of Acquisition	Self - Report and Observation			Listening Comprehension Test		
	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	N	Mean	Standard Deviation
Home	24	7.95	1.36	24	2.79	1.78
School	18	8.00	1.49	18	3.27	1.78
Neighbourhood	64	8.06	1.61	57	3.24	1.07
Elsewhere	19	8.04	1.01	19	3.36	1.16



Table 3

Mean Scores and Standard Deviation of  
Different Levels of Education

Levels of Education	Self - Report and Observation			Listening Comprehension Test		
	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	N	Mean	Standard Deviation
No Formal Education	34	7.94	1.51	28	2.78	1.13
Primary Education	22	8.90	1.19	21	3.28	.98
Secondary Education	47	7.89	1.28	47	3.17	1.12
Post Secondary	22	7.68	1.55	22	3.59	1.22

Table 4

Mean Scores and Standard Deviation of  
Different Occupational Groups

Occupational Groups	Self - Report and Observation			Listening Comprehension Test		
	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	N	Mean	Standard Deviation
Trading	25	8.04	1.61	18	2.88	1.02
Farming	18	7.88	1.49	18	2.88	1.36
Schooling	42	8.23	1.39	42	3.19	1.15
Artisan	17	8.70	1.21	17	3.35	.86
Civil Service	23	7.34	1.33	23	3.47	1.12

(B)

YORUBA GROUPTable 5Mean Scores and Standard Deviation of  
Different Age Groups

Age Groups	Self - Report and Observation			Listening Comprehension Test		
	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	N	Mean	Standard Deviation
10-20	20	8.20	1.36	20	3.15	1.38
21-30	13	7.15	2.11	13	3.53	1.26
31-40	13	7.53	1.56	11	2.72	1.00
41+	9	6.22	1.30	7	2.42	1.61

Table 6Mean Scores and Standard Deviation of  
Different Places of Nupe Acquisition

Places of Acquisition	Self - Report and Observation			Listening Comprehension Test		
	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	N	Mean	Standard Deviation
Home	7	7.85	2.26	7	3.42	1.27
School	6	8.33	1.86	6	3.00	1.67
Neighbourhood	37	7.48	1.48	33	2.90	1.33
Elsewhere	5	7.00	2.00	5	3.60	1.14

Table 7Mean Scores and Standard Deviation of  
Different Levels of Education

Levels of Education	Self - Report and Observation			Listening Comprehension Test		
	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	N	Mean	Standard Deviation
No Formal Education	10	7.40	1.71	7	2.71	.95
Primary Education	12	7.66	1.43	12	2.75	1.42
Secondary Education	26	7.69	1.51	25	3.20	1.35
Post Secondary	7	6.83	2.48	6	3.83	1.16

Table 8Mean Scores and Standard Deviation of  
Different Occupational Groups

Occupational Groups	Self - Report and Observation			Listening Comprehension Test		
	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	N	Mean	Standard Deviation
Trading	12	7.83	1.58	9	2.55	1.50
Farming	5	7.40	1.67	5	2.40	.89
Schooling	19	7.94	1.39	19	3.05	1.47
Artisan	10	7.10	2.02	10	3.00	1.05
Civil Service	9	7.11	1.90	8	4.12	.83

Appendix 2INTERVIEW SCHEDULESECTION A

1. Sex
  - (a) Male
  - (b) Female
  
2. How old are you?
  - (a) below 20
  - (b) 21-30
  - (c) 31-40
  - (d) 41-70
  
3. Where were you born?
  - (a) Saare/Tsaragi
  - (b) Elsewhere in the Nupe-speaking area
  - (c) Elsewhere in the Yoruba-speaking area
  
4. What is your marital status?
  - (a) Married
  - (b) Single
  - (c) Widow
  
5. What language is your mother tongue?
  - (a) Nupe
  - (b) Yoruba

6. If married, what is your husband's/wife's ethnic group?

- (a) Nupe
- (b) Yoruba
- (c) Hausa
- (d) Ebira
- (e) Others (please specify)

7. What level of formal education did you attain?

- (a) Nil
- (b) Primary school
- (c) Secondary school
- (d) Teacher training
- (e) College of Education
- (f) College of Technology/Polytechnic
- (g) University

8. What is your occupation? .....

9. Which of the following languages do you speak?

- (a) Nupe
- (b) Yoruba
- (c) Hausa
- (d) English
- (e) Others (please specify)

10. Which of the following languages does your spouse speak?

- (a) Nupe
- (b) Yoruba
- (c) Hausa
- (d) English
- (e) Others (please specify)

11. How frequently do you communicate in Nupe/Yoruba with members of your ethnic group?

- (a) Never
- (b) Hardly
- (c) Sometimes
- (d) Always

12. In what language/languages do you communicate generally?

- (a) Nupe
- (b) Yoruba
- (c) Hausa
- (d) English
- (e) Others (please specify)

13. Where did you learn Yoruba/Nupe?

- (a) At home
- (b) At school
- (c) In the neighbourhood
- (d) Elsewhere

14. Instruction: Please indicate your level of proficiency in Nupe and Yoruba in the following language skills:

		Excellent	Very good	Good	Fair	Poor
a.	<u>Speaking</u>					
	<u>Speaking</u>					
	Nupe					
	Yoruba					
	<u>Reading</u>					
	Nupe					
	Yoruba					
b.	<u>Writing</u>					
	Nupe					
	Yoruba					
c.	<u>Understanding</u>					
	Nupe					
	Yoruba					

15. What language(s) do your children speak?

(a) Nupe

(b) Yoruba

(c) Hausa

(d) English

(e) Others (please specify)

16. Instruction: Please indicate the level of proficiency of your children in the following language skills in the two languages:

	Excellent	Very good	Good	Fair	Poor
a. <u>Speaking</u>					
Nupe					
Yoruba					
b. <u>Reading</u>					
Nupe					
Yoruba					
c. <u>Writing</u>					
Nupe					
Yoruba					
d. <u>Understanding</u>					
Nupe					
Yoruba					



SECTION B

17. What language would you normally use at home when:

I. Parent

	Nupe	Yoruba	Hausa	English	Mixture of Nupe and Yoruba	Mixture of Nupe and Hausa	Mixture of English and Nupe
a. talking to your husband							
b. talking to your wife							
c. talking to your relatives							
d. talking to your children							
e. talking to your neighbours							
f. talking to your Nupe friends who speak/understand these languages							
g. talking to your Yoruba friends who speak/understand these languages.							

## II. Children only.

	Nupe	Yoruba	Hausa	English	Mixture of Nupe and Yoruba	Mixture of Hausa and Nupe	Mixture of English and Nupe
a. talking to your father							
b. talking to your mother							
c. talking to your grandparents							
d. talking to your elder brothers and sisters							
e. talking to your younger brothers and sisters							
f. talking with other children in the neighbourhood							

18. What language would you normally use at work when:

	Nupe	Yoruba	Hausa	English	Mixture of Nupe and Yoruba	Mixture of Nupe and Hausa	Mixture of English and Nupe
a. discussing official matters with your superiors							
b. discussing official matters with your subordinates							
c. discussing private matters with your equals							
d. discussing private matters with your superiors							
e. discussing private matters with your subordinates							
f. discussing private matters with your equals							
g. When merely chatting							

19. What language would you use at school when:

	Nupe	Yoruba	Hausa	English	Mixture of Nupe and Yoruba	Mixture of Nupe and Hausa	Mixture of English and Nupe
a. talking informally to your teachers							
b. talking to your seniors							
c. talking to your juniors							
d. talking to your classmates							
e. when talking generally during break							

20. What language would you use in the market when:

	Nupe	Yoruba	Hausa	English	Mixture of Nupe and Yoruba	Mixture of Nupe and Hausa	Mixture of English and Nupe
buying or selling something to a customer who understands/speaks both Nupe and Yoruba							

21. What is your religion?

a. Christianity

b. Islam

c. Traditional Religion

22. What language do you normally use for your private prayers?

.....

SECTION C

23. In which of the following languages do you prefer to listen to newsbroadcast?

- (a) Nupe
- (b) Yoruba
- (c) Hausa
- (d) English
- (e) Others (please specify)

24. Why do you prefer to listen to newsbroadcast in that language?

- (a) It is the only language I speak and understand
- (b) I have better proficiency in it
- (c) It is the language usually used for broadcasts
- (d) It is good, fluent and better than other languages
- (e) It is more important to me than any other languages
- (f) It enables me to identify with people from my town
- (g) I want to improve my proficiency in it

25. Which of the following languages do you consider most prestigious?

- (a) Nupe
- (b) Yoruba
- (c) Hausa
- (d) English
- (e) Others (please specify)

26. Why do you consider it most prestigious?
- (a) It is most useful to speak it than other languages
  - (b) It is the language of my fore-fathers, therefore I should be proud of it
  - (c) There are many people who speak it apart from its native speakers
  - (d) It is good, fluent and better than other languages
  - (e) It can be used for all purposes
27. Why did you learn Nupe/Yoruba?
- (a) I consider Nupe/Yoruba an important language worthy to know in Nigeria
  - (b) Knowledge of Nupe/Yoruba is important for my trade
  - (c) So that I can interact freely with the Nupe/Yoruba speakers
  - (d) I can easily know when I am being insulted
  - (e) The language is pleasant to the ears
  - (f) I like Yoruba/Nupe speakers
  - (g) I wish to be identified with Nupe/Yoruba speakers
  - (h) So that people may not know my true identity
28. Are you proud that you speak Nupe/Yoruba?
- (a) Yes
  - (b) No

29. If yes, why is this so?

- (a) I like Nupe/Yoruba speakers
- (b) I consider Nupe/Yoruba an important language worthy to know in Nigeria
- (c) I can interact freely with the Nupe/Yoruba
- (d) The language is pleasant to the ears
- (e) Knowledge of Nupe/Yoruba is important for my trade
- (f) I cherish the ability to use more than one language
- (g) I can be identified with the Nupe/Yoruba speaker

30. If hitherto you hadn't known Nupe/Yoruba, would you have loved to learn it?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

31. Why would you have loved to learn it?

- (a) I love the language
- (b) It is indispensable to our existence here
- (c) I cherish ability to use many languages
- (d) I like to be identified with the Nupe/Yoruba
- (e) I consider Nupe/Yoruba an important language worthy to learn in Nigeria

32. Do you enjoy good relationship with the Nupe/Yoruba?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No



33. Do you have close friends among the Nupe/Yoruba?

(a) Yes

(b) No

34. To what extent do you consider the Nupe/Yoruba trustworthy?

(a) Not at all

(b) To some extent

(c) To a great extent

35. What advice would you like to give the government concerning your language?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

## APPENDIX III

## PASSAGE A (YORUBA)

Jòwò f'etí sílẹ̀ dáadáa sí ìtàn tí a ó sọ lórí rẹ́dìò yíí. Lẹ́hìn náà, wá dáhùn àwọn íbẹ̀èrè tí ó tẹ̀lé e. Idáhùn kan soso ni ó jẹ́ òtítọ́ nínú àwọn mẹ́ta tí ó tẹ̀lé íbẹ̀ere kọ̀ọ́kan. Mú eléyíí tí o rò pé o jẹ́ òtítọ́ nínú wọn.

Ọ̀kúnrin kan wà ní ayé àtíjọ́ tí orúkọ rẹ́ n jẹ́ Tẹ̀-síbì-tí-ayé-tẹ̀sí. O ní erú kan. Àṣà ọ̀kúnrin yíí ni pé kò yẹ kí èniyàn máa ja ẹnìkẹ́jì rẹ́ ní iyàn kí ayé lè ba a rọ́jú kí ó sí tòrò.

Nítorí náà, bí wọn ba sọ òtítọ́ tàbí pa irọ́ fún un, a gbà bẹ̀ẹ̀, á sí tilẹ̀ tún la ìdí rẹ́ tí òun fi gbà bẹ̀ẹ̀ pẹ̀lú. Èyí ni ó sí mú kí wọn máa pé é orúkọ rẹ́ yíí.

Ní ọ́jọ́ kan, 'Tẹ̀-síbì-tí-ayé-tẹ̀sí lọ sí òde, nígbà tí ó sí n darí bọ́, Àjàyí pàdé rẹ́. Àjàyí n fẹ́ tòn án jẹ́ nípa ẹ̀ru rẹ́, ó sọ wí pé, "Tẹ̀-síbì-tí-ayé-tẹ̀sí, erú rẹ́ mà tí sa lọ!" Tẹ̀-síbì-ayé-tẹ̀sí náà dáhùn wí pé, "kò ba yẹ kí ó sá lọ, ìlòkulò tí mo n lò ó kò pọ́!"

Àjàyí tún dáhùn, ó ní, "Ọ̀ba tí ba ọ́ rí i sá o". Òun náà sí dáhùn, ó ní, "Èmi náà tí mọ́ pé kò lè sá lọ pátápáta bẹ̀ẹ̀ nítorí pé ajé kíí gbé".

Àjàyí tún ní, "Şùgbọ́n ọ̀ba ní òun kò ní fún ọ́ mọ́!"

- a) Ẹru rẹ
- b) Ajayi
- c) Iyawo rẹ.

3 Nitoni ki ni Tẹ-sibi-ayé-te-si fi so pe eru oun ko le salo patapata?

- a) Nitoni pe o feran rẹ
- b) O mo pe oniro ni Ajayi
- c) Nitoni aje ki gbé

4 Idi wo ni okunrin yi fi gba pe o ba ko gbodo fun oun ni eru oun pada mo?

- a) Oba ni alase
- b) Ateru ati oun olowo rẹ ti o ba ni awon mejeeji
- c) O ti mo pe oniyanje ni o ba.

5 Itumo ti o ba "bi enikan ko ba je ewure ki enikeji si je agutan" ti o wa ni ipari litan yi ni:

- a) Ki eeyan o ma huwa ewure, nigba ti ekeji rẹ ba n huwa bi agutan fun un.
- b) Ki eeyan ma ni suuru fun enikeji rẹ
- c) Ki eeyan o gbọn tinu tẹyin, ki enikeji rẹ ma ba a yan an je.

## PASSAGE B (NUPE)

## EMIGBO-TAN-GAN-GUN

Jin hankuri sɪtukpa wangi wo ɛ̀tàn téténgi dàngàn redio o. Kángá wo yà mi egànzè yán egàngbín nazi lámítú u na. Egàngbín ndóndò de egànzè gútá, àmá nímí a bo káwòyín gá yí gboró o. Lí na wo gá kpayè gán u yí gboró na.

Bagi ndoci dan bo le, sunna u yí Emigbó-tán-gan-gùn. Bagi wuncin le ɛ̀mí tsòba ɛ̀yà gúba ndoci; sunna a yí Sode to Tsoda. Èzà yán ɛ̀yà gúba nana má tun ácin, a ci fé gàn gán á de yan na lá sunwùn wò na à. Gángáni à fé jin eyan ndondò o: a fé giyan kebá, a fe lo ɛ̀dzózi keba, ka tò latí, a fe lo lo gán í. Latí yán Sode dan kànsàn gwàpín yán yèkó o, yán Tsoda ma dan kànsàn gwàlò o, yèkó ci dan tàcin a bo.

Fo ení, Sode to Tsoda fé bàzà be Emigbó-tán-gan-gùn yin, à ci fé la u mi gan ke emigbó à tátá ci tán gan gùn na o? Emigbó-tán-gan-gùn ci á fári fín gan, 'Mí à lá wu ye ké emigbó tán gan gùn na'. U jin fo à, Sode bé lo zí, àmá ɛ̀yà u lo be u yin à. Fo ení bè yesí yin Emigbó-tán-gan-gùn da latí yán Sode u ci á eyí kpán na a wa tí àmá ú lá géna à na ko zizi. Na Sode fé zin zí bè zinzín yin yà u gan, 'Tsoda á wo eyí ko ya.' Kángá Sode ze u gàn gan, ko ya na, yégan gán í gá yí ɛ̀gi yan o, gán í gá yí à gi eyí yán wùntsó o. Wùncin á ka Emigbó-tán-gan-gùn yé sáráyín, gámási ù fé kpayè gan egàn wùncin à lá ɛ̀yà gúba sunwun be dòzi yin.

Emigbó-tán-gan-gùn kézè jin kisa ndoci be. Fo

ení Sode to Tsoda fé lotun zi lati o. Emigbó-tán-gan-gùn ci a nakin m bo be fùla yin kpe tí. Kànsàn gwapin yán fùla yí dzúró kpááyín, àmá kànsàn gwàlò u yí bòókùn táwú. Kámi na Emigbó-tán-gan-gun bé tun lati yán èyà gúbà na, u gògan ú sa a mi à. Zùnmá èka dégi o Sode á gàn ya Tsoda gan, 'Fùla na bàgi na gogàn gbaní na dzú màrà'. Tsoda gomi gan, 'Kpoyín à, fùla bòókùn u kpe o.'

Sode gan, 'Fùla dzúró u kpe o'.

Tsoda jin yèda à, u ci ze u gàn be gan, 'Gámáná o zún o, fùla bookun u kpe o, fùla wùncín ma vùn bòókùn bónyín'.

Sode gbómi be gàn, 'Wo le bà yé à, fùla na yí dzúró kpááyín na gá we èyí bòókùn o'.

Tsoda ázewùn, u ci gàn, 'Mí we ègi tókó o, kàsí wo de hánkàli de a?

Sode ci kpógún gàn, 'Eli wè gá dama, na mi lo zi na wo dà á mi eyí ko ya'.

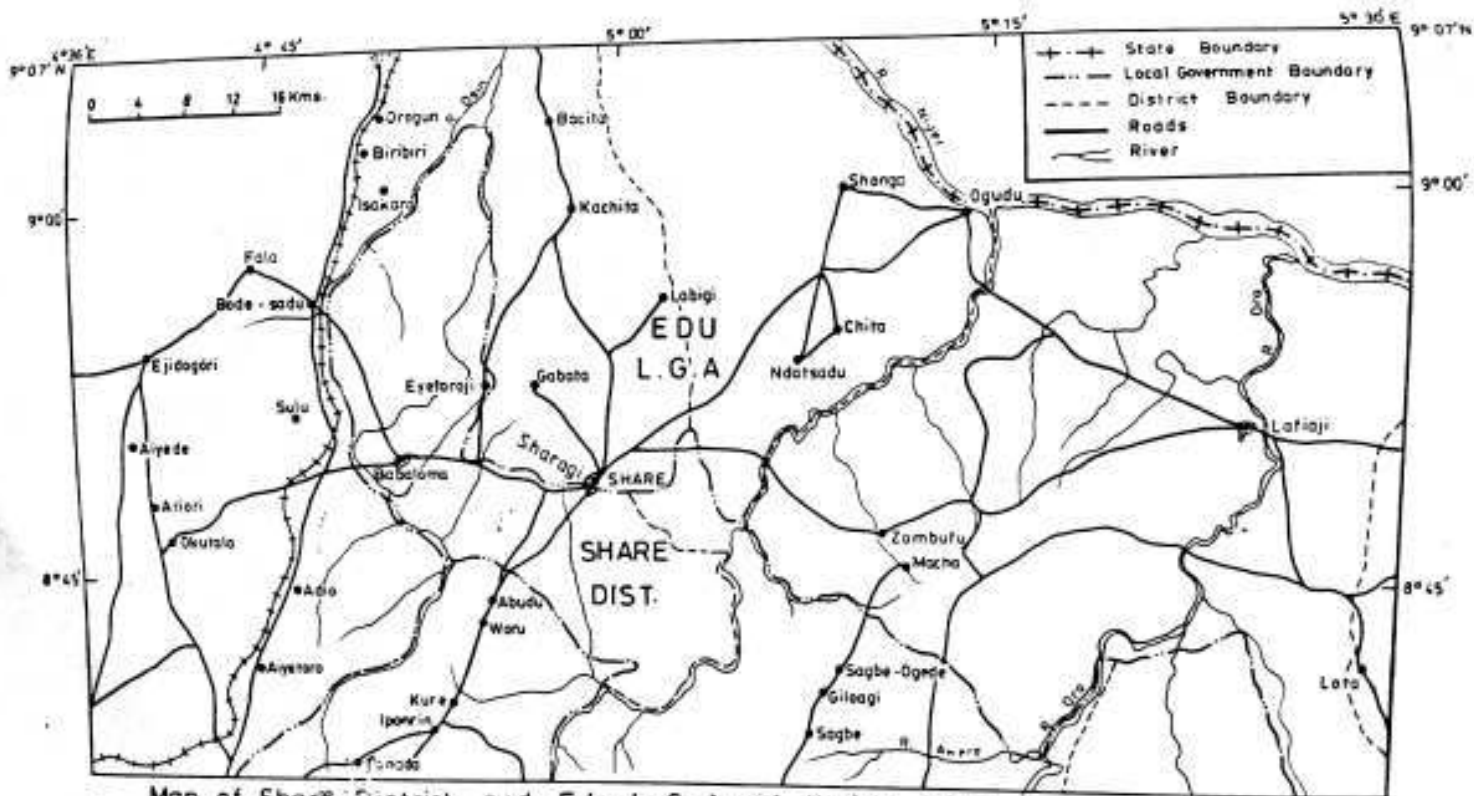
Fusi yán Tsoda á jin, u ci gbá u dzú, a ci á dòzi wu kò wàngí.

Zùnmá wùncín o Emigbó-tán-gan-gùn kézè dà zín eba a. Kángá Sode to Tsoda ci á egàn yà u. U ci mátsan á pin. U ci gan, 'Sunna mí gá dan o na'. Kángá u lá fùla wu a, u ci tá yà a ke wun gá ko eyí yán Sode ya kámi na u lo zí na o.

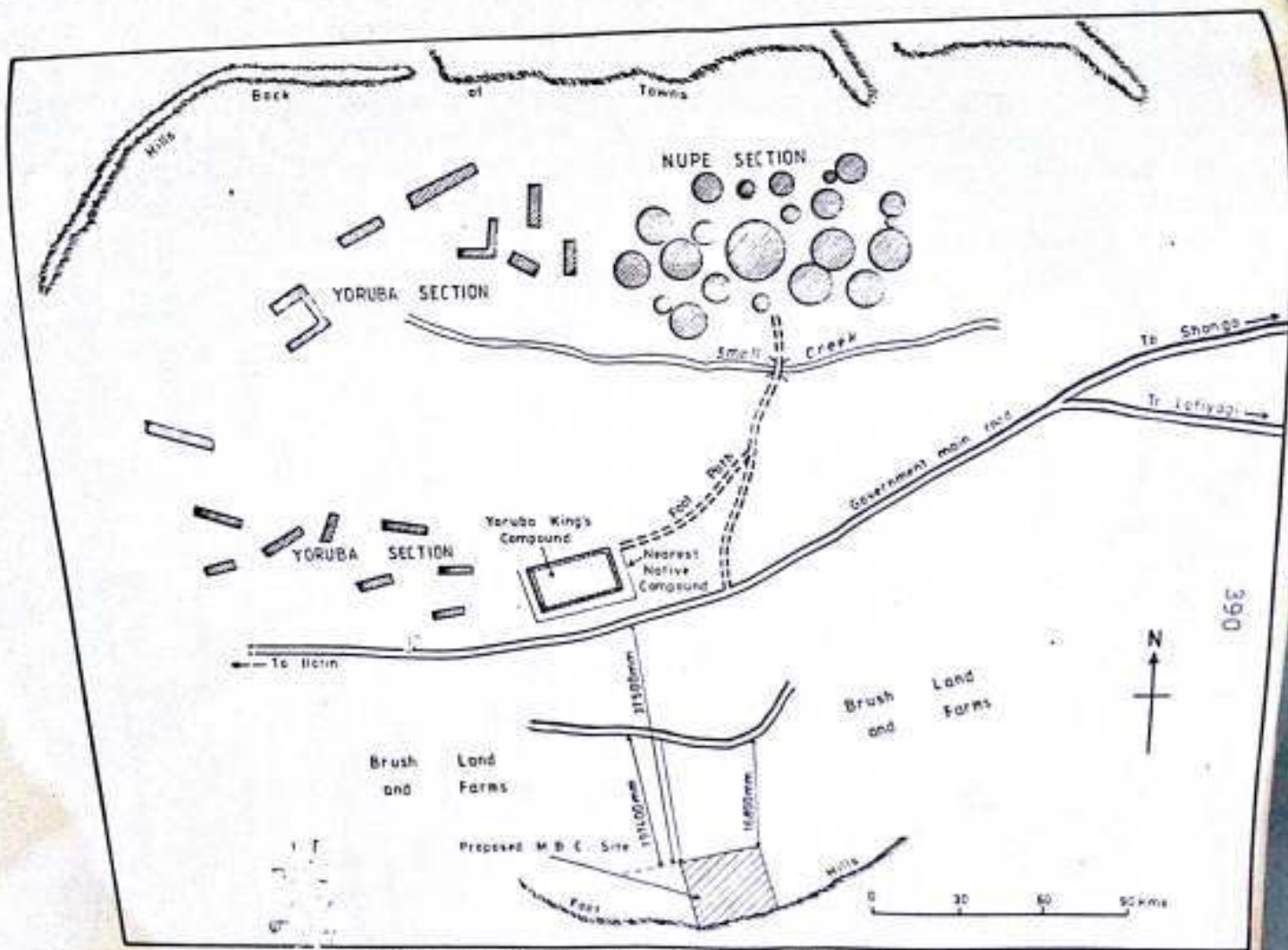
Sode to Tsoda fá be dòzi yin, a ci yà u gànsíkíya ke emigbó tán gan egùn na.

## EGANGBINZI

- 1 Zà gúkin le èmi gún dòzì nìmi ètan kpókpórógi nana bo o?
  - a) Sode be Tsoda yin.
  - b) Emigbó-tán-gan-gùn to Sode to Tsoda.
  - c) Sode be Emigbó-tán-gan-gùn yin.
- 2 Zezi yi èyà dòzì a ci fé jin eyan kpátá keba o?
  - a) Sode be Emigbó-tán-gan-gùn yin.
  - b) Tsoda be Emigbó-tán-gan-gùn yin
  - c) Sode be Tsoda yin.
- 3 Kámi na Sode wo gan Tsoda á wun eyí ko ya na.
  - a) U gan gání gá a à gí eyí yán Tsoda o.
  - b) U gan wun a de ejè gí be a
  - c) U gan gasikiya ù yi o.
- 4 Kámi na Emigbó-tán-gan-gùn gò Sode to Tsoda gan zi latí o na
  - a) U sa a mi, u ci gan a a ceko
  - b) Fùla dzúru be bookùn yin u kpe o.
  - c) U fé kóní gògan.
- 5 Zùnmàgò yán ètàn nana lá wu Sode to Tsoda gan
  - a) Emigbó de ànfàni ndóndò à.
  - b) Sunna yán Emigbó-tán-gan-gùn de gànsikiya
  - c) Gàmánázúnci Emigbó-tán-gan-gùn yí o.

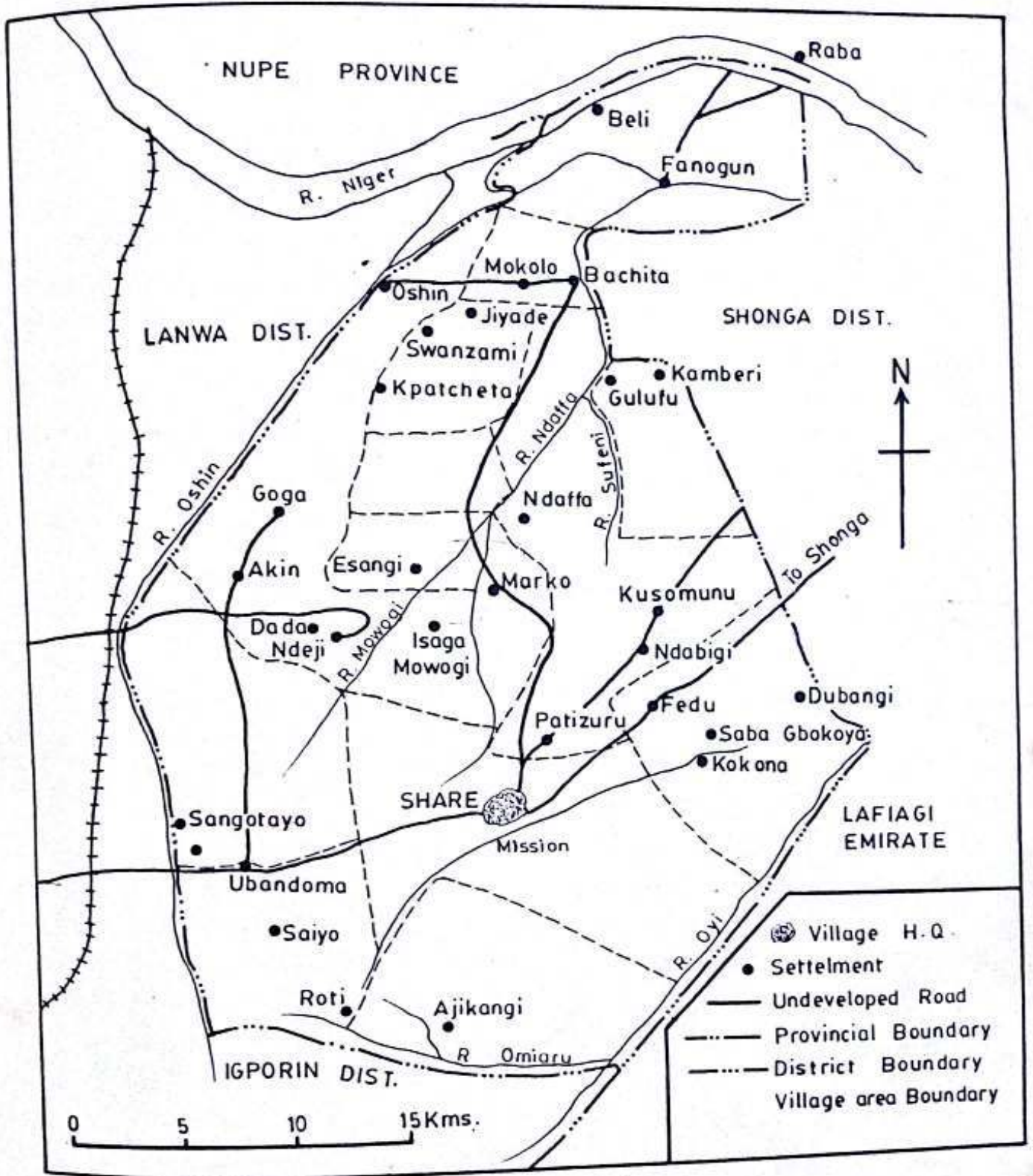


Map of Share District and Edu L.G.A. of Kwara State



A Sketch of Slave done by the M.B.C. Mission in April 1914  
 Source: Min. Refs, file-125/1916, Kaduna Archives.





Share District

Source: *Human Prof* file 760 Vol 1, Kaduna Archives