LANGUAGE CHOICE AMONG SOME SEGMENTS OF THE AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY COMMUNITY

By

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DEDICATION

For my beloved family.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis has been written by me and that it is a record of my own research work. It has not been presented in any previous application for a Higher Degree. All quotations and sources of information are acknowledged by means of references.

Margaret H. Kassam

CERTIFICATION

This thesis entitled "Language Choice Among Some Segments of the Ahmadu Bello University Community" by Margaret Hauwa Kassam meets the regulations governing the award of the degree of Master of Arts in English Language of Ahmadu Bello University, and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

Chairperson, Supervisory Committee — 19/5/94 Date

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ABSTRACT

This study looks at Language Choice and Use among English speaking bi- or multilinguals in Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. Our aim is to find out the linguistic repertoire of speakers and the pattern of language use in different domains as well as to determine whether or not speakers are constrained by socio-cultural factors in their choice and use of language.

Our approach is functionalist and empirical with some theoretical significance since the study is concerned with language choice in a multilingual community. In addition, it is a study of languages in contact and therefore throws more light on issues of bi- multilingualism which themselves have implications for pedagogy.

We applied an eclectic approach in the analysis of the recorded spoken data especially in order to test how the various theoretical frameworks could be applied to the kind of data we collected. In addition, the questionnaire like the recorded discourse, was designed to find out whether socio-cultural factors determine speakers' choice of language in various settings. We found that socio-cultural norms seem to dictate patterns of language use. Socio-psychological situations also dictate language choice. The sociological approach

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background to the Study

1.1 Preamble

Language (speech) is as old as mankind itself. The desire to unravel the mystery of language, since the "confusion of tongues" at the "Tower of Babel", has been a preoccupation of modern man. By the 19th century (Lyons, 1968) a scientific study of language, known as "Linguistics", had begun. Because language is dynamic, it avails itself to several approaches and interpretations. One such approach is the sociolinguistic field of study.

1.1.1 The Sociolinguistic Field of Study

Sociolinguistics is fairly new as a field of study in Linguistics. The term sociolinguistics was used in 1952 by Haver Currie, in a discussion on the relationship between speech behaviour and social status in which he suggested that:

> Social functions and significations of speech factors offer a prolific field for research... This field is here designated Sociolinguistics.[1]

In the short period since its inception sociolinguistics has achieved much. But it was not until the conference in 1964 that it attained its full status as a field of study (see Dittmar, 1976: 128).

1.1.2 The Concept of Language

Sociolinguists and Linguists alike have different views in their conceptualization of language. Because of its dynamic nature language avails itself to several approaches and interpretations. However, it is agreed that language is one of the means by which human beings communicate through social interaction. The uniqueness of language to the human specie can be seen in Sapir's (1921) definition of language:

> Language is a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires by means of a system of voluntarily produced symbols.[2]

Language can also be seen to perform much more than Sapir's definition states. It can be observed that apart from being a means of communication, it is an indicator of social status the role relationships that exist between the speakers, the social situation, and much more. As Fishman (1975) rightly says:

> Language is not merely a means of interpersonal communication and influence, not merely a carrier of content, whether latent or manifest, it is itself content, a referent for loyalties and animosities, an indicator of social statutes and personal relationships, a marker of situations and topics as well as the societal goals and the large scale value-laden arenas of interaction that typify every speech community.[3]

Speech, on the other hand, can be described as the substance of language. It is the actualization of language through verbalization. According to Firth

(1964), a piece of speech, a normal complete act of speech, is a pattern of group behaviour in which two or more persons participate by means of common verbalizations of common situational context, and of the experiential contexts of the participants.[4]

And, Whorf (1956) in his definition describes apeech as "the best show man puts on."[5] One can further add that speech is not a jumble of sounds strung together haphazardly to produce noise, but it is an organized system or structure by which information is conveyed. Therefore, in a given social interaction, speech will occur in a permissible sequence of sounds. This is, to a large extent determined by certain socio-cultural and situational factors.

However, as our findings will show later, there are overlaps in speech use of some of the speakers studied with regard to turn-taking, what Ervin-Tripp (1964) calls "Alternation and Co-occurrence Rules,"[6] especially among members of equal status (education, social rank, etc).

1.1.3 The Sociolinguistic Approach to the Study of Speech

Sociolinguistic methods, as employed in this study, seek to determine certain factors regarding speech use, especially, in multilingual communities where different speech varieties are employed differently in various

social interactions. This is so because speech communities differ from one another. They have various complex language varieties, which differ functionally, either occupationally or as interest varieties. This can be explicated by the fact that within certain speech communities there are specialized varieties which may be peculiar to certain social groups and not the wider speech community.

For instance, on some occasions, it is common for interlocutors who speak a particular specialized variety (e.g. the Palmwine Drinkers' Club - 'KEGITES', a student social group on our university campuses) to switch to a different variety of language which is either in wider use or which is indicative of quite a different set of interests and relationships that are associated with their specialized variety.

This type of switching, according to Fishman (1975) represents the raw data of sociolinguistics, the discipline which seeks to determine (among other things) who speaks what variety of language to whom, when and concerning what?

The varieties that exist on the university campus may not necessarily represent occupational differences, but also social statutes/class (- i.e. economic, educational and ethnic) and specialized varieties as well as regional differences. It would therefore, not be totally wrong to suggest, that individuals can

switch from one variety (e.g. of Standard English to Pidgin English) to another when speaking to each other, depending on their interpersonal relationship towards each other, the topic, and several other factors, all of which can exhibit variation and, as a result can be signalled by switching from one variety of English or any other language to another.

Ahmadu Bello University is a speech community which has several languages, therefore, it can be said to possess a verbal repertoire, as Fishman (1975) puts it. Regardless of the nature of the language varieties involved in the verbal repertoire of a speech community (- i.e. occupational, social class, regional, etc, though not strictly the concern of the present study) and regardless of the interaction between them this study seeks to describe their linguistic and more especially, functional characteristics.

In addition, sociolinguistic methods seek to show how much of the entire speech community's verbal repertoire is available to various smaller interaction networks within a speech community, since the entire verbal repertoire of a speech community will be more extensive than the verbal repertoire controlled by the sub-groups within that community (Fishman, 1975: 3).

The varieties can come to represent educated status (for example the use of Standard English

variety by lecturers, administrators, students, etc) or national identification (i.e. use of speakers' own languages) as a result of the attainments associated with their use and their users and as a result of their utilization in situations and relationships that concern formal learning or particular ideologies. Perhaps, the use of the standard variety can be seen to be more related to formal learning on the campus rather than to ideologies. This is liable to change, of course. And, as Fishman (1975: 3) rightly observes, these functions are capable of change just as the linguistic features of the varieties themselves may change, and just as the demographic distribution of users of a variety within a particular speech community may change. This statement is to some extent, true of the speech community under study which comprises speakers from various regional and ethnic backgrounds within and outside Nigeria; who by socio-historical reasons have come to form a distinct speech community - a university speech community - within a larger multilingual community: Nigeria.

1.2 The Historical Development of Ahmadu Bello University as a Multilingual Community

Preamble

Any sociolinguistic study of substance, especially

one which purports to study a multilingual community, must explore the historical background of the groups within the community. By so doing the investigator will not only be placing the speech community in a proper socio-linguistic perspective it will also help in explaining some of the peculiarities that characterize such a community.

As most sociolinguistic studies of similar speech communities have shown, such multilingual settlements like ABU in Samaru-Zaria, come into being as a result of various factors. Such factors could include: migration, trade and commerce, colonialism, development of modern transportation system (e.g railway), religion, and so on. It is in the light of the above statement that the need to trace the historical development, albeit briefly, of ABU as a multilingual settlement becomes pertinent. This study shall therefore attempt to trace the history of ABU via the history of Samaru from 1962 to 1987.

1.2.1 The Geographical Location of Samaru

According to Oyedele (1989),[7] Samaru is situated (on latitude 11^{o} $12^{m}N$ and Longtitude 07^{o} $37^{1}E$,) at about 13 km from Zaria on the Sokoto road, and 8 km to Shika and 7 km to Bassawa. It lies within the Northern Guinea Savanna vegetation. The climate of

the zone is characterised by a dry season of 7 months duration from mid October to mid-May and an annual rainfall average of 1094.33 mm (43.08"). Samaru is also located in the southern part of the plains of Housaland at an altitude of 550-700 metres (2050' to 2500'). (See the map of Samaru in Appendix H).

Samaru's growth increased with the establishment and the development of Ahmadu Bello University (ABU) in October 1962. Subsequently, Samaru underwent major demographic and socio-economic changes. And, finally, attained an urban status with the growth of ABU. With the establishment and consequent rapid growth of ABU Samaru attracted immigrants of various categories ranging from international scholars, teachers, administrators, clerks and other professionals (e.g. masons, fitters, carpenters, etc) to students, traders, businessmen, mechanics, barbers, butchers, tailors, cooks, servants and labourers of all categories, both within and outside the campus. The village gradually became a mini-Nigeria. It is these groups enumerated above that constitute today a conglomeration of the Samaru diverse linguistic groups.

The university community is a reflection of the various linguistic groups that live in and around Samaru, with the Hausa speaking group forming the largest population of the groups. Such groups from other parts of Nigeria that live on the campus and

Samaru village include Kaje, Kataf, Jaba, Yoruba, Tiv, Igbo, Idoma, Igala, Angas, Sayawa, Burra, among many others. It is from these varied linguistic groups that our subjects are drawn. And, it is of such a multilingual composition that it gives ABU its interesting outlook as a unique speech community.

However, unique as ABU may seem as a multilingual community, it is by no means an isolated entity; in the sense that there may be other communities which share the same traits. However, no two speech communities are exactly the same. And, the similarities or dissimilarities which may exist will depend on the scope of study and the methodology used to arrive at the findings by the investigator.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Recent studies of language (speech) tend to show that speech is influenced by the social norms of the society in which a person lives, and not solely by the individual - that is, it is not totally dependent on the "will of the speaker". Language, as conceived by earlier linguists such as Ferdinand de Saussure at the beginning of the century, is entirely social, being identical from one member of a speech community to another. We do not agree with this view. As our study shows no individual speaks the same way at all times. There is the need for the speaker to vary his

use of language to suit the different interlocutor he comes into contact with.

Language is basic in social life. Since communication is a social activity it could be said that speech is also social. And, so long as a speaker knew the relevant language, which for de Saussure meant knowing which sound sequences were allowed to be used for which meanings - he would be able to speak it properly simply by applying it as he chooses. What needs to be appreciated, therefore, is that there are socio-cultural constraints on speech over and above the linguistic rules that influence the use of language. This study therefore, hopes to find out not only how language norms affect speech, but most importantly, how certain social and situational constraints determine what people say within different speech situations and speech events.

1.4 Basic Assumption

The assumption behind this study is that, in a given social interaction, it is quite normal to observe that some people will perform better than others. For example in discussing a topic on international politics some people are more likely to dominate and argue out their points better than others. This is attributable to what Gumperz (1982: 14)[8] called "communicative flexibility", an ability to adapt strategies to an

audience and to other aspects of the social context - both overt and implied. Taking note of such signs, the participants are able to monitor and understand at least some of each others' meaning.

Meaning in face-to-face encounter, according to Gumperz (1982) is negotiable; it is discovering "the grounds" for negotiation, that requires the participants skills. Many of the meanings, at the level of on-going processes of interpretation of speaker's intent depend upon culturally specific conventions. Much of the meaning inherent in any social encounter remains indirect and implicit. The ability to expose enough of the implicit meaning to make for a satisfactory encounter between strangers or culturally different speakers, therefore, requires communicative flexibility.

In face-to-face social interaction, which is the concern of this study, speech acts represent the basic means through which the social meaning of language is realized or manifested. According to Austin (1962)[9], a speech act is the smallest unit which carries social meaning. Speech acts, especially declarative statements with underlying verbs, are used to give "commands", "requests", make "promises", "declarations", etc. However, there are certain social situational constraints on speakers such as: age, sex social status, educational qualification, etc which determine "who", "when", "where", and "how" these speech acts are used.

The study of speech acts gives us a way/of talking about how speakers use actual utterances to interact with other speakers in social situations, using such social significant illocutions as promises, requests, greetings, warnings, etc. This study is thus ultimately concerned with human communication at the interpersonal level and how other non-linguistic social factors such as age, sex, culture, ethnic background, etc influence the way people interact in social situations.

In view of the above therefore, it is possible to observe that there will be significant differences in the perception of individuals' performance given the same speech situation in a given social interaction. In other words, speakers have, to a large extent, equal opportunities in their linguistic competence, but will differ in the number of languages they understand and in their performance depending on their degree of experiences and how well they can manipulate language to suit the topic, person and situation; that is, their ability to achieve communicative competence.

1.5 Hypotheses

Based on the assumptions stated above, the following questions, using various elicitation techniques, will be administered to determine among other things:

1. What are the determinants of speech in a given speech event during a social interaction?

2. What is the frequency of usage of speakers' MT, L_1, L_2, L_3, etc.?

3. What is the function of English versus the indigeneous languages in a multilingual/ - cultural setting like ABU?

4. What address forms do speakers use in relationships of "power" and "solidarity"?

5. Why do speakers switch or mix codes when they speak?

We hope that at the end of the research, we shall be able to provide answers to some if not all the questions listed above.

1.6 Purpose of the Study

The main aim of this study is to:

i. investigate the motivations for people's choice of language in a multilingual community like ABU;

ii. highlight the socio-cultural factors and forces which influence the choice of language during social interactions among members of the university community.

We shall use the insight gained to suggest possible improvements in the social interaction between the diverse speakers in multiethnic settings; and for the national integration of the nation at large.

1.7 Justification for the Study

This study is undertaken because no similar study has been done in the area in ABU Zaria. Although similar studies have been done elsewhere, they have tended to concentrate on either western countries or case studies on Amerindian or Asian - English speaking speech communities (see Gumperz, 1982).[10] And, not until recently (see Adekunle, in WAJML 1978; Madaki, 1981a; Joshua 1983; Olaoye, 1990, among others)[11] have similar studies been done on language choice/code-switching in Nigeria. Earlier studies have tended to focus on language as a tool for language policy formulation. This study is therefore a study of language in relation to society - what is often regarded as "sociolinguistics proper" (Adeyanju, 1988: 3). Here, the main focus is on everyday use of language (What in linguistic term is called synchronic study), the role of language and the need for greater understanding of the nature of language; that is, the study of who speaks what language to whom (where and when) and with the application of these findings to social, political, and educational problems (Ibid). The concern of this study is more with the implications for the other two in the nation's search for national integration, what is often referred to as the 'National Language Question.'

There is no gain saying the fact that Nigeria is a multilingual society with about (499) estimated indigenous languages (see Keir Hansford et al 1976 quoted in Bamidele 1982)[12] with English, as a common denominator (especially in the urban centres) unifying all the diverse language groups together under one political entity (see also, Calvin Garba, 1972 in Bamidele 1982). English thus serves as a unifying force that holds certain parts of the country together. Apart from serving as the Lingua Franca, in most parts of the country, English is the official language of government, education, media, commerce, among others. In fact, it has become part of our culture - that is, it influences a greater part of our national life.

For example, on the university campus, English forms not only part of the linguistic (knowledge) repertoire, but also part of the verbal (performance) repertoire (-i.e, the functional usage of the language) of speakers who belong to the same multilingual and multicultural speech community. In addition to being the language of instruction, it is also the language of communication in various social situations among some members who do not share the same linguistic background and who do not understand any other language (-i.e., plus their own local languages).

In a multilingual community like ABU, therefore a sociolinguistic variation study is necessary to show how people are motivated differently in their choice of language(s) and speech varieties that exist for them. What needs to be shown, therefore, is the degree of usage of the varied codes available to the speakers and the extent to which certain socio-cultural constraints influence their choice of these codes (languages).

In the light of the above, we can conclude that there is a need to study the speech behaviour of speakers in the university community where majority of the people are multilingual in their speech habits. And, by applying sociolinguistic methods we can discover how speakers are motivated differently in the degree of their choice of language according to the following variables - sex, age, social status, and social situations in which speech occurs. Such a study will also help to throw light on people's attitude toward learning and speaking other languages be it a lingua franca or a national language apart from their mother tongues in order to communicate.

1.8 Scope of the Study

The scope of investigation in this study shall be limited to the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. One

reason for this is because similar studies have been carried out which encompass the wider society. For instance, Adekunle (1978)[13] conducted a research into the pattern of language use among the Nigerian English-speaking bi - or multilinguals.

Another study was done by Madaki (1981a)[14] on Language Choice/Use among Hausa-English bilinguals in Sokoto, to mention just a few The present study will therefore, be concerned with language choice and use among English-speaking bi- or -multilinguals in Ahmadu Bello University. It is an attempt to find out what factors govern their choice of a particular speech code on a particular occasion - that is, why people choose to use one code rather than another, what brings about shifts from one code variety to another, and why they occasionally prefer to use a code from two other codes by mixing the two (Wardhaugh, 1986).[15]

An attempt will also be made to limit the subjects of the study to students, lecturers, and administrative staff. These will represent most, if not all, perhaps the major language groups that exist in Nigeria.

Furthermore, it should be noted that this study has not set out to investigate language use at all levels of interaction, but is more concerned with the inter-personal level because it is at this level that role relationships in social interactions are manifested.

And, like Halliday (1970),[16] we believe that the speakers' attitudes toward their interlocutors, situations and topics are best realized through their interpersonal relations or at the interpersonal level. We also believe that people are constrained in their speech as they select certain linguistic items to suit their interlocutors, speech domains (physical or psychological), and topic. Hence, it is believe that this can best be realized through a study of the interpersonal relationships which exist between speakers with the same or different languages and who co-exist in a multilingual community like the university.

1.9 Definition of Terms

1. MULTILINGUAL(ISM): is used in this study to refer to one who has the ability to speak more than two languages with a fair degree of proficiency.
2. BILINGUAL(ISM): Is used here to refer to a speaker who is likely to have learned a second language in addition to his mother tongue and can speak both languages with a fair degree of proficiency.
3. SPEECH COMMUNITY: The term, as used in this study, refers to a single heterogeneous, multilingual society whereby its members are disposed to two or more languages.

4. CODE SWITCHING: Is used here to refer to a speech phenomenon where a speaker consciously changes over from the language to another. The switch could be situational or inter-sentential.

5. CODE MIXING: This is also used here to refer to a speech phenomenon whereby a speaker uses two or more codes, usually unconsciously, within a sentence (- intra-sentential) during a conversation.

6. COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE/COMMUNICATIVE FLEXIBILITY: The term is used in this study to mean a speaker's ability to choose and use (or vary his use of) language from a multiple - choice of languages at his disposal for the different language situations in which he finds himself. His ability to express himself in the various social contexts over and above his Linguistic competence in such languages, at appropriate times and situations.

7. MULTICULTURAL: Is used here to describe a situation exemplified by one who has acquired or imbibed cultures of two or more languages in addition to his mother tongue. /It may not be absolutely possible that such an individual will have a parallel degree in his multilingualism with a compound culture. But there may be a fair representation of a compound culture with his multilingualism/

8. BICULTURAL: Is used here to refer to a speaker who has learned a second language (L_2) for integrative reasons such that will enable him to identify himself with the people, study their literature, history and other aspects of the culture of the native speakers of that language /Note the influence of English on the personality of some literate Nigerians/

9. CODE: Is used here to mean any language (speech form) or a variety of a language which a speaker uses to put across his/her message in a given social interaction.

Footnotes

1. See quotation in Thomas K. Adeyanju, Sociolinguistics and Language Education (Forthcoming.)

2. Edward Sapir, Language: An Introduction to the Study of Speech, New York: Harcourt Brace, 1921.

3. Joshua A. Fishman, Sociolinguistics: A Brief Introduction, Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House Publishers, 1975, p. 1.

4. J.R. Firth, The Tongues of Men and Speech, London: Oxford University Press, 1964, pp. 89-94.

5. Benjamin Lee Whorf, Language, Thought and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf, edited and with Introduction by John B. Carroll. Cambridge: The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1956.

6. Susan Ervin-Tripp, "On Sociolinguistic Rules: Alternation and Co-occurrence." In Gumperz and Hymes, 1972.

7. Enoch Oyedele, "History of Samaru and Environs up to 1987" in A History of ABU 1962-1987, Zaria: ABU Press, 1989, p. 39.

8. J.J. Gumperz (ed), Language and Social Identity, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982, p. 14.

9. J.L. Austin, How to do things with words, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962. In Hurford and Heaseley, Semantics, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983, p. 277.

10. John J. Gumperz (ed), op cit. Gumperz has done an extensive work on language and social identity among the Asian English-speakers in Britain especially.

11. M.A. Adekunle's work on " he Linguistic Repertoire of Nigerian Speakers" is published in the West African Journal of Modern Languages (WAJML), Vol.3, 1978. And, Rufai Omar Madaki's work on "Language Choice/ Use among bilingual Hausa speakers in Sokoto, Sokoto State" 1981a, is a paper presented at a seminar in the University of Sokoto. See also Adebayo Joshua's work Towards the Development of a National Language for Nigeria: A Case study of the attitude of the Nigerian Elite 1983, an unpublished M.A. thesis. And, Tony Olaoye's 1990 work on also an unpublished Ph.D thesis.

12 A.O. Bamidele, Classroom Interaction Analysis in the Teaching of Grammatical Structures in Some Selected Post-Primary Institutions. An unpublished B.Ed thesis. Zaria: 1982, p.1.

13. Adekunle op cit.

14. Ibid.

15. Ronald Wardhaugh, Sociolinguistic: An Introduction, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986, pp. 155-185.

16. M.A.K. Halliday, Language as Social Semiotics: The Social Interpretation of Language and Meaning, London: Edward Arnold, 1979, pp. 125-139.

Chapter 2

2.0 REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Preamble:

In recent years, according to Ervin-Tripp (1964), several studies on sociolinguistics have reported on the relationship between verbal behaviour and a variety of psychological and social factors, such as the setting, the roles of the participants, the topics of conversation, the functions of interlocutors concerning each of the foregoing.[1] This, in a nutshell, reiterates the whole concern of sociolinguistics. However, not much work has been done in the area of Language Choice and Use in multilingual communities, especially with the view to ascertaining the appendant socio-cultural constraints speakers face during social interactions in bi- or multilingual communities. Nonetheless, there exist published literature on speech use in multilingual settings; most of which are on Euro-Asian and Spanish bilingual speech communities, but very few on African multilingual or bilingual speech communities.

In addition, many of these studies have tended to be on the sociolect rather than the idiolect. But of recent the study of la parole as a manifestation of la langue appears to be in vogue. This can be seen in

such studies as Madaki's (1981a), Gumperz's (1982); Fasold's (1984); Le Page's (1985); Wardhaugh's (1986); Dell Hyme's (1962); Labov's (1964); Adekunle's (1978); Joshua (1983); among others. Some of these works have some relevance to the present study; even though the focus of this study is on the socio-cultural constraints on the choice of language in a multilingual community such as Ahmadu Bello University. A review of some of these related works will be done with the hope of deriving some similarities, or differences, in this comparative study, with particular reference to variation in language choice at the level of interpersonal relationships.

Fischer (1958):

One of the earliest studies of variation was Fischer's study (1958)[2] of the (ng) variable; that is in pronunciations like 'singing' /ŋ/ versus 'singin' /n/. The investigation serves as part of a study of child-rearing practices in a New England community. Fischer interviews young children, comprising 12 boys and 12 girls, of ages 3-10. He notes their use of /ŋ/ and /n/ in a very formal situation during the administration of the Thematic Aperception Test, in a less formal interview, and in an informal situation in which the children discuss recent activities.

Fischer concludes that 'the choice, between the _-ing_ and the _in_' variants appears to be related to sex, class, personality (aggressive/cooperative), and (rigid/tense/relaxed) of the speaker, to the formality of the conversation and to the specific verb spoken.

Judging from the number of subjects studied, 12 boys and 12 girls, the methods of data collection, one will agree with Wardhaugh (1986) that Fischer's study 'is a very simple account of a common variable, which covers very few subjects, and uses very informal, even casual, methods of data collection, findings are not subjected to statistical testing, and no attempt to make any profound claims!'

Contrary, though similar in a way, to Fischer's findings, in our study language choice appears to be related to the degree of formality between the speakers, the formality/informality of the social situation in which the conversation takes place, the tribe (i.e the common linguistico-cultural background) of the interlocutors, among others.

William Labov (1966):

Another, and perhaps the most acclaimed study on variation, is that of William Labov (1966).[3] Labov's work in variation studies is often regarded as a

pacesetter for other linguistic variation studies. His first major study in linguistic variation is an investigation of the (r) variable in New York City which is done on a very small scale. He sets out to test the hypotheses that r- pronunciation after vowels is common among the younger people rather than the older ones, and is more likely to occur as the level of formality in speech increases, and also more likely at the end of words like (floor) than before consonants (fourth).

To test these hypotheses, he conducts interviews around three New York City department stores (Saks, Macy's and S. Klein) which are demarcated along social class lines (high, middle, and low, respectively), by asking the location of departments he knows to be on the fourth floor; often seeking a careful repetition of 'fourth floor' by pretending not to hear the initial response by the respondent. (See Labov 1972b, p. 51; 1972b p. 52 and 1966 p. 240).

In the final analysis, Labov concludes that 'at present in New York City pronunciations of words like Car and guard with the 'r' pronunciation are highly valued'. He further states that they are associated with the Upper Class even though members of that class do not always use such pronunciations, nor do they use them on all occasions.

In addition, based on the findings of another

study in New York on the (th) variable in the pronunciation of words with initial consonants (th) as in thing and three with the three possible variants: [t], [tθ]. and [θ], (see Labov 1966, p. 260 for the distribution of scores on what he calls the (th) index), Labov further reiterates his hypotheses that linguistic behaviour varies according to the socio-economic class to which people belong by adding that the (th) variable indicates that there is a sharp break in linguistic behaviour between working-class groups and middle-class groups. He calls the sharp break in the distribution pattern sharp stratification.

Though we acknowledge Labov's contribution to the study of variation in speech use, its relevance to our work is minimal. It is minimal in the sense that ours is not a phonological study of linguistic behaviour, but rather of a sociolinguistic nature. Our concern here being with languages or varieties of language in choice and as they are used in a multilingual speech community like the one being studied.

In addition to his findings, and of importance to studies in sociolinguistics, is our findings which show that socio-cultural factors also determine variation in linguistic behaviour regardless of socio-economic class of the speakers. (see also details in chapter 4).

Peter Trudgill (1974):

In his Norwich studies, similar to Labov's Trudgill (1974)[4] investigates sixteen different phonological variables. He shows, in much the same way as Labov, the relevance of social class and level of formality to the use of variants. Trudgill shows in his analysis of the variables (ng), (t), and (h) that, for example, the [ŋ], [t] and [h] variants in such words as <u>singing</u>, <u>butter</u>, and <u>hammer</u> are used more frequently with one's ascension on the social scale than the corresponding [n], [ʔ], and [Ø] variants. But although, members of the lower class almost invariably say <u>singin'</u>, they do not almost invariably say '<u>ammer</u>. In other words, each variable has its own characteristic distribution of variants.

However, a new dimension to his findings suggests that, so far as the (ng) variable is concerned, its use is related not only to social class but also to sex, with females showing a greater preference for [ŋ] than males, regardless of social class membership. It is however, not clear which of the differences that Trudgill reports are significant and which are not, in the absence of statistical testing (Wardhaugh, 1985: 164).

Still on his social class variation, Trudgill (1983)[5] uses data to show two very important points;

In addition, his notions of style constancy and class constancy do not apply to our speakers because we have not set out to do a socio-economic study of speech behaviour, neither is our study a phonological one based on sex differentials.

Jenny Cheshire (1978):

In another related study of linguistic variation in Reading, England, Cheshire (1978)[6] undertakes a study of the (s) variable in the speech of three groups of boys and girls - particularly, the extension of the third-person singular verb marking to all other persons, for example, I knows, you knows, we has, and they calls. The subjects comprise of thirteen boys and twelve girls aged between 9-17. They come from three groups of friends: an all male group from Orts (Orts Road boys), a small group of three boys called (Shinfield boys), and an all-female group also called (Shinfield girls). One important thing that the groups have in common is the use of nonstandard forms with regular verbs, for example, know and call on just over half of the possible occasions for use. They use has, for instance, we has on about a third of the possible occasions for use. They also show a preference for do as in she do, for example over she does. Cheshire also discovers that

with have, the has form occurs only as a full verb, for example, ('we has a muck around in there') or before an infinitive as in ('I has to stop in') but never as an auxiliary; hence, they will say ('I have got, not 'I has got').

Cheshire then concludes that "variation is controlled by both social and linguistic factors". In boy's speech, she observes, 'variation is governed by norms that are central to the vernacular culture, and are transmitted through the peer group.' On the other hand, 'variation in the girls' speech appears to be a more personal process, and less rigidly controlled by vernacular norms. However, she observes that both boys and girls 'are subject to two linguistic constraints on the form of regular present tense verbs, of which one favours the use of non-standard form, and the other favours the use of the standard form.' She further observes that 'variation in the forms of have and do appears to be due to linguistic changes in process.'

Although our study is not a gender study, our subjects comprise both males and females who are aged between 20 and above 40. And, though Cheshire's (1978) findings are parallel to ours, the social group factor is common to both studies; especially in the case of the students we have studied. For instance, the use of Pidgin English (a variety of the English language)

and the phenomenon of code-mixing especially, among the peer group status (i.e as students) can be said to form the vernacular culture of this group in our study (see our findings in chapter 4).

Leslie Milroy (1980b):

One other variation study with a rather different approach from those reported above, is Milroy's (1980b)[7] studies in Belfast, Northern Ireland. In her studies of some aspects of speech in three working-class areas in Belfast, she stresses the importance of social networks. Her investigation through kinship ties makes her work a refreshing deviation from other studies on variation in speech behaviour.

Milroy's interest is in how a stable set of linguistic norms emerges and maintains itself in a community. She calls these vernacular norms, norms 'perceived as symbolizing values of solidarity and reciprocity rather than status, and are not publicly codified or recognized (1980, pp. 35-6). The norms, she says, contrast with middle-class norms, which would normally be viewed as being characteristic of any wide social standard. She then focuses on the speech of the working class in three stable inner city working-class communities in Belfast namely: Ballymacarrett, in East

Belfast, a Protestant area wit i little male unemployment (which provided a stable work in the local shipyard), close male relationships, and a sharp differentiation between men's and women's activities with men working within the area and women working outside; the Hammer, in West Belfast, also Protestant area; and the Clonard, also in West Belfast, a Catholic area.

Milroy uses a modified participants observation technique, a technique slightly different from Labov's - that is, she has to become part of the system she is studying after being introduced into it as 'a friend of a friend', and her analysis is based on data she collects from forty-six working-class speakers of both sexes with approximately one-third from each community.

Milroy examines eight linguistic variables and finds significant correlations between network strength and linguistic usage on five of these, two at p 01 (i.e there is less than one chance in a hundred that there is no such relationship) and three at p 05 (i.e there is/less than one chance in twenty that there is no such relationship). She finds that the two strongest correlations are with the vowel in words like hat, man and grass (with the vowel bein ; pronounced rather like that of father) and the deletion of the fricative th [ ] in mother and brother. The less strong correlations, she finds, are with the vowels in words like pull, shove,

and _foot_ (with the vowel being pronounced rather like that of _hut_ and _shut_), and the vowel in either monosyllabic words like _peck_, _bet_, and _went_ or in the accented syllables of polysyllabic words like _accent_ and _second_.

Contrary to the above, she observes an exception in Ballymacarrett where there is a significant correlation between the variables and network strength. This shows that 'the greater the network strength, the greater the incidence of the variants identified with the Belfast vernacular. Another significant difference in Ballymacarrett is the difference in men and wormen's use of the vernacular, with men showing a much greater incidence of vernacular usage. In this respect Milroy (1980) differs from Cheshire (1978) where she reports that the vernacular norms seem to be more common with the boys rather than the girls in her study.

Milroy further states that, this gender differentiation does not feature in speech behaviour of the other two communities; except, perhaps, in the Clonard area where young women seem to prefer certain vernacular variants and seem to be in the vanguard of extending vernacular norms into that sub-group.

The Belfast studies thus reveal that 'the stronger the social network, the greater the use of certain

the social network, the greater the use of certain linguistic features of the vernacular.' This is also true for Cheshire's subjects. This suggests that there is some correlation between her findings and that of Chesire (1978). Milroy (1980b p.43) concludes that 'a close-knit network has the capacity to function as a norm enforcement mechanism; there is no reason to suppose that linguistic norms are exempted from this process. Moreover a close-knit network structure appears to be very common... in low status communities.' She further adds that 'the close-knit network may be seen as an important social mechanism of vernacular maintenance, capable of operating effectively in opposition to a publicly endorsed and status oriented set of legitimized linguistic norms'.

And, as rightly observed by Wardhaugh (1986) it shows that low-status varieties of a language maintain themselves in the face of heavy competition from 'above': they enable those who use them to show their solidarity with one another and achieve some kind of group identity.

The observation made above is to some extent true for our subjects. For instance, at the macro level, the use of the Mother Tongue (MT) and Pidgin English (PE) correlate with Milroy's (1980b) 'low-status variety of a language' as opposed to the use of English (whether

'standard standard' or Nigerian English) which is supposed to be the linguistic norm in a social set up like the university. In our case, these varieties are not so much 'low-status varieties' as such, but rather, varieties which are used to express ethnic affinities and solidarity in a multi-lingual community such as the university.

On the other hand, at the micro level, there is a sense in which Milroy's (1980b) social networks is relevant to our study. This can be seen in the 'in-group' language of the KEGITES - also known as the Palmwine drinkers' club and the language of students in general.[8] These are examples of close-knit social groups in the university speech community. They ensure the maintenance of certain linguistic and paralinguistic features of language; especially, the 'low standard' variety: a mixture of vernacular (their own coinage plus some Nigerian languages e.g., the three 'major languages' - Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba), Pidgin English and Standard English in the bid to maintain and strengthen solidarity and social group identity. This can be seen in such expressions as '0-0-1; 'Third World joint'; 'combined honours', etc (see glossary for more examples and their meanings). There are variations, of course, in both form and meaning in the use of these expressions depending on the university and the wider speech community where they are located.

Bailey (1973) and Bickerton (1971):

Bailey (1973)[9] and Bickerton (1971)[10] in their studies criticise the attempts by linguists and socio-linguists alike to modify current grammatical theory by incorporating variable rules. In other words, they do not agree in to to with the view that variable rules or linguistic variation in speech use is an adequate tool for theory formulation in grammar. Although they acknoledge variablility in language, they maintain that it can be explained by taking a closer look at the environments in which variation occurs and by relating the environments to one another through the use of some kind of scale. To back up their claim, they come up with the 'Wave - Linear Scaleogram models'. In this regard, they emphasise what they call the Isolect - that is, the speech behaviour of the individual over the Sociolect - that is, the group speech behaviour, which Labov et al (1972)[11] seem to emphasise. They insist that the study of the isolect is important in studies of how people actually use language not only to communicate verbally but also for a variety of other purposes too.

Bailey and Bickerton therefore, maintain that every individual controls an isolect of the language, an individual array of linguistic usages which others may or may not share. According to them, each isolect is a lect. The lects of a language differ from one

another along a continuum, which forms a polylectal or panlectal grid such that there is an implicational relationship among the various lects; that is, for instance, if lect A has feature X, then it will also have features Y and Z, but if lect B has feature Y but not feature X, it will still have feature Z. Lect C may have only feature Z and it could not acquire feature X until it first acquired feature Y. In other words, people share certain linguistic features, no matter how minimal, which they use in various communicative networks which they engage in.

We agree with them to some extent. Looking at the multilingual community in our study, we observed that speakers share a knowledge of at least one language which they all use in addition to the other languages which they use for other communicative purposes.

Variation in the sense in which Bailey and Bickerton portray it cuts across social class and is not tied up with social classes and group means as Labov and Trudgill seem to suggest. Bailey and Bickerton therefore claim that, when the linguistic behaviour of an individual is graphed for a particular linguistic variable, that behaviour is far more likely to show an 'all-or-none' characteristic; i.e., to be categorical in nature, than to show some kind of statistical distribution around

a mean, i.e to be variable in nature, if the particular circumstances that occasion the behaviour are known. They then propose Panlectal grammars which should account for certain kinds of variation; linguistic variables which can explain how speakers are using it over a period of time, in regional or social space, and along various dimensions such as social class, age sex, ethnicity, and so on.

Bailey and Bickerton seem to suggest in their dynamic model, that all variation in language results from changes in progress: variation is the mark of linguistic change. We agree with them on this point, because our findings also show traces of linguistic change as a result of changes in progress; especially in terms of language choice and use and the phenomena of code-switch and code-mix as processes of linguistic/ language change.

In addition, we share with Bailey and Bickerton's (even though to some extent) t at "much of the variation that sociolinguists actually talk about is a creation of the methods they employ - that is, is methodological artifact, and is not a feature of language at all". We however, do not accept the idea that the methodologies are mere artifacts because we

recognise the need for variation in the methods of sociolinguistic studies to suit the diverse linguistic communities that exist in order to be able to harness ideas to formulate theories in sociolinguistics.

On the whole, we wish to note that the whole issue of variation suggests that choices exist for speakers to select and use according to the specific ends they wish to achieve. These choices are in turn determined by situations and the speakers' role relationships. More important, it is the existence of the choice which enables speakers to express particular meanings by selecting a particular language (or variety) rather than another in a mono- or multilingual community.

The study of variation in speech in the present study differs from the works cited above in the sense that our main focus is variation in the use of whole languages or varieties (as mentioned earlier) according to person; place; and topic rather than specific linguistic features, which have been the foci of the studies by Labov and the others.

Ours, therefore, is the study of the socio-cultural factors which serve as constraints or parameters for language choice and use in a multilingual community particularly the university community.

Mobolaji Adekunle (1978):

One such study on language choice and use is that of Adekunle (1978).[12] Adekunle conducts an investigation into the pattern of language use among Nigerian English-speaking bi- or multilinguals with the view to ascertainning whether the functionalistic classification of Nigerian languages actually reflects the role these languages play among educated multilinguals. The study attempts to find out whether the verbal behaviour that has developed round these languages is in fact neatly divided among a series of compartments.

In the study, he discovers that many Nigerians who are fluent in their MTs, but are unable to write in these languages, write in English to members of their family who do not understand English, hoping that the message will be translated by someone who can read English and speak their mother tongue. Here, he also points out that, the so-called official language or language of wider communication (LWC) is used to discuss a private matter with an intimate person (see WAJML, 1978: 126).

Furthermore, he notes that, in a situation where the interlocutors understand each of the languages available, the important factor influencing language

choice is the relationship between the interlocutors. The phenomenon of code-switching occurs when many educated Nigerians are asked to discuss certain aspects of their culture in a formal situation, with people whose relationship with them is merely transactional.

The study also shows that, private and personal topics, in spite of the influence of other variables, tend to be discussed in the mother tongue (MT), a local language or in some cases in English (with some code-switching). On the other hand, he says, open and general topics tend to be discussed in English, a Major Nigerian language, and at times in the MT (with code-switching varying with the degree of specialization of the topic). This is similar to Parasher's (1980: 153)[13] findings (reported in Fasold 1984: 185).[14] As Adekunle's study also shows, the need for code-switching in a public setting for discussing a personal or confidential official matter may result in the use of either the MT, English, or a Major Nigerian Language, whichever will exclude the people around (Adekunle, 1978: 126).

Adekunle concludes that, there are multilingual, bilingual and monolingual communication situations in the Nigerian communication network. What decides the nature of a communication situation is the composition

of the linguistic repertoire or the number of languages available and understood by all the interlocutors. And, since they are proficient in many languages they usually find available for use, their Monther Tongue (MT), a Major Nigerian Language (MNL), Pidgin and English.

Our views and findings about language choice and use do not differ remarkably from those of Adekunle (1978) because we are both investigating factors for language choice and use among Nigerian English-speaking bi- or multilinguals who share a similar historical background (colonialism) and have by accident of history come together to stay in a university community to form a unique speech community; uni ue in the sense that despite the diverse languages and cultures, communication is not hindered by the multilingual situation. Speakers choose from a wide range of languages, stretching from their mother tongues to English language which serves as a common denominator for all educated speakers who are either bi- or multilingual.

Our study, however, differs from Adekunle's (1978) in the sense that we are taking a closer look at socio-cultural constraints on Language Choice and Use as well as the phenomena of code-switching, code-mixing, and intra-lingual variation as they affect or enhance communication in a multilingual community like A.B.U.

We however hold a contrary view to Adekunle's which seems to suggest that code-switching occurs only in formal situations (see WAJMI 1978: 126). From our observations it appears that code switching, as well as, code mixing occur in informal situations.

Ronald Wardhaugh (1986):

Still on the phenomena of code-choice, code-switching and code-mixing, Wardhaugh (1986)[15] looks at the issue in bilingual and multilingual situations in his chapter on 'Choosing a Code' and says they present us with fairly clear cases. He examines these phenomena in a diglossic situation when choice is governed by clear functional differences between the codes.

Although we share Wardhaugh's views on code choice, we have a slightly different perspective of the situation. For instance, given the nature of the speech community (multilingual) we have studied ours present a rather polyglossic outlook as we examined the functional use of English against those of the numerous languages spoken in the university speech community.

Greenfield and Fishman (Ghosh, 1972):

In another related study, Greenfield and Fishman (Ghosh, 1972)[16] examine situational measures of normative language in relation to person, place and topic among Puerto Rican bilinguals. They explain that, two situationally based self-report instruments for measuring normative views with respect to bilingual usage were administered to groups of bilingual Puerto Rican youngsters living in New York. The results obtained suggest that in the community studied, the amount of Spanish and English they claim for conversation differ according to the domain of interaction. They discover that use of Spanish is primarily in the domain of family (see also Parasher 1980: 153 in Fasold, 1984: 185); (Adekunle in WAJML 1978 114-126), secondarily for the domains of friendship and religion, and least of all in those of education and employment, while the reverse holds true for English. These differences when systematically studied in experimentally controlled situations, are found to be almost entirely attributable to interlocutor differences that are associated with the domains examined and the differences in topic or locale. Thus, they conclude that, both instruments yield important data with respect to normative views of situationally relevant bilingual

usage and must be used in full awareness of their complementary assets and limitations.

The preceding study buttresses our view on the influence of domains on language choice; though, in our case we are dealing with language choice in a multilingual situation. The range of choices for our subjects are more than those in Greenfield and Fishman's study. Nonetheless, we agree with Fishman (who patented the idea of domains in sociolinguistic studies), that language will differ to suit the different domains people find themselves in (see 4.1 or so).

Ronald Fasold (1984):

Furthermore on the review of language choice, Fasold (1984: 180-209)[17], identifies three kinds of choice - code switching, code mixing and variation within the same language in his investigation of what makes people in a society choose to use one language rather than another in a given instance. He also discusses how sociolinguists, social psychologists, and anthropologists, approach language choice. He compares the results of the three approaches to see how they contribute to a better understanding of how people choose which language to speak.

On the kinds of language choice, Fasold (1984) says that when we think of language choice the first thing that comes to mind is 'whole languages.' And, according to Fasold, imagine a person who speaks two or more languages and he/she has to choose one to use. One such choice is what is sometimes called code-switching. We, however, believe that there is more to the issue of choice in code-switching than Fasold has stated. It is not just a question of choosing but appropriateness of place, speaker and topic. According to Fasold, a more subtle one (than code-switching) is code-mixing, a situation where pieces of one language are used while a speaker is basically using another language.

The phenomenon Fasold describes above is true of many speakers on the university campus especially in the speech use of students. The language 'pieces' taken from another language are often words, but they can also be phrases or larger units (see also, Gumperz 1977; Parasher 1980; Hill and Hill, 1980).[18] When they are words, the phenomenon is called borrowing. For instance, in the following conversation between an electrician and a security man at the Senate building (ABU):

SECURITY MAN: "There is light now, fa"

ELECTRICIAN: "It is on now, ko?"

SECURITY MAN: "Yes, it is on."

The expressions, fa and ko are words borrowed from Hausa in a piece of conversation carried out in English.

Another kind of choice is variation within the same language. According to Fasold, this is the kind of language choice that often becomes the focus of attitude studies of the variation among R.P and midly and heavily Welsh accented English, or European and formal or informal Quebec French (see Fasold, 1984 chapter 7). Similarly, in the case of a university speech community like ABU, it is a variation between Standard Nigerian English (SNE) or Standard English (SE) and Nigerian Pidgin (NP). The same applies to the multi-languages spoken on the campus. In these cases, a speaker must choose which set of variants to use within a single language in any given situation. Intralingual variation as a phenomenon of language choice is a possibility for monolingual speakers as well as bilingual or multilinguals.

Fasold (1984) is of the opinion that these three kinds of choice - i.e., code switching, code mixing and shifting, cannot be clearly separated from each other. But it is our opinion that the three kinds of choice can be viewed as points on a continuum from relatively large scale to relatively small scale choices.

Hill and Hill (1980)

In a similar vein, Hill and Hill (1980) in their study of language choice between Spanish and Nahuatl in a Mexican Indian group, say it is difficult to distinguish between code-mixing and code-switching. They say:

> This index counts the first occurrence of each Spanish item for a speaker, regardless of whether it is a hispanism within an otherwise thoroughly Nahuatl context or is a Spanish vocab item in what might be judged a switch from Nahuatl to Spanish. We find there is no satisfactory way to distinguish between the two phenomena.[19]

In the case of ABU, however, where there are both bi- and multilinguals, the situation is more complex because speakers have a wide range of languages from which to choose (as pointed out earlier in this review). Thus, depending on the situation, topic, domain and interlocutors, we expect that the occurrence of the three choices will be on a larger scale. However, we are not denying the possibility of a minimal occurrence of same since it is possible to find speakers who are either bi- or even monolingual in their choice and use of language. Fasold describes the difference between code switching and variation within a single speech diversity as the Hallmark of socio-linguistics.

Ervin-Tripp (1964)

Supporting the notion stated above, Ervin Tripp (1964)[20] states, that central to the idea of language diversity within one single speaker is the notion that a speaker in any language community who enters into diverse social situations normally has a repertoire of speech alternatives which shift from one situation to another. This is true to the extent that within the so-called monolingual speech c mmunities, individuals draw from their diverse lingui tic repertoire as they choose certain codes that will suit the speech situation they find themselves in, be it a formal or informal social situation. For instance, the Englishman may choose to speak Cockney or R.P, the Frenchman may also choose between the address form 'tu' or 'vous' with a fellow Frenchman. This choice influences his choice of words and manner of speech.

Gumperz (1964a)

Gumperz (1964a) also notes the relevance of the concept of repertoire to the phenomenon of speech and describes their characteristics and functions as follows:

> The structure of verbal repertoire...
> differs from verbal ordinary descriptive

> grammars. It includes a much greater number of alternants reflecting contextual and social differences in speech... speakers choose among this arsenal in accordance with the meanings they wish to convey... the individual's freedom to select is always subject both to grammatical and social constraints...21

As Gumperz' statement suggest speakers have a range of languages (or alternants) from which they choose and use depending on the 'grammatical and social constraints' they are faced with. But as Bernstein (1962) notes there are differences between speakers in the structure of their linguistic repertoire as no two speakers speak exactly alike. Some people are likely to have a better command or competence of a language or languages than others.

Basil Bernstein (1962)

Bernstein (1962) in his controversial studies in Britain, claims that the working class is confined more or less to a 'restricted' code of language usuage. The middle class, on the other hand, possesses in addition to the restricted code, an 'elaborated' code which is used for the conveyance of information about personal intentions and feelings. More important is the notion that the user of the elaborated code rather than the restricted code will 'through verbal planning modify his

speech in relation to the specific requirement of his listener.[22]

However, this line of argument has been disproved by the findings of Lawton (1965); Robinson (1965); Hendersen (1969), who also claim that there is some evidence to suggest that the working class person, can under appropriate circumstances produce an elaborated code.

The notion of 'elaborated' and 'restricted' codes are tied up with the question of language and social identity. On the university campus, for instance, speakers can be identified and classified according to the variety of the English language they speak. These varieties form a continuum on a scale which range from the 'Standard English', Nigerian English', 'Pidgin' and 'broken' or 'non-standard' English.

Even though we can identify the cleaner, the lecturer, the student, etc by the kind of English they speak, we can hypothesize as Blom and Gumperz (1972)[23] have done; that they can still switch codes when topics appropriate to the local or border identities respectively are discussed. In other words, speakers have various codes which they use for academic purposes (or among fellow elites) and those they revert to when they meet their local friends, relatives or families at home.

Blom and Gumperz also note that when an argument requires that a speaker validates his status as an intellectual, he is quite likely to switch to the standard (style-shift) forms that symbolize that status. For instance, it would have been ridiculous if the Vice Chancellor had given this 25th anniversary convocation speech in 'broken' (non-standard) English. Thus, they conclude that code selection rules are similar to grammatical rules, in the sense that both operate below the level of consciousness, and may even be independent of the speaker's intention. This point is an important one, because even though it is not possible to have absolute knowledge on how the mind works, we have observed that the switch from one code to another within a conversation is so swift tha one can hardly explain when or how the change takes place.

Nevertheless, the code which is necessary in communication has to be comprehended by the decoder before any meaningful interaction can take place. Code switching or mixing will, therefore, be useless if the decoder does not understand or share the same language or culture with the interlocutor.

Salim (1984) defines a code as any organized sign-system that forms the medium of message content transfer.[24] So, for effective communication both speakers must not

only share the same culture, but also understand the grammar of the code being used.

Labov (1963)

Another way by which language and social identity can be related is through the speakers' attitude as exemplified by Labov (1963) in his studies in Martha's Vineyard. He discovers that some people's attitudes reflect in the way they use language. For instance, Labov correlates the centralization of dipthongs with such things as age level, occupation, ethnic group and geography, but in the end the key to the centralization of the diphthongs was the attitude of the speakers toward the Island.[25]

In a similar attitudinal study carried out among Cameroonian French and English speakers, Constable (1976) discovers that some people learn English only because they need it to get better jobs, and some French to enable them gain admission into the University in the French speaking bilingual university.[26] This, to some extent, is true of some of our speakers in the university speech community who learn or even use a language other than their mother tongue only when they hope to achieve something. For instance, some students study English

purposely to pass their (GCE) exams and others for reasons best known to them.

One other important perspective of the study of language behaviour is in its social setting/or context of situation. Language as a whole does not exist in a vacuum. And as we have earlier on mentioned single words as those cited (p. 50) do not in themselves make any meaning unless they are used in a context of situation. Language is utilized in a given context and from that context meaning is derived. Firth (1958) says that:

> The complete meaning of a word is always contextual and no study of meaning apart from a complete context can be taken seriously...[27]

He further adds, that the central concept of semantics is the context of situation. And, in that context are the human participants and what is going on. His views are similar to those of his tutor Malinowsky, who is considered one of the pioneers of the study of language in its social context. Firth differs, however, in his idea of studying language as 'systems' of relationship.

Similarly, his approach to the study of language in its social setting, Labov (1966), discovers that people 'shift' their style of speaking to suit the topic, setting and person they are talking to. He also observes that people revert to the vernacular whenever they want to discuss informal/personal issues. Here,

vernacular for our subjects is any other language apart from English.

In contrast, Weinreich (1953), stresses the importance of the psychological and socio-cultural setting of language contact; especially, in bilingual (multilingual) situation/setting. In his words:

> the linguist who makes theories about language influence but neglects to account for the socio-cultural setting of the language contact leaves his study suspended, as it were in the air...[28]

Even though Weinreich is concerned with the causes of interference between two languages in contact, it is relevant to our study because we believe that it is the need to communicate which brings about bilingualism or multilingualism. The bilingual or multilingual speaker is influenced by his environment and the social factors which determine when he should use one language rather than (or in addition to) another to express his meaning potential.

Weinreich has shown that languages (cultures) are bound to influence each other when they come into contact. Eventually, one language becomes either dominant or is assimilated, as in the case of a foreign language (for example, English).

Sapir-Whorf (1956)

The study of language in its cultural setting is today closely associated with the work of Whorf and Sapir through their well know hypothesis on the relationship between language and cultural environment.[29] They claim that language determines culture. In other words, that a people's world view or reality is shaped by their language. Put in another way, it implies that all the cultural symbols in language work together to explain a people's world view.

Although Sapir and Whorf are not the originators of this idea, they have helped to capture the relationship between language and culture more precisely - that is, they have only captured a general phenomenon in simple terms. However, this hypothesis (commonly called the Sapir-Worf hypothesis) has come under criticism from such notable sociolinguists as Dell Hymes. As he puts it, Whorf's linguistic relativity though obviously operative at the inter-lingual level, also has to do with the differences that exist between individual speakers in a specific speech community.

Dell Hymes

Hymes rightly observes that people do not all use language in the same way in different situations; some

people focus on language more than others. And, such differences in the use of lang age cannot be overlooked on the depth of a language's influence on such things as world-view. Hymes thus proposes an analytical framework which he calls the 'ethnography of communication' which encompases such notions as those of 'speech community', 'Speech Act' and 'fluent speaker'.[30]

Furthermore, he advocates the study of the social and cultural norms of a people in relation to the study of their use of language. He also emphasises the need to study language use in a speech community. In this regard, our study of speech within a given speech community (ABU) with its appendant socio-cultural constraints on the speakers can be seen to be justified.

Hymes further maintains that capability in language use often varies with speech event, and with the type of participants involved as well as channels. It also includes the values and beliefs of participants. This view buttresses our view that competency in language use varies according to person, topic, and speech situation.

Funsho Akere (1978)

Socio-cultural factors rather than enhance the use of language, on the contrary, can often deter its

emergence in a multilingual/multicultural society. This view is held by Akere (1978)[31] who examines the extent to which socio-cultural features, in addition to purely linguistic problems, influence or constrain the emergence of a Standard Nigerian English. He gives consideration to culture-specific features such as kinship terms and their usage, greetings, forms of address and the system of difference, social expectation, ethos, and value orientations, the patterns of conceptualization as they affect the usage of English in Nigeria.

According to Akere, several sociolinguistically oriented studies in language variation in recent years have shown that the picture of a language as a uniform invariable, an unchanging phenomenon has given way to one of considerable heterogeneity within the context of its use. The English language, he maintains, clearly exhibits this trait in its native-speaker and non-native speaker communicative environments.

Akere then concludes that since English is used for multifarious functions in Nigeria, the multilingual/multi-ethnic composition of the Nigerian community requires a Lingua Franca for the purpose of inter-ethnic communication and understanding. The introduction of English appropriately solves this problem at least for an important section of the population.

There is no gain-saying the fact that English is used for multiple purposes in Nigeria. For instance, in institutions of learning from the primary to the university, the multi-ethnic nature of their composition (ABU provides a good example) requires that students interact with their teachers in English. Thus, it becomes a common medium of expression among the various sub-cultures that converge in such institutions. On the contrary, however, our findings have shown that people use other languages in addition to English to communicate in the various speech domains they happen to be; except, perhaps in very few cases where English is the only means they can use because of linguistic differences.

The findings made in the preceding statement raise the question as to whether English is adequate in meeting the various communicative/interpersonal demands made upon it in a multilingual community. We shall, therefore, endeavour to examine the functional use of English vis-a-vis those other languages used on the campus.

On the whole, one would say that the various works reviewed about language (especially language choice and use) have a bearing on our own study to the extent that each touches on an aspect of what we have set out to investigate - that is, language choice and use in a

multilingual community. Although some do not seem to have a direct relation to our work, especially the early studies on variation in linguistic features like, Fischer's (1958); Labov's (1966); Trudgill's (1974); and so on, some especially those on Language Choice/Use by Adekunle (1978); Madaki (1981a); Fasold's (1984) on Code-switching, code-mixing, intra-lingual shift (style shift); Language Use in socio-cultural setting by Akere (1978); among others are relevant to our study. Hence, much as we disagree with some of Fischer's findings presented, for instance, we do agree with some of Adekunle's findings which we can readily identify with our situation here.

In the present study we have used the following parameters to determine the degree and frequency of language choice and use in a multilingual community like ABU: "social status", "age", "sex", "topic", and the "social situation." These are convenient because they seem to explain more explicitly the motives (meaning intention) of speakers and their reasons for choosing and using some languages over others at given times or social situations.

We shall highlight the phenomenon of code-switching as an important aspect of language choice and use in the university speech community. We see this phenomenon as encompassing the other two: code-mixing and style-

shifting. More importantly, we see it as the fundamental base upon which language choice and use in a multilingual setting like the one under study rests. It also helps in explaining why speakers vary in their choice and use of language because of the availability of two or more languages which they can readily use.

Theoretical Framework

2.2. Introduction

There is yet no concensus on the best approach to the study of speech. Different schools of thought have proposed different methods. In one view speech can be studied in relation to social stratification of the society. In another, language use is a social psychological phenomenon. While in yet another, speech can be studied from an anthropological perspective. These represent three major approaches namely;

the sociological approach, the social psychological approach, and the anthropological approach

Each of these will be examined in the rest of this chapter in order to assess their relevance to this study As do most theoretical formulations, this study is intended to summarize and synthesize the data, literature and experience that is presently known to us. It is

hoped that this will serve as a point of departure for subsequent empirical and theoretical efforts, many of which will undoubtedly necessitate the revision, refinement of parameters here suggested.

2.2.1 The Sociological Approach

The sociological approach to the study of language was introduced by Joshua Fishman (1964, 1965, 1968). It studies the interaction between two aspects of human behaviour: 'use of language' and the 'social organization of behaviour.' It is concerned with the entire range of topics related to the social organization of language behaviour, including not only language usage per se but also language attitudes, overt behaviour toward language and language users.

2.2.2. Domains and Topics

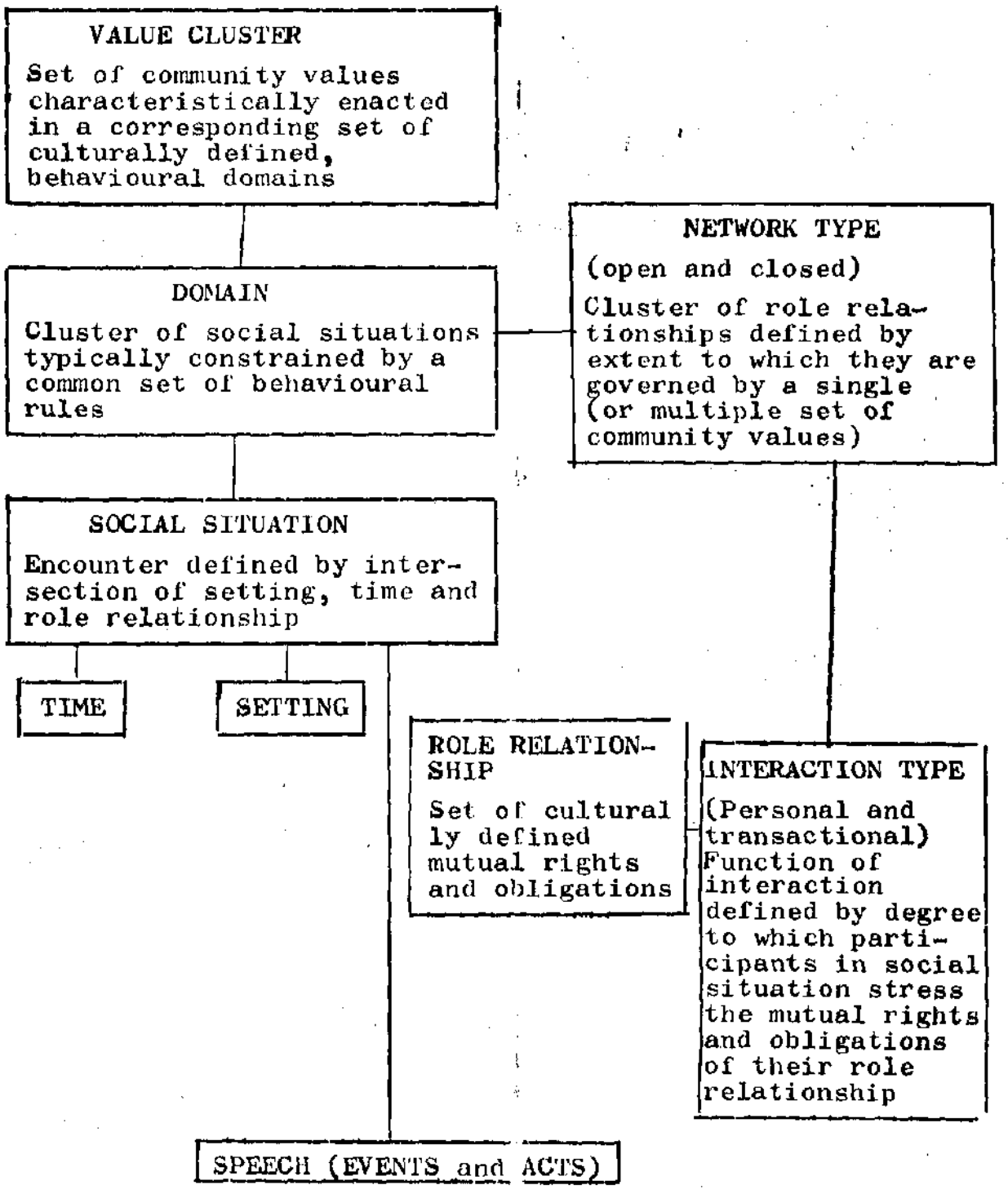
Fishman's (1972) 'domain analysis' is representative of the theories from the sociology of language. Fishman attempts to show the correlation between physical setting, social context with language choice by asking the questions who speaks what language to whom when and why? In his domain analysis he uses the following socio-linguistic parameters: topic, interlocutor and spatio-

temporal setting or domains. By domain, Fishman means "institutional contexts" in which one language variety is more likely to be appropriate than another. This is is referred to as congruent and incongruent social situation of language use. Domains are related to"wide spread sociocultural norms and expectations". Domains could also be seen as "socio-cultural construct" taken from topics of communication, relationships between interlocutors and communication milieu, in accordance with the societal institutions and the "spheres of activity of a speech community."

According to Fishman the concept of domain is useful for both description and explanation of the distribution of means of communication. Domains are particularly useful constructs for the macrolevel (i.e community-wide) functional description of societally patterned variation in "talk" within large and complex diglossic speech communities.[32]

Fishman uses Cooper's (1967) schema to show the relationship among some constructs employed in socio-linguistic analysis. The diagram is shown below:

Relationships Among Some Constructs Employed in Sociolinguistic Analysis



A typical domain, for example, using the above schema, would be the family domain. If a speaker is at home talking to another member of his family about an everyday topic, that speaker is said to be in the family domain. This implies that the speaker assumes a different role relationship due to the shift or change in the social situation. His speech will be constrained by the interaction type - personal in this case.

According to Saville-Troike (1982), factors which determine domain may include the general subject area under discussion (e.g. religion, family, work, plus education and friendship in our own case), the role relationships between the participants (e.g. priest-parishioner, mother-daughter, boss-secretary), and the setting of the interaction (e.g church, home, office plus class premises, hostel, club, market also in our case).

As Saville-Troike (1982:53) rightly points out, no fixed set of domains can be posited a priori for all speech communities, since the set of activities which will constitute a cluster of purpose, role-relations, and setting will be culture specific. Just as there is no fixed set of domains, so also are there no fixed levels of focus, as has been proven to be salient in different speech communities: for example, social -

institutional (family, school, church, government) versus social-psychological (intimate, informal, formal, intergroup). These levels tend to coincide (family with intimate, for example, and church with formal).

Other studies which use domain analysis include those of Greenfield (1972). Greenfield discovers that certain domains employ the use of one code rather than another. For instance, Spanish is used in official, formal setting and to discuss technical topics. Similarly, Lausa (1975) studies the use of Spanish and English among children in the United States. Parasher (1980) also explicates this theory with educated Indians, using seven domains on a 5-point scale. And, Amuda (1986) also uses domain analysis in his study of code-switching among the Yoruba-English bilinguals in Oyo State of Nigeria.[34]

Fishman (1972) observes that two bilinguals who speak to each other primarily in X language nevertheless switch to Y language or vacillate more noticeably between X and Y, when discussing certain topics. Topics, according to Fishman, regulate language, especially in code-switching with the implication that certain topics lend themselves more readily to one language rather than the other. This is true for some of our subjects. The factors responsible for this phenomenon may be:

(a) the language used for training

(b) the interlocutors may lack the specialized terms for a satisfactory discussion.

(c) language X may lack the terms for handling topic Y, and

(d) it may be considered inappropriate to discuss topic X in language Y.

Gumperz and Blom (1972) suggest that habitual language choice is something far from being a random matter of momentary inclinatio . Gumperz et al note that proper language use dictates that only one of the co-available languages or varieties will be chosen by particular classes of interlocutors on particular kinds of occasions to discuss particular kinds of topics. This relates to diglossic situations, (one other concept in Fishman's theory) and to code-switching specifically.

Wardhaugh (1986) emphasises "interlocutors" as described by Fishman, in his concept of "negotiation in conversation." In the choice and use of a language, it is observed that a speaker needs to know some basic information about the socio-cultural background of his interlocutor. Language is therefore, used by people to "locate themselves in a multidimensional 'social place."

Fishman, (1975) also examines an interaction between a 'Boss' and his 'Secretary' to exemplify micro and macro-levels of sociolinguistic analysis. This seems to have

some relevance to our study because it helps, in a way, to explain the bi- or multilingual speech behaviour of some speakers in our community especially with regard to their motivations for code-switching. Some of the social determinants for language choice and use given by some speakers correspond to Fishman's concepts of 'interlocutors', 'role-relationships', the 'social situation (cogruent and incongruent) as well as 'domains' discussed above.

Fishman uses a sample conversation in English and Spanish to explain internal variation in speech in bilingual code-switching situations. He then concludes that no speaker speaks the same way - that is, there are variations within an individual's use of speech. For instance, an individual may change his speech to suit the person, topic or social situation - formal or informal Bilingual code-switching is also seen to be often more noticeable than other kinds of sociolinguistic variation. The concepts and findings that derive from such investigations may be provocative and illuminating for sociolinguistics more generally (Fishman, 1975: 40).

Another parameter which Fishman (1975) examines that we find relevant to our work is "role relationships." Any two interlocutors within a speech community

(especially a given speaking network within a speech community) must recognise the role relationships that exists between them at any particular time. Such recognition, Fishman argues, is part of the communality of norms and behaviour upon which the existence of speech communities depends.

Role relationships are, according to Fishman, implicitly recognized and accepted sets of mutual rights and obligations between members of the same socio-cultural system. Appropriate variation, then, is one of the ways in which members reveal such common membership to each other in their manner of speech as well as the recognition of the rights and obligations that they owe toward each other. This, of course, may include appropriate non-variation (ibid).

This observation is also true of some of our subjects who indicate that they choose and use language according to the interpersonal relationship which exists between them and their interlocutors.

Fishman states that the role relationship between a shopkeeper-customer may vary - that is, they may also interact with each other as friends, as relatives, as members of the same political party, etc whereas kings and their subjects (in the same speech community) may not experience a similar degree of role range, access,

and fluidity vis-a-vis each other. In other words, we can say that variation is the talk of two individuals who encounter each other as, say, shopkeeper and customer is more likely than between two individuals who encounter each other as, say, king and subject. The former interaction is personal (informal) while the latter is transactional (formal). This is because the shopkeeper and customer may also interact as friends or relatives whereas the king and his subjects may not experience such degree of role range or fluidity. This does not mean that Kings do not have friends and families with whom they interact.

This goes to show, as Fishman points out, that in part, speech acts and events are differentially permitted in various role relationships. In other words, speakers are constrained in their choice and use of language by the role relationships which exist between them and their interlocutors. Little wonder then that in the speech community under study, there is a complex network of role-relationships which determines speakers' choice and use of language and whether their interaction should be 'personal' or transactional'. Our situation is however different in the sense that some speakers are not only bi- but are multilingual in their role relationships. As such, it is possible to find a speaker who engages in various speech events using different speech codes with different interlocutors.

Another important construct for language choice and use in a sociolinguistic study is the social situation. Fishman uses this to explain why speakers may choose to be 'personal' (informal) in their interactions sometimes and at other times, 'transactional' (formal). He states that the time and place of any social interaction must be suitable for the kind of role relationship that exists between the interlocutors. He postulates three ingredients to explain his point: (the implementation of the rights and duties of a particular role relationship, in the place (locale) most appropriate or most typical for that relationship, and at the time societally defined as appropriate for that relationship), taken together, constitute a construct that has proven itself to be of great value in sociolinguistics: i.e., the social situation (Bock 1964). The idea of appropriate domain for particular speech may not always be true because people behave in strange ways atimes at times.

An example of an analysis of social situation is described by Fishman in the following table culled from Bock (1964).

"Table 3: The Social Situation (Bock, 1964)

SITUATION: "CLASS"	Time: Class Meeting
Space: Classroom	Roles: + Teacher + Pupil ± Student-Teacher

+ indicates obligatory occurrence
± indicates optional occurrence".[35]

Bock (1964) shows in his studies of Wakes on a Micmac Indian Reserve (see also Fishman, 1975: 48) that there may be various times and various places for the appropriate realization of particular role relationships. This then implies that there ma' be smaller role relationships within small ones. In addition, the language usage norms with respect to situation are likely to be most clearly and uniformly realized in avowedly congruent situations.

However, Fishman argues that some situations may not be congruent for certain role relationships, such as, lovers meeting in the office at unusual hours of the day (i.e 3 am to perform official duty). And, by incongruency he means - wrong behaviour, wrong time, or wrong place. Nonetheless, in all such instances of initial incongruency the resulting interaction - whe her sociolinguistic or otherwise - is normally far from random or chaotic. One party to the interaction, if not both, reinterprets the seeming incongruency so as to yield a congruent situation, at least phenomenologically, for that particular encounter, where one does not exist socioculturally.

We can deduce from Fishman's explanation that role-relationship may change depending on whether the social situation is congruent or not. This partly explains why some bi- or multilinguals choose to use one language at

certain times in certain social situations and another at other times in other social situations. This is the case as Fishman, Cooper and Ma (1968) find with bilingual Puerto Rican parents and their children in New York who talk to each other in Spanish at home when conversing about family matters, but speak in English to each other in the public school building. For them these are two different situations, perhaps calling for two different role relationships and requiring the utilization of two different languages or varieties.

In the example cited above, the speakers can be said to have done a "situational switch", which is evident in their sociolinguistic usage. The change is necessitated by a change in the social situation rather than by topic.

On the whole, the sociology of Language has some relevance to our work. Domain analysis, for instance can be used to explain the choice of one language rather than another. The concept and application of domain is relevant to our study because of the multilingual composition of the university as a speech community. It is, however, weak in explicating the socio-cultural determinants of language use. Fishman's domain analysis, especially in relation to diglossia does not

apply in our case; particularly, his claim that some domains are more formal than others. Fishman also maintains that in a community with diglossia, the "low" language is often selected in the family domain, whereas the "High" language will most often be used in a more formal domain; perhaps education. This may not necessarily be as rigid as it seems. On the contrary, his use of "High" and "Low" variety in diglossic situations is not true of the community under study in which English, though "High" is also used in the family domain. In this regard, Fishman's implication of diglossia in relation to domain analysis may (or may) not apply in this community where most families are either bi- or multilingual in their speech behaviour.

The sociology of language approach does not seem to be adequate in explaining some aspects of language choice and use, especially those that have to do with socio-psychological speech behaviour of speakers.

2.2.3 The Socio-Psychological Approach

The socio-psychological approach seeks to study language use at the interpersonal level. Like other sociolinguistic procedure it is concerned with an individual's choice and use of language - i.e., language behaviour - according to the interlocutor, the topic of

the discourse and the setting in which language takes place. Three theoretical models have emerged from this school of thought: Herman's (1961) theoretical model Giles' (1973) accommodation theory (both cited in Giles and Powesland 1975);[36] and Le Page's (1985)[37] multi-dimensional model.

2.2.3.1 Herman's Theoretical Model

According to Herman (1961) the factors which determine language choice in transactional situations in multilingual societies can be classified under three headings: the 'background situation', the 'personal needs system' of the speaker and the 'immediate situation'. These categories are however interrelated.

By 'background situation' Herman means the speaker's acceptance or rejection of the culturally prescribed, verbal role behaviour implicit in specific social situations. If the speaker adopts the 'appropriate' code for a particular situation, regardless of his relative language or dialect fluency, and he accepts the prevailing norms of verbal usage and the patterns of social identification they imply, the speaker's emotional involvement with a particular code (code loyalty) may cause him to use it in defiance of culturally

prescribed norms. The 'background situation' is basically the speaker's attitude (positive or negative) towards cultural norms of verbal usage.

In addition, Herman claims that the 'personal needs system' will be given priority in relatively private settings, or situations provoking tension or frustration. The speaker will select the code which satisfies his emotional needs for immediate and fluent expression irrespective of the background situation. In this regard, the bilingual speaker will not only select a code in which he is fluent, but one which helps him to best 'be himself'. The conditions under which the 'immediate situation' might assume more salience than background situation and personal needs are stated as follows:

i. the speaker is unconcerned about both culturally-prescribed verbal usage and the demands of code-loyalty.
ii. well-established patterns of verbal behaviour characterize a relationship.
iii. the behaviour is task oriented.

Herman's work has some relevance to our work, especially, his idea of the speaker's "adaptation" of the "appropriate" code for a particular situation. However, his claim that pure and mutually exclusive class-

and context related standard paradigms actually exist is highly suspect. In other words, the use of the standard form of language in specific social situations is peculiar to a certain social class. Nevertheless, Herman's model serves as a useful starting point for explaining types of shifts we have encountered.

2.2.3.2 The Accommodation Theory

Giles' (1975) "accommodation theory" is another representative of the socio-psychological approach. The assumption behind this theory is that often speakers adapt or accommodate their speech towards that of their interlocutors when social norms are in all probability not operative. Studies have shown that at least one member of an interactive dyad tends to adopt the speech patterns of the person to whom he is talking.

Giles (1973) terms such accommodative changes in social interaction "convergent" behaviour in the case of accent changes. As he hypothesises convergence, whether symmetrical or assymetrical in a dyad, may be only one aspect of a wider phenomenon of speech change. In certain social interactions there may exist dissociative motivational tendencies on the part of one or both of the members of the dyad such that speech is modified

so as to become less similar - divergence rather than convergence.

A sender might attempt to dissociate from any identification with the receiver or, more broadly from the group which the individual represents. And, if both interlocutors are similarly motivated then they may be symmetrical in their efforts towards progressive divergence. Speech divergence and convergence may then be seen as representing a strategy of conformity or identification. In other words, speakers will change their speech to suit that of their interlocutor when they converge to conform to the norms of the language of that speech community or diverge in order to distance themselves from their interlocutor. We shall take a close look at the accommodation model itself in order to assess its relevance to our study.

2.2.3.3 The Assumption Underlying the Accommodation Model

The essence of Giles' theory of accommodation lies in the social psychological research on similarity attraction. An individual can induce another to evaluate him more favourably by reducing dissimilarities between them. This is the principle upon which the process of speech accommodation operates and as such may

be a reflection of an individual's desire for social approval.

Giles' notion of a speaker seeking social approval by applying a general set of rules to accommodate others in most social situations is similar to what Fielding (1972) cited in Giles and Powesland (1975) terms conversation rule for response matching, in that if a speaker desires a rewarding or favourable interaction he finds it advantageous to accommodate his speech style towards that of his interlocutor.

This accommodation set according to Giles is not unresponsive to possible contrary demands of the speech situation. In other words, a speaker may not necessarily wish to seek or achieve social approval by applying or conforming to the conversation rules but because he cannot do otherwise - the social situation forces him to respond in that particular manner. But the receiver's approval does not necessarily imply liking for the sender - just as an employer's approval of a man as suitable for employment, does not necessarily imply liking for him. Accommodation through speech can be regarded as an attempt on the part of the speaker to modify or disguise his persona in order to make it more acceptable to the person addressed. According to Fielding, the receiver may not necessarily be conscious of the speaker's rationale:

A wishes to gain B's approval

A then

(1) samples B's speech and

i. draws inferences as to the personality characteristics of B (or at least the characteristics which B wishes to project as being his)

ii. assumes that B values and approves of such characteristics

iii. assumes that B will approve of him (A) to the extent that he (A) displays similar characteristics.

(2) chooses from his speech repertoire patterns of speech which project characteristics of which B is assumed to approve.

In analysing the dyad presented above, Giles (op cit) states that the effect of this decision process is that A produces speech similar -or at least more similar than his normal speech would be to the speech of B. This is speech convergence. If B at the same time goes through a similar process there is mutual convergence. Apart from accommodating his speech to converge, the speaker may accommodate his speech to make himself better understood. And, the more the sender reflects the receiver's own mode of accommodation the more easily his message

will be understood. In certain interaction situations the emphasis with regard to accommodation is on increasing comprehensibility whilst in others it may be on causing the sender to be perceived more favourably.

On the basis of the need for social approval, Giles hypothesises that people on a scale of need of social approval would accommodate more than those having a low need in this regard. While there may not be substantial evidence to support this, Mehrabian's (1971) study cited in Giles and Powesland (1975) shows that subjects who are highest on a measure of affiliative needs show the greatest tendency to reciprocate positive verbal and non verbal signals provided by their dyad partners. There is more substantial evidence to suggest that a person who accommodates would be perceived more favourably than one who does not. Citing Dabbs (19 9), Giles says that a person who exhibited response-matching in respect of the gestures and postures of the person with whom he was interacting was liked more than someone who did not behave in this manner.

2.2.3.4 Limitations of the Accommodation Model

There is some empirical evidence to support the

accommodation model and to suggest its relationship to the attribution theory. This not withstanding, the accommodation model is inadequate in explicating certain aspects of speech diversity. As Giles notes, a full account of speech diversity must indicate the place of accommodation in a more comprehensive schema of the choices, constraints and decisions which determine the characteristics of the speech which a person emits. In the case of approval seeking, Giles admits that the model presents some difficulties in its application to real life situation.

The application of the accommodation theory to our work is limited; limited in the sense that it can not account for speakers' socio-cultural motivations for either accommodating (converging) or non accommodating (diverging). Besides, Giles et al (1973) only set out to study speech diversity at the level of accent. The only relevant aspect of the theory to our work is the study of speech diversity which occurs in interpersonal encounters.

It would however be true to say that in a multi-lingual community speakers would converge or diverge depending on their motivation, whether to seek social approval or for comprehensibility; or when they want to show ethnic solidarity or maintain social

distance; especially where a third person is involved. Speakers would choose a language or variety to suit the interlocutor, topic and social situation in which speech occurs.

2.2.4 The Multidimensional Model (Acts of Identity)

A recent and a more dynamic model in the study of speech diversity which belongs to the socio-psychological approach is Le Page's (1985)[38] multidimensional model. In his study of the 'idiolect', as opposed to 'sociolect', Le Page comes up with a model which attempts to explicate an individual's use of speech as "acts of identity." Similar to Gile's (1975) accommodation model, Le Page's model seeks to show the individual as assuming different identities which explain the variation in his speech. In his projection, focussing or diffusion he identifies with or disociates himself from his interlocutor or a social group.

In his Belize studies, Le Page uses the multi-dimensional model to accommodate the 'acts of identity' of his subjects and as a framework of analysis, having earlier on used the linear continuium to analyze his liguistic data on samples collected from Belize and

St Lucia and found it inadequate. And, although Le Page advocates the study of the idiolect, he admits that: a major cornerstone in their general theory is, that "all utterances are affected by the audience, the topic and the setting'. This is a modification of their earlier hypothesis (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller). The individual, he states;

> Creates for himself the pattern of his linguistic behaviour so as to resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he wishes to be identified, or so as to be unlike those from whom he wishes to be distinguished (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985: 181).[39]

However, Le Page recognises that the individual is constrained in his use of speech as he tries to identify or be distinguished. Le Page postulates 3 riders to explain the constraints upon the individual's ability to create these patterns. These are: Projection, focussing and diffusion.

Within the general theory he propounds, speech acts are acts of projection:

> the speaker is projecting his inner universe, implicitly with the invitation to others to share it, at least in so far as they recognise his language as an accurate symbolization of the world, and to share his attitude towards it.[40]

Le Page seems to be saying that a speaker expresses himself by means of verbalization and hopes that his

interlocutor shares his world-view. If he does, his speech behaviour is reinforced and he identifies with the receiver, if not, he dissociates himself from the receiver. This is similar to Neil Skinner's model of motivation in psychology where rewarded actions are reinforced which enhances learning and punished actions are dropped.

Le Page concludes, that we may speak of focussed and diffuse, or non-focussed, linguistic systems both, in individuals and in groups, with each individual's knowledge of the system of his groups the lynch-pin upon which the shared concept of communal languages or varieties turns. This statement underscores the significance of a shared socio-cultural background in the choice and use of language within a speech community. In other words, to be able to project one-self and focus on a linguistic group, a speaker has to have a common cultural and linguistic background with his interlocutor(s) to enhance effective communication.

Le Page further categorises the constraints upon the individual's acts of identity into four. The individual can only behave according to the behavioural patterns of groups he finds desirable to identify with to the extent that:

i. he can identify the groups

ii. he has both adequate access to the groups and ability to analyse their behavioural patterns

iii. the motivation to join the groups is sufficiently powerful, and is either reinforced or reversed by feedback from the groups

iv. he has the ability to modify his behaviour.

In explaining point (1) above, Le Page uses the family as the most easily identifiable group for a child, Who, for example, is learning 'language' in contrast with the less familiar world. But even with the family of two parents and one child, there are four possible discernable groups for the child each of which may be - in a multilingual household which is true in almost cases - linguistically differentiated: Mummy and me; Daddy and me; Mummy and Daddy; all three of us. And, the vaguest group he describes for most people is "they", a group to which it is easy to ascribe bad attributes but perhaps difficult to clothe with precise linguistic characteristics.

As shown in the case of his Belizean informants, it is no longer easy to identify a pure "Belizean" due perhaps to inter-ethnic marriages between the diverse linguistic groups that come to settle in the former British Honduras colony.

With regard to the second constraint, Le Page says that due to the poor communication networks, there is close daily interaction within towns and villages but not between them. Apparent differences in capacity to cope with more than one language-system in multilingual situations are more likely to stem from differences of access and, from differences of motivation rather than differences of capacity. In other words, both rural and urban speakers are equally linguistically endowed.

The Third and by far the most important constraint governing linguistic behaviour, according to Le Page, is the positive or negative motivation to identify with groups. In this regard, he says, the individual has the greatest appearance of "choices". Even in highly focussed monolingual communities, where choices seem to be limited, there are always linguistic changes in progress, and it is possible for the individual to adopt or not to adopt these changes, to practise identification with some, and distance himself from other, percieved groups. In such communities the changes are socially marked, being innovations associated with particular social, economic, regional, age, sex, political, religious or cultural groups.

On the other hand, in multilingual communities as those of Belize and St Lucia, or among West Indian or

other immigrant communities in Britain, motivation governing choice over the adoption of one rule-system or another is far more clearly apparent.

According to Le Page a speaker may adopt the supposed rules of those groups he percieves to be socially desirable, to the extent that he wishes to be identified with them. However, motivation is usually mixed, because an individual may use different speech forms for different purposes.

The motivation governing choice is reflected in listening and understanding as well as in speaking. Le Page cites an instance of the phenomenon of hearers refusing to acknowledge that they can understand the speech of those they disapprove and with whom they do not wish to be identified.

Also, citing Milroy (1980: 15) he states that very often motivation appears to affect single linguistic feature and to operate in a quite complex way within a community. One of the important findings of Milroy's study is to underline the fact of vernacular as well as more standard, norms of loyalty, to the focussed usage of very local groups, a loyalty which can be demonstrated by the use of particular variants of the variables needed to describe the usage of the larger community in grosser terms.[11]

The fourth constraint, according to Le Page, is normally interpreted in terms of age. Piaget's terms of "assimilation" and "accommodation" are used to explain the relationship between the new information or fresh linguistic data one learns and the already existing models in the mind of the percipient. For example, it is noted that children generally have far less difficulty in accommodating, in building new models for fresh data than adults who need a stronger motivation in order to construct a whole new system - that is, to learn a new language.

On the whole, Le Page tries to formulate a general theory of how linguistic performance - what people actually say, is related on the one hand to their competence. In other words, the systems they have built up which motivates what they say and which they use to project their view of themselves in relation to the universe in which they feel they live and the social structures it contains. And on the other hand, to the stereotypes and abstractions and idealised models which both linguists and non linguists have about "languages" and about "speech or language communities." In the bid to show how languages relate to each other in the different communities, Le Page propounds the multidimensional model which he believes will enable a general

theory of linguistic evolution to subsume all known facts about various language communities, and problems which are highlighted in Pidgin and Creole-speaking societies but inherent in all linguistic studies.

The process of projection, of focussing or diffusion, he claims, are very similar for all kinds of social behaviour through which we define ourselves, and a similar model is needed for social behaviour of all kinds including language. However, language has the extra dimension in that we can symbolize in a coded way all the other concepts which we use to define ourselves and our society. In language, we are offered, by the society we enter, and we offer to others, a very overt symbolization of ourselves and of our universe, not only in the grammar and lexicon and prosodies we can create for various domains of that universe, but also through the social marking which each occasion of use carries. In other words, language is not only itself the focal centre of our acts of identity, it also consists of metaphors, and our focussing of it is around such metaphors and symbols. Le Page then concludes that words do not only refer to "things" in the real world"; they are used with reference to concepts in the mind of the user; the symbols being means by which we define ourselves and others.

The three theories examined in the socio-psychological approach all show that the speaker sometimes varies his language to identify with his interlocutor by converging or to maintain social distance by diverging in his speech. However, more commonly, the theories are more interested in the speaker's psychological make-up than in societal norms. These theories have been found to search for individual motivations rather than societal structures. Socio-psychological research on language choice and use is therefore person-centred rather than society-centred.

We find just as Olaoye (1990) does, that in applying these theories to our data speakers would choose and use a language to accommodate and to appeal to ethnicity as well as to express themselves better in the chosen language; especially when they switch code. Any theory, therefore, on language choice and use which underplays the importance of the society is inadequate. Since speech is a social behaviour and it is influenced by the social norms, language choice and use is also governed by the same societal rule of discourse. A socio-psychological theory thus seems inadequate in its application because it is mentalistic.

Nonetheless, it has helped to some extent, in explicating speakers motivations for choosing and using

a language in a multilingual community like the one under study. However, a behaviourist theory as Olaoye suggests, seems to hold more promise because language is an overt linguistic behaviour.

2.2.5 The Anthropological Approach

The anthropological approach differs from the sociological and social-psychological approaches. Whereas socio-psychology is concerned with language choice from the perspective of the individual (idiolect) in his dealing with the structure of his society, sociology tries to explain language use in terms of "abstract social constructs". The anthropological approach seeks to analyse aspects in which language functions in society much more directly. In other words, anthropologists focus on the values of a socio-cultural group, and the cultural rules of behaviour that typify these values. In this regard, the speaker's psychological needs are not paramount. The anthropologists are interested in the minute analysis of particular interactions such as code-mixing, variation studies and large-scale code switches (see Olaoye, 1990: 9), etc.

2.2.5.1 Assumptions underlying the Anthropological Approach

The premises on which this approach lies are basically three. For purposes of grammatical description, it is assumed that language has three basic dimensions (Margaret Berry, 1975: 104-140).[42] These are:

(a) Situational
(b) Formal (or lexico-grammatical)
(c) Substantial.

The situational dimension deals with the social or cultural environment within which language is used. The formal deals with the way in which speech sounds and written words are combined to form meaningful discourse, while the substantial is concerned with the actual speech sounds and graphic symbols that are used in speaking and writing language. Each of these is further subdivided (see Gomwalk, 1985 for details).

The anthropological approach emphasises the situational dimension and further recognises a number of interwoven phases that link the basic dimensions together. These are:

(a) Speech Situation
(b) Speech Event
(c) Speech Act.

2.2.5.2 The Speech Situation

The speech situation serves as the wider context in

which language takes place - that is the general setting where language is used e.g. a party/conference. This is linked with the speech event, usually an identifiable or narrower speech context which is within the wider speech situation, for example, a conversation between two friends at the party or colleagues at the conference. And, the speech act is the actual manifestation of language in both the speech event and the speech situation, for example, to persuade, command, suggest, advice, etc.

Components of the Speech Situation

In the anthropological approach, the speech situation is analyzed by the use of the following taxonomy:

(1) The participants - i.e the interlocutors
(2) The message - conveyed from sender
listener
(3) The setting - context of interaction
(4) The channel - written or spoken
(5) The different forms of speech and registers.

Components of the Speech Event

The speech event is the specific circumstances of speech use as in a lecture or a discussion on politics or an intimate talk between a lecturer and a student; a politician and politician; a friend and a friend; respectively. Here, the interpersonal relationship between the interlocutors is important.

Components of the Speech Act

The speech act is composed of a sender and a receiver, a channel and a message. The success of the speech act therefore, depends on the effective manipulation of these components.

2.2.5.3 The Ethnography of Communication

As already mentioned, the anthropological approach, utilizes the situational dimension; a brief sketch of which we have given above. Proponents of this approach emphasise the study of language within a socio-cultural context. In other words for any meaningful language study to be done, the investigator must understand the social and cultural factors that influence language use by a particular speech community. It is argued that there are no fixed characteristics - that is, every socieity uses language according to the socio-cultural norms of that society. The manner in which a person from one socio-cultural background speaks differs from another.

In this field, therefore, the attention of the investigator should be the sum total socio-cultural environment in which language, communication takes place within a social context. It is further argued that given a particular language, in a social context, we will

be able to detect whether the language is grammatically correct or not. This is based on the social norms of the native speakers. However, language might be grammatically correct but socially inappropriate as Hymes (1974) argues in his concept of 'communicative competence.[43]

2.2.5.3.1 On Communicative Competence[44]

According to Hymes (1972), ethnography of communication is the study of what an average speaker of a language knows about his language beyond his inherent mastery of the grammatical construction. In other words, his communicative competence - that is the knowledge which a foreigner must possess for him to be able to participate not only effectively but also appropriately.[45] Hymes' notion of communicative competence is a modification of Chomsky's (1965) theory of 'Competence' and 'Performance' which asserts that linguistic theory must be based on the competence of 'an ideal speaker-listener in a completely homogenous speech community'.[46] Contrary to this claim, Hymes emphasises the use of grammatical utterances in the appropriate social situation. One of the limitations of Chomsky's theory is that no such homogenous speech community exists and an ideal speaker-listener is only an illusionary linguistic monster who might exist

incidentally in a social world. Hymes advocates grammaticality as well as appropriateness, hence, his concept of communicative competence. He proposes a sociolinguistic theory called the Ethnography of Speaking which aims at explaining the communicative competence of a speaker in a speech community.

2.2.5.3.2 The Ethnography of Speaking

The ethnography of speaking is an area in socio-linguistics that is concerned with details of language in actual use. Hymes (cited in Ardener, 1971)[48] defines the term ethnography of speaking as a "theory of speech as a system of cultural behaviour; a system not necessarily exotic, but necessarily concerned with the organization of diversity (Ardener, 1971: 51)." In other words, we can say a speaker's use of language (speech events) is constrained by the specific socio-cultural norms/values which govern his language behaviour in the speech community in which he exists. On the basis of this, Hymes (op cit), advocates a functional study of 'speech events' which he conceives as being complementary to the study of linguistic structure - viz the rules for appropriate selection,

of speakers; the interaction of speakers, addressee, audience, topic, channel and setting and the ways in which the speakers draw upon the resources of their language to perform certain tasks. Here, Hymes' concept of communicative competence serves as a bridge between what is usually put into ethnography and what is usually put into grammar.

Hymes, (1974) further proposes an ethnographic framework which takes into account the various factors that are involved in speaking. An ethnography of a communicative event is accordingly a description of all the factors that are relevant to understanding how it is that a particular communicative event achieves its aims. He then uses the acronym "SPEAKING", for the various factors he deems to be relevant in communication:

S = The setting or scene: This refers to the temporal-spatial domain of language use, i.e., the psycho-physical circumstances in which speech takes place. Setting also refers to concrete physical circumstances in which speech is used. Scene refers to abstract psychological setting, or the cultural definition of the occasion.

P = Participants: This refers to the interlocutors otherwise known as the speaker-listener,

= addresser-addressee, or sender-receiver, who generally perform certain socially specified roles.

E = Ends: These are the conventionally recognized and expected outcomes of an exchange as well as to the personal goals participants seek to accomplish in particular speech events. Ends relate to the social motivations for variation in language choice, switching and mixing.

A = Act sequence: This refers to the actual form and content of what is said: the precise words used, how they are used, the relationship of what is said to the actual topic being discussed. This is also known as conversation or discourse.

K = Key: The key refers to the tone, manner or spirit in which a particular message is conveyed: whether light-hearted, serious, precise, pedantic, mocking, sarcastic, pompous, humorous, laconic, perjorative, etc.

I = Instrumentalities: This refers to the choice of channel/mode e.g. oral or written, and the actual forms of speech employed, e.g. language, dialect, codes, register, formal legal language, code-switching, code-mixing.

N = Norms of interaction and interpretation: These refer to the specific behaviours and properties that attach to speaking and also to how these may be viewed by someone who does not share these norms. Norms pertain to the culture of speaking. For instance, the use of tone, paralinguistic devices, and so on.

G = Genre: This final term refers to clearly demarcated types of utterance such as: proverbs, wise-sayings, adages, riddles, poems, songs, sermons, prayers, lectures, talks, and so on. (Dell Hymes, 1974)[49]

The ethnography of speaking unlike other linguistic theories, provides a basis for the study and understanding of how language is used in interactional situations. And, the ethnography of communication as a whole covers areas such as linguistics, psychology, sociology, ethnology, anthropology - all of which provide a fresh insight into data on language use, including code-switching or code-mixing in different contexts of situation. In addition, it investigates the communicative activities of the speech community as a whole. (see also Abdulkadir, 1988)[50]

The type of linguistics that can contribute to the ethnography of communication is what is known as socio-linguistics. The task of sociolinguistic analysis is to specify the interrelationship of such variables in

speech events characteristic of particular social groups as shown in Labov's (1966) work. Hymes suggests that this type of sociolinguistics contributes to the general study of communication through the study of the organization of verbal means and the ends they serve.

We will attempt to apply one of such sociolinguistic rules - Hymes' (1974) ethnography of speaking/ communication to our work later to explain ethnography of speaking/communication in relation to language choice and use in the multilingual community under study using the situational dimension.

The situational dimension is relevant to our study because it helps us determine whether or not language is rule governed or not and to show whether or not speakers observe the sociolinguistic rules of speaking in their normal conversations in a multilingual community. For instance, when we applied the concept on a series of tape-recorded conversations (see Appendix for details, we observed that the speech situation is an informal one. The subject matter is both general and specific; while the wider social situation can be described as a socio-economic one.

The concept of the situational dimension also helps in establishing the setting of the conversations - that is, outside the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (FASS) ABU Zaria. In this case, the setting is physical,

but there are some metaphorical shifts. For example, the change within topic two suggests that speakers (c) and (D) might have been discussing a topic which incidentally is related to the present topic of discourse before speaker (B) introduces or initiates the topic afresh.

The situational dimension also helps us to identify the interlocutors in the sample conversations. These include lecturers and students In addition, it also shows how ends are achieved by the interlocutors. For example, we can infer that Speaker (A) wishes to record natural speech around the campus; hence, initiates the conversation by greeting Speaker (B). Speaker (B) wishes to get a houseboy; hence, reminds Speaker (D) of his request, etc. Their social motivations for (1) language choice - i.e Hausa and English (2) code-switching and mixing between Hausa and English shows that they are not only bi-lingual but it can be said to be for a better discussion and understanding of the message.

Of most relevance to our study in the concept of the situational dimension, is the observance of norms of interaction and interpretation by the interlocutors. In our sample speech situation, the speech behaviour of the speakers is heavily laden with the Hausa culture. The interlocutors share a common cultural and linguistic

background: Hausa. They observe the norms pertaining to the culture of speaking in Hausa. Such norms include the use of appropriate address form like "Mallam" or "Malama" (1) to show sex differentiation; and (2) to a person with whom you are not on First Name (FN) terms. It is also used as an occupational title which is sometimes used as a sign of respect for an interlocutor. In addition, paralinguistic devices are used in form of gestures like the handshake to express a social behaviour like greeting, to show surprise, and so on.

From the above rendition, the ethnography of speaking seems to be adequate in describing speech events in their socio-cultural contexts, but it does not cater for complex speech events such as the ones we have sampled. We are therefore faced with the problem of analyzing speech events - that is, overlaps in natural speech in the same discourse. This notwithstanding, the ethnography of speaking provides us with a more concrete tool for the description of sociolinguistic data. The approach enables us to gain insight into the nature of conversation. As rightly observed by Frank (1988: 12) citing conversation is not a structured product like sentence but an outcome of the interaction of two or more idependent, goal-directed individuals who often have different interests.

2.2.8 A Synthesis of the Three Approaches

In this chapter, we have considered three theoretical frameworks namely: the sociological approach; the psychological and anthropological approach; with the view to ascertaining their adequacy for a sociolinguistic description of language choice in a multilingual community. We observed that the sociological approach was suitable for the description of certain aspects of our data; especially, the domain analysis, to some extent, helps in the analysis of language choice and use in the family domain. In addition, the approach helps in explaining role-relationships between interlocutors in social situations in which language is used. The socio-psychological approach on the other hand, helps in explaining the psycho-social motivations for speakers' choice and use of language. In other words, it helps to throw light on speakers' attitude towards their interlocutors and why they vary their speech use to either accommodate others' speech or not and how they project themselves to others as they try to identify with their divergent interlocutors.

The anthropological approach seems to be more concerned with the socio-cultural background of the speaker as well as the socio-cultural setting in which language is used. Like the sociological approach, it advocates the situational dimension, but emphasises such components as; the speech situation, the speech events

and the speech acts - that is, the actual manifestation of language which should not only be grammatically correct but also culturally and socially appropriate. In other words, it is not so much the competence which the speaker has of the language but his ability to use it in appropriate socio-cultural contexts - that is, in observance of the norms of speaking of the culture of the people in a particular speech community.

On the whole, the three approaches are similar in the sense that they all aim to achieve one goal - that is, formulating a sociolinguistic theory for the study of language. They, however, differ in their methodologies and in the degree and emphasis on the aspect of language they set out to study. In other words, they all aim at studying language use, but from different perspectives. In this regard, therefore each of the approaches has something to offer to our study. We shall try to illustrate this by applying the approaches a sample conversation. To do this we shall adopt an eclectic approach which is a synthesis of bits that are relevant from the approaches to our data.

2.2.9 An Eclectic Approach: Justification

As noted above, each of the approaches described has some relevance to our study. Each has something to contribute to our work for the reasons that, (1)

the study itself is based on a Whollistic approach - that is, we are looking at language choice and use from different but interrelated perspectives, for example, the sociological, psychological, anthropological etc., (2) we are also looking at the sociolinguistic phenomena of code-switching and code-mixing (as are clearly revealed in the sample speech event described in this chapter) as features of language choice and use by speakers in the university speech community; (3) we believe that for an effective study of the phenomina already mentioned, no one single approach can describe them adequately or satisfactorily.

We have, therefore, adopted an eclectic approach in the analysis of our data. An eclectic approach attempts to formulate a more general model than earlier models of sociolinguistic analysis such as the variation model, etc. We have described the model as eclectic because it combines insights from the various models reviewed: sociological, psychological, and anthropological.

We propose this model because we believe that in order to understand people's attitude towards others' language in a multilingual community like ours, their stereotypes about these people as well as their preference for certain languages over others, we need

to study their socio-psychological speech behaviour. Likewise, in order to understand why people use language the way they do, we need to study the underlying cultural differences that account for such socio-cultural diversities. This, we believe, can best be achieved through anthropological studies. And, for an effective study of language use in relation to the social structure in society with a view to formulating policies on national language; for pedagogical purposes and in terms of language standardization, especially in a multilingual community like Nigeria, the sociology of language provides a better tool for such a study.

2.2.9.1 Sample Speech Event

Topic 2:

Speaker A: Yaya, ka saman mari yaron?

/Have you found the boy for me?/

Speaker B: Wane Yaron kuma?

/What boy again?/

/Pause/

Speaker B: /to Speaker C/ Good! Sorry.

/turns to Speaker C/ Don Allah Mallam, very serious. In fact, Ibrahim, tunda Ibrahim yana zuwa, again remind me.

/Please remind me again since Ibrahim comes here often/

Speaker B: /to Speaker C/ You don't seem to understand what I'm saying.

Speaker C: A-a, it's immaterial. Kai menene role dinka?

/No, ... You, what's your role?/ What we are saying is this. How do we approach this thing?

Speaker B: Wannan ai za ka iya arranging.
easilly
/You can arrange this/ But what I don't want is all this business thing.

Speaker C: E - no problem /Yes .../

Let me + No, let me sort it out my own way. Wa za a fada ma, Ibrahim?
/Who should be told, Ibrahim?/

Speaker B: E
/Yes/

Speaker C: When I sort out this thing, I'll talk to him.

Speaker B: OK. And how soon do you think ... how soon can we get the chap ...

Speaker C: /Cuts in/ sort out this thing?

Speaker B: a.. the chap.

Speaker C: For 24 hours, because it will take me another 12 hours to convince myself to go into this thing.

Speaker A: /joins in after a long silence/ Menene? /What is it?/

Speaker B: No, wani abu ne daban.
/ - it's something different/ It has nothing to do with this, but the same guy ne zai handling abin.
/... it's the same guy/man who will handle the matter/

In analysing this speech event, we shall apply Fishman's domain analysis.

Domain analysis:

The domain of language use in this speech event is both physical and metaphorical. The setting is informal (under the tree near the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences Coffee room). This suggests a place for recreation. The choice and use of language is appropriate. In this situation, the speakers use both English and Hausa. Here, contrary to Fishman's idea that a domain is an institutional context in which one language variety is more likely to be appropriate than another, two codes are used simultaneously to discuss a single topic. This suggests that our subjects are bilingual in their speech habit. The domain can, however, be described as the school domain, but the subject of discussion is a domestic one (i.e. finding a houseboy) An example of the use of Hausa and English can be seen in the following piece of conversation:

Speaker B: No, wani abu ne daban. It has nothing to do with this, but the same guy ne zai handling abin.

Application of the socio-psychological approach using Le Page's multidimensional model (Acts of Identity).

This model shows how the individual assumes different identities which explain the variation in his

speech. The application of Le Page's three riders - i.e., his concepts of projection, focussing or diffusion, shows how the speaker identifies with or dissociates himself from his interlocutor or a social group. For example in our sample speech event we can infer that speaker A wishes to identify with Speaker B first, by the choice of language - i.e., Hausa. Hence, the greeting in Hausa. This is shown in the piece of conversation below:

Speaker A: Sannu Mallam

Speaker B: Ah Malama, kin kome abin nan ne? Wata, wata journalist?

Here, speaker B's reply in Hausa shows identification with Speaker A: what Le Page refers to as focussing and what Giles refers to as accommodation by convergence. If Speaker B had replied in English or another language then he would be said to have dissociated himself from his interlocutor. This does not necessarily follow because other factors may be responsible for the change in B's speech behaviour.

The Le Pagian model also shows how a speaker assumes different acts of identity in his use of language. For instance, this can be seen in Speaker C's change from the main topic of discussion to speak to a student passing by:

Speaker C: Hallo! How are you Uche?
Welldone.

This suggests a change in his act of identity from that of a lecturer - lecturer--colleague-colleague to that of lecturer-student. The change is also reflected in this speaker's use of language. The speaker assumes a different personality when iteracting with his student or colleagues. As can be seen, the speaker stands in a multidimensional relationship in his social interaction with his various interlocutors. His role relationship will include being a father, husband, brother, uncle, lecturer, and so on.

It should, however, be noted that much of what we observe from our application of this model is mostly based on inferences since it is not easy to study the psyche of our subjects. Nonetheless, the model helps us make projections on how speakers will react in certain social situations through their choice and use of language.

To conclude this chapter, therefore, we would hypothesize that a whollistic approach to a socio-linguistic study rather than any one single approach will be more beneficial. We therefore agree with Frank (1988) that there is the need for a more general frame-work that could be used to describe as many data as possible depending on the aims of the study. We have chosen to use insights from the works cited both in the literature reviewed and the theoretical frameworks cited

to suggest an "eclectic" framework of analysis. On the whole, the approach will enable us to analyse our data using different approaches where they are convenient. This, we hope will help reduce the problem of neglecting or over emphasizing any aspect. It will also help us to explain the socio-cultural factors which constrain speakers in their choice and use of language.

Footnotes

1. Susan Ervin-Tripp (1964). In John J. Gumperz and Dell H. Hymes (eds), "The Ethnography of Communication," American Anthropologist, 66, 6 pt 11: 86-102.

2. See Fischer's (1958) report in Ronald Wardhaugh, Sociolinguistics: An Introduction, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986, pp.155-157.

3. William Labov, The Social Stratification of English in New York City, Washington D.C: Centre for Applied Linguistics, 1966 p. 260.

4. See Peter Trudgill's (1974) findings on "The Social Differentiation of English in Norwich", Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. In Ronald Wardhaugh 1986 p. 164-165.

5. Trudgill (1983:109-10) also reported in Wardhaugh 1986.

6. Jenny Cheshire (1978), "Present Tense Verbs in Reading English." See findings in Wardhaugh, 1986 p. 165-166.

7. See also Lesley Milroy's (1980b:35-6) finding on "Social Networks and Language Maintenance" in Wardhaugh, 1986 pp.175-177.

8. The term "KEGITES" refers to a students' social group in some Nigerian Universities and other institution of higher learning which has some members of the larger society also as members.

9. C-J.N Bailey (1973) "Variation and Linguistic Theory" See report on his findings with Bickerton (1971) in Wardhaugh, 1986 pp. 182-185.

10. See also Derek Bickerton (1971) in Wardhaugh 1986 pp. 182-185.

11. William Labov, M. Yaeger and R. Steiner, A Quantitative Study of Sound Change in Progtess. Report on NSF Project No.GS-3287.

12. Mobolaji A. Adekunle, "Language Choice and the Nigerian Linguistic Repertoire." In West African Journal of Modern Languages (WAJML) Vol.3, 1978 pp. 114-126.

13. John Parasher's (1980:153) findings are reported in Fasold 1984.

14. Ronald Fasold, "Language Choice." In The Sociolinguistics of Society. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986, pp. 180-209.

15. Ronald Wardhaugh, "Chosing a Code" in Sociolinguistics: An Introduction, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986, pp. 86-112.

16. See Greenfield and Fishman's findings on "Situational Measures of Normative Language Views Relation to Person, Place and Topic Among Puerto Rican Bilinguals." In American Anthropologist, 66, No.2: 64.

17. Ronald W. Fasold, "Language Choice." In The Sociolinguistics of Society. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984 pp. 180-209.

18. The works of Gumperz, (1977); Parasher (1980); and Hill and Hill (1980) are cited in Fasold, 1984.

19. Ibid. See quotation in Fasold, 1984.

20. See Ervin-Tripp's (1964) "An Analysis of the Interaction of Language, Topic and Listener". In John J. Gumperz and Dell Hymes (eds). The Ethnography of Communication: American Anthropologist. 66, 6 pt 11: 86-102.

21. See J.J. Gumperz, (1964a) findings on "Hindi-Punjabi Code-Switching in Delhi". In H.G Lunt (ed) Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Linguists, The Haugue: Mouton, pp. 1115-1124.

22. Basil Bernstein's (1962) findings on "Linguistic Codes, hesitation phenomena, and Intelligence." In Language and Speech 5:31-46. Also cited in Giles and Powesland, (1975).

23. J.P. Blom and J.J. Gumperz, "Social Meaning in Linguistic Structure: Code-Switching in Norway." In Gumperz (1971).

24. Bello Salim, "Communication as Behaviour Programming: Code Selection in a multi-coded Society." A Seminar paper presented at Bayero University Kano-Nigeria, 1984.

25. William Labov, "The Social Motivation of a Sound Change" Word 19, 2:273-309. See also Labov 1965.

26. David Constable, "Investigating Language Attitudes: Cameroon" In WAJML Vol.1, 1976 p. 31-40.

27. J.R. Firth (1958), Papers in Linguistics, London: 1934-1951.

28. Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact. New York: Linguistic Cirle of New York, 1953.

29. See J.B. Carroll (ed), Language, Thought, and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf, Cambridge; Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1956.

30. Dell Hymes, "The Ethnography of Communication" Cited in Giglioli (ed), Language in Social Context England: Penguin, 1985, p. 33.

31. Funsho Akere, "Socio-Cultural Constraints on the Emergence of a Nigerian Standard English." In Anthropological Linguistics, 1978, p. 408-412. Recent studies especially those by Bamgbose (1971) "The English Language in Nigeria." In John Spencer, The English Language in West Africa, London: Longman 1971 pp. 35-48 and Odumuh (1981), Aspects of the Semantics and Syntax of "Educated Nigerian English". Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, A.B.U. Zaria, among others, show that there is what may be called a "Standard Nigerian English".

32. Joshua A. Fishman is considered a pioneer in this field of study. For some of his works in this approach, see Fishman (1964) "Language Maintenanance and Language Shifts as fields of Inquiry." In Linguistics IX, 32-70; Fishman (1965a) Yiddish in America, Indiana University Research Centre in Anthropology, Folklore and Linguistics, Publication (1968e) all cited in Fishman (1975).

33. Cooper's (1967) Schema on Sociolinguistic Analysis is reproduced in Fishman (1975) p. 55.

34. Other works where Domain Analysis was used include those of Greenfield (1972); Lausa (1975); Parasher (1980); Amuda (1986); cited in Olaoye (1990), p. 5.

35. See Bock (1964); Tables 3 and 4 are reproduced in Fishman (1975) p. 47.

36. See Giles and Powesland, Speech Style and Social Evaluation, New York: Academic Press, (1975), p. 154-155.

37. See Bob Le Page's (1985) work in R.B. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, Acts of Identity, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985,

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid., p. 181.

40. Ibid.

41. Milroy's (1980:156) Language and Social Networks; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, is cited in Le Page (1985), p. 186.

42. For a detail discussion on this see Margaret Berry (1975). Introduction to Systemic Linguistics I, London: Batsford, pp. 104-140.

43. Dell Hymes, Foundations in Sociolinguistics: An Ethnographic Approach. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1974.

44. See Dell Hymes' (1972) "On Communicative Competence," In Pride and Holmes (eds) Sociolinguistics, London: Penguin, 1972.

45. Dell Hymes, (1972) "Models of the Interaction of Language and Social Life " In Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication (ed J.J. Gumperz and D. Hymes), New York: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, pp. 35-71.

46. Noam Chomsky, Aspects of a Theory of Syntax, MIT, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1965.

47. Dell Hymes, "The Ethnography of Speaking." In T. Gladwin and William C. Sturtevant (eds), Anthropology and Human Behaviour. Anthropological Society of Washington 1962, pp. 13-53. (Also in J.A. Fishman (ed), Readings pp. 99-138). Also in Edwin Ardener (ed), Social Anthropology and Language, (1971) ASA Monographs 10).

48. Edwin Ardener, Social Anthropology and Language. A.S.A. Monographs 10, USA: Harper and Row Publishers, Inc. (1971) p. 51.

49. Op. cit.

50. See Mansur Abdulkadir Futua, Culture and Linguistic Behaviour: A Semantic Study of Hausa Insult Words. An unpublished M.A. thesis (1988) ABU Zaria, p.58-63.

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Preamble

There are various methodologies which are used in conducting research in socio(linguistics). The choice of method, however, depends on the nature of the field-work; as well as, other factors such as the suitability of the situation in relation to the community being studied. Several models which have been used in socio(linguistics) studies include the following: The Network studies, Friends of Friends, Variation Studies, and so on.

The two major approaches in sociolinguistic studies are: the Quantitative; and the Qualitative method. The first method is also tagged 'The Labovian Model' because it is associated with the variable model which Labov propounded. The quantitative method deals with the sociolect - that is, it advocates the study of society as the model of fieldwork. It assumes that language is a social property and not an individual's property. On the other hand, proponents of the qualitative sociolinguistic model emphasize the idiolect - that is, the individual rather than the society is seen to be more important as a source of data on language use.[1]

Whichever model is adopted, the means by which

primary data is elicited from the respondents may be through the interview method - which could be either face-to-face interview, use of tape recorder, or surreptitious recording; the elicitation test - i.e., the questionnaire; and the participant observation method.

3.1 Research Procedure

This section shows the experimentation design based on the findings of the pilot study which was aimed at testing the reliability and validity of the methodology intended to be used for the major study. As stated in chapter one the aim of the study is to find out the languages people choose and use in a multilingual s. community like the Ahmadu Bello University (see 1.1 and 1.2). The task of collecting or eliciting the needed material and responses was thus embarked upon in order to find out the languages (i.e speech codes or varieties) people speak to 'whom' 'where' and 'when'; and to determine whether or not they are constrained (i.e influenced) by the 'sex', 'age', 'social status', etc of their listener in a given social event or speech situation. In the course of the study the phenomina of code-switching, code-mixing, and intra-lingual variation were examined in relation to the interpersonal relationships that exist between the interlocutors within the

multilingual university speech community. Of relevance to this study, the phenomena stated above serve as an important feature of the synchronic study of language which is the concern of this present study.

3.2 Experimentation Design

To help determine speakers choice and use of language in ABU, the following experimentation designs were used to gather information. Information techniques such as observation (to a less extent participatory observation was used); interviews were conducted; and self-completion questionnaire were administered. The method used was random sampling (see 3.5.1, 3.5.2, 3.5.3, and 3.5.4 for details).

3.3 Sampling Procedure

A random sampling of speakers and what languages they chose and used was carried out both in the pilot and the main study to determine the following:

i. whether or not the subjects were influenced by the 'topic', 'setting' 'speech situation' or the 'social status' of their interlocutors;

ii. to find out the frequency of usage of the languages they speak viz-a-viz the English language in an order of priority;

iii. to find out reasons why they switch (code-switch), if they do, from one language to another or mix (code-mix) languages, if they do, when they speak.

A survey of the number of languages people speak on the campus, in addition to other information, was conducted through the questionnaire method. For the pilot study, especially, the questionnaire method was used, in addition to personal observations. This method was used because it was meant to serve as a feeler for the main study. Some general personal observations were made on the choice and use of language in the university speech community as a whole. The sampling was done in such a way that every member of the speech community under study stood a chance of being selected. For instance, no preselection of subjects was done and one out of ten persons was selected.

3.4 Subjects

In the main study as well as the pilot study, the research focussed on three main groups: namely, students, lecturers, and administrative staff of the university. Perhaps it is note-worthy to point out that a specific group was not targeted for this study because of the nature of the study (the focus is on the speech community as a whole rather than the specific groups, who, nonetheless form an integral part of the whole).

The subjects were within the following age range:

i. Below 20 - (6)
ii. 20 - 25 - (63)
iii. 26 - 30 - (51)
iv. 31 - 35 - (29)
v. 36 - 40 - (15)
vi. Above 40 - (12)
TOTAL = 176

The study focused on both sexes; 125 males, 125 females. Out of the 250 people sampled, 77 are married, 95 are single, and 4 separated from their spouses. The reason for having a large sample - i.e 250 was to safeguard against drawing conclusions based on the views of only a few people. It was also meant to provide a wide coverage because of the size of the speech community. And also due to the nature of the study, we believe that the larger the sample population, the better the chances of having a representational sample. This does not, however, mean that it is a true representation of the whole population. It only shows that everyone stood the chance of being selected.

In addition, all the subjects sampled, have had some formal education: 4 GCE/IJMB; 27 NCE holders; 84 undergraduates and first degree holders (including Graduate Assistants) 32 with Masters' degree, 10 Doctorate degree holders, and others - 22 (including diploma and unspecified qualifications). Also, 73 of the subjects are students; 58 lecturers, 41 administrators; and 4 Youth

3.5 Collection of Data

Four major sources of data collection were used for the research. They are: Observation method (participant/non-participant), the Questionnaire method, the Interview method and Recording (discrete/surreptitious).

3.5.1 Observation

Both non participatory and participatory observations (to a less extent) were used in the collection of the data for this study. Observations of people's choice and use of language on the campus, especially, were made over a long period of time (since 1983 todate). Although the main aim of the study was not to record language change per se, in the course of the study, some elements of the subtle changes in language use, especially, were observed. (This will be further discussed in the course of the analysis). And, by 'use' here is meant language use in the sense of the code-switching and mixing and style shifting.

The subjects were observed in various settings: in the homes, lecture rooms, hostels, the club, the market place, and other places within the campus. The investigator was able to do this by visiting students in their hostels, paying attention to and recording conversations inside and outside offices, observing

people in the club, some homes, outside lecture halls and so on. In general, the choice of language by some speakers in relation to their interlocutors were jotted down.

3.5.2 The Questionnaire Method:

Two hundred and fifty copies of the questionnaire were distributed to the various parts of the University community including; Kongo campus, Advanced Teachers' College Zaria, Institute of Education, Faculties on the Main campus and the senate building. The questionnaire was designed to extract information or responses which will help in testing the hypothesis stated in 1.6. The hypothesis can thus be summarised or restated into the following propositions:

(1) That speakers have, to a large extent similar opportunities in their linguistic competence i.e they have available to them many languages but will differ in the number of languages they understand and in their performance depending on their degree of experiences and how well they can manipulate language to suit the topic, person, and situation i.e., their ability to achieve 'communicative flexibility';

(2) That the choice of language by the speakers in this speech community is also, to a large extent determined by socio-cultural factors;

(3) That speakers differ in the frequency of usage of the languages they choose and use relative to the interpersonal relationships that exist between them and their interlocutors.

On the whole, the issue of the status of the languages they speak in relation to the English language was addressed in order to determine its merits as the official/national; pari pasu Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba, as the language for the country. The content of the questionnaire is presented as appendix G.

Four types of elicitation techniques were used for the above purposes.

(i) 'Open-ended questions' (the responses rather than the questions are actually open ended). Questions 1, 2, 3(a), (b), and 22(a), (b) are of this type on the questionnaire. The aim is to give the respondents as much freedom of expression; especially, since the questions are those that have to do with their competence/knowledge and attitude to these languages in terms of preference as in (22) (2) and (3a), which seek to find out the mother tongues (MT) and First languages (L_1) of the respondents, which in turn serve as insights into their linguistic repertoire and their speech behaviour as a whole.

(ii) The structured responses, which are in form of suggestions, exercised some control over the responses elicited from the respondents. Questions 6, 7, 10, 12,

13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, and 21 on the questionnaire are of this type. The aim is to shed some light and to make an inference into the social psychological (speech) behaviour of speakers by testing their attitude towards their interlocutors at the interpersonal level. It was, therefore necessary to restrict the responses of the respondents in order to curtail the divergent responses envisaged and to achieve desired results which, it was hoped, would enable us determine or see whether their reaction to the questions correlate with such extra linguistic variables such as: the age, sex, social status, race, tribe, etc of their interlocutors.

(iii) The fill-in response for eliciting information on the informant: though the informant was allowed to generate rather than choose from a given set of responses in some areas; in some, he/she was given the option of choosing from a given set. Such responses required a tick (✓) to indicate the suitable response. Such questions on the questionnaire are 2, 11, and 22 where one-word answers were required; and 8, 9 and 18 which are 'Yes', 'No' types. Another aim was to obtain information on respondents' personal data such as: sex, age, marital status, their highest educational qualification, and (e) occupation. It was hoped that this would throw some light on their reaction to certain questions - although the present study did not set out

to do a study on gender and language choice and use, it may be useful for a future study.

(iv) Frequency rating: in which respondents were asked to rate the frequency of usage of the languages they speak. Questions 4, and 5 on the questionnaire are of this type. The aim was to allow the respondents indicate which language(s) they chose and used frequently/more often, occasionally, seldom, and perhaps never even though they might have a knowledge of the language(s).

A total of 250 copies of the questionnaire were distributed by hand and respondents were allowed to keep them and fill in their free time. Four research assistants were employed for the job. 176 copies were completed and returned. Thus, indicating a shortage of 74 copies (a snag which will be discussed later in 3.5.5).

3.5.3 The Interview Method

Eight subjects were interviewed orally for the study. This was done to supplement the information gathered from the questionnaire. Bearing in mind the problems associated with eliciting required information from subjects, the interview was conducted in a semi-formal manner - i.e., though no prior arrangements

were made or invitations given, questions were asked based on the questionnaire, but with some degree of flexibility; so that, responses were, to some extent, of the free-response type. (see Appendix B for full details of the interviews). In addition, one respondent was interviewed in Hausa (see Appendix B). Nine subjects were interviewed in all.

3.5.4 Recording

Due to the nature of the study - that is, a synchronic study of language, it was decided that in order to obtain 'natural speech' what Labov (1981) calls, 'vernacular' from our respondents, surreptitious or discrete recording had to be done. The researcher was aware of the ethical implication often noted about this method of data gathering but this was meant to authenticate the study of speech behaviour as manifested by the subjects being studied. The recording method was also necessary because it is believed that in order to get an effective picture of the phenomena of code-switching style shifting and code-mixing (which form part of this study), it is pertinent to capture these uses of language in their natural form. These recordings were done at different locations, the students' hostels, the senate building; around the faculties and even in some homes.

3.5.5 Problems encountered and how they were overcome

One major problem encountered was at the initial stage of the study. This was the delimitation of the scope of study. As stated in 1.9, the work sets out to study speech use at a micro-dimension within a macro-dimension - that is, speech (la parole) as a manifestation of language (la langue) as used within the wider speech community. Coupled with this was the problem of the target subjects; that is, whether to do a gender study or a social class variation study as Labov (1966) did in his New York studies (see 3.1.1).

In relation to this, the issue of what aspect of speech behaviour was to be studied and at what level- form or substance was also addressed. It was decided that interpersonal relationships as correlates of speech behaviour can best be studied at the level of substance. Here, substance is used to refer to the spoken form of language, not necessarily the phonic sub-level - i.e. the study of (speech) sound systems, but language at the discourse level as manifested in the utterances of the speakers in their daily communication through social interaction in various speech situations of speech behaviour as produced rather than its acquisition was decided upon. In other words, this work is basically a study of language (speech) as

'performance', but also as manifested through the 'competence' of the speakers in their linguistic repertoire.

Another problem which was encountered was with the questionnaire. As mentioned in 3.1.4, only 176 out of the 250 copies of the questionnaire distributed were returned. This problem could be attributed to the fact that people generally are reluctant to fill questionnaires, as observed. This could be due to the fact that the questions were either too tasking or long and boring. The general attitude shown by some of the respondents was the lack of time (especially as they are administrators and lecturers) rather than oversion. In this regard, persuasion was used to change the lukewarm attitude exhibited by some in order to achieve results.

In contrast to the questionnaire the subjects interviewed gave the least problem. Those interviewed were students, lecturers and administrators to reflect the subjects sampled in the three segments. In fact, those interviewed were quite willing and cooperative even though they expressed lack of time. To ease the problem, the questions had to be brief and to the point. But in the course of the interview, respondents became more relaxed and even gave some additional information which helped to throw light on some socio-cultural issues that were raised.

One other important issue that had to be overcome was What Labov (1968) tagged 'the observer's paradox'. This is a common problem with studies of this nature. The investigator often finds himself/herself with such mind bugging questions as the following:

i. To what extent should the investigator be involved with the subjects without influencing their decisions and thereby jeopardising the aim of the research?

ii. How can he/she ascertain the authenticity of the information being given?

iii. When does he/she decide to be more than a mere observer?

These and other related questions had to be tackled. To some extent, non-participatory observation was made and where the investigator found herself being involved, she had to be as normal as possible. These problems were overcome through the utilization of other methods like the interview, questionnaire or by surreptitious recordings (as already mentioned earlier on) where necessary in order to achieve the desired goal.

However, the most crucial of all these problems was with the data analysis. At the initial stage there was a problem of coding the over seventy languages and 'dialects' that were obtained through a linguistic survey. This made it difficult to use the computer to code and analyse the data. To overcome this problem, the languages had to be grouped into the following

four categories:

i. English

ii. Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba } 'Major' Nigerian Languages

iii. Other Nigerian Languages — Representing the majority of the Nigerian languages other than those in (ii), but which are often classified as 'minority' languages.

iv. Non-Nigerian languages — This group represents all other African and Euro-Asian languages spoken in the university speech community.

Further analysis was made using the language categories as indices. We also analysed some of our data through item analyses - that is, each item on the questionnaire for instance, was treated in relation to the other items in order to determine the degree of applicability and usage of the languages sampled. The mark scores were computed to find their mean rating as follows. We shall use domain analysis to show the frequency of usage of English in the Home:

Home Usage of English
Rating of Usage on a 4-point Scale

28	x 4	=	112
32	x 3	=	96
18	x 2	=	36
24	x 1	=	24
2	x 0	=	0
104			268

Mean rating = $\frac{268}{104}$ = 2.57

To find this we divided the mean score by the number of speakers - i.e $\frac{\text{Mean Score}}{\text{Number of Speakers}}$ = Mean rating

This helps us to know the proportion of speakers who use English in the home and other domains, as against the use of other languages in the same domains.

As already mentioned in (3.1.2) an application of various methods of data collection was necessitated by the need to have a substantial data for our study and also, in order to overcome the perenial observer's paradox.

The next chapter is a presentation of the data used for this study and the analysis.

Footnotes

1. For details of these studies, see Trudgill (1974); Labov (1966); Todd (1985); Milroy (1980a); Bickerton (1971); Bailey (1973); Cheshire (1978); Russel (1982); Charles J.N. Bailey (1973) and Sankoff (1974). Also, see Boissevain (1974); Gulliver (1971); Romaine (1982); Le Page (1985); and Wardhaugh (1986).

See also W. Labov, 'The Study of Language in its Social Context', Studium Generale, Vol.23, 1970 pp.30-87.. In Pride and Holmes (eds) Sociolinguistics, Harmondsworth, England: Penduin, 1972 pp. 180-202.

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Jenny Cheshire, Variation in an English Dialect: A Sociolinguistic Study. London: Cambridge University Press, 1982, p.1-2.

Suzanne Romaine, Socio-Historical Linguistics: Its Status and Methodology. London: Cambridge University Press, 1982, p.1.

See R.B. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, Acts of Identity, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Lesley Milroy, Language and Social Networks (2nd edn), Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989, p. 44

See J. Boissevain, Friends of Friends: Network Manipulators and Coalitions, Oxford: Basil Blackwell and Mott Ltd., (1974).

Ronald Wardhaugh, An Introduction to Sociolinguistics, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, (1986), p. 146

Phillip Hugh Gulliver, Neighbours and Networks: The Idiom of Kinship in Social Action Among the Ndendeuli of Tanzania, Los Angeles: University of California Press, (1971), p. 1-5.

Jeremy Boissevain, Friends of Friends: Network, Manipulators and Coalitions, Oxford: Basil Blackwell and Mott Ltd., (1974), p. 3-4.

Ibid., pp. 24-27.

Chapter 4

DATA ANALYSIS, RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Preamble

In this chapter, an analysis of the data elicited from a wide section of the university speech community shall be done, in line with the research questions stated in (1.5), to show how speakers are constrained in their choice and use of language by the socio-cultural factors that are inherent in their various languages and the speech norms of the multilingual society in which they live. This would demonstrate the sociolinguistic relevance of language choice and use in a multilingual community like Ahmadu Bello University within the theoretical framework adapted in chapter two.

4.1 Linguistic Competence and Repertoire

The first item on both the questionnaire and the oral interview was meant to serve a dual purpose. It tried to find out the number of languages people understood and their level of competence in the language(s). This would enable us know which speakers are bi- or multilingual in their choice and use of language and would also enable us make inferences about the competence as well as the performance, of the speakers, in other words, their communicative competence.

All of the 176 questionnaire respondents and the 8 interviewees indicated that they understood at least two languages, even though with varying degrees of competence, and at most four. An average of three languages was recorded for the majority of the respondents. A substantial number of languages (including dialects) was sampled. (This is by no means exhaustive). Table 1 (see Appendix A) shows the number of languages spoken in the university speech community, the number of speakers per language, and their level of competence.

For easy computation (a snag which was earlier mentioned in (3.6.5) the languages had to be grouped under five categories. Tables 2(a) and (b) below are summaries of Table 1.

Table 2(a)

Linguistic Competence of Respondents

Languages	Understood but not spoken fluently	Can Speak but can't write it	Can Speak and can write it	Number of Speakers	%
English	-	-	176	176	100
Hausa	43	23	87	153	86.93
Yoruba	24	11	37	72	40.90
Igbo	11	5	8	24	13.63
Other Nigerian Languages	41	65	39	145	82.38
Non-Nigerian Languages	26	3	15	44	25
Pidgin English		1	1	2	1.13

Table 2(b)

Number of Respondents in Percentages

Languages	%	%	%	%
English	-	-	100	100
Hausa	24.43	13.06	49.43	86.93
Yoruba	13.63	6.25	21.02	40.90
Igbo	6.25	2.84	4.54	13.63
Other Nigerian Languages	23.29	36.93	22.16	82.38
Non-Nigerian Languages	14.77	1.70	8.52	25
Pidgin English	-	0.56	0.56	1.13

From the two tables we can see that English has the highest number of speakers. 176 (100%) of the total 176 respondents indicated that they can speak and write English. English thus has the highest number of proficient users - that is, in terms of speaking and writing. This is closely followed by Hausa with 153 (86.93%) (the language of the wider community) whose speakers cut across many languages. Hausa is followed by Yoruba with 72 (i.e 40.90%) speakers. Igbo seems to have the least representation with 24 (i.e 13.63%) (as sampled in this study, of course). When grouped together, other Nigerian languages, which are often classified as the minority languages, seem to have a large representation with 145 (i.e 82.38%) speakers, a number that is greater than those of Yoruba and Igbo put together. Other languages come under group 4 as non-Nigerian languages with 44 (i.e 25%) speakers in all (see table 1). Lastly, Pidgin/Broken English was grouped on its own with a total of 2 (i.e 1.13%) speakers. This figure however increased as many other people later indicated that they use pidgin sometimes with various person at various places.

4.2 Mother Tongue

Item two on both the questionnaire and the

interview was meant to find out which of the languages spoken by the respondents are their mother tongues (MT). The MT phenomenon is clearly shown in this study. A situation whereby some people do not speak their MT is revealled by the levels of competence and performance of the speakers in these languages. Table 3 shows which languages are the MT of the respondents. See Appendix A for details.

The table shows a cross-section of languages spoken on the campus and those which are indicated by the respondents as their MT. The two languages with the highest number of speakers as their MT are Hausa and Yoruba each with 30 (i.e 17.04%) respondents. These are followed by Igbo which has 11 (i.e 6.25%) respondents and Kaje with 7 (i.e 3.97%) respondents. The others have mostly one or two respondents (i.e 0.56%) and (1.13%) respectively.

4.2.1 Speaker's First Language (L_1) in Relation to Language Use

Item 3(a) on the questionnaire sought to find out which language is the speaker's First Language (L_1) - that is, the language s/he spoke commonly at home as a child. Table 4 (in Appendix A) shows that Hausa, the language of the wider community (LWC), and one of

the three 'major' Nigerian languages, has the highest number of 30 (i.e 28.40%) speakers as L_1. This is followed by Yoruba with 29 (i.e 16.48%) speakers, English has 13 (i.e 7.38%) speakers and Igbo has 7 (i.e 3.98%) speakers as indicated by the respondents sampled.

As shown on the table, some speakers are proficient in two Nigerian languages as is the case with most Hausa speakers in this study and others on one hand, and English with a Nigerian language on the other. For instance, there is 1 (i.e 0.56%) Hausa-Yoruba respondent; 1 (i.e 0.56%) Kilba-Hausa respondent; 1 (i.e 056%) Nǜzam-Hausa respondent; 3 (i.e 1.700%) Kaje-Hausa respondents, and 1 (i.e 0.56%) Fulfulde-Hausa respondent; while there is 1 (i.e 056%) Igbo-English respondent; and 2 (i.e 1.13%) Yoruba-English respondents. These are by no means the only bilinguals in the speech community. They only represent a small proportion of our sample population (i.e the academic, student and admin population only) and probably the wider speech community.

4.3 Frequency of Language Use and Rating

Item 3(b) on the questionnaire and the oral interview was designed to find out the frequency with which speakers use the languages they purport to speak.

Subjects were asked to rate the frequency of usage on a 5-point scale: (5) very frequent; (4) frequently; (3) occasionally; (2) Never; (1) Not certain. In the analysis, two degrees of frequency were merged due to their similarity in the rating scale. The number of people who used the languages already indicated in Tables 1 and 2 above and their usage rating can be seen in Tables 4(a) and (b) below:

Table 4(a)

Rating of Language Use

Language	Frequently	Occasionally	Never	Not Certain
English	154	8	-	1
Hausa	84	48	2	3
Yoruba	33	29		2
Igbo	10	6	1	1
Other Nigerian Languages	59	59	3	3
Non-Nigerian Languages	12	17	3	3
Pidgin English	2	-	-	-

Table 4(b)

Language Use Rating in Percentages

Language	Frequently	Occasionally	Never	Not Certain
English	87.5	4.54	-	0.56
Hausa	47.72	27.27	1.13	1.70
Yoruba	18.75	16.47	-	1.13
Igbo	5.68	3.40	0.56	0.56
Other Nigerian Languages	33.52	33.52	1.70	1.70
Non-Nigerian Languages	6.81	9.65	1.70	1.70
Pidgin English	1.13	-	-	-

As shown in Tables 4(a) and (b) above, English has the highest number of users and the highest frequency of usage in this speech community. The analysis shows that 154 (i.e 87.5%) speakers use English frequently. This is to be expected since the speech community is a learning centre where English is used as the medium of instruction. This is closely followed by Hausa with 84 (i.e 47.72%) users. Other Nigerian languages ranked third with 59 (i.e 33.52%) users. 33 (i.e 18.75%) respondents use Yoruba frequently and 12 (i.e 6.81%) non-Nigerian languages are also used frequently. Igbo is spoken frequently by 10 (i.e 5.68%) respondents, while Pidgin is also spoken frequenly by 2 (i.e 1.13%). As mentioned

earlier, more people later indicated that they use Pidgin English occasionally and especially in informal social situations.

4.4 Domain Analysis and Frequency of Language Use

Similar to item 3 above, item 4 on both the questionnaire and the oral interview sought to find out the frequency of language use, but with specific reference to the following Domains: (1) Office (2) Home (3) Class (3) Hostel (5) Club (6) Others - i.e Church/ Mosque/Market/etc. The number and percentages of respondents who speak what language 'where' are shown in Tables 5(a) and (b) respectively:

Table 5(a)

Domains of Language Use

Language	Domains					
	Office	Home	Class	Hostel	Club	Others
English	128	68	125	65	78	
Hausa	44	95	24	39	27	1
Yoruba	14	45	7	13	7	
Igbo	4	11	-	3	2	
Other Nigerian Languages	-	84	1	9	11	
Non-Nigerian Languages	4	8	9	4	3	
Pidgin	-	1	-	2	2	

Table 5(b)

Situations of Language Use in Percentages

Language	Situations of Language Use					
	Office %	Home %	Class %	Hostel %	Club %	Others %
English	72.72	38.63	71.02	36.93	44.31	
Hausa	25	55.11	13.63	22.15	15.34	0.56
Yoruba	7.95	25.56	3.97	7.38	3.97	
Igbo	2.27	6.25	-	1.70	1.13	
Other Nigerian Languages	-	47.72	0.56	5.11	6.25	
Non-Nigerian Languages	2.27	4.54	5.11	2.27	1.70	
Pidgin	-	0.56	-	1.13	1.13	

4.4.1 Use of English in Different Situations

It can be seen from the tables presented above that English has the highest diglossic function, in the sense that it is used in almost all the setting identifi being the language of administration and the medium of instruction in the university, with 128 (72.72%) users in the 'office' setting and 125 (71.02%) in the class and class premises as the case may be. This indicates, according to Fishman's domain analysis, that English is the most suitable language chosen and used over other available languages/choices which the speakers have. In addition,

the high number of users of English in the 'Hostel' 65 (36.93%) and the 'Club' 78 (44.31%) (-i.e even at recreation places) also indicates that it serves generally as a common ground - that is, Lingua Franca - for people in a multilingual community. This is also true for some of the subjects interviewed.

On the other hand, the number of people who use English in the 'Home' situation 68 (38.63%) out of a total of 176 (100%) respondents as shown on tables 5(a) and (b), buttresses the point that English is gradually becoming a "major"/First language in some Nigerian homes - that is, both within and outside the university speech community. In the case of the 'Hostel' and 'Club' situation, however, it can be seen that English serves as a medium of communication for the speakers who come from different linguistic backgrounds as well as being used to maintain some social distance by speakers who want to avoid showing ethnicity in addition to maintaining some social image or to show allegiance to a group to which they belong.

4.4.2 Use of Hausa in Different Speech Situations

44 (25%) speakers indicated, as shown in tables 5(a) and (b) that they use Hausa in the 'Office' domain. Hausa seems to compete favourably with English in this

domain; thereby, creating a situation whereby it is seen to assume both political and social status. Hausa is also gradually being used for official purposes; especially, at the interpersonal level of transaction. Speakers sometimes prefer to use Hausa or any other language, apart from English, in discussing official matters. This is also corroborated by some subjects that were interviewed. Similarly, 95 (55.11%) subjects indicated that they use Hausa in their homes. This shows that for most speakers in this speech community Hausa is the language most commonly used at home. In this speech situation therefore, Hausa is the likeliest language of choice and use. However, as revealed by the number of languages spoken by some of these subjects, Hausa forms only a part of their linguistic repertoire; since they also use other languages in the same speech situation with different interlocutors.

On the other hand, only 24 (13.63%) respondents indicated that they use Hausa in and around the class premises. Nonetheless, this again shows that Hausa being the language of the wider community (LWC) has permeated a domain which was exclusively an English one. It shows also that speakers use Hausa both for academic and social purposes. In contrast to the class situation 39 (22.15%) subjects out of a total of 153 (86.93%) who

speak Hausa use it in the 'hostel' situation, in addition to English and other languages which they understand and speak. This is also corroborated by our findings from the recordings done in the hostels. In addition, our findings show that students code-switch and code-mix between Hausa and English; a phenomenon which is common among students.

Furthermore, 27 (15.34%) respondents indicated that they use Hausa in the 'Club' situation. This suggests that Hausa is also used as a language of relaxation. Being the LWC, and from the number of people who indicated that they speak Hausa, it is clear that Hausa has gained a wide currency even among non-native Hausa speakers. To some extent, therefore, Hausa serves as a Lingua Franca for people in this speech community. Apart from being the language of relaxation, Hausa is also used as the language of worship. This is indicated by 1 (0.56%) respondent that s/he uses Hausa in the 'Church' situation. For this speaker therefore, Hausa serves different linguistic functions.

4.4.3 Use of Yoruba in Different Speech Situations

14 (7.95%) respondents indicated that they use Yoruba in the 'office' situation Yoruba, like Hausa and

other Nigerian languages, is also used to transact official businesses in an erstwhile exclusive English situation. This signifies, as applicable to other languages, that Yoruba is gradually making an in-road into a speech situation where officialdom was observed. This does not however mean that English is totally abandoned. As characteristic of this speech community, the two languages could be used either simultaneously or in co-variation depending on the topic and the interlocutor. Compared to the number of those who use Yoruba in the office 45 (25.56%) respondents use Yoruba in the 'Home' situation. This signifies that Yoruba is the most common language used by these speakers in the home compared to only 7 (3.97%) who indicated that they speak the language at the club. This shows that for the former group, Yoruba is the likeliest language of choice and use in the home situation. It does not however mean that another language cannot be or is not used in the same situation when necessitated by other factors such as, the presence of a non-Yoruba speaker in the home. It is expected that speakers would adjust in their speech behaviour to accommodate their interlocutor.

Furthermore, 14 (7.38%) respondents indicated that they use Yoruba in the hostel and only 7 (3.97%) use the language in the 'Club' situation. This signifies that

speech situations
in both speakers want to revert to their local language when they are in a less formal social setting. Therefore, the choice and use of Yoruba (as is the case with other Nigerian languages) signifies that it is probably more suitable in expressing ethnic identities and solidarity among fellow Yoruba speakers who share a similar cultural background within a multilingual setting like the Club, hostel and the university community as a whole.

4.4.4 Use of Igbo in Different Speech Situations

As shown on tables 5(a) and (b) only 4 (2.27%) of the total number of 24 respondents sampled indicated that they use Igbo in the 'office' situations. As noted earlier on, the use of another language in place of English in the office setting signifies a turning point in an otherwise rigid bureaucratic linguistic setting. It is also a pointer to the cordial interpersonal relationships which exist, albeit along ethnic lines, in an official domain. In contrast to this, a higher per cent of speakers use Igbo in the 'Home' situation. This is shown in column 3 of tables 5(a) and (b) by 11 (6.25%) respondents. This finding is also corroborated by another in the interviews we

had. The results show that Igbo is sometimes used along with English or alone in the home situation

On the contrary, none of the Igbo speakers sampled indicated that they use Igbo in the 'class' situation. This does not, however, mean that Igbo is not used in this situation at all. It only shows that our subjects do not use Igbo in this situation; perhaps, because they do not consider the situation appropriate for such language use. While 3 (1.70%) respondents out of the total number of Igbo subjects sampled indicated that they use Igbo in the hostel domain. 2 (1.13%) respondents indicated that they use Igbo in the 'club' domain. This shows, like in the other cases cited, that Igbo is more likely to be chosen in these speech situations other than any other language or in addition to another language like English to express intimacy or ethnic solidarity. We can also infer that the language is likely to be used in such settings (informal) to express ethnic ties and probably diverge in their speech behaviour as the situation demands.

4.4.5 Use of Other Nigerian Languages (ONL) in Different Domains

Out of the 145 (23.5%) of the total number of respondents (i.e 176) no subject indicated that they

use any other Nigerian language, apart from the three 'major' Nigerian languages discussed above, in the office situation. This is not to say that these other languages are not used in this situation. It is likely that the subjects sampled do not use these languages in the office situation as observed elsewhere in the use of Igbo in the 'class' situation.

Contrary to what obtains in the 'Office' situation 84 (47.72%) respondents indicated that they use their own languages in the 'Home' situation as shown on tables 5(a) and (b). This signifies that, given a speech situation in the home situation, our subjects are more likely to use their languages at home than any other or in addition to the use of English. And, this means that in homes where two or more languages are spoken, chances are that speakers will choose and use any of the languages to suit the person, topic, and particular social interaction.

This claim is supported by an observation of a particular multilingual family setting where the wife/mother speaks 4 languages. Her choice and use of language is determined by various factors ranging from her role relationship as a wife/mother/daughter etc; to the social situation, her interlocutor, and the topic of discussion.

Furthermore, as shown on tables 5(a) and (b) only 1 (0.56%) respondent indicated that s/he uses another Nigerian language in the class situation. The low figure recorded here compared to the high 125 (71.02%) number of respondents recorded for English users in the same domain, signifies that perhaps the speech situation is considered to be too formal for speakers to use their own native languages. It may also mean that speakers who do not commonly use their native languages in the classroom might do so in the class premises. Nonetheless, we found, from observations that other languages apart from English and the three 'major' Nigerian languages are used outside the classroom.

However, in contrast to the 'class' situation, a (5.11%) subjects out of the 145 (23.5%) of the total 176 subjects who use ONL indicated that they use them in the Hostel situation. This shows that more people, even though this is minimal compared to English 65 (36.93%) and Hausa 39 (22.15%) in the same speech situation, use ONL in the 'hostel' situation than they do in the 'class' situation. This signifies that people are more likely to use ONL in certain speech situation than they would in others.

This is true of the 'club' situation where 11 (6.25%) respondents indicated that they use ONL. This is about 1.5 per cent higher than the number of people who use

them in the hostel situation but by far less than those who use English and Hausa in the same speech situation Due to the composition of the speech community (multilingual) it is not surprising that ONL are used in the 'club' situation. As corroborated by some of our interviewees, they revert to their native languages at the club when they want to show ethnic identity or to discuss, especially if everybody seated at the table, for instance, speaks the same language. In a situation like this therefore speakers are more liekly to use ONL than English. This does not however, rule out the possibility of the choice and use of English when certain speech situations demand that they do so. Perhaps an instance where a non-native speaker joins the group. It goes to show, therefore, that ONL are used to strengthen ethnic ties and perhaps to achieve effective communication.

4.4.6 Use of Non-Nigerian Languages (NNL) in Different Speech Situations

In contrast to ONL, 4 (2.27%) subjects out of 11 (6.25%) the total number of Non-Nigerian languages sampled, indicated that they use a NNL in the 'Office' domain as shown in tables 5(a) and (b). This signifies that NNL are used in the office perhaps with the same

motivations as the three 'major' Nigerian languages are used. It also shows that not only are Nigerian languages used but also NNL are used to transact official businesses or even personal purposes in an hitherto officially marked speech situation.

Similarly, NNL are also used in the 'Home' situation as indicated by 8 (4.54%) respondents. Like most speakers the native language is more suitable for use in the home situation. It is therefore more likely that NNL will be used in the home situation than any other language or in addition to any other language which the respondents understand and speak.

On the other hand, contrary to our findings on the non use of ONL in the 'class' situation, 9 (5.11%) respondents indicated that they use a NNL in the 'class' situation. This is shown in tables 5(a) and (b). This implies that apart from English, speakers also use their own native languages in and around the class premises. Of these NNLs only Arabic is probably used both as a medium of instruction and perhaps for communication in the Arabic class. While French is used with a greater certainty both as a medium of instruction and for communication in and outside the class situation. The rest have only a Foreign Language (FL) status. 4 (2.27%) respondents also indicated

that they use a NNL in the 'Hostel' situation. This shows that this group of speakers are a bit more constrained in their choice and use of language because only a few other people can speak the same language as they. In other words, apart from English which every other person speaks in the university community their range of language choice is fewer compared to a Nigerian, for instance, who speaks three or four languages. In this case, it is likely that this group will be mostly bilingual in their speech behaviour.

In the 'Club' situation however, 3 (1.70%) respondents use a NNL. This shows that like ONLs, NNLs are also used in the club situation probably to either show ethnic solidarity or to diverge when the situation demands. It is also likely that NNLs are used in addition to English in this speech situation with friends, acquintances to express friendship and for other communicative purposes.

4.4.7 Use of Pidgin English (PE) in Different Speech Situations

No questionnaire respondent indicated that they use Pidgin English in the 'office situation'. This is not to say that it is not used at all in this domain. The non use of Pidgin could be a reflection of the social class (i.e academic elite) of the people sampled. It is likely that the subjects we sampled do not use this language variety in the office, as in the case of

ONL. We however observed, and some of our interviewees stated that, Pidgin is sometimes used by both administrative and academic staff when they interact with the junior staff who are not literate enough to communicate with them in the standard variety.

In contrast to the 'office' domain 1 (0.56%) respondent indicated that s/he uses Pidgin at home. As we explained about the 'office' setting, we also believe that there could be more people who use Pidgin in the 'Home' situation than the number indicated here. From observation also, we saw that some people use pidgin with their house-helps and other interlocutors who do not speak either the standard English variety or the same language with them. This is corroborated by one of the subjects we interviewed (see Appendix F).

Similar to the response on the use of Pidgin in the office domain, no respondent indicated that they use Pidgin in the 'class' situation. However, in the interview we had some interviewees revealed that they use Pidgin. In particular a drama student interviewed said Pidgin was sometimes used as a medium of communication during some of their theatrical performances (see Appendix F). This implies that it is not necessarily used as a medium of instruction, it is used for purposes of communication both within the

classroom among theatre arts/drama students, and outside the classroom during certain social situations; such as play acting. This is also corroborated by our findings from one of the recorded speeches around the class premises between students in the faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (see conversation in Appendix G).

2 (1.13%) respondents indicated that they use Pidgin in the 'Hostel' situation. Although these may not necessarily be the only people who use Pidgin in this speech situation, it however shows that Pidgin, like its standard variety, also serves as a common language for students; especially, who may (not) speak the same language and yet do not wish to interact in the standard variety or any other language. Similarly, as indicated on tables 5(a) and (b) 2 (1.13%) respondents use Pidgin in the 'Club' domain. We however have more information, based on the interviews conducted and from observation which shows that more people use Pidgin in the 'Club' situation; more so that it is an informal social situation where people go to relax away from officialdom and academic pursuits. For some people, therefore, Pidgin serves as a language of informality. It is used to reduce social distance between interlocutors and to establish inter-personal relationships.

4.5 Speech Situations and Language Use

Still on situation analysis, question (5) on the questionnaire sought to find out as in question (4) the frequency of use of the languages in the situation shown on table 5(a) above. The table below shows how often people use the languages they speak in the various speech situations already identified. A four point scale was used to find out the Mean Rate (MR). For example, to calculate the mean rating of English in the five speech situations the following procedure was used:

Office:

107 x 4	=	428		
8 x 3		24		Mean score
115		452	i.e	Number of speakers

∴ To find Mean rating: $\frac{452}{115} = 3.93$

Home:

28 x 4	=	112		
32 x 3	=	96		
18 x 2	=	36		
24 x 1	=	24		
2 x 0	=	0		MR
104		268	i.e	NS

∴ To find MR = $\frac{268}{104} = 2.57$

Class:

83 x 4	=	332		
12 x 3	=	36		MS
95		368	i.e	NS

∴ To find MR = $\frac{368}{95} = 3.87$

Hostel

30	x 4	=	120
21	x 3	=	63
6	x 2	=	12
7	x 1	=	7
2	x 0	=	0
66			202

$\therefore$ MR = $\frac{202}{66}$ = 3.06

Club:

44	x 4	=	176
23	x 3	=	69
5	x 2	=	10
6	x 1	=	6
1	x 0	=	0
79			261

$\therefore$ MR = $\frac{261}{79}$ = 3.30

Table 6(a)

SPEECH SITUATIONS: Frequency of Language Choice

Total Number of Respondents -

LANGUAGE	OFFICE	HOME	CLASS	HOSTEL	CLUB
English	115	104	95	66	79
Hausa	65	17	68	49	54
Igbo	13	17	6	9	8
Yoruba	21	52	17	21	16
Other Nigerian Lang.	6	55	5	11	14
Non-Nigerian Langs.	2	6	8	7	6
Pidgin	1	-	-	1	1

Table 6(b)

SPEECH SITUATIONS: Rating of Language Choice on a 4-Point Scale

LANGUAGE	OFFICE	HOME	CLASS	HOSTEL	CLUB
English	3.93	2.57	3.87	3.06	3.30
Hausa	2.09	2.56	1.5	2.12	1.74
Igbo	1.69	2.58	1.66	2	1.75
Yoruba	2.28	2.80	2.05	2.23	2.12
Other Nigerian Langs.	2.16	3.07	2	1.63	2.14
Non-Nigerian Langs.	2.5	2.66	2.87	1.85	1.16
Pidgin		4		3	2.5

Tables 6(a) and (b) show both the frequency of usage of the languages sampled and the mean rating after the total number has been worked out and calculated over the total number of respondents for each language. As can be seen on table 6(b) Pidgin has the highest point of 4 on the rating scale and in the 'Home' setting. This is closely followed by Other Nigerian Languages with 3.07 point in the same setting But English has the highest point of 3 above in all settings except in the Home setting where it scored 2.57 point on the rating scale. This shows a consistency in the frequency of usage of English in four out of the five speech situations.

4.6 Language Choice According to Person and Speech Situation

Item 11 on the questionnaire also sought to find out what languages people speak, where, when, and to whom. Although this item is similar to item 5, it differs in the sense that while item 5 describes the situational domain of language use, item 11 describes the metaphorical domain (which comprises both the physical and the psychological social context of language use in this case). The following table shows the responses on the question which required ou subjects to match the language:

Person and Domain in that Ord :r Using the Following Key:

KEY:

Language:

SE	-	Standard English
NE	-	Nigerian English
P/BE	-	Pidgin/Broken English
ML	-	My Language
DL	-	Dialect of my Language
AOL	-	Any Other Language;

Person:

F	-	Father
M	-	Mother
R	-	Reverend
Col	-	Colleague
B	-	Brother
S	-	Sister
I	-	Imam
C	-	Cousin
GP	-	Grand parents
BO	-	Boss

Speech Situations

Fam	=	Family
E	=	Education
R	=	Religion
F	=	Friendship
Em	=	Employment.

Table : Language Choice According to Person and Speech Situation

Setting	Speech Situation	Interlocutor	Subject Matter: Topic (i) (ii)	Psychological Factor/Social Relationship	Availability of Language
1. Formal (a)	Employment	Boss, Colleague	official	Transactional	SE, NE
(b)	Education	Colleague, Teacher,	official/private	Intimate + Acquiantanceship	+ Pidgin + SE/NE + French + AOL
(c)	Business	Hawkers, Vendors	economic/open -	transactional	+ Pidgin + AOL
(d)	Religion	Imam, Reverend	Religion/private	transactional/ Intimate	+ MT + AOL + DL + Arabic
2. Informal (a)		Father, Mother, Grand-parents, Sister, In-laws, Cousin, etc	Private-personal + Open-general	Intimate	+ MT + DL + AOL + Pidgin
(b)	Friendship	Friends, Colleagues	Private-personal + Open-General	Intimate/ Acquiantanceship	+ SE + NE + Pidgin + AOL

Table : Language Choice According to Speech Situation in %

Social Relationship

	Speech Situation	Language	Intimate	Acquaintanceship	Transactional Relationship
i)	Employment	SE/NE	-	86%	86%
ii)	Education	SE/NE	-	86%	86%
iii)	Friendship	P/Broken English AOL	38%	-	-
iv)	Family	MT ML DL	78%	-	-
v)	Religion	Arabic MT AOL	29	-	-
vi)	Business	AOL Pidgin	27%	-	-

Key: Probability of Choice

From the foregoing tables, it can be seen that the probability of certain languages being chosen in certain situations is higher than others. For instance, SE/NE stand a higher chance of being chosen in a formal speech situation like Employment with (86%) respondents than the choice of Pidgin or AOL (27%) in the Business situation or even the high choice of the MT (78%) according to our respondents in the Family speech situation. However, there are over-laps in the languages chosen in the situations identified and the people with whom they are used.

4.7 Factors Determining Language Choice and Use

Item number 6 on the questionnaire as well as in the recorded interview sought to find out what factors determine speakers' choice and use of language. Four factors were used in this study: these are (a) person, (b) topic, (c) social situation and (d) place. The total number of respondents for each factor was determined and converted into percentages. See the table below:

Table 7

Determinants of Language Choice

S/No	Determinants/Factors	No. of Responses	Total No of Respondents	Percentage
1	person	110		65.47
2	topic	13		7.73
3	social situation	13		7.73
4	place	22		13.09
5	all of the above (i.e a-d)	3		1.78
6	person, topic, social situation	1		0.59
7	person + social situation	2		1.19
8	person + place	2		1.19
9	person + social situation + place	1		0.59
10	social situation + place	1		0.59
	Total	168	176	99.95

This table reveals significant information. It shows that people are motivated differently in their choice and use of language. As can be seen from the table, the most determining factor for language choice and use for most speakers is (a) the person to whom they are speaking and the availability of the language to both speakers as indicated by 110 (i.e 65.47%) respondents. The next common factor is the place as indicated by 22 (i.e 13.09%) respondents; followed by the topic and the social situation as indicated by 13 (i.e 7.73%) respondents respectively. This shows that for most speakers, it is the person and the availability of the language rather than the place or social situation that determines their choice and use of language in most speech situations. It is worthy to note here that most people are not conscious of the degree of influence of these factors on their language choice. Only experimentation can show this.

4.8 Rank of Variables in Language Choice & Use

Similarly, item 7 on the questionnaire sought to find out not only what determine speakers' choice and use of language (as in item 6 above) but also the respondents were asked to rank the variables in an order which determines their choice most and least of all. Out of six options, they were asked to choose three and rank them in an order of priority. The variables include (a) age; (b) sex; (c) personal appearance; (d) race (nationality); (e) tribe (ethnicity); and (f) social status of the listener.

The responses are summarized in tables 8(a) and (b).

Table 8(a)

Variation in Rank of Language Choice

S/No.	Variables	Rank in Order of Priority 1	2	3	No. of Response Per Variable	%
1.	age	37	20	20	77	43.75
2.	sex	1	16	5	22	12.5
3.	personal appearance	16	15	20	51	28.97
4.	race	16	19	9	44	25
5.	tribe	50	34	21	105	59.65
6.	social status	42	21	45	108	61.36

Table 8(b)

Variation in Rank of Language Choice in Percentages

S/No.	Variable	Rank in Order of Priority 1	2	3	Percentage Total
1.	age	21.02	11.36	11.36	43.75
2.	sex	0.56	9.09	2.84	12.5
3.	personal appearance	9.09	8.52	11.36	28.97
4.	race	9.09	10.79	5.11	25
5.	tribe	28.40	19.31	11.93	59.65
6.	social status	23.86	11.93	25.56	61.36

As shown in tables 8(a) and (b) it can be deduced that the 'sex' of the interlocutor is the least determinant of language choice and use in the university speech community, with 22 (i.e 12.5%) respondents compared to the 'social status' 108 (i.e 61.36%) of the interlocutor. This information is significant in the sense that in the speech community under study, there are no language differentiations between males and females whether in the choice of whole languages or linguistic features preserved exclusively for gender use as is the case in Java (see Trudgill, 1983). However, sex differentiation is made in some languages especially in the use of address forms. For example, Nupe and Igbo (see the section on interview for details).

4.9 Change in Tone to Suit Listener's Age

Item 8 on both the questionnaire and the interview sought to find out whether speakers change their tone (voice) to suit the listener's age (i.e. according to the age of their interlocutor). The question was analysed by using cultural background as a parameter. The following table shows the responses according to the influence of the speakers' cultural background.

Table 9

Tone Change According to Listener's Age

S/No.	Language	Number of Responses		Percentage
		Yes 123	No 47	
1	English	123		50
2	Hausa	27		10.97
3	Yoruba	21		8.53
4	Igbo	10		4.06
5	Other Nigerian Languages	59		23.98
6	Non-Nigerian Languages	6		2.43
	Total No of Resp.	246		99.97

It can be seen from the above table that most people change their tone to suit the age of listener. Out of the 176 respondents 123 (i.e 50%) of the total number of responses (216) indicated that they change their tone; while 47 (i.e 26.70%) respondents out of the total number of 176 respondents say they don't, and 6 (i.e 3.40%) of 176 respondents did not indicate whether they do or not. The table also indicates that there are cultural influences in the change of tone while engaging in a conversation. It also shows that there is an underlying cultural undertone in the use of language.

4.10 Style-Shifting in Language Use

Item 9 on the questionnaire sought to find out whether style (i.e whether from being formal to informal and vice-versa in language choice and use) is changed when discussing a topic. People are not usually conscious of this speech behaviour. It is a psychological phenomenon. The following percentages were obtained from the analysis: 147 (i.e 83.5%) respondents indicated that they shift in their speech style; 20 (i.e 11.4%) say they don't; while 9 (i.e 5.1%) did not indicate whether they do or not. We shall discuss this later in this chapter.

4.10.1 Style-Shift and Language Choice

Item(i) on the questionnaire is a sequel to 9 above. It sought to find out which language variety speakers choose and use from the suggested list, if they shift style (style as used here includes both whole languages and varieties of languages) in a formal discussion. Table 10 below shows a summary of the responses:

Table 10

Style-Shifting in a Formal Speech Situation

S/No.	Language (Variety)	No. of Respondents	
1.	Standard English	123	66.84
2.	Nigerian English	13	7.06
3.	Pidgin/Broken English	2	1.08
4.	My language	13	7.06
5.	A dialect of my language	4	2.17
6.	Any other language which suits the topic; and which my listener understands	28	15.21
7.	Language determined by my listener	1	0.54
Sub-Total No. of Respondents		184	99.96
Total No. of Respondents		176	

It can be seen from the table that Standard English (SE) has the highest number of respondents with 123 (i.e 66.84%). It therefore shows that SE has the highest percent of usage in formal speech situations where specialized subjects are being discussed. For one respondent, however, style-shift is determined by the listener - i.e, perhaps who the person is and the interpersonal relationship that exists between them.

4.10.2 Style-Shifting and Language Choice in an Informal Speech Situation

Item 10(ii) is related to 10(i) above. Here, however, we sought to find out, using the same varieties of languages, which language (variety) speakers use in an informal speech situation when when discussing a general subject or personal affairs. they want to shift-style. The table below shows the number of respondents and their language choice.

Table 11

Style-Shifting in an Informal Speech Situation

S/No.	Language (Variety)	Number of Respondents	Percentage
1.	Standard English	10	6.57
2.	Nigerian English	23	15.13
3.	Pidgin/Broken English	17	11.18
4.	My language	12	7.89
5.	A dialect of my language	2	1.31
6.	Any other language which my listener understands	55	36.18
7.	A combination of two or more languages	30	19.73
8.	Choice according to listener, topic or situation	33	1.97
	Sub-Total No. of Resp.	152	99.96%
	Total No. of Resp.	176	

Similar to what we observed on table 10, table 11 shows that different languages are used in addition to English. And, as shown also on table 10, some speakers choose a language (variety) according to the listener, topic or social situation. For these people, therefore, the formality or informality of the situation does not really matter. Nonetheless, a majority of the respondents 55 (i.e 36.18%) out of the 152 respondents to this item indicated that they choose any other language which suits the topic and which their interlocutor understands.

In addition, even though only 10 (i.e 6.57%) out of the total number of respondents for this item indicated that they use standard English in an informal discussion, it goes to show that they do not distinguish between a formal and an informal situation.

4.11 Form of Address in a Relationship of 'Power'

Item 12 on the questionnaire sought to find out the form of address people choose and use in a relationship where either they or their interlocutor are in a position of power (i.e authority). Below is the summary of the responses we got:

Table 12

Form of Address in a 'Power' Relationship

S/No.	Address Form	Number of Respondents	%
1.	First Name (FN)	24	14.81
2.	Family Name (Fam. N)	10	6.17
3.	Title (T)	125	77.16
4.	Nick-Name (NN)	-	-
5.	Pet Name (PN)	-	-
6.	Others - Sir/Madam	3	1.85
		162	99.99

The table above shows that out of the 162 (99.99%) who responded to this item, 125 (77.16%) indicated that they use a person's title in a relationship of 'power' - that is where either they or their interlocutor is in a position of authority. The same applies in the case of the 10 respondents who use the family name /FAM N+T/ plus the title. This shows to a large extent that there is a high degree of formality between the speakers and by implication, a high degree of subordination. This can be compared to the 24 respondents who indicated that they use the First Name (FN) only when addressing their interlocutor. This indicates that the speakers are in a position of

authority or otherwise do so to indicate or show superiority. This behaviour is similar to Ervin-Tripps' (1972) findings on the American Address forms. More discussion on this will be done later in the chapter.

4.11.1 Form of Address in a Relationship of 'Solidarity'

Similarly, item 13 on the questionnaire sought to find out the form of address people choose and use in a relationship of solidarity - that is, in a speech situation where they are either equal in ranks with their interlocutor or are friends. The same address forms as given in Table 14 were used for this item. The responses are shown in table 13 below:

Table 13

Form of Address in a Relationship of 'Solidarity'

S/No.	Address Form	Number of Respondents	%
1.	First Name (FN)	94	56.62
2.	Family Name (Fam. N)	12	7.22
3.	Title (T)	14	8.43
4.	Nick Name (NN)	21	2.65
5.	Pet Name (PN)	5	3.01
6.	Others: Code Name (CN)/ Comrade/ Endearment		
7.	Two or more address forms	18	10.84
	TOTAL	166	99.97

From the responses shown in the table above 94 (i.e 56.62%) people indicated that they use their interlocutor's first name (FN) in a given speech situation as an address form. This shows a high percentage of solidarity between the speakers. This also implies that in a university speech community which has not only been highly Westernised, but also by virtue of the equality in academic rank, people are less formal in the use of academic titles, for instance. In contrast to the use of (FN) some speakers still use the (T) in a situation of solidarity - here, this would refer to equality in rank rather than friendship. That is, being equal in rank does not necessarily mean friendship to this group of persons. 14 (ie 8.43%) indicated that they use their interlocutor's title as an address form. In sharp contrast to this situation is the use of nick names (NN) as indicated by 21 (i.e 12.65%) respondents as an address form to show solidarity with their interlocutor.

This implies that there is a high degree of intimacy and in turn solidarity between the speakers. The table also shows that very few people, 5 (i.e 3.01%) indicated that they use the speaker's pet name. And only 2 (i.e 1.20%) respondents indicated that they use other address forms apart from the ones suggested on

the questionnaire such as; a 'code name', 'comrade' or an endearment like 'Dear'. In addition, 18 (i.e 10.84%) out of 166 respondents to this item indicated that they use 2 or more address forms. While 12 (i.e 7.22%) respondents indicated that they use the Family Name (Fam. N). This, to some extent, implies that the degree of solidarity between the interlocutors is less compared to those who use (FN). Cultural differences/similarities in the use of address forms will be discussed later.

4.11.2 Determinant of Degree of Formality or Informality in a Given Speech Situation or Event

Item 14 on the questionnaire was designed to find out the factor which determines the degree of distance or intimacy between speakers in a given speech event. Respondents were required to indicate the factor which most determines the degree of formality or informality in their choice and use of language in a given speech situation/event. The following table shows the responses gathered.

Table 14

Determinant of Formality or Informality in a Speech Event

S/No.		Number of Respondents	%
1.	Topic	20	12.12
2.	Setting	19	11.51
3.	Speech Situation	63	38.18
4.	Degree of 'Power' or 'Solidarity' between my interlocutor and myself	54	32.72
5.	A combination of some or all the factors listed (i.e a-d)	9	5.45
	Total No. of Respondents	165	99.92

It can be seen from the table above that the speech situation (i.e whether formal or informal) most determines the degree of transactionality or intimacy between interlocutors in their choice and use of language in the university speech community. This is indicated by 63 (i.e 38.18%) respondents out of the 165 who responded to the question. For some people, however, the degree or level of formality or informality between the interlocutors determines their choice and use of language. This is indicated by 54 (i.e 32.72%) of the respondents. This response is corroborated by other respondents interviewed who said that their choice of the address form, especially, is

determined by the level of 'power' or 'solidarity' between them and their interlocutors. This shows that the interpersonal relationship which exists between speaker - cordial or formal - has a lot of influence on speakers' choice and use of language. The topic of discourse to some extent also determines the level of formality or informality between the interlocutors during a speech event. This is indicated by 20 (12.12%) of the respondents. The least determinant in this case is the setting as indicated by 19 (11.51%) respondents only. While 9 (5.45%) respondents indicated that for them it is a combination of some or all the factors listed (i.e a-d) on the questionnaire. And, 9 (5.45%) did not respond to the question.

4.12 Reason for Change of Voice in a Speech Event

Item 15 on the questionnaire is socio-psychological in nature. It sought to find out why people change their voice (if they do) in a speech event. It also sought to find out how people are affected socially by others and the language(s) they choose and use. The results are shown on table 17 below:

Table 15

Reason for Changing Voice in a Speech Event

Socio-Psychological Factors	No. of Respondents	%
(a) I like the person	9	5.59
(b) I want approval	25	15.52
(c) I want to maintain my image	35	21.73
(d) I want to conform with the rules of the language	56	34.78
(e) I have no choice but to speak in that way	29	18.01
(f) Two or more reasons	3	1.86
(g) None of the above (i.e, speakers do not change voice for the reasons suggested)	4	2.48
TOTAL	161	99.97

Table 15 shows that most of the respondents to this item as indicated by 56 (i.e 34.78%) out of the total 161 change their voice to conform with the rules of the language they speak. In other words, they would change their voice (tone) to suit the speech situation - formal or informal. However, 35 (i.e 21.73%) respondents indicated that they change their voice to suit an image which they portray to others. This signifies that they want to maintain a social status when they speak. On the other hand, 29 (i.e

18.01) respondents indicated that they have no choice but to change the tone of their voice when they speak. This shows that this group of speakers is concerned about conforming with both social and linguistic norms of the language they speak. 25 (i.e 15.52%) respondents to this item say they change their tone because they want approval from their interlocutor. This shows that they are not so much concerned with conforming with the rules of the language as they are about trying to please their interlocutor.

Similarly, 9 (i.e 5.59%) out of the 161 who responded to this item, indicated that they change their voice because they like their interlocutor. In both situations, there is a need for psychological readjustment, so to speak, in order to derive some communicative satisfaction. 3 (i.e 1.86%) respondents, on the other hand, indicated two or more reasons why they change their voice in a speech event. While 4 (i.e 2.48%) indicated that they do not change their voice for any of the reasons suggested on the questionnaire.

4.13 Motivations for Code-Switching

Item 16 on the questionnaire as well as the interview, was designed to find out people's motivations for code-switching in their choice and use of language

as either bi- or multilinguals. Table 16 below shows the most motivating and the least motivating factor for code-switching among the subjects sampled:

Table 16

Motivation for Code-Switching in a Speech Event

S/No.	Reasons for Code-Switching	No. of Respondents	%
1.	It happens unconsciously	39	22.67
2.	My listener understands the other language well	17	9.88
3.	The message can be best expressed in the 2nd lang.	60	34.88
4.	Two or more reasons	3	1.74
5.	I do not switch	3	1.74
	Total Number of Respondents	122	69.31

From the table above, the responses given on the reasons for code-switching shows that 60 (i.e 34.88%) out of 172, the total number of subjects who responded to this item, code-switch because the message they want to relay can best be expressed in the second language. This suggests here that the choice of language is

motivated by the message. The message then, is language specific. Most important of all, it suggests that both speakers are bilingual or multilingual in their speech behaviour. While 50 (i.e 29.06%) of the 172 respondents indicated that they express themselves better in one of the languages (i.e where speakers speak more than 2 languages) that is why they code-switch. 39 (i.e 22.67%) respondents, on the other hand, indicated that they code-switch unconsciously - that is, they are not aware of their doing so. This group can be said to be compound bilinguals (see Howell and Veter 1976:273). But are coordinate bi- or multilinguals when the two or more languages are maintained as separate systems as indicated by the (1.74%) who said they did not switch-codes when they speak.

4.14 Motivations for Code-Mixing

In a similar vein, item 17 on the questionnaire sought to find out what motivates people to mix codes (i.e intra-sentential switch within two or more languages) when they speak in a given speech event. Though this phenomenon is similar to some extent to code-switching which is inter sentential, the responses given show that they differ remarkably. The responses on item 17 are presented on Table 19 below:

Table 17

Motivations for Code-Mixing

S/No.	Suggested Reasons for Code-Mixing	No. of Respondents	%
1.	It is a style of speaking	9	5.26
2.	I do it unconsciously/it just happens	77	45.02
3.	My listener understands what I mean	41	23.97
4.	I don't know/I can't explain the reason	5	2.92
5.	I just feel like speaking like that		
6.	It allows me to express myself better	36	21.05
7.	Two or more reasons	2	1.16
8.	I don't mix	1	0.58
	Total Number of Respondents	171	99.96

The table reiterates the fact that code-mixing is something speakers do unconsciously although they could be motivated to do so sometimes. This is indicated by 77 (i.e 45.02%) respondents out of the 171 subjects who responded to this item. The number of respondents to this item is almost twice the number of respondents to item 16(b) which is the same suggested response. 41 (i.e 23.97%) respondents out of the 171 subjects indicated that they code-mix because they know that

their interlocutor understands what they mean.

On the other hand, 36 (i.e 21.05%) respondents indicated that they code-mix because it allows them to express themselves better. However, 9 (i.e 5.26%) respondents said that code-mixing is a style of speaking with them. This phenomenon was initially observed as a new trend in the speech behaviour of students generally, but a closer look reveals that it is also a common phenomenon even among lecturers and other speakers. While 5 (i.e 2.92%) respondents indicated that they do not know why they code-mix. This response is similar to item 17(b) already analysed. Although the number of respondents is negligible, it further reiterates the point that code-mixing is an unconscious speech behaviour. 2 (i.e 1.16%) respondents indicated that they are motivated by two or more factors when they code-mix. And, only 1 (i.e 0.58%) respondent, out of the total 171 who responded to this item, indicated that s/he does not mix codes. This is minimal compared with the 3 in item 16(f) who say they do not switch codes. A further discussion on these phenomena will be made later in the chapter.

4.15 Speech Behaviour and the Speaker's Attitude Toward the Interlocutor

Item 18 on the questionnaire sought to find out whether a person's liking or dislike for his listener

affects the way he/she speaks to him or her. This question was also posed to the subjects interviewed. The responses are shown on the table below:

Table 18

Speech Behaviour and the Speaker's Attitude Toward the Listener

Response	Number of Respondents	Percentage
Yes	116	70.30
No	49	29.69
TOTAL	165	99.99%

The responses from the table show that out of the 165 (i.e 99.99%) speakers who responded to this item, 116 (i.e 70.30%) speakers indicated in the affirmative. In other words their liking or dislike affects their speech behaviour. While, 49 (i.e 29.69%) respondents indicated that they do not change in their speech behaviour toward their listener. That is, their liking or dislike for their interlocutor does not affect their speech attitude toward him/her.

4.15.1 Speaker's Response to the Interlocutor's Attitude

Sequel to item 18 on the questionnaire is item 19 which sought to find out if speakers are affected by

their interlocutor in their speech behaviour; what motivates their behaviour toward such a person? Some suggested behaviour were given to guide the respondents. Below are the responses given on Table 19:

Table 19

Speaker's Motivation for Speech Behaviour Toward their Interlocutor

S/No.	Responses	No. of Respondents	%
1.	Politely because I can't help it	23	16.78
2.	Respectfully even though I don't like him/her	44	32.12
3.	Because the situation demands that I should be polite	57	41.61
4.	Rudely because I detest him/her	10	7.30
5.	Two or more reasons.	3	2.19
	Total No. of Respondents	137	100%

From the responses presented on the table above, we can see that out of the 13 subjects who responded to the item, 57 (i.e 41.61%) respondents indicated that they change in their speech behaviour whether they like their interlocutor or not because the situation demands that they should be polite. Similarly, 44 (i.e

32.12%) indicated that they speak respectfully to their interlocutor even though they do not like him/her. And, 23 (i.e 16.78%) respondents indicated that they speak politely to their interlocutor because they cannot help it. All these indicate that the speakers are constrained by the socio-cultural norms of the speech community in which they live. On the other hand however, 10 (i.e 7.30%) respondents indicated that they will speak rudely to their interlocutor because they detest him or her. This shows non-conformity with societal norms. While 3 (i.e 2.19%) respondents indicated that they are motivated by two or more reasons in a speech situation like this.

4.15.2 Speaker's Impression on the Listener

Similarly, item 20 on the questionnaire posed a socio-psychological question. It sought to find out whether speakers try to impress their listener when they speak by doing any of the speech behaviour suggested. This item, like items 18, 19 and 21, was also designed to find out speaker's attitude toward their interlocutor in their projection of themselves and in their choice and use of language in an interpersonal relationship. Below is a summary of the findings on this item presented on Table 20:

Table 20

Speakers' Impression on the Listener

S/No.	Responses	No. of Respondents	%
1.	Changing my tone to suit his/hers	26	15.29
2.	Displaying competence of the subject-matter	39	22.94
3.	Imitating his/her speech	1	0.59
4.	Just being myself	103	60.59
5.	None of the above	1	0.59
	Total No. of Respondents	170	100%

We can see from the table above that 103 (i.e 60.58%) respondents out of the 170 who responded to this item indicated that they do not try to impress their interlocutor when they speak. That is, in a given speech event, they will just be their normal selves and speak the way they normally do. On the contrary, 39 (i.e 29.94%) respondents indicated that they try to impress their listener by displaying competence of the subject matter at hand. While 26 (i.e 15.29%) respondents indicated that they change their tone to suit that of their interlocutor. Only 1 (i.e 0.58%) respondent indicated that s/he imitates the speech of his/her interlocutor in order to impress him/her.

On the other hand, however, 1 (i.e 0.58%) other respondent said none of the suggestions given on the item presented on table 20 applied to him/her.

4.15.3 Speech Behaviour and Social Identity

As mentioned earlier, item 21 on the questionnaire aimed at finding out the socio-psychological motivations for speakers' behaviour in a given speech event. The item sought to find out whether speakers try to maintain an image when they speak to conform with one of the suggestions listed under the item. Table 21 below shows the responses gathered on this item:

Table 21

Speech Behaviour and Social Identity

S/No.	Suggested Responses	No. of Respondents	%
1.	A Social group which I belong to	15	8.93
2.	My social status	40	23.80
3.	The social status of my listener	25	14.88
4.	The social situation	80	47.63
5.	Two or more reasons	6	3.57
6.	None of the above	2	1.19
	Total No. of Respondents	168	99.99

As shown on the table above, speakers' speech behaviour tend to conform with the social situation in which they find themselves rather than the social group to which they belong. This is indicated by 80 (i.e 47.62%) and 15 (i.e 8.92%) respondents respectively. However, 40 (i.e 23.80%) respondents indicated that they try to conform with their own social status when they speak as opposed to the 25 (i.e 14.88%) who said they consider the social status of their listener. While 6 (i.e 3.57%) respondents indicated two or more reasons which influence their speech behaviour. And 2(i.e 1.19%) said none of the suggestions listed under the item influence their speech behaviour. From the responses gathered on this item it shows that in most cases, the social situation (i.e whether formal or informal) has the greatest influence on speakers' speech behaviour and their social identity - that is, it influences the manner in which they present themselves to the listener and how they conform with the speech situation.

4.16 Choice of a National Language

Item 22(a) on the questionnaire, as well as the last question for the interview, sought to find out people's opinions on the choice of a national language

for the country. The subjects were asked to suggest one language among the ones they speak as a national language for Nigeria. The responses gathered on this item are presented on table 22 below:

Table 22

Choice of a National Language (N=176)

S/No.	Language Suggested	No. of Respondents	%
1.	English	112	70
2.	English and or Hausa	5	3.13
3.	English or Pidgin	1	0.62
4.	English or French	1	0.62
5.	Hausa	30	18.75
6.	Igbo	-	-
7.	Yoruba	3	1.88
8.	Pidgin	1	0.62
9.	Other Nigerian Languages	2	1.25
10.	Arabic	1	0.62
11.	None of the languages	2	1.25
12.	I do not care which	1	0.62
13.	An unresolvable political issue	1	0.62
	Total No. of Respondents	160	99.98

The responses presented on the table above show that English seems to be the most favoured language with 112 (i.e 70%) respondents. This signifies that English is still regarded as a unifying force for the numerous ethnic/linguistic groups that exist in the country (see 1.7). The danger envisaged here is that most people do not quite know what is involved in deciding on a national language. Following closely is Hausa with 30 (i.e 18.75%) respondents who suggested that Hausa should be the national language for the country. Yoruba, which is one of the tripatriate national languages, was suggested by 3 (i.e 1.88%) respondents. This does not mean that only 3 people are pro-Yoruba. Neither is Igbo, for instance, which was not even suggested by any respondent as the national language. This does not mean that Igbo speakers were not sampled. Perhaps it is just a matter of choice. Only 2 (i.e. 1.25%) respondents suggested the other Nigerian languages (ONL) as national languages. While 1 (i.e 0.62%) respondent suggested Pidgin. And, 1 (i.e 0.62%) respondent also suggested Arabic, a non-Nigerian language (NNL) as the national language.

Similarly, French, which has the same Foreign Language (FL) status as Arabic, has only 1 (i.e 0.62%) respondent out of the total 160 respondents to this item; while 2 (i.e 1.25%) respondents indicated that none of the languages they speak should be used as the

national language. But 1 (i.e 0.62%) respondent indicated that s/he does not care whichever language is adopted. Interestingly, one respondent sees the issue of a national language as an unresolvable political issue. While 5 (i.e 3.13%) respondents, on the other hand, suggested a bilingual option - they indicated that English and or Hausa should be the national languages.

4.16.1 Choice of a Lingua Franca

In a similar vein, item 22(b) sought to find out people's views on the choice of a Lingua Franca for the nation, both on the questionnaire and interview. Here, a Lingua Franca is taken to mean a language of daily communication; trade and commerce used among people who share different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Table 23 below is a summary of the responses given on the item.

Table 23

Choice of a Lingua Franca (N = 176)

S/No.	Language Suggested	No. of Respondents	%
1.	English	82	55.03
2.	English, Hausa, Pidgin	1	0.67
3.	English/Pidgin	2	1.34
4.	English and or Hausa	2	1.34
5.	Pidgin	12	8.05
6.	Hausa	42	28.19
7.	Yoruba	1	0.67
8.	Igbo	1	0.67
9.	ONL	2	1.34
10.	NNL (Arabic)	1	0.67
11.	Evolve a new language (synthesis of the 'major languages' in the country)	1	0.67
12.	A political issue	1	0.67
13.	Anything that can be understood.	1	0.67
	Total Number of Respondents	149	99.98

As shown on table 23 above English is still the most favoured language for a Lingua Franca suggested by 82 out of 149 (55.03%) respondents. While 42 (28.19%) respondents indicated that Hausa should be used as the Lingua Franca. Pidgin was also chosen by 12 (8.02%)

respondents. These figures are high when compared with the number of subjects who suggested Yoruba and Igbo, which are both 'major Nigerian Languages' - 1 (0.67%) respondent each. But 2 (1.34%) respondents chose other Nigerian languages and 1 (0.67%) respondent suggested Arabic as the Lingua Franca for Nigeria. Considering the number of people who speak Arabic in the country the feasibility of this choice is subject to debate. As in the case of item 22 (a) 1 (0.67%) respondent maintained that the issue of choosing a lingua franca is a political one. And, 1 (0.67%) other respondent who adopted a fence-sitting attitude indicated that anything that can be understood could be the lingua franca. We can say that this does not give a definite answer to the question but an - I-don't-care-attitude to the problem.

4.17 Analysis of the Recorded Spoken Discourse

An eclectic approach was applied to our data in order to show the whollistic point of view to the study of spoken discourse. From the analysis of the sample speech event we have in 2.2.9 1 we proposed that Language Choice and Use can be studied from different but interrelated perspectives. A thorough examination showed that the speech events we have studied showed

similar traits or had similar features which enabled us to apply the eclectic approach. For instance, we found that in most of the speech events recorded there were incidences of speaker's topic, overlaps with code switching and mixing (see Appendix G). Four operations are carried out on each of the recorded ulterances:

(a) transcription of sound listened to from the radio-cassette tape recorder;

(b) morpheme to morpheme translation from Hausa to English;

(c) rendition of the translated utterances in Standard English and;

(d) a sociolinguistic interpretation of the utterances.

The interlocutors are identified by letters A, B, C, etc, while the speech situations and speech events are numbered according to how they are presented in Appendix G.

4.17.1 Analysis of Discourse

1.1 A: ....

B: A-a Mallam!
No, no Mister
"Ah! no Mister"

A: There's responsibility allowance.
I'm serious
/Laughter/

C: I know of contigency allowance

D: Inconvenience allowance.

A: Yes. I mean the university should make a policy like that to take care of Staff + Any time you're ready.

B: I can't get it. I know I can't get it.

C: There's air conditioner in the office

A: She has a fridge, everything in her house

B: /Laughs/
/General laughter/

The speech situation is a formal one: departmental meeting to consider examination results. External exam moderators are also present. The domain is outside the meeting room along the corridor. However, before the meeting started members were engaged in other social issues. Participant A initiated a discussion on a new job with MAMSER. He did this by enumerating the benefits to be derived from the job. Thus, hoping to get participant B interested in the job through persuassion. B found the proposition interesting, but did not think it would be easy to get the job; hence his exclamation in Hausa to show the incredulity of the proposition. Speaker A switched to English to continue with the conversation perhaps to include the other members standing around. The conversation becomes a general one as other members join in; though the topic remained unchanged, but slightly modified. Speaker A can be said to have solicited for the

opinions of the other members around in order to gain B's consent to apply for the job.

2. D: Be careful you don't get--

You'll get a black eye before you get the letter

/General talk/

E: Actually you need to see the list of attendance. It's so long.

C: Mhm, it takes almost a whole page.

/Laughter/

3. A: Yaya, har yanzu?
How, up till now?
"Hasn't it /the meeting/ started yet?"

B: Uhum, an dai kusan farawa
Well, it is near starting
"Well, it's about to start."

A: Wa a ke jira?
Who it is waiting for?
"Who is/are being awaited?"

B: Ba a dai bude ba.
It is yet opened not
"The room hasn't been opened yet"
+Anajiran wasu; ba su gama a bin nan din su ba.
+It is waiting some people; they not finish the thing their own not.
"Some people; they haven't finished compiling their results."

The domains of speech events 2 and 3 are the same as speech event 1 analysed above. But while speech event 2 has to do with speech event 1 -that is, the discussion on the job application; speech event 3 is about the meeting itself. Speaker A initiated the topic

by asking a question in Hausa. Speaker A wanted to know whether the meeting had started. He used Hausa instead of English even though the topic and setting are formal. Also, Speaker A wishing to identify with B chose and used Hausa by his act of 'projection.' Speaker B 'converged' in her speech behaviour to show ethnic solidarity with a grounding supportive move which is a 'satisfy' of an anticipated 'proffer' that initiated a pre-responding exchange. Thereby, giving A the chance to continue the conversation in Hausa. A is also able to elicit the required information from B: that of wanting to know whether the meeting had started. Here, the use of Hausa is appropriate because the setting is not a strictly formal one - outside the meeting room with members of staff in small groups discussing varied topics related and unrelated to exam matters - the purpose for which the meeting was called. The issue of 'relevancy' of the speakers topic is better expressed in the following speech event:

4. A: ... and legally they have to sign.

   B: And that's the most ... the most difficult part of it.

   C: So, what's going to happen now?

   B: They have to compute their second year and third year grades.

C: Tonight?

B: Tomorrow

D: Oba is around

A: Yeah, and I think Professor N. is acting as the external examiner for Literature.

Speech event 4 also takes place in the same domain. The topics of discourse are the examination and the semester system. Members are having a pre-meeting discussion on the matters. Their contributions to the topics are relevant. Speaker D 'proffered' a piece of information which was acceptable to Speaker A who also gave an additional information about the external examiner for Literature. There seemed to be a general concensus in this conversation. In this also, the use of English is appropriate because of the topic of discourse.

4.17.5.1 A: Hey, sauran kadan da na ba da....
Hey! remain small would I give
"Hey! I almost gave away..."

This utterance expresses an incomplete thought because we do not know what the Speaker meant to say. We can only guess or infer that the Speaker almost gave away 'something' - undisclosed - but which the interlocutor might have known about. This speech

behaviour expresses the notion that when speakers share a common knowledge or cultural background certain words or expressions can be elipsed and yet the interlocutors would still understand what was meant and still get the speaker's message. In other words, they use a restricted code. In this regard, therefore, meaning is implicit and culturally embeded or imbibed. The same phenomenon can be inferred in the next speech event:

2. A: Wai a bokiyar Amina ce
That friend Amina's she is
"She is Amina's friend."

This utterance doesn't tell us much about the conversation since like the former there is no pre-exchange. Speech event 2 appears to be an information 'proffered' but which does not require any response because Speaker A did not react to the statement. Nonetheless both speech events took place in the hostel domain.

3. A: Kitson ya yi kyau
Hairdo this he is beautiful
"The hairdo is beautiful."

B: E?
"What?"

A: Wa ce rana yau!
What is day today!
"What day is today!"

B: Allah?
God?
"Truly?"

C: Da ma ba ta kitso ne?
Before even not she braid/plait?
"Doesn't she usually braid/plait her hair?"

A: Da ta na kitso
Before she is braid/plait /prog./ her hair
"She used to braid/plait her hair."

C: Sai ka ce abin nan
As if you is something this
"As if it is something new/strange."

The domain of language use here is still the hostel. We observed that students use their own language (Hausa in this case) or English commonly in this domain. The domain is informal and the use of Hausa here is appropriate. The interlocutors are roomates and friends. The use of an expression like "Yau wa ce rana Angulu ta yi kitso" is a common expression used by Hausa speakers to express surprise at an unexpected phenomenon/event or achievement. Speaker A made a complimentary remark about B's hairdo. Speaker B responded by asking a question because she did not hear what Speaker A had said. But Speaker C's question was more like a challenge than to seek information. Unlike A, C did not see B's new hair look as a feat or something spectacular. Here, we can see how attitudes differ in their reaction to a particular thing. This is in turn reflected in their speech behaviour - i.e language use.

4. B: Na dai je batun ring boiler ɗin ki amma
bai yi ba
+Amma yana ɗan yi dai, ba laifi dai.

I_ anyway have gone about ring boiler yours
/+ feminine/ but he not do it + But it small
works/functions no problem anyway.

"I went to find out about your ring boiler,
but the man hadn't fixed/repaired it. +
But it still works/functions slowly."

The domain of this speech is still the hostel. Here Speaker B introduced a new topic - that of the 'ring boiler', as a point of information. No response is given by either A or C as it would normally be expected. It would seem here that Speaker B's contribution is not salient to the conversation at hand. However, since there is no further discussion on the 'hairdo' it could be taken that B's contribution is just a piece of information. This is normal in a conversation.

5. A: Wai wane ne yake jin zufa?
That, who he is hear heat?
"Who is feeling hot?"

B: A nan ɗakin?
In here room?
"In this room?"

A: Uhm. Wa ya kunna fan ka?
Uhm. Who he light the fan?
"Yes. Who switched the fan on?"

+Wanda ya kunna ya kashe
Whoever he light he should kill.
"Whoever switched on the fan should switch it off"
/Laughter/

+... Ah.. a ▾ he ..! Kin fara ko?
You /fem./ started not so?
.."You have started again, haven't you?"

Speech Event 5:

Domain: Female hostel in AB

Topic: The fan

Participants: Three

Like the other speech events studied, The/Speech event presented above showed elements of turn-taking in the conversation of speakers A, B, and C. It also showed a question-response pattern, but with a lot of repetition of the same question. For instance Speaker A asked who was feeling hot because the fan was switched on. Speaker B in her response to A's question, also asked a question which made A repeat her initial question - that of wanting to know who had switched on the fan. And not getting a suitable response, gave a subtle command - i.e asking the person responsible for the action to switch off the fan. Instead of performing the necessary illocutionary act, there was a pun on words. Speaker C repeated what speaker A had said and vice-versa. It went on and on until it ended in a light mood - signified by the laughter at the end of the conversation. This is common among friends. Here, although we do not know whether the goal of A's speech act was achieved, the mood of the

conversation depicted a jovial atmosphere and showed the friendly interpersonal relationship between the speakers (see further analysis of the spoken data in Appendix F).

4.18 Patterns of Language Choice in the Spoken Data

In the spoken data, the following patterns of language choice and use were observed in relation to different domains.

4.18.1 Office Setting

English, Hausa and other Nigerian languages were chosen and used in the office domain. Sometimes speakers code-switch between English and the other languages they speak in this domain to discuss official issues or to 'diverge' when they do not want to include others in their conversation.

4.18.2 Home Setting

Here, it was largely observed that speakers use their MTs most. But to some extent, English and other languages are also used especially in situations where the family is a multilingual one. The choice of another language depended also on the presence of another speaker who did not share the same linguistic background with the host family.

4.18.3 Class Setting

English is the language most commonly used in this setting both as the language of instruction and for social communication. But in their speech behaviour, speakers sometimes use Pidgin within and outside this speech situation. Also, in this setting especially during recreation and places of relaxation, it was observed that speakers did a lot of code-switches and code-mixes in their speech habits; the commonest languages involved were English and Hausa. Speakers were motivated by ethnic identity and socio-psychological reasons to code-switch or mix.

4.18.4 Hostel Setting

In this setting different languages are chosen

For instance, English, Hausa, Pidgin and other languages are used. And being an informal setting speakers code-switch and code mix as well to show ethnic identity as well as solidarity with their interlocutor.

4.18.5 Club

Similarly, in this setting, speakers chose different languages. But the commonest language used are English, Pidgin and the MT depending on the interlocutor, to a large extent.

4.18.6 Code-Switching and Code-Mixing

Speakers code-switch in their speech behaviour especially in informal situations. Such switches are situational, metaphorical, conversational switches, etc. For instance speakers switched from English to either Hausa or another MT to redefine a social situation and to show ethnic solidarity as was shown in speech event 3; they switched metaphorically to discuss a new topic entirely as in speech event 7 where Speaker B used Pidgin to respond to A's question in Hausa after which the conversation continued in Pidgin and English. In addition, conversational switches or mixes also featured in the speakers' speech behaviour. Examples of such can be seen commonly in the speeches of students. This phenomenon showed that speakers are bilingual in English and the other languages they speak.

4.19 Discussion of Findings

As mentioned in 1.2 most of our subjects are migrants who have settled in Samaru for socio-economic reasons. But, unlike the Hausa settlers in Shagamu (see Joshua, 1990) most of the Hausas in Samaru are indigenes of the state. The presence of the other settlers dates back to the colonial era. That is, first during the period (1920s) when the railway and

then the Agricultural station were established in Zaria; and then during the establishment of Ahmadu Bello University in 1962. It was, therefore, not surprising that Hausa has become a Lingua Franca for most of the settlers. In this speech community in addition to English and their own languages. The linguistic behaviour of our subjects showed that Hausa and English (ibid) are the commonest languages used. This does not necessarily show perfect features of identification with the natives as Joshua (1990) reports in his findings.

Below is the discussion of the findings as answers to the problems highlighted in this research. The following discussion takes up the research problems one after the other.

4.19.1 Factors Determining Language Choice in a Given Speech Event

In our presentation of this item (4.7) four factors were used to find out which most determined speakers choice of language in a given speech event. Of these four: (a) person, (b) topic, (c) social situation and (d) place; most of our subjects (65.47%) indicated that the person to whom they were speaking determined the language they chose and used. For some people, however, it is a combination of some

or all of the factors listed on table 6 that determine their choice and use of language. This information tallies with the responses gathered on the same item during the interview with a different group of respondents.

In essence, we can then say that the choice of code (which is the independent variable) is determined by the dependent variables such as: the person; topic; social situation; and/or the place in which speech occurs.

4.19.2 The Frequency of Usage of Speakers' MT, L_1, L_2, L_3, etc

To find out the frequency with which speakers use their MT, L_1, L_2, L_3, and so on, we had to first find out their linguistic competence and the number of languages they speak. This was done to enable us know which subjects were either bi or multilingual in their speech behaviour. Our findings show on table 2(a) that all of the 176 (100%) respondents to our questionnaire are proficient in English. Although Hausa has (86.93%) speakers, only (49.43%) can speak and write it. And, of the (82.38%) who indicated that they used ONL, only (22.16%) are proficient in these languages. This reiterates the point that most Nigerians cannot read or write in their own languages; a situation which does not only causes concern for the

individual but also policy makers. This concern has led to the advocation for the use of the Mother Tongue at the elementary level of our educational system.

Furthermore, our findings show that a large number of people understand the languages spoken in the speech community but cannot speak them fluently as shown in column 1 of table 2(a) and as we have mentioned earlier. This indicates a very low degree of competence in these languages for meaningful interaction to take place. This is true of people who claim to understand Hausa, for instance, some speakers however, have a high degree of competence, even though partially, as shown in column 3 of the same table, and others have a high degree of competence as indicated in column 4. Those in the latter group are what Fishman refers to as bilinguals (multilinguals in our case) due to their ability to speak and write in the two or more languages which they understood.

However, it should be noted that competence does not necessarily imply performance as discovered in this study, since some speakers only have a 'knowledge of the languages they purport to 'speak' or 'know' but cannot speak or communicate either verbally or in writing. For such people, therefore, the languages are not functional since they have only a passive not active knowledge of them./ In other words they are incipient bi-multilinguals. They lack the communicative

competence which Hymes advocates (and which we support) as a mark of a speaker's membership of a speech community. This is also true of Adekunle's (1978)[7] findings on the functionnal use of English and other Nigerian languages.

The phenomenon just described can be equated with the issue of bi- or multilingualism in children within the same speech community whose parents are from different linguistic backgrounds. They are caught up between learning three or more languages at the same time. From observations, and as other studies have shown, they may grow up with one or two of these languages having dominance over their knowledge of the others. This perhaps explains why some people have only a passive knowledge of their own mother tongues (in some extreme cases). Language learning/acquisition in children is not within the scope of this study, hence it shall not be further discussed.

4.19.3 Use of Mother Tongue (MT)

Some of our subjects indicated that they use two MT's such as Hausa-Yoruba and Hausa-Fulani. This phenomenon represents one of the crucial sociolinguistic problems that the researcher is faced with - that is, the definition of terms like 'Mother Tongue', First Language (L_1), etc. Here, the problem is that of

ascription. This shows that either one of the respondent's parents is of mixed ethnic parenthood - i.e, the grandparents are also either of Yoruba-Hausa or Fulani-Hausa descent.

By a sociolinguistic definition of the term, MT refers to the language of the male parent (Nigeria, being a patrilineal society, it is the father's language, because of the patrileneal society and not the mother's that is considered as the child's language even though it is misnomally tagged 'Mother Tongue'). This is often explained by the fact that children grow up close to the mother; hence the name MT. The problem of definition still exists here especially in multilingual communities where it is not easy to determine the child's 'Mother tongue', especially in homes where the parents speak different languages (see an example in Appendix E). Some children grow up speaking English as revealled in our study (where English is commonly used in the home) or at best, have a passive knowledge of both parents' language enough to perform certain duties or carry out instructions in and around the home, but not enough to respond verbally. It is no wonder then that the language of the wider community along side English (which are learnt both at school and from peers and in some homes) seem to be gradually replacing the MT in some homes.

Nonetheless, it should be noted that not all the languages indicated as MT are used by the respondents as L_1 or in their daily transactions probably due to

problems of learnability. But our findings show that some languages are used both as MT and L_1 while for some speakers, totally different languages from the MT are utilized (see the rating of language use on item 3b in 4.3). This is perhaps due to the speakers limited knowledge of their MT. Alternative languages are used. For instance, Hausa, which is widely spoken in the North; Yoruba in the West; and Igbo in the East.

4.19.4 L_1 and Language Use

As already shown in 4.2.1 our findings on our subjects' use of the L_1 showed that some speakers are highly bilingual in their command of Hausa the LWC and one of the other Nigerian languages in addition to English; a situation which Fishman (1975) describes as both diglossia and bilingualism[8] with reference to speech communities in which both diglossia and bilingualism are widespread. His example of Paraguay as a nation where majority of the population speaks both Spanish and Guarani (see Rubin 1962, 1968) shows that is is one of the very few cases of nations that are fully bilingual and diglossic. In the case of Nigeria however, some speakers in the urban centres are multilingual while some in the rural areas are mono or bilingual in their speech behaviours.

In a multilingual setting where there is multilingualism but no diglossia a problem may arise for the student/pupil as well as the teacher, for instance, in a given situation where neither the teacher nor the student understands the language of instruction that is supposed to be used. And, in view of the new policy of education where emphasis is now being placed on the use of the MT the student/pupil will only end up the looser if the teacher does not understand or speak any of his MT(s).

4.19.5 Situations of Language Use

In order to determine what languages were used in which domains and the frequency of usage, we had to first identify some likely domains of language use in the speech community such as: the office, home; class; hostel; and club. Others include mosque/church and the market. Seven domains were identified as shown in 4.4. Using Fishman's (1975) 'Domain analysis' we tried to show which of the languages also given in 4.4 (see Tables 5(a) and (b)) is used frequently in the domains identified. Each of the languages was analysed in relation to the domains. Our findings showed that English is most commonly used in the Office domain by (72.72%) of the total number of speakers compared

to the (2.27%) who use non-Nigerian languages and the (2.27%) who use Igbo or the (7.95%) who use Yoruba or even the (25%) who use Hausa in the same domain.

In addition, English seems to be fairly consistent in the frequency of usage in other domains like the Home (38.63%); Class (71;02%); Hostel (36.93%); and the Club (44.31%). An exception here is in the home domain where it is slightly lower than other Nigerian Languages where (47.72%) use them more frequently and by far less than the use of Hausa in the same domain. However, English is rated the highest with 3.93 points in the office domain but lower than Pidgin which has 4 points in the home domain.

In another situational analysis, five metaphorical/ psychological situations were constructed and subjects were asked to indicate their choice and use of language in relation to 'person' and situation. This was meant to find out who spoke 'what' language to 'whom' and 'where' as earlier stated in (1.1.3) and presented in (4.6).

On the whole, our findings showed in the first part of the situational analysis that other languages, apart from English, are also used in the office domain. This statement is further corroborated by the subjects we interviewed, who said they used their own languages to discuss official matters in the office. And, as shown in (4.6) other languages are used for both official

and non official transactions. The results on Tables 5(ab); (6ab); and 13 also showed that both Nigerian and non Nigerian languages are used very often in the 'Home' setting. While Pidgin is also used in the 'Home' setting where it has acquired the status of an L_1. It is also used in the class (findings on the interviews), in the 'hostel' by students and at the 'club', but not in the office. The latter view is limited and therefore cannot be used to generalise for the whole speech community because of the minimal number of respondents who use Pidgin.

On the second aspect of the situational analysis, however, we found that (85.22%) of the 176 respondents use a different language with different people in different domains. But as stated earlier in 4.6, there are overlaps in the languages used and the people with whom they are used. For instance, two or more languages are used with the same person in the same domain or no distinction is made in the domains and only one or two languages are used concurrently.

In addition, where two or more Nigerian and other languages are spoken, they are used occasionally, but with prominence given to the FT and L_1 except in cases where English is the L_1. Another exception is Arabic which is used as the language of worship, and often in some homes.

This is contrary to Fishman's theory on domains, which is a situation where one language takes prominence over another. Much as we agree with Fishman, there are situations in our study where two or more languages are employed in the same domain with the same person on the same topic because of the multilingual nature of the society.

4.19.6 The Function of English Versus The Indigeneous Languages in a Multilingual/ Cultural Setting Like A.B.U.

From the discussion above on the domains and use of language, it is clear that English is most commonly used in most of the domains we have identified. However, it does not mean that English does not face some competition from the indigeneous languages. Their functions are therefore not compartmentalised. A point that was also made earlier by Adekunle (1978). This shows that all the languages play important roles in the speech community. Although English seems to play a higher role than the others because of its official status, the other languages have been found to be more suitable for use in certain speech situations, where English is employed secondarily. In this regard therefore, we could say that the language situation in this speech community is a polyglossic one and not diglossic in the sense in which Fishman (1975) meant it; polyglossic in the sense that the so-called Low (L)

varieties (in our case all other Nigerian languages apart from the 3 'major' ones) are also used in the official domain and for official transactions, at least in the verbal form.

4.19.7 Choice of Address Forms in Relationships of "Power" and "Solidarity"

As we have already stated in 4.11., this item was designed to find out the forms of address our subjects use in relationships of "power" and "solidarity". Our findings showed that people chose and used different address forms depending on the formality or informality of the speech situation, but most of all, depending on the interpersonal relationship which exists between the interlocutors. For instance, (77.16%) out of the 162 respondents to this item (see 4.11) use the interlocutor's title (T) mostly in a formal situation and where the interlocutor is of a higher authority or position of 'power' than themselves. While (56.62%) out of the 166 respondents to item 13 (see also 4.11.1) use the interlocutor's First Name (FN) mostly in an informal situation. Also, in this situation, (10.84%) respondents use two or more address forms. This indicates a high degree of solidarity between the interlocutors. It is however, interesting to note that some people also use the (FN) even in relationships of

power. This was indicated by (14.81%) compared with the (6.17%) who use the Family Name (Fam. N) in the same situation in addition to the (1.85%) who use other forms of address such as 'Sir'/'Madam' in the same formal situation. It should be noted however that, our concern with address forms is not so much with the choice of language but how they influence language use.

In this regard therefore, we can say that there is some informalization of the formality that exists between speakers even in strictly formal speech situations especially in the use of address forms; a semi-formal situation so to say. This situation can be compared to the degree of informality that sometimes exists in informal speech situation as we gathered from our interview responses. (see Appendix B) And, vice versa, as we also found out, there is a degree of formality in some informal speech situations thereby indicating that the degree of solidarity between the speakers is minimal.

The findings on the two items under discussion reiterate our contention that the interpersonal relationships among the speakers determine what language (code) they choose and use. Our findings, therefore, corelate with those of Brown and Gilman (1960), in which they stated that the use of the pronouns 'tu' and 'vous' (and their corresponding

verb forms) in several Romance Languages depended on relationships of 'power' and 'solidarity' existing between interlocutors.[9]

As earlier asserted, and as we have found out socio-cultural factors to a large extent determine the choice and use of language, more especially in the choice and use of address forms. This is true for Hausa speakers, for instance, for whom the social context in which language takes place is a very important feature in terms of the relationships and statuses of the speakers involved. For example, if the speakers are of equal rank, the language used will be informal but if they are of unequal ranks, the use of language will be formal. Likewise the different forms of address e.g the pronouns kai (=you + masculine); ke (=you + femine); ku (=you + plural for both masc. + fem.); etc, depend on the varying degree of intimacy between speakers. Also, for instance, different degrees of politeness may be required, and these are signalled linguistically in the different connotations of the pronouns or address forms used. An example of such expression or term is yallabai (=your honour); which is used among equals and non-equals alike as a sign of respect or recognition of 'power'.

The Hausa also use the personal address forms of title, as do the Americans (see Ervin-Tripp 1972)[10], where convention and tradition demand that people in authority should be addressed formally with their titles.

For instance, to address the Emir of Zaria as Mai girma Sarkin Zazzau (Your highness/excellency the Emir of Zaria) would be appropriate.

However, according to Kirk-Greene (1964)[11] Hausa society does not traditionally recognize the western habit of showing friendship by dropping the formality of the 'Mr' and addressing an acquaintance by his first (FN) or given name in a relation of power-solidarity. Thus, it is common to find close friends addressing one another as 'Mallam Isa' and 'Mallam Yakubu' despite their intimacy. To use only the (FN) means one is being disrespectful, at least by the older generation. Instead, nicknames (lakabi) are coined as substitutes. For example, Anglicised words like Hedimasta (=Headmaster), Chiaman (=Chairman), etc or Hausanised names like dan birni (=a city man), Sarki (=Chief), and Minista (=Minister), among others. However, due to western influence, in schools and universities, and even in some homes, it is common to hear students and lecturers call each other by their (FN) for instance, Simon, Audi, and so on, instead of Mallam or Alhaji.

Other indicators of power-solidarity in the use of personal address form can be seen in the following: educational titles such as Likita (=Doctor), Farfesa (=Professor); occupational titles - Likita (medical doctor); Mai Sharia (=Judge); last names - Mallam Saidu, Alhaji Bello.

Like English, Hausa has about five personal pronouns: ke (=you + femine), kai (=you + masculine), ku (=you + plural + masc./fem.), su (=they + plural + masc./fem.) and mu (=we + plural + masc./fem.) as indicators of power-solidarity. But, in most cases, it is considered rude to address an elder as 'ke' or 'kai' instead, such expressions or titles as Maman Ibrahim (Ibrahim's mother), Uwargida (wife/house wife), Maigida (Husband), yaya (Elder + sister/brother), inna (=Mother) can be used.

In addition, the titles Alhaji (=A pilgrim to Mecca) and Mallam (Mu'allim or teacher), which have religious connotations, are makers of power-solidarity in Hausa. The use of Mallam (Malama + feminine) was originally reserved for those learned in the Koran. It derives in fact, from the Arabic word for an Islamic scholar, Mu'allim. However, with the advent of western education, it became a common title for any educated person, and so by extension has come to be used as a courtesy title for any male adult corresponding fairly well with the western 'Mr' or 'Mrs'. Hence, a man can be addressed as Mallam Aminu even when his name is known or as Mallam in order to avoid or reduce the risk of social solecism (Krk-Greene, 1964) - that is a misapplication of a sociolinguistic rule which may be interpreted as an act of insolence.

These societal norms also apply to our subjects here on the campus. We have observed, especially among the Hausa speaking and some non-Hausa staff alike senior and junior) and students that, the title Mallam is often prefixed to the names of people addressed in social interaction, whether formal or informal situations, in addition to other appropriate titles or address terms, of course.

One other area in Hausa where title is used as an indicator of power-solidarity is the use of Ranka ya daɗe (≈ May you live long). It is the equivalence of 'Sir' in English used in the customary British junior-senior, civil service hierachy as a respectful term (see Kirk-Greene 1964:12-13). In a traditional Hausa setting, therefore it is common to hear people use the expression Ranka ya daɗe or Ranki ya daɗe (+ feminine).

This expression is also commonly used among our subjects especially the junior staff in the administrative and academic cadres. It is usual to hear the Hausa-speaking security man or cleaner address the Vice-Chancellor or another senior officer as Ranka ya daɗe when greeting him. The expression is also used among colleagues in the academic circle in both relationships of power and solidarity. For instance, a lecturer may choose to say ranka ya daɗe to a head of department who is also a Hausa speaker, instead of just, or in addition to greeting him in English.

However, in the case of Angas (Ngas, a Chadic-family language as Hausa) speakers, there are slight differences here and there as we have found with the Hausa speakers. For instance, in some Angas-speaking homes, children address their parents by their FN instead of the normative Nana (Mother) and Baba (Father), depending on the degree of authority exercised in such homes. This is not true for children in the university community where the culture of 'mummy' and 'daddy' has been imbibed. It is, however, true of what Bernstein (1964)[6] refers to as 'democratic' and 'authoritarian' family types. Nonetheless, the use of FN among the Angas does not indicate disrespect for elders or authority in the wider social community nor does it imply same for members of the family, even though the possibility cannot be totally ruled out.

Other terms of address as titles in Angas which include Nde (≈ Elder), Nen yit nde (May you live long/May God prolong your life elder), are used for elders and chieftancy title holders in the community. As with the Hausa, failure to address such people by their appropriate titles would be termed a sign of disrespect and insolence. Among equals, however, such terms as mol (≈ brother, + blood kinship + social kinship) or mal (≈ friend/pal: + masc + feminine), etc can be used in a relationship of solidarity. The use

of the pronoun 'You', just as in Hausa, also depends on the relationships of power and solidarity existing between the (Angas) speakers.

The Yoruba also have linguistic markers which differ between speakers in their use of terms of address, pronouns, in relationships of power and solidarity. The morpheme é (you) is used before an address while greeting elders, as in é ku a ro (Good morning to you) The é (you + plural) is, however, deleted for a subordinate, especially children. Like in the studies of Brown and Gilman (1960) this address term is not reciprocal. The arrow of reciprocity is unindirectional. In other words, seniors do not address their juniors using é. But failure to use é by a junior would be termed rude and seen as an act of disrespect and non-conformity with the Yoruba cultural/societal norms. Nonetheless, it is reciprocal among equals or where people are not sure of age difference between them.

On the other hand, according to one of our informants, the Idoma (a Kwa language family in the Niger- Kordofonian phylum)speakers do not view it as an act of insolence for a child to address his parents by their FN. This seems to suggest that the non-conformity with the linguistic rule of address forms does not constitute a violation of a cultural norm in Idoma. This observation is subject to verification, or course. We believe, in

spite of this, that the relationship of power-solidarity will depend on the family type and most importantly, the type of socialization the child is exposed to.

In contrast, another finding showed that the form of address can reveal dispensation, and therefore be a matter for display or concealment in front of third parties. This is true, to some extent, for our Hausa speakers where, for example "No-naming or Ø is an outcome of uncertainty among the options. Beyond this, the Hausa culture forbids or constrains the wife from either calling her husband by his first name (but could use "Mallam" to refer to him) or calling her first child by name. Worse still if the child is named after her husband's mother or father or grand parents. In this case, the pronouns 'ke' or kai (= you + female + male) as in ke 'yan nan (you girl) o· kai yaron nan (you boy) are often used. However, times are changing and people are beginning to be less conforming except in real traditional settings where such practices are still observed.

However, an extreme case of no-naming was discovered in the course of our study. A respondent said he didn't call his childhood friend by name even though the friend called him by his initials. He revealed that even as adults, he still found it

difficult to call his interlocutor by any name. He would just walk up to him and talk to him without mentioning his (i.e the friend's) name (see appendix B for details on this). This phenomenon perhaps fits the description of uncertainty which results into "No-naming" as stated by Ervin-Tripp, but which has taken a more psychological dimension rather than a social one; psychological in the sense that although the speaker knew the name(s) of his interlocutor he does not use any out of respect which has been built over a long period of time.

The third rider which we also found to be relevant and which we have applied in our analysis, is the identity set. This refers to a list of occupational titles or courtesy titles accorded people in certain statuses such as "judge", "Doctor", "Professor", and so on. We also found that these are used by our subjects. In addition, a priest, physician, dentist, or judge may be addressed by title alone, but a plain citizen or an academic person may not. In the latter cases, as Tripp reported, if the name is unknown, there is no address form (or zero, Ø) available, the addressee is simply called by "no-name." Much as we agree with these findings, our case of no-naming as we have explained before, occured even in a situation where the speaker knew the interlocutor's name. For this speaker,

therefore, it was a matter of deference rather than uncertainty.

On the whole, it could be said that non-reciprocal power semantics is associated with a relatively static society in which power is distributed by birth right and is not subject to much redistribution. On the other hand, reciprocal solidarity semantics has grown with social mobility and equalitarian ideology aided by the development of cities and perhaps with the constant changes due to modernization. Relationships based on solidarity seem to be gaining the upper hand. For instance, as we have mentioned earlier in this discussion, it is usual for our subjects to call each other by FN, Fam. N, and LN as is common in the wider society or other societies. It is also not unusual to hear some students call their lecturers by their FN because of the degree of solidarity between them. On the other hand, the lecturers use FN, FAM. N, + LN +TLN, with each other in addition to the use of Mr/Mrs + TLN especially in status marked situations and when making reference to them.

It is, however, important to note that in the relationship of power-solidarity certain socio-cultural constraints warrant that people vary the way they speak (either in the choice of language or variety) to suit their interlocutor. For instance, the Nupe (a Kwa

family language also in the Niger Kordofonian phylum) sociolinguistic rules include kin related address forms for senior alter - such as, Yɛ ya (+ older) for people within an elder brother's age and Baba (Father) for the ego's father's age mates but Nnagi (mother) for his mother's age mates. For the Nupe speaker not to use these kin address forms it would imply gross violation of cultural norms. Likewise, the Igbos have different address forms for sex differentiation, for example, they use Dara (+ masculine) and Dada (+ feminine) + Title. Unlike in the American system where familiarity can neutralize age, in any of the Nigerian cultures we have cited above non-deference to age is seen as a gross socio-cultural misconduct.

In addition, because a student, for instance, is on good terms with his lecturer it does not mean he can speak to him in any manner. The student has to choose either a formal or informal style to suit the place, time and topic of discourse. It also suggests that despite the degree of solidarity between the two interlocutors, the choice and use of language will be determined by the topic and situation, or domain as we have found out. In addition, he can choose from the stock of his linguistic repertoire to suit each speech event. The student's speech is thus constrained by several socio-cultural factors in his communication in a multilingual community like ours.

4.19.8 Motivations for Code-Switching

In our analysis of this item in 4.13 we found that our subjects code-switch for different reasons ranging from linguistic to intelligibility which can also be termed as sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic. For instance, (34.88%) subjects code-switch because the message they want to relay can best be expressed in the second language. While (29.06%) subjects code-switch because they can express themselves better in the other language. Here, therefore, the motivation for code-switching is the speaker's linguistic competence in the languages he/she speaks. But for (22.67%) subjects the act of code-switching is an unconscious thing. That is, they are not usually aware of their doing so. And, (9.88%) subjects would code-switch because their interlocutor understands the other language better. This shows that the speaker has consideration for his interlocutor; hence, he takes into account the linguistic competence of his listener when he code-switches.

To some extent also, it shows that the speaker wants to show solidarity with his interlocutor, as corroborated by some respondents interviewed. This response also tallies with some findings on variation studies where speakers change their speech to conform with the social group they belong to (see Cheshire, 1972; Milroy, 1989). On the other hand however, (1.74%)

subjects do not code-switch. For this group, it can be said that code-switching does not form part of their speech behaviour. Even though they may be bi - or multilingual. They may be described as coordinate bi- or multilinguals (Howell and Cotter, 1976). Here, the two or more languages are maintained as separate systems.

4.19.9 Motivations for Code-Mixing

Similar to item 16 discussed above, the phenomenon of code-mixing as a sociolinguistic behaviour was also examined. From the responses gathered and analysed we found that while code-mixing occurred more unconsciously than code-switching which is sometimes done taking into consideration the linguistic competence of the interlocutor, code-switching is more deliberate, pre-meditated, more often than not. Sometimes, however, code-switching could occur unconsciously (see Table 16).

As with the motivations for code-switching, various reasons were given for code-mixing by our subjects. For instance, (23.97%) subjects code-mix because their interlocutor understands what they mean. This suggests that both speakers are not only bi- or multilingual, they share a common linguistic competence, presumably, and cultural background. In other words, the speaker may throw in a few words or phrases from

Language Two into Language One during a speech act without having to explain any further since, it is assumed that the listener already knows what the speaker intends to say.

The process of 'mixing' itself can be seen as a means of explaining what could not be said in Language One originally. This by no means shows linguistic incompetence as someone suggested earlier. But perhaps, it can be seen, to some extent, as a problem of one to one translation from Language One to Language Two, or better still, because the 'borrowed' expressions do not exist in Language One.

Similar to a response on code-switching, (21.05%) our subjects code-mix because they express themselves better in that way. So, it can be said that it is not so much the linguistic competence, but the communicative competence of the speaker that counts here. The desire to communicate seems to be paramount in this case. This aspect of effective communication as Hymes rightly puts it, that is, the sharing of a common linguistic competence and cultural values plus the ability to use the competence to achieve communicative competence, is the mark of membership of a speech community which the researcher needs to know in his/her formulation of sociolinguistic theories.

However, for some of our subjects, code-mixing is

a style of speaking. This phenomenon was initially observed as a new trend in the speech behaviour of students generally, but a closer look at our subjects' speech patterns revealled that it is also a common phenomenon among even lecturers and other speakers (see Appendix for details). On the contrary, however, 1 (0.58%) subject said s/he did not mix-codes. This is close to the number of subjects (1.74%) who said they did not switch codes.

On the whole, it can be said that the issue of code-switching and code-mixing among our subjects is not unique because other studies in other speech communities, e.g., Yoruba-English Bilinguals in Kano Metropolis (Olaoye, 1990), Hausa-English Bilinguals in Sokoto (Omar, 1981a), Igbo-English Bilinguals (Ahukanna, 1990), Yoruba-Hausa Bilinguals in Shagamu - Ogun State (Joshua, 1990), and so on have shown similar traits. Nonetheless, this suggests that speakers do not only share a common linguistic knowledge, albeit h lting as in the case of incipient bilinguals, but also share a common cultural background. This in a way explains the issue of code mixing as gathered from the responses given by our subjects. It also shows their communicative ability - what Gumperz refers to as communicative flexibility in a face-to-face interaction.

4.19.10 Speech Behaviour and the Speaker's Attitude Toward the Interlocutor

Items, 18 to 21 posed some socio-psychological questions to the subjects. We tried to find out speakers' attitudes toward their interlocutors and how their speech behaviours are influenced by their liking or dislike for their interlocutors. We also sought to find out whether speakers tried to maintain an image when they interact or tried to speak to conform with a social group which they belonged to just to conform with the grammatical rules of the language(s) they spoke. Varied reasons were given for the change in speech behaviour toward the interlocutor. For instance, according to the responses gathered (65.91%) subjects change in their speech behaviour to show liking or dislike for their interlocutor during a speech event. While (27.84%) subjects do not necessarily change in their speech behaviour whether they liked or disliked their interlocutor. On the other hand, (41.61%) subjects change in their speech behaviour whether they liked their listener or not because the situation demanded that they should be polite. In other words, if they are not on speaking terms with their listener, they would speak politely to the person during that social encounter. And, (32.12%) subjects would speak respectfully to their interlocutor even though they did not like him/her. While, (13.47%) subjects would also

speak politely to their interlocutor because they could not help it. As we have mentioned earlier all these indicate that the speakers are constrained by the socio-cultural norms of the speech community in which they live.

However, extreme cases, and in situations described by Herman (1961)[12] when "the speaker is unconcerned about both culturally prescribed verbal usage and the demands of code-loyalty" some subjects (7.30%) would speak rudely to their interlocutor because they detested him or her. In other words, they do not hide their feelings when they have to interact with someone they do not like or have regards for. This also shows non-conformity with societal norms or divergence in their speech behaviour (Giles and Powesland 1975).

In contrast to the situation cited above, (1.71%) subjects are motivated by two or more reasons when they change in their speech behaviour to show liking or dislike for their interlocutor (see Tables 20-23). This, and other similar responses, buttresses our point stated earlier that people are motivated differently in their choice and use of language in multilingual communities. And, we can further add that they are motivated differently even in their attitudes toward their interlocutors in an interpersonal relationship.

In another related finding, (8.93%) subjects change

in their speech behaviour to conform with the social group which they belonged to. But (23.80%) subjects would change to suit their own social status. While (14.88%) change to suit the social status of their interlocutor. And a majority f (47.62%) subjects change to suit the social situation. 3.57% subjects change for two or more reasons but 1.19% subjects did not change for any of the reasons suggested on table 24. This implies that they either don't change in their speech behaviour at all or they do for other reasons not specified.

From the responses we have gathered so far, it seems that socio-psychological factors play a great role in the speech behaviour of our subjects. For instance, speakers would use the 'standard' speech variety if the situation demanded they should Or, would change their voice (tone) to suit the situation, which shows that they are concerned with grammatical correctness in language use as well as to show their linguistic competence as described by Chomsky. But which to Hymes does not necessarily signify communicating successfully. The former description also shows the speaker's need for social acceptance by 'projecting' as Le Page puts it. But for those speakers who are concerned about maintaining a social status when they speak, it shows that even when they are speaking with a less educated or competent person in the language, they would always

maintain that formal speech style.

4.19.11 Choice of a National Language

The choice of a national language for this country has generated a lot of controversy. This controversial socio-political issue was manifested in the responses gathered on this item. The findings presented on table 25 attested to the claim. In spite of the varied opinions however, English seemed to be the most favoured choice as stated earlier in our presentation. There is need to explain what a national language is. It is a language which cuts across all sections of the country and one which expresses the culture and relation of the people. In this case English does not seem to be suitable. (70%) of the subjects, representing two-thirds of the total number of the subjects sampled (i.e 176) chose English as the national language for Nigeria. This is followed by Hausa with (18.75%) subjects, while other languages were chose by less than (3.12%) subjects. The choice of Hausa as a national language was once suggested at the National Assembly in the early 1960's (see also Bashir Ikara 1987).[13] Similarly, some of the subjects interviewed also seemed to share the view that Hausa should be adopted for the following reasons: that;

(a) It has a wide population of users;
(b) It is versatile, easy to learn, and so on.

This, however, still remains a political issue. Nonetheless, the question of having a wide geographical spread of Hausa speakers within and outside the country is verifiable.

Similarly, Yoruba which is one of the tripatrite national languages was suggested as the national language by (1.87%) subjects. This does not however mean that only this percentage are pro-Yoruba. The limited number could be as a result of the environment in which the language exists - being a Hausa dominated area, it is only natural that a high percentage would be accorded Hausa, and vice-versa in the case of a Yoruba dominated area. Igbo, for instance, was not suggested by any subject as the national language. This does not also mean that Igbo speakers were not sampled. It only goes to show that most people are in favour of maintaining the status quo by suggesting English; a controversial issue in the national language question already discussed by notable linguists like Bamgbose (1982) (1986)[14], Adekunle (1990)[15] and Mohmed (1986),[16] among others.

Perhaps, it may not be totally unconnected with the fact that most of those who advocate the maintenance of English, and who are mostly in the elite class, are those who can hardly read or write in their own MTs as our findings have shown. This could be seen in the number of those who advocated the use of other Nigerian Languages, (1.25%) subjects. An interesting dimension to these responses is the suggestion given by (0.62%) subjects that Pidgin should be used as the national language.

There is no doubt that Pidgin is widely being used in most parts of the country: it is now used as a medium of instruction in areas like Bendel and other states where Pidgin has now become a mother tongue for most children, apart from its use by the media for newscasting, adverts - Radio and TV jingles as well as a stylistic device in some modern literature and drama, and its use as a lingua franca. The problem with Pidgin here will be that of the choice of a standard variety from among the varieties that have emerged. It would seem that for Pidgin to attain the desired status it would have to undergo a process of standardization, which involves a survey of the existing varieties, evolving a standard lexicography, teaching and institutionalization of the variety by the government.

Arabic, which is a non-Nigerian language, also has (0.62%) subject who suggested it as a national language for Nigeria. Surfice it to say, Arabic is only commonly used as a language of worship (religion) and hardly used for daily communication by the population which purports to use it. And, as shown on Tables 2 and 3 only one speaker indicated Arabic as a Mother tongue as well as a first language out of the 176 subjects who responded to the item.

Similarly, French which has the same Foreign Language (FL) status as Arabic, has only (0.62%)

subject also out of the 176 su jects who responded to the item. Even though, French like Arabic is also taught as a subject in the university, it is only used as a Lingua Franca by a small number of subjects on the campus. Therefore to adopt French as our national language, it would mean replacing one foreign language with another, and that would take us back to square one in our search for a national language.

On eht oeher hand, 0.62% subject indicated that s/he did not care whichever language was adopted. Interestingly, one subject saw the issue of a national language as an unresolvable political issue. This view reiterates our observation made at the beginning of the discussion on this item. Nonetheless, we do not think it is an issue which cannot be resolved.

4.19.12 The Choice of a Lingua Franca

In comparison to item 22(a), item 22(b) sougnt to find out people's views on the choice of a Lingua Franca for the nation. In retrospect, we realise that the question of a choice of a Lingua Franca does not arise because it is a language which emerges to suit a common linguistic need. Here, a Lingua Franca is taken to mean a language of daily communication: trade and commerce used among a people who do not share common linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Much of the responses gathered on this item are similar to those on item (22(a). For instance, English and Hausa still seem to be the dominant languages chosen as Lingua Francas for Nigeria.

As our findings clearly show, Hausa is competing favourably with English in this speech community as a Lingua Franca. This is not totally suprising because of the heterogenous nature of the linguistic community. And as mentioned at the beginning of the discussion, Hausa being the language of the wider community has a great influence on the other languages spoken in this same community. We had earlier on cited examples of borrowing (see 2.1) from Hausa to English in an instance of code-mixing. This phenomenon, as noted earlier, is as a result of the influence some languages have on others in contact situations. As our findings have shown Hausa has maintained a consistent high rate of speakers on the campus, second to English, of course. In addition, majority of the subjects sampled indicated Hausa as being one of their linguistic repertoire, even though some of the speakers are not fluent in the language. To some extent however, some level of communication is achieved amongst the speakers.

Although, English seems to be the dominant language here partly because of its status as the official, national and medium of instruction both within and outside the speech community, it seems to face a stiff competition from the local languages, that is, in terms of suitability in certain domains such as the 'home' and even certain formal speech situations.

As we have also earlier mentioned a possible explanation for the limited choice of other languages, especially Yoruba and Igbo, could be either because the speech community under study is predominantly Hausa or because the respondents from these and other Nigerian languages suggested are also in the minority of the sampled population. But most of the respondents indicated that they understood Hausa. So, the second explanation cannot really hold.

Other opinions given on this item show that some subjects are in favour of evolving a new language from the three "major languages" used in the country. This shows an advocation of the "WAZOBIA" concoction, a taste of which is already being 'nationally' broadcast by the media to the teeming viewing and listening population of the country. This idea has been entertained for quite some time now. For some subjects, however, the issue of choosing a Lingua Franca (and by extension a national language) is a political one, while some said that anything that can be understood could be the Lingua Franca. This does not give us a definite answer to the question, but an I-don't-care attitude to the problem. Some subjects did not respond to this item. This implies that either they see the issue as a sensitive/political one which they are not prepared to dabble

into, or are undecided as to which of the languages they speak should be used as the Lingua Franca.

To all intents and purposes, we do not claim to have an absolute solution to the problem ourselves. A further discussion shall be done on this issue in the next chapter.

Footnotes

1. Bock's (1964) analysis is presented in Fishman's Sociolinguistics A Brief Introduction, Massachusetts: Newbury House Publishers, 1975 p. 47-48.

2. See Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, Acts of Identity, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

3. Brown and Yule, Discourse Analysis, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985 pp. 83-90.

4. See Dell Hymes, "The Ethnography of Speaking" in T. Gladwin and William C. Sturtevant (eds), Anthropology and Human Behaviour. Anthropological Society of Washington, 1962 pp. 13-53. (Also in J.A. Fishman (ed), Readings, pp. 99-138) and Edwin Ardener (ed) Social Anthropology and Language ASA monographs 10, Tavistock Publishers 1971 pp. 47-93.

5. Austin's (1962) 'Speech Act Theory' is discussed in Lyons' Semantics 2, 1978 pp. 725-786.

6. Adebayo Joshua, Yoruba-Hausa Bilinguals in Shagamu-Ogun State. An unpublished Ph.D Thesis, ABU Zaria 1990.

7. M.A. Adekunle's (1978) findings on "Language Choice and the Linguistic Repertoire of Nigerin Bilinguals' can be found in West African Journal of Modern Languages (WAJML) 1978 pp.

8. See Fishman (1975) p. 74-89.

9. See Brown and Gilman, "The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity," in Thomas A. Sebeok (ed), Style in Language. MIT, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Wiley, New York, 1960 pp. 253-276, (Also in J.A. Fishman (ed) Readings, pp. 252-275.

10. See also Ervin-Tripp (1972) on Sociolinguistic rules: alternation and co-occurrence. In Gumperz and Hymes (eds) Directions in Sociolinguistics. New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1972 pp.213-250.

11. Kirk-Greene (1964) A Preliminary inquiry into Hausa Onomatology. Zaria: ABU Press Ltd.

12. Herman's (1961) work is cited in Giles and Powesland, Speech Style and Social Evaluation, New York and London: Academic Press, 1975.

13. Bashir Ikara (1987) Minority Languages and Lingua Francas in Nigeria, University of Maiduguri Public lecture series, 1987, No.1.

14. Ayo Bamgbose (1981) 1982; 1976; 1976/1980 ed. cited in E.N. Emenanjo ed. Multilingualism, Minority Languages and Language Policy in Nigeria, Bendel; Nigeria: Central Books Limited, 1990.

15. M.A. Adekunle, "Language in a Multicultural Context." Also in E.N. Emenanjo ed. Multilingualism, Minority Languages and Language Policy in Nigeria, Bendel; Nigeria: Central Books Ltd., 1990 p.239-247.

16. Aliyu Mohmed, "Language and the National Question in Nigeria, A Reappraisal": Paper presented at the National Seminar on the National Question, Abuja, August, 1986.

Chapter 5

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

5.0 Summary

The study set out to investigate language choice and use amongst speakers in a multilingual university community and to find out whether they were constrained by socio-cultural factors in their choice and use of the languages they speak. In other words, whether speakers were influenced by socio-cultural factors such as; social status, age, sex, ethnic group, and so on, in their speech behaviour. The study also examined the functional role of English vis-a-viz the 3 "major" Nigerian languages and other languages used in the speech community; with the view to contributing to sociolinguistics in particular and linguistics in general through the synchronic study of language. Over and above this it was hoped that the insight gained from this study would be used to suggest possible improvements in the social interaction between the diverse speakers in multilingual communities; and for national integration at large. However, we agree that society is not static as such certain solutions may have to be modified to suit societal needs as they arise. Five questions which formed the bedrock of this research were posed and are re-examined below, in the light of our findings. The basic assumption underlying these questions, around which the research was carried out is that given the same interactive chances in

using language in a social interaction, it is quite normal to observe that some people will perform better than others (see 1.4).

The data for this study were collected through the use of questionnaires, oral interviews, recordings and observations. Random sampling was used for the research procedure. The researcher interviewed willing informants, recorded some of the sample speeches at the various locations, as well as administered some of the questionnaires herself. Research assistants were employed to distribute and collect questionnaires after they were completed. The responses to both the questionnaire, oral interviews and the recorded speeches were collated and analysed.

The results from our study showed that there was no one single determinant of speech in a given speech event, but rather a combination of two or more factors. In other words, people choose and use language for varied reasons during a social interaction. The frequency of speakers' usage of their MT, L_1, L_2, L_3, etc. depended largely on the domain in which language was used. But similar to Parasher (1980), Adekunle (1978) it was found that the MT was most commonly used in the 'Home'setting. We also found that English played a diglosic function in this speech community. That is, apart from being the High variety,

it was also used as a low variety along side the indigenous languages. This is mostly true for the ABU community. In like manner, the indigenous languages were also found to be used in areas otherwise marked as official domains. It was therefore posited that the functionality of both English and the MTs is a polyglossic one. On the other hand, the address forms speakers chose and used in relationships of 'power' and 'solidarity' depended largely on the interpersonal relationships between them and their interlocutors, as well as, the formality or informality of the speech or social situation. And, our findings on code-switching and code-mixing also showed that the majority of our subjects who did either of this in their speech behaviour did so for varied reasons, but mostly because they wanted to express themselves better in the second language which their interlocutor also understood. This has led us to prefer that the phenomena of code-switching and code-mixing are fundamentally aspects of bi- or multilingualism. In other words, people switch or mix codes because they are proficient, albeit haltingly, in the two or more languages which they understand and speak.

A total of 22 questions ranging from sociological social psychological and anthropological in nature, were presented to our subjects for the indepth study we had set out to do on our thesis. The types of

questions asked enabled us to know what motivated our subjects in their choice and use of language during social situations and afforded us the chance to draw inferences on their attitude toward their interlocutors and the languages of people other than theirs.

An item by item analysis was done on the questions set in the questionnaire. The results showed that people are motivated differently in their choice and use of language but generally, consideration was often given to the speaker i.e interlocutor as well as to ethnic affinities (see 4.17).

We also adopted an eclectic approach in the analysis of both the questionnaire and the recorded speeches. A more direct application of the approach was done on the recorded speeches to show the relevance or otherwise of each of the approaches discussed in our theoretical framework (see 2.2). A synthesis of the approaches showed that the socio-logical approach was more suitable for the analysis of language choice and use in domains; while the social-psychological approach was more suitable, for the analysis of speakers' attitudes to their interlocutors and to language choice and use in general; and the anthropological approach was found to be more suitable for the analysis of language use in socio-cultural settings.

On the whole, our analysis showed that the wholistic approach to the study of language provided a better way of theorization rather than the use of one single approach which may emphasize only an aspect of speech behaviour to the detriment of others (See 4.17 and 4.18). However, this depends largely on the aim of the study.

5.1 Re-assessment of the Assumption

The basic assumption underlying this study as stated in 1.4, that given the same interactive chances in using language in a social interaction, it is quite normal to observe that some people will perform better than others, because of their ability to adapt strategies to an audience and to other aspects of the social context - both overt and implied: what Gumperz (1982:14) called 'communicative flexibility'. This was confirmed in the speech events presented in (4.17) wnere some speakers/participants are seen to be able to steer the trend of the conversations more than others.

Similarly, the assumption that some participants are better at negotiation of meaning in a face-to-face encounter was also demonstrated (see 4.17).

It was also assumed that, in face-to-face social interaction, speech acts represent the basic means through which the social meaning of language is realized or manifested; speech acts, especially declarative statements with underlying verbs, are used to make "requests", make "promises", "declaration", "greetings" and "complaints", etc were also used in our speech samples presented in 4.17

In addition, the notion that speech acts add an interpersonal dimension to the study of meaning was upheld. This was further manifested in the choice and use of address forms which according to our findings was largely determined by the interpersonal relationships between the interlocutors as well as the social situation in which language was used. To add to this the research further confirmed that choice of language, address forms and the use of language was constrained by socio-cultural factors governing speech in the speech community (see 4)

5.2 Re-Assessment of the Problem

As was stated in 1.3, earlier studies on speech tended to see the individual as the focus of language

study rather than the society. We are of the view that speech is influenced by the society in which a person lives, and not entirely dependent on the "will of the speaker" as described or obtained by linguists such as Ferdinand de Saussure. Our findings, show that the speaker needs to know not only the relevant language to use but also the appropriate person, place and time to use such a language, for instance, the use of Pidgin as shown in 4, by students in an informal speech situation in discussing an informal topic was appropriate But such choice of language would certainly be termed inappropriate in a formal situation with a person like the Vice-Chancellor. This study has shown that there are socio-cultural constraints on speech over/and above the linguistic items that occur in language. We have also shown (see 4.15) that not only does language norms affect speech, but also most importantly, how certain social and situational constraints determine what people say within different speech situations and speech events.

In addition, our findings on the interviews corroborate our questionnaire responses/findings which showed that speakers are constrained by socio-cultural factors in the choice and use of address forms especially with interlocutors who are supposed to be revered by the speaker (see Appendix B).

And, on the issue of the choice of a National language and Lingua Franca for the nation, varied responses were elicited. However, majority of our subjects were of the view that English and Hausa should be used as the national and Lingua Franca respectively; while some subjects maintained that it was a political issue that needed time to be resolved. Very few people suggested other languages. This, as we have earlier explained could be because Hausa is the language of the wider and immediate community and since most of the subjects indicated that they understood and spoke the language they found it a more suitable language than the others. As for English, it is at the moment more convenient for use because of the status it has acquired through the life of the nation - i.e in terms of its utilization.

5.3 Conclusions

From our discussions in 1.1.2 and 2.2.1 we can still see that opinions differ as to the best approach to the study of language as a whole and speech in particular. These diversities in opinions are reflected in the diverse methodologies employed in the study of speech by both linguists and socio-linguists alike. This situation, as we have tried to explain in 1.1.2

could be partly due to the complex nature of language, and partly due to its uniqueness to the human specie (see Sapir 1921).[2]

Our approach to the problem - i.e the study of speech in a multilingual setting has been a whollistic one; whollistic in the sense that we preferred to look at the phenomenon from different perspectives at the same time in order to get a better view of the situation as obtained in the speech community studied, and to serve as a deviation from the usual or other methodological and theoretical/analytical approaches. This analytical experimentation showed that it is possible to study language or speech using varied existing theories in order to formulate a general theory on sociolinguistics and to avoid the shortcomings of using one approach.

We share the same view with Milroy (1989) that the study of the vernacular (the numerous variety of languages in our case) speech of the individual in its everyday social context is an important task for socio-linguistics. In other words, it is pertinent to gather more information about the facts of specifically nonstandard (indigenous languages in our case) speech in a range of everyday situations, as most recent models of communicative competence and language structure rest on a rather narrow base derived from relatively formal styles or relatively educated varieties (Milroy, 1989:177).[3]

Milroy's findings in this regard have shown that language maintenance and change can be observed/ achieved through the linguistic behaviour of closely knit communities.

Similarly, our study also showed that the closer speakers were in their personal relationships, the easier for them to choose and use a 'nonstandard' (an informal) speech code in a social situation. That perhaps explains why most speakers use their MT even in formal speech situations.

Like Le Page's (1979:176) findings in Milroy's (1985:182) have shown, our study also showed that the feeling of communality can be expressed in people's speech behaviour through cultural focussing. In other words, there are underlying cultural affinities which form the basis of language choice and use for most speakers in this speech community. For instance, the idea of an act of identity through ethnic ties was observed amongst our speakers who said that their choice of language was first and foremost determined by the ethnic background of their interlocutor. In this regard therefore, their linguistic behaviour is influenced by their tribal sentiments. Here, it appears likely that highly focused sets of linguistic norms may be maintained partly under the influence of ethnic loyalty.

On the contrary, we found that linguistic ties

could be used to express disloyalty. As proposed by Giles (1975)[4] speakers may choose to 'accommodate other speakers in their speech behaviour by converging or dissociating from other speakers by diverging. In other words, when they want to show ethnic solidarity, for instance, they would converge to accommodate their interlocutor; otherwise, they deliberately diverge in order not to identify with their interlocutor. This is somewhat similar to Le Page's 'focussing' and 'diffusing' as we have noted above. This situation was also observed among our subjects who would either choose and use a language which their interlocutor understands or would switch to another (especially in the presence of a third party with whom the information is not to be shared) language (variety) in order to cut him/her out of the conversation.

Interpersonal relationships can also be seen to influence speakers reaction to the presence of other speakers in a social' encounter. For instance if the relationship between the speakers is cordial, they would tend to converge in their speech behaviour, but if the relationship is not cordial, then we would expect that they are more likely to diverge either by using formal speech styles or by being very formal in order to maintain some social distance between themselves. It seems that there is a stron ; corelation between

language use and interpersonal relationship as our findings have shown. We can conclude as follows:

The question of interpersonal relationship between speakers is another important underlying factor in the choice and use of language in a given speech situation. As stated by Fielding and Fraser (see Markova, 1978:218) 'consciously selected features are a function of the speaker's attitude to his listener. These selections from among the possibilities open to him reflect the existing relation and indicate the relationship he wishes to create.'[5] In other words, the speaker consciously selects the features (whether an address form or words) he wishes to use depending on, or to suit the interpersonal relationship between him and his listener.

As shown in our case, it is also the existence of choice which allows the individual to express particular meanings by selecting a 'marked' form rather than the expected, social prescribed form, for instance, in the selection of the interlocutors nick-name out of the many options that are available to the speaker. Similarly, in their studies Ford and Brown (1961) showed that the form of address used by a speaker was a function of the role relationship between him and the listener.

Furthermore, we also found that the choice of address forms, referential pronouns and greetings, and so on could be understood in terms of the operation of the 'solidarity' and 'power' semantics. But much more than these, the socio-psychological analysis of interpersonal attitudes showed that changes occur in the forms of address even when the role relationships remain the same. For instance, a speaker may refer to Dr X as just X thus signifying a change from a student-lecturer relationship to a personal one because the interpersonal attitudes have become more positive.

We therefore agree with Fielding and Fraser that if the analysis were limited to a consideration of role relationships, the change in the address form would be unintelligible. Finally, we believe that the examination of the interpersonal relationship makes it more meaningful and predictable. In other words, we can understand why a speaker chooses to use his interlocutor's FN or LN, etc by observing the role relationship and we would be able to predict the address form that the speaker may use by observing the interpersonal relationship that exists between the dyads.

5.3.1 Implications of the Study

The study of a bi - or multilingual community like

the one we have studied may not directly have a lot of socio-linguistic implication for both educational policy makers; the teachers and pupil /learners; and the society at large. This is so because ABU is a sub-speech community which is very special in nature being an academic community. The group in this community studied is not ordinary.

Nonetheless for the policy makers on education in general and language in particular there's the need for such a body to find out the language needs of the people to enable the policy makers take decisions on what language(s) should be used in carrying out our educational goals. It is noteworthy here that the government has set up a Language Research Centre (LRC) to this effect and already work is being done to find out the number of languages actually spoken in the country and to encourage people to carry out researches on languages hitherto undocumented.

Another group whom such research findings will be of benefit to is the teacher and invariably, the learners. In order to achieve our teaching objectives, there's the need to assess the language situation, especially in multilingual communities. Wherere the teacher and the learner are multilingual and neither of them speaks the language of the wider community (LWC) as recommended for use in the educational policy. Here, both the teacher and the learner will be faced with a linquistic dilemma. Much as we agree with the honorable minister for education on the use of the Mother Tongue (MT) to teach at the primary level, we feel that there

is still a lot to be done to achieve this goal. In a situation like the one described above, whose mother tongue should be used, the child's or the teacher's? And, judging from our findings, as well as others like Adekunle's (1978), Joshua's (1990) among others, most Nigerians can hardly read or write in their own MTs how much more teach it!

That notwithstanding, we wish to commend the effort of the Ife Project (1976) on MT education in the former Western region and the Zaria experiment of the 80's. We also believe that it is possible to achieve similar success in other parts of the country given the same incentives, dedication and perseverance.

The implication of the findings of this present study to the society in general is in the area of attitude; here, attitude to other members of the multilingual community and their languages. Studies on attitudes and speech styles (language choice in our case) showed that people change in their speech style to achieve certain goals.

However, some sociolinguists are of the view that attitudes can be studied from the responses people make to social situations. From our observations and findings, we agree with Olaoye (1988:35) that Language attitudes include attitudes toward speakers of a particular language, dialect, codes, code-choice, language maintenance, language varieties and even

planning efforts. Our findings showed, for instance, that some speakers do not wish to learn other people's languages (even in an area where they have spent a better part of their lives), either because of the stereotypes they have about them or because they are just not interested in learning such languages, or, do not want to be dominated linguistically.

On the whole, the inferences we have drawn from the responses of our subjects showed that the attitude of people to others and their languages further hamper our progress toward evolving a national language. As for a Lingua Franca, this is much easier to deal with because as the need for communication grows amongst a people whether due to commerce or other social activities, it will evolve naturally. It is not imposed, but occurs through a process of natural selection. According to Weinreich (1953)[9], the dominant language will eventually emerge and members of the speech community will learn to adjust to the new linguistic situation if they are to move with the tide of change.

In this vein, our findings have shown that Hausa seemed to be the dominant language in the sense of preference. It is gradually acquiring an equal status with English in formal settings. It shows therefore,

that not only the three 'major' languages can acquire and attain the same status as English, but also other indigenous languages can attain the same status if encouraged and with their entrenchment in the national policy on language.

5.4 Recommendations

In the light of our findings we recommend that an institution be set up with branches in all the Federal and State universities to effect the process of standardization of our indigenous languages:

1. To conduct linguistic survey in order to ascertain the number of languages spoken in Nigeria.
2. To institutionalize the learning and teaching of the languages.
3. To codify - i.e to evolve a lexicography for the languages.
4. To formulate a more meaningful language policy; a language policy which will cater for the use of Nigerian English and Nigerian Pidgin English in view of the existing realities.

Furthermore, the language policy should take into consideration peculiar socio-linguistic identities of speech communities: what languages people choose and use most in what situations; the frequency of usage; intelligibility of such languages to the majority of the users and how non-standard or indigenous languages which are used most can be developed for national purposes as

well as for use in the elementary level and adult education.

Most important of all we need a change in attitude in the people. Until and unless we stop stereotyping people based on their languages and be less suspicious of each other we shall still have a long way to go toward achieving national unity through language integration.

5.5 Suggestions for Further Research

We wish to suggest that further studies on language choice and use should not be restricted to bilingual speaking communities alone, but should include multilingual communities also. And other aspects of language behaviour apart from code-switching and mixing should be taken into consideration; aspects like speakers' attitudes to other members of the society and their languages should be looked into to cater for inter-personal relationships.

In addition to this, studies on multilingual communities should aim at resolving the linguistic dilemma that might arise in the teaching and learning of languages for educational purposes.

Secondly, further research could be done on Language and Gender in relation to language choice and use to see

whether there are sex differentiations in language choice and use in Nigerian languages. This will serve as a basis for comparison with other similar studies on European and Amerindian speech communities.

In a similar vein, further study can be done on the application of sociolinguistic rules of address forms in Nigerian languages. This will also serve as a basis for comparison with similar studies on European and American address systems.

Lastly, more research can be carried out on the choice and use of Nigerian English with a view to standardizing it for future use as a national language. In this regard, we hereby suggest that a survey of the existing varieties of Nigerian English be carried out; a dictionary should be compiled in order to have a standard orthography; where it is already being used. Finally, people's opinions could be sampled to find out its level of intelligibility and acceptability. In addition, Nigerian English, when it is formally identified and described, and errors are differentiated from accepted usage, should be developed and taught in schools with the three 'major' languages.

Footnotes

1. J.J. Gumperz (ed), Language and Social Identity, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982 p. 14.

2. Edward Sapir, Language: An Introduction to the Study of Speech, New York: Harcourt Brace, 1921.

3. Lesley Milroy, Language and Social Networks (2nd edn), Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989, p. 177.

4. See Giles and Powesland, Speech Style and Social Evaluation, London: Academic Press, 1975.

5. See Fielding and Fraser's work in Ivana Markova (ed) The Social Context of Language, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1978, p. 218.

6. Brown's (1965) studies on terms of address are cited in Markova (1978), p. 218.

7. The works of Glasgow (1961); Crowl and MacGinitie (1970); Taylor and Gardner (1970); Gaetner and Bickman (1971); Lambert and Brown (1970); also Hollingshead and Redlich, (1958); Levy (1970); Levy and Kahn (1970) are all cited in Giles and Powesland (1975).

8. Fasold (1984); Agheyisi and (Fishman 1970:138; Cooper and Fishman 1974:7) are cited in Olaoye (1988) forthcoming.

9. See Uriel Weinreich, Language in Contact, Mouton: The Hague, 1953.

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Appendix A

Table 1

Languages	Understood but not Spoken Fluently	Speak Fluently but cannot write it	Can Speak and Write It	Total Number of Speakers	% of Speakers
1 ENGLISH			176	176	100
2 HAUSA	43	23	87	153	86
3 YORUBA	24	11	36	71	40
(i)Yagba	1	2	-	3	1.7
(ii)Okun	-	-	1	1	0.56
(iii)Ora					
4 IGBO	11	5	8	24	13.6
5 KAJE	4	4	5	13	7.3
6 IKULU	-	-	1	1	0.56
7 KATAB	-	2	3	5	2.8
8 AFEMA	-	1	-	1	0.56
9 BINI	-	2	-	2	1.13
10 FULFULDE	11	3	1	15	8.52
11 HIGGI	-	1	-	1	0.56
12 BABUR	-	2	-	2	1.13
13 EFIK	-	-	3	3	1.7
14 IBIBIO	-	1	2	3	1.7
15 NUPE	2	1	1	4	2.27
16 GWARI	2	-	-	2	1.13
17 IDOMA	-	-	2	2	1.13
(i)Igedde	-	1	1	2	1.13
(ii)Ikpoto	1	-	-	1	0.56
18 BEROM	2	1	-	3	1.7
19 IGBIRA	5	3	1	9	5.1
20 IGALA	-	2	-	2	1.13
21 TIV	1	2	9	12	6.8
22 ANGAS	1	1	1	3	1.7
23 SAYANCI	-	2	-	2	1.13
24 TAROK	-	1	-	1	0.56
25 TANGALE	1	1	1	3	1.7
26 PYEM	2	1	-	3	1.7
27 KILBA	-	2	-	2	1.13
28 NINZAM	-	-	1	1	0.56
29 KARSHI	-	1	-	1	0.56
30 BURAH	1	2	3	6	3.40
31 JABA	2	2	-	4	2.27
32 CHALLA	-	1	-	1	0.56
33 FUFUNDI	-	1	-	1	0.56
34 ENA	-	1	-	1	0.56
35 JUKUN	1	2	-	3	1.7
36 KUTEB	-	1	1	2	1.13
37 KAGORO	1	1	-	2	1.13
38 EDO	1	2	-	3	1.7
39 ANKWAI	1	-	-	1	0.56
40 KADARA	1	-	-	1	0.56

	Languages	Understood but not Spoken Fluently	Speak Fluently but Cannot Write it	Can Speak and Write It	Total Number of Speakers	% of Speakers
41	ETIMO	-	1	-	1	0.56
42	MOROA	-	1	-	1	0.56
43	KANINGKON	1	-	-	1	0.56
44	KARE-KARE	-	1	-	1	0.56
45	MARGI	-	1	-	1	0.56
46	IJAW	-	1	-	1	0.56
47	MWAGWAVUL	-	2	-	2	1.13
48	ITSEKIRI	1	-	-	1	0.56
49	OKO/ŌGORI/	-	-	2	2	1.13
50	BACHAMA	-	2	-	2	1.12
51	KURAMA	-	-	1	1	0.56
52	JENJO	-	-	1	1	0.56
53	YALA	-	1	-	1	0.56
54	BARANCI	-	1	-	1	0.56
55	JARANCI	-	1	-	1	0.56
56	MUPUN	-	1	-	1	0.56
57	OSOSO	-	1	-	1	0.56
58	KAGOMA	-	1	-	1	0.56
59	ITAZEREK /JARANCI/	-	-	1	1	0.56
60	FANTSUAN	1	-	-	1	0.56
61	PIDGIN	-	1	1	2	1.12
62	ASHANTI	1	-	-	1	0.56
63	CREOLE	1	-	-	1	0.56
64	MIDIMBA	-	1	-	1	0.56
65	TWI	1	-	-	1	0.56
66	AMHARIC	-	-	1	1	0.56
67	TIGRINA	-	-	1	1	0.56
68	ARABIC	8	-	1	9	5.1
69	HINDI	2	1	1	4	2.27
70	URDU	-	1	1	2	1.12
71	FRENCH	12	-	9	21	11.9
72	GERMAN	1	-	1	2	1.12

Appendix A

Table 3: A list of languages indicated as Speakers' Mother Tongues (MT) in Alphabetical Order (N = 176)

S/No.	Language (MT)	Number of Respondents	%
1	Afema	1	0.56
2	Angas	2	1.13
3	Arabic	1	0.56
4	Babur	1	0.56
5	Bachama	2	1.13
6	Baranci	1	0.56
7	Bendel	1	0.56
8	Berom	1	0.56
9	Bonny	1	0.56
10	Burah	4	2.27
11	Challa	1	0.56
12	Ebirra	3	1.70
13	Edo (Okpella)	2	1.13
14	Efik	2	1.13
15	Etuno	1	0.56
16	Fufundi	1	0.56
17	Fulfulde	3	1.70
18	Hausa	30	17.04
19	Hausa/Fulfulde	1	0.56
20	Higgi	1	0.56
*21	Hindi	1	0.56
22	Ibibio	2	1.13
23	Idoma	2	1.13
24	Igala	1	0.56
25	Igbo	11	6.25
26	Igedde	1	0.56
27	Ijaw	1	0.56
28	Ijebu	1	0.56
29	Ikulu	1	0.56
30	Jaba	3	1.70
31	Jarawa	1	0.56
32	Jenjo	1	0.56
33	Jukun	1	0.56
34	Kagoma	1	0.56
35	Kagoro	2	1.13
36	Kaje (Bajju)	7	3.97
37	Kataf (Kachechere)	2	1.13
38	Kilba	2	1.13
39	Kurama	1	0.56
40	Kuteb	1	0.56
*41	Mendankwe	1	0.56
*42	Midimba	1	0.56
43	Moroa	1	0.56

S/No.	Language (MT)	Number of Respondents	%
44	Mwaghavul (Sura)	1	0.56
*45	Ngemba	1	0.56
46	Ninzam	1	0.56
47	Nupe	3	1.70
48	Ora	1	0.56
49	Ososo	1	0.56
50	Ogori (Oko)	1	0.56
51	Okun	1	0.56
		50	28.40

Table 4: Speaker's First Language (L_1) - In Alphabetical Order (N= 176)

S/No.	L_1	Number of Respondents	%
1	Afema	1	0.56
2	Angas	1	0.56
3	Arabic	1	0.56
4	Babur	1	0.56
5	Bachama	1	0.56
6	Baranci	1	0.56
7	Berom	1	0.56
8	Burah	2	1.13
9	Ebirra	3	1.70
10	Edo-Okpella	2	1.13
11	Efik	2	1.13
12	English	13	7.38
13	Etuno	1	0.56
14	Gbedde	1	0.56
15	Hausa	50	28.40
16	Higgi	1	0.56
17	Ibibio	1	0.56
18	Idoma	2	1.13
19	Igbo	7	3.98
20	Igedde	2	1.13
21	Ikulu	1	0.56
22	Jaba	1	0.56
23	Jarawa	1	0.56
24	Jenjo	1	0.56
25	Jukun	1	0.56
26	Kagoma	1	0.56
27	Kaje	5	2.84
28	Kataf	2	1.13
29	Kilba	1	0.56
30	Kurama	1	0.56
31	Kubeb	1	0.56
32	Midimba	1	0.56
33	Moroa	1	0.56
34	Mwaghwavul (Sura)	2	1.13
*35	Ngemba (Cameroun)	1	0.56
36	Nupe	2	1.13
37	Oko	2	1.13
38	Okun	1	0.56
39	Pidgin English	1	0.56
40	Tangale	2	1.13
*41	Tigrigna (Ethiopia)	1	0.56
42	Tiv	9	5.11
43	Twi (Ghanaian)	1	0.56
44	Urdu (Pakistan)	1	0.56
45	Yagba	2	1.13
46	Yoruba	29	16.48

S/No.	Bi - L_1	Number of Respondents	%
47	Igbo-English	1	0.56
48	Yoruba-English	2	1.13
49	Hausa-Yoruba	1	0.56
50	Kilba-Hausa	1	0.56
51	Ninzam-Hausa	1	0.56
52	Kaje-Hausa	3	1.70
53	Fulfulde-Hausa	1	0.56
	Total No. of Respondents	176	-
	TOTAL	176	99.95

Appendix B

Guide Questions for Oral Interviews

Introduction

I am interested in finding out the number of languages people speak on the campus because ABU is a multilingual community. There are so many people from different parts of the country and the world.

M: How many languages do you speak?

O: May be I may not be of much use because I speak one. I speak only English because nobody else around here speaks my own. And I've not been able to learn any other language.

M: O kay well, is it the same language you speak at home with your family?

O: My family is a Nigerian family, but I also find myself speaking English because I don't know their language and they don't speak my own. So, we speak English.

M: Mhm. O kay, it also means that you speak English at the Club and at other social functions which you find yourself in.

O: Well, on occasional arrangements, Yes.

M: That's interesting. So, which is your own native language or first language?

O: La long.

M: From what part of the country?

O: Uganda

M: Uganda! o kay.
Now, since you don't speak many languages like most people on the campus do...

O: I've messed up your interview

M: /Laugh/

M: Well, I'll like to know whether you choose or whether you speak, depending on the person you are talking to or whether you change your style - that is, either to be formal or informal.

O: Well, technically, I may be fair to say, I try to be as much as possible to speak in Hausa because of the fact that most people around here think I'm Hausa any way. So, on first contact they usually greet me in Hausa. If I go to the market usually I'm treated like one.

M: Does it mean you understand Hausa?

O: No, it's just that I find that I have to at least greet in Hausa.

M: Okay.
Now, in a relationship of 'Power' that is, where you are superior to somebody...

O: It normally doesn't happen anyway.

M: Well, the person can be superior to you. Now, how would you address him or her? Would you call him by his first name? For example, if he's ehm... Peter or John? In a formal relationship.

O: What do you mean superior? What do you mean by superior?

M: May be he's your Head of Department (HOD) or the Vice-Chancellor (VC) or somebody in a higher position. In a position of authority.

O: No

M: How would you address that person? By his first name (FN) or by his family name (Fam N), his title (T), a nick name (NN) or a pet name (PN) or anything else?

O: Mhm... most of these things depend on how closely you know the person. And how informal the relationship is. With my HOD, if there are other people around I'll call him, I'll give him his academic title, Dr X (somebody). Uhm... and I might even humour him in the presence of the junior staff in the department, I'll call him Sir. But within the framework of our department that would be very odd. They'd think that I was being sarcastic, because in our department generally there's a lot of informality. You don't hear anybody calling anybody Dr so or whatever...

M: So, you're on first name basis.

O: We normally have... we normally have some kind of pet name or the other.

M: Okay.

O: And, ehm if it had to do with the VC, I'd probably just call him Mr Vice Chancellor because I know that he's the V.C. I might even call him by his name.

M: Well, one wouldn't expect you to call him by his name.

O: By his name? I'd probably just call him Mr V.C because that's the more formal ehm.

M: Title

O: Title... ehm

M: Alright, well since you said it depends on the degree of formality or informality...

O: Yeah, if I'm really distant from the person, I'll use a technical title. If he's a government minister...

M: Okay

O: I'll say Mr Minister.

M: Okay.

O: If he's an Ambassador, I'll say Mr Ambassador. Because these are the technical phrases, you know, one can respect somebody without having to worry about knowing their names.

M: Now, in a given speech event, what will determine the degree of formality or informality when you speak? Is it the 'topic', the 'setting' or the 'speech situation'?

O: Uhm..m It's the audience. The existence of somebody else to whom being informal with the person that I'm dealing with might sound disrespectful.

M: For example, at a seminar, wouldn't the topic determine that you should be formal? Because it's a speech situation where you're expected to be formal. You're presenting a paper for example.

O: Yeah, that's true, but really again technically it's very much the (for me anyway) question of the presence of others who have to be socialised, am I mean, especially if they are students, you know, at the departmental seminar or faculty seminar. Then you find yourself because you know that you're also, as you're talking, you are also giving an example to the students as to how to call their respective teachers and you want to treat their teachers with respect in front of them. So, you find yourself using the title of the person. Otherwise, one is, certainly, from my own social background, generally the closer you are to someone, the more you use their name.

M: Uhm

O: That's their surname not their...

M: First name

O: Yeah, first name

M: Now, would you change your voice to suit your listener because you like him or because you want approval - that is, you want to please the person?

O: I think in that case its quite instinctive. It's like if you've always liked him you have to be very well trained not to show it, but I can't imagine that the other person will not be able to detect it. But here at least you may... but I think it is really instinctive for most people for their voice to go with their feelings with whatever they say.

M: Since you don't speak may be Pidgin English and other languages I won't ask you the next question. But I observe on the campus that people have this tendency of switching from one language to the other or mixing languages when they speak. Do you speak Pidgin? Because it's the closest to English which you speak on the campus.

O: Mhm, well, I might occasionally, depending on my degree of um cultural relation with Nigeria I would probably spat out some...

M: Pidgin

O: Pidgin that I've learnt along the way especially in situations of familiarity with somebody, somebody that I know would tolerate the fact that even the way I speak my Pidgin might be slightly different.

M: Well, all the same .. am it shows that you're being very informal.

O: But certainly that relationship of informality is there.

M: Well, thank you very much for your time.

O: Thank you.

ii. Introduction:

This research is mainly concerned with the study of speech in the university community. I'd like to find out the number of languages people choose and speak on the campus and at what particular times do they use certain languages and to whom.

M: Now, to start with, I'd like to know the number of languages you speak.

A: Well, I speak three languages, amm... Hausa, Arabic and English.

M: Which of these languages is your Mother Tongue (MT)? - that is, your father's language?

A: Ah... I think I belong to two worlds. My mother's language is Hausa and my father's language is Arabic.

M: Okay, Now, which of the languages do you use in office, at home, in the club and other places?

A: In the office, it all depends. First, we use English, it's official. While some people will come in with their own private discussions, which may, it could be in Hausa, you just have to speak Hausa in the office. But at home sometime we do combine or we have to use the two, depending on the circumstances.

M: So, to your family sometimes you use Hausa, Arabic or English.

A: Yeah.

M: And what about the house-helps? Do they speak Hausa or any other language?

A: Yeah, they do.

M: Which of these 4 will determine your choice of language? (i) whether it's the person you are talking to (ii) the topic of discussion (iii) the social situation or (iv) the place itself? That is when you use a language do you consider the person you're talking to or the/topic of discussion, or the social situation?

A: There are 2 ways you know. You can, for example, when you are speaking with people in the upper segment mainly you find people trying to speak at that level. But when you are speaking to people casually - you know - just free, you can speak any type of English - you can speak words that are not even correct in sentences, you may not even bother about that.

M: That's in an informal situation.

A: Informal situation

M: Ok.
Now, do you consider a person's 'age', 'sex', 'personal appearance' or his 'ethnic background' and even 'social status' when you're speaking to him? Does that determine your choice of language?

A: Well, I think social status do (does) because if you talk of age, there are intelligent young men. They are in business, and ah, for example, I do go out on business and ahm when I go out may be I'll find somebody in his early 30's or late 20s then I have first of all to sell my company - that's my own appearance, then I'll have some feeling about him that's his own appearance, the way he chooses his words and the way he presents himself. That will show me or depict his office and also his own position.

M: Ok. Now, does that determine the language you choose - that is, whether you choose to speak to him in Hausa, English or Arabic. Does it have to do with his ethnic background because you know he's, he speaks English or he speaks Hausa.

A: First of all, we do go on official business, so we use the official language which is English. But atimes also you definitely find that where some people speak English Hausa or any other (tribe) language, so in that situation you have to follow what suits the discussion. But mainly you end up with Hausa or any other language. It all depends on the situation and how much you sell yourself to the other person, you know, to relax and you know how to discuss the business.

M: So, whether you know the person before or not it depends on the situation - whether it's a strictly formal situation or informal situation.

A: Yeah.

M: So, it means - ah - you could start by being formal and end up being informal.

A: Yeah

M: Depending on the degree of familiarity and ...

A: the relationship.

M: In a relationship of 'Power' - that is, where you are either in authority or the person you're speaking with is higher in authority. How would you address that person? Would you call him by his first name or by his family name or by his...

A: I think it all depends on the relationship. Now you can't just walk into somebody's office and start saying Heh - this person! even if you know him personally, you have to respect his office first. Then as you are discussing you'll start mentioning name. You are in his office, you have to respect the office. But as time goes on you then come back to using first names, depending on your relationship.

M: Ok. Now, this is a formal situation.

A: Yeah.

M: What of an informal situation? Somebody you're on first name terms with.

A: Yes, you can address him by ...

M: his first name or even a nick name or pet name?

A: Mainly the first name.

M: Now, do you sometimes change your voice to suit the person you're talking to? Or may be, perhaps, you want to please the person by changing your voice or because you like the person?

A: If someone is making a speech at a gathering he has to impress his audience. So also you have to impress whoever you are going to talk to, whether male or female. You see, that particular impression, where the tone is changed automatically by itself. May be it's not your making.

M: So, in a sense, the topic itself and the audience...

A: Yes

M: determines whether you should change your voice...

A: Yes, that's right.

M: And, in a sense it also shows that you want to maintain an image, because take your position for example, ...

A: That's right

M: It won't be proper for you to start speaking in a way which will not be suitable to your office.

A: That's true.

M: Now, now that you speak 3 languages, do you sometimes switch from one language to the other when you speak?

A: Naturally.

M: And, do you sometimes mix either the 2 or 3 languages together? Because I've observed on the campus here that... well, may be it happens only among the students, that atimes when they speak there's this tendency to mix the languages, may be Hausa mixed with English or Yoruba mixed with English and so on. Do you, does that happen to you?

A: It does.

M: Is it something that happens unconsciously or you are aware of it?

A: No, it's unconscious. It's unconsciously. Because, sometimes when you're discussing with somebody you all arrive at certain - to an understanding then you jump. It is always during some private discussions or intimacy. When you are close to someone, I've seen or from my experience, I went to somebody's office, now as we were discussing, he said, why can't we discuss this in Hausa since we're all Hausa. It's official matter. I said, no problem, let's change. So, we switched to Hausa. And thenthat brought us closer. So, but if you find somebody who cannot understand your own language you'd prefer to speak in ...

M: Engl...

A: English. English is the official language. If you know that you don't understand his language, it's the only - ah - language, you have to...

M: in common is the English Language.

A: Introduce yourself and use.

M: Atimes some people say it's because they can express themselves better in the other language which the listener understands. Does that happen to you? Do you change or switch because you think the person listening to you will understand your point better when you express yourself in that language?

A: No, I think ah, to me, it doesn't happen to me that way. But just as you said, sometimes it happens that you just switch but not because you want to express yourself better in one language or you want to say that you understand that language fluently. No.

M: Now what if ... ah

A: Because it has to be done that way.

M: What if you want to talk to your messenger, for example. You want to give him a message and you know he doesn't understand English. Wouldn't that situation demand that you should switch from English to Hausa?

A: Well, definately I don't even start with the English language. I know his level I'll speak from his level. And ah - once you understand his language you know, it's better for you to put it that way so that there's no mistake. And, it will be clear to him when you put it in Hausa. In some cases you try to make him understand what you want him, if you want to develop a good relationship.

M: Does your dislike for somebody affect the way you speak to him?

A: Well, to be honest with you, I've never seen anybody I dislike. So, I can't remember doing it.

M: It's a feeling that one can't really hide. If perhaps you're quarelling with somebody and you have to speak to him.

A: May be I'm different.

M: So, this doesn't apply to you

A: It doesn't.

M: From the languages you speak which would you suggest as the national language for Nigeria?

A: Hausa.

M: Hausa. Why do you choose Hausa?

A: It's so vast, so rich. Ok? It's easy for you to, to frame a Hausa word for something. Let's take for example, 'Corner'. 'Corner' is a noun(?) but it's easily translated to 'kwana' and it means the same thing. It has its own name in Hausa again 'Sha talitali'. You see all these things can translate from this to that. If, now we call 'key' 'dan key.' To my understanding and to be frank from the little I do understand one or two languages but not much but I understand what is discussed. When they talk to me I know like eh- Igbo, for example or Yoruba when they speak I do understand but I can't speak them. Because I've not made up my mind.

M: To learn the language.

A: Yes, to learn the language.

M: I think that's all I've got to ask. Thank you very much.

A: Thank you very much.

iii. Introduction:

This study is trying to find out the number of languages people speak on the campus. Also,I'd like to find out what influences their choice of language. Whether they choose a language according to the person they are talking to or the social situation, the setting, and I'd also like to know whether in your use of language you sometime switch or mix the languages you speak. And why you think that happens.

M: Now, to begin with I'd like to know how many languages you speak.

U: Well, I speak two languages.

M: Which languages?

U: I speak Hausa and English

M: Ok. Now, which is your Mother Tongue?

U: Hausa.

M: Ok. Which of these languages do you speak at the office, at home, at the club, perhaps?

U: Well, you mean the frequency with which I speak any of them?

M: Yes, which do you use most? Because it seems you're bilingual since you speak only two languages.

U: /laughter/ I may be more than bilingual, but these are the languages I speak with some level of competence.

M: Are there other languages you understand, but...

U: I understand but do not necessarily speak

M: Ok, which languages are they?

U: Ehm like Yoruba, like Tiv, like eh - Kanuri.

M: Uhm, which of these languages do you speak most at the office, at home and other places?

U: Well, in the office I speak English most of the time. At home that means according to the demands of the situation,

M: or the person you're talking to

M: Ok. Now, do you choose a language according to the person you're talking to, the topic, or the social situation, or the place. Which of these determine your choice of language?

U: Well, all of them determine your choice of language. Because if you think in terms of the person you're talking to, you have to consider whether the person speaks your language or not. So, if the person understands English and is more comfortably with

that, I speak English with the person. Or if the person does not understand English but understands Hausa, I speak Hausa with the person. Or it may mean a topic say you're thinking... you're talking about philosophy or psychology, you have to speak in English if the person understands English unless of course you're talking to a person who does not understand English.

M: Ok. What about the place, does it determine your choice of language?

U: Not necessarily.

M: Is your choice of language influenced by the 'age', 'sex', 'race' (nationality) or 'personal', appearance', or even the 'tribe (ethnic background) or the social status of the person.

U: Sex, age, race may not matter in the choice of language but possibly the tribe of the person because you wish to...

M: So, because you know the person understands the language you just go ahead and talk to him/her.

U: Uhum.

M: Now, do you change your style of language - that is, whether you have to be formal or informal when you speak to the person?

U: Yes, for instance when you talk to a friend, you assume informality and you can even switch or go pidgin. But a lot of the time when you're talking to colleagues you talk formally.

M: So, that depends on whether it's in an academic setting for example.

U: A formal or informal setting...

M: Informal setting O.k.
Now, in a relationship of power - that is, where either you or your listener is in authority, do you address the person by his or her first name, family name, title and so on.

U: Well, ehm, in that situation, I normally address people by their family names or titles.

M: Ok if the person is a doctor, or a chief you just use the title.

U: Yes, Dr, Chief or Mr Bello and so on.

M: Ok. What of a relationship of solidarity - that is, in a situation where you're of the same rank. Take a colleague, for example, or you're friendly with that person, may be a student or so. How would you address the person?

U: Usually with friends, I usually have pet names for a lot of my friends.

M: Ok. So you just go ahead and use their pet names.

U: Yes.

M: Ok. Now, what address forms are used in your own language? Are they the same as those of the English language? Because in English language you can either use personal names, that is, either first name or family names or you use a person's title. Is it the same in your own language?

U: Yes, More or less the same. Because for instance in Hausa, you can address someone by his title - ah say, if the person has a chieftancy title, you can address the person by that name. And you can address a person as 'Mallam' this or that or 'Mallama'.

M: Ok. Now, does your liking or dislike for your listener affect the way you speak to him or her?

U: Well, in some sort of way - ah obviously you tend to be polite to people you don't get on very well with so that you don't eh exacebate the situation.

M: Ok. Ok. Since you speak more than... well you speak two languages and you understand others but you don't speak them. Now when you use these languages do you switch from one to another? For example, whether you start speaking in English and then switch over to Hausa. Does that happen with you?

U: Yes, it does happen a lot.

M: Why do you think that happens or why do you

U: Probably because ah... you use the two languages equally well or... you have

M: You understand and you speak them equally well Ok?

U: Equally well. Yes. And may be because you've used them over time. So, you don't even know when you switch from one to the other.

M: Now assuming you're talking with somebody who's not very competent in one of the languages, would you switch to the other because you want to express yourself better to that person?

U: Oh, Yes.

M: Ok. Now atimes when people speak there's this tendency to mix the two or more languages. Does that happen to you?

U: Yes, it does

M: Is it something that you do consciously? Are you aware you're doing it?

U: /Shakes her head/

M: It just happens

U: It happens

M: Ok. Now, this may seem out of the scope of this research, but I'll like to know from the languages you speak which would you suggest as the national language for Nigeria?

U: What you mean by national language, you mean...

M: The official language

U: The official language. Well, ah in Nigeria because of a lot of factors, I'd suggest that we continue with English as the official language.

M: Ok. And which would you suggest as the lingua franca in the University community in particular?

U: Well, the university community is a unique community. You may not extend a lot of what should happen for the rest of the university community Ehm.. but if you're talking in terms of the language of communication between the various individuals, of trade, etc I'll suggest that the language that has gained more acceptance or is spoken by the

M: majority

U: majority of the population should be used.

M: Ok. Because of the environment which is a Hausa speaking community, do you think Hausa should become the Lingua Franca?

U: Why not?

M: Ok. Thank you very much.

iv. Introduction:

In this study I'm trying to find out the number of languages people speak on the campus and whether they choose a language according to the person they are talking to, the topic, the social situation. And, ehm, I'll also like to find out what motivates people to switch from one language to another or mix languages when they speak. Because from observation I notice that people tend to either mix languages when they speak or they switch from one language to the other.

M: Now, to start with, I'll like to know how many languages you speak.

S: Ehn... I don't know. Some I can speak fairly well; those that I can't speak fairly well will I include them, those ones? as, like...

M: Yeah just mention them.

S: Like Hausa I can... I can manage to a very good level, but ehn, not very well. Right. Ah... I also speak Igala up to a point.

M: Ok.

S: But I speak Yoruba very well.

M: Ok. And do you also write it very well?

S: Yeah, I can read it well, I can write well, I can speak it well. Ah... my mother tongue is Nupe of course. So that is ehn - no question about that. I speak English, which I'm speaking to you. Ah.. so these are the ones; Igala, and ehn Hausa I speak them, but...

M: Not fluently

S: Not fluently.

M: Ok.

S: If you say anything in it I'll understand what you mean, but I won't be able to converse fluently. But like I say Yoruba ah Nupe...

M: These are the ones you're fluent in. Now, which is your Mother Tongue?

S: Nupe.

M: Is it the same language you spoke as a child?

S: Yah.

M: So, it's your First language as well

S: Mhm Yah.

M: Now, which of these languages do you use more often when you are in the office, at home, at the club or some other places?

S: Now this is purely determined by where you are /coughs and clears his throat/. Excuse me. When you're in the university environment of course you use English. Ah.. except of course English and Hausa because Hausa is the language of ah..

M: the wider community?

S: area. Like for instance, you want to plead with a messenger or a cleaner to help you clean your office certainly you have to speak in Hausa. Eh.. basically for two reasons I'd say in my opinion that; (1) that's what he understands very well and (2) secondly, the psychology of it that you've been to his level.

You see even if you can speak, even if you know that he understands some English you wouldn't like to speak that... because the moment you speak Hausa he feels you have

M: It reduces that kind of social distance between you.

S: That's right., if you speak English...you.. that's my own feeling. That if you speak English people will look at you that this English people...

M: He is trying to assert his authority on...

S: Yeah, that's right. So, normally I would, even if he can, I know he understands some English, I'd speak Hausa to him, because I think that would bring him a little bit to want to do more voluntarily without making it compulsory, what you want him to do for you.

M: Ok. So, in the office you use both English and Hausa.

S: Well, mostly English. But again like I said, when I want to use Hausa it depends on who it is Eh.. eh, so, yes. I'll answer 'Yes', if you want an objective answer. Yes or no I'd say English and Hausa Yes, Yes.

M: Ok which language do you speak at home?

S: Eh.. my mother tongue.

M: And does that include when you speak with, may be the house helps you have at home? Do they speak the same language with you?

S: Yes, Yeah. Well that is again determined by who like you said, for instance, like eh.. our nanny, for example is...

M: Is Hausa?

S: Eh... speaks Hausa. She can't speak English so we speak Hausa. But to the kids, for example, ah - you speak English and the mother tongue. The reason being of course because they go to school, they learn English and you discover that before you know it their English is even better than the mother tongue. Ah.. even though you don't want them to be disadvantaged in the Mother tongue.

M: Ok. But they understand the mother tongue.

S: Yes, they do.

M: And they speak a little of it, too?

S: Yes, they do, but sometimes when you speak, tell them something in the mother tongue and you find that ... like ehm my two and a half year old

daughter for example. If she doesn't understand something in the mother tongue, I say it in English, she picks it up. So, she's able to oscillate between the two.

M: Ok. Do you choose a language according to the person you're talking to, the topic of discussion or the social situation or the place? Which of these determines your choice of language?

S: I don't know.. I think it's all of these. Ahm.. when I have,you have to talk to somebody for instance, I think there are so many factors in my opinion. I've never quite thought of it before but now that you're asking me the question then I... I - I think the factor of familiarity even comes into it. If it's somebody that is new, you haven't met before the likely thing is you speak English because its the Lingua Franca.

M: Ok.

S: If it's somebody you know and you know understands Hausa and which the ... you've liked to speak that here. Or if you go somewhere else where perhaps Yoruba is the ... then you're likely to. So, familiarity is.. in my opinion, is part of it. If you meet somebody you are very familiar with you're more likely to drop English which is the Lingua Franca and speak something else that is a bit more local to us. Eh.. so, it depends on the person that is, whether or not you are familiar - somebody with whom you're very familiar, ah.. it also would depend on the social context in which you're meeting. For instance, I won't go into the class to teach and I speak anything else apart from English even if I know... I can communicate in something else. I mean, it has to be English.

M: Ok.

S: Eh, if it's a social gathering where there are so many people of course again it's the Lingua Franca. So, I'd think is the level of familiarity with the individual with whom you're to interact. I want to think the social context will also contribute, ah--am and again I'd think that to some extent which language you can -- you're able to command, Eh-eh as a speaker.

M: Ok. Now is your choice of language influenced by the age, the race, the sex, or the personal appearance, or the social status of...

S: the person you're talking to?

M: Yes. Do you choose a language according to the age of the person or the sex of the person or the social status or just appearance of the person because you think ah.. he looks educated you just go ahead and speak English to the person. Or you think because he's dressed in a Hausa attire you think he is Hausa and you just speak Hausa to him? Or because you think he looks well groomed or educated you just go ahead and speak Hausa to him. Does that determine your choice of language?

S: Ah, well, I must confess this is a tough question, and I don't want to go at it right away. These are things I haven't really thought about. That's a fairly tough question. Ah...ah - I.. now that you've asked the question and with the little time I have to reflect on this, I think that a lot of things, perhaps unconsciously contribute and I can now, from the explanation you've made (given), I can say that your immediate reaction to what you say to somebody is, whom you think he is or what you think he understands and if you think it's Hausa he understands or .. or, appearance, yes. Ah.. you - you have your own conclusion of the individual and you follow that up with the language. Yes.

M: Now, what about the sex? Do you, for example, choose a language because the person is a female or a male? Is there a separate language you use for them?

S: No, No. I don't think so. I don't think that's a factor.

M: Now, in a relationship of 'Power' - that is, a situation where you are in authority or your listener is in authority, take the Dean or the V.C, for example, how would you address the person. Would you use his First Name, family name, or title and so on?

S: That is.. what .. what determines that?

M: That is whether you choose to call him by his first name

S: A lot, as far as I'm concerned is the culture, itself, because whatever you do you can't get out of culture. You want to . to relate to what that culture is...

M: The norms

S: The norms, yes.
Ehm.. so, if you go to somebody like that. Eh-- if is ah -- say the HOD, or if he's a professor, most likely you'll say prof., or something you know that, what you say with-am-an element of respectability in it that he takes it, you're respecting him and that is why I say that it is culture.

M: O.k.

S: If you don't mind, I can give you a very simple example here.

M: O.k.

S: When I went to study abroad, eh--- there's one of the professors, I mean he's in the age group of my father and he wanted me to call him by his first name. And I just couldn't do it. I can't bring myself to do it. In fact, I had to tell him that I find it difficult because our culture does not allow it. I mean, you see the point I'm making.

M: -Yes, I understand.

S: That's the -- the, what I'm saying.

M) So you---
S) So culture is a factor. Secondly, another factor is why you're there, in my opinion, if you're, in problem and you want him to help you, would obviously look for some ways that are acceptable, you think is acceptable to him that he will think, I mean, that is respectable. And I think that's where such things like Ranka dadde - ah - excuse me 'Sir'

M: Prof. like you've just mentioned.

S: Ah - prof, that's right. I mean, his title. You want him to feel ---

M: Ok. you use his title and not his first name. Now, that's in a situation of power. Ahm, in a situation of solidarity - that is, you're of the same rank with the person, or you are friendly, would you use his first name?

S: I'd use his first name.

M: Ok.

S: And, again, underline the word familiar. And by the time you use..

M: Uhumm

S; his first name or first name of somebody it's ah - I mean, it's an indication...

M: that there is some degree of familiarity between you.

S: Yes, that's right. At least in our own culture here.

M: Yes, well atimes some people use pet names or nick names

S: Well, I don't know, I don't.

M: You don't call your feiends by their nick names.

S: Yes.

M: O.k.

S: Even if I know such names, I don't use them.

M: What if it's in an informal situation? May be at home and a friend comes to visit you. Perhaps you've been primary school mates and you've known him with a nick name.

S: Well, nick name doesn't necessarily mean a middle name. You know, the middle name...

M: No, just fancy names that some people have.

S: No, I don't

M: You don't.

S: No, I don't.

M: Ok. Now, ah ... In the English language the names and forms of address are either the personal namds or personal pronouns like, 'you', 'they', and so on. Is it the same way in your own language? Do you have a particular way of addressing an elder or somebody who's subordinate to you? /Pause. change cassette over/

Like I was saying, there are forms of address in the English language which we've just discussed like, you can choose to use a person's title or call him by using a pronoun like, say, 'You' and so on. Does that apply in your own language? Do you have particular forms of address in your own language?

S: Yeah, of course we do. And these---

M: What are these?

S: are tied down to age groups. I mean the age is the determining factor.

M: Ok.

S: Ah -- if somebody is older than you, for instance, you don't call him by name --

M: Ok.

S: There are -- and it's not a name you choose, it's standardized...

M: Ok.

S: across board. Once a child is growing up, he knows somebody is older than him and he looks at/the person and, 'oh this is at the range of my older brother' and he knows automatically that this is the name I should call him... if it's in his father's...

M: Can you give an example of the name...

S: Well, for instance, it, it's say, in Nupe - ah - somebody who is your brother -- who's in the position of your brother you call him yaya.

M: Ok.

S: Yaya. Ah -- if it's somebody who's may be a female you can say Nneggi, you don't call them by names. You know, of course if it's your father, of course, or somebody who's in the position of your father, that goes without saying.

M: Ok. Thank you.
Now, does your liking or dislike for your listener influence the way you speak to the person?

S: What do you mean? How? You mean your tone or what?

M: Yes. Do you change your tone, do you change your tone to show that you don't like the person or you like the person. Do you speak in a particular way when you don't like a person. Does that show? Do you change your tone?

S: Ah -- well, that's another tough question /laughter/. Ah.. no, not to the best of my knowledge. I don't know whether that happens subconsciously and I don't know. But certainly I.. h.. certainly, I not. Eh.. I don't know, if I don't like a person, I'll tell him I don't like him /laughter/.

M: There are certain -- there are situations where - ah - may be you quarrelled with somebody and you discover you have to talk to that person.

S: Yes.

M: Does it affect the way you'd talk to that person? Would you be harsh to the person or you just be polite whether you -- no matter...

S: Oh! no, no, no, it's ok. If there's a relation, I mean, if there's a situation over which we must interact, I'd certainly forget about the fact that there was anything. Yes. I'd talk normally. Yes, I'd talk normally. Eh.. if there's going to be a change in tone and then of course that would be the quarrel itself and not because there's a quarrel or something because of that I mean I'd talk normally.

M: Ok. Now, since you speak about four languages, do you sometimes switch from one language to another in a given conversation? Like you start...

S: Yah

M: discussing in English then you change to Hausa or..

S: Yah, yah.

M: Now, why do you do that

S: Sometimes you want to emphasise a point which the the language at hand which you are using...

M: does not quite...

S: does not quite give you the leeway. So, you switch to the other.

M: Ok. Now atimes some people tend to mix languages when they speak. Like they start off in one language, bring in another language and then continue with the first language. Does that happen with you sometimes?

S: Ah -- not that I can remember. Certainly not frequently. I can't remember.

M: Ok.

S: No.

M: People say, it's something that happens unconsciously. I noticed among the students it's some kind of a fashion or so. They kind of ...

S: Right

M: mix languages. They start with English, put in their own language and then continue with English. I was wondering whether it's the same for adults - whether it's the same for adults too.

S: It doesn't. I -- I hardly do...

M: It doesn't happen with you

S: But the point I made still stands. The question of switching yeah.

M: The first one was switching.

S: Yeah, I know that, but mixing, No.

M: Ok. Now, this may seem out of the scope of my study but I'll like to find out, of the four languages you speak, which would you suggest as the national language for Nigeria?

S: That's the toughest question you've asked... Well, I don't know whether you'll take 'I don't know' for an answer /laughter/.

M: It's alright. Ok, which would you suggest...

S: I wouldn't know honestly.

M: ... as a Lingua Franca for a University community like ABU. Or may be the whole country.

S: If there has to be one in this university, for instance, I think it will depend on the locality. Right here in this university if there has to be one in the university then it has to be Hausa because it's the language spoken around.

M: It's the language of the environment.

S: Yes.

M: I think that's about all Ill like to ask you. Thank you very much.

S: Thank you for calling. I wish you, I wish you well.

v. Introduction:

This study is about ehm Language choice and use on the campus. I'll like to find out the number of languages people speak on the campus and whether their choice and use of language is determined by the person, they are talking to, the topic, or the social situation and whether they choose a language based on the age or the sex or even the race of the person. And, also, we ll in a multilingual setting like ABU people tend to switch from one language to the other when they speak and atimes they mix the varieties of languages which they speak in conversations.

M: To begin with I'll like to know how many languages you speak.

U: Ok. I -- that is functionally, I speak two. Ah -- my native language is Igbo. I speak it and English language of course.

M: Ok.

U: Ah... I have a 3rd, but I do not use it.

M: Which is it?

U: That's French.

M: But you can read and write it.

U: Yes.

M: But that means you can also speak it

U: But I don't speak it around here on the campus. That's why I said functionally.

M: Ok.

U: Yeah.

M: Ah -- so, it means Igbo is your first language - that is the language you spoke as a child.

U: Yes.

M: Ok.

U: Yes.

M: Which of these languages that you speak do you use more often in the office, at home, at the club, etc.

U: Well, it depends on -- am the place where I am. Ah -- I speak English very much in the working environment; here on the campus. Ah... even when I communicate with Igbo speakers within the working environment, I use a lot of English language. At home, I use both. Ah... I wouldn't really pin-point the reason I do that, I find, for example, with my niece I sometimes would talk to her in English. I suppose it's because I want her to ahm-- you know, to improve her English -- develop the habit of speaking in English, since it's the medium of instruction. And sometimes I find that Igbo comes easily to me and I address or send, tell her to do something for me in Igbo.

M: Ok.

U: I also find that when I speak to her in English, I think I make a deliberate attempt in doing that and when she responds in Igbo I make her respond in...

M: English

U: in English. Ah.. the person I'm speaking with certainly influences or determines the language I'll use. For example, the girl taking care of my baby, she has very limited English, so I talk to her in Igbo most of the time.

M: She's Igbo too?

U: Oh! She's Igbo. But I from time to time tell her in English, tell her something in English. I --- find that as a deliberate effort on my part to make her to start picking the language.

M Ok. So you're - ah - choice of language is determined by the person.

U: Yes.

M: I was going to ask you whether you choose a language according to the person

U: Certainly, I do, I do.

M: So, the topic or the social situation doesn't really matter.

U: The social situation, yes, matters because the person you're talking - ah - you may be different, I mean, you and the person may differ in terms of social class.

M: Ok.

U: And the ... the topic again may determine the language you use. In fact, I've always observed that when I speak with these messengers around here. I always go to their level I find I speak Pidgin to them.

M: Ok.

U: And not formal English.

M: Is your choice of language also influenced by the the 'age', the 'sex' or the person or even the 'personal appearance' of the person?

U: Ah--m 'age', yes because you want to talk to the person at the level he'll understand. I'll use my neighbour's daughter as an example. She'll be five on the 1st of October...and...eh I always come to her level.

M: Ok.

U: So that we can carry out our conversation. She visits me a lot and we talk. So-am- age level on the campus here, when I talk to my students here, I talk to them in proper English.

M: Ok.

U: Ahm..ah, I don't know whether am really influenced by age in that regard but I must say I'm formal, I'm very, very formal when I deal with my students. So, well, I can't see myself saying 'hi!' to my students or they saying it to me. I'll mind that.

M: Ok. So, ah.. if the situation is a formal one you choose a language because/or you speak in a formal way...

U: Yea.

M: because atimes a student might visit you at home. That doesn't mean you should still be formal or do you still...?

U: Eh.. well.. eh I don't even allow that to happen /laughs/

M: Ok.

U: Yes.

M: What about when you are with your colleagues in an informal setting; may be in the coffee room, for example.

U: Yes, it's informal. The language I use is informal, but it depends on my relationship with the particular colleague.

M: Ok.

U: Some people, I'll say, I'm very familiar with so we can chat and even go to the level of speaking Pidgin.

M: Ok.

U: Ahm, but not with some others. With some others I'm formal even though they're my colleagues.

M: Ok. Now, in a relationship of 'power' - that is where either your listener or you are in a position of authority, how would you address the person? Would you use his/her 'first name', a 'title' or a 'family name'?

U: Well, it depends on my relationship. My relationship with the person. Ah for example, if I am talking to my HOD I would 't call him by his first name. I'd say 'Sir'. Ahm... who else, but my head of section, I'm quite familiar with him, 'Dr Williams.' Sometimes I say, 'Dr Williams', sometimes I say, 'Dave'. I call him by his first name and sometimes also he calls me 'Uche' and I think I prefer that.

M: Ok. Now, it shows that there's a degree of solidarity between you and him.

U: Familiarity.

M: familiarity

U: Yes,

M: Now, in a situation where there is a degree of familiarity in a formal setting with another person, would you address the person by his/her first name?

U: If we are familiar, I'll call the person by his first name.

M: Would you use a nick name, for example?

U: Yeah, it depends on whether the person has a nick name.

M: a *nick name*
What address form do you use in your own language?

U: Address?

M: Yes, Ok in the English language you can either use a person's first name, a person's title, or a pronoun. Now, is that the same in your own language?

U: Can you give me, can you exemplify further?

M: Like we're just a mentioned...

U: You mean like, doctor, professor?

M: Yes.

U: Ok, Ok. Ahm I - in my language?

M: Yes.

U: *In my language, ahm we..., we have respect for title* holders. So, we greet them by that, for example, my uncle - am is a title holder, so, in the morning I'll use that to greet him.

M: Ok.

U: After eating I'll use that to greet him. Ahm.. women married within the family or even outside the family they are addressed in some way... we call them Dada not that ...

M: Uhm

U: they have any title. It's just a mark of respect.

M: Ok.

U: That same dada we use for the daughters of the family, for example, if a cousin of mine comes now and eh- really wants to greet me in the proper way. *You know, he will hug me or she will hug me and say* dada because - am, you know, she's just giving me respect. So, but, is not the title. So, you see...

M: Ok.

U: there are two different ways of paying respect.

M: ... respect. Ok. And, in case of the title, what titles do you use?

U: Ahm... there are several. Eh... depends on the title the person has taken. Ah.. we have Opara /laughs/. So, if the person took the title Opara, in the morning we say Opara-o-o. You know.

M: Uhmn

U: You know, that is, Opara, I greet you-o oh!

M: Ok.

U: In the case of my uncle, his title is dara, D-A-R-A /Spelling/

M: Ok.

U: So, that's what I'll greet him in the morning - dara or after, after eating I'll say dara ...

M: Ok.

U: - that is, expressing my thanks to him.

M: Ok.

U: Then we have others: Ezanni, Ume. All these are titles. So, you address the person by his title.

M: Ok.

U: You'll find that several people may have the title, Ume. It means that the title they have is Ume. It means that the title these other people have is Ezanni. So, you greet him by that.

M: Ok. Now, does your liking or dislike for your listener affect the way you talk to the person? That is, do you change your tone when you have to talk to that person?

U: It depends. Ah...ah, I don't know...

M: The situation?

U: Yeah, the situation and the topic. Ah.. you know human beings are very diplomatic. Eh, you may dislike somebody but you may not show it.

M: Uhm

U: You may try as much as possible to be nice to the person.

M: Ok.

U: But if, if the person I dislike is making deliberate effort to annoy me, that may make me...

M: Change your tone?

U: change my tone. I could be harsh or.. or casual with the person, rude. I could be rude to the person depending on the way he/she is reacting.

M: Ok.

U: But usually I...I don't think I will have much... ah - that the opportunity will arise like talking with somebody I dislike. I mean what will bring us together?

M: Ok.

U: But I'm saying in case we have to talk...

M: Uhum.

U: Ok. May be in an official setting...

M: Ok.

U: Ah.. I could be very nice, but ah- depending on the way the individual is acting.

M: Ok. Now, since you speak about three languages...

U: Uhum

M: do you sometimes switch from one language to the other?

U: Yeah, I've told you I switch from Igbo to English and vice-versa. It depends. Ah...

M: That's at the home setting. At home. Do you do that in the office?

U: Not really, except if the listener is a very.. a friend.

M: Uhum

U: And we're talking and I don't want the other people around..to understand...

M: to hear what you're saying

U: What we are saying. Eh...

M: Ok.

U: I could switch from English to Igbo. Again sometimes for, you know, for the fact that you /I/ want to speak my language I speak it. Well, it's not necessarily because I don't want somebody around to understand, eh.

M: Ok.

U: Ok, like somebody, like my friend if she comes, Mrs Molokwu, most of the time we talk in Igbo, but now and then we throw in some English.

M: English, Ok.

U: Eh.. or any.

M: That also means that you mix your language, say, in a given utterance...

U: Uhum

M: you speak English mixed up with Igbo. That's if you're speaking with an Igbo person.

U: Yeah. As I said, it depends on the person. If a student of mine comes in here and he speaks Igbo /mtsm../ generally I don't speak Igbo to the person. I let it remain at the formal level, most of the time; especially if the student comes in to discuss school work. But if, for example, he comes to greet me... you know, like one of them came in today..doing LVT, she came to greet me. I greeted her in Igbo.

M: Uhum. Ok. Thank you. Ahm

U: Well, ahm..I need to make a point here. You know you were asking about switching.

M: Ok.

U: One thing I've observed, I do is when... I don't understand Hausa...

M: Ok.

U: I find that when somebody speaks to me in Hausa, sub-consciously, I speak to the person in French.

M: Aha! why?

U: I don't know why. In my mind...

M: Yes.

U: Then I realise, then I find that I'm incapable, I'm not able to speak to the person.

M: To speak. Ok.

U: Then I find that in my head, that actually what my response is in French. But one Professor Hill, I don't know whether you got to see him. From Columbia University.

M: No

U: Oh! you didn't see him? I see. Some people from the English department...

M: American. Ok! Oh, Ok. I attended the lecture.

U: Aha! He too experienced that. It was very-ah-interesting. He was just talking so, I said, 'So you've experienced that? And he said that, ehm - when he was here several years ago, he picked up Hausa. Then when he arrived in Paris, immediately he came out and he was greeting people he kept /laughter/ greeting them in Hausa /laughter/

M: Ok... in Hausa

U: /laughter/ You know, he kept gesticulating.

M: /laughter/ Ah, that's interesting!

U: Yes. So, that made me feel good because several years ago when I told Professor Adeyanju about it, he couldn't understand it. I told him that...

M: That's a very strange phenomenon.

U: Yes, that I found that each time somebody spoke Hausa to me, I resort to speaking French in my head! And when Hill said it, that he actually verbalized it - ah he was -eh greeting them in Hausa then he realized that he was in Paris not ehn in Zaria or Kano. /laughter/

M: That's very interesting

U: Yeah. So, ah.. that I find ah - I don't know how much.

M: I think that's what's referred to as...

U: I don't know

M: metaphorical switching. Ah.. it's psychological.

U: Yes, probably resorting to what you think you can use. But what I...

M: Yes

U: ... don't ..eh why I don't use English, is what I don't understand.

M: Uhum

U: Of course, when I go to the market and I find I can't communicate further in Hausa I resort to English. I verbalize it, I say it.

M: Ok.

U: Whereas with French, it's in my head

M: Uhum. Well, thank you for that... piece of information. From the number of languages you speak which would you suggest as the national language for Nigeria?

U: Ah.. well, I'm one of ..ehm.. you're talking about Igbo and English?

M: Yes. Ok

U: Uhumph. I'm one of those who don't believe that we'll ever have a Lingua Franca. I mean, well never..

M: National language

U: ... have a Nigerian language as a Lingua Franca. I don't see it happening, at least not in my life time. There are many reasons. Ah - Nigeria, as you know, is very, very tribalistic. Which tribe is going to give up his own language. Even the so-called minority languages will certainly not give up their own languages. We're just deceiving ourselves. Whether we like it or not, English is here to stay. Ah... personally, I don't see myself, I haven't seen myself, I haven't even made any effort to learn the Hausa language. And, anybody I'll advise to learn it is for his own benefit not for national reasons. Yes and that's the truth.

M: Ok. I think that's about all I'll like to ask you. Thank you very much.

U: I hope ah.. I hope the responses were useful.

M: Ahm.. I'll like to find out the number of languages you speak.

A: Oh! Four readily.

M: Which are they?

A: Ahm, English naturally, Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba. Actually my Mother Tongue is the fifth, which is Owe.

M: Yoruba?

A: Owe

M: That's a dialect of Yoruba?

A: Ok, well, some call it a dialect. Ah.. we're not sure yet. It's near Yoruba alright, much nearer than my father's language, which is Ayere.

M: Ok.

A: But ehm it all depends - the people say they speak that as a language and ehm.. it's, it's fairly intelligible to Yoruba speakers.

M: Ok.

A: That's open to debate. It's been said that one man's language is another man's dialect /laughter/ So, basically I think I'd say five.

M: Ok.

A: Including my Mother Tongue, which isn't very good.

M: Ok: Ahm is it the same as your first language - that is the language you spoke as a child?

A: Ah...

M: When you were growing up?

A: Yes, but if you define that to mean, that which I spoke a lot more the answer would be no. I spoke far more Hausa than I spoke Owe. And, I'd say although my Mother Tongue is Owe the speech behaviour in the home was heavily Hausa oriented...

M: Ok.

A: ... because my mother had a very close friend called Habiba.

M: Uhum

A: And I grew up with Habiba

M: Uhum. That explains why you're so fluent in Hausa.

A: Well, a little bit, a little bit. But, technically Owe would be said to be my language.

M: From what part of /Yoruba-land is that/?

A: I am from Kwara

M: Ok.

A: I was born in Kwara, but when I was 3 years old I was taken to Ringim.

M: Oh, in Kano State!

A: In Kano. That's the relationship between me and Umma. She's a Ringim lady.

M: Ok.

A: Uhumn /chockles/ I grew up there.

M: Now, ahm - which of the languages you speak do you use more often in the office, at home...

A: Oh, obviously, English. English Ah, for practical reasons. I ahm first, my family is... my wife is American. My nuclear family is American. Ahm when I'm in New York with my family, it's English; when I'm home with Francis alone, Francis and I use only English.

M: Ok. So, he doesn't speak your own language.

A: No, he doesn't. He comes from Rivers? Cross River. He comes from Cross River - Obudu.

M: Ok. So, for you, you speak English at the office, in the club...

A: I don't go to the club.

M: Ok.

A; I don't go to the club, but I speak Hausa to my friends like, Umma, Sambo, Alhaji Nuhu.

M: In the office

A: In the office.

M: Ok.

A: To the ehm, Faculty Officer, the HEO (Higher Executive Officer) who are Hausa speakers.

M: Ok.

A: The janitors

M: Ok

A: Messengers and Ok?

M: Ok.

A: So, I think because this particular office, there are quite a number of Hausa speakers, I use Hausa.

M: Now, which of the following I'm going to mention most determines your choice of language?

A: Uhum

M: Do you choose a language based on the person you're talking to, or the topic of the discussion, social situation or the place?

A: Uhm primarrily, the social situation, ah, ther's a combination of factors. If the social situation is with a person who is a friend alright Ah... I don't know whether you were at the book lauching on Saturday.

M: Dr Okon's?

A: Yes

M: I wasn't there.

A: You weren't. Ahm.. that's, that's a social situation in a sense the people sitting at the high table were Hausa speaking -Ango Abdullahi, Sambo, and Hajia...O

M: Ok.

A: Wanene sunan shi? didn't come so he Mutumin nan, Yelwa ne? Well he sent his wife.

M: Uhm, Ok.

A: So, we spoke ah Hausa-English around that table + across certainly more freer, much more readily. Ahm - so, I'm, trying to say the social situation will determine my choice of Hausa if the people I'm socializing with are familiar, friends, Ok?

M: Ok.

A: But if the situation is formal and I'm surrounded by Yoruba, Igbo...

M: Ok. In that case its a...

A: Yes, Ok.

M: Speech event. It's a speech event within a wider social situation.

A: Within it. Exactly, you got the point, I think. The actual wider social situation called for English.

M: Ok.

A: But I remember even then Mahdi - the tall Mahdi - /is he a professor now or a doctor?/

M: /A doctor/ - Ah - was introducing me to the occasion for the launching as the chairman and he told them I spoke Hausa. So, when I got up to talk, I actually said a few sentences in Hausa.

M: in Hausa, Ok.

A: Though it's an English formal lager situation, and once he said it, I said, Ok I accept it; so, I said some Hausa; I spoke some Hause and then went back to English.

M: Ok.

A: Ok, so, actually in this setting I feel free. Eh, for example, I'm not pressing the point too much, when I go to see the VC, it's a formal situation - Dean versus VC, but we speak Hausa. And we start with English, but then we speak Hausa. Ok? So, that's my kind of ....

M: Now, would you say - ah - that's because - ah - because of the person and not actually the social situation...

A: Yeah, the person is very important

M: And that has to do with the familiarity between you and the person.

A: Exactly, and the person.

M: Ok. Well, /in that case I won't ask you the following questions/

A: /Oh, you can ask me all the questions/.

M: Well, it is said....

A: And I have to be careful that I don't .. oh but answer your questions

M: You know - ah - well, I was going to ask whether you change your style of language to suit a formal situation or an informal situation.

A; Well, I .. think so. In a sense one has to -- to be careful how familiar or how casual, or how informal one is even with people..

M: Uhum

A: ... who are friendly.

M: Uh.

A: Ok. - Now, I don't know. I was being careful with Abdullahi Ango, Ango Abdullahi I mean, but with Saka Nuru; not to be too intimate.

M: Ok. We were exchanging things, even peppermint, but at the same time I was aware of the fact that he was the D.V.C admin . representing..

Yeah, Ok.

A: .. representing the VC. Ok: So, I said, Ok we're friendly, we're friendly, but not to get too.. familiar

M: .. familiar. And that relates to my next question that I want to ask.

A: Ok.

M: In... In - a situation of power - that is whether you are not of equal ranks, so to say, with the listener, how would you address the person? Would you use his first name, his title, or may be his family name?

A: I would use his first name generally and ehm, if I want to drop the name.

M: Uhm

A: Ok. If I feel like it. Someone whom I like, eh or someone whom I'd like to draw nearer to, I'd use his first name. Ahm - let me give you/an example. This afternoon I met my first Long Vacation (LVT) class in Sociolinguistics and I asked them to give me their names -- the names are pasted there /Points to the board/.

M: Ok.

A: Although I was meeting them for the first time as teacher/students I felt that I'd break the formality gap by beginning to call them by their first names; not Mrs X or Mr this, but 'John', 'Agnes', 'Abigail', what have you.

M: Ok.

A: So, I'm in a position as their lecturer, but I'm not gonna use their first names because I mean that, but...

M: Because you want to close the social distance between you and them.

A: Yes, that's right.

M: So, does it mean you'd do the same in a relationship of solidarity? That is where you or your listener are of equal ranks or you are friendly with that person. Would you still use his first name, his family name, a nick name, if he has one?

A: Uhm, Yes. I'd use his first name. Ehm - I find nick names difficult to use. Ehm -- and I find that my moods, I use these names, I choose one of these names according to my moods.

M: Ok

A: Let me give you a funny example. I'm not very much a funny man.

M: Ok.

A: There's somebody called Dr Williams downstairs, who is head of Language Section. I don't know whether you know him?

M: I know him

A: /This thing is on tape, but I don't mind saying it/ Ah-- when we were on very good terms, David came to my mind; David, David, David, David, David, David. I used that...

M: Uhmn

A: regularly.

A: But then, when he annoyed me in a number of situations, although we are all old people, I'd call him Dr Williams.

M: Ok.

A: So, I'd push him away. Dr Williams. Dr This. Ok? That's my attitude. Now, and some people with whom I'm familiar with, with whom I really respect, I don't think you'd know Professor Adamu Baiki. Ko kin san shi? He was the VC of University of Benin.

M: Uhum.

A: And, ah, he had this office before me. He calls me - not really are we familiar - I'm Thomas Kolawole Adeyanju. But he calls me 'K.T' for 'T.K'.

M: /Laughs/

A: Do you get that?

M: Yes.

A: He reverses the 'TK' to 'KT' /Pauses/ I don't think you get the joke. We joke...

M: What do you call him in return?

A: That's a very good one! I find it difficult to call him anything, because wher we were growing up, I didn't call him by name.

M: Uhum?

A: Do you follow?

M: Uhum.

A: We never call him by name. We just went to him, we just talked to him, we just ... even now at my age I find it .. difficult to call him face-to-face by name.

M: Why?

A: Now, that's something I should have gotten over but I've not been able to because we've known each other since I was eight.

M: Uhum, that's a long time.

A: It doesn't look that long to me. /Some things you don't want on your tape?/

M: No, it's alright /laughs/

A: Ok?

M: Ahm. Would you change your voice to suit your listener because you like him or you want approval or because you want to please the person?

A: Uhmn.. No, I don't think I do that

M: You just speak..

A: I just speak the way I believe I should speak.

M: Ok.

A: But of course, when I'm teaching, I speak because I thought I should be heard at the very end of the class and I speak because I want not to be misunderstood.

M: Ok.

A: So, may be, I'm more empha

M: At certain times

A: ... at certain times, more articulate, and at Senate the VC pulled my legs today. I raised my hand to speak he said, 'well, the Dean of Education does not need to speak because he's going to come up in very carefully constructed English and the whole Senate laughed. /laughter/

Ok. so, so it appears that at Senate my production is carefully structured.

M: Ok.

A: And, the .. as far as I'm concerned, is to come out as clearly as possible since I'm presenting ah...

M: Ok. Ahm, since you speak many languages, now, do you sometimes switch from one language to the other when you speak?

A: Oh, yes! Of course! Naturally

M: Is it something that you do consciously or something that just happens. Are you aware of it?

A: Ah.. sometimes I'm not aware that, that to say that and leave it unqualified is not to be very sincere...

M: Uhum?

A: because it doesn't happen in my lecture rooms

M: Ok.

A: It happens when I'm in the .. context of people who I feel somewhat familiar with.

M: That's in informal situations

A: Informal situations.

M: Ok.

A: Ah.. yeah, in formal situations.

M: Now, would you switch codes if there's somebody - a third party which you don't want to listen into your conversation?

A: Yes, I do.

M: Would you diverge?

A: I could do that.

M: Ok.

A: And I got that even from my mother. So, we do that almost naturally. My mother is, is back at home, but she spent very many years in Kano. So, when I go home now and we are speaking in Ayere, I mean Owe and there's an Owe person there my mother would switch to...

M: Hausa

A: Hausa

M: Ok.

A: Ahm. if my Owe breaks down, my mum would say, "why don't you say it in Hausa?"

M: Ok.

A: So, we go to Hausa and we tal'. She likes it, she encourages me. There's nobody now around her who speaks Hausa /laughs/.

M: Ok. What about mixing languages when you speak?

A: Ah..ehm I wouldn't say I do that, in the awareness of actual mixing. I could code switch. Ahm, but there's something I notice which I do.

M: What is it?

A: Something they call Bilingual redundancy.

M: Uhum?

A: Madalla - thank you very much. I do that and I catch myself because Madalla means "thank you".

M: Ok.

A: So, I say it in the context of an Hausa person or someone whom like Alhaji Bello, who is my executive officer, if he gets something done, I'd say Madalla. Then, as he's walking away, for some strange reason, I'd say, 'Thank you very much.' Now, as if Madalla was not...

M: Not enough.

A: ... enough. And, I think there may be one or two situations in which I do that... otherwise I don't think I mix, in the sense in which I think mixing means.

M: Because, I observe on the campus, it's a kind of fashion with students, so to say, that when they speak, they tend to mix the languages they speak.

A: Uhm I understand why because it has to do with the degree of informality, maybe and the level of competence.

M: Ok. I was going to say that too. Does your liking or dislike for your listener affect the way you talk to the person? Does it affect the way you speak to him or her?

A: Well, if by the way I speak you mean, eh style, formal, informal or register choice, the tone of voice, I will say, Yes.

M: Uhm

A: I will say, yes, shamefully, but yes in the sense that if he comes from a language - now basically my attitude I'm very excited about languages - but really I notice that I'm more excited about certain languages than others. That's the truth. I'm more excited by Hausa, even by Igbo than Yoruba.

M: Uhum?

A: In spite of my name.

M: But why? Why is it so?

A: You know, well, ahm it's, it's funny that a childhood association, childhood memories that are more positive with regards to these other languages than with regards to Yoruba.

M: Ok.

A: Certain relationships appear to be easier for me to handle with these other people than with Yoruba.

M: Uhum.

A: And, I also suspect that I've got a nature where I'm always curious about something new. Like Igbo seems fascinating to me because - I didn't grow up in Igboland, but I'm anxious to learn the language. So, I'm adventurous in the area of Igbo.

M: Ok.

A: Ok? And, and so I say it so that someone may comment. No, you speak Igbo, you don't speak it well. You can speak it better this way. That kind of a thing.

M: Yes, that's a way to learn a language. Talking about attitude to other languages, what's your opinion on the issue of the choice of a national language for the country?

A: That is a very important issue and a controversial one. Well, in my opinion, Hausa should have been adopted a long time as was suggested by one Mr Bala at the House of Representatives in the late 1960's. Hausa is not only one of the national languages, it's the Lingua Franca for most states in other West African countries like, Niger, Togo, Ghana, Senegal and so on. It has gained a wide currency both as a language of Commerce between these countries and as a means of communication. And, in addition, it has an orthography. However, other Nigerian languages can also be developed through the process of standardization.

M: Thank you very much for your contribution and for granting me this interview.

A: It's my pleasure.

vii. Introduction:

This research is trying to find out the number of languages people speak on the campus and I'll also like to know how often people use certain languages either in the office, at home, in the hostel, in the club and other places.

E: Ok.

M: And, I'll also like to know if.. ah.. you are influenced by a person's social status, his age, his tribe (ethnic background) when you talk to the person. Now, to start with. I'll like to know how many languages you speak.

E: Myself?

M: Yes.

E: I speak ah... three languages.

M: Which are they?

E: Hausa, English plus Pidgin English. If you consider that too (laughs).

M: It's a language

E: Ok.

M: It's a language in its own right. Now, among these languages ahm.. which do you understand and speak fluently?

E: Hausa

M: You speak Hausa fluently.

E: Yes.

M: And can you write in Haus ?

E: Yes.

M: You speak and write Hausa

E: Yes, I can write it

M: Now, among the three languages which do you speak but cannot write?

E: None I can speak and write all.

M: You can speak and write English, Hausa, and Pidgin

E: Yes.

M: Now, among these languages which is your Mother Tongue? - that is, the language of your father?

E: Hausa

M: Hausa is your Mother Tongue. Now, which of these languages do you use at these places I'm going to mention: (1) at the office, (2) in the class premises (3) in the hostel and (4) at the club. Just mention the ones which are suitable for each of the places.

E: Ok. like, in the classroom, for example, except when there's a lecturer around most students speak Pidgin.

M: Uhum.

E: Some of them speak both Pidgin and Standard English.

M: Uhum

E: This seems to apply to the language spoken in the hostel and at clubs. When serious issues are discussed for instance, that has nothing to do with academics, we speak.. we speak Standard English - that is, in the hostel. Even at club meetings - that meetings we speak Standard English except when.. ah.. we want to divert from the issue being discussed we bring in maybe Hausa and Pidgin English.

M: Does that apply to you in particular or other students too?

E: Yes, me in particular. I've also noticed, through my discussion with others, I discovered that this too also applies to most people /students/? We blend the language - that is, we blend both English and Pidgin English together /Style shifting/Intra-lingual variation/ most of the time.

M: Ahm as a student, which of these languages do you speak more often in class?

E: Uhm when you say in class, for instance, I'm a theatre Arts student - I'm a drama student.

M: Ok.

E: And, in class we... I won't call it.. but most of the time we speak Pidgin because that's the language we use in expressing...

M: Does that include proper academic issues or only when are performing a play? Or when you are just among other students, may be while the lecturer is away you just use Pidgin English.

E: Ok. when the lecturer is away, you know, we speak Pidgin, and even when the lecturer is around. There are times that he deviates. He speaks...

M: He speaks Pidgin, too? Ok. Now, do you perform your plays in Standard English, Standard Nigerian English, in Pidgin English or any other Nigerian language?

E: We perform our plays in... most of our plays in Pidgin English. Because you see, our tradition in the theatre is to put up plays that are popular. That means, you know, we sort of help.. the popular theatre is a tradition we have, and we believe that Pidgin English is a very popular language.

M: Ahm as a student, which of these languages do you speak more often in class?

E: Uhm when you say in class, for instance, I'm a theatre Arts student - I'm a drama student.

M: Ok.

E: And, in class we... I won't call it.. but most of the time we speak Pidgin because that's the language we use in expressing...

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M: He speaks Pidgin, too? Ok. Now, do you perform your plays in Standard English, Standard Nigerian English, in Pidgin English or any other Nigerian language?

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M: Uhum.

E: That, even those who don't .. I mean .. those who don't - didn't acquire or have western education will understand the English - when the language is spoken. So, we speak - most of the time we perform in Pidgin English.

M: Ok. Now, which of these determines most your choice of language? That is, ehm do you choose a language according to the person you're talking to, or the social situation, or the topic of discussion or the place? That is, whether in the office, at home, or the hostel, in the class. Which one determines your choice of language?

E: Yes. Actually...

M: Ok. if you meet somebody and you want to talk to that person, now would you talk to him because /... As I was saying, do you choose a language depending on the person you're talking to, the social situation, the topic of discussion or the place itself?

E: I...I think the place influences one most of the time. Now, for instance, if you go to the VC's office...

M: Uhum

E: actually you won't expect to .. you will not expect a student to talk o the VC in Pidgin English...

M: Uhum

E: Or anybody you find in his office, depending on the person. I think one's appearance also influences the way he speaks. If, for instance, one is dressed in a suit, for instance, it's assumed that he speaks - I mean - you speak to him in English because he's ...

M: educated?

E: ... he's educated. And, when someone is dressed in babanriga or so, it's possible that he's not very educated. So, that also determines the language you speak to him.

M: Ok. Do you choose a language based on the 'age' of the person or his 'sex'? /You have explained that of personal appearance; so, I won't ask you that/; ... the race, ..

E: Ok.

M: tribe of the person, or the social status of the person? Which of these three would you choose?

E: Alright. Actually - ah - all will influence one. Me, for instance, the race, for instance, if I should meet an Indian man, its probable that I cannot speak to him in Pidgin or Hausa so, I just have to use Standard English.

M: Ok.

E: And.. ah - even the age, too. The age too determines. If somebody is not my age mate.. when I want to speak to that person .. ahm - like somebody that is not my mate, when I want to speak to him I'll use Standard English depending on the situation.

M: Uhum. Does it mean you're trying to show some respect or because he's older than you, you just assume that/he understands English, so, you just speak English to him?

E: Well, like I said earlier that was in connection with .. this Ahm - I mean, the man's appearance will also help you in ehm the language you'd use, because atimes there's - somebody might be very old, right?

M: Uhum

E: But might not understand English, for instance.

M: Uhum

E: So, it depends on the situation too and the age too. I'll use the language, .. I'll use Hausa, for instance, if I believe that person is not very familiar with English.

M: Uhum. What about the tribe of the person? Does it determine your choice of language?

E: Yes, it does. If you believe, Ok, the Igboman, for instance, you know most of them don't speak Hausa fluently. Alright, so when am talking to an Igboman - that is when I'm very sure that person I'm going to speak to is an Igboman, I think the... I'd want to talk to him in English or Pidgin English depending on the situation.

M: What is you understand Igbo yourself? Won't you use Igbo knowing that he's Igbo?

E: Ah. I'd use Igbo because I want to attract his attention first.

M: Ok. Now, do you change your tone - that is, your voice to suite the age of your listener?

E: Yes, a lot. Yeah. Ah - for instance, the tone I'd use would show that I respect the person. And it also depends on the subject.

M: Whether formal or informal situation?

E: Informal Yes. And if there's something I want to ask from the person, certainly the tone I'd use would be

M: different

E: ... different, Yes.

M: Ok. Now if, well, since you say you do, which one of the following languages would you use in a formal situation? The languages are: Standard English, Nigerian English, Pidgin/Broken English, your language, a dialect or your language or any other language which suits the topic and which your listener understands. Now this is a formal situation and you've said you change your tone to suite the person you're talking to.

E: Ok.

M: In a formal discussion, which of these languages would you use?

E: I'd use Standard English depending on the situation If, for instance, ah - if, if, it has to do with official, an official matter, certainly, the language that I'd expect my listener to understand is Standard English. But if it has to do with, ehm, may it's not an official affair for instance. If, if I want to ask, for... may be someone's hand in marriage, for instance, and I go to see the girl's father, certainly I won't speak Standard English, I'd speak in Hausa.

M: Nhum. That's if the girl is Hausa.

E: ... Is Hausa.

M: Or her parents are Hausa

E: are Hausa. Yes.

M: Now in an informal discussion which of the languages would you use. They are the same languages as I've stated. So, would it be Standard English, Nigerian English, Pidgin, Any other language, etc?

E: Nhum, this one too depends on the group, or subject or the person I'm talking to. If it's like my mate...

M: Nhum

E: ... then I'd certainly use either Hausa or Pidgin English.

M: Ok.

E: But if it's somebody that is a bit elderly, I'll use Standar d English.

M: So, whether the situation is formal or informal you'll use Standard English.

E: I'll use Standard English.

M: Now, when would you use any one of the varieties I'd read out to you. In what domains - that is, in what place - whether at home, school, club, and so on. I want you to match the 'language', 'person' and 'domain'. For example, the language I've chosen is Hausa and the person I'd use the language with is my mother and the domain is the family - within the family. I'll read out the domain's for you and you can just tell me the languages you'd use in each situation. The domains are: (1) Family (2) Education (3) Religion (4) Friendship (5) Employment.

E: In the family domain I'd use Hausa; Education-English; Friendship-English;

M: What of religion?

E: In religion, I'd use Hausa.

M: So, Hausa is your language of worship.

E: Yes.

M: At the church or mosque you attend you ah - use Hausa?

E: Ahm - I don't go to church.

M: You don't?

E: Eh - eh

M: And you don't go to the mosque either?

E: Ehun

M: Assuming you ...

E: But I...

M: met a religious leader

E: I pray

M: Well, which religion do you belong to?

E: I'm a christian

M: You are a christian. Now, when you pray what language do you use? Do you pray in English, Hausa or Pidgin?

E: It depends on my mood. Sometimes I pray in English. Other times in Hausa.

M: Ok. So, if you meet your pastor or religious leader which language will you speak with him?

E: English.

M: You'll use English. Ok. Now, in a relationship of Power - that is, where you or your listener is superior in rank, how wou d you address your listener? For example, would you use his or her first name. May be say, Dikko, or Yusuf or the person's family name. May be you call his first name plus the family name. Or you call -- you address the person by his title - whether Miss, Mrs, Mr, or Chief, Doctor, Professor or call the person by his pet name or nick name or any other name which you think will be suitable. In a formal situation. You are not of equal rank. You're either superior or you're subordinate to the person.

E: Ok, like somebody I'm superior to...

M: Nhum

E: I'll -- I'll use his first name.

M: His first name

E: Yes, depending on his age. Because there are times that I find I was working under somebody elderly. So, if he's older than me I'll use his surname.

M: His surname. So, for example, if it's in a place like this you want to call somebody who's older than you, but you are superior to the person, ahm would you call him Mallam wane for example? You call him Mallam - that is, using a title with his name.

E: Yeah, I'll use that

M: Ok. What about in a relationship of solidarity - that is, you're of equal rank with that person. Or there's some degree of friendship between you and that person. Which of the address forms would you use? They are the same as the ones I've listed.

E: Ok. I think I'll use the person's first name.

M: You'll call him by his first name?

E: Yes.

M: So, if your friend's name is 'John' you'd call him 'John'.

E: Yes. And if he has a pet name I'd call him by that too.

M: You'd call him by his pet name. Ok. Now, in a given speech event what will determine the degree of formality or informality. Will it be the 'topic', the setting, that is, the place, the speech situation or the degree of power or solidarity between you and your listener?

E: Ah.. I think it's the situation.

M: The situation. So, whether it's a formal or informal situation.

E: ah - hen.

M: Ok. Now, when you speak do you change your voice to suite your listener because you like him or her or because you want approval, that is, you want to please that person?

E: Uhun.. sometimes I change my tone because I want the person to listen to what I'm saying.

M: What you're saying.

E: Uhum. That's since I speak very fast...I...I...I rattle. So I change my tone if I want that person to listen to what I'm saying.

M: Ok. So, which one of these would you choose. Is it because you want approval, or you want to maintain your image? For example you are a graduate. You want to speak in a particular way so that people will know you are a graduate of English. That is, maintaining your image Ok? Or you want to conform with the rules of the language, or even because you don't have a choice but to speak in that way. Which one do you think is applicable to you?

E: Mhm.. well, I want to conform with the rules of the..

M: ... of the language.

E: Yes.

M: Ok. So, you try to speak in the correct way.

E: In the correct way.

M: Ok. Now, why do you change - that is, switch from one language to another while speaking? That's assuming you.. you find yourself in a situation like that. Is it because you want to express yourself better in one of the languages or it just happens unconsciously, or because your listener understands the other language better, or because you want to say, ehm .. express yourself better in the other language?

E: Yes, I think I change. It's because I want to express myself better in the other language. For instance, there are some languages that don't have some images that you'd like to use so one has to change to be able to express yourself better.

M: Ok, to put your message across clearly.

Yeah.

M: Do you sometimes mix one or two languages? Is it a style of speaking? Do you do it because it's a style of speaking or because it just happens unconsciously or your listener understands what you mean? Or is it because you just don't know. It just happens.

E: Eh... sometimes its unconscious, you know. But some other times there may be some points I want to make, you know, which I want to state without obviously switching over.

M: It's not really switching, but mixing. You bring in another word from another language.

E: Yes.

M: Mhn, and mix it in another

E: Yes. I think it's unconscious

M: Ok. Now, does your liking or dislike for your listener affect the way you speak to him? That is, if you don't like somebody and you have to talk to that person would it affect the way you have to talk to that person? Would you be polite because you can't help it, or you just respect the person even if you don't like him or her; or because the situation demands that you should be polite? Or you just go ahead and speak rudely to that person because you don't like him or her?

E: The manner in which I speak to somebody .. ah .. ah.. depends on my regards for that person.

M: Your relationship with that person

E: With that person. Yeah. If, if, if the person, for instance annoys me, you know, I will first of all consider his status. I might speak to him politely even though he's annoyed me because I feel I want to maintain the relatioship between us.

M: You want to give him that respect.

E: That respect.

M: Uhum. Now, do you try to impress your listener when you speak to suit his or even by (1) immitating his or her own speech; (2) or displaying competence of the subject matter, (3) or just being yourself?

E: Not at all. I don't immitate my speaker... I mean my listener. I make sure he understands what I'm saying. Like I - I've seen some people change their tone because, just to please their listener, you know.

M: Mhun. In what situation would that happen?

E: Like, for instance, ah - if you meet someone for the first time in the street, you know to impress him... to .. to show him that you too can speak like him.

M: You change your tone

E: You change your tone. Very ridiculous [laughs]

M: Ok. Do you try to maintain an image to conform with the social group which you belong to; or your social status, or the social status of your listener; or the social situation?

E: I change my tone to conform with the social status of my listener.

M: Mhun So, if, for example, you are speaking with the VC you'd speak or you're expected to behave properly and speak properly.

E: Yes. I'll try as much as possible to speak the English I think is correct - the Standard English.

M: Mhn.. Ok., Now which one of the languages you speak would you suggest as a national language - that is, the official language for the country?

E: Pidgin English, of course.

M: Pidgin English as a national language?

E: Yes.

M: What about a Lingua Franca? Which would you suggest as the Lingua Franca - that is the language of daily communication among the people who speak different languages?

E: I'll still suggest Pidgin English.

M: Pidgin English?

E: Yes. Or, Nigerian English which I think is not strong.

M: Is it? I don't think so. Or perhaps you mean Nigerian Pidgin.

E: Ok.

M: Ok.

viii. Introduction:

I'm interested in finding out the number of languages people speak on the campus. What factors determine their choice and use of language that is, whether they choose a language according to the topic, social status, age, the place - that is, the setting.

K: So, where do you want me to begin? The number of languages or ...

M: I'm just trying to give you a background.

K; Ok, Ok.

M: I want to know how many languages you speak.

K: Tiv, number one, English, a bit of French, a bit of Hausa.

M: Ok. Now, which of these languages is your Mother tongue?

K: Tiv, of course!

M: Is it the same as your first language? That is the language you spoke as a child when you were growing up?

K: Yes, Yes.

M: Ok. Now, which of these languages do you speak fluently?

K: I speak Tiv and English fluently.

M: Do you write them too? Can you write them?

K: Both of them, yes. I can also write French fluently even though I don't speak it fluently.

M: Ah! Ok. So, you're proficient in ...

K: Eh, I can also read it fluently.

M: Ok. Ah... now, which of these languages do you use either very frequent, frequently, occasionally or do you...

K: It's difficult to say for me because after office hours, I think most of the time I speak Tiv. But eh.. in the office, it's a mixture of the two, de depends on who has come to see me.

M: To see you - which of the languages do you speak in the office, at home, in the class premises, or the club?

K: It's the same as the other question. I said, in the office...

M: Yes.

K: ... sometimes if it's a guy who speaks my Mother tongue that comes in; it's <u>natural</u> for me to start relating with him in the language even if it's an official matter.

M: Ok.

K: If it's in the club too, it depends on the friends I'm sitting...

M: with

K: ... around with in the club. If, eh - the majority of them are Tiv I just tend to talk in Tiv.

M: Ok. Now, ah - which of the following factors will determine your choice of language?

K: Language?

M: Would it be the person, the topic of discussion, the social situation or the place?

K: Ah - it's a combination of all. Ah.. some times even within one discourse we can have.. I can change.. I can switch. It's possible that someone may be Tiv can come to be. I start off in English then find out may be it's easier for me to relate to him in talking in Tiv.

M: Then you switch.

K: After a while may be it's more convenient for me to put what I want to say in English.

M: So, you switch over back to English.

K: Yeah, that's right.

M: So, in your case, the tribe of...

K: Mhn

M: the person would determine your choice of language.

K: Mhn.

M: What of the social status of the person?

K: Mhn.. the social status.. if it's in the office... I don't think social status matters for me, Ok? as long as the person can communicate in English.

M: Ok.

K: Ok. If I find that he does, it doesn't matter really, the social status. But ehm.. at home, it's a different matter. What I mean .. eh I have a houseboy who speaks Tiv and I'd normally don't speak English to him.

M: Ok.

K: You know, I don't think that for me social status matters.

M; Ok. In your case I won't ask the following questions.

K: Ok.

M: Now, in a situation of 'power' - that is, where you're of unequal rank with the listener, either you are or, he is superior. How would you address the person? Would you call him by his first name, or by his family name, his title, nick-name or any other name?

K: Again, that depends on the person.

M: We are looking at the situation, whether is - ehm, you know there is some... /someone enters the office interrupts the interview/.

M: As I was saying

K: Mhn

M: If there is some kind of power between you and the person, take the VC, for example.

K: Mhum - Mhum.

M: Now, when you address him, would you use his title - either Professor or Sir? and so on.

K: I'd be inclined to use 'Sir' if he's the VC. No matter how familiar he is with me.

M: Ok. What is the person is a subordinate and you're in a position of authority. Would you call the person by his first name, or use his family name. first name meaning...

K: I'd, I'd tend to use his first name.

M: ... by his first name.

K: Mhn

M: Ok. In a situation...

K: But I wanted to make a slight adjustment even to that senior something.

M: Ok.

K: There are some people that are more at home with first names.

M: Ok.

K: And it would be something more familiar than 'Sir'

M: The title.

K: And the title. You know I have many friends who are higher than me who prefer me just to say something like 'prof' or, you know, even to call them by their first names. They feel more comfortable. I can see it...

M: O.k.

K: But there are people who are of the same status with whom I'd not do that because I notice that they are not happy with it.

M: May be they want to maintain some kind of social distance between you.

K: That's right. So, it depends on ...

M: In that case would you say ehn - you can use the person's pet name or nick name, for example.

K: Yeah

M: Whether he's ...

K: If I judge the atmosphere to be right.

M: Ok.

K: The basic thing actually is the atmosphere, for instance at meetings, it's quite common, you see when you are familiar with somebody - it's quite possible for me to call you Margaret at a meeting.

M: Mhum.

K: Right? But properly speaking at a meeting at a formal meeting shouldn't say Margaret I should call you Miss Kassam.

M: Mhn

K: You know. So, it depends on the nature of the relationship.

M: In another situation where... ahn - there's some kind of, for example, of familiarity, in a situation of solidarity you're of equal rank. Would you address the person by his first name, title, nick name or ...

K: Always, always by the first name.

M: By the first name.

K: Or, usually a nick name if it's somebody who's...

M: Very close to you

K: Yes.

M: Now, ahm atimes when people speak they tend to switch from one language to the other.

K: Mhn

M: I wonder if you do that.

K: Well, ehn ...

M: Why do you think that happens? Why do you change or switch from one language to another?

K: Much of it is out of habit, but a lot of it also depend on the type of company.

M: So... ehn.. otherwise, you are saying it's something that happens unconsciously.

K: Yes, I'd say so.

M: Or, perhaps you want to explain something better in the other language; you just switch over. Does that happen with you?

K: O.k. Yes, that's right, but I don't think it's a very sharp conscious thing.

M: Conscious thing. Ok. Now, do you sometimes mix your languages when you speak?

K: I mix languages?

M: Yes, different languages. Say within a sentence or expression you start with English, put ehm ...

K: Unless in a joke

M: Pidgin English

K: I must be joking

M: I observe that it's a common thing around the campus.

K: Yeah, something like that.

M: Mostly among students.

K: I'm going sha (Yoruba expression)

M: Aha! something like that

K: It's not very common with me. I belong to a differant generation /laughs/.

M: O.k. Mhm... does your liking or dislike affect the way you talk to the person? For example you're not on speaking terms with that person and you have to talk to or tell him something, does/...

K: Yeah

M: it affect the way you'd talk?

K: I should think so. I'm not too sure, I may be a bit cautious

M: So, you'd be polite, well because

K: I didn't say polite - cautious.

M: You'd be cautious. Or, would it be because the situation demands that you should be cautious perhaps, you don't want people to know.

K: N-no I don't think I wouldn't want to hide that, but ehm, I think once I know I have a problem with somebody I'm likely to be more careful.

M: Mhum

K: That's why I said, not polite. I must be careful with what I say.

M: Ok. Now, Sir, do you try to maintain an image when when you speak? That is, because of your office, for example, do you always try to speak in the proper way?

K: I wouldn't say so. I try to be ...

M: Just be yourself.

K: Yeah, as much as I can. I've never managed to be ... well, I think that's something other people notice more, I think.

M: Uhum

K: If one is being affective, if one is eh.. trying to put up an air with what he imagines is commensurate with the ...

M: the office ...

K: Yeah, that's something that other people would notice, but it's not something that I'd do consciously knowing that well this is the Dean's office, so the Dean should speak in that manner or that kind of thing. I don't think I'd do that.

M: Uhmhum. Lastly, which of the languages you speak would you like to suggest as the national language for Nigeria?

K: Tiv

M: Why do you say so, Sir?

K: I don't want to .. ehn well none of them really ..., I speak English, French, not much Hausa to write home about and ehm a little ehm... I am not speaking as a patriot, but for me ...

M: Uh um?

K: It's safer to have English as our national language

M: Uhum. And which would you suggest as the Lingua Franca?

K: A lingua Franca is different from national language?

M: Yes. A Lingua Franca is a language which is used by people who speak different languages. It's a language of communication for daily purposes. It's different from a national language which is the official language.

K: Yeah, then you can't suggest/...

M: Uhm

K: a Lingua Franca. You can make a choice of a national language - that's policy. But if what you're saying, if the Lingua Franca is something that's common ...

M: Yes

K: Something that's common with a majority, it cuts across/

M: A speech community, Yes.

K: No, I don't think you can make a decision about that. It's just like in East Africa - Swahili has naturally become the Lingua Franca.

M: Yes.

K: I agree, if that distinction is there, then obviously, national language is something you can say YES I prefer this ...

M: Uhum.

K: And, therefore, that influences policy. But Lingua Franca, if I think your definition, which I think is correct, that is something that cuts across...

M: Uhum

K: Well, it takes care of itself. If more people are more at home with Hausa than say Yoruba I don't think... there'll be a querry about that.

M: O.k. Thank you very much.

K: Uhum.

APPENDIX C

Interview with Mallam Ibrahim Bomo in Hausa

Gabatarwa:

. Mallam, Ina son in sami bayani a kan tarihin Samaru. Ina neman karin bayani kan yadda aka kafa garin; watau mutanen da suka fara zama a nan da kuma sana'arsu. Ina kuma son in san lokacin da baki suka zo Samaru. Menen dalilin zuwansu?

Introduction:

Mr, I'd like to know more about the history of Samaru. I need more information on the village; that is, the first settlers and their occupation. I 'd also like to know when outsiders/settlers came to Samaru. What was their purpose of coming to this place?

Personal Data:

Name: Mallam Ibrahim Bomo

Sex: Male

Age: 37

Marital Status: Married

Occupation: Civil Servant; farmer and Carpentry

Questions:

Q: A ina kake da zama?

"Where do you reside"

A: Bomo

Q A nan aka haife ka?

"Were you born there?

A: E. Yes

Q: A wani shekara ka zo Samaru?

"What year did you come to Samaru?"

A: Ba a cikin Samaru nake ba

"I dont live in Samaru"

Q: Menene yaren (harshen) ka?

"What language do you speak?"

A: Hausa

Q: Ka iya wani yare banda Hausa?

"Do you speak any other language apart from Hausa?"

E: E. Harshen uwata Fulani ne

"Yes, My mother's language is Fulani

Q: Ko ka san wadanda suka fara zama a Samaru?

"Do you know the first people to settle in Samaru?

A: Mutanen Bomo ne suka fara zama. Gona kin sune ke Samaru. Filayen sune suka sayar don a gina gidaje a nan Samaru.

"Bomo people were the first settlers in Samaru. The area known as Samaru today was their farm. The houses were built on the plots sold by Bomo people.

Q: Wadanne unguwoyi ke kewaye da Samaru?

"Which villages surround Samaru?"

A: Bomo, Basawa, Shika, Palladan, Kudingi and Biye

Q: Giwa fa?

"What of Giwa?"

A: Giwa na da nisa da Samaru

"Giwa is far away from Samaru"

Q: Ina ne tushin, garin Samaru?

"Where is the original settlement of Samaru?

A: Asalin Samaru na Estate Department. Da ana kiran wurin leba layi (Labour Line).

"The original settlement of Samaru is where the Estate Department is today. The place used to be called Labour Line"

Q: Menene Sana'ar mutanen Samaru da farko?

"What was the occupation of the people of Samaru at the time?

A: Noma, kiwon shanu, leburanci, da kira. Mutane sai suka fara zama a Samaru don akwai fili sosai. Daga nan sai mutane suka fara yin yawa a nan Samaru.

"Farming, cattle rearing, hired labour and smithing. People started settling in Samaru because of the availability of land. The number of people in Samaru then increased gradually.

Q: A yanzu fa?

"What about now?"

A: A yanzu dai yawanci mutanen suna noma, da aikin ofis da kuma kasuwanci.

"Most of the people are now office workers (Civil Servants), farmers and petty trading (business people).

Q: Ka san lokacin da wasu yare suka zo Samaru?

"Do you know when other tribes came to Samaru?"

A: Asalin mutanen Samaru Hausawa ne daga Bomo; Mutanen da wakili ya turo aiki a Samaru.

"The initial settlers in Samaru were Hausas from Bomo. These people whom Wakili (the Ward head) sent to work in Samaru."

Q: Da aka kafa jami'ar Ahmadu Bello ne ko kafin lokacin?

"Was it before or after the establishment of Ahmadu Bello University?"

A: Kafin lokacin. A lokacin cikin ma'aikatan akwai Ibo, Yarabawa da sauran su, domin lokacin sune masu ilimi. Su an dauke su a matsayin akawu, da suaran su.

"Before then. At that time, among the workers were Ibos, Yorubas, and the rest of them, because as at that time they were more educated. They were employed as clerks, and so on.

Q: Wane unguwa ko unguwoyi ke in da aka kafa jami'ar Ahmadu

Bello?

"Which village or villages was/were in the place where the University now stands?"

A: Jama'a da Bomo.

Sunan Sarkin Samaru na farko, Mallam Sule.

"Jama'a and Bomo. The name of the first chief of Samaru was Mallam Sule."

Interviewer: Nagode da amsa tambayoyin da na yi maka.

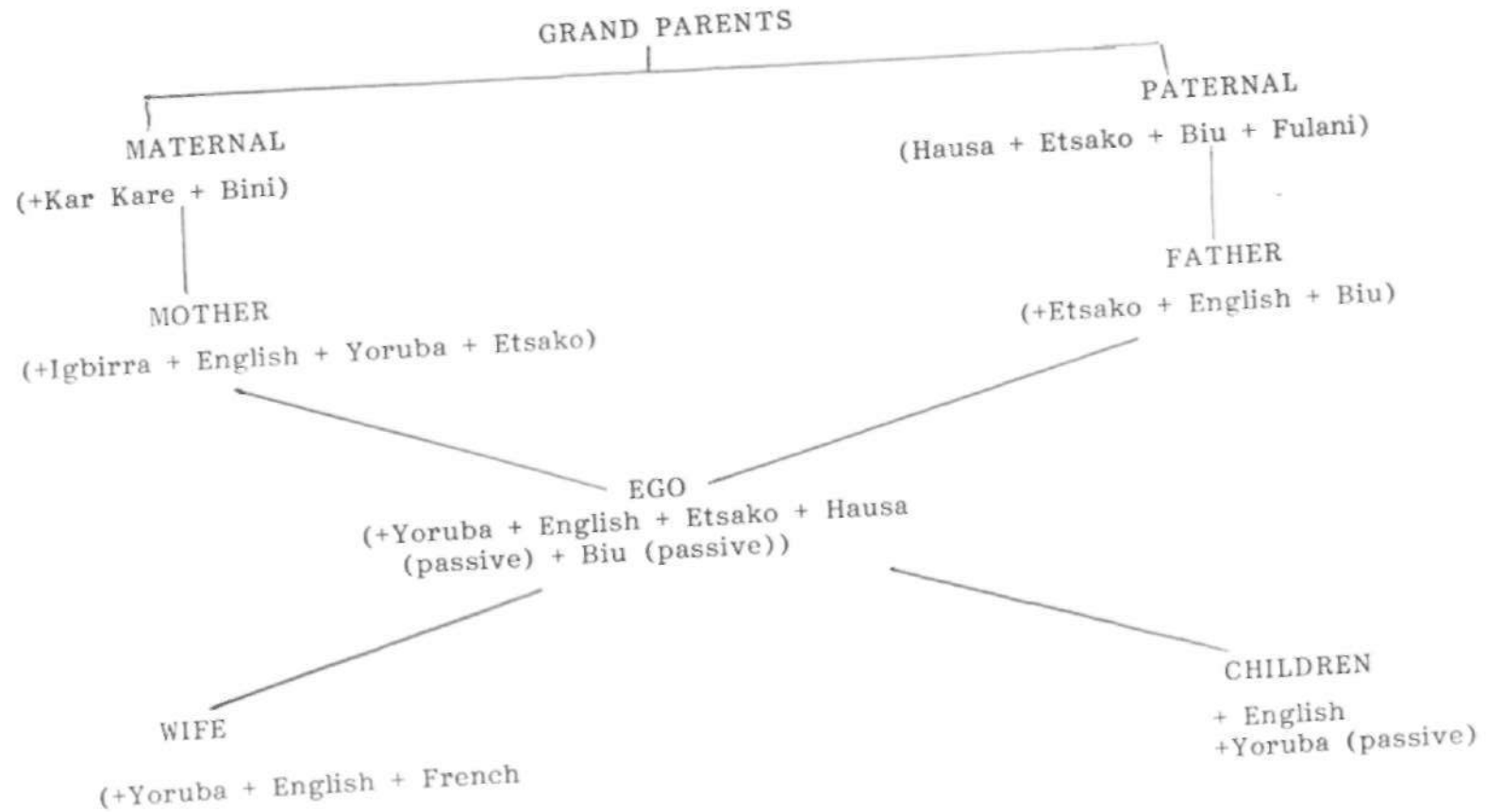
"Thank you for answering my questions"

Interviewee: A, a ba kome.

"No. It was no problem"

APPENDIX E

LINGUISTIC GENEALOGY (TREE)



APPENDIX F

4.17.5 Application of the Eclectic Approach

4.17.5.1 The Sociology of Language Approach

As we have stated in 2. the sociology of language approach provided us with the tool for analysing language choice and use in the speech situations and events we have observed and studied. We found Fishman's domain analysis, especially, relevant for the analysis of our sample speech events.

4.17.5.1.1 Domain analysis.

The domains of language use in the sample speech situations and events documented in 4.17 are both physical and metaphorical. The settings are also formal and informal. However, in some speech situations, we observed that though the domain (i.e. the physical setting) was informal, language use was both formal and informal as is shown in speech situation 2.

The setting was outside the meeting hall along the corridors of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences.

The speakers are discussing social and economic issues while waiting to go in for the departmental exams board meeting. Here, the formality is in the use of the standard variety of English, but even that is interspersed with Hausa. For instance:

Speaker B: A - a Mallam!

(Used to show incredulity at A's preceding statement.

An Hausa expression which means (it cant be true!)

Speaker A: There is responsibility allowance. I am serious.

In this speech situation, the use of language is appropriate. The speakers use both English and Hausa to communicate. Here, as we have observed in another speech situation

contrary to Fishman's idea that a domain is an institutional context in which one language variety is more likely to be appropriate than another, two languages are used simulataneously to discuss a single topic. This then suggests that our subjects are bilingual in their speech habit. The domain can however, be described as the school/Education domain, but the topic of discussion is a socio-economic one (i.e. application for a job).

In another speech situation the domain is formal, but the use of language is also both formal and informal. For instance, in speech situation 5, the domain is the office domain but the speech events are informal. For instance, the topics discussed are both general and personal:

Speaker A: Oh, hallo!

Speaker B. What did you do, you climbed the stairs?

Speaker A: I climbed the stairs

Speaker B: Oh my goodness! why?

Speaker A: There was a long queue. Ba left (No lift/elevator)

In the same speech situation, the subjects discussed are personal matter concerning one of the interlocutors both in English, Hausa and the MT. For instance:

Speaker C: Na zo nan jiya an ce wai kina wurin deputy...
(I called yesterday, but was told you were with the deputy.....)

Speaker B: .....Bursar

Speaker C: (Replies in the MT)
Fon godiya (We thank God)

Speaker C: (Initiates the topic)
Azi, Azi, kuma (Azi still... (Inspite of what

has happened)

Speaker B: Ai Matar tana nan a nan gida (The wife is still there in that same house)

Speaker C: (Uses MT + Hausa)

.....Ni ban gan amfanin zuwansa nan ba....

(I dont see the rationale behind his coming here..)

Speaker B: No wonder suka je suka ajiye ta a wurin

(.... they went and kept her there) They are doing it purposely to upset me.

Our analysis of these speech samples showed that the formality is not so much in the settings or speech domains themselves, but rather in the topics of discussion. In other words, the physical domains may either be formal or informal and yet the speakers could switch metaphorically depending on the topic of discourse.

Topic analysis:

As earlier observed in this study (2.2.7), topics, according to Fishman, regulate language use, especially in code-switching. We found this to be true for our subjects. However, we observed that, in applying this concept to our sample speech events two or more languages (Hausa + English + MT. were used interchangeably to discuss a single topic. In this instance, therefore, the topic can not be said to have regulated the choice and use of language of the interlocutors. This is shown in the following excerpts:

Speaker C: (Uses MT + Hausa)

...Ni ban gan mafanin zuwansa nan ba.

Matarka.....ka.....

Speaker B: No wonder suka je suka ajiye ta a wurin. They are doing it purposely to upset me.

Speaker C: (Uses MT)

Nonetheless, it will be true to say that the topic has enhanced the flexibility of both language choice and use in the situation we have just described; what is referred to as bilingual/multilingual code switching and code-mixing in this case.

Role relationships:

When we applied Fishman's concept of role-relationships to our data, we observed that the choice and use of language did not only reflect the communal norms and behaviour upon which the existence of speech communities depend as stated by Fishman, but also upon the interpersonal relationships between the interlocutors. Such relationships can be seen in the following: Friend-Friend; student-student; colleague-colleague; kinsman-kinsman, etc. When we applied this concept to our speech samples, we realised that the role relationships that exist between the interlocutors was multidimensional. For example, we can identify such role relationships as: Lecturer-lecturer, lecturer-administrator; student-student; Graduate Assistants - Senior lecturers,; and Friend-friend in the sample speech events cited.

We, however, agree with Fishman that role relationships are implicitly recognised and accepted sets of mutual rights and obligations between members of the same socio-cultural system. This can be seen in the appropriate variation in which members show such common membership to each other in their manner of speech in our sample speech events. For instance, the use of 'title' e.g. 'Mallam', Doctor, Professor, etc and polite tone by the speakers as a sign of repsect and the use of expressions like:

"Don Allah a kashe fan kan nan"

(Please, switch off the fan)

to seek co-operation which are appropriate to the socio-cultural setting of the speakers.

Social Situation:

Like Fishman, we also applied the concept of social situation in order to explain shy speakers sometimes choose to be personal in their interactions and at other times, 'transactional'. According to Fishman, time interaction must be suitable for the kind of role relationship that exists between the interlocutors. Using Bock's (1964)[1] analysis (See 2.2.2.1) have also tried to show the appropriateness or otherwise of the social situations of our speech samples. For instance, we can see how this is realised in the following speech sample:

The Social Situations

SITUATION: "SCHOOL"	Time: Departmental Meeting(Outside)
Space : Department	Roles: + Lecturer
	+ Colleague
	+ Friend
	+ Graduate Assistant
	+ Student-lecturer

The table above shows that language choice and use by the speakers is congruent with their role relationships. For instance, in speech situation 2 we observed that even though the setting was a formal one, and the use of langauge was also formal, the social situation of language use was informal. Members involved in this speech situation are in a relaxed mood; standing outside the meeting hall and discussing matters related to the exams at hand in addition to their personal or other social issues. The use of language can, therefore, be said to be appropriate because of the topics as well as the interpersonal relationships between the interlocutors. We can thus say that the interactions are personal and the time and place of the social interaction siutable for the kind of role relationship

that exist between the interlocutors just as was observed in speech situation (in 2.2.2.1) earlier. However, in speech situation 2, there is the likelihood that the interaction would become transactional given the formal nature of departmental/faculty meetings.

4.17.5.2 Application of the socio-psychological Approach.

When we applied Le Page's (1985) multidimensional model[2] or what he refers to as 'Acts of identity' to our data, we observed that our subjects chose and used language (variety) to suit their interlocutor. They also exhibited traits of image projection as described by Le Page and as we have discussed in 2.2 as well as focussing and diffusion. In other words, a speaker may choose and use a language because he wants to identify with his interlocutor or dissociate himself from his listener or a social group. For example, in our sample speech situation 4, we can infer that Speaker A wishes to identify with Speaker B first, by the choice of language - i.e. pidgin English. This phenomenon is shown in the piece of conversation below

Speaker A: Rabi'u ai dey look for you (Rabi'u I've been looking for you).

Speaker B. For what?

Speaker A: A - a that una Gatari something wey una chop my..... I go go meet mallam Bappa make im give me my own ten Naira.

Here, speaker B's reply, though in the 'standard' English variety shows identification with Speaker A: what Le Page refers to as focussing and what Giles refers to as accommodation by convergence. If Speaker B had replied in another language which Speaker A did not understand or speak then he would be said to have dissociated himself from his interlocutor. But as it is, pidgin is a language commonly used amongst students both in and out of class for informal

and sometimes formal discussions. In the situation we have just analysed above, pidgin has been used by Speaker A to show identity or to identify with Speaker B - As a fellow student. To this extent, therefore, langugage choice and use is appropriate for both speakers, the time and place of social interaction.

The Le Pagian model was also used to show how a speaker assumes different acts of identity. This can be seen in our analysis of speech situation[1] in 2.2.1; where Speaker C changed from the main topic of discussion to speak to a student passing by. Similarly, such assumption of different personalities can be infered in the underlying role relationships of the speakers in speech situation 2. In this case, however, the speakers, in addition to sharing a colleague-colleague relationship, also share a colleague/lecturer-student relationship. This is so because some of the members of staff are graduate assistants who are post-graduate students in the department. So, it is likely that a speaker could stand in a multidimensional relationship in his social interaction with his various interlocutors. His role relationship will include being a father, husband, brother, uncle, lecturer, Project/ thesis supervisor, colleague, Head of Department or section, and so on.

As we have mentioned elsewhere in this study, it should be noted that much of of what we observed from our application of this model was mostly based on inferences since it is not easy to study how the minds of our subjects work. Nevertheless, the Le Pagian model has helped us to make projections on how speakers would react in certain social situations through their choice and use of language. For instance, one would say with almost certainty that most of our subjects are likely to choose and use their MT if their interlocutor speaks the same language or shares the same ethnic

background with them.

4.17.5.3 Application of conversational Analysis (CA) on the sample speech events.

Contrary to the underlying notion in CA tha interaction is structurally organised; some of our data showed that issues like turn-taking, turn-holding, adjacency pairs, overall organisation and pre-sequences were not strictly observed. A lot of this gross violation can be seen in our sample speech situation 3. For instance, different topics seemed to be discussed concurrently. This can be seen in the sample conversation amongst our student subjects. Our data recorded in the hostel showed this:

Speech Situation 3: (Domain - Hostel)

Speech Event 1

Speaker A: Hey, Sauran kadan da na bada.....
(I almost gave away....)

Speech Event 2

Speaker B: Wai abokiyar Amina ce.
(That she is Amina's friend)

Speech Event 3:

Speaker A: Kitson ya yi kyau
(The hairdo is beautiful)

Speaker B: E ? (What?)

Speaker C: Kitson ya yi kyau
(The hairdo is beautiful)
Wace rana yau?
(What day is today?)

Speaker B. Allah ? (Trully/Really?)

Speaker D: Da ma bata kitsone ?
(Doesnt she usually braid/plait her hair?)

Speaker A: Da tana kitso

(She used to)

We can see that apart from speech Event 3 the first two do not really tell us much. There is no pre-sequence and the information provided is incomplete. However, this lack of complete information can be put down to the fact that the conversation might have been recorded only at the end of the said speech events.

On the other hand, speech situation 4 provided us with an example of turn-taking in conversantion. Even though the conversation is in pidgin, we can still understand the message or the aim of Speaker A - that is, requesting for her share of the drama proceeds, or artiste's fee:

Speaker A: Rabi'u ai dey look for you

(Rabi'u, I've been looking for you)

Speaker B: For what?

Speaker A: A - a - that una Gatari something wey una chop my .....I go go meet Mallam Bappa make im give me my own ten naira.

Speaker B: When?

Speaker A: Uhumm'. Na him get am ba?

In another vein, the application of CA to our data showed that there is systematic organisation in the sequences of some of our sample conversations. For instance, this can be seen in speech situation 4: the conversation between 2 students in pidgin; where Speaker B's reply is an appropriate reply to Speaker A's statement. For example,

Speaker A: Rabi'u ai dey look for you.

Speaker B: What for?

Here, the conversation started with an opening statement which elicited a question and gave Speaker B the next opening for presenting

her compaint and subsequently making her request. The conversation might have taken a different turn if Speaker B had cut off Speaker A right at the beginning or had said something different from the question he had asked. For instance, if he had said, 'Please or just 'leave me alone' or 'I've been/'ai dey look for you too.'

Similarly, some parts of the conversations do not quite fit into some topics discussed. This means that there are sub-topics within some of the Speech events. For example in Speech Situation 3 such sub-topics can be seen in Speech Event 7:

Speech Event 7:

Speaker A: Ina za ki Jamilla?

(Where are you going Jamilla?)

Speaker E: Na schoold ai dey go

(I am going to school (class))

Speaker D: Yanzu?

(Now?)

Speaker E: Uhum

(Yes)

Speaker C: Explain again

Speaker A: Explain again

Don Allah a kashe fan kan ga

I dan mai kiba ya s igo sai ya kunna in yana jin zufa

(For goodness sake this fan should be switched off...

if a fat person enters the room then it can be switched

on back, if needed.)

Speaker E: So, dont forget sociology lesson.

Speaker D: Is.....are you reminding me or.....

Speaker E: Uhun

Speaker D: ....am supposed to remind you, you that you dont

use to go for lecture.

Me I want to do my washing so I can go.....

Speaker E: Do washing now?

Speaker D: Ehn. I want to dry it.

I dont want.....

Speaker E: For how long have you been keeping the dirty clothes that you will.....

Speaker D: Wallahi (I swear) I want somebody to wash it for me.

If I can see this ....that mama is too dirty.

Speaker C: Which one?

Speaker D: That one....uhn.....

Speaker C: Will her dirtiness affect your clothes?

(mtss....)

Speaker A: Eh, as far as she can wash that does not matter

Speaker C: She will come later

Speaker D: Eh?

Speaker C: She will come

Speaker D: Around what time?

Speaker C: I can't say.

Speaker A: Is that, there is, is it that ehm tin (thin) mama?

Speaker C: Aham (Yes)

Speaker A: I see, students use to give her a lot of washing.....

Speaker C: Kai, kai, kai.....

Speaker A: ....and she does it for them

Speaker C: .....Allah sa Hauwa ta zo mani da bokitin

(May God let Hauwa bring me the bucket)

Speaker D: And, O.K. one thing. If you don't go for lecture don't say you will borrow my book.

Speaker E: Yes, I'll give you....

Speaker D: No, dont bribe me with anything uhn...uhn...(laughter).

The extract above showed the deviations from the main topic - that is, going to lecture, to the discussion of washing, to the issue of the bucket then back to the lecture issue. We can thus see how speakers sometimes introduce other sub-topics within sub-topics, some of which might be relevant to the topic at hand or irrelevant as the case of the 'washing' and bringing of the bucket.

Inspite of the few instances of topic shifts we have cited, the conversations in speech event 7 as a whole can be described as being fairly organised in the sense that speakers took turns in speaking. However, speakers interrupted each other at certain points in the course of the conversation; perhaps as we have observed earlier, to either seek clarification or to re-introduce a topic or simply just out of the need to say something to contribute to the discussion; be it relevant or not.

4.17.5.4 Application of Discourse Analysis on the sample Speech Events

As noted in (2.2.7) D.A, especially the notion of Topic Framework, is essentially a means of characterising the area of overlap in contributions to a disucourse. We applied the speaker's topic analysis, as proposed by Borwn and Yule, (1985) to show how speakers indtroduce their own personal topics and as a result cause overlaps in their contributions to a discourse. For instance in the sample speech event we have just analysed we can see such an occurrence within the same speech event:

Speaker A: I see students use to give her a lot of washing.....

Speaker C: Kai, kai, kai!....

Speaker A: .... and she does it for them.

Speaker C: ....Allah sa Hauwa to zo mani da bokitin

(May God let Hauwa bring me the bucket)

In this piece of conversation, we can see that Speaker C has introduced a new topic - that of the 'bucket' which only indirectly had something to do with the issue of 'washing', but nothing to do with the issue of going to 'lectures'.

As noted, this fragment of conversation is a feature of most conversations that topics are not fixed before hand, but are negotiated in the process of conversing. That is why throughout a conversation the next topic is developing. This is unlike the classroom situation where the conversation is structured and the speakers take turns in saying what is expected of them. This is typical of a teacher-pupil interaction. In the former case however, each speaker contributed to the conversation in terms of both the existing topic framework and his/her personal topic, for instance, Speaker C's contribution in the conversation above.

It can also be seen that some elements in a speaker's personal topic do not become salient in the conversation if neither the other participant nor the speaker herself/himself mentioned them again. This element can be clearly seen in the same conversation we have already cited above:

Speaker C: Allah sa Hauwa ta zo mani da bokitin
(May God let Hauwa bring me the bucket).

Speaker D: And, O.K. one thing.
If you dont go for lectures dont say you will borrow my book.

Speaker E: Yes, I'll give you.....

Speaker D: No, dont bribe me with anything uhn-uhn (Laughter)

Using the "negotitation" metaphor, we can say that Speaker C introduced a personal topic which she discussed with Speakers D and E though not as a possible element to be included in the

conversation. Speakers D and E did not share in this bit of conversation, but re-introduced the topic at hand- that of 'going to lectures.' Contrary to Brown and Yule's proposition, this personal topic did not become a salient element in the conversation because no reference is made to it again. Moreover, since it did not bear much relation to the general topic, it did not fit into the discourse.

It can thus be said that D.A., especially Topic Framework throws more light on the issue of overlap in conversation, much more than C.A. because of its analysis of the 'Speakers' topic which helps to show how Speakers contribute to a conversation by introducing their personal topics, thereby either disruption or developing the topic or conversation as a whole.

However, as we have shown, not all personal topics really develop the topic or conversation as we have shown in our analysis of speech event given above. That is, some elements may not be relevant to the topic of discourse which if not carefully handled, as we have mentioned earlier, may lead to misunderstanding and subsequent breakdown in communication.

.17.5.5 Application of the Anthropological Approach

To analyse our sample speech events we applied Dell Hymes' (1964) Ethnography of speaking[4] with particular reference to the 'situational dimension'. The speech situations of the pieces of conversations recorded were both formal and informal with some degree of semi-formality. The wider social situation for our sample speech situation 1, for instance, could be described as a socio-economic one (See 2.2.3 for the data) It was analysed as follows:

The Setting:

The setting of the conversations was outside the Faculty Coffee Room in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, A.B.U., Zaria.

In this case, the setting was a physical one, but with some (psychological) metaphorical shifts.

The Participants

The interlocutors in the sample conversation were lecturers - 3 males and a female (including a female student).

The Ends

In the speech events, the interlocutors sought to accomplish a mission - that of getting a houseboy. Their social motivations for (1) language choice - i.e. Hausa and English (2) code - switching and mixing between Hausa and English could be said to be for a better, discussion and understanding of the message as corroborated by other subjects who respondent to our questionnaire.

The Act Sequence (Speech Acts)

In their speech acts, the interlocutors used language to perform certain tasks such as 'greetings', making requests', 'agreement', 'disagreeement', to make 'statements' to ask 'questions' and so on, with the intent of getting response: immediate or latent. With reference to the circumstances of the social situation, the interlocutors used what Austin (1962) described in his 'Speech Act Theory', locutionary, illocutionary acts[5] (For details on the Speech Act Theory, see Lyons, 1978: 725-786) to express either phatic acts such as greetings or to make requests.

As a result of the illocutionary act, for instance, certain conventional effects are achieved on the hearer with respect to his thoughts, and action, perlocutionary effects are achieved - agreeing to bring a houseboy.

The Key

Here, the manner in which the message was conveyed was light-hearted. The whole speech event itself was punctuated with some humour now and then.

Instrumentalities

In the sample speech event, the mode of interaction was the oral discourse. The language(s) used were both Hausa and English with a high degree of code-switching and mixing between the two.

The norms of interaction and interpretation: In this speech situation, the speech behaviour was heavily laden with the Hausa culture. The interlocutor shared a common cultural background - Hausa. The same situation was observed in speech situation 3: the speeches recorded in the hostel. The speakers in speech situation 1 observed the norms pertaining to the culture of speaking in Hausa. Such norms included the use of appropirate address forms like 'Mallam' or 'Malama' to a person with whom you were not on First Name (FN) terms with (see for our discussion on address forms). It is also an occupational title which is sometimes used as a sign of respect for your interlocutor. In addition, paralinguistic devices were also used in form of gestures to express a social behaviour like greetings, to show surprise, etc.

Genre

The types of utterances in the conversations cited above were merely talks - ordinary speech devoid of metaphorical expressions.

On the whole, it can be observed that the speech event we have just described had (what we would like to call) other speech events in it - what was referred to as sub-topic in Discourse Analysis. There were metaphorical switches - that is, changes from one topic to another within the general topic of discourse. For example, two speakers (C) and (D) switched from topic 2 'Request for Houseboy to topic 3 'an unspecified 'thing' that needed to be done, yet which was related to topic 2. And, within speech event 3 there was another switch to topic 4 - the one on 'Uche', the female student.

From the above rendition, the ethnography of speaking seemed to be adequate in describing speech events in their socio-cultural contexts, but did not cater for complex situations such as the one we have just described. We are therefore, faced with the problem analysing speech events which occurred in the same discourse, but which were to some extent clarified by the application of the Topic Framework in Discuorse Analysis. Nonetheless, we believe that the ethnography of speaking provided us with a more concrete tool for the description of sociolinguistic data.

On the whole, however, we have used an ĕlectic approach to analyse our data because it was found to be more suitable for the kind of data we have gathered and, because it provided us with insights from the various approaches to analyse our data where they were convenient. By doing so, it also helped to reduce the problem of neglecting or overemphasising any aspect of our data. The ĕlectic approach also helped us to explain the socio-cultural factors which constrain speakers in their choice and use of language in multi-lingual speech communities.

APPENDIX G

SPEECH SITUATION I

SPEECH EVENT I

Setting: Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

Near the Faculty Coffee Room - Outside

Topic: Journalist

Participants: Three

1.1 A: Sannu Mallam

Sorry Mister

"Hello, Mister/Sir/Teacher (+Masculine)"

B: Ah! Malama, Kin koma abin nan ne?

Ah! Mistress, you become this thing is?

"Ah! Miss/teacher (+feminine) have you now become...

+ Wata, wata journalist?

One, one journalist?

A: Ai....to...

But...Yes...

"Well...Yes(Something like that)"

B: Kina yawo, kina....

You (+feminine) are walk about, you (+fem) are...

"You are carrying about....

C: (Cuts into the conversation)

Everybody is a potential journalist.

B: (Continues)....yawo da 'yar tape.

Walk about with small daughter tape

"...a tape recorder."

Topic 2: House boy

Participants: Three

1.2 A: Yaya, ka saman mani yaron"

How, you (+masculine) get for me the boy?

"Have y ou found the (House) boy for me?"

B: Wane Yaron Kuma?

Which boy again?

"What boy again?"

(Pause)

B: (To Speaker B) Good! sorry.

(turns to Speaker C)

Don Allah Mallam, very serious

Because of God Mister, very serious

Please Mister, very serious

+ In fact, Ibrahim, tunda Ibrahim

.....since Ibrahim

Yana zuwa, again remind me.

he is coming,.....

"Please remind me again since Ibrahim comes here often.

C: (to Speaker B) You dont seem to understand what I am saying

B: A-a, its immaterial, Kai menene..... you what is role dinka

role your?

"No,.....you, whats your role?"

+What we are saying is this.

How do we approach this thing?

B: Wannan ai za ka iya arranging.

This easily.. you (+Masc.) can arrange

"You can easily arrange this"

C: E - no problem

"Yes.....no problem

+Let me + No, let me sort it out my own way.

+Wa za a fada ma, Ibrahim?

Who it is to be told, Ibrahim?

"who should be told, Ibrahim?

B: E

C: When I sort this thing, I will talk to him

B: Ok, and how soon do you think...how soon can we get the chap..

C: (Cuts in) sort out this thing?

B: a...the chap.

C: For 24 hours, because it will take me another 12 hours to convince myself to go into this thing.

A: (Joins in after a long silence) Menene?

"What is it?"

B: No, wani abu ne daban.

No, something it is different.

"No, its something different"+

It has nothing to do with this, but the same guy ne zai handling abin.

".....its the same guy/man who will handle the matter".

Sub-topic within Speech Event II

Setting: FASS - Outside Coffee Room

Participants: Two

B: Hallo! How are you Uche?

.....+Welldone.

(turns back to Speaker C)

+Ni yanzu bayan wanna...

Me now after this one

"As for me, after this one".

C: Uche Okonkwo ce ko me?

Uche Okonkwo she is or what?

"Is she Uche Okonkwo or what?

B: Uche Okonkwo ta ke ba Okonkwo ba!

Uche Okoronkwo she is not Okonkwo not.

"She is Uche Okoronkwo not Okonkwo!

C: (Laughs)

B: Akwai wani abu ne?

There any something is?

"Is there anything wrong?

A: (Joins in the conversation after another long silence)

(Change of 'talk' back to Topic 2)

So, ina Monday....ina Iya yin

So, I am Monday...I am can do abin ke nan?

the thing then?

+Ina iya zuwa da shirin daukar....

I am can come with prepared to carry

"So, I can do the thing on Monday then? + I should come prepared to take.....

B: E

'Yes'

A: .....daukar shi mutumin in kai gida shi gida?

.....carry him the man I take him home?

"....take the man home?"

Speaker C: Yes. What is the arrangement? Just houseboy ka wai?
/Just a houseboy only?/

Speaker B: Yes, houseboy. Amma...

Speaker C: Ok.

Speaker B: ... full time zai yi
/But he will stay/be employed full time/

Speaker C: E, zama zai yi
/Yes, it will be permanent/

SPEECH SITUATION 2

SPEECH EVENT I

Setting: Outside the Meeting Room along the corridor

Topic: A new job.

Participants : Four

2.1 A: .....

B: A - a Mallam'.

No, no Mister

"Ah'. no Mister.

A: There is responsibility allowance.

I am serious

(Laughter)

C: I know of contigency allowance.

D: Inconvenience allowance

A: Yes. I mean the University should make a policy like that to take care of staff + any time you are ready.

B: I can't get it. I know I can't get it.

C: There is air conditioner in the office

A: She has a fridge, everything in her house

B: (Laughs)

(General laughter)

2.2 D: Be careful you don't get.....

+You will get a black eye b:.ore you get the letter

(General talk)

E: Actually, you need to see the list of attendance+

It is so long.

C: Mhm, it takes almost a whole page

(laughter)

2.3 A: *Yaya, har yanzu?*

How, up till now?

"Hasn't it (the meeting) started yet?

B: Uhum, an dai kusan farawa

Well, it is near starting

"Well, it is about to start."

A: Wa a ke jira?

Who it is waiting for?

"Who is/are being awaited?

B: Ba a dai bude ba

It is yet opened not

"The room hasnt been opend yet"

+Ana jiran wasu; basu gama abin nan din su ba.

+It is waiting some people; they not finish the thing their own not.

"Some people; they havent finished compiling their results.

2.4 A: ....and legally they have to sign

B: And that is the most ...the most difficult part of it.

C: So, whats going to happen now?

B: They have to compute their second year and third year grades.

C: Tonight?

B: Tomorrow

D: Oba is around

A: Yeah, and I think Professor N. is acting as the external examiner for literature.

SPEECH SITUATION: Informal

SPEECH EVENT: 3

Setting: Female Hostel, A.B.U., Zaria

Topic : Generale

Participants: One

A: ... and legally they have to sign

B: And that's the most... the most difficult part of it.

C: So, what's going to happen now?

B: They have to compute their second year and third year grades.

C: Tonight?

B: Tomorrow

D: Oba is around

A: Yeah, and I think Professor N is acting as the external examiner for Literature.

SPEECH SITUATION: Informal

SPEECH EVENT: 3

Setting: Female Hostel A.B.U. Zaria

Topic:

Participants: One

3.1 A: Hey, sauran kadan da na ba da...
Hey! remain small would I give
"Hey! I almost gave away..."

2 A: Wai abokiyar Amina ce
That friend Amina's She is
"That she is Amina's friend.

3 A: Kitson ya yi kyau
Hairdo this he is beautiful
"The hairdo is beautiful".

B: E?
"What?"

A: Wa ce rana yau!
What is day today!
"What day is today.

B: Allah?
God?
"Truly?"

C: Da ma ba ta kitso ne?
Before even not she braid/plait?
"Doesn't she usually braid/plait her hair?"

A: Da ta na kitso
Before she is braid/plait /prog./ her hair
"She used to braid/plait her hair.

C: Sai ka ce abin nan
As if you is something this
"As if it is something new/strange."

4 B: Na dai je batun ring boiler din
Ki amma bai yi ba
Amma yana dan yi dai, ba laifi dai.

I any way have gone about ring boiler yours
/+feminine/ but he not do it + But it small
works/functions no problem anyway.

"I went to find out about your ring boiler,
but the man hadn't fixed/repaired it + But
it still works/functions slowly."

5. A: Wai wanene yake jin zufa?
That, who he is hear heat?
"who is feeling hot

B: A nan dakin?
In here room?
"In this room?"

A: Uhm. Wa ya kunna fanka?
Uhm. Who he light the fan
"Yes. Who switched the fan on?"

+Wanda ya kunna ya kashe
Whoever he light he should kill
"Whoever switched on the fan should switch
it off."
/laughter/
+... Ah...a.he..! Kin fara ko?
You /fem/ started not so?
... "You have started again, haven't you?"

6. C: Bari in tashi in tafi
Leave me get up me go
"Let me be going/I had better be going."

+Zani cin gyada
Go /Prog/ me eat groundnuts
"I'm going to eat groundnuts"

A: Ina za ki ga gyada yanzu?
Where go /Prog./ You see groundnuts now?
"Where will you find/see groundnuts now?"

+Daffayiya ko ko?
Cooked /Fem/ one or how?
"Cooked/boiled one or how?"

B: Sai mu fita tare
Let us go out together
Let's leave/go (our) together

+Kin ji Amina?
You hear Amina?
"Did you hear Amina?"

A: Daffafiya ko mai gishiri?
Cooked or the one with salt?
"The cooked/boiled or the salted type?"

C: Mai gishiri
"The salted type"

A: Mai zai kai ki cin gyada
What will take you to eat groundnuts don Allah?
because of God?
"For goodness sake! What will make you eat
salted groundnuts?"

C: Sai gyada mai - mai suga?
Only groundnut with - with sugar?
"Only sugared groundnuts?"
/Laughter/

3.1 A: Hey, Sauran kadan da na b: da....

Hey, remain small would I give

"Hey', I almost gave away...."

3.2 A: Wai abokiyar Amina ce

That friend Amina's she is

"That she is Amina's friend."

3.3 A: Kitson ya yi kyau

Hairdo this he is beautiful

"The hairdo is beautiful".

B: E?

"What?"

A: Wace rana yau?

What is day today?

"What day is today?

B: Allah?

God?

"Trully?"

C: Da ma ba ta kitso ne?

Before even not she braid/plait?

"Doesn't she usually braid/plait her hair?"

A: Da ta na kitso

Before she is braid/plait (prog.)her hair

"She used to braid/plait her hair.

C: Sai ka ce abin nan

As if you is something this

"As if it is something new/strange".

3.4 B: Na dai je batun ring boiler ɗin ki amma bai yi ba.....

+Amma yana ɗan yi dai, ba laifi dai.

I any way have gone about ring boiler yours (+feminine) but

he not do it + But it small works/functions no problem anyway.

"I went to find out about your ring boiler, but the man hadn't fixed/repaired it + But it still works/functions slowly.

3.5 A: Wai wanene yake jin zufa?

That, who he is hear heat

"Who is feeling hot?"

B: A nan dakin?

In here room?

"In this room?"

A: Uhm. Wa ya kunna fanka?

Uhm. Who he light the fan?

"Yes who switched the fan on?"

+Wanda ya kunna ya kashe

Whoever he light he should kill

"Whoever switched on the fan should switch it off".

(Laughter)

+.....Ah.....a..he.....! kin fara ko?

You(fem) started not so?

....."You have started again, haven't you?

3.6 C: Bari in tashi in tafi

Leave me get up me go

"Let me be going/I had better be going".

+Zani cin gyaɗa

Go(prog.) me eat groundnuts

"I am going to eat groundnuts".

A: Ina za ki ga gyaɗa yanzu?

Where go (prog.)you see groundnuts now?

"Where will you find/see groundnuts now?

+Daffafiya ko ko?

Cooked (fem) one or how?

"Cooked/boiled one or how?

B: Sai mu fita tare

Let us go out together

Let's leave/go (out) together

+Kin ji Amina?

You hear Amina?

"Did you hear Amina?"

A: Daffafiya ko mai gishiri?

Cooked or the one with salt?

"The cooked/boiled or the salted type?

C: Mai gishiri

"The salted type"

A: Mai zai kai ki cin gyada mai gishiri?

What will take you to eat groundnuts with salt?

don Allah

because of God?

For goodnes sake!, what will make you eat salted groundnuts?"

C: Sai gyada mai -mai suya?

Only groundnut with - with sugar?

"Only sugared groundnuts?"

(Laughter)

7 Topic: Going for Lecture+ washing clothes + the fan

A: Ina za ki Jamila?

B: Na school ai dey go

"I am going to school (class)"

A: Yanzu?

"Now?"

B: Uhum

"Yes"

C: Explain again

A: Explain again.

+Don Allah a kashe fankan ga

Because of God kill fan this

"For goodness sake, this fan should be switched off

+(humming a song)

+Idan mai kiba ya shigo

If with fat person he enters

"If a fat person enters the room

+Sai ya kunna in yana jin zafa.

Then he switch if he is hea' heat

"then it can be switched on back if needed.

B: So, dont forget sociology lesson

A: Is...are you reminding me or...

B: Uhum

A: .....am supposed to remind you; you that you dont use to go for lecture.

+Me I want to do my washing so I can go.....

B: Do washing now?

A: Ehn, I want to dry it.

I dont want.....

B: For how long have you bee' keeping the dirty clothes that you will.....

A: Wallahi,

"I swear"

+I want soembody to wash it for me. If I can see this.. that mama is too dirty.

C: Which one?

A: That one....uhm...

C: Will her dirtiness affect your clothes? (mtss...)

B: As far as she can wash that does not matter.

C: She will come later

A: Eh?

C: She will come

A: Around what time?

C: I cant say

A: Is that, there is, is that o'n tin (thin) mama?

C: Ahm (Yes).

A: I see. Students use to give her a lot of washing....

A: Kai, kai, kai!.....

C: ....and she does it for them.

A: .....Allah sa Hauwa ta zo

God let Hauwa she come

+ mani da bokitin

for me the bucket

"May God let Hauwa bring me the bucket".

B: And, O.K. one thing

If you dont go for lectures don't say you will borrow my book.

A: Yes, I will give you...

B: No, dont bribe me with anything uhn...uhn.

(Laughter)

3.8 Topic: Discussing an outing of the previous night.

A: How was yesterday?

B: Did you come with us?

A: Mhm..Mhm, you people came after us...O.K., we came first.

Speech Situation 4 (Informal Setting: FASS - Outside lecture room along the corridors)

Speech Event: Topic - Requesting for artiste's fee.

Speaker A: Rabi'u ai dey look for you

Speaker B: For what?

Speaker A: A - a - that una Gotari something wey una chop my... I go go meet Mallam Bappa make im give me my own ten naira.

Speaker B: When?

Speaker A: Uhumm'. Na him get am ba?

Speaker B: (To another speaker)
Wace madam? (Which madam?)
As you were saying

Speaker A: Ehn. Una never give me my own. Abi me ai no dey part of di dis ting? Everybody don get ten, ten naira, only me. Why una do me like dat now?

Speaker B: Since when?

Speaker A: Since last year now.
When me ai no dey around.

Speaker B: Ke'. wannan abin ya bani mamaki (Laughs) (Hey'. this is a surprise to me'.)

Speaker A: No bi any mamaki.
Who collect am?
Na dis girl tell me now.

Speaker B: Who?

Speaker A: Ahn..n Kande. She tell me say dem give them all ten, ten, ten, naira.

Speaker B: Why she no carry your own?

(Greets a passerby)

Bala, Ina gajiya?

(A - a (are you) doing fine?)

Speaker B: Lafiya lau!

(Very well!)

Speaker A: She ..don..she no go tell me lie

Speaker B: (To Speaker C)

Zaka gan ni ne?

(Do you want to see me?)

Speaker C: A - a, Ina jin maganar ku ne. (No. I am only listening to your conversation)

Speaker A: That Maigatari something wey person for pack small....

Speech Situation 5: Informal

Speech Event: 1

Topic: General

Setting: Office - Senate building

Participants: Three

5.1 A: (Enters the office panting)

Oh, Hallo!

B: What did you do? You climbed the stairs?

A: I climbed the stairs

B: Oh, my goodness! why?

A: There was a long queue.

Ba lift

"No lift/elevator"

B: I came by the lift just ten minutes ago.

A: There was a long queue har cikin main abin nan

even inside this thing

"right inside the main/ground floor of the Senate building"

B: Oh, rubbish; and we were not many. Thank God'. The AC
(Air conditioner) was on ba? (Was/t it?)
Ni ma da na shiga ina ta zufa
Me too when I enter i was sweating
"I was sweating too when I entered the office/when I came in."

Speech Event 2

Topic: Going to the bank

Participants: Two

Setting: Office

A: Sauran kadan da baki iske ni ba.
Remain small before you will meet me not.
"You would have missed me by a few seconds.

B: Za ki fita ne?
go you out is?
"Are you going out?

A: A - a. Da zan je, zan je banki
No - no. Before I am go, am go bank
"No. I wanted to go to the bank"

3 Ai yanzu na tashi daga barci
It is now I get up from sleep.
"I woke up not long ago from sleep"

B: E'.
"Really"

A: Da na tashi sai na je na yi wanka
When I get up then I went I did bathing.
"When I woke up I then went and had my bath".

B: We tin you day do?
"What were you doing?

A: We tin ai no go do my dear sister?

"What won't I do my dear sister?"

4 Speech Event 4

Topic: Domestic Problem

Participations: 3

A: Na zo nan jiya an ce wai kina wurin Deputy...

I come here yesterday it is said that you are at the place of deputy...

"I came here yesterday but was told that you were with the deputy...

B: Bursar

A: (Greets speaker B in the MT - see Itazarek under Jaranci in Appendix)

B: (Replies in MT) Fon Godiya

"We thank God"

A: (Initiates the topic) AZI, AZI kuma

AZI, AZI again

"Azi, Azi still....(inspite of what has happened)

B: Ai matar tana nan a nan gidan

Infact the wife she is in that house

"Infact the wife is still in that same house"

A: (Uses MT + Hausa)

..... Ni ban gan amfanin zuwansa nan ba + matarka, kai.....

Me don't see the use coming his here.

Your wife, you.....

"I don't see the rationale behind his coming here + your wife, you....."

B: No wonder suka je suka ajiye taa wurin

No wonder they went they kept her at that place.

"No wonder they went and kept here there"

+ they are doing it purposely to upset me.

A: (Uses MT)

B: Ai they are really making a fool out of themselves.

C: (Joins after a long silence)

of course!

GLOSSARY

1. 0-0-1 = An expression used by students which means No breakfast, no lunch, only supper is taken.
2. 1-0-1 = Breakfast and supper without lunch.
3. 1-1-0 = Breakfast and lunch without supper.
4. 0-1-0 = Only lunch is taken.
5. 0-0-1 = Only supper is taken.
6. 1-0-0 = Only breakfast is taken.
7. Third World joint = A make shift eating place within the campus with affordable prices for both students and the staff.
8. Combined honours = A combined meal of bean cakes, friend yams, fish, roasted maize, etc.
9. Shunt = To skip positions on a queue or to take an easy way out.
10. Toast/Tune = To woe a girl.
11. Kai (you, masculine), ke (you, femine), ku (you, plural).
12. Yallabai: an expression which is used to show respect for someone in authority.
13. Mai girma Sarkin Zaria: His Highness the Emir of Zaria.
14. tight friends: Nigerian English for 'close friends'
15. dan birni: the man about town.
16. Sarki: the boss
17. Ministà: Minister
18. Likita: Medical doctor
19. Farfesa: Professor
20. Likita: Academic doctor.

21. Mai Sharia, Alkali: Judge

22. Maman Ibrahim: means Ibrahim's mother

23. Uwargida: could refer to a woman as the first wife where there are co-wives, or as a house wife.

24. Alhaji: a title given to someone who has performed the pilgrimage (Alhaja/ Hajiya - femine form).

25. Malam: a title used for an educated person (Malama - femine).

26. Ranka ya dade: is the equivalent of English 'Sir', which also means may your life be prolonged; may you live long.

27. Nana: mother

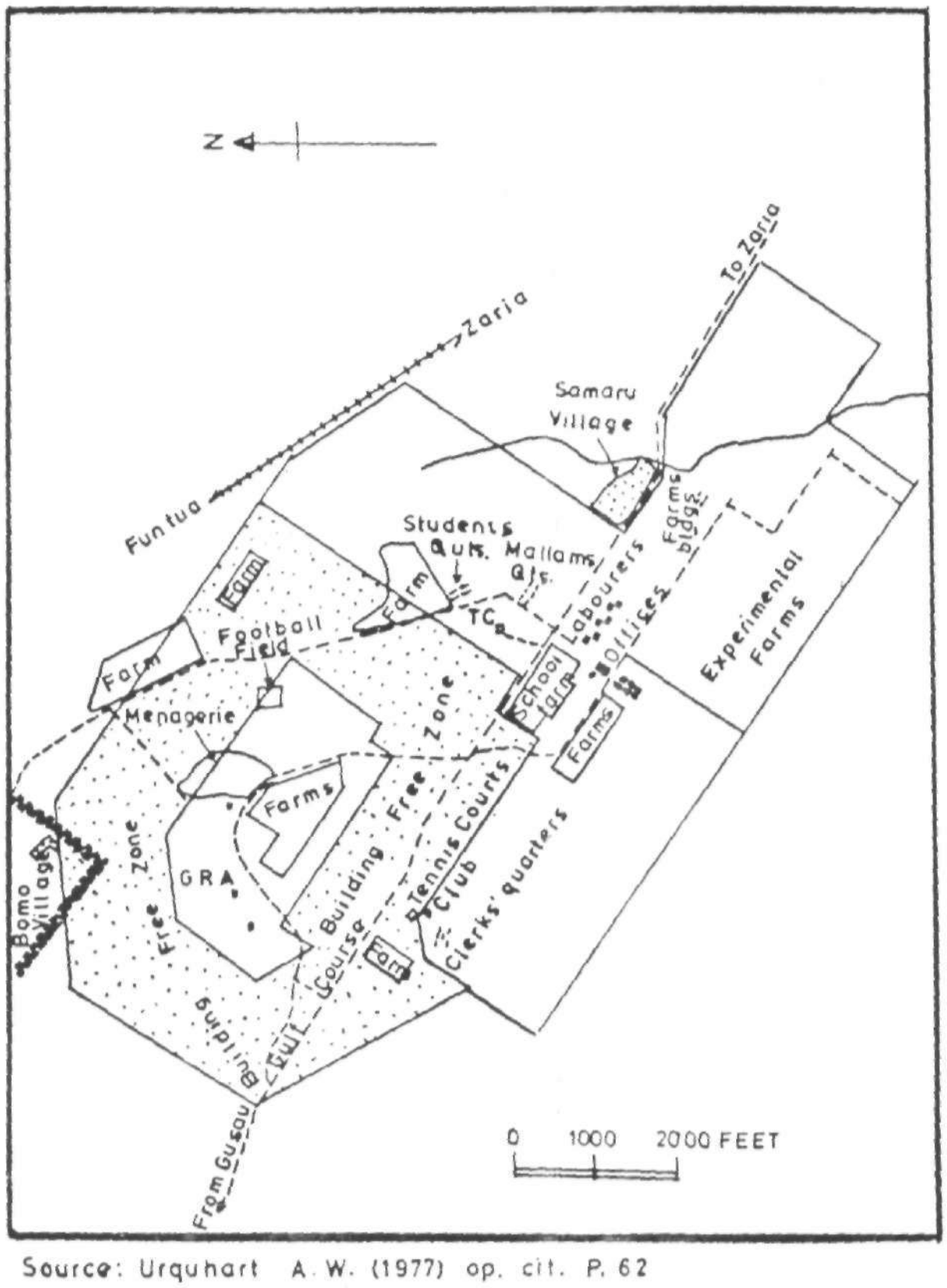
28. Baba: father

29. Mal (fem), mol (masc) used to refer to someone as a brother or sister.

30. é ku a ro: Yoruba expression for good morning. Note that the e is only used with with address for elders.

Appendix H

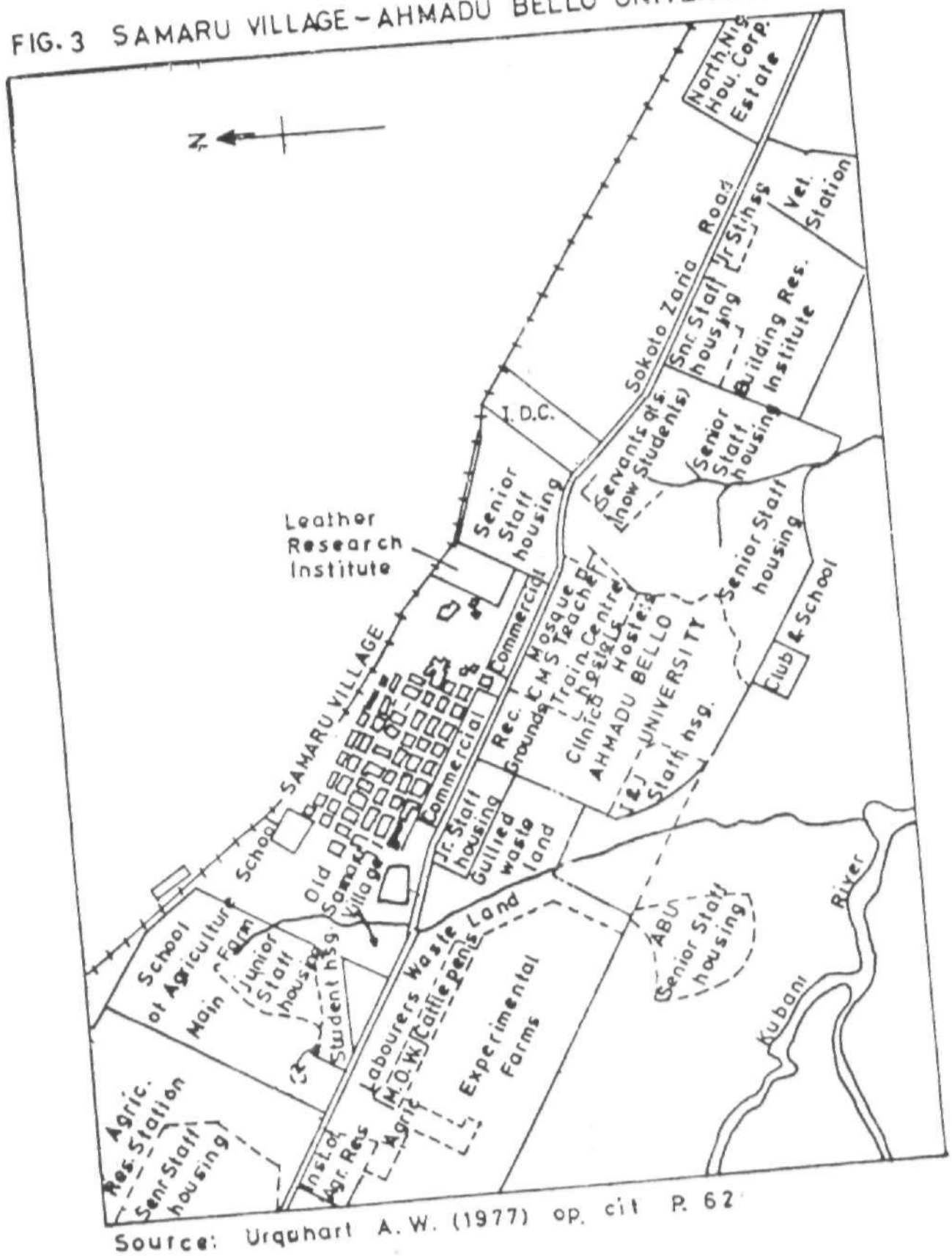
FIG. 2 SAMARU: AGRICULTURAL STATION AND SCHOOL 1951



Source: Urquhart A. W. (1977) op. cit. P. 62

Appendix H

FIG. 3 SAMARU VILLAGE – AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY 1967



Source: Urquhart A. W. (1977) op. cit P. 62

Appendix G

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH
AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY
ZARIA NIGERIA

30th August, 1989

Dear Respondent,

I would be very grateful if you would fill this questionnaire for me.

Thank for your honesty and cooperation.

Yours sincerely,

M.H Kassam

	Office	Home	Class	Hostel	Club
(e) Others					

6. Which one of these determine most your choice of language? (Tick (✓) one suggestion that is most appropriate.)

(a) the person you are talking to
(b) the topic of discussion
(c) the social situation
(d) the place i.e whether at home; at the office; etc.?

7. Tick (✓) any three that are appropriate from the alternatives given below and rank 1,2,3 in order of priority:

Is your choice and use of language determined by the

(a) age
(b) sex
(c) personal appearance
(d) race
(e) tribe of the person
(f) social status?

8. Do you change your tone (voice) to suit the age of your listener?

YES NO

9. When discussing a topic, do you change your style of language? (i.e. whether you should be formal or informal?)

YES NO

10. If 'Yes', which one of the following languages would you use? (Tick (✓) the relevant language variety from the list given below) in

(i) a formal discussion?

Language

(a) Standard English
(b) Nigerian English
(c) Pidgin/Broken English
(d) Your language
(e) A dialect of your language
(f) Any other language which suits the topic; and which your listener understands.

(Please specify using the space below)

_____

_____

(ii) an informal discussion?

(a) Standard English
(b) Nigerian English
(c) Pidgin/Broken English

QUESTIONNAIRE

Introduction

The aim of this questionnaire is to find out what language(s) (i.e., speech codes or varieties), people speak to 'whom', 'where' and 'when'; and to determine whether or not they are constrained (i.e. influenced) by the 'sex', 'age', 'tribe', 'social status', etc., of their listener in a given social event or speech situation.

Personal Data

(a) Sex: Male ☐ Female ☐

(b) Age: Below 20 ☐ 20-25 ☐

25-30 ☐ 31-35 ☐ 36-40 ☐

Above 40 ☐

(c) Marital Status: Single ☐ Married ☐ Separated ☐

(d) Highest Educational Qualification: NCE ☐ BA/B.Ed/BA.Ed ☐

MA/M.Sc/M.Ed. ☐

Ph.D. ☐

(e) Occupation: _____

1. List all the languages you understand, for each, tick the appropriate column that indicates your level of competence in it/them.

Language	Understood but not spoken fluently	Speak it fluently but cannot write it	Can speak and write it
(a)			
(b)			
(c)			
(d)			
(e)			

2. Which is your Mother Tongue (i.e. the "native language" of your father)?

3(a) Which is your First Language (L_1) i.e. the language you spoke most commonly at home when you were a child?

.....

(b) Rate each of the other languages which you have listed in (1) as L_2 (for 2nd language), etc., according to your frequency of usage.

(5) Very Frequent (4) Frequently (3) Occasionally

(2) Never (1) Not Certain.

	Language	Usage Rating
i.	.....	.....
ii.	.....	.....
iii.	.....	.....
iv.	.....	.....

4. Which of the following languages do you use mostly at (i) office, (ii) home, (iii) school/college lecture premises, (iv) college hostel, and (v) club? Tick one appropriate language for each speech domain (i.e. place).

	Language	At Office	At Home	In Class Premises	In the Hostel	At Club
(a)	English	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
(b)	Igbo	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
(c)	Hausa	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
(d)	Yoruba	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
(e)	Others - (Specify)					
(f)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
(g)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
(h)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

5. How often do you use them? Rate the order in which you use the languages as follows:

Key: (5) Very Often
(4) Often
(3) Seldom
(2) Occasionally
(1) Never

	Language	Office	Home	[illegible]	Hostel	Club
(a)	English					
(b)	Hausa					
(c)	Igbo					
(d)	Yoruba					
(e)	Others					

	Office	Home	Class	Hostel	Club
(e) Others					

6. Which one of these determine most your choice of language? (Tick (✓) one suggestion that is most appropriate.)

(a) the person you are talking to
(b) the topic of discussion
(c) the social situation
(d) the place i.e whether at home; at the office; etc.?

7. Tick (✓) any three that are appropriate from the alternatives given below and rank 1,2,3 in order of priority:

Is your choice and use of language determined by the

(a) age
(b) sex
(c) personal appearance
(d) race
(e) tribe of the person
(f) social status?

8. Do you change your tone (voice) to suit the age of your listener?

YES NO

9. When discussing a topic, do you change your style of language? (i.e. whether you should be formal or informal?)

YES NO

10. If 'Yes', which one of the following languages would you use? (Tick (✓) the relevant language variety from the list given below) in

(i) a formal discussion?

Language

(a) Standard English
(b) Nigerian English
(c) Pidgin/Broken English
(d) Your language
(e) A dialect of your language
(f) Any other language which suits the topic; and which your listener understands.
(Please specify using the space below)

_____

_____

(ii) an informal discussion?

(a) Standard English
(b) Nigerian English
(c) Pidgin/Broken English
(d) Your language
(e) A dialect of your language
(f) Any other language which suits the topic; and which your listener understands.
Please specify using the space provided below)

11. Whom would you use any one of the language varieties listed in 10(i) and (ii); and in what domain? Indicate your response by matching the variety, person and place as follows:

For example:

Language: Person: domain
Hausa (d): Mother: family

Key: Language

SE Standard English
NE Nigerian English
P/BE Pidgin/Broken English
ML My language
DL Dialect of my language
AOL Any other language

Person

F Father; B = Brother; C = Cousin
M Mother; S = Sister; GP = Grand parents
R Reverend; I = Imam; BO = Boss; Col = Colleague

Domain

Fam = Family
E = Education
R = Religion
F = Friendship
Em = Employment.

	Language	Person	Domain
(a)	.....	.....	.....
(b)	.....	.....	.....
(c)	.....	.....	.....
(d)	.....	.....	.....
(e)	.....	.....	.....
(f)	.....	.....	.....

.....

.....

.....

12. In a relationship of 'Power' (i.e. where the speaker or you are superior in rank or authority) how do you address your listener? Tick (✓) one of the forms given below:

(a) his/her first name e.g 'Bello'
(b) family name e.g ..... Yusuf'
(c) title e.g. 'Mr', 'Mrs', 'Dr', Chief', 'Professor'
(d) nick name
(e) pet name
(f) others - specify below

(i) .....

(ii) .....

13. In a relationship of 'solidarity' (i.e.) where you are of equal rank or on friendly terms) how would you address your listener? Tick (✓) one of the address forms given below:

(a) his/her first name e.g. 'Bello'

(b) family name e.g. '..... Yusuf'

(c) title e.g. 'Mr', 'Mrs', 'Dr', 'Chief', 'Professor'

(d) nick name

(e) pet name

(f) others - specify below

(i) .....

(ii) .....

14. In a given speech event, what would determine the degree of formality or informality? Tick (✓) the most appropriate factor from the following suggestions: Is it

(a) the topic

(b) the setting (i.e. place)

(c) the speech situation (i.e , whether formal or informal)

(d) the degree of 'power' or 'solidarity' between you and your listener?

15. When you speak, do you change your voice to suit your listener because you <u>like</u> him/her; or because you want <u>approval</u> (i.e. to please) from him/her? Tick (✓) one response from the suggestions given below:

(a) because I like the person

(b) I want approval

(c) I want to maintain my image

(d) I want to conform with the rules of the language

(e) I have no choice but to speak in that way

16. Why do you change (i.e. switch from one language to another) while speaking? Tick (✓) one response below:

(a) because I want to express myself better in one of the languages

(b) it happens unconsciously

(c) my listener does not understand the other language well

(d) what I want to say can be best expressed in the second language

17. Why do you mix one or two languages when you speak? Tick (✓) the relevant response

(a) It is a style of speaking

(b) I do it unconsciously/It just happens

(c) My listener understands what I mean

(d) I don't know why/I can't explain the reason

(e) I just feel like speaking like that
(f) It allows me to express myself better.

18. Does your liking or dislike for your listener affect the way you speak to him/her?

YES NO

19. If 'Yes', do you speak: (Tick (✓) the most appropriate response from the ones suggested below)

(a) politely because you can't help it

(b) respectfully even though you do not like him/her

(c) because the situation demands that you should be polite

(d) rudely because you detest him/her?

20. Tick (✓) the most suitable response from the list below: Do you try to impress your listener when you speak by

(a) changing your tone to suite his/hers

(b) displaying competence of the subject-matter

(c) imitating his/her speech

(d) just being yourself?

21. Tick (✓) the most appropriate response from the suggestion given below. Do you try to maintain an image when you speak to conform with:

(a) a social group which you belong to

(b) your social status

(c) the social status of your listener

(d) the social situation

22. Which of the languages you speak would you suggest as (a) a National Language (i.e. the official language for administration, education, business, law etc)? (specify below).

.....

(b) a Lingua Franca (i.e. the language of daily communication between people who speak different languages)? (specify below).

.....

------oooooo000oooooo------