

A SOCIO-LINGUISTIC FACTOR ANALYSIS OF YORUBA-ENGLISH
BILINGUALISM AMONG FORM V PUPILS IN SECONDARY
GRAMMAR SCHOOLS IN THE IBADAN AREA

BY

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C E R T I F I C A T I O N

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A B S T R A C T

This study regards certain variable sociological and educational factors as determinants of a person's or a group's degree of bilingualism, and attempts to ascertain their role in the proficiency abilities of Yoruba-English bilinguals in the fifth form of the secondary grammar school.

In Chapter I is an outline of the development of scholastic interest in the curious phenomenon of bilingualism. Some of the theories and research approaches to the study of bilingualism are explicated. The chapter concludes by indicating the descriptive sociolinguistic approach adopted for the study.

Chapter II examines the relative role and status of Yoruba and English among the Yoruba people in the colonial era and in contemporary Nigeria. The information and analysis in the chapter constitute a background against which proficiency attainments in the two languages may be understood.

Chapter III is methodological. Certain assumptions as well as the objectives of the study are stated. A number of hypotheses of Yoruba-English bilingual proficiency are postulated and the procedure for verifying them described. This involves the use of a language background questionnaire, and tests of language proficiency.

In Chapters IV to VI the hypotheses are tested by matching the achievements of the subjects in the tests of proficiency with specific items in the language background information which have been hypothesized as determinants of proficiency. The hypotheses tested in chapter IV deal with bilingual comprehension, in Chapter V with bilingual fluency, and in Chapter VI with bilingual choice and usage habits. In each case the results are stated and discussed.

In the last chapter (Chapter VII) we overview the whole investigation, summarising the major findings as regards the nature of bilingual proficiency, and assessing the effectiveness of the instruments used in the investigation. We also consider some of the social implications of the differences in English achievements among subgroups in the category of bilinguals studied, and make some suggestions for avoiding their undesirable possible consequences. Finally, four of the sociolinguistic problems which bilingualism poses are suggested for future investigation.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTORY: THE CONCEPT OF BILINGUALISM*
APPROACHES TO ITS STUDY

The show of interest in the possibility of a man being able to speak more than one language was perhaps immediately consequent upon the legendary Tower of Babel, probably as a result of the frustration that the building enterprise ironically occasioned.¹ By the christian era, however, the speculation had been resolved: bilingualism was no longer a remote possibility but a historical, and since then, a contemporaneous reality. We have recorded evidence of bilingual performance which featured mutual intelligibility when in Jerusalem, the first christians spoke in different tongues.²

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1. The Book of Genesis. Chap. 11 v. 1-9.
 2. An account of this first incident of bilingual performance is contained in The Acts of the Apostles, Chap. 2 V. 5-13. For a detailed, critical account of bilingualism through the ages, and skirting the whole world, see E. Glyn Lewis 'Bilingualism - Some Aspects of its History' in Bilingualism in Education, Report of an international Seminar held at Aberystwyth in 1960. London, H.M.S.O. - (1960), pp. 64-84.

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From the middle ages yet some other kind of identifiable interest in the bilingual phenomenon began to emerge, and to be articulated. This articulated interest was at first literary and aesthetic. It had a tendency to glamorize and extol bilingualism, as seen, for example, in the anonymous writer quoted in the introduction to Modern Languages:

'... Euen as a hauke flieth not **hie** with one wing: euen so a man reacheth not to excellency with one tong'.³

But interest soon advanced beyond mere literary glamorization through philological explications to rigorous academic and scientific concern with the nature of bilingualism. O'Doherty has shown, for instance, that the use of empirical data in the measurement of bilingual attainment was attempted, perhaps not for the first time, by J. M. Cattell, who designed a word association test in which certain

3. Modern Languages. Ministry of Education. Pamphlet No. 29, London, H.M.S.O., 1956 (Reprinted 1963), p. v.

stimulus-words were used to elicit responses from a group of English-German bilinguals in the U.S.A. This was in 1877.⁴

Nearer home on the West African scene, an early documented attempt to grapple with the nature and problems of bilingualism was by Asamoah, a teacher at the Presbyterian School, Akokoaso, Gold Coast (now Ghana). He discusses some of the perennial issues of bilingualism, namely, the definition and educational implications of the phenomenon. His short article opens as follows:

'Bilingualism is a big word which means learning a second language (e.g. English in the Gold Coast). Let us see it in two aspects first, its effect on mental development, and secondly, the stage at which it can wisely be begun'.⁵

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4. E.F. O'Doherty, 'Bilingualism: Educational Aspects' in The Advancement of Science Vol. 14, No. 56 (1958), pp. 282-287. It is interesting to note that the Cattell test of 1877, with some modifications, still remains a valid instrument of measuring bilingual attainment, and is still much used today in its various adaptations. It will be seen presently that the analysis of Yoruba-English bilingualism presented here owes a great deal to refinements of Cattell's test.
 5. Asamoah, H.A. 'Bilingualism'. LISTEN, Vol. XVI, No. 7, July 1947. p. 9.

1.2 The Concept of bilingualism: Toward a descriptive, rather than a definitive approach.

Within the tradition of western scholarship, three strands can be identified in the effort to grapple with the nature of bilingualism. These are definitions, the setting up of bilingual typologies, and person-and-society related studies of the phenomenon.

A. Definitions

There have been few attempts at definitions of bilingualism probably because the phenomenon itself defies any general definition. Two early and well-known of such definitions are chosen for discussion here. The two represent the essence of most definitions of bilingualism, and will serve to illustrate some of the limitations inherent in most of them.

The first is Bloomfield's. He defines bilingualism as "the native-like control of two languages".⁶ In the second, Einar Haugen first conceived of bilingualism as beginning "at the point where the speaker can produce complete meaningful utterances in the other

6. Leonard Bloomfield: Language. New York (1933), p. 56.

language",⁷ but soon modified this to a definition of bilingualism as knowledge of two languages.⁸

These two definitions, because of their vagueness, do not appear to have contributed much to the understanding of bilingualism, and hence have not been applicable in any analysis of the phenomenon. As Mackey has pointed out, Bloomfield's definition has been based on an unrealistic criterion, namely, that the bilingual's performance in his second language must not be distinguishable from that of the native speakers of the language.⁹ Apart from the equation of bilingualism to ambilingualism or equilingualism which is implied, the definition also presupposes a

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7. Einar Haugen: quoted by Mackey in 'The Description of Bilingualism' Canadian Journal of Linguistics 7 (1962), pp. 51-85.
 8. Einar Haugen: Bilingualism in The Americas; a bibliography and research guide. Gainesville, Fla. American Dialect Society. Publication of the American Dialect Society, No. 26 (1956).
 9. William F. Mackey: "Towards a Redefinition of Bilingualism". JCLIA 2, No. 1 (Regular Series) 1956, pp. 4-11.

model by which the bilingual's performance in the second language is to be measured. The spontaneous question is: what constitutes 'native-like control'? Or, if we assume the availability of a model, at what degree of perfection does a foreign speaker of a language become native-like, since standards of performance vary even among native speakers of a language?

Similar uncertainties render Haugen's conceptions unworkable. The unit of his complete meaningful utterance is not clear, in the light of advances in structural linguistics, such as the units of structure (and therefore of meaning) specified by Halliday. Halliday sets up five units of structure, namely, the morpheme, the word, the group, the clause, the sentence, having a constituent - constitute relationship in that ascending order.¹⁰ Apart from the sub-class of bound morphemes every one of the five units can be a complete meaningful utterance, depending on the context.

10. M.A.K. Halliday "Categories of the Theory of Grammar" WORD 17, No. 3 (1961), pp. 241-292.

Haugen's definition of bilingualism as knowledge of two languages also raises a problem of interpretation, again in the light of recent advances in linguistic science. Since a better understanding of the nature of language came in the wake of Chomsky's revolution, knowledge of a language has become a technical term used to mean competence in that language. This competence specifies the generative ability of a native speaker in terms of rules governing formations and transformations of grammatical utterances in his language which have been internalised by the ideal native speaker-listener.¹¹

To say without qualification that a bilingual has knowledge of his second language, then, is to equate his competence in all the components of the language to that of a native speaker. Certain bilin-

11. Noam Chomsky: Aspects of the Theory of Syntax Cambridge, M.I.T. Press (Research Laboratory of Electronics, Special Technical Report, No. 11), 1965.

guels have, of course, been known to have native-speaker competence but only in certain components of their second language. The phonological component is always the exceptional testy shibboleth which usually reveals degrees of incompetence among foreign speakers of a language. Thus, knowledge of two languages in this Chomskyan sense is ambilingualism which is hardly attainable and therefore considered unrealistic as a measure of bilingualism. In general, we might therefore say that since the value of a definition must rest on its ability to elucidate the internal and the external features of its object, and since these two definitions have not clearly revealed the essence of bilingualism, they are not applicable in the present investigation. That is, having demonstrated its futility, ambilingual competence will not be the measure of bilingual attainment in this investigation.

B. The Typology of Bilingualism.

Over periods, contacts between languages have been occasioned by different activities taking place in different kinds of environment or setting, and have produced different types of bilingualism.

Among such activities or events are trade, conquest, colonialism, and the exigencies of modern education. The environment or social setting in which bilingualism takes root could be hostile, at least initially, in cases such as where the language of the conquerors has been imposed on an unwilling conquered people. But it could also be a happy one where bilingualism has been the free choice of a people who probably see the acquisition of a second language as a positive factor of progress in trade, education, administration and nation building. These two factors, occasion and environment, have produced different types of bilingualism which can then be classified broadly on criteria of the bilingual's competence in the two languages (such as his restructuring or reordering some particular system of one or both languages as a result of contact), or of his performance in the languages. Classifications of bilingualism on such criteria have mostly been stated as binary contrasting types: Coordinate

vs Compound bilingualism, Genuine vs Pseudo-bilingualism, Oral vs Literate bilingualism, Elitist vs Mass bilingualism.¹²

A. Competence-based typology

Co-ordinate vs Compound Bilingualism.

The identification of coordinate/compound bilingualism relates the context of language acquisition to the type of linguistic competence(s) which the bilingual acquires in the context(s) of contact. Its working is best illustrated with the semantic system(s) of the languages in contact, although it can also be illustrated with the other components. As Weinreich¹³ explained, compound bilingualism results when two languages are learned in one and the same environment. In the bilingual, the systems of the languages are fused or collapsed

12. Uriel Weinreich, lists some other contrasting types on the bases of functions of the languages - organic vs inorganic, orderly vs disorderly, etc. See Languages in Contact; Finding and Problems New York. Linguistic Circle of New York (Publications of the Linguistic Circle of New York, No. 1) Seventh Reprint (1970) pp. 81-82.

13. Uriel Weinreich, *ibid.* pp. 7-12,

with the result that the bilingual tends to identify corresponding items of the two languages with the same referent. In Saussurean terminology he now has two signifiers for one signified. Therefore in processing information, for instance, the compound bilingual sees and interpretes the structure or the referent of one language in terms of the structure or the referent of his other language. His productive skill is also effected by the same interlingual identification process. His performance (productive and receptive) is thus restricted by the limits imposed by the availability of translation equivalent between the two languages.

Conversely, the coordinate bilingual has learned his two languages in separate contexts. He keeps the systems of the languages separate and unmixed. His production and interpretation in one language is direct, i.e., unmediated by the corresponding system of his other language. By some implied notional conception, the coordinate is the 'true' bilingual in contrast to the 'false' bilingual who has learnt his two languages in the same context.

Subsequent supportive expositions of the compound/coordinate distinction are those of Ervin and Osgood¹⁴ and Lambert.¹⁵ In addition, Lambert has related the distinction to the Whorfian hypothesis as an explanation of the two different cognitive systems allegedly found in bilinguals. As Macnamara, Haugen and Mackey have pointed out, however, while the classification of bilinguals as coordinate or compound on the ground of same or different contexts of acquisition might be plausible, the extension of the distinction to the realm of cognition is of doubtful validity.¹⁶

14. S.M. Ervin and C.E. Osgood: "Second Language Learning and Bilingualism" Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology (Supplement No. 2.), 1954, pp. 139-146.

15. W.E. Lambert, "Social and Psychological Aspects of Bilingualism" in Bilingualism in Education op. cit. pp. 44-55.

16. John Macnamara: 'Bilingualism and Thought' in James E. Alatis (ed.) Bilingualism and Language Contact: Anthropological, Linguistic, Psychological, and Sociological Aspects. Georgetown University Press, (1970). pp. 25-45.

ii. Performance - based typologies.

Performance-based typologies follow the criteria of automaticity, mode of use, social or demographic distribution, and the functions of the languages in the bilingual community. These are briefly exemplified below.

iii. Genuine vs Pseudo bilingualism.

Genuine and pseudo bilingualism are contrasted in O'Doherty's classification. The genuine bilingual has the greatest imaginable facility in his two languages such that on demand or as occasion warrants, his performance in each is fluent and automatic. By contrast, the pseudo bilingual has a limited knowledge of his second language; he has not mastered it, and his performance in it is therefore hesitant and halting. He cannot use it effectively in communication.¹⁷

iv. Oral vs Literate bilingualism.

The criterion applied here is the mode of acquisition and use. The oral bilingual speaks his two

17. E.F. O'Doherty, (1958) op.cit.

languages but has no literacy skill in one or both of them. By contrast the literate bilingual does not only speak both languages, he also reads and writes them. The oral and literate types of the bilingual will be found in many bilingual communities which have only a recent tradition of bilingual education, but its distribution has been studied in some detail in the Soviet Union by Lewis¹⁸ - who also exemplified the Elitist/Mass bilingualism in the same Soviet community.

v. Elitist vs Mass bilingualism.

This distinction describes societal bilingualism which results from discriminatory language planning. Elitist bilingualism manifests a policy of selecting a few for special training in a foreign language. This cadre of privileged bilinguals are

18. E. Glyn Lewis: Multilingualism in the Soviet Union. Mouton The Hague. Paris (1972) pp. 278-282.

then deployed in services where their special skill is required.¹⁹ Mass bilingualism is planned bilingualism for the entire population for its own sake, but also for the advantages that the society and the individual may derive from it.

vi. Diglossia

As Ferguson formulated and exemplified in Egyptian Arabic, diglossia is a feature of a monolingual community in which two varieties of the same language, called the High and the Low, coexist. The structures of H and L are distinguished although the correspondences between them are similar enough for them to be recognised as dialects of the same language. They are also distinguished in the functions they perform. The H is employed in serious domains which are characterized by formality, such as government business, religion, sublime poetry and all classical literature, formal education, and lectures. L performs the more relaxed functions

19. The language policy of the British colonial administration in Nigeria was initially such a discriminatory one (see Ayo Banjo: 'A Historical View of the English Language in Nigeria' IBADAN 28 (1970), pp. 63-68.

marked by light informality, such as satirical literature, thrillers, jokes, informal discussions following a reading or a lecture delivered in the H variety, and so on.²⁰

Perhaps the most remarkable features of diglossia are the attitude of the users to the two varieties, and the distribution of functions between them. H is held in high esteem in association with the functions it performs. For instance, in Arabic, the quoran is in H. It is held sacrosanct, and permits no simplification. By contrast, L is the colloquial, pedestrian, less prestigious variety associated with cartoons, but also with interpersonal transaction. In function, the two varieties are not mutually substitutable.

After Ferguson, however, diglossia has been employed to describe any community where two codes or languages exist and perform different functions. Thus, bilingualism is a form of diglossia, involving

20. Charles Ferguson 'Diglossia', Word, 15 (1959), pp. 325-340.

two languages instead of two varieties of the same language. Indeed, it can be more complicated, as Fishman has shown, where one or both languages each has sub-varieties which perform special functions.²¹

As a conceptual framework, typologies can easily be seen to be of limited value. There is inherent in them a weakness in their failure to reveal the structure and operation of bilingualism in the bilingual individual. Given the common denominator of bilingualism, i.e. that someone speaks two languages, the vital direction of investigation is to ascertain how bilingual he is, and what use he makes of his two languages in his daily life. Thus, in the investigation reported here, no attempt has been made to identify types of bilingual by any of the criteria outlined above, although some of the premises on which certain typologies are based have been found relevant to the study.

First, the occasion and environment of contact, in this case between Yoruba and English, namely, trade, colonialism, education, will be shown later to be conducive to the growth of Yoruba-English bilingualism.

21. J.A. Fishman, 'Bilingualism with and without Diglossia; Diglossia with and without Bilingualism'. Journal of Social Issues, 23 (1967), pp. 29-30.

Our approach will however be to describe the quality of that bilingualism as manifested among a category of bilinguals rather than identify them.

Second, the theory of the context of language learning, constituting an infrastructure which determines the degree of a bilingual's competence and consequently effecting his performance, does appear situationally logical and plausible. It must be pointed out, however, that the same theory seems to have lost sight of the role of a special language learning aptitude which, on its own, can be responsible for special patterns of bilingualism, or do so in conjunction with the influence of the context of acquisition.

Third, functional specialization of languages within domains can determine the configuration of individual and group bilingualism. As domains vary in the demand they make on the languages appropriate to them, such differential pressures, over a period, produce different patterns of bilingualism. This will be illustrated with the patterns of bilingualism which obtain among the bilingual subjects involved in this investigation.

1.3 Person-and-Society related description

In our consideration of the values and limitations of bilingual typologies, the hint was given (above, pp. 17, 18) of the direction which this present investigator would consider the more elucidatory in the clarification of some of the issues which bilingualism raises, namely, that we should attempt to ascertain how bilingual a person is, and what use he makes of his bilingual repertoires. 'How bilingual' is an acceptance of Mackey's view that bilingualism must be seen, not as an absolute ability or skill, but as a continuum, or as a series of continua of skills along which the relative position of an individual bilingual is to be found and expressed as a degree.²² 'What use' draws our attention to the main function of language as instrument of communication; but since the bilingual possesses more than one of such instruments it becomes necessary to categorize and relate the functions he assigns to each of them in his relationships with other members of his community, some of whom may also be bilingual like himself. It is such a description,

22. William F. Mackey (1956), op. cit.

in terms of degree and function, that will be attempted in this investigation. In this section we outline some well-known theoretical formulations which pioneered this approach and also some empirical studies that have been carried out under their influence.

i Locus of bilingual contact

It was Einer Haugen who first directed the shift of emphasis from the purely linguistic to the psychological and the sociolinguistic aspects of bilingualism. He called attention to the bilingual individuals who, after all, are 'the carriers of interlingual contagion' and to whom analysts 'must look for an understanding of processes that must have operated in the distant past as well as in the present', for all 'talk of substrata and superstrata (that are discovered in the study of loanwords) must remain stratospheric unless we can found it solidly on the behaviour of living, observable speakers'.²³

23. Einer Haugen: 'Problems of bilingualism: Lingua Vol. II, No. 3 (1949), pp. 271-290. (The interpolation is this writer's).

Weinreich later expanded this emphasis into an explicit programme for a systematic analysis of bilingualism. He proposes three angles to the study of the bilingual individual, viz, the linguistic, ~~the psychological,~~ the psychological, and the socio-cultural.

ii. Linguistic analysis of a person's degree of bilingualism.

The purely linguistic description focuses on the interference phenomenon. Its pursuit, by means of contrastive analysis, leads to the identification of the compound and the coordinate types of the bilingual, and has been found particularly insightful in language pedagogy. But the present study is not concerned with such a linguistic analysis at the level of the subjects chosen for the investigation because neither pedagogy, nor pure linguistic analysis for its own sake, has been the motivation for the enquiry.

iii. Toward a sociolinguistic description

The psychological and sociocultural perspectives proposed by Weinreich have been amplified into a

sociolinguistic framework in a number of publications by Mackey,²⁴ Fishman,^{25, 26} and Macnamara.²⁷ The main features of their proposals for an integrated description consist of:

- (a) ascertaining the language aptitude variables of the bilingual,
- (b) relating the bilingual to his socio-cultural milieu,
- (c) ascertaining the language learning facilities available to the bilingual, and
- (d) measuring the bilingual's proficiency in his two languages in relation to the variables in (a) - (c).

24. William F. Mackey: 'The Description of Bilingualism' in Joshua A. Fishman (ed.) Readings in the Sociology of Language, Mouton. The Hague (1968), pp. 554-584.

25. Joshua A. Fishman: 'Sociolinguistic Perspective on the Study of Bilingualism'. Linguistics: An International Review 39 (1968), pp. 27-49.

26. J.A. Fishman: 'The Relationship between Micro- and Macro- Sociolinguistics in the study of Who speaks What language to Whom and When.' in J.B. Pride and Janet Holmes (eds.), Sociolinguistics. Penguin Books (1972), pp. 15-32.

27. John Macnamara, 'How can one measure the extent of a Person's Bilingual Proficiency?' in L.G. Kelly, (ed.). Description and Measurement of Bilingualism: an international seminar. Canada University of Toronto Press (1969), pp. 79-119.

(a) Aptitude

With respect to a bilingual individual the following aptitude variables are considered to be partly responsible for his degree of bilingualism:

Age - Psycholinguists hold different views but there is consensus on the relation of language (and hence bilingual) proficiency and the age of exposure to the languages. Most psycholinguists consider that early exposure to two languages in childhood makes for higher bilingual proficiency - if other variable factors are equally favourable.

Sex - Evidence of the relationship of the sex variable to bilingual proficiency is not quite conclusive but the suggestion is that girls succeed better than boys in learning languages.

Intelligence - The relationship of this variable to language learning has always been difficult to ascertain. Psychologists distinguish between verbal and non-verbal intelligence, and the possibility of a high quotient in one but not in the other. The possession of a high verbal intelligence is directly conducive to high bilingual proficiency.

Memory: - Since this is a factor in imitation, it is assumed to be a factor of proficiency in certain language skills at some levels, e.g. in speaking.

Attitude: - The bilingual's attitude to his languages and towards the native speakers of those languages influence his behaviour and progress in the learning situation.

Motivation: - Lambert distinguished between integrative and instrumental motivations in second language learning, and relates them to progress and degree of bilingual proficiency. According to him integrative motivation is assimilationist and positive while instrumental motivation is manipulative, and though not necessarily negative, it impedes progress in second language learning, thereby affecting the degree of bilingual proficiency in a downward trend.²⁸

28. W.E. Lambert: 'A Social Psychology of Bilingualism', Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 23, No. 2 (1967), pp. 91-108.

(b) The Bilingual's Socio-cultural setting

Community interactional settings have certain socio-cultural properties which play a crucial role in the attainment of bilingual proficiency by members of the community. The members may or may not articulate the properties, or even be conscious of the role they play in their own acquisition of bilingualism. Such factors vary between communities, and by their variation determine the individual's degree of bilingualism by facilitating or impeding his acquisition of one or both of the two languages. The variables here include:

(i) Circumstances of language contact

The relevance of the factors associated with the occasion and atmosphere of language contact has been discussed. (See section 1.2 B above)

(ii) Functions of the languages

Languages in contact perform complementary roles as assigned them by the bilingual individuals, or as institutionalised by the bilingual community. The process of informal socialization may use one medium, formal transactions another medium, while the expression of culture or some

of its divisions may use one of the languages or share its transmission between the two languages. This division of functions between the languages influence the bilingual's motivation for learning them. He will have different reasons for learning the different languages according to his different needs for them, and apportion or utilize the available facilities for learning by such considerations.

(iii) Prestige

The prestige value attached to a language is a variable which epitomises other variables, such as functions performed by the language, attitude towards it, motivation for learning it, etc. When differential prestige values are built up for the languages in a bilingual community they become a factor of bilingual proficiency especially among subsequent generations of learners.

c. Facilities available for bilingual acquisition:

Facilities which are responsible for the acquisition of varying degrees of bilingualism are formal and informal in character.

(i) Formal facilities

These are facilities provided for, or associated with language learning within the school system. The facilities vary in quantity and quality, and are reflected by the status of the languages in the curriculum, by the availability of learning apparatus such as the audio-lingual gadgets and other electronic devices used in modern language learning, and the availability of qualified teaching personnel.

(ii) Informal facilities

These consist of social contexts provided by the home, by the community, and also by the school for using the languages. The uses to which the languages are put reinforce formal learning and thus constitute a positive but variable factor of bilingual proficiency.

(iii) Length of exposure to the languages

The relative length of exposure to the languages through formal and informal speech activities bears direct relationship to the degree of bilingualism attained.

(d) Measurement of degree of bilingualism

The measurement of the degree of bilingualism comes as the last stage after obtaining relevant information of the bilingual's socio-psychological and socio-linguistic background as described in (a) - (c) above. Measurement of degree of bilingualism is done by tests of proficiency in certain skills in the two languages. The skills are those of expression, namely, speaking and writing, and of comprehension, namely, listening and reading. But a bilingual person's mastery will vary between skills in each of his two languages. His skill in speaking one language may be poorer than his writing skill in the same language, perhaps thereby reflecting the variables of mode and circumstances in his exposure to the language. So also will his mastery of corresponding skills vary between his two languages. Therefore all the four skills should, ideally, be tested in his two languages.

Further, the skills should be tested at different linguistic levels-phonology, grammar, lexis, and semantics, for the same reason that variations are known to obtain in a bilingual's mastery of a particular skill at different levels.

For instance there are known cases of bilinguals who possess a vast vocabulary in their second language but whose 'exotic' pronunciation is easily noticed by even an untrained listener who merely knows the language. Some other bilinguals have good pronunciation but imperfect grammar. Thus, according to Mackey's scheme there should be a battery of forty tests of bilingual proficiency to be administered, as in the table below. (A & B represent the bilingual's two languages).²⁹

Skills	Levels									
	Phonological		Grammatical		Lexical		Semantic		Stylistic	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Speaking										
Writing										
Listening										
Reading										

29. William F. Mackey (1968), op. cit., p. 557.

If the circumstances are favourable and facilities are available, such a battery of forty tests is the ideal as it is very exhaustive. If the test conditions are not so conducive, Macnamara suggests that a selection of one or two skills for test at a particular level may be quite adequate for a defined objective of investigation and within the limitations of the circumstances.³⁰ In such a circumstance a test of the bilingual's comprehension skill (listening or reading) may be decided upon. As Clark, Hutcheson, and van Buren have tried to demonstrate, comprehension does not only manifest understanding, it also reflects the language user's productive ability because it is items he is capable of producing that he understands. The converse may not be true.³¹

30. This assertion is accepted as a working hypothesis in this study.

John Macnamara, (1969), op. cit., p. 81.

31. Ruth Clark, Sandy Hutcheson, and Paul van Buren: 'Comprehension and production in language acquisition' Journal of Linguistics, Vol. 10, No. 1 (1974), pp. 39-54.

1.4 Empirical Sociolinguistic Studies of Bilingualism

The present study has gained in different respects from two empirical sociolinguistic studies which combine survey features described above in different proportions. One is Joan Rubin's study of national bilingualism in Paraguay where Spanish and Guarani are alternative languages.³² The second is the study

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32. See Joan Rubin: (a) 'Bilingualism in Paraguay' Anthropological Linguistics IV (1962), pp. 52-58; (b) 'Bilingual Usage in Paraguay' in Joshua A. Fishman (ed.): Readings in the Sociology of Language Mouton, The Hague, Paris (1968), pp. 512-530; (c) 'Acquisition and Proficiency' in J.B. Pride & Janet Holmes (eds.) Sociolinguistics. Penguin (1972), pp. 350-366.

of Spanish-English bilingualism among a group of Puerto Ricans living in Greater New York. This was conducted by a team of specialists in different techniques of language study and social investigation, and directed by Joshua Fishman.³³

33. The report of the survey has been published under the title Bilingualism in the Barrio by J.A. Fishman, R.L. Cooper, Roxana Ma, et al. But excerpts from the reports are published in two special numbers of the Modern Language Journal, L III, Nos. 3 & 4 (1969). The relevant ones are listed below:

- (i) Robert L. Cooper and Lawrence Greenfield: 'Word Frequency Estimation as a Measure of Degree of Bilingualism' The Modern Language Journal L. III, No. 3 (1969), pp. 165-166.
 - (ii) Robert L. Cooper & Lawrence Greenfield: 'Language Use in a Bilingual Community'. The Modern Language Journal, L. III, No. 3 (1969), pp. 166-172.
 - (iii) Robert L. Cooper: 'Two Contextualised Measures of Degree of Bilingualism'. The Modern Language Journal, L. III, No. 3, (1969), pp. 172-178.
 - (iv) Joshua A. Fishman: 'Some Things Learned. Some Things Yet to Learn'. The Modern Language Journal, L. III, No. 4 (1969), pp. 255-258.
- Also (v) J.A. Fishman & Charles Terry: 'The Validity of Census Data on Bilingualism In A Puerto Rican Neighbourhood' American Sociological Review, Vol. 34, No. 5 (1969), pp. 636-650.

The two surveys differ in depth and coverage. Rubin's survey involved 1283 subjects, chosen from the urban centre of Luque (299) and the rural area of Itapuaami (984). Her elicitation technique was the interview on a prepared questionnaire. The questions were in two parts. Some tried to ascertain the bilingual individual's choice and usage of language. In such questions, an interpersonal or transactional relationship is described and the bilingual is asked to state which of his two languages he usually uses in the context. The second type of questions asks the bilingual to state the community norms of choice and usage. They take the form of 'what language would people normally use in ...?' (a specified context). Her technique for assessing bilingual proficiency was, however, rather weak. She could not find and could not construct suitable tests, and therefore relied on her impression during interview to estimate a bilingual's proficiency in the two languages.

In their own survey, Fishman's team employed multivariate elicitation and measurement techniques. All their 48 Spanish-English bilingual subjects were interviewed on a language background questionnaire

dealing with various socio-psychological and socio-cultural aspects of their language choice and usage. In addition, they all participated in a number of contextualised bilingual proficiency tests. Performances in the tests were then correlated with relevant information from the language background questionnaire to arrive at degrees of bilingualism. The same correlations were also used to assess the predictive power of the different techniques used in such surveys of bilingual proficiency.

Most of the techniques used by Fishman's team have been found applicable in the present study. But then, the socio-cultural context of Spanish-English bilingualism which they surveyed is in several respects different from the socio-cultural context of Yoruba-English bilingualism with which this survey deals. So also are the bilingual subjects different in their psychological background and degree of sophistication. The features of the techniques therefore have to be adapted to suit the socio-cultural setting in which Yoruba and English co-exist, and to elicit relevant information from the category of bilinguals involved.

In the next chapter, the peculiar socio-cultural setting of Yoruba-English bilingualism is described to provide a context for the problems of bilingual attainment and usage among our chosen category of bilinguals which the investigation sets out to clarify.

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CHAPTER TWO

THE HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY SETTING
FOR YORUBA-ENGLISH BILINGUALISM

The theoretical as well as the analytical viewpoint guiding this study was discussed in the last chapter, namely, that bilingualism is a characteristic of language behaviour in the bilingual society. The emphasis of such a socio-linguistic perspective is the analysis of the functional complementarity of the two languages in contact. Consequently, we regard certain circumstances of society, in all their ramifications, as infrastructural for the incidence of bilingualism. Bilingualism in Canada is the best example here. Its history forms a substantial and an inseparable part of the history of the Canadian nation. The same factors which are responsible for its entrenchment and its legal status also largely underly and explain the patterns in Canada's political, social, and economic organization

and structure.¹ The corollary of this is that the working of bilingualism in Canada can only be properly understood in the socio-political context of that country.

However, lest the institutionalised and legal status of the Canadian bilingualism is seen as an extreme of circumstantial determinism, we consider, briefly, other bilingual communities which, as Mackey has pointed out,² need not be, but are bilingual, due to the pressures of certain operative factors which are inherent in the community. The communities we are referring to here are linguistically homogeneous, and can, by that fact, operate just as well in one language. Bilingualism in such communities might be a consequence or a concomitant of historical events, such as conquest and colonisation. But subsequent independence usually presented an occasion to enact a monolingual language policy, discontinuing the use

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1. See The Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. Queen's Printer, Ottawa, Canada (1967), Vol. I.
 2. William F. Mackey (1968), op. cit.

of the colonial language, and making their indigenous language the lingua franca. Contemporary experience in Africa however shows that, by force of circumstance, most of such communities have elected to remain bilingual. Considerations, such as the need to foster political unity in the context of wider nationalisms, and to quickly achieve technological competence, become the justifications for remaining bilingual. Such considerations weigh heavily in favour of continued learning of their erstwhile colonial language. The weighting of these influences decisions to deploy most of their resources to the promotion of their second language with a zeal that usually relegates the indigenous language to a secondary position. It is thus also basic to the degree and trend of bilingualism among members of the community, especially the younger ones.

Yoruba-English bilingualism with which our study is concerned (henceforth YbE bilingualism) is an example of such elective bilingualism. In the sections below, we shall consider its origin and the favourable circumstances of its growth and perpetuation.

- Section I The Yoruba people and the Yoruba language.
- Section II The incipience and growth of YbE bilingualism in the socio-political and educational context of colonial administration in Nigeria.
- Section III The contemporary state of YbE bilingualism. The role and status of the two languages for the Yoruba people in Nigeria.

I. The Yoruba people and the Yoruba language

The Yoruba people in Nigeria number approximately eleven million (1963 Census). They have their home in the Lagos, Ogun, Oyo and Ondo States, and also in the Ilorin and Kabba provinces of the Kwara State. Outside Nigeria, large concentrations of them are found east and north of the cercle of Savelou in the Republic of Benin, and in the eastern sector of the cercle of Atakpame in the Republic of Togo. The Yoruba in these francophone countries have often been referred to by European anthropologists by various names - Anago, Nago, Inago, Nagot, Aana, and so on, but such names are never used by the people in references to themselves. Our investigation is concerned with the state of YbE bilingualism among the Yoruba in Nigeria,

and the findings are to be taken as generally representative of the state of the phenomenon only in the Nigerian sector. The Yoruba in the Republics of Benin and Togo fall completely outside the purview of the enquiry for the obvious reason that, consequent upon their different colonial experience which was French, their educational system used and still uses French as medium. They will therefore be proper subjects for the study of Yoruba-French bilingualism.

The Yoruba Language

For our present study it suffices to adopt Haugen's simple but all-inclusive definition of language, in relation to its dialects, as a superordinate aggregate of many dialects.³

The Yoruba language comprises many dialects having varying degrees of similarities and differences among them; but there is a standard dialect. Its written form is based largely on its northwestern group of dialects spoken by the earliest Yoruba literates and

3. Einar Haugen: 'Dialect, Language, Nation'.
American Anthropologist, 68 (1966),
pp. 922-935.

the first orthographers of the language.⁴ Its spoken form today appears to be an amalgam of the same northwestern subvarieties and the Lagos dialect. Most home-based and uneducated Yoruba speak the particular dialects in their areas, but the educated, the kind of bilinguals we focus upon in this study, operate in the standard dialect which most of them acquire formally in school - at least in its written form. A good many of the educated might therefore be bidialectal, in the standard and their particular regional dialects. But bi-dialectalism among the subjects in this investigation does not seem to have any direct effect on their performances in our tests of proficiency in Yoruba because both the test materials and their written responses were done in the standard dialect. (We reasonably assume, of course, that educated native speakers of the level of our subjects have sufficiently mastered the deep and surface structures of their language to make dialectal variations inconsequential in their performance in formal tests of this nature).

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4. See (i) Abiodun Adetugbo: The Yoruba Language in Western Nigeria: Its Major Dialect Areas. Ph.D. Thesis. Columbia University (1967).
(ii) J.F. Ade. Ajayi: 'How Yoruba was reduced to writing'. ODU, No. 8 (1960).

II. The Incipience and growth of YbE bilingualism

In Nigeria today there are as many bilingual communities as there are distinct language groups whose members have had formal school education, at least up to the higher primary levels, and thus have been exposed to the English language. Some are even trilingual, with the community's mother tongue, a dominant regional language, and English, available to the educated members of the community. YbE bilingualism, however, predates all the others, with the probable exception of Efik-English bilingualism whose beginning was also quite early.

The inception of YbE bilingualism, on any noticeable scale, would be seen to coincide roughly with the abolition of the slave trade and the establishment of legitimate trade by British mercantile companies, supported by the armed protection of the British colonial government. The same period also witnessed the 'return of the natives' from their transit settlement in Sierra Leone. Many of the freed slaves were Yoruba and had attained remarkable degrees of competence in the English language. These were thus our first set of YbE bilinguals.

Missionary evangelization was extending to the interior of the Yoruba country also during this period. Some YbE bilinguals among the repatriates from Sierra

Leone were already ordained ministers of their different churches. These came in handy, constituting a positive personnel factor in the early missionary effort in the spread of literacy in our focus languages. Research findings on the history of southern Nigeria during this period (early and mid-nineteenth century) are replete with exciting accounts of the beginnings of YbE bilingualism within the total context of British colonial administration and christian missionary endeavour. This writer has taken advantage of these accounts,⁵ but has supplemented them with what he was able to glean from massive archival documents on Nigerian history during this period.

5. The major works consulted are:

- (i) T.A. Ayandele: The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria, 1842-1914, Ibadan History Series. Longmans. (1966).
- (ii) J.F.A. Ajayi: Christian Missions in Nigeria. 1841-1891; the making of a new elite. Ibadan History Series. Longmans (1965).
- (iii) A. Fajana: The Evolution of Educational Policy in Nigeria 1842-1939. Ph.D. Thesis University of Ibadan. (1969).

Others:

- (iv) F.O. Ogunlade: 'Education and Politics in Colonial Nigeria: The Case of King's College, Lagos (1906-1911). Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria. Vol. VII, No. 2 (1974), pp. 325-346.

Agencies of YbE bilingualism

Three group agencies were responsible for the incidence of YbE bilingualism. They were the British colonial administration, the christian missionary bodies, and the Yoruba people themselves. The three groups played different, sometime conflicting roles in the process, but the end product has been, in this context of ironies, the firm entrenchment of the subject of our study. As our explanation, we present in the sketch below one underlying element which ensured the collective success of these agencies in the inauguration of YbE bilingualism in spite of the differences in their attitudes and approaches, namely, that YbE bilingualism was, as it still is, an expediency within the socio-economic structure of Nigeria. For illustration of the hypothesis let us examine the role of these agencies in some issues relevant to our subject which occupied their attention during the colonial period.

5. Contd.

- (v) Fred I.A. Omu: 'The "Iwe Irohin" 1859-1867'. JHSN. Vol. IV, No. 1 (1967), pp. 35-44.
- (vi) J.F. Ade. Ajayi: 'The Development of Secondary Grammar School Education in Nigeria'. JHSN, Vol. II, No. 4 (1963) pp. 517-535.
- (vii) Ayo Banjo: (1970), op. cit.
- (viii) Peter McKenzie: 'The Expansion of Christianity in Nigeria - some recurring factors'. ORITA: Ibaden Journal of Religions Studies, III/1 (1969), pp. 53-67.

The Language issues in the 1882 Education Ordinance

During the colonial period, government put forward some proposals relating to language teaching. Between the proposals, however, shifts are noticeable and such shifts would be best understood in terms of expediency.

The 1882 Education Ordinance marked the first direct involvement of government in education in this country. Clause 10, Section 5, of the Ordinance dealt specifically with language teaching, or rather with English language teaching since it was the only language in which the administration had interest. While the ordinance completely ignored the teaching of the indigenous languages, it placed a high price on the teaching of English, making it the condition for receiving government grants.⁶ The missionaries, predictably, stoutly opposed the pre-eminence which English got in the ordinance. In this they had the support of a few pro-vernacularists among the Yoruba. In contrast, the government had for its

6. See A. Fajana: (1969) op. cit. for a full account. Although nowhere was bilingualism ever stated as the objective of the colonial language policies, as in the case of this 1882 ordinance, the controversies always surrounded the learning and teaching of English and an indigenous language, Yoruba in this case. These accounts are therefore taken as outlining the growth of YbE bilingualism in the present study.

pro-English policy the strong backing of the articulate sections of the Yoruba community in Lagos. We shall presently examine the reactions of the missionaries and the people more closely but the point of immediate interest here is the motivation behind the government policy. And practical needs of the government for local personnel and for reduction of administrative costs would seem to be plausible explanations.

In this period government encroachments and activities were gradually extending to the interior, and the recurrent costs were running quite high. This was due to the importation of officers from the U.K. metropolis, and these were officers whose administrative effectiveness within the indirect rule system was seriously handicapped and limited by their inability to speak the local language - at least initially. In order to reduce costs, therefore, the colonial regime saw sense in investing some of its resources in the general education of the local people; hence the 1882 ordinance.

The English language clause of the ordinance was intended to make bilinguals of some of the local people who could then be recruited by the colonial government as clerks and interpreters. Quite rightly

has Ajayi described this period as the Age of Clerks.⁷ The indigenous clerks formed a cadre of subordinate officers in government and mercantile establishments, performing subsidiary functions. But their acquisition of the English language as part of their general education has ensured, at reduced costs to government, some degree of their effectiveness as liaison officers within the indirect rule system.

As additional justification for the totally pro-English policy, the colonial government emphasised the practical educational value of English in contrast to the inadequacy of the indigenous languages. It also played up the naturally strong (in the socio-economic context) demand of the people for English;⁸ but the cheaper and administratively more effective labour force which the earliest YbE bilinguals constituted would appear to be the more decisive motivation for the policy.

7. J.F. Ade. Ajayi: (1963), op. cit., p. 527.

8. See Director's memorandum on Educational Policy in Nigeria. IBMINED 1/1 File DDW 99, Vol. I (1944), Ibadan National Archive. Chapter xx.

The hostility of the missionary bodies to the 1882 ordinance was said to be predictable. The full implementation of the ordinance was calculated to be inimical to the advances in evangelization which they were carrying into the interior, and which they needed badly to quicken, in view of the seaward movement of the rival faith, Islam, from the north. Moreover, the missions had preceded the colonial government in spreading general education, and in the interest of christianity they had always stood for the teaching of the indigenous languages (called the vernaculars), and comparatively minimum teaching of English. They had considered that for the christian faith to take root in men's hearts and make an impact, it must preferably be preached to a people in that people's mother tongue, supplemented by scriptural texts translated into the people's language. This was unlike its rival, Islam, which was doing quite well among its converts in its own original language, Arabic.

Hence, very early in their work the christian missions took the learning and teaching of Yoruba seriously into hand. By 1847 the New Testament had been translated into Yoruba. Translations of other religious

tracts were being undertaken.⁹ In Abeokuta in 1859, the Rev. Henry Townsend founded a Yoruba fortnightly, the Iwe Irohin. It got an English supplement in 1860.¹⁰ This background explains the well-meaning, but all the same parochial attitude of the missions to the ordinance. It was, again, a case of expediency in the circumstances.

As **stated** above, the Yoruba people were unevenly aligned between the two active agencies of YbE bilingualism whose roles we have been considering. We should observe preliminarily here that neither with respect to the 1882 ordinance, nor the subsequent policy proposals, were the target of the proposals, the people, formally consulted. Yet it was the people's steadfast zeal for the English language that largely decided the fate of this contact language, setting the trend of preference which has remained until today, as we shall see in the findings of the present study.

On the occasion of the 1882 ordinance, the feeble voice of the pro-vernacularists among the Yoruba came

9. See Ayo Bamgbose: 'Yoruba Studies Today' ODU: A Journal of West African Studies. New Series, No. 1, April, 1969, pp. 85-100.

10. Fred I.A. Omu. (1967), op. cit., pp. 35-36.

faintly through in a general petition which the Lagos Yoruba addressed to Lord Derby. Having touched on many important issues affecting Lagos, they remembered to observe that 'no help was given to the teaching of the vernacular for which in India and elsewhere government made provision'. In contrast, the articulate pro-English supporters of the colonial policy counter-argued that enough was already being done for Yoruba by Bishop Crowther and some others, and that 'without a full acquaintance with the English tongue, translators into the vernacular would never render acceptable service to their country'. Finally they asserted,

'Let it therefore be understood that we love our mother tongue, we prize it, use it, and do think that the sublimity, melody, potency, so natural to it can never be expressed in any other; but this is certain, that our relations and present conditions operate against our speaking in our language alone'.¹¹

In the 'Age of Clerks' and interpreters whose income, relative to those of their uneducated counterparts, were enviable, and whose social prestige was high for their skill in the English language, the 'relations' and the socio-economic 'conditions' behind their support for the ordinance were quite clear!

11. This is part of the editorial in The Lagos Observer 16/8/83 quoted in Fajana (1969), op. cit., p. 112.

The 1889, 1898 Education Ordinances

By the 1889, and the 1898 education codes, however, the colonial government was beginning to relax its insistence upon English to the exclusion of the indigenous languages in the curriculum. The indigenous languages could now be taught. Teaching in effect became bilingual, using the direct method, when necessary using the Yoruba medium to explicate intricate structures of English. However, there still remained a special grant attached to the teaching of English.

Memorandum on 'The Place of the vernacular in Native Education: 1925

Under the 1889 code, Yoruba enjoyed only 'benevolent tolerance'¹² but the code is all the same significant as marking the breakdown of government resistance to the teaching of the indigenous languages. Thus it was also the beginning of victory for the missionaries who apparently had continued to apply pressures on government to reconsider its stand on the language question. The pressures were mounted not only in Nigeria but also in Britain.

12. T.A. Awoniyi: The Role and Status of the Yoruba Language in the formal school System of Western Nigeria, 1846-1971.

Ph.D. Thesis. University of Ibadan (1973)
p. 211.

The final victory for Yoruba teaching (and the teaching of indigenous languages in general) came in 1925 with Memorandum No. 3 which was submitted to the British government by the Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa. The memorandum¹³ was titled 'The Place of the Vernacular in Native Education'. It traced the fortunes of the non-African languages in tropical Africa—Arabic, Portuguese, and English. It eulogized the linguistic talent of the African, and set out in detail the value of the mother tongue as medium of instruction in early education. It finally recommended that elementary education should be in the mother tongue medium, while English should be confined to the secondary school. Even in the secondary school the vernacular should be the medium of instruction except in the teaching of English, Science and Mathematics.

Government asked for and got comments from its overseas representatives on the memorandum. After considering the comments, it passed the 1926 ordinance which approved the use of the vernacular as well as English in Nigeria. This ordinance remained in force until 1948.

13. Colonial Office Folio No. 35501; Kaduna National Archive, File 6081/125 - 'Native Education'.

This victory for the indigenous languages (including Yoruba) has been due to missionary pressures on the government. In fact, the setting up of the Advisory Committee which drew up the far-reaching memorandum was at the instance of the Conference of Missionary Societies of Great Britain and Ireland which met on 16th June 1923;¹⁴ and missionary hands are clearly discernible in the recommendations. But even in accepting the recommendations, the colonial government still insisted that English should be taught in primary standards IV, V and VI.

The people on their own part had not relented much in their pro-English attitude. The moderate view considered the government decision for bilingual teaching the better policy in the circumstance. The editorial in an Ibadan newspaper, The Yoruba News (9/2/26) said:

"The best arrangement for the present will be the teaching of Yoruba or its employment as the basis of instruction in all schools up to Standard Three and side by side with English from Standard Four upwards to the highest classes of the secondary schools and colleges".¹⁵

14. H.S. Scott: 'Educational Policy in the British Colonial Empire'. Year Book of Education. London Evans Brothers, (1927), p. 6.

15. Quoted in Awoniyi (1973), op. cit., Chapter VI.

Others persisted as advocate of a disproportionate scheme, heavily in favour of English. They argued:

"In Nigeria, the language of most work and business is English, and to exclude the teaching of English from any school except the very elementary ones, would be unjust to the people and a hindrance to the progress of the community in our view".¹⁶

A suggestion by one member of the Advisory Committee, Mr Ormsby-Gore, that teaching the mother tongues would ensure that Africans were not denationalised got the sharp condemnation:

"We have never had it suggested that the Japanese is denationalised ... who wears Western clothes and acquires Western culture ... the African will remain an African in thought, outlook, and in feeling whether he is steeped in the culture of France, or England, Rome or Greece".¹⁷

Thus far in this section, we have related the evolution of YbE bilingualism. It featured the battle for the vernacular languages (in this case, Yoruba) within the bilingualism complex. The battle was fought by the missionary agencies against the combined forces of the colonial government and the Yoruba people themselves. In the partnership between the government and the people, government was responsible

16. cf. In Leisure Hours xvii (191), March 1926, p. 28.

17. The Yoruba News 23/3/26. Quoted in Awoniyi, (1973), op. cit.

for policy making but the preeminence of English in the ensuing bilingualism was largely due to the people whose avidity for the English language was insatiable. On the role of the christian missions, Ayandele's assessment represents the situation adequately. He said:

"Upon the Christian missions devolved the task of preserving the vernacular against the wishes of their converts and the indifference of the administrators who preferred the English language. By their efforts the main languages of Nigeria have been preserved as a lasting legacy to the Ibo, Yoruba, Efik, Nupe and Hausa".¹⁸

In the next section, we shall briefly assess the state of YbE bilingualism today to see whether the picture has changed much from the foregoing.

18. E.A. Ayandele: (1966), op. cit., p. 283.

III. The Present State of YbE bilingualism

Here, we are concerned with the relative status and role of our focus languages in contact, Yoruba and English. By the 'status' of a language we ordinarily mean the position which that language occupies in the estimation of its users in relation to the position(s) of the other language(s) which the same people use. Status thus subsumes the value of that language for the people and the prestige the users thereby attach to the language. 'Role' is used also in its ordinary connotation of function. In this case we consider the division of functions between the languages in the life of a bilingual individual, or of the bilingual community. Status and role are not separate, exclusive features in our study of YbE bilingualism. Rather, there is a direct **attributive** relationship between them: the relative status of a language in a bilingualism complex derives largely from the role of that language in the daily life of the community. And as we now know of diglossic situations, a language performs a particular role because it has a particular status, built up for it, perhaps, over generations.

1. The role of Yoruba and English in the Yoruba Community

As we noted earlier, the Yoruba community, being to a great extent homogeneous, need not be bilingual. The socio-historical basis for its bilingualism has also been considered. In the present consideration of the contemporary role of the two languages in contact, we look at the following activities and areas of life carried by the medium of language to discover the relative pressures on the two languages - administration, commerce, the judiciary, the mass media, and education.

2. Yoruba and English in Administration

The relative pressures on Yoruba and English in public administration today largely remain what they have been since the beginning of the colonial era. As in most other parts of Nigeria, English remains officially dominant in all administration above the village level. At state governmental level, even in the homogeneous Yoruba states, of Lagos, Ogun, Oyo and Ondo, all edicts, policy decisions, formal consultations among government officials of all ranks, and consultations on behalf of government, are carried out in English. At the village and local levels, say the local council meetings, Yoruba is permitted since

members of such bodies may not all be literate in English. At such meetings government policies, originally written in English, are translated, explained, and discussed in Yoruba for the advantage of members who are not literate in English. The official representing government at the meeting must, however, send his report back to government in English.

Because of its dominant position in this domain, a high standard of attainment in English (credit level) is demanded of all government employees above the level of clerical assistants, office messengers, and cleaners. Even at these lower levels, a fair knowledge of English is required. By contrast, no formally certified evidence of proficiency in Yoruba is asked for, not even of officers who occasionally will have to consult on behalf of government with absolute Yoruba monolinguals. Because most of the government officers in the Yoruba States are indigenes of the states, the governments merely assume for them adequate competence and performance abilities in their mother tongue. And in any case, as we have stated, since the records of such consultations invariably are going to be kept in English, a certificate of competence only in the latter language need be insisted upon.

3. Yoruba and English in commerce and industry

The distribution of functions between Yoruba and English in commerce and industry is similar to what obtains in public administration. From the management down to the clerical officer levels, English is the language of formal transaction in employment negotiations (e.g. applications, interviews), in business consultations, say between factory owners and suppliers of materials, in placing orders and clearing goods, etc. Even when company employees are both native speakers of Yoruba, English formalises their official relationships.

A division of commerce and industry where knowledge and skill in the indigenous language (Yoruba in this case) is often required is sales canvassing. New consumer articles, such as drugs and cosmetics, are introduced to the market on posters written in Yoruba and English. In addition bilingual advertisements are mounted on the radio and the television, and such verbal advertisements need to be couched in effective and captivating language to achieve the sales objective. Even for this, employers have usually been satisfied with a prospective sales canvasser being a native speaker of Yoruba, and again,

unlike the case with English, no certificate of proficiency in Yoruba is usually required.

4. Yoruba and English in the judiciary

The judiciary system can be broadly divided into two: the higher judiciary, and the lower judiciary. In the Yoruba States, (Lagos, Ogun, Oyo and Ondo), the higher judiciary comprises the Magistrate Courts, the High Courts, and the Appeal Courts. Proceedings in these courts are modelled on the English legal system, and they operate in English. Magistrates and judges are not supposed to understand Yoruba and so must be addressed only in English. Investigations in the open court are conducted in English. Where a party to a suit is a Yoruba monolingual, his attestation is translated into English by the court registrar, and recorded by the judge. Judgement in all cases is delivered in English, while its paraphrase in Yoruba is done by the registrar where a Yoruba monolingual is involved.

The lower judiciary comprises three grades of customary courts, Grades A, B, and C. They all operate the jury system. The Grade C customary court is presided over by a local traditional chief. Both he

and the jurors may, or may not be literate in English. Furthermore, the suits heard in such courts are those in which customary laws and traditions are applied, for example, divorce of marriages contracted under customary laws. Also, litigants in Grade C customary courts are usually mostly Yoruba monolinguals. Therefore the language of proceedings is Yoruba. The judgement, too, is delivered in Yoruba but the court clerk makes his records in English because a judgement may occasion an appeal to a higher court at which proceedings in the lower must be made available in English.

The Grades A and B customary courts approach the style of the higher judiciary. They have legally trained presidents who have had considerable experience at the bar as counsel. Counsel are also admitted to Grades A and B customary courts to represent interests, and could cite support from the tradition of English legal system and the customary laws. In Grades A and B courts, the litigants, not their counsel, have a choice of language, but judgement is delivered in English.

Thus, the recognised language of the two divisions of the judiciary is English except in the Grade C customary court where Yoruba is dominant. All the

functionaries in the judiciary are therefore required to possess a high proficiency in the English language, including clerks in Grade C customary courts. Invariably the clerks in Grade C customary courts are themselves Yoruba, and so, no formal evidence of their Yoruba proficiency is asked for.

5. Yoruba and English in the mass media

The media of mass communication we shall examine briefly are the newspaper, the radio and the television. These various organs have in common the functions of informing and entertaining the public. And apart from the newspapers which occasionally use cartoons, they rely mainly on language for communication. The measurement of the relative effectiveness of Yoruba and English in meeting the objectives of these media will require an investigation into audience reactions to and evaluations of programmes relayed on radio and television, and to items published in the newspapers. Such an investigation is outside the scope of the present study; but we have attempted to assess what chances each of the languages has to be so effective in mass communication by comparing how much is at present being published in the newspapers or disseminated on radio and television, in each of the languages. The

patterns of use which emerge can be an indication of the relative confidence the proprietors of, and the subscribers to the media have in these languages to fulfil the objectives of their patronage, within the socio-economic and political contexts of Nigeria.

5.1 Yoruba and English in the newspaper^{19, 20}

The Rev. Henry Townsend's pioneering endeavour in newspaper publication in Yorubaland has been mentioned. His paper, the 'Iwe Irohin', was directed at the christian converts. In keeping with the objectives and strategy of the missionaries, it was first published in Yoruba before it later became bilingual. Subsequently, other newspapers were founded using the Yoruba medium, and catering for political and other

19. For the role of the newspaper press in the political history of Nigeria in the early and the middle periods of colonial administration, see Fred I.A. Omu: The Nigerian Newspaper Press, 1859-1937: A Study in Origins, Growth and Influence. Ph.D. Thesis. University of Ibadan, (1965).

Also, Fred I.A. Omu (1967), op. cit.

20. Banjo briefly describes the role of the Yoruba medium newspapers in the drama that accompanied the internal politics of Western Nigeria in the early sixties.

cf. L. Ayo Banjo: 'A Study of English Loan Words in Yoruba'. Leeds University Diploma Dissertation (1965).

secular objectives. But like Townsend's paper they all had shorter spans of life compared to the life spans of their English medium counterparts. For example, the 'Akéde Èkó' with the longest duration of publication, was founded in 1928. Its circulation ceased in 1956. But its contemporary, the 'Nigerian Daily Times' founded in 1926, is still in circulation now. Compared to myriads of English medium newspapers and magazines at present circulating in the Yoruba speaking States, there are only four weekly Yoruba newspapers. These are the 'Gbohùngbohùn', 'Ìmólẹ̀ owùrò', 'Ìròhìn Yoruba' and the 'Ìròhìn Ìmólẹ̀'.²¹

Of course, the number of newspapers in circulation at any time in any one language cannot be a measure of the people's patronage of that language in that medium of communication since it requires more than mere language loyalty to establish a newspaper. But where such newspapers have been established (e.g. by a government agency or a publishing company), circulation

21. For an up-to-date list of newspapers circulating in Nigeria, see Gbadegesin A. Alabi: Nigerian Periodicals and Newspapers 1971-1974.

Mimeographed. Ibadan University Library (1975).

figures can be compared, in this case, for Yoruba medium and English medium newspapers. In our present study, however, this approach, too, is not applicable because the circulation figures one gets for one English medium newspaper represent patronage by all the peoples in Nigeria, and will incomparably outstrip the circulation figures for a Yoruba medium newspaper. What has been done for our present study therefore was to compare patronage for Yoruba and English medium newspapers as indicated in the responses to a part of the general language background questionnaire we administered to our sample population. (See items xviii and xxiv in part C of Appendix .B.; and Chapter VI for a brief discussion of the role of Yoruba and English in the newspaper medium as seen in our sample population).

5.2 Yoruba and English in broadcasting and television

Popular radio broadcasting began in Nigeria with the establishment of the rediffusion transmission in 1952. Before then, wireless radio sets were a rare possession, found perhaps only in the homes of expatriate officers of the colonial government, and some members of the indigenous educated elite class

who were concentrated in the large urban centres. The radio transmitting agency then was the Posts and Telegraphs Department. The Department mainly relayed the programmes of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) but also managed to run, between 1946 and 1948, about one hour each day of local broadcasting of Yoruba news, brainstrust, and the like.

In 1952, Rediffusion (Nigeria) Limited was established as a profit-making concern. It continued to relay the BBC, but as a means partly of popularizing the radio and achieving its commercial objective, it hired out reception sets to the local people at, initially, small monthly rentals. Consequently, it also ran considerably longer hours of local entertainment broadcasting, particularly of indigenous music, story-telling, and such other folk programmes.

Radio Nigeria, owned by the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation, began broadcasting in Lagos and the state capital towns in 1957, by which date radio receivers began to be found more commonly in the homes of medium income people in the society. In 1959, the first television transmission station in Nigeria was opened in Ibadan, the WNTV (Western Nigeria

television), and in the following year, 1960, the same station commenced its commercial radio broadcasting.²²

Over the years since radio broadcasting began in Nigeria, the paucity of programmes broadcast in an indigenous Nigerian language can be imagined. In doing this we relate the objectives of informing and entertaining to the audience for whose interests and tastes the broadcasting stations catered. This target audience was the educated class, the majority of whom would probably attach greater worthwhileness to information (and, perhaps, also entertainment) transmitted to them in English than to the same information transmitted in a local language. In this context, programmes broadcast in an indigenous language must have been very few indeed. However, our present interest is the contemporary role of Yoruba and English in present-day broadcasting and television.

22. See Africa South of The Sahara, 1974.

Europe Publications Limited. (1974), p. 611. This writer is also grateful to Mr Olaniran Ogunyemi-Ogungbemi, a veteran of the NBC, Ibadan, for his enthusiastic cooperation during our enquiry. Mr Ogunyemi-Ogungbemi joined the staff of the NBC in 1952 and was the controller of the NBC, Ibadan, at the time of our investigation.

Two broadcasting and two television stations are based in the capital towns of two Yoruba States. These are the Radio O-Y-O and the NTV, Ibadan, capital of the Oyo State, and the NBC and the NTV, Lagos, capital of the Lagos State. By a decree of the Federal Military Government which became effective on 1st October, 1976, the NBC and the NTV are run by two federal statutory corporations, respectively, the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation, and the National Television Authority. At the time of our field investigation the media were jointly known simply as the NBC - NBCTV, and run by one statutory authority.

Also, the Ibadan - based media, now known as Radio O-Y-O and NTV, Ibadan, were founded and run by a statutory corporation of the government of the old Western State of Nigeria - the Western Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation. The media were, and still are, physically situated on the same ground, and were jointly referred to, then, as the WNBS - WNTV. Radio O-Y-O is still run by an Oyo State government corporation, but NTV, Ibadan, (like the other television stations in the country which were founded and formerly run by agencies of the state governments) has come under the National Television Authority.

The Authority provides the funds and determines broad administrative policy matters. Apart from the daily screening of one-hour network programmes, all other programmes on the station originate in Ibadan as in the days of the old WNTV.

The majority of the immediate viewers of the Lagos NTV programmes are Yoruba, but because of the more cosmopolitan composition of Lagos, the station is obliged to feature some more of the multicultural programmes in addition to the network programmes. Consequently the number and frequency of its Yoruba medium programmes are limited. We therefore cannot base our appraisal of the relative use of Yoruba and English on the Lagos-based radio and television stations.

As already stated, all of the Radio O-Y-O, and most of the NTV Ibadan programmes are designed in Ibadan. The radio programmes are received on wireless sets in all parts of Yorubaland, and beyond. It now has three booster stations (at Abàfòn, Idómìnàsi, and Aṣìlèkè) to beam its television programmes to Lagos, most parts of the eastern extremes of Yorubaland, and to the southern, Yoruba-speaking area of Kwara State. Thus, NTV Ibadan caters for an essentially Yoruba

audience. The same is largely true of Radio O-Y-O in view of the multiplicity of regional radio stations in Nigeria, each attracting the listening attention of its local, ethnic audience, and aided in doing so by the generally poor radio reception of distant transmissions in most parts of the country. In this context, the distribution of roles between Yoruba and English on Radio O-Y-O and NTV - Ibadan can be taken to represent the public roles of these languages on these media - as at present conceived and operated by communication media owned and largely run by a government of the Yoruba people.

5.2.1 Yoruba and English on Radio O-Y-O

Radio O-Y-O is on for 19 hours every day of the week, from five o'clock in the morning until midnight. It concentrates on musical entertainment and commercial broadcasting. There is a fair balance between Yoruba and English vocal music. Advertisers of goods sponsor some entertainment programmes during which their wares are advertised. Other advertisements are broadcast on the music programmes. Together, musical entertainment and commercial advertisements take up more than three quarters of a day's broadcasting hours.

The non-music, called public enlightenment, items consist of news broadcasts, editorial reviews, serial literature reading and poetry, broadcasts for schools, during which topics in geography, history, science, etc., are discussed. Other enlightenment items include panel discussions on health, the law and civic duties, occasional Yoruba language expositions, and sports. The table below summarises broadcasting hours in Yoruba and English for a week (public enlightenment programmes only).²³

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23. Durations of broadcasting summarised in this and the following two tables have been extracted from the Radio O-Y-O, Quarterly Schedule, 29 June - 27 September 1976, obtained from the corporation's public relations officer.

TABLE 1

DAILY DISTRIBUTION OF HOURS OF BROADCASTING IN
YORUBA AND ENGLISH ON RADIO O-Y-O
(ENLIGHTENMENT PROGRAMMES ONLY)

Days	Yoruba		English	
	Hr.	Min.	Hr.	Min.
Sunday ..	0	55	5	11
Monday ..	1	07	4	29
Tuesday ..	3	10	3	33
Wednesday ..	1	59	3	54
Thursday ..	1	52	4	51
Friday ..	2	22	3	00
Saturday ..	1	09	3	59
Total	12	34	28	57

This table shows that out of the total of 41 hours 31 minutes (12 hr. 34 min. + 28hr. 57 min.) of non-music broadcasting, the Yoruba medium programmes occupy 12 hr. 34 min. or 30.12% while English medium programmes take up 28 hr. 57 min. or 68.88% of non-music broadcasting hours. English medium programmes get more than twice the time allotted to Yoruba medium programmes in any one week.

5.2.2 Yoruba and English on NTV, Ibadan

Programmes presented on NTV, Ibadan include children's entertainment, news broadcasts, schools' television, exposé on current political and cultural affairs, panel discussions on various issues of civic interest, ritual and cultural drama, and sports. There are also sponsored advertisements and music.

Total viewing hours for a week is 52 hours made up of eight and a half hours on Saturday and Sunday, and seven hours on each of the other week days. Below we present the distribution of the viewing hours in a week between Yoruba medium and English medium programmes which are non-music programmes.

TABLE 2

DAILY DISTRIBUTION OF HOURS OF VIEWING
YORUBA AND ENGLISH MEDIUM
PROGRAMMES ON NTV, IBADAN

Days	Yoruba		English	
	Hr.	Min.	Hr.	Min.
Sunday ..	0	05	5	50
Monday ..	1	00	5	50
Tuesday ..	1	00	5	50
Wednesday ..	2	40	4	40
Thursday ..	1	45	4	45
Friday ..	2	00	4	25
Saturday ..	1	00	4	55
Total	9	00	35	35

The table shows that on NTV, Ibadan,

(i) total hours of viewing non-music programmes in Yoruba and English for a week is 44 hours 35 mins. (9.00 + 35.35).

(ii) The total of 44 hr. 35 min. of non-music programmes is distributed between Yoruba medium and English medium programmes as follows:

Yoruba medium programmes: 9.00 hrs, or 20.18% of 44 hr. 35 min.

English medium programmes: 35 hr. 35 min. or 79.82% of 44 hr. 35 min.

The English medium programmes consist of locally derived home-based features as well as feature items from foreign sources. In the next table we show the distribution of viewing hours of English medium programmes between home and foreign feature items.

TABLE 3

DAILY DISTRIBUTION OF HOURS OF VIEWING HOME AND FOREIGN ENGLISH MEDIUM PROGRAMMES ON NTV, IBADAN

Days	Home		Foreign	
	Hr.	Min	Hr.	Min.
Sunday ..	2	35	3	15
Monday ..	3	05	2	45
Tuesday ..	3	40	1	30
Wednesday ..	2	30	2	10
Thursday ..	2	30	2	15
Friday ..	2	25	2	00
Saturday ..	2	45	2	10
Total	19	30	16	05

The obvious dominance of English on the radio and television media as presented in the tables above has been pointed out for the first two tables, but the dominance is the more remarkable for its not being

fortuitous. We take the relative distribution of duration of Yoruba and English medium programmes on the television as the case in point.

NTV, Ibadan, then known as the WNTV, was inaugurated in 1959, on the eve of Nigeria's independence. In the first years of its operation, as Bangbose correctly observed, it hardly had any choice concerning the medium of the films it screened since most of them were imported from Britain or the U.S.A.²⁴ Local audience participation was minimal. Since independence, however, nearly every area of Yoruba social life has witnessed a resurgence and reassertion of culture and tradition. More use is being made of traditional instruments, and Yoruba traditional institutions are being revisited and explored. But we find in the schedule of current programmes on NTV, Ibadan, a disproportionate distribution of duration of Yoruba and English medium programmes. This shows that the English language has proved an impregnable instrument of communication and that it is even waxing stronger. We observe, for instance, that while Yoruba medium programmes get a total of nine

24. Ayo Bangbose: 'The English language in Nigeria' in John Spencer (ed.): The English Language in West Africa. Longman (1971), p. 35.

viewing hours, locally originated programmes in the English medium get nineteen and a half hours.

Rowlands²⁵ has once considered the functional imbalance between Yoruba and English among YbE bilinguals, and observed the spread of English against the decline of Yoruba. On the evidence of an objective, empirically based analysis Kerr²⁶ has also remarked the dominance of English against the indifference to Yoruba in the area of literary culture. Our present comparison of the use of Yoruba and English in the press and on radio and television has also gone to confirm the relatively stronger position of English in the YbE bilingualism complex.

5.3 Yoruba and English in education

Awoniyi²⁷ has analysed exhaustively the role and status of Yoruba in primary school education in the

25. E.C. Rowlands: 'Yoruba and English: A Problem of Coexistence'. African Language Studies VI, SOAS, London (1963), pp. 208-214.

26. J.Y.K. Kerr: 'The Future of Yoruba Literary Culture: An Outsider's view'. WAJE, XVI, No. 2, (1972), pp. 185-194.

27. T.A. Awoniyi: (1973), op. cit.

Yoruba States. He shows that, compared to English, Yoruba has always been assigned a secondary role in the primary school system contrary to the sound pedagogical advisability of giving it, as the pupils' mother tongue, a central position in the system. Consequently the language has always had a status lower than that of English in the formal school system. In this section we shall look at the role of the two languages in post-primary education.

According to Adaralegbe,²⁸ it was the well-considered opinion of the 1969 curriculum conference in Nigeria that the "secondary school will play a dual role of preparing the majority of students for a terminal education that equips them for living in society while, for the minority group of well-motivated youngsters, the secondary school will provide facilities for them to go into higher education". (p. 40). This evaluation of secondary school education provides us a context

28. Adeniji Adaralegbe: 'Western Nigeria' in John Wagner Hanson (ed.) Report on the supply of Secondary Level Teachers in English-speaking Africa. Overseas Liaison Committee of the American Council on Education. Institute of International Studies in Education and The African Studies Center. Michigan State University Study No. 15 - Nigeria (1973), pp. 36-53.

within which to assess the contemporary role of Yoruba and English in post-primary education. For a majority of secondary school pupils in Nigeria the West African School Certificate is terminal. It finishes them off, as it were, and prepares them for entering the employment market, and to begin to participate fully in the society's activities. For the minority, secondary education is preparatory to higher education. How much need do these pupils have for Yoruba and English, relatively, in their post secondary school careers in the socio-economic context of Nigeria? How do the pupils themselves perceive their need for these languages? And how have they been prepared in the secondary school to meet these language needs?

Acquisition of behaviour patterns and subsequent behaviour, especially acquisition of language(s) and language behaviour by individuals are, to a large extent, modelled on the societal mores. This premise explains the past and the contemporary roles and status of Yoruba and English in formal secondary school education. Earlier in this chapter we have shown the preeminence which English was accorded over Yoruba by the government and the people during the colonial era because of its role as the principal language of

administration. We have also demonstrated its dominance on the contemporary scene in activities which occasion the use of language. It is very clear to the secondary school pupils then, that of the two languages in the YbE bilingualism complex, it is English that better ensures the wherewithal of life in contemporary Nigeria.

The same relative values of the two languages, perceived in utilitarian terms, have also had a great effect on the role and status of the languages in the secondary and post-secondary education systems. Lewis²⁹ has shown, for instance, that very little significance was given to African languages in the secondary school curriculum until the late 1920s. It was in 1931 that the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate first set papers in Yoruba (and some other African languages) in the much-valued Senior Cambridge School Certificate examination. A pass at credit standard in it (as in the other African languages) was accepted by the Cambridge authorities as exempting a candidate from some other language requirement for university admission purposes. But Lewis also remarked what the reaction of Africans was to the enhanced status of their

29. L.J. Lewis: 'The Place of African Languages in the Secondary School Curriculum', WAJE, Vol. I, No. I (1957), pp. 20-22.

various languages in the Cambridge examination: rather than embrace and take advantage of the enhanced status, their reaction was to regard those languages as rather 'soft options' in a prestigious examination.

In higher education too, Yoruba (like any other Nigerian language) has hardly been given a place. The Asquith Commission which recommended the establishment of the University College, Ibadan, also recommended the study of African languages in the University.³⁰ But it was not until the middle of the 1960s that that recommendation was resuscitated and implemented. For a long time the Ibadan University College entrance examination regulation was indifferent to a pass in a Nigerian language as a qualification to sit the examination. For instance, the entrance examination regulation for 1953, published in the University College calendar for 1952/53, specifies as prerequisite for the entrance examination "A Cambridge School Certificate with passes at credit standard at one and the same examination in five subjects, of which one must be English Language, one Elementary Mathematics, and one a language other than English, except in the case of a

30. T.A. Awoniyi: (1973), op. cit., p. 269.

candidate whose native tongue is not English when a language other than English need not be offered among the five subjects". (p. 24) Since there was no insistence on a credit standard attainment in any other language apart from English, many entrance examination candidates by-passed the 'soft option'. Instead, most of the candidates for studies in the humanities invariably opted and strove for 'hard' Latin to meet the five-subject requirement.

From the 1960s, however, the major Nigerian languages, Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba, got a full qualifying subject status in the entrance examination to the University. The English Language is still preeminent, but a Nigerian language is now accepted as one of the other four subjects, passed at credit standard, to qualify a candidate to sit the entrance examination.

An honours degree course in Yoruba began at the University of Ibadan in 1966. The first honours graduates in Yoruba took their degrees in June 1969. But the impression of a university course in Yoruba as a soft option still stuck on in the first years of the degree courses until very recently when admission to courses in Yoruba became really competitive.

In this chapter we have placed YbE bilingualism in its historical and contemporary perspectives. We have shown that, right from its inception, there has been an imbalance in favour of English in the preference for acquisition and use of the two languages among YbE bilinguals. In the next chapter we shall clarify the objectives of our present study against the background of the present chapter.

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CHAPTER THREE

THE METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

1. Basis for choice of bilingual subjects

On the very first page of his highly programmatic book on the study of languages in contact, Weinreich¹ pinpointed the language-using individuals as the locus of language contact. Soon after, Haugen² carried the implication of the suggestion further when he recommended a microcosmic approach to the study of bilingualism. According to him, the best approach should possibly be autobiographical, like Lowie's,³ in which all the bilingual's experience and intuition regarding his bilingual learning, usage and status are taken account of.

The suggestion is undoubtedly the ideal, especially for a close contrastive study of the bilingual phenomenon; and hardly is there any alternative approach available to the researcher whose objective is purely linguistic. The focus of a sociolinguistic study of bilingualism is, however, a group or several groups of bilinguals. Among them one can then observe the interplay of the linguistic as well as the non-linguistic factors

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1. U. Weinreich, (1970), op. cit., p. 1.
 2. Einer Haugen (1956), op. cit., p. 69.
 3. Robert H. Lowie: 'A Case of Bilingualism'.
Word 1 (1945), pp. 249-259.

governing the language behaviour of the bilingual subjects. The present study belongs to this latter kind. We have chosen for our study of YbE bilingualism final year pupils in the secondary grammar school (Form V students) in consideration of features of bilingualism which presumably are peculiar to their level of education, and the status this category of bilinguals occupies in society largely in consequence of their bilingual ability.

First, the level of their bilingual education. With the introduction of universal primary education in Western Nigeria in 1955, the average age at which children began primary education was reduced to six, and has remained so since then. They spend six years in the primary school and enter secondary grammar schools at about thirteen. Secondary education lasts five years thus making the average age of the level of our chosen category of bilinguals eighteen.

As native speakers of Yoruba their competence in this language is no longer in question by the end of their secondary education. But English is for them a second language. Its teaching as a subject begins in the first year of primary schooling. By the time they reach the higher primary classes (primary classes four, five and six), it has become the language of instruction in

most of the subjects on the curriculum. It is virtually the language of secondary education with the exception of instruction in Yoruba. Thus, by the end of their secondary education this category of bilinguals has been exposed to the English language for at least eleven years. The degree of their competence in the language is thus relatively high. Average performance in English by this category of bilinguals at even the undoubtedly testy phonological level must qualify the speaker to be regarded as a user of average Yoruba English. In a wider context, his performance will certainly lie between the two varieties (Varieties two and three) which Banjo hypothesized in his typology of Nigerian spoken English as enjoying some degrees of social acceptability in Nigeria, and one of which might eventually be taken as the model of standard Nigerian spoken English.⁴

This category of bilinguals also occupies a unique position in the Nigerian society in respect of which their bilingual proficiency and usage should be studied.

4. L. Ayo Banjo: 'Towards a definition of "Standard Nigerian Spoken English"', Annales de l'Université d'Abidjan. Serie H (Linguistique). Fascicule hors serie (1971), pp. 165-175.

As we saw in the last chapter, secondary education is terminal for the majority of Nigerians who make any claim to respectable education above the primary school level. Until the founding of more universities in the 1960s made higher education available to more people in the country, the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate obtained at the level of our chosen category of bilinguals was the prestigious locally acquired 'golden fleece' for the majority of Nigerians. Its successor, the West African School Certificate (WASC) has a relatively high market value and still retains some of the social prestige its predecessor had. It is a means of assessing the academic ability of secondary school students. According to Bunting "The parents, the press, employers and the general public regarded (and to some extent still regard) the WASC as adequate evidence that the holder has been well-educated and is worthy of employment".⁵ Thus our category of bilinguals, holding the WASC, forms the bulk of the educated middle level labour force in the country today.

5. J.R. Bunting: 'Certificates and Education' WAJE II, No. 3 (1958), pp. 100-104. The parenthesis is this writer's.

In most of the employment which they enter, a high level of bilingual competence is required. In respect of one of their languages, English, a formal evidence of competence is usually demanded, while their native-speaker competence in Yoruba is considered adequate. Thus, on account of pure description of some aspects of bilingualism (proficiency and usage) at a specified level (bilinguals with secondary education), our choice of Form V students for study is justifiable. The study of features of YbE bilingualism at this level can thus be the beginning or continuation of studies of varieties of bilingualism in Nigeria.

2. Assumptions, Objectives and Hypotheses

2.1 Assumptions

We precede the statement of the objectives of this study with the following assumptions made for the category of YbE bilinguals involved in our investigation with respect to their acquisition and behaviour in their two languages:

(i) The Yoruba language has definite role to play in the propagation of the culture of the Yoruba people.

Hence, in the present wake of cultural renaissance, there is noticeable a collective aspiration or desire

among the Yoruba people to enhance the status of the language in the society as part and vehicle of Yoruba culture, and to use it more and more as medium in all areas of life where it is considered appropriate. As evidence of commitment in this direction we notice that in 1969, the government of the Western State of Nigeria (now broken into the Ogun, Oyo and Ondo States) ruled that Yoruba must be taught in all schools and teacher training colleges in the state.⁶ Also, there are now societies of eminent scholars and teachers of the language (including university professors), formed specifically to promote the study and use of the language.⁷ We assume that either on their own initiative or under the influence of the activities of agencies like those mentioned, the majority of our chosen category of bilinguals fully identifies with this

6. See J.Y.K. Kerr (1972), op. cit., p. 191.

7. Among such societies are the Egbé Onímò Èdè Yoruba whose membership includes Yoruba linguists, literary critics and creative writers. The Egbé Ijìnlè Yoruba and the Egbé Atúmò Èdè Yoruba are embraced by university students and secondary school teachers of the language. There have also been founded journals such as the Olokun in which scholarly articles are published.

communal attitude for an enhanced status for the Yoruba language.

(ii) Apart from the language loyalty sentiments expressed in this first assumption, our category of YbE bilinguals has practical needs of the Yoruba language whether or not they themselves can immediately identify these needs. For instance they need it for full participation in their own indigenous culture the most authentic of which is expressed in Yoruba. Their other need relates to the fact that today the majority of the Yoruba people in Nigeria are mother tongue monolinguals. At private interpersonal levels, the bilingual will encounter and interact with such Yoruba monolinguals in the only language they understand. The need for Yoruba in public communication may even be greater especially for those in our category of bilinguals who will immediately enter the public service. Although public records are kept in English, for the involvement of the people at the village community level a mastery of Yoruba by public officers is essential.

(iii) Since, as developmental psycholinguists have shown, normal children have perfected their mother

tongue at entry into the primary school (age 6),⁸ they have relatively mastered their mother tongue by their secondary school age. This assumption applies to the relative mastery of Yoruba by our chosen category of bilinguals.

In the distinction suggested here between language perfection and language mastery, perfection refers to the complete knowledge of the structural mechanics of that language in terms of rules specifiable in the grammar of the language. The rules of a language are finite and can therefore be all known. Indeed, they are presumed to be all known by an ideal native speaker who is then said to have perfected his language. The mastery

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8. See (i) David McNeil: The Acquisition of Language: The Study of Developmental Psycholinguistics. Harper & Row. New York, Evanston & London (1970).
- (ii) Renzo Titone: Studies in the Psychology of Second Language Learning. Pas-Verlag. Zurich-Schwerz. (1964).
- (iii) S.H.O. Tomori: 'The Role of the vernacular in education'. WAJE IX, No. 2, (1965), pp. 83-85.
- (iv) T.A. Awoniyi: 'The Effect of Language Codes in the home and Maternal teaching styles on the language development of the pre-school child'. Seminar Paper. Department of Linguistics, U.I. April 18, 1974.
- (v) Leonard Carmichael: 'The Early Growth of Language Capacity in the Individual'. in Eric H. Lenneberg (ed.): New Directions in the Study of Language. Cambridge Mass. The M.I.T. Press (1966), pp. 1-22.

of a language, on the other hand, transcends perfection. In addition to grammatical competence, it includes the native speaker's knowledge of the folklore and folk etymology which together form part of the folk culture of the people. In any language the content of the elements so required to be mastered is expansive. In a particular reference to Yoruba, it is a large collection the size or volume of which nobody has yet established. But it is a speaker's relative knowledge of these elements that enables him to produce and interpret the type of involved, classical idiomatic expressions which are characteristic of Yoruba proverbs and aphorisms.

One immediate inference to be drawn from this is that a speaker's relative mastery of his language in these terms must depend on some variable factors - the speaker's age, the degree of his participant involvement in the culture which uses the language, and his own frequent and intensive use of the language. Also, the notion of relative mastery has the implication that its measurement must be against a standard relative to these factors, particularly to a speaker's age. Thus, one will not judge the Yoruba mastery of a ten year old by the same standard one applies to that of a fifty

year old. If this distinction is plausible then our assumption is that YbE bilinguals in our investigation have the degree of mastery of Yoruba language expected of adolescent native speakers of the language.

With regard to English the assumptions we make for our chosen category of bilinguals relate to the status and role of the language in the Nigerian society.

(iv) As the official language, English is not likely to be eliminated in many areas of life in Nigeria in the foreseeable future - in administration, commerce, and higher education. Therefore every Nigerian desires to maximise his opportunity to perfect his control of the language and to master it especially as there is some relationship between an individual's degree of mastery in the language and the level of his earning from employment in the public and private sectors of the modern economy. Furthermore, varying prestige values are known to be attached to different levels of attainment in the language: the higher the degree of mastery the more socially acceptable (up to a point)⁹ the speaker of that highly

9. Banjo has correctly noticed a certain variety of English so British that it is sniffed at by other Nigerians. Fortunately its speakers are not many.

cf. Banjo (1971), op. cit. p. 170.

valued variety is. The bilinguals involved in our study belong to the general run of Nigerians in this respect. They realise their practical needs for the language and aspire to a high degree of mastery in it.

(v) The present arrangement in the secondary school system for the formal teaching of English, especially written English, is adequate enough to ensure the relative perfection and mastery of the language as would equip the pupil who has completed secondary education to operate in the language with the degree of facility expected of incumbents of the kind of public roles that our category of bilinguals may occupy in the Nigerian community.

The assumptions we have made concerning the two languages are comparable with regard to the need for them by our chosen category of bilinguals in their working situations and daily living. The contexts of acquisition of the two languages are different and the degree of mastery we assume for our bilinguals in their two languages is also different. Additionally we have also attributed to our subjects loyalty to their mother tongue.

2.2 Objectives

Against the foregoing, the objective of this study, first broadly put, is to ascertain the characteristic features of bilingual proficiency and usage in the category of bilinguals we have chosen for study. Bilingual proficiency, in this case, is not concerned directly with a comparison of linguistic competence(s). That has been covered by our assumption of perfection and relative perfection in Yoruba and English respectively, for our category of bilinguals. Instead, it refers to an individual's underlying ability to use his languages appropriately, i.e., his ability to receive and interpret coded message or discourse in his languages on the one hand, and on the other hand to originate and transmit message or discourse in the languages. These are the receptive and productive aspects of bilingual proficiency. As latent capability, however, proficiency is not directly ascertainable. It can only be estimated or concluded from a sample of instances of usage.¹⁰ Our objectives, then, are to find answers to the following questions

10. See Joshua A. Fishman and Charles Terry (1969), op. cit., p. 636.

which we pose concerning the bilingual proficiency and usage among our category of YbE bilinguals.

With respect to their ability to receive and interpret discourse in their two languages we ask:

- (i) How well do bilinguals of this category understand oral discourse in their two languages?
- (ii) How does their comprehension ability in Yoruba compare with the same ability in English?
- (iii) If differences are discovered in their comprehension abilities in the two languages, are such differences due to variables of the context of language learning and language use among subcategories of our bilinguals?

With regard to the productive aspect of bilingual proficiency we ask:

- (iv) In which of their two languages are YbE bilinguals of this category more productive?
- (v) Does a bilingual's productive ability vary between languages in different contexts? Particularly, how does the productive ability of our category of bilinguals in their two languages compare across different domains?

- (vi) Does bilingual productive ability vary between bilinguals of the different sexes; between bilinguals who live in different culturally defined locations?
- (vii) What are the effects of the socio-economic and socio-cultural factors on the productive ability of bilinguals subcategorised according to those variables?
- (viii) Does bilingual productive ability vary as the instructional variables?

A little over³ decade ago Rowlands sounded what, to Yoruba language loyalists, was probably an alarm when he noticed some ominous tendencies of a shift to English among educated Yoruba people. He warned that "Unless some new element enters into the situation it seems inevitable that English will continue to spread and Yoruba to decline".¹¹ Earlier, Brosnahan had proposed a unilingual language policy by which English would supplant all the indigenous languages of Nigeria,

11. E.C. Rowlands (1963), op. cit., p. 213.

including Yoruba.¹² We also saw in the last chapter how, by their contemporary roles among the Yoruba in Nigeria, English is surreptitiously edging Yoruba out in the public sector of community life. The following questions concerning bilingual usage therefore become quite intriguing, especially when directed at the younger generation of bilinguals:

- (ix) How do bilinguals of this category perceive their two languages in terms of importance? That is, what is the aggregate of attitudes to the two languages among them? Does their comparative perception of the importance of the languages influence their motivation for aspiring to greater mastery in the languages?
- (x) How is usage among the category of bilinguals distributed between specified contexts? That is, what is the relative pressure on the languages in named contexts?

12. L.F. Brosnahan: 'Bilingualism and Society in Nigeria' Proceeding of the 3rd Annual Conference of the West African Institute of Social and Economic Research (held in 1956), NISER 1963, pp. 82-87.

- (xi) Does bilingual usage bear any relations to socio-economic and socio-cultural subcategories in the general category?
- (xii) Is there any relationship between bilingual usage and comprehension ability in the languages, and between usage and verbal productive ability?
- (xiii) Over all, what are the general tendencies relating to bilingual usage among this category of bilinguals? Specifically, are there any noticeable trends toward maintenance of or shift from either of their two languages?

2.3 Hypotheses

Before our field investigation we made the following hypotheses and designed our investigation instruments to test them. The groups of hypotheses correspond roughly to the groups of objective stated above in question forms:

- A - Hypotheses concerning bilingual comprehension ability.
- B - Hypotheses concerning bilingual productive ability.
- C - Hypotheses concerning bilingual usage.

A. Hypotheses concerning bilingual comprehension ability

- (i) In spite of the privileged position of English in the formal school system, the Yoruba comprehension ability of this category of bilinguals is greater than their English comprehension ability.
- (ii) Bilinguals who attend a school situated in a rural, largely Yoruba monolingual community understand Yoruba better than their counterparts in city schools; but they are relatively poorer in English.
- (iii) Bilinguals in schools with a tradition of commitment to oral English comprehend oral English better than their counterparts in schools without such a commitment to oral English but the former are poorer than the latter in Yoruba.
- (iv) Bilinguals whose parents are Yoruba monolinguals are superior in Yoruba comprehension to their counterparts whose parents are themselves bilingual; but they are poorer than the latter in English.

- (v) Bilinguals who come from socio-economically superior homes are poorer in Yoruba comprehension than their counterparts from humbler homes.

B. Hypotheses concerning bilingual productive ability

- (vi) Generally bilinguals in this category are more productive in Yoruba than English.
- (vii) The degree of verbal productivity in a language varies as the domain of language use.
- (viii) Bilinguals who attend a school situated in a rural, largely Yoruba monolingual community are more productive in Yoruba than their counterparts in city schools; but they are relatively less productive in English than the latter.
- (ix) Bilinguals in schools with a tradition of commitment to oral English are more productive in English than their counterparts in schools which are not so committed; but they are less productive in Yoruba.
- (x) Bilinguals from the socio-economically superior homes are less productive in Yoruba than their counterparts from humbler homes; but they are more productive in English.

(xi) There is no relation between sex and bilingual productive ability.

C. Hypothesis concerning bilingual proficiency and usage.

(xii) The degree of bilingual proficiency is proportional to bilingual usage.

3. Study centres and choice of YBE bilingual subjects

3.1 The unique position of Ibadan for the study

The bilingual subjects for this study were all chosen from secondary grammar schools in Ibadan city and rural areas. In many respects Ibadan area is a right choice for the study. The first is the cosmopolitan composition of the city. For about three decades it has been the capital, first, of the old Western Nigeria, then of the Western State, and now of Oyo State. Consequently it has always had large representations of all the Yoruba dialect groups. Although no statistics of this were taken among our sample subjects, it is likely that all the major dialects were represented among them.¹³ Moreover, Ibadan has good numbers of other

13. This point has been merely noted. As we said earlier (chapter 2) dialect variations will be ignored in this focus on two languages. Bilinguals of the chosen category, at their level of education, have mastered the standard dialect. Indeed, a good number of our sample may, in fact, be monodialectal, controlling only the standard dialect. Moreover, dialectal variations can hardly surface significantly in the kind of formal tests usually used in this kind of investigation.

peoples from Nigeria as well as foreigners. This mixed composition is considered to be important for its possible effect on the language behaviour of educated residents in the city including the category of bilinguals in our study.

There are also located in Ibadan most of the government and higher educational institutions, as well as many physical installations depicting modern western technology and culture. These include a university, a technical college, modern industrial plants, the radio and television communication and entertainment complex, traditional as well as modern shopping centres, entertainment halls, and so on. Together these constitute a great positive influence on bilingual learning and behaviour by providing inspiration for learning, or by directly and indirectly teaching the languages (as, for instance, on the radio and the television), or by promoting bilingual speech events.

The city also represents a broad spectrum of the socio-economic groups and the varying socio-cultural orientations we have among the Yoruba. The indigenous population is, until recently, made up largely of peasant farmers who have their plantations in the outlying rural districts. The majority of the population

are handicraftsmen and artisans. But modern political administration, education, industry and technology have brought in people of different skills, different cultural outlooks. The distinct residential estates, in and around the city, in some ways reflect the composition of these socio-economic and socio-cultural subgroups, but characteristics of the home backgrounds remain in their behaviour, including their language behaviour.

3.2 Secondary Grammar Schools in Ibaden area

By the end of the school year 1974, there were 247 secondary grammar schools in the Yoruba States of Ogun, Oyo and Ondo, with a total enrolment of 101,409 pupils. Of these 36 were in Ibaden city and 4 in Ibaden rural area. The enrolment in Ibaden city and rural area grammar schools was 17,869. The number, 40, represents 16.2% of all the secondary grammar schools in the three Yoruba States, and the enrolment of 17,869 represents 17.5% of total enrolment of grammar school pupils in the states.¹⁴ These proportions

14. See Western State of Nigeria. A Summary of Current Education Statistics. Ministry of Economic Planning and Reconstruction (Statistics Division) Ibaden 1974. Figures for 1975 school year were not yet available at the time of writing.

appear small but in both respects they represent the largest concentration of schools and pupils in any one area of Yorubaland. This makes its choice representative.

3.3 Selection of School Study centres.

A general survey of the secondary grammar schools in Ibadan was carried out for the purpose of selecting some of them as study centres. A questionnaire was designed and delivered to all the secondary grammar schools in the city, and posted to the district schools. Its main focus was the tradition, the pattern and the facilities for teaching and learning Yoruba and English in the schools. The purpose of its 30 items is outlined below:

Item(s)

- 1 - 3 Identification of the school.
- 4 & 5 Number of classes and pupils in school.
- 6 Teaching personnel facility - their nationality or ethnicity.
- 7 Languages taught and frequency of teaching them per week.
- 8 Number of pupils taking the WASC English language examination. (Since this is a compulsory subject the number also represents all Form V pupils in the school).

Item(s)

- 9 English language teaching personnel facility - their qualifications, experience and nationality.
- 10-12 School official attitude to Oral English, and its tradition.
- 13 Oral English teaching personnel facility - their qualification, experience and nationality.
- 14-15 Pattern and frequency of Oral English teaching.
- 16 Number of pupils offering Oral English in WASC examination.
- 17-19 School official attitude to Yoruba and its tradition.
- 20 Yoruba teaching personnel facility - their qualifications and experience.
- 21-22 Pattern of Yoruba teaching.
- 23 Number of pupils offering Yoruba in WASC examination.
- 24 Official attitude to language behaviour in the school.
- 25-30 Informal facilities for learning Yoruba and English in the school.

(See Appendix A for the detailed questionnaire)

The questionnaire was sent round in the first term of the school year, a period considered likely to be convenient for participation by schools but despite reminders and revisits only 10 heads of schools completed and returned the questionnaire. Of these only one was in the rural area. At the commencement of the exercises for measuring bilingual proficiency only 8 schools were willing to participate.

The 8 co-operating schools were put into three groups. The first criterion for grouping was location, along the urban/rural difference. It was notionally assumed that the patterns of bilingual proficiency and usage will be characteristically different in correspondence with the defining features of these locations. Thus, the only school located in the rural area constituted a group while the seven city schools constituted a group by this criterion.

The city schools were further divided into two groups on the criterion of their proprietorship. The proprietors of secondary education in Nigeria fall into four types, namely, the christian missions, the government, the local authority, and private individuals.

The christian missions pioneered secondary education in the country. For instance, the Anglican mission,

also known as the CMS, founded the CMS Grammar School in Lagos in 1859. The Wesleyan Mission founded the Methodist Boys' High School in 1878. The Nigerian Baptist Convention had founded the Baptist Academy in 1855, while the Roman Catholic Mission founded St. Gregory's College in 1928.

Next to invest their management and financial resources in secondary education were the governments. The colonial government founded the King's College in 1909 and others in the regions later. The Government College, Ibadan, was founded in 1929. The Local Authority as a statutory body did not exist until the Richard's Constitution created it in the early 1950s. This means that there were no local authority secondary schools in the Yoruba-speaking states of Ogun, Oyo and Ondo before then. In fact, the Lagelu Grammar School, one of our study centres, is one of the earliest local authority grammar schools in the state. It was founded in 1958. Secondary Grammar Schools founded by private individuals, for motives which are not all altruistic, are indeed a proliferating phenomenon of the 1960s with the exception of two - Ibadan Boys' High School, founded in 1938 and the Olu-Iwa College, Ijebu-Ode, founded in 1945. (The latter is now known as the Adeola Odutola College).

This outline of the length of involvement of these agencies shows that the christian missions and the government, separately and jointly, have accumulated longer experiences in curriculum planning and implementation, and in the management of their schools in terms of securing and retaining the most qualified teachers and providing the best facilities for learning. Owing to a combination of a number of inadequacies, especially inadequate financial resources, most of the schools run by other proprietors do not have most of the learning facilities available in the mission and government schools.

By some historical coincidence the majority of the Nigerian educated elite in leading positions today were educated in the long established mission and government schools. The success of their former pupils, and the facilities they have built up in some cases for a century, have resulted in a high reputation for these schools. This accumulated reputation initially puts the mission and government schools in a class above schools run by other proprietors. Consequently they are the preferred schools by primary school pupils and their parents. This means that in competition with other schools for admission of primary school leavers,

the mission and government schools have tended to secure the **cream**. Incidentally the ~~m~~ajority of this cream have usually nowadays come through the nursery and primary schools which, because of their expensive **elitist** orientations, were practically closed to children whose parents cannot pay the high fees charged. In effect the majority of the pupils in these more reputable mission and government schools are the children of the educated, culturally westernized middle class families.

By contrast a good number of pupils in schools run by the other kinds of proprietor come from more lowly preschool educational and socio-cultural backgrounds. We have hypothesized that such differences in background (in particular Hypotheses V and X) have effect on the bilingual proficiency and usage of the pupils. Partly on this basis (in conjunction with the criterion of school proprietorship) we have put our 7 city schools into two groups. In the first group there are 4 schools 3 of which are mission schools, and the fourth, a government school. The second group consists of 3 schools 2 of which are privately run while the third is a local authority school. Below is the list of the schools used as study centres put into the 3 groups described:

Group 1

- (i) Government College, Ibadan (Government)
- (ii) St. Teresa's College, Ibadan (Roman Catholic Mission)
- (iii) St Anne's School, Ibadan (Anglican Mission)
- (iv) Loyola College, Ibadan (Roman Catholic Mission)

Group 2

- (i) Lagelu Grammar School (Local Authority)
- (ii) Adekile Goodwill Grammar School (Private)
- (iii) Holy Trinity Grammar School (Private)

Group 3

- Iroko Community Grammar School, Ibadan (Ibadan District)

3.4 Selection of YbE bilingual subjects for study

As we pointed out earlier Ibadan has for long been cosmopolitan. The result is that there are now scores of non-Yoruba, including non-Nigerian elements who have settled either in Ibadan or some other parts of Yorubaland for over a generation. Some of these non-Yoruba elements speak Yoruba of varying qualities, ranging between a mere smattering to near native control. Some of their children who have had their primary and secondary education in Yorubaland now speak a variety that must be hard to distinguish from the native standard

variety. Yet for this study we would involve as subjects only native speakers of Yoruba. A native speaker is identified not merely on his own claim or even evidence of formal linguistic competence in the language. Our simple criterion of authenticity was ancestral evidence as most easily revealed in the family name. The Yoruba-speaking Nigerians with Anglo-Saxon surnames (the Joneses and the Leighs) here pose a problem of ascertaining their authenticity as Yoruba. Our solution was to seek further evidence in the bilingual subjects forenames which have now fashionably become largely indigenised. But in addition to the evidence obvious in names, both parents of the bilingual subject must speak Yoruba. We have therefore used items 1, 7 and 10 on our Language Background Questionnaire (LBQ - described in detail below) to obtain this information.

A total of 656 pupils completed our questionnaire. Eliminations were carried out on the criteria described above and we had a total of 402 YbE bilinguals of this category left for our study. This represents 61.3% of the Form V pupils who completed our questionnaire in these 8 schools, distributed as follows:

Government College (49 boys), St Teresa's College (41 girls), St. Anne's School (53 girls), Loyola College (45 boys), Lagelu Grammar School (73 boys), Adekile Goodwill Grammar School (36 boys, 19 girls), Holy Trinity Grammar School (23 boys, 12 girls), Iroko Community Grammar School (28 boys, 23 girls). This shows a total of 254 boys and 148 girls.

4. Instruments used for investigating bilingual proficiency and usage

4.1 The Language Background Questionnaire (LBQ)

Above, we referred to Haugen's considered opinion that the best approach to the study of bilingualism is by means of a bilingual's self-report. Hoffman had earlier demonstrated this approach with the LBQ which he devised for the study of bilingual usage. The instrument was based on the assumption that the use of two languages might involve functional differentiation. His questionnaire had on it 37 items. In some of the questions, the bilingual was required to report on his own choice habits and usage in speech, reading, writing and thinking. In others, he was to report on the choice and usage habits of his family. He scored his subjects' responses on a five-point frequency scale - never, sometimes, often,

mostly, always -- and found the LBQ statistically valid for his purpose.¹⁵ Macnamara found the LBQ good but not the best predictor of bilingual proficiency. He proposed a modification which included self-rating items as a measure of a bilingual's speaking, listening, writing and reading skills.¹⁶ In our present investigation we have combined and adapted Hoffman's and Macnamara's questionnaires. Appendix B shows the details of our questionnaire while its contents are outlined here:

Item(s)

- | | |
|-------|---|
| 1 - 5 | Identification of subject |
| 6 | Place of birth |
| 7 | Parents' language(s) |
| 8 | Parents' occupation(s) |
| 9 | Abode |
| 10 | Bilingual subject's languages and skills in them. |
| 11 | School official attitude to language use |

15. Moses N.H. Hoffman: The Measurement of Bilingual Background. Teacher's College, Columbia, Contribution of Education No. 623. New York (1934).

16. John Macnamara in L.G. Kelly (ed.), op. cit.

<u>Item(s)</u>	
12 - 14	Age when and place where the subject first learnt his languages.
15 & 16	Indication of offer of Yoruba and Orel English in WASC examination.
17 - 22	Self report on language use.
23 - 26	Indication of bilingual's attitude to Yoruba and English.
27	Self assessment of bilingual skills in his language.
28 & 29	Report on bilingual's patronage of Yoruba and English cultural circles.
30	Indication of frequency of bilingual usage in specified contexts.
i -xi	Bilingual's own usage at home.
xii-xvii	Bilingual's own usage at school.
xviii & xix	Bilingual's informal reading and entertainment habits.
xx - xxiv	Report on bilingual usage by others - parents, siblings, neighbours.

4.1-2. Administration of the LBQ

The LBQ was distributed to all Form V pupils in the study centres with a covering letter. It was hoped there were no ambiguous items in the questionnaire as

the investigator was anxious to avoid explanations which could influence responses. After two days the investigator called back to collect the completed questionnaire. 656 questionnaire forms were completed and returned. Out of these 402 YbE bilingual subjects were selected for study.

4.2 The Bilingual Proficiency Tests

We have referred to bilingual proficiency as an underlying ability to operate, i.e., receive and express discourse, in two languages, and that it is not directly ascertainable.

It has to be estimated from a sample of instances of operation in the languages. Mackey's scheme for its full scale analysis consists of bilingual tests of all the four language skills, namely, listening, reading, speaking and writing. The skills are to be tested at five linguistic levels as shown in the table above (Chapter 1, page 29). By this scheme our bilingual subjects would have to run through a battery of 40 tests. The administration of such a large number of tests, however, raises practical problems. Their administration in a fell swoop would have subjected the testees to a great deal of physical and mental strain which in the end must put some limitation on

the validity of the results obtained from them. The alternative is to spread the tests over a period, say a week. But the convenience of the testees has to be reckoned with. Our bilingual subjects in this study were final year students, deliberately chosen for the same reason. But even so early in the school year (first term), they were already getting so preoccupied with their certificate examinations that the pupils and teachers of the co-operating schools had to be persuaded to participate even in a much shorter test.

In the circumstance, Macnamara's suggestion of selecting only particular skills for analysis has been found more realistic and workable.¹⁷ With respect to the receptive aspect of bilingual proficiency, i.e., the power of comprehension, we have preferred the oral mode to the written. This is because bilinguals of this category were less practised or less formally rehearsed on the listening comprehension mode. It was considered that performance in this mode in a formal test would more truly represent the individual's unaided, spontaneous ability to understand this mode of communication. Secondly, for most people the greater proportion of daily transaction uses the oral

17. John Macnamara (1969) in L.G. Kelly (ed.), op. cit.

mode, showing that a greater demand is made on an ability to readily understand and be understood in this mode. The level of understanding revealed by this category of bilinguals in listening comprehension tests might therefore indicate to curriculum planners the amount of emphasis needed in the teaching of this skill.

4.2-1 Measurement of bilingual comprehension ability:

Oral Comprehension Texts

Three oral comprehension tests were administered, two in English and one in Yoruba. The two English tests were similar with respect to the content of the discourse. In the first, two native speakers of English, husband and wife, got together to discuss 'Audience reactions in the theatre'. The discussion was done in a free and relaxed style over tea. It lasted about ten minutes, and was recorded. (For the text see Appendix Ci) Ten questions were drawn up to test our bilingual subjects' ability to understand this style of discussion by native speakers of English on a subject which was considered suitable with respect to the degree of mastery of English assumed for this category of YbE bilinguals. (See Appendix Cii).

In the second English comprehension test, three well-educated YbE bilinguals got together to discuss the same subject, 'Audience reactions in the theatre'. The three discussants have had considerable training in English. Indeed they were teachers in an English medium university. Their discussion also lasted about ten minutes, and was done also in a free, informal and relaxed style which sometimes featured hilarious laughter. It was recorded. (See Appendix Di) Ten comprehension questions were drawn up to test our subjects' ability to follow and interpret this kind of discussion done in English but by speakers whose cultural and linguistic background is almost identical with their own, the only difference being that the discussants were older people who had had training in English at the university level. (See Appendix Dii)

The third test was a Yoruba comprehension exercise. Two native speakers of Yoruba were got to discuss the topic 'Njé èkó kò nba ilé ayé jé báyi í? The speakers were YbE bilinguals, but they were considered good speakers of unadulterated Yoruba. One of them had studied Yoruba in the university and is now training teachers of Yoruba in the university, while the other had been in charge of Yoruba programmes on the radio.

before he entered a university to do a degree in the arts. Their discussion lasted about twelve minutes, and was recorded. (For the text see Appendix Ei). Ten comprehension questions were drawn up to test our subjects' ability to follow and interpret this level of discussion done in Yoruba. (See Appendix Eii).¹⁸

Administration of tests

The administration of the bilingual oral comprehension tests formed part of a series of tests of bilingual performance which altogether lasted about two and a quarter hours. The first oral comprehension text (native speaker English) was played twice to the testees.¹⁹ The recorded multiple choice questions, (already printed on paper), were then played to them.

-
18. All the recorded texts were played back to some other YbE bilinguals engaged in language studies for their opinion on the comparability of the content of the discussions and their suitability for use in tests of comprehension for the category of bilinguals involved in this study. The consultants considered them suitable although no other validation was done.
19. The second and third tests were recorded in a sound-proof studio and were technically faultless. The first test was recorded in the home of the discussants. The recording featured some 'noise'. It was therefore played twice to compensate for the little distortion noted.

At this stage the testees indicated their responses on paper as directed. The responses were scored and the scores recorded. The texts of the second and third tests were however played once each, followed by the comprehension questions. The testees' responses were scored and the scores recorded. It was hoped that performance in these tests was adequate test for some of the hypotheses we set: (Hypotheses I-V).

Scoring: Each test was scored out of ten, and the scores recorded.

4.22 Measurement of bilingual production ability.

Verbal Fluency tests

The receptive aspect of bilingual proficiency is complemented by the productive. Our general objective is to ascertain our bilinguals' productive ability in their two languages. To do this meaningfully we have to set for our subjects some speech evocation and elicitation situation since language behaviour by normal people is always purposeful and contextualised. Fishman's domain, as a simplified version of Wittgenstein's situationstheorie and ^{of} Firth's context of situation,²⁰

20. See J.R. Firth: 'Personality and Language in Society' in his Papers in Linguistics 1934-1951. Oxford University Press, 1957.

is considered quite adequate for doing this. In Fishman's sense (which is adopted in the present study), a domain is a 'sphere of activity' or an 'occasion on which one language (variant, dialect, style, etc.) is habitually employed rather than (or in addition to) another.' Some everyday examples are the family, the neighbourhood, government administration, the school, etc.²¹ Thus, conceptually and as adopted in this study, the term is hyponymous for such others as varieties, registers, and style in the usage of Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens.²²

But verbal behaviour is known to vary across domains due to the variables in the situation. One of a bilingual's languages, intrinsically, may be more capable of explicating topics in certain subject areas or domains better than his other language. Or certain

21. See J.B. Pride: 'Sociolinguistics', pp. 287-301 in John Lyons (ed.): New Horizons in Linguistics Penguin Books (1970).

22. M.A.K. Halliday, Angus McIntosh and Peter Strevens: The Linguistic Sciences and Language Teaching. Longmans (1964), pp. 87-94.

domains may be more responsive to explication in one language than in the other. But what obtains more often is that bilinguals tend to restrict each of their languages to the treatment of subjects in certain domains, usually the contexts in which the languages were learnt initially. In this way a language becomes specialised in its particular domain and the bilingual tends to be more fluent in that language when he uses it in that domain. Therefore in order to obtain a close approximation of this aspect of a bilingual's general proficiency more than one domain should be constructed.

For this study six domains were set in which bilinguals of our chosen category may, to different extents, interact, participate, or at least be familiar with. They were the home, the neighbourhood, religion, occupation, education, and health. In each domain we named a specific topic, respectively, the kitchen, the market, religion, farming, school, and the hospital.²³

23. This list of domains follows the one used by Fishman's team in a similar study already referred to (see Chapter 1).

- (i) We have added a sixth, health. Yoruba and English vocabularies appropriate in this domain are quite large. Their control is, however, a function of a number of sociocultural and education level variables, and the measurement of bilingual fluency in the domain may be diagnostic.
- (ii) No particular topic was set for the domain of religion as our bilingual subjects belonged to different religions and faiths.
- (iii) In the study by Fishman's team the factory was specified for the domain of occupation. We have preferred farming as Nigeria is still more of an agricultural than an industrial society.

The Word Naming Game

The verbal facility or verbal fluency test was called the Word Naming Game. In the test the topics listed above for the domains were specified in that order. In one minute the testees were requested to write down as many appropriate words as occur to them which can be used in a general discussion focused on the topic set in the domain. There were no restrictions about the grammatical classes of the items recorded but they must be appropriate to the topic.

The tests and the preliminary rubric were conducted, first in English, after a few examples had been worked together. The stimulus topic was named and testees wrote the appropriate English words which occurred to them. In the second series the preliminary rubric and examples were conducted in Yoruba. The same six topics representing the same domains as for the English test were given but the order of presentation was reversed. The testees wrote their responses in Yoruba. As a safeguard against merely translating their list of English words into Yoruba, the two fluency tests were not administered in succession; each came between two of the comprehension tests earlier

described. The lists were also quickly collected from the testees after a test.²⁴

Scoring

A simple scoring method was used. Each word a testee gave was considered for appropriateness in relation to the topic set. Any word considered inappropriate, i.e., as most unlikely to occur in a general discussion in that domain, was rejected. The words considered appropriate for each topic were counted and recorded as gross scores.

Next, a difference score was calculated for each testee for each domain. This was done by subtracting the gross in the English word list from his gross score in the Yoruba word list. The results of the tests and responses to the LBQ are reported in the next chapter.

24. Robert L. Cooper (1969) op. cit., and John Macnamara (1969) op. cit. have each testified to the reliability of Word Naming and a similar richness of vocabulary test as measures of bilingual verbal fluency. A less elaborate version of it had earlier been used with similar success by Lambert in his study of the developmental aspects of second-language acquisition. See Wallace E. Lambert "Developmental Aspects of Second-Language Acquisition". The Journal of Social Psychology, 43 (1956) Parts I - III, pp. 83-104

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSES OF RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS:

I BILINGUAL COMPREHENSION

In this chapter we present relevant information collated from responses to our IQ, and also the results of our measures of bilingual proficiency. The latter are then related to the hypotheses we set out in the last chapter to confirm or reject some of the hypotheses. Some of the information relating to the language background of the bilinguals is used to explain the characteristics of the output of the bilingual tests. This comes either as premise for an analysis, or after the analysis as retrospective explanation.

1. Characteristics of bilingual comprehension ability

We have already described and statistically illustrated the preeminence of English in some sections of the public life of the Yoruba people. (Chapter 2) In anticipation of this bigger role of English in the future adult life of the pupils, and because teaching and learning a second language have rightly been considered to require quite a great attention, the school system apportioned considerable time to English on the secondary school time-table. In all classes

while Yoruba gets three teaching periods each of forty minutes duration, English gets between five and ten periods.

1.1 General comparison of Yoruba and English comprehension ability.

Three comprehension tests were administered with results as follows:

TABLE 4
COMPREHENSION OF NATIVE - SPEAKER ENGLISH BY
BILINGUALS IN THE EIGHT SCHOOLS

Level of Schl Compr.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total	%
1. 1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.0
2. 1-2	-	-	-	-	2	3	2	-	7	1.7
3. 3-4	1	5	6	3	17	19	16	14	81	20.2
4. 5-6	<u>24</u>	<u>23</u>	19	<u>25</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>198</u>	<u>49.3</u>
5. 7-8	23	12	24	15	15	9	1	9	108	26.8
6. 9-10	1	1	4	2	-	-	-	-	8	2.0
Total	49	41	53	45	73	55	35	51	402	100.0

TABLE 5
COMPREHENSION OF YBE ENGLISH BY BILINGUALS
IN THE EIGHT SCHOOLS

Levels of Compr.	Schl									Total	%
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8			
1. 1 Score	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. 1 - 2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3. 3 - 4	2	5	3	3	6	12	5	6	42	10.5	
4. 5 - 6	17	16	17	<u>21</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>21</u>	22	<u>175</u>	<u>43.5</u>	
5. 7 - 8	<u>25</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>27</u>	19	30	12	9	<u>22</u>	164	40.8	
6. 9 - 10	5	-	6	2	5	2	-	1	21	5.2	
Total	49	41	53	45	73	55	35	51	402	100.0	

TABLE 6

COMPREHENSION OF YORUBA BY BILINGUALS
IN THE EIGHT SCHOOLS

	Levels of Compr.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total	%
1.	1 Score	1	4	-	-	-	-	1	-	6	1.5
2.	1 - 2	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	0.5
3.	3 - 4	3	-	1	1	2	-	-	-	7	1.7
4.	5 - 6	17	11	15	15	9	6	3	5	81	20.1
5.	7 - 8	<u>21</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>241</u>	<u>60.0</u>
6.	9 - 10	6	3	6	5	12	8	8	17	65	16.2
	Total	49	41	53	45	73	55	35	51	402	100.0

NB: In the tables above the eight columns represent our eight school study centres numbered as follow:
1 = GCI, 2 = STC, 3 = SAS, 4 = IC, 5 = LGS,
6 = AGGS, 7 = HTGS, 8 = ICGS.

The tables above reveal certain characteristics of the relative ability of our chosen category of bilinguals in the kind of oral comprehension tests administered in their two languages. We notice that the range of scores in the comprehension of oral discourse in English is between levels 2 and 6 (in the case of oral discourse by native speakers, cf. Table 4) and between levels 3 and 6 (in the case of discourse by YbE bilinguals - Table 5). The range of comprehension of discourse in Yoruba on the other hand is between a poorer level 1 and level 6. (cf. Table 6). This tends to suggest that this category of bilinguals have a greater ability in the comprehension of oral English than Yoruba. However, the characteristic modes of comprehension in the English and Yoruba tests (as marked out) quickly suggest a different conclusion. We notice for instance that:

- (a) the mode of comprehension of oral discourse done in native - speaker English generally lies at level 4. This accounts for the ability of 49.3% of all our subjects in the comprehension of this variety of English. 28.8% of them exhibited ability above that level while 21.9% have fared worse. The exception to this general mode is our No. 3

School, (St Anne's School) in which the mode of comprehension lies at level 5.

- (b) the mode of comprehension of oral discourse in YbE English generally lies also at level 4. 43.5% of our subjects showed ability at this level. But while 10.5% of them have performed poorer than this mode, 46.0% demonstrated a greater ability than the mode in the comprehension of this variety of English. This shows that this variety of English appears more intelligible to this category of bilinguals. We notice also that bilinguals in four schools (1, 2, 5, 8) significantly rose above the general mode to the higher level 5.
- (c) the mode of comprehension of discourse in Yoruba lies at level 5.

This is not only superior to the general mode of English comprehension ability, it also accounts for a larger majority (60.0%) than the mode of comprehension of either variety of English. A further 16.2% showed ability at the still more superior level 6, while 23.8% performed below the mode level 5. Of these we notice that 20.1% showed ability at level 4 which is the general mode of English comprehension ability

among our bilingual subjects. This means in effect that only 3.7% showed Yoruba comprehension ability below the fair level 4.

Also, average bilingual comprehension ability was calculated for all our subjects with results as follows:

- (a) Average comprehension of discourse in native - speaker English: 5.7, with a Standard Deviation of 1.5
- (b) Average comprehension of discourse in YbE English: 6.3, with a Standard Deviation of 1.4
- (c) Average comprehension of Yoruba discourse: 7.3, with a Standard Deviation of 1.6

The mean comprehension of Yoruba is thus seen to be larger than the mean in each of the tests of comprehension of oral English discourse. Its slightly larger standard deviation is accounted for by the lower base of its range of scores.

Our first hypothesis was that in spite of the privileged position of English in the formal school system, the Yoruba comprehension ability of this category of bilinguals is greater than their English comprehension ability. This has now been confirmed by the analyses done above of the results of the tests of comprehension of oral discourse in the two languages.

4.2 Relative comprehension ability and city or rural location of school

From Tables 4, 5 and 6 we derive the following summary table showing comprehension performance by bilinguals in the city and rural area grammar schools.

TABLE 7

COMPREHENSION OF ENGLISH AND YORUBA BY BILINGUALS
IN CITY AND RURAL AREA GRAMMAR SCHOOLS

Levels of Compr.	Native-speaker English				Yb E English				Yoruba			
	City		Rural		City		Rural		City		Rural	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. 1 Score	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	1.7	—	—
2. 1- 2	7	2.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	0.6	—	—
3. 3-4	67	19.1	14	27.5	36	10.3	6	11.8	7	2.0	—	—
4. 5- 6	170	48.4	28	54.9	153	43.6	22	43.1	76	21.7	5	9.8
5. 7- 8	99	28.2	9	17.6	142	40.5	22	43.1	212	60.4	29	56.9
6. 9-10	8	2.3	—	—	20	5.6	1	2.0	48	13.6	17	33.3
Total	351	100.0	51	100.0	351	100.0	51	100.0	351	100.0	51	100.0

Our second hypothesis was that bilinguals who attend a school situated in a rural, largely Yoruba monolingual community understand Yoruba better than their counterparts in city schools; but they are relatively poorer in English. A quick glance at the table will show this hypothesis to have been largely confirmed. Yoruba comprehension by bilinguals in the rural area school is in every respect better than that of the bilinguals in city schools.

- (i) The range, with its base at level 4, is superior to that of the city school bilinguals whose range of comprehension spreads from the base level 1.
- (ii) The mode of comprehension for bilinguals in both the city and rural area schools lies at level 5 which is considered a level of good comprehension. 60.4% of bilinguals in city schools as against 56.9% of those in the rural area school showed ability at this level; but whereas only 13.6% of the city school bilinguals performed at the level 6 of 'very good' comprehension, 33.3% of those in the rural area showed this superior comprehension ability. Thus a total of 90.2% of bilinguals in the rural area school as against

74.0% of their city school counterparts showed this high level of Yoruba comprehension ability.

- (iii) The calculated Yoruba mean comprehension by bilinguals in the rural area school is 8.02 while that of their counterparts in the city schools is 7.06.

The levels of comprehension of oral discourse in English are somewhat complex and do not appear to significantly support the second part of the hypothesis. The table above shows that the mode of comprehension of the two varieties of English lies at level 4 for bilinguals in the city schools. This is also the mode of comprehension of the native - speaker variety of English by bilinguals in the rural area school; their comprehension of the YbE variety of English however shows two modes. We shall consider performance in the two varieties in turn.

In the comprehension of the native variety of English there is a wider and apparently poorer range among bilinguals in the city schools, levels 2 to 6, as against the relatively more monolithic range by bilinguals in the rural areas school, levels 3 to 5. But the comprehension achievement of the bilinguals in the city schools has a qualitative edge over that

of their counterparts in the rural area school. We notice for instance that 21.1% of the former as against the larger 27.5% of the latter showed ability below the fair level, 4. But while only 17.6% of the rural area school bilinguals showed ability above the fair level, a larger 30.5% of the city school bilinguals performed above the fair level, some of them attaining the 'very good' level of performance.

Levels of comprehension of the YbE variety of English follows the not so distinguishing pattern of performance in the native variety. We notice that the mode lies at level 4 for the bilinguals in the city schools. 43.6% of them showed ability at this level of 'fair' comprehension, 10.3% performed below it, while 46.1% showed ability at the higher levels 5 and 6.

Comprehension of this variety by bilinguals in the rural area school shows two modes lying at levels 4 and 5. We take them in turn as reference mode, relate the mode to performance below and above it, and also compare the features with the corresponding levels of comprehension of this variety by bilinguals in the city schools

Taking the mode level 4 first, we see that 11.8% of the rural school bilinguals as against 10.3% of their city school counterparts showed ability below the fair level and that 45.1% of them as against 46.1% of the city school bilinguals achieved the higher levels of comprehension. Their other mode, level 5, is difficult to relate and compare with the achievement of their city school counterparts as it is a higher mode. We see that 54.9% of them perform below this mode while only 2.0% showed ability above it. We therefore devise an alternative analysis to get a balanced picture of relative comprehension ability in this variety of English. We find what proportion of the two locationally defined groups of bilinguals show ability at the levels 4, 5 and 6 - together. For the city school bilinguals this is 89.7% while it is 88.2% for their counterparts in the rural area school. The difference is only 1.5% in favour of the former.

Mean comprehension of the two varieties of English was also calculated for the two groups. It yielded the same little difference. Mean comprehension of the native variety by bilinguals in city schools was 5.61, while their comprehension of the YbE variety was 6.26.

For bilinguals in the rural area school the mean comprehension was 5.31 and 6.23 respectively.

The analyses above show that the second part of the hypothesis predicting a poorer comprehension ability in English for bilinguals in the rural area school has not been significantly supported. The nearly equal bilingual comprehension ability should however not be too surprising in view of the similarity of most of the instructional facilities now available to both the city and rural area schools. The first point to note in the case of our rural school study centre is the greater intensity of English teaching, 10 periods per week as against the average of 6 periods in the city schools. This arrangement might possibly be peculiar but in the light of our school selection procedure (described in chapter 2) its random coincidence is statistically significant.

There is also now in use in the rural area schools electronic language teaching machines, portable, and easily operated with cell batteries. Thus the 'English by radio' broadcasts, formerly received by only the city schools, are now available to schools in the rural areas.

Another important factor is the relative increase in the number of qualified English language teachers being turned out by the universities. Some of these graduate teachers are already filtering into the rural area schools. But experience shows that teachers in the rural areas are generally conscious of the disadvantaged location of their pupils. They therefore tend to work, drilling their pupils harder than their counterparts in the city. The increasing availability of these enthusiastic qualified teachers is therefore a positive factor of the generally rising standard of ability on the part of pupils in the rural area schools.

Finally, the rural areas are now being rapidly opened to the media of mass communication and their indirect but powerful language learning influences. The radio has been shown as no longer a peculiarity of the city. Newspapers are now found on the reading desks in the libraries of the rural area schools. The pupils themselves are more mobile, and are no longer confined to their rural homesteads. All these are factors helping to level up language comprehension ability between the pupils in the city and rural area grammar schools. Indeed, a similar ex post investigation

of the reading ability (another language skill) of city and rural area grammar schools earlier carried out by Balogun had results similar to ours. He had hypothesized that Forms I and V pupils in city schools were superior in reading comprehension ability to their rural area counterparts. The hypothesis was confirmed with respect to the ability of Form I pupils but no significant differences were found in the ability of Form V pupils in the two locations.¹

1.3 Bilingual Comprehension and Commitment to English

Items 10 - 12 and 14 - 15 on the preliminary questionnaire administered to select schools as study centres focused on school official attitude to Oral English. This is to be ascertained in the form and tradition of commitment to the subject as may in turn be seen in the pattern and frequency of its teaching. Responses by heads of schools revealed three types of attitude.

Type 1. Oral English is compulsory and must be offered in the WASC examination by all Form V pupils.

1. I.O.B. Balogun: The Intellectual and Residential Correlates of Reading Achievement in Nigerian Secondary Schools. Ph.D. Thesis. School of Education, New York University. (1972).

It is either specially taught or integrated with the English language lesson, using the Ogundipe and Tregido textbook series. Four schools, STC, SAS, IC and AGGS adopt this attitude. At the AGGS it is assigned one period a week in Forms I to IV, and two periods in Form V.

Type 2. Oral English is not compulsory but the school encourages all Form V pupils to take it seriously and offer it in the WASC examination. Its teaching is integrated with the English language lesson. This is the attitude adopted by GCI and IGS.

Type 3. No conscious commitment whatsoever. It is not taught by any arrangement and has never been offered in the WASC examination by candidates in the school. The table below summarises the bilingual comprehension ability of pupils in schools taking the three different attitude positions. (See Table 8).

TABLE 8

YORUBA AND ENGLISH COMPREHENSION ABILITY ACCORDING TO SCHOOL OFFICIAL ATTITUDE TO ORAL ENGLISH

	Type 1						Type 2						Type 3					
	Native		YBE		Yoruba		Native		YBE		Yoruba		Native		YBE		Yoruba	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Level 1. 1 Score	—	0.0	—	0.0	4	2.1	—	0.0	—	0.0	1	0.8	—	0.0	—	0.0	1	1.1
Level 2. 1- 2	3	1.5	—	0.0	1	0.5	2	1.6	—	0.0	1	0.8	2	2.3	—	0.0	—	0.0
Level 3. 3- 4	33	17.0	23	11.9	2	1.0	18	14.8	8	6.6	5	4.1	30	34.9	11	12.8	—	0.0
Level 4. 5- 6	91	46.9	83	42.8	47	24.2	63	51.6	49	40.2	26	21.3	44	51.2	43	50.0	8	9.3
Level 5. 7- 8	60	31.0	78	40.2	118	60.8	38	31.2	55	45.1	71	53.2	10	11.6	31	36.1	52	60.5
Level 6. 9+10	7	3.6	10	5.1	22	11.4	1	0.8	10	8.1	18	14.8	—	0.0	1	1.1	25	29.1
Total	194	100.0	194	100.0	194	100.0	122	100.0	122	100.0	122	100.0	86	100.0	86	100.0	86	100.0

TABLE 9

Percentage summary of Yoruba and English comprehension ability of bilinguals in three positions of school official attitude to Oral English

	Type 1			Type 2			Type 3		
	Native English	YbE	Yoruba	Native English	YbE	Yoruba	Native English	YbE	Yoruba
Below Mode	18.5	11.9	27.8	16.4	6.6	27.0	37.2	12.8	10.4
Mode	46.9	42.8	60.8	51.6	40.2/ 45.1	58.2	51.2	50.0	60.5
Above Mode	34.6	45.3	11.4	32.0	8.1	14.8	11.6	37.2	29.1

Table 8 spreads the levels of comprehension ability in Yoruba and English by bilingual subjects in positions corresponding to the three types of school official attitudes to Oral English (OE henceforth). Table 9 summarises the significant modal features of Table 8 as percentages. The tables show that:

- (i) In schools which adopt and actively implement the positive attitude to OE (Type 1) the mode of comprehension of the native variety of English

lies at level 4 (see Table 8), but, while 18.5% of them performed below this 'fair' level, 34.6% showed comprehension at the higher 'good' and 'very good' levels 5 and 6.

- (ii) In this same variety the mode of comprehension by bilinguals in schools adopting Type 2 attitude also lies at level 4. Again, while only 16.4% of them performed below the fair level, 32.0% demonstrated ability at the higher levels.
- (iii) The mode in this variety of English by bilinguals adopting the ~~slight~~ negative Type 3 attitude to OE also lies at level 4, but we notice that while a large 37.2% of them performed below the fair level, only 11.6% showed the 'good' level 5 comprehension ability, and none attained the 'very good' level.
- (iv) The modes of comprehension of the YbE variety of English show the same pattern of superiority by bilinguals in schools which adopt the positive Types 1 and 2 attitude. That 37.2% of bilinguals in schools adopting the Type 3 attitude performed at the higher levels 5 and 6 should not be taken as superior to the performance of bilinguals in schools adopting the Type 2 attitude. We notice

for instance that the mode of comprehension by bilinguals in schools adopting Type 2 attitude lies at the higher level 5, and that as large as 40.2% of them still showed ability at the general level 4.

- (v) However, bilinguals in schools adopting Types 1 and 2 attitude are generally weaker in Yoruba comprehension. The mode for bilinguals in all the three attitude positions is level 5 but while 27.8% and 27.0% respectively of bilinguals in Types 1 and 2 positions did not reach the level of good comprehension, only 10.4% of those in Type 3 position performed below it. On the other hand while only 11.4% and 14.8% respectively, of the former showed ability at the 'very good' level of comprehension, a larger 29.1% of the latter demonstrated this greater ability.

Our third hypothesis was that bilinguals in schools with a tradition of commitment to OE (Types 1 and 2 attitude positions) comprehend oral English better than their counterparts in schools without such a commitment to OE (Type 3 attitude position), but the former are poorer than the latter in Yoruba.

The tables above and our analyses have confirmed the hypothesis.

1.4 Bilingual comprehension ability in relation to the language repertoire status of parents

A child's first encounter with language is with his first interlocutor, namely, his parents and siblings, but particularly his parents.² The degree of his proficiency in his first language may thus reflect, at least partly, the patterns and quality of usage of his first language experiences. Hence most students of language development in children place a great importance on the language repertoire of the parents. i.e., on the stock of language(s) which a child's parents control, including the facility to manoeuvre stylistically in the language(s). For many a Nigerian parent, the language repertoire range stretches from first language (L1) monolingualism through bilingualism in the L1 and another Nigerian language, or in the L1 and English to plurilingualism involving the L1 and other languages, one of which may be English. One or both parents of a

2. Cases of professional foster mothers and nannies are almost unknown in Nigeria.

child will belong to any of these repertoire categories as a monolingual, a bilingual, or a plurilingual.

In Item 7 of our LBQ were specified eight language repertoire categories against which the subjects checked their parents. For ease of analysis these were collapsed into five categories as follows:

1. Yoruba monolingual mother and father
2. English monolingual mother
3. YbE bilingual mother and father
4. Yoruba, English and another language
5. Others - Yoruba, Hausa, Igbo, etc., but no English.

Where both parents are Yoruba monolinguals (category 1) our fourth hypothesis states that their child(ren) will be superior in Yoruba comprehension (since this is the only language of the home) to the children whose parents are themselves bilingual or plurilingual in English and some other language(s), and who consequently either consciously or unconsciously use some English in the home in addressing each other or their children. Their superiority will be greater still over the children of parents who do not use Yoruba at all in the home as a result of a mixed marriage involving a non-Yoruba mother (i.e. Category 2).

Our bilingual subjects indicated the language repertoire of their two parents but for our analysis we have decided to measure their proficiency against their mothers' repertoire. This is not arbitrary but is in consideration of the greater language interaction between a mother and her child, particularly in the first years of language acquisition. It is probably on account of this same consideration that a child's L1 is also called his mother tongue³ in contrast to his father tongue.⁴ The tables below show the bilingual comprehension achievement of our subjects according to the five categories of their mothers' language repertoire.

3. See Paul Christophersen: Second - Language Learning Myth and Reality. Penguin Education (1973), pp. 34-40.

TABLE 10a

MOTHER'S LANGUAGE REPERTOIRE X YORUBA COMPREHENSION

Levels of Comprehension	1	2	3	4	5	Total
1. 0 Score	0	1	5	0	0	6
2. 1 - 2	0	0	2	0	0	2
3. 3 - 4	0	1	4	2	0	7
4. 5 - 6	21	0	53	6	1	81
5. 7 - 8	103	0	115	18	5	241
6. 9 - 10	37	0	26	2	0	65
Total	161	2	205	28	6	402

TABLE 10b

COLUMN PERCENTAGE FROM THE MATRIX IN TABLE 10a

Levels of Comprehension	1	2	3	4	5	χ^2
1. 0 Score	0.0	50.0	2.4	0.0	0.0	
2. 1 - 2	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	91.44 at the
3. 3 - 4	0.0	50.0	2.0	7.1	0.0	5% level
4. 5 - 6	13.0	0.0	25.8	21.4	16.7	where only
5. 7 - 8	64.0	0.0	56.1	64.3	83.3	31.41 was
6. 9 - 10	23.0	0.0	12.7	7.1	0.0	required.
Total	100.0	100.0	99.9	99.9	100.0	

TABLE 12a

Mother's Language Repertoire X Comprehension of
Native - Speaker English

Levels of Comprehension	1	2	3	4	5	Total
1. 0 Score	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. 1 - 2	4	0	0	3	0	7
3. 3 - 4	34	0	20	3	2	55
4. 5 - 6	85	0	71	8	1	166
5. 7 - 8	36	0	90	13	1	141
6. 9 - 10	2	2	24	1	2	33
Total	161	2	205	28	6	402

TABLE 12b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 12a

Levels of Comprehension	1	2	3	4	5	χ^2
1. 0 Score	-	-	-	-	-	
2. 1 - 2	2.5	0.0	0.0	10.7	0.0	92.52 at
3. 3 - 4	21.1	0.0	9.8	10.7	33.3	the 5%
4. 5 - 6	52.8	0.0	34.6	28.6	16.7	level
5. 7 - 8	22.4	0.0	43.9	46.4	16.7	where
6. 9 - 10	1.2	100.0	11.7	3.6	33.3	only 26.30
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	was required.

The mode of Yoruba comprehension for all the mother's language repertoire categories lies at level 5 with the exception of only two pupils whose mothers were English monolinguals (Category 2) and whose poor performance in a Yoruba comprehension exercise is therefore not surprising. All these are clearly shown in Tables 10a, 10b. However, as stated in our hypothesis the bilingual subjects in the first repertoire category, i.e., pupils whose mothers were Yoruba monolinguals were a shade superior to the subjects in the other repertoire categories, especially to those in the second and third categories. For instance 87.0% of the bilingual subjects in the first category showed ability at levels 5 and 6 of 'good' and 'very good' comprehension and only 13.0% of them performed below the mode - at level 4. By contrast only 68.8% of the subjects in the third repertoire category, i.e., those whose mothers were themselves bilingual in Yoruba and English showed ability at levels 5 and 6, and quite a large percentage of them, 31.2, were below the mode, and some very far below. The number of subjects in the fourth and fifth repertoire categories is rather small. Even then we notice that although their Yoruba comprehension ability is generally better than the ability

of the subjects in the third category, yet none of them attained the general quality of Yoruba comprehension ability of the subjects in the first category. This pattern of achievement has thus largely supported the main part of our fourth hypothesis. Since all our subjects were native speakers of Yoruba the variable, namely, mother's Yoruba monolingualism, which gave the subjects in the first category that edge over their counterparts, must be regarded as a powerful predictor of a great Yoruba comprehension ability. Indeed, a χ^2 test on this pattern of comprehension showed it to be highly significant: 91.44 was obtained at the 5% level of significance where only 31.41 was required.

The second part to the hypothesis has also been confirmed, namely, that bilinguals whose parents are Yoruba monolinguals have a poorer ability in English than their counterparts whose parents speak English. This is clearly shown by the performances of the groups of bilinguals we set up on the bases of their mothers' language repertoire. Two tests of comprehension of the YbE and the native-speaker varieties were used to measure. In both tests (see Tables 11 and 12) the mode of comprehension for the bilingual subjects in the first category (i.e. those whose mothers were Yoruba

monolinguals) was lower (level 4) than the mode for the subjects in categories 2, 3, and 4 (level 5). The mothers of the subjects in these three categories all speak English. In addition to the higher mode level, we notice that a larger majority of the subjects in each of these three categories (as against a smaller majority of those in the first category) showed ability at and above the level 4 of fair comprehension in the two tests. In the test of comprehension of the YbE variety of English while 86.3% of the bilinguals in the first category showed ability at levels 4, 5, and 6, 100.0%, 90.2% and 100.0% of those in categories 2, 3, and 4 respectively showed ability at the same levels. In the test of comprehension of the native-speaker variety only 76.4% of the bilingual subjects in the first category showed ability at levels 4, 5 and 6 whereas 100.0%, 92.2% and 78.6% of those in categories 2, 3 and 4 did at the same levels.

The bilingual subjects in category 5 are those whose mothers do not speak English. In this respect they are similar to those in Category 1. But their comprehension of the YbE variety of English is better, in general, than the comprehension of the same variety by the subjects in category 1. On the other hand

their comprehension of the native speaker variety of English is slightly poorer than the general ability of the subjects in Category 1.

χ^2 analyses of the characteristics of English comprehension by bilinguals in the five categories described show that the characteristics are significant. In respect of the YbE variety of English (Table 11b) the output was 25.78 at the 5% level of significance where only 21.03 was required. In respect of the native-speaker variety (Table 12b), the output was 92.52 at the 5% level of significance where only 26.30 was required. Thus, by the entire confirmation of our fourth hypothesis the variable specified in it, namely, the language repertoire status of the parents, has been shown to be a reliable predictor of the bilingual comprehension ability of bilinguals learning and operating in their two languages in circumstances similar to those which obtained among the subjects in the study.

1.5 Bilingual Comprehension Ability in relation to
the socio-economic status

An issue has been made (Hypothesis V) of some relationship between the socio-economic status of the home and the bilingual comprehension ability of the children raised in the particular home. Certain variables of the home situation are basic to this hypothesis as they have become perceptibly operative in the Nigerian situation. They are complex, and some of them cannot be objectively measured. They include the degree of formal school education of the parents, the degree of their western orientation, and the level of income accruing to the family. The relationship between these variables appears to be mutually predispositional. For instance the first two can be seen to relate to each other almost directly, and while the third may be independent, in some cases it can be seen as pre-causal and central in the tripartite socio-economic matrix.

We have hinted at their deterministic role with respect to the proficiency in English and Yoruba of children raised under their varying conditions, namely, that in the home of highly educated, high income families the children have opportunities for hearing

and speaking English more frequently than the children from the more lowly homes. The furniture of their homes include the radio, television and other educative gadgets the use of which indirectly facilitates English language proficiency. Such facilities are denied to their counterparts from the humbler homes. But our immediate concern is to ascertain the effect of these variables in the bilingual comprehension ability of the subjects in this study.

The notion of socioeconomic status is rather complex and nebulous as indicated above. Its definition in relation to a particular people has to be based on some criterion, plausible but possibly arbitrary. In the present case we have placed greater premium on patriarchal dominance and particularly on the role of the father as the main provider for the family. We therefore decided to fix the socioeconomic status of a bilingual subject by the occupation of the father.⁵ This was ascertained by Item 8 on the LBQ

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5. In their study of the effect of home background upon achievement in English Birnie and Hewitt also used the father's occupational group to determine the family's socioeconomic status. See J.R. Birnie and E.A. Hewitt: 'Home Background - Its Effect Upon Achievement in English, Educational Review, Vol. 20, No. 2, February, 1968. Supplement entitled The Place of Language, pp. 156-163.

completed by our subjects. Eleven types of job were named. It was hoped that our subjects' parents engaged in these particular jobs or those similar to them in terms of social prestige and income. The responses were then put into five occupational groups (OG) on the rough basis of the type of education and/or training which qualifies the holder for such a job, and on an estimate of the father's income per annum basing this where possible on the present statutory levels of wages and salaries as fixed by the Udoji salaries and Wages Review Commission.

OG1: Comprises the peasant farmer, the petty trader and the artisan. They have very little or no formal education, and have an average income of between ₦300.00 and ₦500.00 per annum.

OG2: In this group are the non-graduate teacher, clerical and executive officers in the Public Service and commercial establishments, the medium scale businessman, and so on. The range of their formal education includes secondary grammar school, teacher training, technical and other equivalent specialist training which qualifies the trainee for intermediate positions in their establishments. Their income ranges between ₦500.00 and ₦3,500.00.

OG3: In this group are highly trained and educated people - the graduate teacher, doctor, university lecturer or professor, senior civil servant, company executive at the rank of manager, senior police and army officer, magistrate and judge, and so on. They are mostly university trained men or have received equivalent training on their job. Their income ranges between ₦3,500 and ₦10,000 or more per annum.

OG4: In this group are the more successful businessmen, usually called the tycoon. They have formal education of varying degrees and have an income well over ₦10,000 per annum.

OG5: This is a mixed and categorially problematic group. It comprises partly personnel who have retired at different income levels from paid positions in the civil and commercial services; and other self-employed people.

Their levels of education vary; so do their incomes. The regular income of a pensioned officer is fractionally relative to his income at retirement. Categorizing such a retired officer therefore becomes problematic when his child puts him down ordinarily

as a pensioner without indicating his profession and his status in that profession before his retirement. In addition, retired officers who are still energetic are commonly known to supplement their pensions by some other gainful employment. In this investigation such particulars as might have facilitated definite categorization were not supplied. We therefore assumed that, being pensioners, the incomes of the parents in OG5 would, at least, be bigger than what we put down for OG1, and range from those in OG2 through OG4.

We have included in the same group and for the same reason of the uncertainty about their income levels the fathers whose self-employment is un-named by their children who were the subjects in our investigation. Thus, this group is not as nearly homogeneous as the other occupational groups. Therefore, to the extent that the socioeconomic status of parents may determine the degree of the comprehension ability of their children we may expect the performance of the pupils in OG5 to be different from the performance of those in OG1 but resemble the range of performances in OG2, OG3 and OG4. We now show, in the tables below, first, the Yoruba comprehension performance of our subjects in the different OGs.

TABLE 13a

Father's OG X Comprehension of Yoruba

Levels of Comprehension	1	2	3	4	5	Total
1. 0 Score	0	0	5	0	1	6
2. 1 - 2	0	1	1	0	0	2
3. 3 - 4	1	1	5	0	0	7
4. 5 - 6	14	5	39	11	12	81
5. 7 - 8	90	18	60	14	59	241
6. 9 - 10	27	2	12	10	14	65
Total	132	27	122	35	86	402

TABLE 13b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 13a

Levels of Comprehension	1	2	3	4	5
1.	0.0	0.0	4.1	0.0	1.2
2.	0.0	3.7	0.8	0.0	0.0
3.	0.8	3.7	4.1	0.0	0.0
4.	10.6	18.5	32.0	31.4	14.0
5.	68.2	66.7	49.2	40.0	68.6
6.	20.5	7.4	9.8	28.6	16.3

$\chi^2 = 57.83$ at the 5% level when only 31.41 was required.

TABLE 13c

Row Percentage from the matrix in Table 13a

Levels of Comprehension	1	2	3	4	5
1.	0.0	0.0	83.3	0.0	16.7
2.	0.0	50.0	50.0	0.0	0.0
3.	14.3	14.3	71.4	0.0	0.0
4.	17.3	6.2	48.1	13.6	14.8
5.	37.3	7.5	24.9	5.8	24.5
6.	41.5	3.1	18.5	15.4	21.5

Table 13a shows how many bilingual subjects whose parents belong to each OG have shown Yoruba comprehension ability at each level. Tables 13b and 13c are each to be matched group for group with Table 13a. Thus, Table 13b shows what percentage of all the subjects in each OG have shown comprehension ability at each level, while Table 13c shows the percentage showing ability at a certain level has come from each OG. Our fifth hypothesis states that bilinguals who come from the socioeconomically superior homes (taking OG3 as the extreme) are poorer in Yoruba comprehension than their counterparts from humbler homes (OG1 as the extreme).

We notice that the mode of comprehension for all the groups lies at level 5, but Table 13a and 13b show that while a larger percentage of subjects in OG1 have shown ability at the higher levels (88.7 at levels 5 and 6), a smaller percentage (59.0) of those in OG3 have shown ability at the same levels. On the other hand, a smaller percentage of subjects in OG1 (11.4) as against a larger percentage (41.0) of those in OG3 have shown lower Yoruba comprehension ability.

Table 13c in another dimension displays the same superiority of the Yoruba comprehension ability of subjects in OG1 over those in OG3. At every one of the lower levels of comprehension the majority have come from subjects in OG3 whereas at the higher levels 5 and 6 of good and very good comprehension the majority have come from OG1. The Yoruba comprehension ability of bilinguals in OG2, 4, and 5, in different dimensions, shows similarity to either the pattern of OG1 or OG3. For instance more bilingual subjects in OG2, in proportion to their total number, have shown comprehension ability at the lower levels (Table 13b) although at the higher levels, too, their general performance is comparable to those in OG1. This

observation is also true in different degrees of OG4 and 5. The characteristics of Yoruba comprehension ability of bilinguals at the extremes of our scale of socioeconomic status have therefore confirmed our hypothesis. A test of the significance of these patterns of Yoruba comprehension ability of bilingual groups defined as above, by χ^2 analysis, shows high significance, 57.83 at the 5% level of significance when only 31.41 was required.

By contrast we would expect bilinguals in the different OGs to differ relatively significantly in their English comprehension ability. Tables 14a, 14b and 14c below display the performances by the groups in the test of comprehension of the YbE variety of English.

TABLE 14a

Father's OG X Comprehension of YbE English

Levels of Comprehension	1	2	3	4	5	Total
1. 0 Score	0	0	0	0	0	0
2. 1 - 2	0	0	0	0	0	0
3. 3 - 4	16	2	9	3	12	42
4. 5 - 6	59	14	40	16	46	175
5. 7 - 8	51	9	63	15	26	164
6. 9 - 10	6	2	10	1	2	21
Total	132	27	122	35	86	402

TABLE 14b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 14a

Levels of Comprehension	1	2	3	4	5
1. 0 Score	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
2. 1 - 2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
3. 3 - 4	12.1	7.4	7.4	8.6	14.0
4. 5 - 6	44.6	51.9	32.8	45.7	53.5
5. 7 - 8	38.6	33.3	51.6	42.8	30.2
6. 9 - 10	4.5	7.4	8.2	2.9	2.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2 = 19.41$ at the 5% level where 21.03 was required.

TABLE 14c

Row Percentage from the matrix in Table 14a

Levels of Comprehension	1	2	3	4	5	Total
1. 0 Score	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
2. 1 - 2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
3. 3 - 4	38.1	4.8	21.4	7.1	28.6	100.0
4. 5 - 6	33.7	8.0	22.9	9.1	26.3	100.0
5. 7 - 8	31.1	5.5	38.4	9.1	15.9	100.0
6. 9 - 10	28.6	9.5	47.6	4.8	9.5	100.0

Table 14a shows how many bilingual subjects whose parents belong to each OG have shown comprehension ability in this variety of English at each level. Tables 14b and 14c are each to be matched with corresponding groups and levels in Table 14a. Table 14b shows what percentage of the subjects in each group has shown comprehension ability at each level while Table 14c shows the percentage of all subjects showing ability at a certain level that has come from each OG.

Tables 14a and 14b show that while the mode of comprehension for bilinguals in other OGs lies at level 4, for those in OG3 it lies at the higher level 5. Indeed, at every level of comprehension the bilinguals in OG 3 show contrasting superiority over those in OG1. For instance, Table 14c shows that relative to their total number, a smaller number of the bilinguals in OG3, as against a proportionally larger number in OG1 showed ability at the lower levels of comprehension. By contrast, a proportionally larger number of bilinguals in OG3 as against a proportionally smaller number of those in OG1 showed ability at the higher levels. Again, the performance by bilinguals in OG2, 4, and 5 shares some of the patterns of OG1 and OG3. They have the lower mode (level 4) of OG1 while, like OG3, OG2 and OG4 have proportionally fewer bilinguals showing ability at the still lower level 3, and correspondingly a larger proportion showing ability at the higher levels. We notice also that the mode of comprehension for those in OG5 is the highest at level 4 although proportionately a larger number of them showed the poorer ability of level 3.

This numerical analysis has so far supported the corollary to our fifth hypothesis but only tenuously as a χ^2 test does not show the patterns to be significant. At the 5% level, 19.41 was obtained where 21.03 was expected. This suggests two interpretations: a null to the corollary, namely, that contrary to our impression there is no relation between a bilingual's socioeconomic status (taken as a unit variable) and his English comprehension ability. But it might be the case that our test of the comprehension of the YbE variety of English was not sufficiently discriminating. Further testing is therefore required.

This is done, first, by modifying the socioeconomic variable. Specifically we add to it a kin institutional variable based on the point made earlier about certain schools having an initial advantage, through a cumulative tradition of good facilities and past successes, of selecting the cream from the primary schools. These are the mission and government schools. But as we suggested also the majority of this cream tends nowadays to have come through the mostly English medium nursery/primary schools found in the urban areas, and to which the children of the socioeconomically relatively more comfortable families are sent.

However, in addition to the positive home advantage for a more successful English language learning which these children have (in some cases at the expense of Yoruba), their more prestigious mission and government schools have traditionally retained some of the best qualified teachers, and have good teaching facilities. Our new variable is thus a compound of the socioeconomic status and the indirectly related formal institutional variables. As we grouped them in Chapter 2, our Type 1 schools consist of three mission schools, namely, St. Teresa's College, St. Anne's School, Loyola College, and the government school, the Government College. Type 2 consists of the local authority school, Lagelu Grammar School, and two privately run schools,⁶ namely, Adekile Goodwill Grammar School, and the Holy Trinity Grammar School. Type 3 shares some of the characteristics of the local authority and the privately run schools but is unique for being established in a rural community the

6. This was the position with the administration of such schools until their recent 'take over' by the state government. This new arrangement cannot possibly change the public image of such schools immediately.

environment of which could accentuate the particular characteristics of its socioeconomic variable. This is the Iroko Community Grammar School. The hypothesis as amended now states that bilingual subjects in Type 1 schools, coming mostly from the socioeconomically superior homes, are poorer in Yoruba comprehension but better in English comprehension than their counterparts from the humbler homes. Next, we test the role of the new compound variable in the comprehension ability of pupils who have come under their different influences, using our tests of the two varieties of English and the Yoruba comprehension test. The three sets of tables below spread the levels of comprehension in the tests we administered.

TABLE 15a
Type of School X Comprehension of Yoruba

Levels of Comprehension	1	2	3	Total
1. 0 Score	5	1	0	6
2. 1 - 2	2	0	0	2
3. 3 - 4	5	2	0	7
4. 5 - 6	58	18	5	81
5. 7 - 8	98	114	29	241
6. 9 - 10	20	28	17	65
Total	188	163	51	402

TABLE 15b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 15a

Levels of Comprehension	1	2	3	χ^2
1. 0 Score	2.7	0.6	0.0	45.41 at the 5% level of significance where 18.31 was required.
2. 1 - 2	1.1	0.0	0.0	
3. 3 - 4	2.7	1.2	0.0	
4. 5 - 6	30.8	11.0	9.8	
5. 7 - 8	52.1	70.0	56.9	
6. 9 - 10	10.6	17.2	33.3	

TABLE 15c

Row Percentage from the matrix in Table 15a

Levels of Comprehension	1	2	3
1. 0	83.3	16.7	0.0
2.	100.0	0.0	0.0
3.	71.4	28.6	0.0
4.	71.6	22.2	6.2
5.	40.7	47.3	12.0
6.	30.8	43.1	26.2

TABLE 16a

Type of School X Comprehension of YbE English

Levels of Comprehension		1	2	3	Total
1.	0 Score	-	-	-	-
2.	1 - 2	-	-	-	-
3.	3 - 4	13	23	6	42
4.	5 - 6	71	82	22	175
5.	7 - 8	91	51	22	164
6.	9 - 10	13	7	1	21
Total		188	163	51	402

TABLE 16b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 16a

Levels of Comprehension		1	2	3	χ^2
1.	0 Score	-	-	-	16.27 at the 5% level of significance where 12.59 was required.
2.	1 - 2	-	-	-	
3.	3 - 4	6.9	14.1	11.8	
4.	5 - 6	37.8	50.3	43.1	
5.	7 - 8	48.4	31.3	43.1	
6.	9 - 10	6.9	4.3	2.0	

TABLE 16c

Row Percentage from the matrix in Table 16a

Levels of Comprehension	1	2	3	Total
1.	-	-	-	-
2.	-	-	-	-
3.	31.0	54.8	14.3	100.0
4.	40.6	46.9	12.6	100.0
5.	55.5	31.1	13.4	100.0
6.	61.9	33.3	4.8	100.0

TABLE 17a

Type of School X Comprehension of native-speaker English

Levels of Comprehension	1	2	3	Total
1. 0 Score	-	-	-	-
2. 1 - 2	0	7	0	7
3. 3 - 4	15	52	14	81
4. 5 - 6	91	79	28	198
5. 7 - 8	74	25	9	108
6. 9 - 10	8	0	0	8
Total	188	163	51	402

TABLE 17b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 17a

Levels of Comprehension	1	2	3	χ^2
1. 0 Score	-	-	-	66.70 at the 5% level of significance where 15.51 was required.
2. 1 - 2	0.0	4.3	0.0	
3. 3 - 4	7.9	31.9	27.5	
4. 5 - 6	48.4	48.5	54.9	
5. 7 - 8	39.4	15.3	17.6	
6. 9 - 10	4.3	0.0	0.0	
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	

TABLE 17c

Row Percentage from the matrix in Table 17a

Levels of Comprehension	1	2	3	Total
1.	-	-	-	-
2.	-	100.0	-	100.0
3.	18.5	64.2	17.3	100.0
4.	46.0	39.9	14.1	100.0
5.	68.5	23.1	8.3	100.0
6.	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0

The sets of Tables 15, 16, and 17 very clearly display the relative comprehension ability of bilinguals in the three types of school as defined by the joint criterion of socioeconomic status and the formal institutional variable. A simultaneous glance at Tables 15a and 15b shows that although the mode of Yoruba comprehension for subjects in the three types of school lies at level 5, the pupils in Type 1 school showed a Yoruba comprehension ability relatively poorer than that of their counterparts in Types 2 and 3 schools. In comparison to the pupils in Type 2 and 3 schools more pupils in Type 1, in proportion to their total number, showed ability below the mode while fewer of them showed ability at the higher levels. The converse also holds, namely, fewer of those in Types 2 and 3, in proportion to their total numbers, showed ability below the mode while more of them did at the higher levels. But of the bilinguals in Types 2 and 3 schools, those in Type 3 have qualitatively performed better than those in Type 2. For example 90.2% of the former as against 87.2% of the latter showed ability at levels 5 and 6.

Table 15c uses an alternative dimension to repeat the same features, namely, that the majority of the under-achievers in Yoruba (levels 1 - 4) have predictably come from the bilingual subjects in Type 1 schools. Their larger number, 188, as compared to 163 and 51 for the other groups, should not distort our analysis and does not invalidate this interpretation. A comparison of achievement at levels 5 and 6 for Types 1 and 2 schools reveals the weakness of the bilinguals in Type 1 school. We notice that the majority of the good achievers at these levels are in Type 2 schools although their total number, 163, is less than the number of the bilinguals in Type 1 schools - 188. This pattern of Yoruba comprehension is highly significant as shown by a χ^2 test: 45.41 was obtained at the 5% level where only 18.31 was required.

The sets of Tables 16 and 17 have now confirmed the corollary to our fifth hypothesis beyond doubt. We notice that the English comprehension ability of the bilingual subjects in Type 1 schools is superior to the ability of those in Types 2 and 3 schools. Their mode of comprehension of the YbE variety of English is higher (level 5), as against the level 4 mode of the other two groups. Furthermore, only 6.9%

of the bilinguals in Type 1 schools showed ability below the fair level 4 as against 14.1% and 11.8% respectively of those in Types 2 and 3. The features of Table 16c contrast with those of Table 15c in favour of bilinguals in Type 1 schools. However, we also notice in Table 16b the relative similarity in the ability of bilinguals in Types 2 and 3 in this variety of English. A χ^2 analysis shows the features pointed out to be significant at the 5% level. 16.27 was obtained where only 12.59 was required.

The subsets of Table 17 show almost identical features as those in Table 16 except that the mode of comprehension of this variety of English is the same for all the three types of school. But those in Type 1 schools showed their superior ability by the greater proportion of their number (43.7%) who have demonstrated greater ability in the comprehension of this native variety of English as against a smaller proportion of the bilinguals in Types 2 and 3 respectively - 15.3% and 17.6%. Conversely, fewer of the bilinguals in Type 1 schools performed below the mode, 7.9% as against the larger proportions of their counterparts in Types 2 and 3 with 36.2% and 27.5% respectively. Again, this pattern of performance in the comprehension

of the native variety of English has proved to be highly significant. At the 5% level, 66.70 was obtained when only 15.51 was required. Thus our analyses of the matrices of Tables 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17 have largely upheld our fifth hypothesis. But the features revealed in Tables 15, 16 and 17 as compared to those of Tables 13 and 14 show that the socioeconomic status, on its own as a unit variable in the way we have cast it, is not a powerful independent predictor of the English comprehension ability among our category of bilinguals.

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CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS OF RESULTS AND DISCUSSION:

II BILINGUAL PRODUCTIVITY

In this chapter we examine fluency abilities among our subjects as tests of the hypotheses we have set up to ascertain this other aspect of their bilingual proficiency. Their bilingual productive abilities have been measured by comparing their verbal fluency in the two languages, in most cases in six domains, sometimes in fewer domains of institutional and societal interactions, namely, the home, the neighbourhood, religion, occupation, education and health. The administration of the test used, Word Naming, has been described in Chapter Three.

Two kinds of score in the test can be calculated, namely, a gross and difference score. The gross score is the actual number of word items recorded by the subject in each language for each domain. The difference score is obtained by subtracting the score in the English test (the subject's second language) from the score in the Yoruba test (his first language). Thus, if a bilingual subject records 28 Yoruba and 23 English items, his difference score in that domain is 5.

The two kinds of score may be used to estimate the degree and trend of bilingualism among chosen subjects. Fishman and others used the difference scores in the fluency tests administered to their Puerto Rican Spanish-English bilinguals of the Greater New York area,¹ but the gross scores have been used in the calculations for the analyses presented in this chapter. They were considered better for showing the degree of a bilingual's fluency in each of his languages or the aggregate of fluency in each language for a group of bilinguals who have been considered as relatively homogeneous in terms of a specified variable. Gross scores also facilitate comparison between individual bilinguals or groups of bilinguals by bringing out the differences in fluency which may be suppressed by the difference scores. For example, we consider the hypothetical case of two YbE bilingual subjects. One records 28 Yoruba and 23 English items for a domain, while the other records 15 Yoruba and 10 English items. The difference for the two is the same, 5, but the gross scores show the first subject to be far more fluent than the second in the two

1. See their Bilingualism in the Barrio, op. cit.

languages. They should therefore be differently placed on our scale of bilingual productivity. In the sections which follow we consider these gross fluency scores as test of the hypotheses we have set up.

5.1 Hypothesis VI

Our sixth hypothesis states that generally bilinguals in this category are more productive in Yoruba than English. This hypothesis complements the first in our investigation of YpE bilingual proficiency. The basis of the two is identical: that the ascendancy of English in the secondary school system and in most areas of political administration and commerce notwithstanding, bilinguals in this category are more proficient in Yoruba than English. This is a result of the ascendancy of Yoruba in the wider socio-cultural milieu which they live in for a greater part of their life during this period than they do in the formal school system. That wider society is largely linguistically homogeneous and operates in Yoruba for purposes outside the official. The smaller school system operates in English. Our first hypothesis relating to the comprehension aspect of their proficiency was confirmed. We now proceed to verify its

complements, using the mean fluency scores obtained in the tests of bilingual production in six domains.

TABLE 18

Mean English and Yoruba fluency scores and Standard Deviation in six Domains

D O M A I N

	Home	Neigh- bour- hood	Religion	Occupation	Educa- tion	Health
Mean English score	12.6	12.0	9.7	11.0	13.8	10.8
Mean Yoruba score	10.9	10.9	8.2	10.1	8.1	8.0
Difference in mean score	1.7	1.1	1.5	0.9	5.7	2.8
Standard Deviation - English	3.6	3.6	3.4	3.6	3.9	3.3
Standard Deviation - Yoruba	4.0	3.8	3.1	3.3	2.5	2.6

This table shows our subjects' fluency in English to be higher than their Yoruba fluency in all the six domains. The least difference between their English and Yoruba fluency is seen in the domain of occupation (0.9) while the greatest is obtained in the domain of education

(5.7) - truly reflecting the more intensive use of English in that domain than in any other. The differences in English and Yoruba fluency in the other domains are however, small. Nonetheless they have the value of denying our hypothesis of higher Yoruba fluency among this category of bilinguals.

But apart from the understandable case of English in education, the higher English fluency in the other domains does not appear sufficiently overwhelming to reverse the status of the two languages for an alternative hypothesis. Instead the pattern appears to be one of nearly balanced (not co-ordinate) bilingualism. This inference seems reasonable and quite realistic, being the logical outcome of a situation where one of the languages, English, is actively encouraged while the other, Yoruba, because it is the people's mother tongue, is assumed to be already ascendant and left much to its own. This ensures the edge to English found here, but as already observed, it is a tenuous edge. Therefore any conclusion on a higher productive ability in one of the languages among this category of YbE bilinguals in terms of the present hypothesis or even for a balance (such as we have suggested in respect of our sample) should await further

investigation based perhaps on elicitation of units of language which are more expressive than the word.

5.2 Bilingual fluency in relation to perceived language role specialization

To a great extent the use of Yoruba and English in the Yoruba-speaking area of Nigeria exemplifies what Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens described as institutionalised bilingualism.² This is the restriction of each of the languages in a bilingual setting to particular domains by the users, as for example, the use of English in legal proceedings but, even among the highly educated Yoruba, of Yoruba in child naming (not westernised christening) ceremony. However, such code restriction may not generally be as discrete as in the examples just given. For instance, in none of the six domains which we set up for the measurement of bilingual fluency are Yoruba and English mutually exclusive. Rather, both are used in all the domains but with varying frequency and intensity. Our seventh hypothesis is formulated on the assumption that degrees of code restriction to, or role specialization of

2. Halliday, et. al (1964), p. 80.

languages in domains have a direct effect on a bilingual's fluency in his languages in particular, or in comparable domains: the greater the use of a language in a domain the more fluent in that language the user becomes. Therefore, our seventh hypothesis states that for a bilingual the degree of verbal productivity in a language varies as the domain of language use. We now proceed to verify the hypothesis by the fluency of our subjects in six domains.

Our analysis of the data in Table 18 was concerned with interlingual fluency differences in the domains. The table below, extracted from Table 18, shows only the mean Yoruba and English fluency scores in the six domains and is read across for intralingual fluency differences across the domains.

TABLE 19

Mean Yoruba and English fluency in six domains of language use

	Home	Neighbourhood	Religion	Occupation	Education	Health
Yoruba	10.9	10.9	8.2	10.1	8.1	8.0
English	12.6	12.0	9.7	11.0	13.8	10.8

This table shows that the differences are not quite wide across the domains for both languages. This is perhaps not surprising for fluency measurement done in a one-minute test. Only the commonest vocabulary items can possibly be remembered and recorded in such a short time. As seen in the table, lower Yoruba fluency is recorded in three domains, namely, religion (8.2), education (8.1), and health (8.0), while fluency is slightly higher in the domains home (10.9), neighbourhood (10.9) and occupation (10.1). On the other hand, English fluency does not follow the same lower and higher fluency domains observed for Yoruba. It is higher in the domains of education (13.8), home (12.6), and neighbourhood (12.0), and slightly lower in the domains of occupation (11.0), health (10.8) and religion (9.7).

But the focus of this hypothesis is the configuration of fluency in each language across the domains. The remarkable feature of this in respect of Yoruba is the uniformity at both the lower and the higher levels of fluency. On the basis that usage in a domain directly affects fluency in a language, this pattern suggests that the pressure on the language in the home, neighbourhood, and occupation domains is about

equal as it is also in the domains of religion, education and health.

The uncertain aspect of the pattern, for the present hypothesis, is the extent to which the degree of institutionalization is responsible for fluency. For instance, as we earlier pointed out, English gets a legislated preeminence in the domain of secondary school education to the exclusion of Yoruba. The latter is officially permitted only during the Yoruba lesson period, and in some cases English is even used during such periods to explicate some aspects in the formal system of Yoruba language, as well as difficult issues relating to Yoruba systems of belief, philosophy and sociology which come within the prescribed syllabus. Yet, Yoruba fluency in this domain compares with that in two other domains where it is not legislated against. But we also notice that the two domains (religion and health) have not generated a particularly high degree of fluency, even in English. One probable reason for this is that they do not seem to be among the domains which naturally excite informal discussion among most people in the category of our subjects, in the same degree as do domains such as games (e.g. football), entertainment (e.g. music, the movies), and so on.

A number of other language and non-language factors may also be responsible for weakening Yoruba in these domains. For instance, occasions for contemplating issues in the domain of religion are perhaps limited to formal worship and religious studies as an academic subject. The language of formal worship in most secondary schools is English; elsewhere, it is either English or Yoruba depending on the linguistic composition of the community of worshippers. In the "established" churches (Anglican, Methodist, Roman Catholic), the register of worship in Yoruba is most of the time rigid, archaic textbook usage which is hardly rememberable or employable outside the context of worship. For religious studies, as for other subjects on the secondary school curriculum (except Yoruba), the language of instruction and discussion is, of course, English. This shows that bilinguals in this category probably hear and speak more English and less Yoruba in the domain of religion; hence their low Yoruba fluency in the domain.

Likewise, the advancement of general education, and particularly of modern medical science, has almost pushed out Yoruba descriptive vocabulary appropriate in the domain of health from the active vocabulary of

bilinguals in this category. Through scientific investigation the nature of many illnesses is better known and given new terminology in English or in some other Indo-European languages. Thus, for most bilinguals in this category, the euro-medical names for ailments such as fever, dysentery, sore, wound, and so on, come more readily to mind than the Yoruba words for them, respectively, *ibà*, *ìgbé-òrìn*, *oju*, *ogbè*, and so on. This advancement in the medical science has, in addition, led to the preference of modern medical therapy in place of the traditional methods. The total result is the impoverishment of active Yoruba vocabulary in this domain, especially among the younger generation. These facts explain the comparability of the mean Yoruba fluency in the domain of education, and in the domains of religion and health. In the former (education), the language gets at least one officially allowed occasion which is generally observed, and in most cases enforced. Its use is unrestricted in the latter (religion and health), but they are domains which are hardly open to voluntary discussions in Yoruba.

Mean Yoruba fluency is exactly the same in the home and neighbourhood domains (10.9), and comparable, although slightly lower in the domain of occupation (10.1).

This is taken to indicate equal pressure on the language in these domains, which is perhaps to be expected. It is the only language in the Yoruba monolingual homes and some amount of it is spoken also in the YbE bilingual homes. It is, of course, the language of the neighbourhood for most practical purposes. Since homes are not linguistic islands but instead make up the community or neighbourhood, language choice and usage in the wider neighbourhood have direct influence on choice and usage even in homes where, by orientation, Yoruba will have had less frequency. The result is the balance in Yoruba fluency in the two domains to indicate comparable employment of the language in them.

The specific topic named in the domain of occupation is farming (*iṣé àgbẹ̀*). It is the main occupation for about 80% of the Yoruba working population most of **who** are monolinguals. Our category of bilinguals is not an agricultural one but agricultural science is taught in some schools in the Yoruba-speaking states (though not in any of our sample schools). All the same, since the products of the occupation have practical bearing on their daily life, some acquaintance with, if not direct involvement and

knowledge of technical operations in the domain, and some of its operative vocabulary (in Yoruba and English), is to be expected on the part of our subjects. This is shown by this fairly high degree of Yoruba fluency in the domain.

Fluency in English, as compared to Yoruba, has been noted to be generally higher. It is highest in the domain of education where, as we have pointed out, its use is enforced. In many schools vigilance is kept by teachers for the observance of the language rule, and known lapses are punished in different forms - imposition writing, deprivation of leisure, fines, and in some other forms. In some other schools, hounding for the breakers of the rule is less rigorous. But there is no secondary school in which the rule is not made and announced repeatedly if only to the new pupils.³ This greater use of English in education is thus correspondingly reflected by the higher fluency in it than in the other domains.

3. In one secondary school in Ibadan, the Christ Apostolic Church Grammar School, the injunctions 'Think in English', 'speak in English', are nailed or pasted on all available places as constant reminders of the rule.

As with Yoruba, English fluency is about equal in the home and neighbourhood domains, and as noted, higher than Yoruba fluency. These two aspects of the scores, viz, comparability and higher fluency, are notable. As we stated earlier, language operation in homes varies between Yoruba monolingualism and YbE bilingualism. That is, whereas some amount of Yoruba is spoken in all homes, there are homes in which no English is spoken at all except on such uncertain and irregular occasions as when an educated friend visits a bilingual in our category and they find it necessary or appropriate to discuss in English; The mean fluency score we have for this domain (12.6) has, of course, suppressed differences which may be due to this kind of home Yoruba monolingualism and a substantial frequency of English in YbE bilingualism in some other homes. But since the inference suggested concerning Yoruba in all homes but no English in some is generally true, this high English fluency in the home domain may then not be due to the home, qua home domain, but to the general ascendancy of the language as earlier argued in our discussion of the sixth hypothesis. This same suggestion is offered as explanation for the comparably high mean English fluency in the

neighbourhood domain where it should not have been so high in view of the lower frequency of English in that domain.

Of the three remaining domains, English fluency is higher in occupation and health than in religion. In the former two, technical and specialised vocabulary is easily acquired by the category of bilinguals we focus on, in the course of studying the biological and physical sciences even when the pupils are not practically involved in the professional activities carried on in the domains. As we have suggested, not being a farming group, and the domain of health being rather learned and its language specialised, this kind of formal though indirect learning is probably responsible for the fluency shown in the domains, and it appears quite high.

The limited appeal of the domain of religion for generating voluntary discussion among people in the category of our subjects has been remarked; hence the paucity of their active English vocabulary in the domain. In fact most of the words recorded for the domain in the fluency test come from the routinised church liturgies, or from formal religious studies.

The fluency variations seen across the domains and our ~~account~~ for them have therefore confirmed this seventh hypothesis.

5.3 Bilingual fluency in relation to the urban/rural location of schools

Differences in social and business activities such as can be observed between urban and rural communities have been the basis for our next hypothesis since they cannot but have influence in some areas of the cultural life of the schools located in the communities. Among such areas of cultural life is language use. For instance, a greater degree of monolingualism has been found noticeable in rural communities in Nigeria, while a greater degree of bilingual usage, featuring more English, is found in the urban centres. This being so,⁴ and to the extent that educational

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4. Mobolaji A. Adekunle describes degrees of monolingualism and bilingualism in the lives of rural and urban communities in Nigeria. See his 'Multilingualism and Language function in Nigeria'. African Studies Review XV, 2 (1972), pp. 185-207. Ayo Bamigboye makes the same observation more assuredly: "Since opportunities for using English are much greater in the big towns, many adults who have never been taught English tend to pick up some form of spoken English. Those who already know English are able to improve their performance. The net result is that the standard of competence in written and spoken English is much higher in urban areas". See his 'The English Language in Nigeria' in John Spencer (ed.), 1971, op. cit., pp. 47-48. See also C.M.B. Brann, 'Language Influences on Pre-adolescent Nigerian Children: A Typology'. International Journal of the Sociology of Language. 4, (1975), pp. 7-31.

institutions can be presumed to share in the cultural life of their respective localities, our eighth hypothesis predicts that bilinguals who attend a school situated in a rural, largely Yoruba monolingual community are more productive in Yoruba than their counterparts in city schools; but they are relatively less productive in English than the latter. That is, our bilingual subjects in the Iroko rural community School are more productive in Yoruba than their Ibadan city counterparts, but less productive in English than the latter. The present hypothesis complements the second which has been seen confirmed (above, Chapter IV, Section 4.2). For the present analysis, bilingual fluency for the two groups has been measured in six domains and the results presented in the tables below. (In the tables, fluency scores are grouped into four or five ranges and numbered accordingly).

TABLE 20a

Urban-Rural Yoruba fluency in the home domain

Level of fluency	Urban	Rural	Total
1. 0 word	15	0	15
2. 1- 4 words	122	5	127
3. 5- 9 "	<u>155</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>188</u>
4. 10-14 "	53	13	66
5. Over 15 words	6	0	6
	351	51	402

TABLE 20b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 20a

Level of fluency	Urban	Rural	χ^2
1. 0 word	4.3	0.0	
2. 1 - 4 words	34.8	9.8	18.78 at 5%
3. 5 - 9 "	<u>44.2</u>	<u>64.7</u>	where 9.49 was
4. 10 - 14 "	15.1	25.5	expected.
5. Over 15 "	1.7	0.0	

TABLE 21a

Urban-Rural English fluency in the home domain

Level of fluency	Urban	Rural	Total
1. 0 0 word	4	0	4
2. 1 - 4 words	67	8	75
3. 5 - 9 "	178	29	207
4. 10 - 14 "	87	13	100
5. Over 15 "	15	1	16
	351	51	402

TABLE 21b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 21a

Level of fluency	Urban	Rural	χ^2
1. 0 word	1.1	0.0	1.79 at 5% where 9.49 was expected.
2. 1 - 4 words	19.1	15.7	
3. 5 - 9 "	50.7	56.9	
4. 10 - 14 "	24.8	25.5	
5. Over 15 "	4.3	2.0	

TABLE 22a

Urban-Rural Yoruba fluency in the neighbourhood

Level of fluency	Urban	Rural	Total
1. 0 word	13	0	13
2. 1 - 4 words	104	11	115
3. 5 - 9 "	179	34	213
4. 10 - 14 "	46	6	52
5. Over 15 "	9	0	9
	351	51	402

TABLE 22b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 22a

Level of fluency	Urban	Rural	χ^2
1. 0 word	3.7	0.0	6.33 at 5% where 9.49 was expected.
2. 1 - 4 words	29.6	21.6	
3. 5 - 9 "	51.0	66.7	
4. 10 - 14 "	13.1	11.8	
5. Over 15 "	2.6	0.0	

TABLE 23a

Urban-Rural English fluency in the neighbourhood

Level of fluency	Urban	Rural	Total
1. 0 word	3	0	3
2. 1 - 4 words	81	17	98
3. 5 - 9 "	174	28	202
4. 10 - 14 "	81	6	87
5. Over 15 "	12	0	12
	351	51	402

TABLE 23b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 23a

Level of fluency	Urban	Rural	χ^2
1. 0 word	0.9	0.0	7.00 at 5% where 9.49 was expected.
2. 1 - 4 words	23.1	33.3	
3. 5 - 9 "	49.6	54.9	
4. 10 - 14 "	23.1	11.8	
5. Over 15 "	3.4	0.0	

TABLE 24a

Urban-Rural Yoruba fluency in the domain of religion

Level of fluency	Urban	Rural	Total
1. 0 word	37	0	37
2. 1 - 4 words	213	28	241
3. 5 - 9 "	92	22	114
4. 10 - 14 "	9	1	10
	351	51	402

TABLE 24b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 24a

Level of fluency	Urban	Rural	χ^2
1. 0 word	10.5	0.0	10.19 at 5% where 7.81 was expected.
2. 1 - 4 words	60.7	54.9	
3. 5 - 9 "	26.2	43.1	
4. 10 - 14 "	2.6	2.0	

TABLE 25a

Urban-Rural English fluency in the domain of religion

Level of fluency	Urban	Rural	Total
1. 0 word	16	3	19
2. 1 - 4 words	145	<u>34</u>	179
3. 5 - 9 "	<u>163</u>	13	176
4. 10 - 14 "	21	1	22
5. Over 15 "	6	0	6
	351	51	402

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TABLE 25b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 25a

Level of fluency	Urban	Rural	χ^2
1. 0 word	4.6	5.9	13.25 at 5% where 9.49 was expected.
2. 1 - 4 words	41.3	<u>66.7</u>	
3. 5 - 9 "	<u>46.4</u>	25.5	
4. 10 - 14 "	6.0	2.0	
5. Over 15 "	1.7	0.0	

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TABLE 26a

Urban-Rural Yoruba fluency in the domain
of occupation

Level of fluency	Urban	Rural	Total
1. 0 word	14	0	14
2. 1 - 4 words	146	15	161
3. 5 - 9 "	163	34	197
4. 10 - 14 "	27	2	29
5. Over 15 "	1	0	1
	351	51	402

TABLE 26b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 26a

Level of fluency	Urban	Rural	χ^2
1. 0 word	4.0	0.0	8.43 at 5% where 9.49 was expected.
2. 1 - 4 words	41.6	29.4	
3. 5 - 9 "	46.4	66.7	
4. 10 - 14 "	7.7	3.9	
5. Over 15 "	0.3	0.0	

TABLE 27a

Urban-Rural English fluency in the domain
of occupation

Level of fluency	'Urban	'Rural	'Total
1. 0 word	13	0	13
2. 1 - 4 words	92	19	111
3. 5 - 9 "	192	26	218
4. 10 - 14 "	49	6	55
5. Over 15 "	5	0	5
	351	51	402

TABLE 27b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 27a

Level of fluency	Urban	Rural	χ^2
1. 0 word	3.7	0.0	4.90 at 5% where 9.49 was expected.
2. 1 - 4 words	26.2	37.3	
3. 5 - 9 "	54.7	51.0	
4. 10 - 14 "	14.0	11.8	
5. Over 15 "	1.4	0.0	

TABLE 28a

Urban-Rural Yoruba fluency in the domain
of education

Level of fluency	Urban	Rural	Total
1. 0 word	22	0	22
2. 1 - 4 words	232	39	271
3. 5 - 9 "	96	12	108
4. 10 - 14 "	1	0	1

TABLE 28b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 28a

Level of fluency	Urban	Rural	χ^2
1. 0 word	6.3	0.0	4.30 at 5% where 7.81 was expected.
2. 1 - 4 words	66.1	76.5	
3. 5 - 9 "	27.4	23.5	
4. 10 - 14 "	0.3	0.0	

TABLE 29a

Urban-Rural English fluency in the domain
of education

Level of fluency	Urban	Rural	Total
1. 0 word	3	0	3
2. 1 - 4 words	39	3	42
3. 5 - 9 "	164	34	198
4. 10 - 14 "	119	12	131
5. Over 15 "	26	2	28
	351	51	402

TABLE 29b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 29a

Level of fluency	Urban	Rural	χ^2
1. 0 word	0.9	0.0	7.44 at 5% where 9.49 was expected.
2. 1 - 4 words	11.1	5.9	
3. 5 - 9 "	46.7	66.7	
4. 10 - 14 "	33.9	23.5	
5. Over 15 "	7.4	3.9	

TABLE 30a

Urban-Rural Yoruba fluency in the domain of health

Level of fluency	Urban	Rural	Total
1. 0 word	22	1	23
2. 1 -- 4 words	238	40	278
3. 5 - 9 "	88	10	98
4. 10 - 14 "	3	0	3
	351	51	402

TABLE 30b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 30a

Level of fluency	Urban	Rural	χ^2
1. 0 word	6.3	2.0	3.20 at 5% where 7.81 was expected.
2. 1 - 4 words	67.8	78.4	
3. 5 - 9 "	25.1	19.6	
4. 10 - 14 "	0.9	0.0	

TABLE 31a

Urban-Rural English fluency in the domain of health

Level of fluency	Urban	Rural	Total
1. 0 word	6	0	6
2. 1 - 4 words	121	20	141
3. 5 - 9 "	174	29	203
4. 10 - 14 "	45	2	47
5. Over 15 "	5	0	5
	351	51	402

TABLE 31b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 31a

Level of fluency	Urban	Rural	χ^2
1. 0 word	1.7	0.0	
2. 1 - 4 words	34.5	39.2	5.40 at 5%
3. 5 - 9 "	49.6	56.9	where 9.49 was
4. 10 - 14 "	12.8	3.9	expected.
5. Over 15 "	1.4	0.0	

In the pairs of the tables above we underline the modes, respectively, of Yoruba and English fluency in the different domains. As with the evaluation of bilingual fluency patterns which we saw obtain in respect of other variables, we roughly estimate the quality of bilingual fluency between subjects in the two culturally different locations by the proportions of the sample population in each which show fluency at and above fluency range level 3 (describing fair fluency) and those showing fluency below Level 3 (as describing poor fluency).

Thus, in the home domain 90.2% of the subjects in the rural area school as against 61.0% of those in the urban area schools show fair Yoruba fluency (Tables 20a, 20b). Poor fluency figures then are only 9.8% for the subjects in the rural area school as against 39.0% for those in the urban-area schools. This pattern of Yoruba fluency is quite significant at the 5% level where the χ^2 test of the pattern yields 18.78 when only 9.49 is expected to prove its significance. Thus the performances support this part of the hypothesis. The pattern of English fluency in the domain, however, contradicts the prediction of the hypothesis. Tables 21a and 21b show that 84.4% of the subjects in the rural area school as against 79.8% of

their counterparts on the urban area schools attain fair fluency. Thus, 15.7% of the former and 20.2% of the latter show poor English fluency in the domain. This pattern is however far from being significant. χ^2 test on the pattern yields 1.79 against the expected 9.49.

The pattern of bilingual fluency as seen in the neighbourhood domain supports the present hypothesis proportionally but not significantly. The mode of Yoruba fluency for both groups is level 3 (Tables 22a, 22b). 78.5% of the subjects in the rural area school and 66.7% of those in the urban area schools attain the levels of fair fluency. That is, 21.6% of the former and 33.3% of the latter show poor fluency. But the pattern is not significant as the χ^2 test on it yields 6.33 where 9.49 is expected. For English the tables (23a, 23b) show 66.7% of the subjects in the rural area school and 76.1% of those in the city schools to possess fair fluency. The proportions showing poor fluency then are 33.3% of the former and 24.0% of the latter. But again the pattern is not significant where, at the 5% level, χ^2 yields 7.0 against the expected 9.49.

As seen easily in the tables the quality of bilingual fluency in the domain of religion for both groups is rather poor. For Yoruba (Tables 24a, 24b) the mode is level 2. 45.1% of the subjects in the rural area school but 28.8% of those in the urban area schools show fair fluency. That is, 54.9% of the former but 71.2% of the latter show poor fluency. But although general Yoruba fluency performance in the domain is poor, it significantly supports the present hypothesis. χ^2 test on the performance yields 10.91 where only 7.81 is required to confirm.

English fluency as seen in the domain is also poor but its pattern also significantly supports the hypothesis. We notice (Tables 25a, 25b) that whereas the mode of fluency for the subjects in the rural area school is the poor level 2, it is higher (level 3) for their counterparts in the urban area schools. Thus the majority of the former (72.6%) show poor fluency and only 27.5% of them attain fair fluency. The corresponding proportions of the latter group are 46.9% showing poor fluency and 54.1% showing fair fluency. At the 5% level this pattern yields 13.25 against the expected 9.49.

The mode of Yoruba fluency in the domain of occupation (Tables 26a, 26b) for the two groups is level 3. 70.6% of the subjects in the rural area school as against 54.4% of their counterparts in the urban area schools show fluency at this and the higher levels. Showing poor fluency are 29.4% of the former and 45.6% of the latter. But at the 5% level this pattern is not significant as the χ^2 test on it yields 8.43 where 9.49 was expected.

So also is the pattern of English fluency in the domain not significant. The mode for both groups (Tables 27a, 27b) is level 3. Fewer of the subjects in the rural area school (62.8%) as against a larger proportion of those in the urban area schools (70.1%) attain fair fluency. But the pattern is not significant. At the 5% level, χ^2 test on it gives 4.90 where 9.49 was expected.

Neither the pattern of Yoruba fluency nor of English in the domain of education supports our hypothesis. Yoruba fluency (Tables 28a, 28b) is again generally poor with the mode of fluency for both groups at level 2. Contrary to the prediction of the hypothesis, a smaller proportion of the subjects in

the rural area school (23.5%) but a slightly larger proportion of those in the urban area schools (27.7%) possess fair Yoruba fluency. Thus, 76.5% of the former as against 72.4% of the latter show poor fluency. This evaluation is not even certain in its details. For instance we notice that although no subject in the rural area school enters at the very poor level 1 of absolute non-fluency, 6.3% of those in the urban area schools appear at this level; but equally none of the former shows level 5 of Yoruba fluency. The whole pattern is, of course, not significant even at the 5% level where χ^2 is 4.30 against the expected 7.81.

Likewise, the pattern of English fluency in the domain contradicts our hypothesis (Tables 29a, 29b). The mode is level 3 for both groups, but more of the subjects in the rural area school (94.1%) compared to fewer of those in the urban area schools (88.0%) attain fair fluency. Thus, 5.9% of the former as against 12.0% of the latter appear to be poor. But the pattern is again not significant as its analysis (by χ^2) yields 7.44 at the 5% level where 9.49 is expected.

As in the domain of education, Yoruba fluency in the domain of health appears generally poor. The mode for both groups (Tables 30a, 30b) is level 2. The proportions of fair and poor fluency in respect of the groups also contradict the present hypothesis. Only 19.6% of the subjects in the rural area school but 26.0% of their counterparts in the urban area possess fair fluency. The proportion possessing poor fluency is thus greater among the former group (80.4%) than it is among the latter (74.1%). Again the pattern is far from being significant: 3.20 at the 5% level where 7.81 was expected.

The pattern of English fluency (Tables 31a, 31b) proportionally (not significantly) supports the hypothesis. The mode is level 3 but whereas 60.8% of the subjects in the rural area show fair fluency, a slightly larger proportion of those in the urban area schools (63.8%) do. The pattern is however not significant: at the 5% level χ^2 test on it yields 5.40 against the expected 9.49.

The analyses above of bilingual fluency by subjects whose schools are differently located in the urban and rural areas have not quite supported the hypothesis we based on the locational variable. In

two domains (education, health), the results show no support for the hypothesis whatsoever. In two others (neighbourhood, occupation), support for the hypothesis is not significant. In one (home), the product of analysis is undecided as the pattern of Yoruba fluency significantly supports the hypothesis while the pattern of English fluency does not. Thus the hypothesis is supported by the pattern of bilingual fluency in only one domain, namely, religion. But this support, apart from being an isolated case is even dubious as we have seen fluency in the domain to be very low for the two languages, thus reducing the value of any reliability one may wish to place on it.

The basis of the hypothesis are the related assumptions that schools participate in the cultural life of their localities and that this reinforces the mastery of aspects of that culture for the pupils in the schools. The aspect of culture in question here is the relative use of Yoruba and English in the urban and rural areas where our subjects' schools are located. There seems to be no longer any question of the validity of the second assumption: its implementation, in practical programmes, is the common policy of sending the learners of a foreign language to

countries where such a language is used as a first or even as a second language, and observed results seem to justify the policy. But the results seen above raise an uncertainty about the validity of the first assumption in view, especially, of the high levels of fluency in English by the subjects in the rural area school.

On the basis of their performance we may wish to infer that, contrary to our assumption, secondary schools perhaps constitute educational islands unto themselves, or miniature ivory towers, uninfluenced by the language and possibly the general cultural behaviour patterns of their localities; hence the high fluency attainment in English of our subjects in the rural area school even though their school is located in a high Yoruba monolingual community. There is a strong support for this inference in the rule in favour of English which, as we have noted, is instituted in most secondary schools in our focus area. But by the terms of the same rule, if uniformly rigorously applied, Yoruba fluency among these same subjects in the rural area school should not have been so consistently higher than that of their urban area counterparts. That it is (although only proportionally in most cases) is due to

some other factor which, according to our present hypothesis, is the influence of the location of their school. To this extent, with respect to Yoruba fluency, therefore, our hypothesis has been supported.

But apart from the reinforcing effect, which institutionalization has on our subjects' performance in English, a further explanation for the same can be found hidden in some inexactness inherent in the hypothesis itself. For instance, urbanness and rurality have been employed here as absolute descriptions of settlements. This has probably suppressed gradations which may be quite important as an explanation for the features of bilingualism found here. It will perhaps be more realistic to conceive of degrees of urbanness and rurality to which degrees of bilingual usage and proficiency can then be correlated.

For this, on the basis of Ajaegbu's conceptual model,⁵ a rurality - urbanness scale is set up for a

5. See H.I. Ajaegbu: Urban and Rural Development in Nigeria. Heinemann, London, 1976.

Also, H.I. Ajaegbu: The Impact of Lagos on the Changing Rural Economy of the Creeks and Lagoon Areas of Epe and Ibeja Divisions, Western Nigeria. Ph.D. Thesis, University of Ibadan, 1967, pp. 157-162.

language community. Locations in the community are then fixed on the scale according to their susceptibility to the positive factors of diffusion and adoption of innovations and influences flowing from the urban centres. These factors are the media of communication. They include the radio, but in the Nigerian context, accessibility, in terms of route and time distances, is the more crucial factor. Places along routeways (motor roads or railways) are more quickly affected by innovations from the urban centres. So also does their adoption response to such innovations come faster than to places which are off the routeways.

The two, (flow of influence and rate of response), are further differentiated by the linear and chronometric distances of the locations from the diffusing centre. Linear distance is expressed in kilometers and chronometric distance in hours. Thus, places in close proximity to the urban centre are more quickly affected by innovations than more distant places. But depending on differing operational efficiency of routeways, some distant places may be more quickly reached chronometrically and be more quickly affected by innovations and urban behaviour patterns than other places more contiguous to the

centre of diffusion. For positive influence in the rural locations the optimum distance from the urban centre of diffusion conjoins the linear and the chronometric. Thus, the farther away a location is from an urban centre (measured by these joint parameters) the more rural and the less open to urban influences; and vice versa.

The rural area school in our study is located at Iroko, 27.2km from Ibadan, capital of the Oyo State and of the former Western State which was the homeland of the bulk of the Yoruba-speaking people. It is on the trunk A motor road which links Ibadan via Oyo to the northern states of Nigeria. Ibadan is highly urban, at least in the Nigerian context. It falls into Ajaegbu's group of urban centres of the highest order (first grade). These are centres which perform functions and provide services up to the national level. 20.8km beyond Iroko is Oyo, a town in Ajaegbu's third grade of urban centres. These are centres of great importance within their own states.⁶ Thus, so close

6. See Ajaegbu, (1976), op. cit., p. 55.

to Ibadan and so well served by an effective communication line, Iroko is less rural than some other rural locations in the Yoruba language community. This proximity may have raised the degree of bilingual usage in the community, making it approximate to the Ibadan urban area level; hence the high level of English fluency found among our subjects in Iroko school while its greater degree of ruralness (greater than Ibadan's) ensures the edge the same subjects have in Yoruba fluency over their urban area counterparts. But this factor of nearness to Ibadan also means that the pattern of their bilingual fluency is perhaps representative only of bilingual fluency among bilinguals in their category in similar locations and not of those in all, especially the more rural areas.

Still another factor which may have influenced the performance of the subjects in the rural area school but which the LBQ administered did not elicit is the home residences of the subjects. We had assumed that the admission catchment area of the rural community school is the immediate local community. This is probably the case to a large extent. But in the search for secondary school education pupils

whose homes are in the urban areas have been known to accept place offers even in schools located in the rural areas, bringing with them into their new school environment the behaviour patterns of the urban areas. What percentage of the pupils in our sample rural area school has such an urban home background is not known but their proportion may have been large enough to affect aggregate fluency in English which we have found among them. A further investigation of the urban/rural variables therefore becomes necessary before a conclusion can be reached on their effects on bilingual proficiency. The design of such an investigation will have controlled all the factors pointed out above, namely, the degree of the ruralness or urbanness of the locations, and the home background of the subjects in the different schools.

5.4 School Attitude to Oral English and its effect on bilingual fluency.

The ninth hypothesis complements the third and deals with the productive ability of bilinguals educated in schools adopting different attitudes to oral English. These attitudes surface in the degree of school official commitment to the subject of oral

English. The hypothesis states that bilinguals in schools with a tradition of commitment to oral English are more productive in English than their counterparts in schools which are not so committed; but they are less productive in Yoruba.

Three attitude types were identified among our sample schools. Types I and II attitudes are positive for OE (see again, Chapter IV, Section 1.3). Of these two, Type I is the more positive as its implementation is actively and more vigorously pursued. Type III is negative. We now examine the bilingual fluency performance of subjects in these attitude positions in six domains of language use.

For each domain a set of five tables is provided. Tables a and b, c and d respectively spread fluency achievement in Yoruba and English in numbers of subjects at each level of fluency and what percentage these numbers are of each group. Taking levels 3, 4 and 5 as representing fair and good fluency, the last table in the set, e, states what percentage of the subjects in each group attain these higher levels of fluency in each language. This makes the comparison of fluency attainments in each language easy.

5.41 School Attitude to OE and bilingual fluency in the home domain

TABLE 32a

School Attitude to OE X Yoruba fluency in the home domain

Levels of fluency	I	II	III	Total
1. 0 word	11	3	1	15
2. 1 - 9 words	69	36	22	127
3. 10 - 14 "	90	49	49	188
4. 15 - 19 "	24	28	14	66
5. 20 words & over	0	6	0	6
Total	194	122	86	402

TABLE 32b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 32a

Levels of fluency	I	II	III
1. 0 word	5.7	2.5	1.2
2. 1 - 9 words	35.6	29.5	25.6
3. 10 - 14 "	46.4	40.2	57.0
4. 15 - 19 "	12.4	23.0	16.3
5. 20 words & over	0.0	4.9	0.0

$\chi^2 = 28.06$ at the 5% level where only 15.51 is required to confirm.

TABLE 32c

School Attitude to OE X English fluency in the home domain

Levels of fluency	I	II	III	Total
1. 0 word	4	0	0	4
2. 1 - 9 words	36	14	25	75
3. 10 - 14 "	94	67	46	207
4. 15 - 19 "	51	35	14	100
5. 20 words & over	9	6	1	16
Total	194	122	86	402

TABLE 32d

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 32c

Levels of fluency	I	II	III
1. 0 word	2.1	0.0	0.0
2. 1 - 9 words	18.6	11.5	29.1
3. 10 - 14 "	48.5	54.9	53.5
4. 15 - 19 "	26.3	28.7	16.3
5. 20 words & over	4.6	4.9	1.2

$\chi^2 = 18.97$ at the 5% level where only 15.51 is required to confirm.

TABLE 32e

Percentage of subjects at level 3 and above

	I	II	III
Yoruba	58.8	68.1	73.3
English	79.4	88.5	71.0

The bilingual fluency performance of the subjects in this domain totally supports the hypothesis. The mode of both Yoruba and English fluency is level 3 for all the attitude positions. But as Table 32e shows, the subjects in Types I and II positions prove more fluent in English than their counterparts in Type III. On the other hand, they are generally less productive in Yoruba as the same table shows.

One noticeable feature of the spread in Tables 32c and 32d is that, contrary to the tendency predicted by this hypothesis, the only subjects who appear to be absolutely non-fluent in English in this domain are in Type I attitude position. Deviances such as this are not common and may be explained by the fact that groups, in this case attitude types, are homogeneous only as defined, i.e. in terms of or by a particular variable, and for testing one particular hypothesis. The same

groups are otherwise heterogeneous, as they contain elements which will qualify them for regrouping in terms of other variables and for testing some other hypotheses. The definition of a variable, and the sampling based upon it necessarily suppress and ignore the other elements inherent in the group which realises the variable. This in turn distorts the results of analyses done on it. Usually, however, such distortions are not large, and the general pattern obtained will still fairly closely indicate the degree of the validity of the hypothesis if the pattern proves statistically significant. In the present case, the patterns of both English and Yoruba fluency in the home domain are significant at the 5% level. χ^2 test on the pattern of English fluency yields 18.97 when only 15.51 is required to confirm the hypothesis. The test on the Yoruba fluency pattern yields 28.06 when only 15.51 is required to confirm the second part of the hypothesis. Fluency performance in this domain by all the attitude groups has thus supported our hypothesis.

5.42 School Attitude to OE and bilingual fluency in the neighbourhood domain.

TABLE 33a

School Attitude to OE X Yoruba fluency in the neighbourhood domain

Levels of fluency	I	II	III	Total
1. 0 word	9	4	0	13
2. 1 - 9 words	54	31	30	115
3. 10 - 14 "	100	64	49	213
4. 15 - 19 "	26	19	7	52
5. 20 words & over	5	4	0	9
Total	194	122	86	402

TABLE 33b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 33a

Levels of fluency	I	II	III	
1. 0 word	4.6	3.0	0.0	$\chi^2 = 10.80$ at the 5% level when 15.51 is required to confirm.
2. 1 - 9 words	27.8	25.4	34.9	
3. 10 - 14 "	51.5	52.5	57.0	
4. 15 - 19 "	13.4	15.6	8.1	
5. 20 words & over	2.6	3.3	0.0	

TABLE 33c

School Attitude to OE X English fluency in the
neighbourhood domain

Levels of fluency	I	II	III	Total
1. 0 word	3	0	0	3
2. 1 - 9 words	37	27	34	98
3. 10 - 14 "	100	59	43	202
4. 15 - 19 "	48	30	9	87
5. 20 words & over,	6	6	0	12
Total	194	122	86	402

TABLE 33d

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 33c

Levels of fluency	I	II	III	
1. 0 word	1.5	0.0	0.0	$\chi^2 = 24.38$ at the 5% level when only 15.51 is required to confirm.
2. 1 - 9 words	19.1	22.1	39.5	
3. 10 - 14 "	51.5	48.4	50.0	
4. 15 - 19 "	24.7	24.6	10.5	
5. 20 words & over	3.2	4.9	0.0	

TABLE 33e

Percentage of subjects at level 3 and above

	I	II	III
Yoruba	67.5	71.4	65.1
English	79.3	77.9	60.5

In this domain English fluency performance significantly supports the first part of the hypothesis. We see in Table 33e that more of the subjects in Types I and II than those in Type III attain the higher levels of fluency. But the Yoruba fluency does not support the second part of the hypothesis as, again, more of the subjects in Types I and II positions than their counterparts in Type III position attain higher Yoruba fluency. But whereas the pattern of English fluency seen in the domain is significant (when χ^2 yields 24.38 at the 5% level when only 15.51 is required to confirm that part of the hypothesis), the pattern of Yoruba fluency is not significant (when χ^2 yields 10.80 at the 5% level when 15.51 is required to support the second part of the hypothesis). This pattern of Yoruba fluency has reversed the prediction of a part of the hypothesis, but because of its insignificance we shall tarry to see the performance in other domains before a conclusion is attempted on the validity of the hypothesis.

5.43 School Attitude to OE and bilingual fluency in the domain of religion

TABLE 34a

School Attitude to OE X Yoruba fluency in domain of religion

Levels of fluency	I	II	III	Total
1. 0 word	26	7	4	37
2. 1 - 9 words	122	68	51	241
3. 10 - 14 "	46	39	29	114
4. 15 - 19 "	0	8	2	10
Total	194	122	86	402

TABLE 34b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 34a

Levels of fluency	I	II	III
1. 0 word	13.4	5.7	4.7
2. 1 - 9 words	62.9	55.7	59.3
3. 10 - 14 "	23.7	32.0	33.7
4. 15 - 19 "	0.0	6.6	2.3

$\chi^2 = 23.76$ at the 5% level when only 12.59 is required to confirm.

TABLE 34c

School Attitude to OE X English fluency in
domain of religion

Levels of fluency	I	II	III	Total
1. 0 word	9	1	9	19
2. 1 - 9 words	82	42	55	179
3. 10 - 14 "	89	67	20	176
4. 15 - 19 "	13	7	2	22
5. 20 words & over	1	5	0	6
Total	194	122	86	402

TABLE 34d

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 34c

Levels of fluency	I	II	III
1. 0 word	4.6	0.8	10.5
2. 1 - 9 words	42.3	34.4	64.0
3. 10 - 14 "	45.9	54.9	23.3
4. 15 - 19 "	6.7	5.7	2.3
5. 20 words & over	0.5	4.1	0.0

$\chi^2 = 42.35$ at
the 5% level
when only
15.51 is
required to
confirm.

TABLE 34e

Percentage of subjects at level 3 and above

	I	II	III
Yoruba	23.7	38.6	36.0
English	53.1	64.7	25.6

The performance of the subjects in this domain has comfortably confirmed the present hypothesis. As shown in the spread in Tables 34c and 34d the mode of English fluency among the subjects in Types I and II, at level 3, is superior to the mode of fluency among the subjects in Type III whose mode of fluency is level 2. Thus, while over 50% of Types I and II attain high English fluency, only about 25% of those in Type III attain such levels. This pattern is highly significant at the 5% level where χ^2 yields 42.35 when only 15.51 is required to confirm this part of the hypothesis.

Yoruba fluency in the domain is generally poor with the mode of fluency at level 2 for all the groups. Table 34e shows the subjects in Type I to be clearly poorer in this language than the subjects in Type III. But the pattern of fluency between Types

II and III appears at the first glance to be uncertain. Slightly more of the subjects in Type II (38.6%) as against 36.0% of those in Type III attain levels 3 and 4 (Table 34e), but the edge expected of Type III over Type II in terms of the hypothesis is seen to obtain, though very small, at a closer inspection of the distribution in Table 34b. There we find that a smaller proportion of those in Type III than those in Type II appear to be non-fluent while a larger proportion of them attain level 2. This shows general Yoruba fluency among the subjects in Type II to be poorer than the achievement of the subjects in Type III. This pattern also proves quite significant at the 5% level where χ^2 yields 23.76 when it requires only 12.59 to confirm the hypothesis.

5.44 School Attitude to OE and bilingual fluency in the domain of occupation

TABLE 35a

School Attitude to OE X Yoruba fluency in the domain of occupation

Levels of fluency	I	II	III	Total
1. 0 word	11	3	0	14
2. 1 - 9 words	91	37	33	161
3. 10 - 14 "	79	68	50	197
4. 15 - 19 "	13	13	3	29
5. 20 words & over	0	1	0	1
Total	194	122	86	402

TABLE 35b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 35a

Levels of fluency	I	II	III	
1. 0 word	5.7	2.5	0.0	$\chi^2 = 22.58$ at the 5% level when only 15.51 is required to confirm.
2. 1 - 9 words	46.9	30.3	38.4	
3. 10 - 14 "	40.7	55.7	58.1	
4. 15 - 19 "	6.7	10.7	3.5	
5. 20 words & over	0.0	0.8	0.0	

TABLE 35c

School Attitude to OE X English fluency in
the domain occupation

Levels of fluency	I	II	III	Total
1. 0 word	12	0	1	13
2. 1 - 9 words	66	22	33	121
3. 10 - 14 "	94	69	45	208
4. 15 - 19 "	21	27	7	55
5. 20 words & over	1	4	0	5
Total	194	122	86	402

TABLE 35d

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 35c

Levels of fluency	I	II	III
1. 0 word	6.2	0.0	1.2
2. 1 - 9 words	34.0	18.0	38.4
3. 10 - 14 "	48.5	56.6	52.3
4. 15 - 19 "	10.8	22.1	8.1
5. 20 words & over	0.5	3.3	0.0

$\chi^2 = 35.53$ at
the 5% level
when only
15.51 is
required to
confirm.

TABLE 35e

Percentage of subjects at level 3 and above

	I	II	III
Yoruba	47.4	67.2	61.6
English	59.8	82.0	60.4

The patterns of bilingual fluency in this domain are uncertain, as they neither wholly support nor deny the hypothesis. For all the groups the mode of English fluency is level 3. As between Types II and III the prediction of the hypothesis regarding relative English fluency is strongly supported when a far larger proportion of the subjects in Type II (82.0%) as against 60.4% of those in Type III) attain the higher levels of fluency. But not only is the expected superiority of Type I over Type III unrealised, the latter have even scored a thin edge (0.6%) over the former, contrary to our prediction.

The same uncertainty features in the pattern of Yoruba fluency. Between Types I and III the hypothesis convincingly holds. Yoruba fluency among the subjects in Type I is seen to be poorer with the mode of fluency at level 2 when the mode for the other groups

is level 3. But, again, in place of the expected superiority of Type III over Type II, a much larger proportion of the latter (67.2%) as against 61.6% of the former attain higher fluency. The poorer Yoruba fluency among the subjects in Type III is only slightly redeemed by the fact that none of them as against 2.5% of those in Type II are entered at the level of apparent non-fluency (Level 1). The patterns of both Yoruba and English fluency are statistically significant but the inconsistencies we have noted make them unreliable as evidence in support of the hypothesis.

5.45 School Attitude to OE and bilingual fluency in the domain of education

TABLE 36a

School Attitude to OE X Yoruba fluency in the domain of education

Level of fluency	I	II	III	Total
1. 0 word	18	4	0	22
2. 1 - 9 words	128	74	69	271
3. 10 - 14 "	47	44	17	108
4. 15 - 19 "	1	0	0	1
Total	194	122	86	402

TABLE 36b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 36b

Levels of fluency	I	II	III
1. 0 word	9.3	3.3	0.0
2. 1 - 9 words	66.0	60.7	80.2
3. 10 - 14 "	24.2	36.1	19.8
4. 15 - 19 "	0.5	0.0	0.0

$\chi^2 = 20.93$ at the 5% level when only 12.59 is required to confirm.

TABLE 36c

School Attitude to OE X English fluency in the domain of education

Levels of fluency	I	II	III	Total
1. 0 word	3	0	0	3
2. 1 - 9 words	26	5	11	42
3. 10 - 14 "	84	60	54	198
4. 15 - 19 "	67	46	18	131
5. 20 words & over	14	11	3	28
Total	194	122	86	402

TABLE 36d

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 36c

Levels of fluency	I	II	III	
1. 0 word	1.5	0.0	0.0	$\chi^2 = 21.63$ at the 5% level when only 15.51 is required to confirm.
2. 1 - 9 words	13.4	4.1	12.8	
3. 10 - 14 "	43.3	49.2	62.8	
4. 15 - 19 "	34.5	37.7	20.9	
5. 20 words & over	7.2	9.0	3.5	

TABLE 36e

Percentage of subjects at level 3 and above

	I	II	III
Yoruba	24.7	36.1	19.8
English	85.0	95.9	87.2

The patterns of bilingual fluency in this domain have repeated the uncertainty seen in the domain of occupation. Between Types II and III the prediction of the hypothesis concerning English fluency is supported, but ~~between~~ Types I and III it is not. While a greater proportion of the subjects in Type I than those in Type III demonstrate fluency at the qualitatively much higher levels 4 and 5 - 41.7% as against 24.4% (Table 36d) - a smaller proportion of the latter (12.9%) as against a larger proportion of the former (14.9%) perform below the mode. Thus, with a greater percentage of their number at the mode, the subjects in Type III appear, quantitatively, to be superior to those in Type I, contrary to the prediction of the hypothesis.

Yoruba fluency in the domain is generally poor as the mode is level 2 for all the groups. Contrary to prediction we find greater proportions of the subjects in Types I and II than those in Type III demonstrating higher fluency (Table 36c). This should perhaps urge an outright rejection of the second part of the hypothesis except that while none in Type III, some of those in Type I and II (9.3%, 3.3%) respectively) appear to be non-fluent. This slightly ameliorates the impression

of very weak Yoruba fluency (in this domain) in Type III vis-a-vis the other groups. Bilingual fluency abilities for all the groups as spread in the tables are again statistically significant but their uncertainty and inconsistency in relation to the present hypothesis must make us reject the patterns as support for the hypothesis.

5.46 School Attitude to OE and bilingual fluency in the domain of health

TABLE 37e

School Attitude to OE X Yoruba fluency in the domain of health

Levels of fluency		I	II	III	Total
1.	0 word	17	2	4	23
2.	1 - 9 words	131	77	70	278
3.	10 - 14 "	45	41	12	98
4.	15 - 19 "	1	2	0	3
Total		194	122	86	402

TABLE 37b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 37a

Levels of fluency	I	II	III	
1. 0 word	8.8	1.6	4.7	$\chi^2 = 19.73$ at the 5% level when only 12.59 is required to confirm.
2. 1 - 9 words	67.5	63.1	81.4	
3. 10 - 14 "	23.2	33.6	14.0	
4. 15 - 19 "	0.5	1.6	0.0	

TABLE 37c

School Attitude to OE X English fluency in
the domain of health

Levels of fluency	I	II	III	Total
1. 0 word	6	0	0	6
2. 1 - 9 words	68	31	42	141
3. 10 - 14 "	93	71	39	203
4. 15 - 19 "	26	16	5	47
5. 20 words & over	1	4	0	5
Total	194	122	86	402

TABLE 37a

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 37c

Levels of fluency	I	II	III
1. 0 word	3.1	0.0	0.0
2. 1 - 9 words	35.1	25.4	48.8
3. 10 - 14 "	47.9	58.2	45.3
4. 15 - 19 "	13.4	13.1	5.8
5. 20 words & over	0.5	3.3	0.0

$\chi^2 = 25.66$ at the 5% level when only 15.51 is required to confirm.

TABLE 37e

Percentage of subjects at level 3 and above

	I	II	III
Yoruba	23.7	35.2	14.0
English	61.8	74.6	51.1

English fluency performance in this domain by the different groups strongly supports the first part of the hypothesis. As seen in Table 37a, the mode of fluency for Types I and II is level 3 while it is level 2 for Type III. Table 37e shows the smaller proportion of the subjects in Type III (51.1%) as

compared to those in Types I and II (61.8%, 74.6%) who show fair and good fluency. The pattern proves quite significant at the 5% level where the test of significance yields 25.66 when only 15.51 is required to confirm the hypothesis.

Yoruba fluency in the domain is generally poor. The mode is level 2 for all the groups. The achievement of the groups very clearly denies the second part of the hypothesis as it reverses our prediction between the subjects in Types I and II who show greater fluency than their counterparts in Type III. The pattern (Tables 37a and 37b) is quite significant at the 5% level where χ^2 yields 19.73 when only 12.59 is required to confirm, but only as proof of the superior Yoruba fluency ability of the subject in Types I and II, contrary to the tendency predicted in the present hypothesis.

As analysed above, the results obtained in the test of the present hypothesis have been rather inconsistent. In two domains (home, religion), the performances of the subjects in the three attitude positions wholly support the hypothesis. In two others (neighbourhood, health), the patterns of English fluency confirm the first part of the hypothesis but

the significant, albeit unexpectedly high Yoruba fluency among the subjects in Types I and II denies the second part. The patterns of bilingual fluency in the other two domains (occupation, education), are the most inconsistent with regard to fluency abilities between the attitude groups. The inconsistencies and ambivalence therefore make the results unreliable as evidence even for totally rejecting the hypothesis.

The unreliability should however not be considered sufficient to deny the role of attitude as an important determinant of language proficiency. Agheyisi and Fishman's extensive discussion and demonstration of this crucial role can hardly be faulted.⁷ What is not always sufficiently emphasized or accounted for is an undeniable uncertainty in the very nature of attitude, in general, or toward a particular issue or subject. First, an attitude may not continuously be sure or definite; and second, fluctuations may occur in the vigour with which its implementation is pursued. Such uncertainties are bound to distort if not frustrate

7. R. Agheyisi and J.A. Fishman: 'Language Attitude Studies: A brief survey of Methodological Approaches. Anthropological Linguistics 12, 5 (1970), pp. 137-157.

any expectations hypothesized on even a recognizable attitude such as, in the present case, formal commitment to OE. The uncertainty inherent in the nature of attitude may be responsible for the unreliable patterns which have emerged in the test of our present hypothesis.

In addition, as we suggested earlier (pages 224-225 above) the inconsistencies and consequent unreliability of the group performance may be due to the inevitable heterogeneity of the groups. For instance, the degree of formal commitment to OE has been the defining criterion of the groups, but the successful implementation of this commitment, in order to yield tangible results, must depend on the availability of learning facilities which may not be present in all the schools answering to the same attitude type. For example, Type I attitude is the most positive for fluency in English but we find in the group one school, viz, the Adekile Goodwill Grammar School, which is very poorly provided with the necessary personnel and material facilities. The performance of the subjects drawn from that school has consequently lowered the general performance of the group below the standard predicted for it by the hypothesis.

But unreliable as these general results are for the validation of our hypothesis, they have revealed some features which are remarkable in the way they reflect the implication of different attitudes for language proficiency.

First, Types I and II attitude have proved really positive with regard to English fluency. Except in two domains, namely, religion and education, where the subjects in Type I performed slightly more poorly than those in Type III, the commitment of these schools to OE appears generally to have yielded the expected good English fluency. More remarkable is that Type II, positive but in its implementation liberal and elective, has yielded English fluency achievement which is unexpectedly higher than that of the equally positive but less liberal Type I attitude.

Second, in some domains as we observed earlier, Yoruba fluency among the subjects in Types I and II has surprisingly been higher than fluency among those in Type III. Some other factors may possibly be responsible for this but it is also probably the case that contrary to the assumption on which the present hypothesis is based, commitment to OE does not necessarily attenuate ability in Yoruba among this category of bilinguals.

Against all these is the predicted and confirmed negative effect on English fluency of Type III attitude. Nor has Yoruba fluency among the subjects in this position been remarkably high. Indeed, they demonstrated greater facility in Yoruba in only two domains while smaller proportions of them (than their counterparts in Types I and II) achieved fluency at the higher levels in the other four domains.

In their own research and others reported by them Milner, Branch and Rasmussen⁸ have located the existence of a language faculty in a part of the human brain. It grows and is held responsible for man's language proficiency abilities. According to their research findings the faculty can be damaged, thus causing language disorder in some people. To the extent that this postulation anatomically or physiologically obtains,⁹ the same faculty must be liable to

8. Milner, B. Branch C. and Rasmussen, T. 'Observations on Cerebral Dominance' in R.C. Oldfield and J.C. Marshall: Language: Selected Readings Penguin Books (1968), pp. 366-378.

9. There is still some controversy concerning this among neurolinguists and other medical scientists. A most recent account of the state of research in the subject, spanning over a century from about 1836, is Jean Aitchison's: The Articulate Mammal: An Introduction to Psycholinguistics. Hutchinson of London. (1976), pp. 52-63.

psycholinguistic atrophy (the reverse of psycholinguistic development) in consequence of under-utilization which itself may be due to such indifference, as we have seen in Type III attitude, to vigorous oral work in one of a bilingual's languages. Again, some other factors may be responsible for their poor bilingual productive ability, but it may also be the consequence of their insufficiently exercised language faculty. Thus the results obtained in our test of this hypothesis provide empirical evidence to support the adoption of Types I and II attitudes, but preferably Type II, for greater bilingual proficiency.

5.5 Bilingual fluency in relation to socio-economic status of the home.

By the same considerations on which our fifth hypothesis was built, the eleventh asserts that bilinguals from the socio-economically superior homes are less productive in Yoruba than their counterparts from the humbler homes; but they are more productive in English. This hypothesis is tested by the performance of our subjects in the test of verbal fluency in three domains, namely, the home, the neighbourhood, and occupation.

The decision to test the hypothesis by the measure of fluency in only these three domains was based, first, on a consideration of the degree of interactional informality in them as compared to some other relatively more learned domains, such as health or religion. For instance, language choice and usage in the home domain contrast in their unregulated idiosyncrasy with the prescribed and over-rehearsed choice and usage patterns in formal worship in the domain of religion. Fluency in a language in such a domain is therefore considered attributable to, and more likely reflects the spontaneity, frequency, and richness of the use of the particular language in the domain. Second, there is the institutionalisation of English in the formal school curriculum which consequently ensures a greater fluency in the language than Yoruba in that domain. In contrast, while language choice and usage in the home domain may follow some pattern, they only do so on individual family basis, and not as a general policy decision such as the enforcement of English in the secondary school. In the light of these considerations, the factors which will then differentiate fluency across groups of bilinguals are the socio-economic status and the

established pattern of usage in the individual family units within each group or category. In the analyses which follow, our subjects are in the same five occupational groups (OGs) we described in our test of the fifth hypothesis.

5.51 Bilingual fluency in the home domain

The tables below (Tables 38, 39) spread the scores in the test of fluency in Yoruba and English in the home domain by bilingual subjects whose fathers belong to the different OGs.

TABLE 38a

Father's OG X Yoruba fluency in the home domain

Levels of fluency	OG1	OG2	OG3	OG4	OG5	Total
1. 0 - 4 words	3	0	8	1	3	15
2. 5 - 9 "	26	12	50	14	25	127
3. 10 - 14 "	73	7	56	14	38	188
4. 15 - 19 "	27	8	7	5	19	66
5. 20 words & over	3	0	1	1	1	6
Total	132	27	122	35	86	402

TABLE 38b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 38a

Levels of fluency	OG1	OG2	OG3	OG4	OG5
1. 0 - 4 words	2.3	0.0	6.6	2.9	3.5
2. 5 - 9 "	19.7	44.4	41.0	40.0	29.1
3. 10 - 14 "	55.3	25.9	45.9	40.0	44.2
4. 15 - 19 "	20.5	29.6	5.7	14.3	22.1
5. 20 words & over	2.3	0.0	0.8	2.9	1.2

$\chi^2 = 37.44$ at 5% level of significance where only 26.30 was required.

TABLE 39a

Father's OG X English fluency in the home domain

Levels of fluency	OG1	OG2	OG3	OG4	OG5	Total
1. 0 - 4 words	1	0	0	0	3	4
2. 5 - 9 "	33	2	12	2	26	75
3. 10 - 14 "	68	13	59	24	43	207
4. 15 - 19 "	27	10	43	7	13	100
5. 20 words & over	3	2	8	2	1	16
Total	132	27	122	35	86	402

TABLE 39b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 39a

Levels of fluency		OG1	OG2	OG3	OG4	OG5
1.	0 - 4 words	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.5
2.	5 - 9 "	25.0	7.4	9.8	5.7	30.2
3.	10 - 14 "	51.5	48.1	48.4	68.6	50.0
4.	15 - 19 "	20.5	37.0	35.2	20.0	15.1
5.	20 words & over'	2.3	7.4	6.6	5.7	1.2

$\chi^2 = 45.99$ at 5% level of significance where only 26.30 was required.

The pairs of Table 38 and 39 reveal the following concerning the degree of verbal fluency of our subjects in their two languages:

- (i) Tables 38a and 38b show that the majority of the subjects in all the OGs are quite fluent in Yoruba. The mode for OG1, OG3, and OG5 is level 3. OG4 has two modes the higher of which (qualitatively) is level 3. The mode of fluency in OG2 is the lowest, level 2.

(ii) We draw a dividing line between levels 2 and 3 to demarcate very poor and poor fluency (levels 1 and 2) from fair, good and very good fluency (levels 3 to 5). This shows in Table 38b the following proportions of poor fluency for the groups: 22.0% in OG1, 44.4% in OG2, 47.6% in OG3, 42.9% in OG4, and 32.6% in OG5. The corresponding proportions of between fair and very good fluency for the respective groups are 78.1%, 55.5%, 52.4%, 57.2% and 67.5%. OG3 is thus shown to have the largest proportion of their number on the side of poor fluency (47.6%) and the smallest proportion showing fair, good and very good fluency (52.4%). Their counterparts in OG1 have the smallest number on the side of poor fluency (22.0%) and the largest on the side of fair fluency (78.1%). Fluency performances by the other two groups fall between these extremes. OG2 and OG4 are close to OG3 while OG5 is close to OG1. The pattern of fluency in this domain thus supports our hypothesis which relates Yoruba fluency among this category of bilinguals to the socio-economic status of their families, namely, that bilinguals of this category who come from the socio-economically superior

homes are less productive in Yoruba than their counterparts from the humbler homes. A χ^2 test of significance on this shows it to be quite significant. At the 5% level, 37.44 was obtained where only 26.30 is required.

- (iii) The pattern of English fluency as shown in Tables 39a and 39b also supports the second part of the hypothesis. The mode of fluency for all the groups is level 3 but we notice that quite a large proportion of the subjects in OG1 (25.8%) is less fluent than the fair mode. Against this only 9.8% of those in OG3 fall on the side of poor fluency. Correspondingly 74.3% of those in OG1 as against a larger 90.2% of those in OG3 show fluency at the higher levels. Bilinguals in OG2 and OG4 show degrees of fluency comparable to those in OG3 but those in OG5 appear in general to be poorer than even the subjects in OG1. The pattern of English fluency in this domain is also significant at the 5% level where 46.00 is obtained when only 26.30 is required.

5.52 Bilingual fluency in the neighbourhood domain

Tables 40 and 41 below show the Yoruba and English fluency scores in this domain.

TABLE 40a

Father's OG X Yoruba fluency in the neighbourhood domain

Levels of Fluency	OG1	OG2	OG3	OG4	OG5	Total
1. 0 - 4 words	1	2	6	1	3	13
2. 5 - 9 "	37	6	33	10	29	115
3. 10 - 14 "	78	9	63	19	44	213
4. 15 - 19 "	14	7	17	4	10	52
5. 20 words & over	2	3	3	1	0	9
Total	132	27	122	35	86	402

TABLE 40b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 40a

Levels of fluency	OG1	OG2	OG3	OG4	OG5
1. 0 - 4 words	0.8	7.4	4.9	2.9	3.5
2. 5 - 9 "	28.0	22.2	27.0	28.6	33.7
3. 10 - 14 "	59.1	33.3	51.6	54.3	51.2
4. 15 - 19 "	10.6	25.9	13.9	11.4	11.6
5. 20 words & over	1.5	11.1	2.5	2.9	0.0

$\chi^2 = 25.51$ when 26.30 was required.

TABLE 41a

Father's OG X English fluency in the
neighbourhood domain

Levels of fluency	OG1	OG2	OG3	OG4	OG5	Total
1. 0 - 4 words	1	0	0	0	2	3
2. 5 - 9 "	37	5	19	5	32	98
3. 10 - 14 "	70	10	60	24	38	202
4. 15 - 19 "	21	11	39	2	14	87
5. 20 words & over	3	1	4	4	0	12
Total	132	27	122	35	86	402

TABLE 41b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 41a

Levels of fluency	OG1	OG2	OG3	OG4	OG5
1. 0 - 4 words	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.3
2. 5 - 9 "	28.0	18.5	15.6	14.3	37.2
3. 10 - 14 "	53.0	37.0	49.2	68.6	44.2
4. 15 - 19 "	15.9	40.7	32.0	5.7	16.3
5. 20 words & over	2.3	3.7	3.3	11.4	0.0

$\chi^2 = 49.68$ when only 26.30 was required.

Yoruba fluency scores as seen in Tables 40a and 40b are rather close between bilinguals in the different OGs. Contrary to the hypothesis being verified the pattern is one of near equality instead of a distinguishing superiority of the subjects in OG1 over the others.

- (i) The mode of fluency is the same - level 3.
- (ii) Very little differences exist between the groups in the proportion of subjects of very poor and poor fluency - 28.8% in OG1, 29.6% in OG2, 31.9% in OG3, 31.5% in OG4, and 37.2% in OG5. Thus the proportion of subjects on the side of fair fluency for the respective groups is 71.2%, 70.3%, 68.0%, 68.6% and 62.8%.
- (iii) In particular, bilinguals in OG2, OG3, and OG4 appear to possess greater Yoruba fluency in this domain as compared to their fluency in the home domain. As against their respective 44.4%, 47.6%, and 42.9% in the home domain, only 29.6%, 31.9% and 31.5% showed poorly in this domain while correspondingly greater proportions showed remarkable fluency at the higher levels 4 and 5.

(iv) By contrast, bilinguals in OG1 who by our hypothesis, should be remarkably more fluent in Yoruba have in fact ~~performed~~ more poorly. A greater proportion of them, 28.8% in this domain, as against 22.0% in the home domain were hardly fluent while, as we have seen fewer of them (71.2%) as against 78.1% in the home domain attained the higher levels of fluency. The poorest group however, is OG5.

(v) A χ^2 test of significance shows that no significant differences exist between the groups. 25.51 is obtained where at least 26.30 is required.

The pattern of English fluency in this domain has however supported the second part of the hypothesis. We find (Tables 41a, 41b) that:

(i) Apart from OG2 where a higher fluency mode obtains (level 4), the general mode is level 3. But the proportion of subjects in the groups who fall below and above the dividing line drawn between levels 2 and 3 shows that

- (ii) the subjects in OG1 are less fluent in English than their counterparts in OG2, OG3, and OG4. More of them (28.8%) fall below the line, i.e. at levels 1 and 2 of very poor and poor fluency, while 71.2% show fluency at the higher levels. In contrast, only 15.6% of the subjects in OG3 fall on the poor side of the line while a larger 84.5% attain the higher levels.
- (iii) The poorest group is again, OG5. 39.5% of them show on the side of poor fluency while only 60.5% attain levels 3 and 4.
- (iv) Unlike the pattern of Yoruba fluency which did not distinguish between the groups the relative differences in English fluency in this domain are quite significant. A χ^2 test of their significance yields 49.68 at 5% level where only 26.30 is required.

It is observed that Yoruba fluency scores in this domain should cause us to reject the first part of this hypothesis. Similar results were got when this same socio-economic status variable was staked as a determinant of Yoruba comprehension ability. We then suggested that the variable as defined was limited as

a factor of language proficiency. Be that as it may, in the present case it has proved a positive factor of fluency as seen in the substantial gain in Yoruba fluency by the subjects in OG2 and OG3. Notice that the topic specified in this domain was the market (oḡà). One's knowledge about the market situation, for example the articles on sale, the style and language of market transactions, and so on, is acquired by practical familiarity with markets, or by reading. In both ways the bilinguals in OG2, OG3 and OG4 have an advantage over their counterparts in OG1. They undoubtedly have facilities for wider reading in both English and Yoruba. This enlarges their stock of words. Moreover, whereas most of the bilinguals in OG1 are probably familiar, in terms of practical involvement or participation, with only the Yoruba traditional market situation, their counterparts in OG2, OG3 and OG4, in addition to the traditional market, know the modern western style supermarket. The articles on sale in such supermarkets are more varied, and in Nigeria they operate both in English and the language of the community, in this case, Yoruba. The categories of bilinguals who patronise them, i.e. the socio-economically more comfortable families, have opportunities

for expanding their vocabulary in this domain. This argument may not be conclusive but it explains some of the gain in Yoruba fluency by the subjects in OG2, OG3 and OG4.

5.53 Bilingual fluency in the domain of occupation

Table 42 and 43 below show the Yoruba and English fluency scores in the domain of occupation.

TABLE 42a

Father's OG X Yoruba fluency in the domain of occupation

	Levels of fluency	OG1	OG2	OG3	OG4	OG5	Total
1.	0 - 4 words	1	2	7	1	3	14
2.	5 - 9 "	47	11	57	11	35	161
3.	10 - 14 "	75	12	49	20	41	197
4.	15 - 19 "	9	2	9	3	6	29
5.	20 words & over	0	0	0	0	1	1
	Total	132	27	122	35	86	402

TABLE 42b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 42a

Levels of fluency	OG 1	OG2	OG3	OG4	OG5
1. 0 - 4 words	0.8	7.4	5.7	2.9	3.5
2. 5 - 9 "	35.6	40.7	46.7	31.4	40.7
3. 10 - 14 "	56.8	44.4	40.2	57.1	47.7
4. 15 - 19 "	6.9	7.4	7.4	8.6	7.0
5. 20 words & over	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2

$\chi^2 = 16.51$ at 5% level where 26.30 was required.

TABLE 43a

Father's OG X English fluency in the domain of
occupation

Levels of fluency	OG1	OG2	OG3	OG4	OG5	Total
1. 0 - 4 words	1	1	4	0	7	13
2. 5 - 9 "	41	10	25	11	34	121
3. 10 - 14 "	74	14	65	18	37	208
4. 15 - 19 "	15	2	25	5	8	55
5. 20 words & over	1	0	3	1	0	5
Total	132	27	122	35	86	402

TABLE 43b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 43a

Levels of fluency	OG1	OG2	OG3	OG4	OG5
1. 0 - 4 words	0.8	3.7	3.3	0.0	8.1
2. 5 - 9 "	31.1	37.0	20.5	31.4	39.5
3. 10 - 14 "	56.1	51.9	53.3	51.4	43.0
4. 15 - 19 "	11.4	7.4	20.5	14.3	9.3
5. 20 words & over	0.8	0.0	2.5	2.9	0.0

$\chi^2 = 29.11$ at 5% where 26.30 is required.

The mode of Yoruba fluency in this domain is level 3 for all the groups except OG3 where it is level 2 of poor fluency (Tables 42a and 42b). The largest proportion on the side of poor fluency (52.4%) and the smallest on the side of fair fluency (47.6%) occur in OG3. The corresponding proportions in OG1 are 36.4% and 63.6%. Other differences in the degree of fluency can be noticed between the other groups. The general fluency of the subjects in OG4 is even higher than that of their counterparts in OG1. However, these differences are far from being significant. At the 5% level, the χ^2 test yields 16.51 where 26.30 is required.

But the pattern of English fluency in the domain significantly supports the second part of the hypothesis. The mode of fluency for all the groups is level 3 (Tables 43a, 43b) but the subjects in OG3 clearly show the superiority of their fluency over all the other groups as a smaller proportion of their number (23.8%) fall on the side of poor fluency while a larger (76.3%) fall on the fair side. In the other groups the proportion on the side of poor fluency is 31.9% in OG1, 40.7% in OG2, 31.4% in OG4, and 47.6% in OG5. On the fair side for these groups respectively are 68.3%, 59.3%, 59.3%, 68.6% and 52.3%. The subjects in OG3 are thus quite distinguished while those in the other groups show only little differences over one another. We notice that the poorest group is not OG1 but OG5. The pattern of English fluency in this domain proves to be quite significant at the 5% level where χ^2 test yields 29.11 when only 26.30 is required.

The topic named in the present domain was farming (iṣé àgbè), and we had expected the subjects in OG2, OG3, OG4 and OG5 to be far less fluent in Yoruba than their counterparts in OG1 in a domain which, for practical purposes, operates mainly in the indigenous language, and in which fewer of their own parents

engage as against the majority of the parents of the subjects in OG1 who are peasant farmers. But our chi-square test revealed no significant differences in Yoruba fluency among the subjects in all the groups. But the remarkable Yoruba fluency shown by the subjects in OGs 2 to 5 should no longer be surprising as it is perhaps another evidence of the role of general reading, including occasional Yoruba reading, to which we now add access to the media of mass communication as a means of building a wide vocabulary.

The role of the radio and television is particularly important for disseminating knowledge and the register of agriculture especially in the Yoruba-speaking states of Nigeria. Every week on the Radio O-Y-O, as part of government effort to promote agriculture, one documentary programme on farming is broadcast in Yoruba ('Agbè oníjẹ àmódún'). It lasts 30 minutes and is repeated during the week. The NBC (West) also broadcasts a thirty-minute talk to farmers in Yoruba (Àgbè oníjẹ ojúmọ). On television, too, a documentary programme is transmitted (Èrè Àgbè), and is also repeated in the course of the week. According to the socio-economic characteristics we attributed to the different OGs, bilinguals in OGs 3 and 4, and perhaps

those in OGs 2 and 5 but probably not those in OG1, have regular access to radio and television as these would be more commonly found in the homes of members of these groups. Therefore, by general reading and by listening in to the kind of radio and television programmes mentioned above (albeit involuntarily), children in such homes have their stock of words in this domain expanded, and by so doing have made up for the deficiencies they would have had by the lack of practical opportunities or facilities to acquire appropriate vocabulary in the field. The fairer English fluency of the subjects in OG1 over those in OG5 was probably due to other variables yet to be accounted for.

But in the last chapter we found that socio-economic status, defined as a unit, was rather shaky as a determinant of comprehension ability. We then compounded its elements with those of the formal institutional variable, and found that bilingual comprehension ability is more assuredly determined by the new compound variable. We have now examined

the degree of our subjects' fluency in their two languages on the basis of their socio-economic status, and found that in two of the three domains our hypothesised differences in their Yoruba fluency were non-existent (in the domains of the neighbourhood and occupation). The pattern of English fluency in all the domains however supported the second part of the hypothesis, a bit tenuously in one. Therefore, to come to a balanced conclusion with regard to the efficacy of this compound variable as a determinant of bilingual proficiency we now proceed to test our present hypothesis on the basis of the new compound variable. The variable and the groups which realise it remain as described in our alternative analyses of comprehension scores in the test of the fifth hypothesis. In terms of this compound variable we now restate our present hypothesis as follows: The subjects in Type 2 and Type 3 schools are superior in Yoruba fluency to their counterparts in Type 1 schools, but they are relatively less fluent in English than the latter.

5.54 Bilingual Verbal Fluency in relation to the type of School the bilingual attends.

Below we present Yoruba and English fluency scores in three domains by subjects in three types of schools.

Bilingual Verbal fluency in the home domain

Type of School X Yoruba fluency in the home domain TABLE 44a

Levels of fluency	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Total
1. 0 - 4 words	12	3	0	15
2. 5 - 9 "	76	46	5	127
3. 10 - 14 "	79	76	33	188
4. 15 - 19 "	20	33	13	66
5. 20 words & over	1	5	0	6
Total	188	163	51	402

TABLE 44b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 44a

Levels of fluency	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3
1. 0 - 4 words	6.4	1.8	0.0
2. 5 - 9 "	40.4	28.2	9.8
3. 10 - 14 "	42.0	46.6	64.7
4. 15 - 19 "	10.6	20.2	25.5
5. 20 words & over	0.5	3.1	0.0

$\chi^2 = 32.29$ at 5% level where 15.51 was required.

TABLE 45a

Type of school X English fluency in the home domain

Levels of fluency		Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Total
1.	0 - 4 words	1	3	0	4
2.	5 - 9 "	18	49	8	75
3.	10 - 14 "	94	84	29	207
4.	15 - 19 "	63	24	13	100
5.	20 words & over	12	3	1	16
Total		188	163	51	402

TABLE 45b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 45a

Levels of fluency	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3
1.	0.5	1.8	0.0
2.	9.6	30.1	15.7
3.	50.0	51.5	56.9
4.	33.5	14.7	25.5
5.	6.4	1.8	2.0

$\chi^2 = 39.88$ at 5% level where 15.51 was required.

In Tables 44b and 45b above we place a line between levels 2 and 3 to demarcate very poor and poor fluency (levels 1 and 2) and fair, good, and very good fluency (levels 3, 4 and 5). This shows clearly (Table 44b) that the pattern of Yoruba fluency in this domain supports our hypothesis as smaller proportions of the subjects in Types 2 and 3 schools (30.0% and 9.8% respectively) as against a much larger proportion of their counterparts in Type 1 schools (46.8%) fall on the side of poor fluency. Thus, 69.9% of the subjects in Type 2 schools and 90.2% of those in Type 3 school as against a much smaller 53.1% of those in Type 1 schools show on the side of fair fluency. But the wide proportional differences of poor and fair fluency between the subjects in Types 2 and 3 schools cited immediately above are also noticeable. In our typology of schools (Chapter 3), the only difference we perceived between the two types of school was locational (urban/rural), and we would therefore suggest, tentatively, that the relative superiority of the subjects in Type 3 school over those in Type 2 schools is due to this variable. The pattern of Yoruba fluency in this domain has proved quite significant. Our χ^2 test of significance on it yields 32.29 at 5% level where only 15.51 is required.

The pattern of English fluency in the domain also supports the second part of the hypothesis, namely, that the subjects in Types 2 and 3 schools are less fluent in English than their counterparts in Type 1 schools. Respectively, 31.9% and 15.7% of them as against a smaller 10.1% of those in Type 1 schools fall on the side of poor fluency while 68.0% and 84.4% of them respectively as against 89.9% of those in Type 1 schools show fair, good, and very good fluency. Their relative degrees of English fluency as distributed in the pair of Tables 45 is quite significant. A χ^2 test of significance on it yields 39.88 at the 5% level where only 15.51 is required.

But we notice a higher degree of English fluency among the subjects in Type 3 schools. Indeed, as the analysis above shows, they (the subjects in Type 3 school) are quite close to those in Type 1 schools. Above, we attributed their superiority in Yoruba fluency over their peers in Type 2 schools to the rural location of their school. This remarkable superiority in English fluency was however unexpected, and is perhaps due to some unquantifiable factor such as the zeal brought into formal teaching which

we suggested (Chapter 4, page 139) is usually greater among the teachers in the rural area schools. Earlier in this chapter we have explored more fully the effect of the rural/urban location of schools on bilingual fluency and accounted for the abilities of the subjects in the two locations.

5.55 Bilingual fluency in the neighbourhood domain

In the pairs of Tables 46 and 47 below we distribute the bilingual subjects in each type of school at the different levels of Yoruba and English fluency.

TABLE 46a

Type of School X Yoruba fluency in the neighbourhood domain

Levels of fluency	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Total
1. 0 - 4 words	12	1	0	13
2. 5 - 9 "	48	56	11	119
3. 10 - 14 "	94	85	34	213
4. 15 - 19 "	29	17	6	52
5. 20 words & over	5	4	0	9
Total	188	163	51	402

TABLE 46b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 46a

Levels of fluency	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3
1. 0 - 4 words	6.4	0.6	0.0
2. 5 - 9 "	25.5	34.4	21.6
3. 10 - 14 "	50.0	52.1	66.7
4. 15 - 19 "	15.4	10.4	11.8
5. 20 words & over	2.7	2.5	0.0

$\chi^2 = 19.47$ at 5% level where 15.51 was required.

TABLE 47a

Type of School X English fluency in the
neighbourhood domain

Levels of fluency	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Total
1. 0 - 4 words	1	2	0	3
2. 5 - 9 "	25	56	17	98
3. 10 - 14 "	99	75	28	202
4. 15 - 19 "	54	27	6	87
5. 20 words & over	9	3	0	12
Total	188	163	51	402

TABLE 47b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 47a

Levels of fluency	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3
1. 0 - 4 words	0.5	1.2	0.0
2. 5 - 9 "	13.3	34.4	33.3
3. 10 - 14 "	52.7	46.0	54.9
4. 15 - 19 "	4.8	1.8	0.0

$\chi^2 = 32.70$ at 5% level where 15.51 was required.

Our hypothesis predicts a poorer Yoruba fluency for the bilingual subjects in Type 1 schools in comparison to their counterparts in the other two types of school. Between Types 3 and 1 schools the hypothesis is strongly supported. We notice (Table 46b) that of the subjects in Type 1 schools, 31.9% fall on the side of poor fluency while 68.1% attain the levels of higher fluency. The corresponding proportions of the subjects in Type 3 school at these levels are 21.6% and 78.5%.

But between the subjects in Types 2 and 1 schools the hypothesis appears to have been reversed. A larger proportion of the former (35.0%) as against

a smaller proportion of the latter (31.9%) have poor fluency. Correspondingly, a smaller proportion of the former (65.0%) as against a larger proportion of the latter (68.1%) possess between fair and very good fluency. This high degree of Yoruba fluency by the subjects in Type 1 schools immediately recalls our earlier finding of very close degrees of fluency in the same domain between the subjects in our OGs 2, 3 and 4 as compared to their counterparts in OG1 (see above, page 257). In the present case the high degree of fluency is more remarkable as the subjects in Type 1 schools have not merely been about equal in Yoruba fluency to those in Type 2 schools; their performance shows them to be more fluent as the comparative proportions pointed out above show.

We have earlier suggested some identity between, on the one hand, the majority of the subjects in OG 3 and OG4 in particular, and on the other hand the majority of the subjects in Type 1 schools - on the basis of their privileged socio-economic status which in turn facilitates their admission into this type of school (Chapter 4). If this partial identity is granted (together with its concomitant ascriptions), then our account for the remarkable Yoruba fluency of

the subjects in OG3, OG4 in this domain goes for the performance seen here of the subjects in Type 1 schools. There is also the advantage of better instructional facilities which they have over their counterparts in the other type of school. The pattern of Yoruba fluency displayed in the tables above is quite significant. The χ^2 test of significance on it yields 19.47 at the 5% level where only 15.51 is required.

The pattern of English fluency as seen in Table 47a and 47b also confirms the second part of the hypothesis. As predicted, the subjects in Types 2 and 3 schools are far less fluent in English than their counterparts in Type 1 schools. This is clearly seen from a comparison of the proportions of the subjects in each type of school on either side of our dividing line. The pattern seen here is highly significant as the χ^2 test on it yields 32.70 at the 5% level where only 15.51 is required. The tests of significance of Yoruba and English fluency in the domain thus point to the viability of this compound variable as a factor of bilingual verbal fluency.

5.56 Bilingual fluency in the domain of occupations

TABLE 48a

Type of School X Yoruba fluency in the domain of occupation

Levels of fluency	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Total
1. 0 - 4 words	13	1	0	14
2. 5 - 9 "	75	71	15	161
3. 10 - 14 "	84	79	34	197
4. 15 - 19 "	16	11	2	29
5. 20 words & over	0	1	0	1
Total	188	163	51	402

TABLE 48b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 48a

Levels of fluency	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3
1. 0 - 4 words	8.9	0.6	0.0
2. 5 - 9 "	39.9	43.6	29.4
3. 10 - 14 "	44.7	48.5	66.7
4. 15 - 19 "	8.5	6.7	3.9
5. 20 words & over	0.0	0.6	0.0

$\chi^2 = 20.63$ at 5% level where 15.51 is required.

TABLE 49a

Type of School X English fluency in the domain of occupation

Levels of fluency	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Total
1. 0 - 4 words	6	7	0	13
2. 5 - 9 "	34	58	19	111
3. 10 - 14 "	108	84	26	218
4. 15 - 19 "	36	13	6	55
5. 20 words & over	4	1	0	5
Total	188	163	51	402

TABLE 49b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 49a

Levels of fluency	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3
1. 0 - 4 words	3.2	4.3	0.0
2. 5 - 9 "	18.1	35.6	37.3
3. 10 - 14 "	57.4	51.5	51.0
4. 15 - 19 "	19.1	8.0	11.8
5. 20 words & over	2.1	0.6	0.0

$\chi^2 = 25.00$ at 5% level where 15.51 is required.

General Yoruba fluency in this domain is rather poor. As Tables 48a, 48b show nearly half of the subjects in Types 1 and 2 schools demonstrate poor fluency. For the subjects in Type 1 schools, the degree of fluency is similar to their fluency in the home domain (see Tables 44a and 44b above), but the subjects in Type 2 schools have shown more poorly in this domain. The subjects in Type 3 school, in proportion to their number, have shown better fluency but theirs too is a poorer achievement when compared to their levels of fluency in the other two domains we have examined.

With reference to our hypothesis the pattern of Yoruba fluency as seen in these tables is rather undecided. Between Types 3 and 1 schools, and between Types 2 and 1, the picture is one of near equality instead of a decidedly better fluency among the subjects in Type 2 schools in comparison with their counterparts in Type 1 schools. The differences we have noticed between the groups are quite small particularly between the subjects in Types 1 and 2 schools, but they are in the direction of our hypothesis and have proved to be statistically significant. A χ^2 test of its significance yields 20.63 at the 5% level where only 15.51 is required.

The differences in the degree of English fluency between the subjects in Type 1 schools on the one hand, and those in Types 2 and 3 schools on the other, have again confirmed the second part of the hypothesis. Proportionally, fewer of the subjects in Type 1 schools (21.3%) fall on the poor side as against much larger proportions of those in the other two types of school (39.9% and 37.3% respectively), while a larger proportion of them (78.6%) as against smaller proportions of those in Types 2 and 3 (60.1%; 62.8%) show fair fluency. A χ^2 test of the significance of this pattern of performance yields 25.00 at 5% level where only 15.51 is required, thus showing the pattern of fluency to be quite significant.

We have examined the strength of this compound variable as a determinant of bilingual verbal fluency in three selected domains and now summarise the main features of the results and our observations on them.

- (i) The subjects in Type 3 school have proved to be decidedly more fluent in Yoruba than their counterparts in Types 1 and 2 schools; their performance has thus confirmed our hypothesis in this regard - in general. But the prediction of the variable should also hold between the

subjects in Type 2 schools, that is, superior Yoruba fluency, over their counterparts in Type 1 schools. This has not been conclusively demonstrated by being consistently demonstrated in all the domains. As the results show, in the home domain, they (the subjects in Type 2 schools) displayed greater fluency than the subjects in Type 1 schools, but in the neighbourhood domain they were less fluent. Even in the domain of occupation they only managed to show a shade more fluent than the subjects in Type 1 schools.

(ii) The patterns and degrees of fluency in English, as between, on the one hand the subjects in Type 1 schools and on the other hand, those in the other two types of school, have also confirmed the hypothesis. With regard to this compound variable, therefore, the Yoruba fluency attainment of the subjects in Type 1 schools is of great interest, for whereas their superior English fluency as predicted was only confirmed, their high degree of Yoruba fluency (as seen in two of the three domains in which we have examined bilingual fluency) was not foreseen (given the orientation of the elements of the variable).

This, therefore, emerges as the most remarkable aspect of these results. Its significance for our hypothesis can hardly be missed, namely, that this compound variable is a more positive determinant of bilingual fluency. Here, it is responsible for superior fluency in English which comes under its auspicious influences (since the elements of the variable have been shown to be predisposed to or deliberately orientated towards English in the sections of the Nigerian society where they obtain), and for high fluency in Yoruba in spite of the non-chalant if not outright negative disposition of the elements of the variable to the latter language.

5.6 Sex and bilingual fluency

Finally, we examine an aspect of a possible biological and demographic dimension to bilingual verbal productivity, namely, sex. This needs to be ascertained since there is a strongly held lay impression that some direct correlation obtains between sex and language proficiency. The impression is based on two related but oversimplified assumptions.

First, it is held that language skills belong to the category of the skills which are easier to acquire and manipulate. The category includes the knowledge of

and skills for the analysis of all the areas of intellectual enterprise which are understood to be non-scientific in the customary sense of the scientific. These are the humanities. The strictly scientific (involving laboratory experiments) and technological skills are in this regard the more difficult ones.

Second, the traditional view of women as the weaker sex is extended to include their lack of the intellectual resilience required for the acquisition of these more difficult skills. But to compensate, women are held to be more cut out for studies in the humanities in which they are assumed to be more capable than the men, while the latter are held to surpass the women in the knowledge and pursuit of scientific investigations - naturally.

Furthermore, a gradation of difficulties in content and the skills required for analysis is conceived for disciplines in the humanities. In the gradation, the language skills are easier to acquire and manipulate than the knowledge and investigations of, say, economic, political, and even historical and sociological issues. Therefore, women naturally do better with language acquisition than with studies of other kinds.

The impression appears to be further strengthened (in Nigeria, at least), by the attraction which university departments of certain European languages, particularly French and German, usually have initially for the female undergraduates. For example, we find in the table below the distribution of first preferences between language and non-language honours degree courses among five sets of preliminary students in the Faculty of Arts at the Jos Campus of the University of Ibadan.

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TABLE 50

DISTRIBUTION OF PREFERENCES BETWEEN LANGUAGE AND NON-LANGUAGE

HONOURS DEGREE COURSES AMONG ARTS PRELIMINARY STUDENTS

1971/72 TO 1975/76 SESSIONS

1 Academic year	2 Total of Faculty places accepted	3 Total: first preferences for English		4 Total: first preferences for French		5 Total of preferences for English & French.	6 Total of preferences for non-language courses	7 Percentage of preferences for Language courses to whole Faculty.	8 Percentage of Male to Female in Language courses.	
		M	F	M	F				M	F
1971/72	83	9	8	6	14	37	46	44.6	40.5	59.5
1972/73	78	7	8	7	9	31	47	39.7	45.2	54.8
1973/74	81	8	8	13	7	36	45	44.4	58.4	41.6
1974/75	95	9	11	9	9	38	57	40.0	47.4	52.6
1975/76	103	10	7	11	13	41	62	39.9	51.2	48.8

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In the Faculty of Arts of the University, single or combined honours degree courses could be taken in the following subjects - History, English, French, German, Religious Studies, Arabic and Islamic Studies, and in Classics (which has however become unpopular). Any of these subjects could also be done for a degree in education. It was also the practice that many Arts preliminary students elected to do honours degree courses in the Faculty of the Social Sciences after the preliminary year. The honours courses into which they usually went included Economics, Political Science and Sociology. This meant that in general, there were available to the sets of students distributed in the table above single or combined honours courses in at least ten subjects. But the table shows (Column 7) the popularity (at first registration) of honours degree courses in English and French over all the other possible choices. At least about 40% (approximately) of every set of students initially preferred honours degree courses in these two languages. We notice also (Column 8) that except among two sets (1973/74, 1975/76) there were more female than male students among the students preferring degree courses in the European languages.

But perhaps the impression described so far is not peculiarly Nigerian. On the basis of his experiences in other societies, Weinreich¹⁰ finds some congruence between sex and language aptitude and bilingual proficiency and lists it along with other variables the effect of which should be investigated to see their relation to bilingual acquisition and proficiency. Mackey¹¹ also states categorically: "If sex is a factor of language development, ... it is also a factor of bilingualism". Most empirical investigations of language acquisition and proficiency abilities have, however, tended to concentrate mainly on the correlations between these abilities and the age of the learners and the context of acquisition. There is not much

10. Uriel Weinreich (1970), *op. cit.*, pp. 93-94.

11. William F. Mackey (1968), *op. cit.*, p. 566.

known that has been done to correlate the abilities and the sex of the learners.¹²

But Obanya investigated the dimension of sex among YbE bilingual secondary grammar school pupils learning the French language. Apparently, his investigation was motivated by the same general impression described above. One of his hypotheses positively relates success in learning an additional language, (in his case, French), to previous bi- or multi-lingualism. Another states that "girls are more successful in foreign language learning than boys".¹³ The former hypothesis was confirmed but the latter was not. The girls in his sample scored higher but not significantly higher than the boys.

12. There are, however, sociolinguistic investigations of the sex variable in matters of language choice in societies known to have interlingual, i.e. bilingual or intralingual alternative variants of usage forms which are in complementary distribution between the sexes. Joan Rubin reports the tendency among bilingual Paraguayan men to use more Guarani with other men but Spanish with women, while the women use Spanish with men and women. Cf: her 'Bilingual Usage in Paraguay' in Fishman (ed.), 1968, p. 514, p. 528.

13. Obanya (1973), op. cit., p. 38.

In the light of our earlier suggestion that bilingualism is better conceived of in degrees, the degree of YbE bilingualism among his subjects needed to have been first ascertained and then correlated with their success in learning the additional language, i.e., French.

But the assumptions on which his investigation (or any such investigation) was based have been said to be oversimplified, and therefore still open. This is because, while physical disabilities can be said to have kept the womenfolk out of certain technological pursuits, experimental scientific investigations, requiring high intellectual power and endurance, are known to have been successfully carried out by women as by men. The discovery of the radioactivity of thorium by Madam Marie Curie is a case in point. She also made other significant contributions to theoretical physics.¹⁴ More probably the attraction which the study of foreign languages therefore has for the female undergraduates has no linguistic assurance

14. See Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 5, pp. 371-374. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc. 15th Edition (1974).

but is motivated by fancies, such as the opportunity which the study of such languages offer to travel to the fairy homelands of the native speakers of the languages in the course of the study, or after, when the graduate enters an employment, e.g., foreign service, where proficiency in the particular language is required. But an observation of male/female linguistic performance will seem to support the equally strong impression that language or bilingual proficiency is independent of sex. It is on the basis of this second impression that we have posed our twelfth hypothesis. It states that 'there is no relation between sex and bilingual productive ability'. We now proceed to test this hypothesis by the fluency of our subjects in three domains which have been selected for being outside the formally learned domains, namely, the home, the neighbourhood, and occupation.

In the tables below our subjects' fluency scores have been grouped into five levels: Level 1 (0 word), Level 2 (1 - 9 words), Level 3 (10 - 14 words), Level 4 (15 - 19 words), Level 5 (20 words and over). In some domains all the levels are realized but only level 3 or 4 is actually attained

in some others, or attained in only one language in a particular domain. It is also noticed that in all the domains the mode of fluency is level 2. The range of level 2 (1 - 9 words) is wider than the range of the other levels and so captures the fluency ability of the majority of our subjects. We therefore regard this level as the norm for the sex variable. It thus serves as the level of departure for the assessment of the male/female bilingual fluency superiority according to the proportions of members of either sex whose performances fall below and above this mode.

5.61 Bilingual Fluency by Sex in the home domain.

TABLE 51a

Yoruba fluency Scores X Sex in the home domain

Levels of fluency	F	M	Total
1. 0 - word	8	7	15
2. 1 - 9 words	118	197	315
3. 10 - 14 "	22	44	66
4. 15 - 19 "	0	5	5
5. 20 words & over	0	1	1
Total	148	254	402

TABLE 51b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 51a

Levels of fluency	F	M
1. 0 word	5.4	2.8
2. 1 - 9 words	79.7	77.6
3. 10 - 14 "	14.9	17.3
4. 15 - 19 "	0.0	2.0
5. 20 words & over	0.0	0.4

$\chi^2 = 5.66$ at 5% level where 9.49 was required to reject the hypothesis.

TABLE 52a

English fluency Scores X Sex in the home domain

Levels of fluency	F	M	Total
1. 0 word	2	2	4
2. 1 - 9 words	96	186	282
3. 10 - 14 "	44	56	100
4. 15 - 19 "	6	10	16
Total	148	254	402

TABLE 52b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 52a

Levels of fluency	F	M
1. 0 word	1.4	0.8
2. 1 - 9 words	64.9	73.2
3. 10 - 14 "	29.7	22.0
4. 15 - 19 "	4.1	3.9

$\chi^2 = 3.45$ at 5% level where 7.81 was required to reject the hypothesis.

The pair of Table 51 show the degree of Yoruba fluency in the home domain to be higher among the male subjects than it is among the female. A smaller proportion of the males (2.8%) but a larger proportion of the females were seemingly non-fluent.¹⁵ Also, a

15. Absolute non-fluency as suggested by zero fluency scores in either language is not to be seen as contradicting the fact that all our subjects are bilingual. We notice that the number of the seemingly non-fluent subjects in each language varies from domain to domain. This shows that a zero fluency score in one domain is no evidence of monolingualism as it could have been due to some vagaries of the test circumstances, either relative to a particular domain, or to a momentary non-functioning of the mind. Some of these same subjects show some degree of positive fluency in the same language in some other domains; hence the varying number.

smaller proportion of the males (77.6%) and a slightly larger proportion of the females (79.7%) belong to the mode. On the other hand a larger proportion of the male subjects (19.7%) as against a slightly smaller proportion of the female ones (14.9%) attain the higher levels of fluency. This pattern of Yoruba fluency proves to be quite insignificant even at the 5% level where the χ^2 test on the pattern yields 5.66 when it required 9.49 to reject our hypothesis of the independence of the sex variable with regard to Yoruba fluency.

But English fluency attainment in the same home domain (Table 52) is higher among the female subjects. Proportionally, slightly more of them (1.4%) than the male subjects (0.8%) showed absolute non-fluency. However their generally higher English fluency in the domain is seen in 33.8% of them who attained the levels 3 and 4 as against a smaller proportion of the male subjects, 25.9%, at the same levels. Their higher fluency is however insignificant as the χ^2 test of the whole pattern yields 3.45 at the 5% level when it requires 7.81 to turn down the hypothesis.

TABLE 5

5.62 Bilingual Fluency by Sex in the neighbourhood domain.

TABLE 53a

Yoruba fluency scores X Sex in the neighbourhood domain

Levels of fluency	F	M	Total
1. 0 word	5	8	13
2. 1 - 9 words	121	207	328
3. 10 - 14 "	18	34	52
4. 15 - 19 "	4	5	9
Total	148	254	402

TABLE 53b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 53a

Levels of fluency	F	M
1. 0 word	3.4	3.1
2. 1 - 9 words	81.8	81.5
3. 10 - 14 "	12.2	13.4
4. 15 - 19 "	2.7	2.0

$\chi^2 = 0.35$ at the 5% level where it required 7.81 to reject the hypothesis.

TABLE 54a

English fluency scores X Sex in the neighbourhood domain

Levels of fluency		F	M	Total
1.	0 word	1	2	3
2.	1 - 9 words	115	185	300
3.	10 - 14 "	29	58	87
4.	15 - 19 "	3	9	12
Total		148	254	402

TABLE 54b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 54a

Levels of fluency		F	M
1.	0 word	0.7	0.8
2.	1 - 9 words	77.7	72.8
3.	10 - 14 "	19.6	22.8
4.	15 - 19 "	2.0	3.5

$\chi^2 = 1.49$ at the 5% level where it required 7.81 to reject the hypothesis.

The pairs of Tables 53, 54 respectively show the degrees of Yoruba and English fluency in the neighbourhood domain. Yoruba fluency scores (Table 53) have most clearly given support to our hypothesis. The male subjects managed to scrape a scintilla over the female ones: 3.1% of them show absolute no fluency and 15.4% show fluency at levels 3 and 4. Of the female subjects 3.4% show absolute no fluency while 14.9% attain levels 3 and 4. But the greater Yoruba fluency of the male subjects is very insignificant. At the 5% level the pattern yields 0.35 where it required 7.81 to reject the hypothesis.

English fluency ability in the same domain is not much different from the pattern of Yoruba fluency. A slightly larger proportion of the female subjects, (77.7%), as against 72.8% of the male ones, attain the mode while proportionally more of the male subjects, 26.3%, as against 21.6% of the female ones attain the higher levels. But these are chance differences as the χ^2 test shows them to be insignificant. At the 5% level, 1.49 is obtained where 7.81 is required to reject the hypothesis. Again, the hypothesis of the independence of sex and language productive ability is confirmed.

5.63 Bilingual Fluency by Sex in the domain of occupation

TABLE 55a

Yoruba fluency scores X Sex in the domain of occupation

Levels of fluency	F	M	Total
1. 0 word	8	6	14
2. 1 - 9 words	129	229	358
3. 10 - 14 "	11	18	29
4. 15 - 19 "	0	0	0
5. 20 words & over	0	1	1
Total	148	254	402

TABLE 55b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 55a

Levels of fluency	F	M
1. 0 word	5.4	2.4
2. 1 - 9 words	87.2	90.2
3. 10 - 14 "	7.4	7.1
4. 15 - 19 "	0.0	0.0
5. 20 words & over	0.0	0.4

$\chi^2 = 3.18$ at the 5% level where it required 9.49 to reject the hypothesis.

TABLE 56a

English Fluency scores X Sex in the domain
of occupation

Levels of fluency	F	M	Total
1. 0 word	9	4	13
2. 1 - 9 words	125	204	329
3. 10 - 14 "	14	41	55
4. 15 - 19 "	0	5	5
Total	148	254	402

TABLE 56b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 56a

Levels of fluency	F	M
1. 0 word	6.1	1.6
2. 1 - 9 words	84.5	80.3
3. 10 - 14 "	9.5	16.1
4. 15 - 19 "	0.0	2.0

$\chi^2 = 12.03$ at the 5% level where it required only 7.81 to reject the hypothesis.

The pattern of bilingual fluency for the sexes is ambivalent as seen in the pairs of Tables 55 and 56 above. The male subjects appear slightly more fluent than the female ones in Yoruba. Only 2.4% of them show no fluency at all while 7.5% show fluency above the mode. Among the female subjects, 5.4% show no fluency at all while 7.4% of them perform above the mode. But the greater fluency of the male subjects is not high enough to reject our hypothesis. The χ^2 test of the significance of the pattern yields 3.18 at the 5% level where it required 9.49 to reject the hypothesis. Thus, with regard to Yoruba fluency in this domain the hypothesis is confirmed.

But in English the male subjects appear significantly more fluent than the female ones. Only 1.6% of them as against 6.1% of the female ones perform below the mode. On the other hand 18.1% of the male as against only 9.5% of the female ones attain the higher levels of fluency. The test of the significance of this pattern yields 12.03 at the 5% level where it required only 7.81 to reject the hypothesis.

The first remarkable outcome of the test of this hypothesis, as the analyses above show, is that the male and not the female subjects in our sample have

been the more productive in both languages in all the three domains. This shows the popular impression of the superior language ability of the female sex to be, as suggested, over-simplistic and unfounded. Instead, the scores in the tests of fluency have provided evidence for the opposite view.

The second and important outcome of the test is the support of its result for our hypothesis. This has been unequivocal in two domains, namely, the home and the neighbourhood. But the support is ambiguous in the third domain - occupation. Here, the pattern of Yoruba fluency supports the hypothesis but the superior English fluency of the male subjects is so very significant that it denies the the hypothesis.

No one single factor will provide a satisfactory explanation for this significant male English fluency pattern. The specific item mentioned in the domain is farming. In Yoruba land, because this industry has been traditionally dominated by men, the male subjects could have been seen as culturally equipped to have a wider active vocabulary appropriate to the domain. But our analysis shows their Yoruba fluency in the same domain as not correspondingly significant as would have been the case if the domain has been predisposed to higher male fluency.

Nor can the English language be said to have a wider vocabulary in this domain for this category of bilinguals. As said earlier, they are not a farming group. Their indirect contact with farming is through practising farmers who are mainly Yoruba monolinguals. Their acquaintance with the appropriate English register in the domain has therefore come from government information leaflets, the radio, the television, and the study of plant biology. But all these sources are equally available to the female subjects. Appropriate English vocabulary in the domain is therefore not a special privilege of the male subjects. Their exceptionally significant English fluency in the domain of occupation cannot therefore be due to their maleness, nor to the domain itself, nor to the language itself. It is probably due to a combination of all these factors. However, it is an isolated instance of significant male fluency, and our hypothesis of the independence of sex and bilingual productive ability must still be allowed to stand undenied.

CHAPTER SIX

ANALYSES OF RESULTS AND DISCUSSION III:

BILINGUAL USAGE AND PROFICIENCY*

DEGREE OF BILINGUALISM

In the last two chapters we evaluated bilingual proficiency, measured by tests of comprehension and fluency, against some functional variables of language acquisition. Similar evaluations continue in this chapter, but against some more informal sociological variables which are generally considered positive influences on language proficiency. They consist mainly of the varying intensity of the uses of the languages in set situations. But in contrast to the procedure used in the preceding analyses, here, the bilingual subjects, not the investigator, defined the variables. The definition took the form of self-reports as described in the sections below. But it meant that no particular hypotheses can possibly be staked against the variables since it was not quite feasible to predetermine self-reports. However, in order to facilitate analysis, alternative degrees of intensity of language use were suggested against which the subjects made their self-reports. Analyses then consist of correlating the reports with the achievement of the subjects who made them in one aspect of language proficiency, viz,

comprehension. The patterns emerging in the correlations are then considered for their significance as supporting or denying the direct positive relationship which is assumed to hold between the variables and language proficiency.

There are five sections. Section 6.1 relates language choice and frequency of use in a number of interactional situations to bilingual comprehension attainment. Section 6.2 correlates the bilingual's assessment of his own proficiency with his actual ability as demonstrated by his performance in the comprehension test. Section 6.3 evaluates the role of certain language proficiency reinforcers. The last two sections deal with general evaluations, in summary, of bilingual proficiency among the sample subjects (Section 6.4), and the patterns of bilingual dominance among this category of bilinguals, as observed in the general performance. (Section 6.5).

6.10 Bilingual Comprehension in relation to choice and usage habit in interactional communication

In a section of the LBQ which was administered (Part C, .i - xxiv.) a number of interactional situations were depicted in which language is used as vehicle. Examples of such situations are: subject and

father discussing school reports; subject's family at meal, or at prayers; subject with siblings discussing sports, etc. The bilingual subjects were asked to indicate the frequency of their use of each language in those situations on a 5 - point scale of increasing frequency: Never (N) - Hardly (H) - Sometimes (S) - Often (O) - Always (A).

In respect of the two languages in each situation two choices, N, A, are clearly mutually exclusive, thus defining monolingual choice habit. Two choices of low frequency, N, H, and two of high frequency, O, A, are superfluous and to a great extent meaningless and contradictory in the same situation. That is, an O response for Yoruba in a situation makes an A for English (or vice versa) in the same situation worthless. The mid-frequency choice (S) is the only one simultaneously permissible for the two languages. It reflects a true, unrestricted bilingual usage habit in the situation. These implications of the choices, and the need to make the choice indications discrete, were explained before the questionnaire was taken away for completion. Below we present and discuss the correlations of the self-reports in respect of the situations and the subjects' comprehension ability.

TABLE 57a

Frequency of Yoruba in general discussion with
parents X Yoruba Comprehension

Comprehension scores	N	H	S	O	A	Total
1. 0	0	2	2	2	0	6
2. 1 - 2 scores	0	1	0	1	0	2
3. 3 - 4 "	3	1	1	2	0	7
4. 5 - 6 "	2	19	15	17	28	81
5. 7 - 8 "	0	22	26	60	133	241
6. 9 - 10 "	0	3	4	12	46	65
Total	5	48	48	94	207	402

TABLE 57b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 57a

Comprehension Score	N	H	S	O	A
1. 0 score	0.0	4.2	4.2	2.1	0.0
2. 1 - 2 scores	0.0	2.1	0.0	1.1	0.0
3. 3 - 4 "	60.0	2.1	2.1	2.1	0.0
4. 5 - 6 "	40.0	39.6	31.3	18.1	13.5
5. 7 - 8 "	0.0	45.8	54.2	63.8	64.3
6. 9 - 10 "	0.0	6.3	8.3	12.8	22.2
Summary: Levels 4-6	40.0	91.7	93.8	94.7	100.0

TABLE 58a

Frequency of English in general discussion with
parents X Comprehension of YbE English

Comprehension scores	N	H	S	O	A	Total
1. 3 - 4 scores	18	17	3	1	3	42
2. 5 - 6 "	62	75	19	14	5	175
3. 7 - 8 "	36	75	26	20	7	164
4. 9 - 10 "	5	9	3	2	2	21
Total	121	176	51	37	17	402

TABLE 58b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 58a

Comprehension Scores	N	H	S	O	A
1. 3 - 4 scores	14.9	9.7	5.9	2.7	17.6
2. 5 - 6 "	51.2	42.6	37.3	37.8	29.4
3. 7 - 8 "	29.8	42.6	51.0	54.1	41.2
4. 9 - 10 "	4.1	5.1	5.9	5.4	11.8
Summary: Levels 2-4	85.1	90.3	94.2	97.3	82.4

TABLE 59a

Frequency of Yoruba in discussing school matters
with parents X Yoruba Comprehension

Comprehension Scores	N	H	S	O	A	Total
1. 0 score	1	3	2	0	0	6
2. 1 - 2 scores	0	2	0	0	0	2
3. 3 - 4 "	2	3	0	1	1	7
4. 5 - 6 "	8	28	8	15	22	81
5. 7 - 8 "	9	55	26	39	112	241
6. 9 - 10 "	2	15	5	4	39	65
Total	22	106	41	59	174	402

TABLE 59b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 59a

Comprehension Scores	N	H	S	O	A
1. 0 score	4.5	2.8	4.9	0.0	0.0
2. 1 - 2 scores	0.0	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0
3. 3 - 4 "	9.1	2.8	0.0	1.7	0.6
4. 5 - 6 "	36.4	26.4	19.5	25.4	12.6
5. 7 - 8 "	40.9	51.9	63.4	66.1	64.4
6. 9 - 10 "	9.1	14.2	12.2	6.8	22.4
Summary: Levels 4-6	86.4	92.5	95.1	98.3	99.4

TABLE 60a

Frequency of English in discussing school matters
with parents X Comprehension of YbE English

Comprehension Scores	N	H	S	O	A	Total
1. 3 - 4 scores	18	14	5	3	2	42
2. 5 - 6 "	76	59	28	8	4	175
3. 7 - 8 "	49	66	28	15	6	164
4. 9 - 10 "	3	11	3	1	3	21
Total	146	150	64	27	15	402

TABLE 60b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 60a

Comprehension Scores	N	H	S	O	A
1. 3 - 4 scores	12.3	9.3	7.8	11.1	13.3
2. 5 - 6 "	52.1	39.3	43.8	29.6	26.7
3. 7 - 8 "	33.6	44.0	43.8	55.6	40.0
4. 9 - 10 "	2.1	7.3	4.7	3.7	20.0
Summary: Levels 2-4	87.8	90.6	92.3	88.9	86.7

TABLE 61a

Frequency of Yoruba with siblings X Yoruba Comprehension

Comprehension Scores	N	H	S	O	A	Total
1. 0 score	0	2	1	3	0	6
2. 1 - 2 scores	0	1	1	0	0	2
3. 3 - 4 "	2	1	3	1	0	7
4. 5 - 6 "	0	17	22	31	11	81
5. 7 - 8 "	0	36	61	84	60	241
6. 9 - 10 "	0	5	12	26	22	65
Total	2	62	100	145	93	402

TABLE 61b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 61a

Comprehension Scores	N	H	S	O	A
1. 0 score	0.0	3.2	1.0	2.1	0.0
2. 1 - 2 scores	0.0	1.6	1.0	0.0	0.0
3. 3 - 4 "	100.0	1.6	3.0	0.7	0.0
4. 5 - 6 "	0.0	27.4	22.0	21.4	11.8
5. 7 - 8 "	0.0	58.1	61.0	57.9	64.5
6. 9 - 10 "	0.0	8.1	12.0	17.9	23.7
Summary: Levels 4-6	0.0	93.6	95.0	97.2	100.0

TABLE 62a

Frequency of English with siblings X Comprehension
of YbE English

Comprehension Scores	N	H	S	O	A	Total
1. 3 - 4 scores	0	22	8	11	1	42
2. 5 - 6 "	10	92	49	19	5	175
3. 7 - 8 "	5	95	41	19	4	164
4. 9 - 10 "	2	7	6	3	3	21
Total	17	216	104	52	13	402

TABLE 62b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 62a

Comprehension Scores	N	H	S	O	A
1. 3 - 4 scores	0.0	10.2	7.7	21.2	7.7
2. 5 - 6 "	58.8	42.6	47.1	36.5	38.5
3. 7 - 8 "	29.4	44.0	39.4	36.5	30.8
4. 9 - 10 "	11.8	3.2	5.8	5.8	23.1
Summary: Levels 2-4	100.0	89.8	92.3	78.8	92.4

TABLE 63

Language habits in general discussion with parents

	NH	S	OA
Yoruba	53	48	301
English	307	51	54

TABLE 64

Summary of language habits in discussion of school matters with parents

	NH	S	OA
Yoruba	128	41	233
English	296	64	42

TABLE 65

Summary of language habits in discussion with siblings

	NH	S	OA
Yoruba	64	100	238
English	233	104	65

In the tables above comprehension achievements are matched with three interactional situation variables, namely, (i) general discussion with parents (Tables 57, 58, 63), (ii) discussion of school matters with parents (Tables 59, 60, 64), (iii) general discussion with siblings (Tables 61, 62, 65).

The distribution of language habits (choice and frequency of use) shows a fairly high degree of choice consistency among our subjects. As the following summary tables show, the number of those who never and who hardly use one language in one context is about the same as those who often or always use the other language in the same context. Only in the choice and frequency of use of language in discussing school matters with parents (Table 64) is there noticeable discrepancy in the distribution of choice. 128 never or hardly use Yoruba in the context but only 42 often or always use English. 41 sometimes use Yoruba but 64 sometimes use English. 233 often and always use Yoruba but 296 never and hardly use English.

The consistency observed shows that at the level of this category of bilinguals, language choice is deliberate, as determined by context. Further, the more widely unsymmetrical redistribution of the habits, summarised in Table 64 reflects an interesting sociolinguistic fact, namely, that some of our subjects were probably in the habit of reassessing theirs as well as other people's bilingual competence as different situations arise, and of modifying their choice habits accordingly. For example, English will generally be considered more effective in the discussion of school matters, but topics in the area will require a high degree of competence in the language and facility with a variety of appropriate registers if communication centering on the area is to be meaningful. Where any of the participants is perceived to lack the approximate level of English proficiency to cope, a quick assessment dictates choice readjustment. Thus, a comparison of Tables 63 and 64 shows that fewer of our subjects would insist on the use of English often and always (OA) in discussing school matters with their parents (Table 64) than would in less exacting general discussions with the same parents (Table 63). Some more would therefore sometimes (S) use English but

would resort to Yoruba in the situation when good sociolinguistic judgement dictates it.

Between the language habit groups marked differences in achievement are expected in direct relation to the intensity of their use of each language in each situation. That is, taking levels 4, 5 and 6 as the levels of fair and good comprehension, the proportion of the subjects who hardly (H) use Yoruba in one context and who attain these levels should be slightly larger than the proportion of those who never (N) use the language but who attain the same levels of comprehension. Relatively, too, the proportion of those who sometimes (S) use the language in the context and who attain these levels should be larger than the proportion of H, and so on.

With Yoruba comprehension our correlations (Tables 57, 59, 61) show our expectation of proficiency in consequence of intensity of use to be realized. In the context of child-parents in general discussion, 40.0% of N, but 91.7% of H, 93.8% of S, 94.7% of O, and 100.0% of A, attain the higher levels. In the context of child-parents in discussion of school matters 86.4% of N, but 92.5% of H, 95.1% of S, 98.3% of O, and 99.4% of A, attain the same levels. In the

context of siblings in general discussion 0.0% of N, but 93.6% of H, 95.0% of S, 97.2% of O, and 100.0% of A, attain the levels.

On the contrary, the achievements in the comprehension of YbE English do not support the appearance of any direct relation between comprehension and the intensity of use variable. In all the three situations the proportions of N or H at the higher levels are larger than the proportions of S, O, and A at the same levels. The most contradictory is the regular superiority of N over A in the situations. Yet it cannot be that no relation exists between English comprehension and the intensity of its use whereby the latter enhances higher achievements in the former. Such a relationship has been seen to exist in some degree for Yoruba, and should be more prominent for proficiency in English which is a second language for the subjects of this investigation. We have earlier remarked that scores in the comprehension of this variety of English are generally high, ranging from 3 to 10. On the contrary, scores in Yoruba comprehension appear to discriminate abilities better. The appearance of no direct relationship between English comprehension and the variable of intensity of use may therefore be due to the

deficiency in the test material used, and not a denial of a direct link between the two variables themselves.

6.11 Language choice habits within the family and bilingual proficiency

This subsection continues the attempt to ascertain the effect of language choice and frequency of use on the comprehension ability of bilingual subjects. But whereas in the last subsection we directly focused on the usage habits of our sample subjects in their interaction with particular people, in this we focus on the language habits of whole families to see their effects on the proficiency ability of members of such families.

Choice habits in two activities are investigated: family prayers and meals. These appear to be the only activities most likely to bring the whole family together at least twice a day: at the morning prayers and the breakfast which follows, and at supper, followed by the evening prayers before bed time.

There are, of course, many families which do not ever meet in family prayers (especially the non-christian and even some christian ones), but most families perhaps share fellowship at meals once or twice a day.

In the LBQ (Part C, v & vi) we asked what the family

language habits at these activities were and got responses from all our subjects. The activities might not be common to all families but all the responses were accepted since they attested to family habits all the same, even if not to usage habits in the two situations specified. Below, we present the correlations of these language habits and the comprehension abilities of the bilingual members of the families.

TABLE 66a

Frequency of Yoruba at family prayers X Yoruba Comprehension

Comprehension Scores	N	H	S	O	A	Total
1. 0	0	0	1	2	3	6
2. 1 - 2 scores	0	1	0	1	0	2
3. 3 - 4 "	1	2	0	0	4	7
4. 5 - 6 "	4	12	6	18	41	81
5. 7 - 8 "	2	11	12	37	179	241
6. 9 - 10 "	1	3	2	7	52	65
Total	8	29	21	65	279	402

TABLE 66b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 66a

Comprehension Scores	N	H	S	O	A
1. 0 score	0.0	0.0	4.8	3.1	1.1
2. 1 - 2 scores	0.0	3.4	0.0	1.5	0.0
3. 3 - 4 "	12.5	6.9	0.0	0.0	1.4
4. 5 - 6 "	50.0	41.4	28.6	27.7	14.7
5. 7 - 8 "	25.0	37.9	57.1	56.9	64.2
6. 9 - 10 "	12.5	10.3	9.5	10.8	18.6
Summary: Level 4-6	87.5	89.6	95.2	95.4	97.5

TABLE 67a

Frequency of English at family prayers X Comprehension of YbE English

Comprehension Scores	N	H	S	O	A	Total
1. 3 - 4 scores	28	11	1	1	1	42
2. 5 - 6 "	98	57	6	9	5	175
3. 7 - 8 "	78	53	15	10	8	164
4. 9 - 10 "	6	11	1	1	2	21
Total	210	132	23	21	16	402

TABLE 67b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 67a

Comprehension Scores	N	H	S	O	A
1. 3 - 4 scores	13.3	8.3	4.3	4.8	6.3
2. 5 - 6 "	46.7	43.2	26.1	42.9	31.3
3. 7 - 8 "	37.1	40.2	65.2	47.6	50.0
4. 9 - 10 "	2.9	8.3	4.3	4.8	12.5
Summary: Level 2-4	86.7	91.7	95.6	95.3	93.8

TABLE 68a

Frequency of Yoruba at family meals X Yoruba
comprehension

Comprehension Scores	N	H	S	O	A	Total
1. 0 score	0	1	3	1	1	6
2. 1 - 2 scores	0	0	2	0	0	2
3. 3 - 4 "	1	3	2	0	1	7
4. 5 - 6 "	3	13	11	22	32	81
5. 7 - 8 "	3	14	33	50	141	241
6. 9 - 10 "	0	3	13	8	41	65
Total	7	34	64	81	216	402

TABLE 68b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 68a

Comprehension Scores	N	H	S	O	A
1. 0 score	0.0	2.9	4.7	1.2	0.5
2. 1 - 2 scores	0.0	0.0	3.1	0.0	0.0
3. 3 - 4 "	14.3	8.8	3.1	0.0	0.5
4. 5 - 6 "	42.9	38.2	17.2	27.2	14.8
5. 7 - 8 "	42.9	41.2	51.6	61.7	65.3
6. 9 - 10 "	0.0	8.8	20.3	9.9	19.0
Summary: Level 4-6	85.8	88.2	89.1	98.8	99.1

TABLE 69a

Frequency of English at family meals X Comprehension of YbE English

Comprehension Scores	N	H	S	O	A	Total
1. 3 - 4 scores	18	14	5	3	2	42
2. 5 - 6 "	76	59	28	8	4	175
3. 7 - 8 "	49	66	28	15	6	164
4. 9 - 10 "	3	11	3	1	3	21
Total	146	150	64	27	15	402

TABLE 69b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 69a

Comprehension scores	N	H	S	O	A
1. 3 - 4 scores	12.3	9.3	7.8	11.1	13.3
2. 5 - 6 "	52.1	39.3	43.8	29.6	26.7
3. 7 - 8 "	33.6	44.0	43.8	55.6	40.0
4. 9 - 10 "	2.1	7.3	4.7	3.7	20.0
Summary: Levels 2-4	87.8	90.6	92.3	88.9	86.7

The spread of comprehension achievements in Tables 66 and 67 shows the achievements to relate directly with the relative intensity of the use of Yoruba and English in family prayers. With respect to Yoruba (Table 66) we find across the groups increasing proportions of subjects who attain the higher levels of comprehension: 87.5% of N, 89.6% of H, 95.2% of S, 95.4% of O, and 97.5% of A. In the comprehension of YbE English (Table 67), smaller proportions of N and H (86.7%, 91.7%) but larger proportions of S (95.6%), O (95.3%) and A (93.8%) attain the higher levels. We notice, however, that with respect to S, O, and A, the same expectation of high achievement relative to confessed intensity of use is not realised: a smaller

proportion of A (93.8%) as against a slightly larger proportion of S (95.6%) attain the higher levels.

In the context of 'family at meals' Yoruba comprehension performance by the groups meets the expected direct relation between the variables (Table 68). Attaining the higher levels are 85.8% of N, 88.2% of H, 89.1% of S, 98.8% of O, and 99.1% of A. But the English comprehension achievements do not. The smallest proportion of subjects (86.7%) attaining the higher levels is found in A, not N, The largest proportion (92.3%) at the same levels is found in S. (Table 69b).

6.12 Bilingual usage habits in private communication and bilingual proficiency.

The most private communication is communication with oneself. Among the occasions for it are silent prayers to a deity, or merely wishing oneself good things, ruminations on various issues or the interior monologue. Sometimes they are exclamations or swearing at sudden events. Everyone engages in such private communication at one time or the other. Also, language habits on such occasions are completely independent of such considerations as the topic, other interlocutors,

and group affiliation and representation.¹ It appears that the determinant of choice is the bilingual's relative facility with each of his languages. That is, one monologues in the language which comes more readily because one is more proficient in it. Our subjects were asked to indicate what their language habits were in one of these activities, viz, private prayers.² Since the habits are determined by such intrinsically assured relative facility, the facility is expected to be reflected directly in the subjects' general proficiency in each of the languages. In the tables below we correlate their habits in this context with their comprehension achievements in Yoruba and English.

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1. Herman lists these as some of the determinants of language choice for a public performance. See Simon R. Herman, 'Explorations in the Social Psychology of Language choice'. pp. 492-511 in Fishman (1968), op. cit.
 2. It is true that in this particular activity (in contrast to other occasions of spontaneous uses and interior monologues), the individual's choice of language may, to some extent, be influenced by his family's choice habit; but the ultimate determinant of his choice would seem to be his relative facility in the languages.

TABLE 70a

Frequency of Yoruba in private prayers X Yoruba comprehension

Comprehension Scores	N	H	S	O	A	Total
1. 0 score	0	5	0	0	1	6
2. 1 - 2 scores	1	1	0	0	0	2
3. 3 - 4 "	2	4	0	1	0	7
4. 5 - 6 "	10	36	10	11	14	81
5. 7 - 8 "	15	69	30	41	86	241
6. 9 - 10 "	2	17	3	13	30	65
Total	30	132	43	66	131	402

TABLE 70b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 70a

Comprehension Scores	N	H	S	O	A
1. 0 score	0.0	3.8	0.0	0.0	0.8
2. 1 - 2 scores	3.3	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
3. 3 - 4 "	6.7	3.0	0.0	1.5	0.0
4. 5 - 6 "	33.3	27.3	23.3	16.7	10.7
5. 7 - 8 "	50.0	52.3	69.8	62.1	65.6
6. 9 - 10 "	6.7	12.9	7.0	19.7	22.9
Summary: Levels 4-6	90.0	92.5	100.0	98.5	99.2

TABLE 71a

Frequency of English in private prayers X comprehension of YbE English

Comprehension Scores	N	H	S	O	A	Total
1. 3 - 4 scores	5	23	4	7	3	42
2. 5 - 6 "	24	70	19	38	24	175
3. 7 - 8 "	19	47	19	34	45	164
4. 9 - 10 "	0	7	2	4	8	21
Total	48	147	44	83	80	402

TABLE 71b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 71a

Comprehension Scores	N	H	S	O	A
1. 3 - 4 scores	10.4	15.6	9.1	8.4	3.7
2. 5 - 6 "	50.0	47.6	43.2	45.8	30.0
3. 7 - 8 "	39.6	32.0	43.2	41.0	56.3
4. 9 - 10 "	0.0	4.8	4.5	4.8	10.0
Summary: Levels 2-4	89.6	84.4	90.9	91.6	96.3

The correlations in the tables above broadly testify to a direct relation between comprehension abilities and bilingual usage habits in this most idiosyncratic situation. With Yoruba comprehension (Tables 70a, 70b) performance at the higher levels is relatively poorer among N and H than in the other groups. However, the best performance is in S where no one scores lower than 5, but their edge over O and A is not too wide.

Comprehension performance in English is even more directly related to the usage habits of the groups. Table 71b shows that the best performance is in A where 96.3% attain the higher levels. However, the lowest achievement, in proportion to their number, is found not exactly among N, but H. The proportions of S and O attaining the higher levels reflect the relative intensity of the use of the language by bilinguals in these respective habit positions.

6.20 Language proficiency reinforcers and bilingual proficiency

In addition to actual verbal interactions, reading (including informal reading) and listening to the use of language by other people are also regarded as builders and reinforcers of language proficiency. Newspapers constitute a material for such informal

reading, while the radio and the television are the audiovisual media of such language proficiency reinforcement.

Many literate homes subscribe daily to newspapers while copies, especially of at least one English medium newspaper, are invariably available in the libraries or reading rooms of most secondary grammar schools. Thus, whether in their homes or in their schools, newspapers are available for the perusal of the subjects of this investigation. And because they hardly form part of the additional reading material usually recommended by teachers, voluntary regular familiarity with them by pupils would indicate the desire, principally to get information, but also indirectly to reinforce their language proficiency. On the same kind of 5-point frequency scale, our subjects were asked to indicate their habit of engaging in the reading of Yoruba and English newspapers. In the first subsection below (6.21), we present their responses in correlation with their achievements in Yoruba and English comprehension.

We have earlier (Chapter II) traced the inception and spread of radio broadcasting in Nigeria. The television, too, must now be seen as no longer a

rare innovation as it is almost two decades old in the Yoruba-speaking parts of Nigeria. Of course, it remains a possession of only the economically well-to-do homes, but as a teaching aid, the Ministries of Education of the state governments supply sets to all schools in the city where electric current is available. There are also some brand sets which operate with dry cell batteries. Thus, again whether in their homes, or eagerly but less frequently in their neighbours' homes, and also at school, our subjects have access to the television. On the 5-point frequency scale, they were asked to indicate their habits of listening to and viewing Yoruba and English medium programmes on their sets. Their responses are correlated with their Yoruba and English comprehension achievements in the second subsection below (6.22).

The third subsection (6.23) examines the role of participation in activities which aim at building language proficiency. Common among such activities in schools are drama and debates, organised by the ubiquitous literary societies and clubs. Our subjects were asked to indicate their membership of such societies.

Three responses were possible: member, non-member, or no such club. A number of our bilingual subjects (54 with regard to Yoruba club, 6 with regard to English) reported the non-existence of such clubs in their schools. Such reports were treated as indicating non-membership since other subjects in the same schools have testified to the existence of the clubs. We then correlate the comprehension achievements of the members and non-members.

The last subsection (6.24) deals with proficiency self-image as reinforcer of proficiency.

6.21 Frequency of reading Yoruba and English newspapers and bilingual proficiency

TABLE 72a

Frequency of reading Yoruba newspapers X Yoruba comprehension

Comprehension scores	N	H	S	O	A	Total
1. 0	4	2	0	0	0	6
2. 1 - 2 scores	2	0	0	0	0	2
3. 3 - 4 "	7	0	0	0	0	7
4. 5 - 6 "	41	36	4	0	0	81
5. 7 - 8 "	84	145	10	1	1	241
6. 9 - 10 "	15	39	11	0	0	65
Total	153	222	25	1	1	402

TABLE 72b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 72a

Comprehension Scores	N	H	S	O	A
1. 0 score	2.6	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0
2. 1 -- 2 scores	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
3. 3 - 4 "	4.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
4. 5 - 6 "	26.8	16.2	16.0	0.0	0.0
5. 7 - 8 "	54.9	65.3	40.0	100.0	100.0
6. 9 - 10 "	9.8	17.6	44.0	0.0	0.0
Summary: Levels 4-6	91.5	99.1	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 73a

Frequency of reading English newspapers X Comprehension of YbE English

Comprehension Scores	N	H	S	O	A	Total
1. 3 - 4 scores	0	5	17	6	14	42
2. 5 - 6 "	0	10	70	36	59	175
3. 7 - 8 "	0	10	44	41	69	164
4. 9 - 10 "	0	0	4	2	15	21
Total	0	25	135	85	157	402

TABLE 73b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 73a

Comprehension Scores'		N	H	S	O	A
1.	3 - 4 scores	0.0	20.0	12.6	7.1	8.9
2.	5 - 6 "	0.0	40.0	57.9	42.4	57.6
3.	7 - 8 "	0.0	40.0	32.6	48.2	43.9
4.	9 - 10 "	0.0	0.0	3.0	2.4	9.6
Summary: Levels 2-4		0.0	80.0	87.5	93.0	91.1

Table 72 shows an abysmally poor patronage of Yoruba medium newspapers by this sample of our category of bilingual subjects. By contrast (Table 73a) there is overwhelming patronage for the English medium newspapers. Since we did not ask any questions relating the attitude of the sample subjects to Yoruba reading, the only possible reason for this difference is perhaps non-subscription to Yoruba medium newspapers by most homes and schools.

The habits of informal reading in these languages relate directly with proficiency in the languages as seen in the achievements spread in the tables above. But owing to the low numbers of S, O and A responses to the frequency of reading Yoruba newspapers, not much significance can be claimed for the influence of such informal reading of Yoruba on proficiency in the

language among this category of bilinguals. On the other hand achievements in English comprehension between the habit groups appear to relate to the habits. We notice however that a slightly larger proportion of O than A attained the higher levels - against expectation.

6.22 Listening to and viewing Yoruba and English medium programmes on radio and television and bilingual proficiency.

TABLE 74a

Frequency of listening to and viewing Yoruba programmes on radio and television X Yoruba comprehension

Comprehension Scores	N	H	S	O	A	Total
1. 0	0	1	3	0	2	6
2. 1 - 2 Scores	0	2	0	0	0	2
3. 3 - 4 "	0	4	3	0	0	7
4. 5 - 6 "	2	26	38	7	8	81
5. 7 - 8 "	2	54	138	26	21	241
6. 9 - 10 "	0	20	34	7	4	65
Total	4	107	216	40	35	402

TABLE 74b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 74a

Comprehension Scores	N	H	S	O	A
1. 0 score	0.0	0.9	1.4	0.0	5.7
2. 1 - 2 scores	0.0	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0
3. 3 - 4 "	0.0	3.7	1.4	0.0	0.0
4. 5 - 6 "	50.0	24.3	17.6	17.5	22.9
5. 7 - 8 "	50.0	50.5	63.9	65.0	60.0
6. 9 - 10 "	0.0	18.7	15.7	17.5	11.4
Summary: Levels 4-6	100.0	93.5	97.2	100.0	94.3

TABLE 75a

Frequency of listening to and viewing English medium programmes on radio and television X comprehension of YbE English

Comprehension Scores	N	H	S	O	A	Total
1. 3 - 4 scores	1	11	15	6	9	42
2. 5 - 6 "	0	32	65	36	42	175
3. 7 - 8 "	1	21	48	41	53	164
4. 9 - 10 "	0	2	5	9	5	21
Total	2	66	133	92	109	402

TABLE 75b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 75a

Comprehension Scores	N	H	S	O	A
1. 3 - 4 scores	50.0	16.7	11.3	6.5	8.3
2. 5 - 6 "	0.0	48.5	48.9	39.1	38.5
3. 7 - 8 "	50.0	31.8	36.1	44.6	48.6
4. 9 - 10 "	0.0	3.0	3.8	9.8	4.6
Summary: Levels 2-4	50.0	83.3	88.8	93.5	91.7

The patronage of Yoruba medium programmes on the radio and television (Table 74a) shows, perhaps predictably, the wider popularity of the audio-visual complex in comparison to the Yoruba medium newspapers. But it is again by far poorer than the response to the English medium programmes on the audio-visual channels (Table 75a).

English comprehension performances relate to the degree of patronage of programmes in the language. However, there is again an unexpectedly higher achievement among O than the A subjects. But the pattern of Yoruba comprehension achievements is uncertain. Table 74b shows achievement to be maximally high for O but also for N. Notice, however, that the

number of the latter is very small (4). On the other hand, contrary to expectation, only 94.3% of A attain the higher levels. This is smaller than the proportion of S who attain the same levels. Thus, the English comprehension achievements bear out the positive relevance of these media to proficiency in English among pupils who have access to them. Yoruba comprehension achievements are uncertain and inconclusive with regard to the role of the media in fostering high proficiency in the language.

6.25 Identification with societies for promoting language proficiency and bilingual proficiency

TABLE 76a

Membership of Yoruba literary club ^{by} comprehension of Yoruba

	Comprehension Scores	M	n-M	Total
1.	0 Score	0	6	6
2.	1 - 2 scores	0	2	2
3.	3 - 4 "	0	7	7
4.	5 - 6 "	18	63	81
5.	7 - 8 "	91	150	241
6.	9 - 10 "	27	38	65
	Total	136	266	402

TABLE 76b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 76a

Comprehension Scores	M	n-M
1. 0 score	0.0	2.3
2. 1 - 2 scores	0.0	0.7
3. 3 - 4 "	0.0	2.6
4. 5 - 6 "	13.2	23.7
5. 7 - 8 "	66.9	56.4
6. 9 - 10 "	19.9	14.3
Summary: Levels 4-6	100.0	94.4

TABLE 77a

Membership of English literary club X comprehension
of YbE English

Comprehension Scores	M	n-M	Total
1. 3 - 4 scores	29	13	42
2. 5 - 6 "	132	43	175
3. 7 - 8 "	117	47	164
4. 9 - 10	16	5	21
Total	294	108	402

TABLE 77b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 77a

Comprehension Scores		M	n-M
1.	3 - 4 scores	9.9	12.0
2.	5 - 6 "	44.9	39.8
3.	7 - 8 "	39.8	43.5
4.	9 - 10 "	5.4	4.7
Summary: Levels 2-4		90.1	88.0
=====		=====	=====

Similar to the patterns of patronage for the newspapers in the two languages, Tables 76a and 77a show a greater enthusiasm among our subjects for the English than for the Yoruba literary society. The former attracts more than double the membership of the latter.

The comprehension achievements also relate directly to identification with the societies. Thus, while all the members of the Yoruba literary society attain the higher levels (Table 76b), a smaller proportion of the non-members reach the same levels. The difference in the proportions of the members and non-members who attain the higher levels of English comprehension is small: 90.1% of the members, 88.0% of the non-members.

6.24 Proficiency self-image and actual bilingual proficiency

In this last subsection we consider the role of introspection concerning language proficiency as builder and reinforcer of that proficiency. The basis for the investigation of this psychological factor is found in the suggestion of an early modern bilingualist, Haugen,³ who pointed to self-assessments by bilingual individuals as perhaps the most authentic evaluation of degrees of bilingualism. The self-assessments come in self-reports and bilingual memoirs, such as Lowie's who says, 'The popular impression that a man alters his personality when speaking another tongue is far from ill-grounded. When I speak German to Germans, I automatically shift my orientation as a social being.'⁴ Haugen also cites the case of the French-born American writer, Julian Green, who is reported as testifying, 'I am more and more inclined to believe that it is almost an impossibility to be absolutely bilingual'.

3. Einar Haugen (1956), op. cit., pp. 69-70.

4. Robert H. Lowie (1945), op. cit., p. 258.

Green's attempt to translate one of his own books from French to English failed. He had to sit down and write an entirely new book. Said he, 'It was as if, writing in English, I had become another person'.⁵

But Fishman has criticised such gross and uncritical use of self-reports in the evaluation of a persons' degree of bilingualism. They are of limited usefulness especially as they are usually uncorrelated with actually observed or measured bilingualism.⁶ In the present investigation we have made use of self-reports but not in themselves as the ultimate evidence of a certain degree of bilingualism already attained. Instead they have been taken for self-images. Furthermore, the self-image may be projected and framed for other people. That is, the bilingual individual wishes to make others assume for him, or credit to him, that projected degree of proficiency in his two languages.

Both functions of self-reports together constitute an important psychological factor of language proficiency, especially for adolescent bilinguals of the category of our subjects. They are still aspiring

5. Einar Haugen (1956), *op. cit.*, p. 70.

6. Joshua A. Fishman (1968a), *op. cit.*, p. 30.

relatively to greater achievements in their two languages as well as in their general education. The self-image then becomes a programme of action, or a prophecy which is to be self-fulfilled. Its fulfilment is a basic motive for sustained effort to attain the projected degree of proficiency. In order to ascertain the effectiveness of this motive, we asked our sample subjects to rate their own proficiency skills on a 4-point scale: Not-so-good (nsg), Fairly good (Fg) Good (G), Very good (Vg). Below we correlate their assessment of their comprehension abilities in Yoruba and English with their actual comprehension achievements.

TABLE 78a

Self-rating: Understanding of spoken Yoruba X
Yoruba comprehension

Comprehension Scores	Nsg	Fg	G	Vg	Total
1. 0 score	2	0	1	3	6
2. 1 - 2 scores	0	0	1	1	2
3. 3 - 4 "	1	4	2	0	7
4. 5 - 6 "	2	20	24	35	81
5. 7 - 8 "	6	43	77	115	241
6. 9 - 10 "	1	5	25	34	65
Total	12	72	130	188	402

TABLE 78b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 78a

Comprehension Scores	Nsg	Fg	G	Vg
1. 0 score	16.7	0.0	0.0	1.6
2. 1 - 2 scores	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.5
3. 3 - 4 "	8.3	5.6	1.5	0.0
4. 5 - 6 "	16.7	27.8	18.5	18.6
5. 7 - 8 "	50.0	59.7	59.2	61.2
6. 9 - 10 "	8.3	6.9	19.2	18.1
Summary: Levels 4-6	75.0	94.4	96.9	97.9

TABLE 79a

Self-rating: Understanding of spoken English by
comprehension of YbE English

Comprehension Scores	Nsg	Fg	G	Vg	Total
1. 3 - 4 scores	0	7	16	19	42
2. 5 - 6 "	0	23	82	70	175
3. 7 - 8 "	1	17	80	66	164
4. 9 - 10 "	0	2	10	9	21
Total	1	49	188	164	402

TABLE 79b

Column Percentage from the matrix in Table 79a

Comprehension Scores	Nsg	Fg	G	Vg
1. 3 - 4 scores	0.0	14.3	8.5	11.6
2. 5 - 6 "	0.0	46.9	43.6	42.7
3. 7 - 8 "	100.0	34.7	42.6	40.2
4. 9 - 10 "	0.0	4.1	5.3	5.5
Summary: Levels 2-4	100.0	85.7	91.5	88.4

A comparison of Tables 78a and 79a shows that more subjects (352) together considered themselves good (G) and very good (Vg) in English, while fewer (318) would so highly rate their Yoruba comprehension ability. Correspondingly, smaller numbers considered their English comprehension ability not-so-good (Nsg) (1), and fairly good (49), while respectively larger numbers, 12 and 72, so rated their Yoruba comprehension ability.

Measured comprehension shows that for Yoruba more of the poorer achievements were recorded among the subjects who considered themselves not-so-good: Only 75.0% of them attained the higher levels, while the best performances were found among those who

considered themselves good and very good, respectively, 96.9% and 97.9%. But the achievements in English do not seem to reflect the self-images so directly. We find, for instance, that the only subject who considered himself not-so-good attained level 3 comprehension. Also that by the proportions of their numbers at the comprehension levels, the best achievements were recorded by the subjects who considered themselves good (91.5%). The 'very good' subjects proportionally performed better than the 'fairly good' but were not quite as good as the 'good' ones.

This feature of the performances in English emphasizes the limitation that must be seen to inhere in any relation which may obtain between self-image and actual proficiency ability. One is subjective impression while the other is objective evaluation, and there is bound to be some variance between them. This can be an underestimation of one's own ability as in the case of the high level achievement of the subject who had considered his English comprehension ability not-so-good. Or, there can be relative over-estimation as we find in the achievement of those who considered themselves very good. Such variance

between self-image and measured ability has not been found in the correlations of Yoruba comprehension, perhaps by chance. Notwithstanding, ^{this} and except for the discrepancy already noted in the English comprehension achievement of the single subject at Nsg, the broad features of the correlations in Tables 78 and 79 above bear support for the view of self-image as a positive factor of relative bilingual proficiency.

6.30 Degree of bilingualism

In place of the straight competence-based or even performance-based typological descriptions of bilingualism, our investigation and analyses have been comparative. We placed and discussed each of the two aspects of bilingual proficiency in relation to particular sociological variables and particular interactional contexts. This factorial approach evaluates the role of the variables and in that way elucidates better the nature of bilingual proficiency. But bilingualism has earlier been recognised as a compound phenomenon. In this conception of its working, the pertinent and ultimate question to be asked in respect of a bilingual individual, in relative terms, is 'How bilingual'?

For the answer, we require a scale of bilingualism on which the person's bilingual ability is to be placed, and expressed as his degree of bilingualism. For the construction of the scale, maximum comprehension and maximum fluency scores in each language would have to be predetermined. We then calculate the ideal proficiency in each language as the product of the two maximum values. Ideal bilingual proficiency (ideal bilingualism) can then be further calculated as the product of the ideal proficiency in the two languages.

One of these values, maximum comprehension, can be determined and is obtainable. For a testee it consists of giving correct responses to all the questions set on a text. (In the test administered to our subjects, maximum comprehension was 10 and was indeed obtained by some of them in all the texts). But maximum fluency can hardly be predetermined. To do so would require extensive lexicographical collection. Even such a collection might still not be finite as new additions may come into the language or into the particular register tested just at the completion of the exercise. Fluency is thus open-ended. A person's attainment in it can only be relative to an

undetermined maximum. Because of this indeterminacy of fluency, the construction of a standard scale of bilingualism appears impossible.

An alternative procedure is to construct an index of bilingualism for the individual. According to Ben Taute⁷, and Einar Haugen⁸, this is the product of his proficiency in his two languages. This index, or his bilingual score, is thus a definite numerical answer to the question 'how bilingual'? However, it is of little value when only one subject is assessed since there is no similar expression of the highest bilingual score obtainable to which the individual's attainment can be compared. But when, as in the present investigation, several individuals are involved, such indices adequately constitute an ordinal scale for comparing the abilities of the individual subjects. From the scale we read off 'how bilingual' a particular individual is, and by comparing scores we ascertain who of two or more individuals is more bilingual

7. As reported by Weinreich (1970), op. cit., p. 63, footnote 1.

8. Haugen (1956), op. cit., p. 75.

than the others. Such a comparison can be an evaluation of the validity of any variables which may have been hypothesized as a differentiating factor of the degree of bilingualism between such individuals.

Because of the large number of subjects in this investigation, we have preferred to characterize their achievements as groups. The question 'how bilingual?' is equally pertinent to such groups, and is now asked in respect of the subjects in their eight school groups. The school is only one basis for such a description but is focused upon here because, more than other possible groupings, it is easily identifiable; it is an institutional grouping, physically distinct and relatively more homogeneous—by the amount each school possesses or lacks of certain facilities of language proficiency. We calculate and compare the indices for schools as separate entities. They can also be further sub-grouped on the basis of similarities and differences between them such as the socio-educational attributes which we have shown in Chapters 4 and 5 to a large extent to be significant factors of proficiency in the languages.

The indices of bilingualism for the schools are arrived at in two stages:

1. The index of proficiency is calculated for each language. This is achieved in a series of three tables in which achievements are ranked:

Table 80a Mean Yoruba comprehension by school.

Table 80b Mean Yoruba fluency by school. Responses to the fluency test in all the six domains of language use are taken together. The means are therefore quite high.

Table 80c Index of Yoruba proficiency for each school. This is the square root of the product of the mean comprehension and fluency values in the two tables immediately above.

Tables 81a-c show similar calculations to arrive at the index of English proficiency. The mean of English comprehension is the mean of scores in the test of the comprehension of the two varieties of English.

2. The index of bilingualism for the schools. This is the square root of the product of Yoruba and English gross scores. The indices are shown in Table 82.

For the mean values presented in each table the Studentised Range, Q-test, is calculated. This is a statistic used to measure the significance of any differences found between mean values. It is the minimum difference that must obtain between two such mean values for that difference to be significant at the 5% level of probability. First, Q is calculated for all the values in the table. Then individual group scores are compared by subtracting one from the other. If the difference is less than Q, no significant difference exists between the two mean values; but if the difference is greater than Q, a significant difference exists between the values being compared in favour of the group which obtains the higher mean.

Below we present the mean comprehension, fluency and proficiency abilities of the school groups in the series of Tables 80 to 83. The procedure for the evaluation of the abilities, by the application of the Q-test, is as follows:

- (i) Schools which are similar in ability are grouped and listed together, beginning with the group which demonstrate the greatest ability. (Among the schools in such a group no significant differences exist in abilities; i.e. the value of Q between any two of them is less than the value of Q stated at the bottom of the table).
- (ii) The abilities of the schools in a group are compared to the abilities of the school or schools closest to them and which fall into the group immediately below them. Sometimes all the schools in the group demonstrating higher abilities may score significantly higher than the school or schools closest to them; but sometimes only one or two schools in the group above score significantly higher than the school or schools closest to them below. When the latter occurs it is a statistical demonstration of the fact that among the schools similar in ability, the one or two schools which score significantly higher than the school or schools closest to them are to some ^{extent} superior to the other schools in

their own group. For example, where A, B and C statistically appear to be similar in ability (step i), but only A but not B and C significantly scores over D, E, F, A has thus proved to be slightly superior to B and C. Consequently B and C are again grouped along with D, E and F since no significant differences are found in their abilities. The similar abilities of B, C, D, E and F are then compared to those of G and H which are below them; and so on, until all the schools have been so grouped and compared.

TABLE 80a

Mean Yoruba Comprehension X School

School	Mean	Std. Dev.	Std. Error	No.
ICGS	8.020	1.146	0.160	51
AGGS	7.727	0.999	0.135	55
LGS	7.616	1.189	0.139	73
HTGS	7.600	1.607	0.272	35
SAS	6.981	1.205	0.166	53
IC	6.800	1.485	0.221	45
GCI	6.551	1.959	0.280	49
STC	6.341	2.312	0.361	41

P 0.001

Q = 0.94

TABLE 80b

Mean Yoruba Fluency X School

School	Mean	Std. Dev.	Std. Error	No.
LGS	63.753	15.214	1.781	73
ICGS	60.863	8.390	1.175	51
AGGS	55.509	13.321	1.796	55
GCI	55.061	17.296	2.471	49
SAS	54.623	18.156	2.494	53
IC	53.978	18.489	2.756	45
HTGS	50.371	10.382	1.755	35
STC	48.537	12.930	2.019	41

P 0.001 Q = 9.22

TABLE 80c

Index of Yoruba proficiency by School

School	Mean	Std. Dev.	Std. Error	No.
ICGS	21.965	2.084	0.292	51
LGS	21.827	3.335	0.390	73
AGGS	20.312	3.784	0.510	55
HTGS	19.282	4.221	0.713	35
SAS	19.274	4.310	0.592	53
IC	18.714	5.000	0.745	45
GCI	18.687	5.522	0.789	49
STC	16.296	6.613	1.033	41

P 0.001 Q = 2.75

TABLE 81a

Mean English Comprehension by School

School	Mean	Std. Dev.	Std. Error	No.
SAS	6.659	1.038	0.141	53
GCI	6.592	1.003	0.143	49
IC	6.278	0.992	0.148	45
STC	6.102	0.847	0.132	41
LGS	5.849	0.902	0.106	73
ICGS	5.775	0.882	0.123	51
AGGS	5.264	1.078	0.145	55
HTGS	5.129	0.921	0.156	35

P 0.001 Q = 0.60

TABLE 81b

Mean English Fluency by School

School	Mean	Std. Dev.	Std. Error	No.
GCI	82.571	19.207	2.744	49
SAS	79.189	12.306	1.690	53
IC	76.636	19.093	2.878	45
LGS	70.493	13.604	1.592	73
ICGS	65.392	10.540	1.476	51
STC	64.976	12.361	1.931	41
HTGS	58.886	11.275	1.906	35
AGGS	57.800	19.106	2.576	55

P 0.001 Q = 9.44

TABLE 81c

Index of English Proficiency by School

School	Mean	Std. Dev.	Std. Error	No.
GCI	23.111	3.139	0.448	49
SAS	22.841	2.654	0.365	53
LC	21.572	4.487	0.669	45
LGS	20.191	2.835	0.332	73
STC	19.665	2.585	0.404	41
ICGS	19.325	2.328	0.326	51
HTGS	17.281	2.612	0.441	35
AGGS	16.831	4.390	0.587	55

P 0.001 Q = 2.02

TABLE 82

Index of Bilingual Proficiency by School

School	Mean	Std. Dev.	Std. Error	No.
SAS	452.470	133.208	18.298	53
LGS	444.509	110.024	12.877	73
LG	437.681	255.330	38.062	45
GCI	434.660	155.206	22.172	49
ICGS	425.156	71.154	9.964	51
AGGS	347.313	117.308	15.818	55
HTGS	339.637	100.284	16.951	35
STC	323.147	140.264	21.906	41

P 0.001 Q = 88.21

The following are the groups showing similarities and differences in their abilities:

1. Yoruba Comprehension (Table 80a)

(a) ICGS, AGGS, LGS, HTGS. Of these only ICGS score significantly higher than SAS (1.039) and IC (1.220).

(b) AGGS, LGS, HTGS, SAS, IC. Of these AGGS, LGS, and HTGS, but not SAS nor IC, score significantly higher than GCI. In respect of the three the significant scores over GCI are 1.176, 1.065, 1.049.

(c) SAS, IC, GCI and STC.

2. Yoruba Fluency (Table 80b)

(a) LGS, ICGS, AGGS, GCI, SAS. Of these only LGS are significantly more fluent than IC. In favour of LGS over IC, Q is 9.775.

(b) ICGS, AGGS, GCI, SAS, IC. Of these only ICGS are significantly more fluent than HTGS. Between ICGS and HTGS, Q is 10.492.

(c) AGGS, GCI, SAS, IC, HTGS, STC.

3. Yoruba Proficiency (Table 80c)

(a) ICGS, IGS, AGGS, HTGS, SAS. Of these ICGS and IGS but not any of the others, are significantly more proficient than IC and GCI. In favour of ICGS over IC and GCI, Q is 3.251 and 3.278 respectively. In favour of IGS over the same two schools, Q is 3.113 and 3.140 respectively.

(b) AGGS, HTGS, SAS, IC, GCI. Of these, AGGS, HTGS, SAS but not any of the other two, are significantly more proficient than STC. In favour of AGGS, HTGS and SAS over STC, Q is 4.066, 2.986 and 2.978 respectively.

(c) IC, GCI, and STC.

4. English Comprehension (Table 81a)

(a) SAS, GCI, IC, STC. Of these SAS and GCI, but not IC nor STC, score significantly higher than IGS and ICGS. For SAS over IGS and ICGS, Q is 0.810 and 0.884 respectively. For GCI over the same two schools Q is 0.743 and 0.884 respectively.

- (b) IC, STC, LGS, ICGS. Of these IC and STC, but not LGS nor ICGS, score significantly higher than AGGS. In favour of IC over AGGS, Q is 1.014 while in favour of STC over the same AGGS, Q is 0.738.
- (c) LGS, ICGS, AGGS. Of these LGS and ICGS, but not AGGS, score significantly higher than HTGS. For LGS over HTGS, Q is 0.720; while for ICGS over the same HTGS, Q is 0.646.
- (d) AGGS, HTGS.

5. English Fluency (Table 81b)

- (a) GCI, SAS, IC. Of these, only GCI are significantly more fluent than IGS. In favour of GCI, Q is 12.078.
- (b) SAS, IC, LGS. Of these, SAS and IC but not LGS are significantly more fluent than ICGS. For SAS over ICGS, Q is 13.797. For IC over the same school, Q is 11.244.
- (c) LGS, ICGS, STC. Of these, LGS, but not ICGS nor STC, are significantly more fluent than HTGS. In favour of LGS over HTGS, Q is 11.607.
- (d) ICGS, STC, HTGS, AGGS.

6. English Proficiency. (Table 81c)

- (a) GCI, SAS, IC. Of these, GCI and SAS, but not IC, score significant English proficiency over IGS. In favour of GCI and SAS over IGS, Q is 2.920, 2.650 respectively.
- (b) IC, IGS, STC. IC, but not IGS nor STC, score significantly higher than ICGS. Between IC and ICGS, Q is 2.247 in favour of IC.
- (c) IGS, STC, ICGS. Everyone of these score significantly higher than HTGS. For example, between ICGS and HTGS, Q is 2.044 in favour of ICGS.
- (d) HTGS, AGGS.

7. Bilingual Proficiency (Table 82)

- (a) SAS, IGS, IC, GCI, ICGS. Of these, SAS, IGS, and IC, but not GCI nor ICGS, are significantly more bilingually proficient than AGGS. In favour of SAS, IGS and IC over AGGS, Q is 105.157, 97.196 and 90.368 respectively.
- (b) GCI, ICGS, AGGS. Of these, GCI, but not ICGS nor AGGS, are significantly more bilingually proficient than HTGS. For GCI over HTGS, Q is 95.023.

- (c) ICGS, AGGS, HTGS. Of these, ICGS but not AGGS nor HTGS, are significantly more bilingually proficient than STC. For ICGS over STC, Q is 102.009.
- (d) AGGS, HTGS, STC.

The lists, above, of schools comparable in Yoruba and English comprehension and fluency abilities appear generally to have followed the typology of schools set up at the beginning of our investigation (see Chapter 3). The eight schools were put into three groups on the basis of the socio-educational similarities among each type. In Type 1 are GCI, STC, SAS, and IC. In Type 2 are LGS, AGGS, and HTGS, while ICGS is the only school in Type 3. It was noted, then, that perhaps the only difference between Types 2 and 3 schools is the rural location of ICGS in contrast to the urban location of Type 2 schools. This basis of the typology was evoked when we modified the fifth and eleventh hypotheses, thereby relating the new compound variable to the comprehension and fluency abilities of the subjects in the different types of school. There, a direct relationship was found between the socio-educational variable and the

abilities. Here again the order (see Table 80a) and the grouping of Yoruba comprehension abilities (see especially Lists 1a and 1c above) have repeated a similar relationship. Types 2 and 3 schools are comparable in ^{ability} (List 1a) and superior to the Type 1 schools. Of the former, ICGS (Type 3 school), having the advantage of location in a relatively more Yoruba monolingual community, is superior to the Type 2 schools and significantly superior to all the Type 1 schools. The Type 2 schools also prove significantly superior to two of the Type 1 schools, viz, GCI and STC.

The order (see Table 80b) and the grouping (see Lists 2a and 2c) of Yoruba fluency abilities are almost similar to the pattern of Yoruba comprehension abilities. They also bear support for the conclusion reached in the verification of the eleventh hypothesis. The first three of the five top comparable schools are Types 2 and 3. One Type 2 school, HTGS, has not proved as fluent as would be expected by our typology. We notice also that not ICGS but a Type 2 school, LGS, is the most fluent in Yoruba. This school proves significantly more fluent than two of the Type 1 schools, IC and STC, and one

of the Type 2 schools: HTGS. ICGS also demonstrates significant fluency over HTGS and STC. List 2a also shows GCI and SAS as comparable in Yoruba fluency ability to some Types 2 and 3 schools. We have noticed and commented upon a similar unexpectedly high Yoruba fluency among the Type 1 schools. The present analysis has now revealed that it was the performance of these two schools that is responsible for that high level Yoruba fluency which was recorded for all the Type 1 schools together.

The order of Yoruba proficiency (see Table 80c) follows our expectation when proficiency is the product of comprehension and fluency. Thus, IGS which is topmost in fluency but third in comprehension ability, is found only second in the order of proficiency. As expected, STC, showing the least comprehension and fluency abilities, are also least proficient. The grouping of Yoruba proficiency abilities also follows the typology of school: Five schools (see List 3a) appear similarly proficient. The first four of them are the Type 3 and 2 schools with the Type 3 school, ICGS, and one of the Type 2 schools, IGS, showing significantly ^{more} proficient than three of the Type 1 schools, viz, IC, GCI and STC.

The other two Type 2 schools, AGGS and HTGS, and one Type 1 school, SAS, also prove significantly more proficient than STC.

The indices of English comprehension, fluency and proficiency, and their grouping have also generally followed the same typology of schools and their performance characteristics as earlier shown in the verification of the fifth and eleventh hypotheses. In comprehension the four topmost schools (see Table 81a and List 4a) are the Type 1 schools. Two of them, SAS and GCI, show significantly greater English comprehension ability over all the Types 2 and 3 schools. The other two, IC and STC, also score significantly higher than the two Type 2 schools appearing at the bottom of the table. The English comprehension performance of ICGS (Type 3 school) is quite high, even significantly higher than the achievement of HTGS (Type 2, see List 4c). This has been accounted for in the discussion of the results of the test by which our fifth hypothesis was confirmed.

The grouping of English fluency abilities (see Lists 5a, b, c, d) reveals that the three topmost schools are Type 1 schools. One of them GCI, shows significantly more fluent than even STC (Type 1) and

all the Types 2 and 3 schools. List 5b shows IGS (Type 2) as comparable to SAS and IC (Type 1), while List 5d shows STC as similar to ICGS, HTGS and AGGS. STC even scores lower than ICGS.

The three schools showing greatest English proficiency are Type 1 (see Table 81c and List 6a). Two of them, GCI and SAS, are significantly more proficient in English than all the other schools, including STC, another Type 1 school. As with fluency, STC is similar in proficiency to IGS and ICGS, only that it manages to score slightly higher than ICGS. HTGS and AGGS are the two least proficient in English; even ICGS score significantly higher than the two.

As bilingual proficiency is the product of proficiencies in the two languages we should expect its order among the eight schools and the grouping of bilingual abilities to be different from those of Yoruba and English proficiencies. The order (see Table 82) appears to underscore the complex, interactive nature of bilingual proficiency. A comparison of the orders of Yoruba and English proficiencies with the order of bilingual proficiency brings this out clearly. ICGS are most proficient in Yoruba. They are fifth most proficient in English

but appear as fifth most bilingually proficient. SAS are fifth most proficient in Yoruba, second most proficient in English but have emerged the most bilingually proficient of the eight schools. STC are the least proficient in Yoruba, fifth most proficient in English but have appeared as the least bilingually proficient. This shows that the degree of bilingualism or the bilingual index for a person or group is the balance of the gain and loss in proficiencies in the languages. Such an account, prepared and compared for several people or groups (as has been done here) shows how a person's or group's status on a scale of bilingualism can be radically different from the same person's or group's status on the scale of proficiency in each of his languages.

Such changes in fortune between proficiency in each of a bilingual's languages and his bilingual proficiency call attention to a conceptual difference in the nature of the two kinds of proficiency. Proficiency in a language is simple, and can be more easily determined and forecast with a greater chance of validity in terms of particular language acquisition factors, such as those we have employed in the

investigation of the hypotheses set up to ascertain the levels of comprehension and fluency abilities in each of our subjects' languages. Of course, all the available evidence may not always support such a prediction. The English proficiency performance of SEC (Type 1) exemplifies the kind of exceptions which may occur; but to a great extent the socio-educational variable appears to function as a determinant of degrees of English proficiency as the differences in the achievements of Types 1, 2 and 3 schools show. On the other hand, bilingual proficiency is more complex and is hardly predictable, or perhaps not in terms of the variable by which proficiency in one language can be predicted. However, it is measurable, with its results yielding new patterns of group similarities and differences. For example, where comparable proficiency abilities in each language have largely followed the typological groupings done before analyses (see Lists 5 and 6), comparable bilingual abilities have cut out new patterns. List 7a shows that the five top similarly bilingually proficient schools are made up of all the Types 1, 2 and 3 schools. A Type 1 school, SAS, is the most bilingually proficient, but this was not predicted

and could not have been validly predicted, even by the compound socio-educational variable which not only predictably guaranteed high English proficiency to SAS but also appears to have raised their Yoruba proficiency. The uncertainty of this variable as a determinant of bilingual proficiency is shown by the appearance at the bottom of Table 82 of STC, another Type 1 school. Even a Type 2 school, LGS scores significantly higher bilingual proficiency over this same Type 1 school.

The features of Yoruba and English proficiencies among our subjects, as so far analysed, constitute an evidence in support of the often stated impression that equilingualism is unreal. One of the languages is always dominant. The subjects in our Types 2 and 3 schools generally show greater Yoruba proficiency than their counterparts in Type 1 schools; but the latter are generally more proficient in English. A second inference is that a person's or a group's degree of bilingualism is to be measured and specifically stated for the individual or group but is not to be predicted by any global variables however strong and positive such variables may work as determinants of language proficiency. This is inherent in the compound nature of bilingualism.

6.40 Patterns of bilingual dominance

In the foregoing analyses our subjects' proficiencies in Yoruba and English were weighted and expressed as their degrees of bilingualism, and as consequences of some particular sociological factors. But one question yet unanswered in respect of the subjects concerns their relative abilities in their two languages. Overall, i.e., more summarily, what is the state of bilingual dominance among this category of bilinguals?

Weinreich suggests seven factors of dominance configuration, namely, relative proficiency, mode of use, order of learning and age, usefulness in communication, emotional involvement, function in social advance, and literary - cultural value.⁹ All these can be summed up as the role and status of the languages concerned in the life of the bilingual people, and in Chapter II we considered them for English and the Nigerian languages, particularly Yoruba, as factors underlying language education and language behaviour in Nigeria. In this section

9. Weinreich (1970), op. cit., pp. 75-80.

we present calculated patterns of bilingual dominance among our subjects, taken as reflections or perhaps concrete realizations of the relative role and status of the two languages in their lives. Their productive abilities are used to calculate dominance: a greater number of words in one language than in the other, given in response to the same situational stimulus, shows more active vocabulary in that language, and means the dominance of the language. Thus, subjects may show Yoruba dominance (YD), English dominance (ED), or bilingual balance (B). First, we present the patterns of dominance in six contexts for the subjects in their school groups (Table 83-88), and then for all the subjects together (Table 89). Figures are percentages of subjects in each group.

TABLE 83

Pattern of bilingual dominance in the home domain

School	YD	ED	B	Total No.
GCI	20.41	75.51	4.08	49
STC	0.00	92.68	7.32	41
SAS	9.43	88.68	1.89	53
IC	24.44	75.56	0.00	45
LGS	54.79	38.36	6.85	73
AGGS	54.72	33.96	11.32	55
HTGS	34.29	48.57	17.14	35
ICGS	50.98	41.18	7.84	51

TABLE 84

Pattern of bilingual dominance in the
neighbourhood domain

School	YD	ED	B	Total No.
GCI	14.29	69.39	16.32	49
STC	12.19	75.62	12.19	41
SAS	32.08	56.60	11.32	53
IC	31.11	64.44	4.44	45
LGS	43.84	45.21	10.95	73
AGGS	37.74	52.83	9.43	55
HTGS	28.57	65.71	5.71	35
ICGS	49.02	37.25	13.73	51

TABLE 85

Pattern of bilingual dominance in the
domain of religion

School	YD	ED	B	Total No.
GCI	14.29	83.67	2.04	49
STC	9.76	85.37	4.88	41
SAS	13.21	83.02	3.77	53
IC	15.56	75.56	8.88	45
LGS	38.36	46.58	15.06	73
AGGS	49.06	35.85	15.09	55
HTGS	42.86	40.00	17.14	35
ICGS	60.78	19.61	19.61	51

TABLE 86

Pattern of bilingual dominance in the
domain of occupation

School	YD	ED	B	Total No.
GCI	8.16	91.84	0.00	49
STC	48.78	39.02	12.19	41
SAS	20.75	71.69	7.55	53
IC	26.66	64.44	8.88	45
LGS	41.09	52.06	6.85	73
AGGS	58.49	30.19	11.32	55
HTGS	37.14	54.29	8.57	35
ICGS	43.14	45.10	11.76	51

TABLE 87

Pattern of bilingual dominance in the
domain of education

School	YD	ED	B	Total No.
GCI	0.00	100.00	0.00	49
STC	0.00	95.12	4.88	41
SAS	0.00	98.11	1.89	53
IC	2.22	97.77	0.00	45
LGS	0.00	98.63	1.37	73
AGGS	7.55	88.68	3.77	55
HTGS	2.86	94.28	2.86	35
ICGS	3.92	96.08	0.00	51

TABLE 88

Pattern of bilingual dominance in the
domain of health

School	YD	ED	B	Total No.
GCI	4.08	93.88	2.04	49
STC	12.19	78.05	9.76	41
SAS	3.77	90.57	5.66	53
IC	8.88	86.66	4.44	45
LGS	17.81	73.97	8.22	73
AGGS	22.64	67.93	9.43	55
HTGS	8.57	85.71	5.71	35
ICGS	17.65	72.55	9.80	51

As spread in the tables above (except for occasional untypical performance in one or two domains) the school groups appear to divide into two bilingual dominance groups. Four schools contain large majorities of ED while in the other four usage habits (and hence dominance patterns) appear more mixed although with more considerable proportions of YD. The four schools containing large proportions of ED are GCI, STC, SAS and IC. With the exception of the performance of STC in the domain of occupation, the proportions of ED among them are very high in all the six domains. Correspondingly their proportions of YD and B are quite small. We notice that three of the four zero YD recorded in the domain of education and the only one in the home domain are among these four schools.

On the other hand we have a wider variation of dominance among the other four schools, namely, IGS, AGGS, HTGS and ICGS. Among them, too, the proportions of ED in the domains of education and health are quite high. As we have earlier explained the learned nature of these two domains, almost invariably using English, probably makes high ED inevitable. But the remaining four domains are shared nicely between YD and ED. In the home and religion domains where language habits may be more idiosyncratic, we have YD majorities in

three school groups in each case, while in the neighbourhood and occupation domains English is dominant for majorities of subjects in three of the schools. Notice, however, that the YD majorities among these four schools are not quite as comparably high as the ED majorities among the first group of four schools.

The YD and ED majorities as seen here among the schools appear to have repeated the typological grouping according to which language proficiencies have been shown to vary. The schools showing high ED majorities are the Type 1 schools; the home backgrounds of the pupils in the schools have been shown as favourably predisposed to English dominance. The other four schools constitute Types II and III. Language usage habits in the homes of the pupils in them generally favour more Yoruba, or at least, are more mixed. The profile of dominance among them is thus rather middling: YD majorities are not too large nor are their proportions of ED too small (contrast the profile of dominance for the four Type I schools). The proportions of B among the Types II and III schools are more commonly larger than the same proportions of B among Type I schools especially in the domains of home and religion.

The following table finally summarises bilingual dominance for all our subjects in each of the six domains.

TABLE 89

Bilingual dominance for all subjects by domain

Domain	YD	ED	B
Home	31.13	61.81	7.06
Neighbourhood	31.11	58.38	10.51
Religion	30.49	58.71	10.81
Occupation	35.53	56.08	8.39
Education	2.07	96.08	1.83
Health	11.95	81.17	6.88

The table shows general ED majorities but the proportional variation in dominance across the domains is the remarkable feature of the profile. Education and health domains have very large ED majorities while ED majorities in the other domains are not so large. Correspondingly the proportions of YD in the same two domains are very small while YD proportions in the other domains are quite considerable. The large proportions of ED and YD of course mean rather small proportions of B in all the domains. They are lowest in the domains of education where English prevails and highest in the neighbourhood and religion domains.

It is now pertinent to recall the result of Kerr's investigation of preferences between Yoruba and English among a not-so-homogeneous category of bilinguals - university staff (of unspecified but presumably differing educational attainments) and students.¹⁰ His concern was the present bilingual habits and sometimes future preferences of his subjects: In which language do you normally count? In which language would you tell someone a joke or funny story? In which do you prefer to listen to news broadcasts? and so on. His questions specify the distinctions between the language skills: speaking, listening, reading, writing, and he found Yoruba and English sharing dominance respectively between listening and speaking on one hand, and reading and writing on the other. Some of the contexts in which he found YD majorities are casual conversation (51%), telling a joke (66%), seeing a play (43%). Some of ED are preferred reading of newspapers and magazines (87%), daily reading of newspapers and magazines (93%), study reading (90%), letter writing to a colleague

10. J.Y.K. Kerr (1972), op. cit.

(97%), letter writing to a member of the family (42%), creative writing such as poem or short story (77%), writing most confidently (74%), and so on.

By contrast, in our own investigation, tests have been used to ascertain the abilities already attained in the two languages - as much as possible within the limiting constraints of the test situation. Differences are thus seen in the states of bilingualism and the categories of bilinguals focused, and also in the methods of inquiry. These differences make the results not altogether comparable. But a similarity between them is ED majorities in the oral-written skills tested in this investigation, and in the reading and writing skills in Kerr's. However, there are noticeable differences in the proportions of the ED majorities in the two investigations. As seen in our last table, overall, the gap between ED and YD is not as wide and as disquieting as in Kerr's finding, except in the domains of education and health. (Notice that YD majorities in Kerr's finding are quite small even in the listening and speaking contexts, showing considerable tendency to use some English in these oral situations).

The subjects of the present investigation developed their abilities in their two languages under the influences of the factors of dominance configuration which have always favoured English since the inception of western education in this country; and the influences are still strong. It is therefore tempting, by comparing the gaps between ED and YD in Kerr's finding and in the present analyses, to see a narrowing of abilities towards YD. But our investigation was not designed to reveal any such trend of bilingualism. Nor is Kerr's inquiry also equipped to indicate a widening of abilities. The value of the results of his enquiry lies perhaps only in cautioning by calling attention to intentions among a group of bilinguals. Thus, no conclusions are possible concerning the direction of dominance among either category of YbE bilinguals. The patterns of dominance seen in our analyses, however, have the value of a synchronic statement, namely, that dominance varies with individual bilinguals or groups of bilinguals, and across contexts. In addition, the last table shows in particular that apart from the contexts in which English is the prescribed or invariably the utilitarian language, no alarming proportions of YbE bilinguals in the category of our subjects are ED although in the present social context English is dominant.

CHAPTER SEVEN

AN OVERVIEW OF THE INVESTIGATION

This overview of the investigation consists of 4 sections:

Section 7.1 brings together the main findings of the enquiry as contained in Chapters IV, V, and VI. Specifically, we review the validity of our hypotheses concerning degrees of bilingual proficiency as revealed by the results of the statistical tests of significance applied to them.

In Section 7.2 we reassess our methodology. Two important aspects of this are the LBQ and the tests by which we measured our subjects' bilingual proficiency. The objective is to evaluate these instruments in the light, jointly of the general claims that have been made for their efficiency, and the results which their application has produced in our own investigation.

In Section 7.3 we consider some implications of our findings in the socio-political context of Nigeria.

Bilingualism is generally recognised as multi-dimensional. Its pure linguistic features are perhaps more descriptively manageable, at least contrastively,

by the application of any well considered grammatical theory.¹ Such a description will be comparatively less hampered by any fleeting and intractable psychological and sociocultural considerations. Its sociolinguistic features are more complex, and research into them inexhaustible. Our investigation and findings have touched upon some of its sociological forments among the chosen category of bilinguals, but the phenomenon also touches other aspects of their social life. These are yet to be investigated and so, finally, in Section 7.4, we suggest some of the issues which may be profitably researched in this bilingual setting.

7.1 Summary of findings

Our strategy has been to test our hypotheses separately for comprehension (Chapter IV) and productivity (Chapter V). But some of the hypotheses in the two chapters would have been seen to be complementary; others not. In this summary, the complementary ones are reviewed together for validity;

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1. A pioneer in pure contrastive linguistics of English and Yoruba is L. Ayo Banjo's A Contrastive Study of Aspects of the Syntactic and Lexical Rules of English and Yoruba. Ph.D. Thesis - University of Ibadan (1969).

The unpaired ones are considered last. Thus, the order of their appearance in the main chapters is not followed in this recapitulation.

1. Two generalised hypotheses, i and vi, assert greater proficiency in Yoruba than English among the chosen category of bilinguals. As basis, proficiency in a language was considered to be a function of pressure on the language while the degree of pressure itself would be considered relative to, first, the size of the society which uses each of the languages and, second, the intensity of the use. By definition, a bilingual society is a composite one: there is a wider superordinate mother-tongue society, and within it a smaller extraction which also uses a second language. These are the bilinguals - the YbE bilinguals in the present case. Operation in the second language (here, English) is thus restricted to interactions with other bilinguals within the smaller group. And although this can be very intensive, especially in the school system where the use of English is enforced, the ascendancy of Yoruba in the wider society is in no doubt, by the sheer size of its users and the more numerous occasions for its use. Outside, and for some time within the formal school system, the bilinguals

in our study also use Yoruba quite intensively. Measures of central tendency (by mode and mean achievements) confirmed the part of the hypotheses relating to bilingual comprehension, but the same tests deny the part relating to fluency. In all the six domains of language use, English fluency was higher than Yoruba fluency. The differences in mean English and Yoruba fluency were not very large, and the advantage for English was considered not high enough to completely reverse the hypothesis. All the same, the results have the value of denying that part of the hypothesis.

2. The next paired hypotheses, ii and viii, postulate differences in Yoruba and English proficiency for pupils in schools located in urban and rural areas. The basis is the differences observable in the constitutive elements of the two locations. These include the more cosmopolitan composition of the city as against the more ethnically homogeneous rural settlement; the more diversified types of social and commercial interaction in the city, involving people of different mother tongues, as against the less varied interactions in the rural location, involving, most of the time, almost the same people of the same mother

tongue, and so on. The consequence is the more greatly bilingual choice habits in the city, featuring more English, as against the greater frequency and intensity of monolingual choice habit in the rural area, featuring in this case, Yoruba. Schools are integral parts of their locale, sharing the behaviour patterns of these locations to some considerable extent. Therefore, pupils educated in the rural area school should be more proficient in Yoruba than their city counterparts, but less proficient in English than the latter.

The hypotheses were largely confirmed. The subjects in the rural location school demonstrated greater Yoruba comprehension ability. Also, in four of the six domains in which fluency was tested they scored higher than their city counterparts. Their higher scores were however not significant in some of the domains. In the two other domains, education and health, the subjects in the city schools scored higher than their rural school counterparts. But their higher scores were not significant either.

As predicted by the hypotheses the subjects in the city schools proved generally more proficient in English. Their comprehension scores were higher, although the edge over their rural location

counterparts was slim. So also were their fluency scores. But in two domains, home and education, we even found the subjects in the rural location school scoring higher than the city school subjects, although not significantly.

Overall, greater Yoruba proficiency was found largely true of bilinguals in the rural location school; but also considerable proficiency in English, almost comparable to the ability of their counterparts in the city schools. We then found two fundamental explanations for this. Firstly, there was possibly greater diligence on the part of the teachers, and equally great attention on the part of their pupils to the acquisition of English. This was probably born of an awareness of the limitation which the location of their school constituted to their proficiency in English, and which had to be compensated for. The second explanation is the relativity of rural locations. Locations outside cities are not all of the same type by the mere absence of pipeborne water, electricity, supermarkets, modern technology plants and so on. Instead, the distance from large cities, linear and chronometric, determines the degree of the ruralness of a particular place as it indicates how

open to the location are the influences and innovations from the surrounding cities. Thus, we found our rural location school perhaps not so much rural after all, and closer to the city behaviour patterns than some more remote rural areas.

3. The subject of Hypotheses iii and ix is the role of attitude to oral English and its effect on proficiency on English and Yoruba. The hypotheses postulate that the degree of proficiency in oral English among school pupils is directly related to the attitude of their school to the subject. A positive attitude is recognised in a form of commitment to OE. Its expression consists in the active teaching of the subject and the encouragement of their pupils to submit themselves to formal OE examination in their leaving school Certificate examination. The attitude is adopted obviously in response to the evergrowing importance of English within the society for which the schools prepare their pupils. In some of the schools, entry for formal examinations in OE is obligatory, and may have become a tradition. Such commitment produces high English proficiency while the degree of proficiency in Yoruba tends to be inversely related to the same attitude.

The other kind of attitude to OE is either indifferent or downright negative, and predictably yields among the pupils in the adopting schools English proficiency that is lower than would be found among those in the positive attitude position. However, Yoruba proficiency tends to be higher among pupils in such schools than it is in schools adopting the positive attitude to OE.

Comprehension scores in the test have strongly supported the hypothesis. We noticed some inconsistency in the patterns of fluency scores across the domains but generally English fluency scores have also supported the hypothesis as between the positive Type I and II attitudes on the one hand, and Type III attitude on the other.

But the prediction of superior Yoruba fluency for pupils in Type III attitude position has appeared unrealistic. Pupils in this position outscored those in Type I and II positions significantly in only two of the six contexts. Our observation or inference from the results has been that active encouragement of OE does not necessarily weaken Yoruba fluency ability among such bilingual people. Of course it is not known whether active encouragement of Yoruba would

have weakened English fluency ability among the same bilinguals. (We found no evidence that Type III attitude schools deliberately mount any extraordinary activities to encourage Yoruba in the same way as the Types I and II attitude schools do for English). But language aptitude as a psycholinguistic ability is not known to be conceptually polarized with respect to languages. The high English and Yoruba fluency performance of the subjects in Types I and II attitude positions appears to support this view.

And their performance could not be attributed to interlingual translation which we reasonably prevented by separating the fluency tests in the two languages by a comprehension test which lasted about fifteen minutes. Our conclusion, therefore, is that an attitude of active encouragement of oral work in English not only strengthens fluency in the language but also boosts fluency ability in the other language. This is not an uncommon observation among people of relatively high degree of bilingualism, and is realistic especially in a bilingual situation like Nigeria where the cultural overlapping is growing. Such encouragement of oral work could therefore have been in either language and would produce the same

booster effect in the other. What has not been investigated is whether these attitudes to oral work in English have any effects on proficiency in written English and Yoruba among the pupils in the attitude positions. But perhaps they do.

4. Next is the pair of Hypotheses v and xi. The variable focused upon in these hypotheses is the differences in the socio-economic home backgrounds of the subjects. Taken together, the hypotheses assert lower Yoruba but greater English proficiency for pupils who come from the socioeconomically superior homes than their counterparts from the humbler homes.

In respect of Yoruba, comprehension performances by the socioeconomic groups significantly confirmed the first part. But although English comprehension scores across the same groups also supported the hypotheses, they were not significant.

On the other hand the English fluency superiority predicted for the subjects from the socioeconomically superior homes was found to obtain in all the three domains in which fluency was tested but in two of them no significant differences were found in Yoruba fluency among the groups. The socio-economic variable, as

conceived, has thus appeared not quite reliable: there was the significance of the patterns of Yoruba comprehension but not of English comprehension. On the other hand the English but not the Yoruba fluency patterns significantly support the hypothesis.

Yet, both impression and common observation strongly suggest some correlation between socioeconomic background and proficiency abilities in English and Yoruba among our chosen category of bilinguals. We also found supportive evidence for such a possibility in the findings of Birnie and Hewitt's research into the effect of home backgrounds upon achievements in language. Their case study was English.² To probe further, therefore, we modified the hypotheses to take account of one observable educational consequence, at least in contemporary Nigeria, of a child's home socioeconomic background. This is the varying qualities of schools into which children from such different backgrounds get admitted, largely on the basis of the facilities and orientations with which their home backgrounds have endowed them.

2. J.K. Birnie and E.A. Hewitt (1968), op. cit.

The hypotheses, as amended, then asserted for the subjects in Type I schools, coming mostly from the socioeconomically superior homes, greater English proficiency than their counterparts in Types II and III schools; but also lower Yoruba proficiency than the latter. This compound variable (socioeconomic differences of pupils' home with the corresponding different types of school they attend) proved a reliable determinant of differences in proficiency in each language. Pupils from the socioeconomically superior homes were more proficient in English than their counterparts from the humbler homes while the latter were more proficient in Yoruba than the former.

But we also found that although the predicted differences exist, the pupils in Type I schools, in addition to demonstrating superior English fluency, appeared to have made quite considerable gains in Yoruba fluency; sometimes, the differences between them, and particularly their counterparts in Type II schools, were very small. We therefore concluded that socioeconomic wellbeing, with its concomitant type of school, is a strong factor of high bilingual proficiency.

5. The first of the unpaired hypotheses, Hypothesis iv, asserts that comprehension abilities would vary according to the language repertoire status of the subjects' parents. From our subjects' responses to our enquiry about the language repertoire of their parents five repertoire groups were derived, as follows:

- (i) Both parents monolingual Yoruba speakers;
- (ii) English monolingual mother but YbE bilingual father
- (iii) Both parents YbE bilinguals;
- (iv) Both parents trilingual in Yoruba, English and another language.
- (v) Bilingual or trilingual parents who speak no English.

The subjects' performances in the three comprehension tests were matched with their parents' language repertoires, and a direct correlation found between the results and the parents' repertoire groups. Two groups, (i) and (iii), were our main interest; they also account for the majority of all the subjects, 161 and 205, respectively. Generally, the subjects whose parents were Yoruba monolinguals (Group i) performed better in the Yoruba comprehension test than

those in the other repertoire groups. Also, those whose parents were YbE bilinguals (Group iii) demonstrated better English comprehension ability than the subjects in the other groups. In both cases the overall patterns of performance were found to be statistically significant.

6. Hypothesis vii is an unpaired generalised hypothesis. It relates the degree of bilinguals' fluency in their languages to the degree of specialization of the languages in different domains. That is, the degree of verbal productivity would vary across domains. For Yoruba, we found higher mean fluency scores in the home, neighbourhood and occupation domains but relatively lower mean fluency in the domains of religion, education and health. Mean English fluency scores were more varied. The highest score was in education while comparable scores in the home and neighbourhood domains came next. Next were the mean scores in the domains of occupation and health, while the lowest score was found in the domain of religion. The different language demands in these domains, in terms of choice and usage, were stated as responsible for the mean fluency variations; thus the general hypothesis was confirmed.

7. The last of the unpaired hypothesis (Hypothesis xii) states a null between sex and bilingual fluency. The hypothesis was tested in three domains. In all, although the male subjects scored higher Yoruba fluency, the higher scores were not significant. Also, no significant differences were found in English fluency between the sexes in two of the three domains. In the third, the male subjects scored significantly higher than the female ones. This was however exceptional and we still considered the null hypothesis to hold. The point of interest in this finding therefore lies in its showing as invalid any ascriptions of language acquisition superiority to the female sex. On the contrary it is the male subjects who scored higher than the female ones although their higher scores were insignificant except in one case.³

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3. This finding is similar to Obanya's in his measurement of performance skills in French among male and female pupils in Ibadan secondary grammar schools. He even found the boys significantly superior to the girls in reading, writing, and overall performance while the girls excelled only in speaking. See Pai Obanya: 'Relationship between self-concept and performance in achievement tests of French'. The West African Journal of Educational and Vocational Measurement. Vol. 3, No. 1 February, 1976, pp. 39-43.

Four issues were analysed in Chapter VI:

- (i) the relationship between proficiency in the bilinguals' two languages and their own choice and usage habits,
- (ii) the effect of certain language acquisition and, presumably language proficiency reinforcers and actual proficiency,
- (iii) the degrees of bilingualism among socio-educationally defined groups, and
- (iv) the patterns of bilingual dominance among this chosen category of bilinguals.

The issues were not formally hypothesised as was the case with those reported in Chapters IV and V, but knowledge of them was considered crucial to an attempt at a total sociolinguistic understanding of the working of bilingualism.

8. The first issue was investigated by matching comprehension achievements with habits in three language choice and usage contexts. The contexts were complex, each consisting of a number of subcontexts. In the first, three participatory subcontexts were depicted in which bilingual subjects voluntarily or involuntarily have to choose the medium of interaction. They are child-parents in general

discussion, child-parents in discussion of school matters, siblings (including bilingual subject) in general discussion. In all of these situations Yoruba comprehension scores were found to correlate significantly directly with usage habits, but English comprehension scores did not. Instead we sometimes found subjects who checked N and H perform better than their counterparts who checked S, O and A.

For the second context, two participatory subcontexts were set, namely, family prayers and family meals. In these subcontexts choice and usage habits were not the personal predilection of the subjects in this investigation. Rather, they had probably been long established, obviously, by their parents, and have more or less become family traditions. But as participants it was expected that such choice habits would affect their proficiency in the languages. In general, this was found to be significantly so; the N and H groups showed poorer comprehension ability than the S, O and A groups. But we also found some anomalous correlations at the higher usage intensity levels such as when the majority of the subjects who checked S showed better comprehension ability than their O and A counterparts.

The third subcontext is largely an idiosyncratic situation, involving choice and usage habits in communication with oneself. The specific instance named was private prayers. Here we found positive correlation between the habits and comprehension abilities in Yoruba and English.

9. For the second issue, four language acquisition and reinforcer activities were examined for their effect on the subjects' levels of comprehension abilities. They were:

- (i) informal reading of Yoruba and English medium newspapers;
- (ii) listening^{to} and viewing of Yoruba and English medium programmes on the radio and the television;
- (iii) identification with societies whose objectives include the promotion of greater proficiency in either Yoruba or English; and
- (iv) proficiency self-image.

The responses we got on the LBQ revealed low patronage of Yoruba medium newspapers and Yoruba medium radio and television programmes in contrast to higher patronage of these same media in English. We found positive correlations between degrees of patronage of these media in English and the subjects'

English comprehension abilities. There were also found positive correlations between the degrees of patronage of Yoruba medium newspapers and Yoruba comprehension abilities, but not between patronage of Yoruba medium radio and television programmes and Yoruba comprehension achievements.

Similarly, greater enthusiasm (by identification) was revealed for the English literary clubs than for the Yoruba literary clubs. Also, comprehension achievements were found to correlate directly significantly with such identification.

Yoruba proficiency self-image was found to correlate positively with achievements in Yoruba comprehension. For English there were some discrepancies found between proficiency self-image and comprehension: some subjects overestimated, while some others underestimated their own abilities. These notwithstanding, sufficient evidence was found in our analyses in support of the view that self-image is a psychological reinforcer of language proficiency ability.

The third issue was the attempt to ascertain the degrees of bilingualism among the subjects. Ideally, these were to be determined on a scale of bilingualism.

But such a scale was found difficult to construct as one of the required inputs, namely, maximum fluency, could not possibly be predetermined. In the alternative we computed indices of proficiency in each language for the school groups, using mean comprehension and mean fluency scores. The proficiency indices in the two languages were in turn used to compute indices of bilingualism for the school groups. These indices then became ordinal scales of proficiency in the languages, and of bilingualism.

When the scales were compared multilaterally they revealed some aspects of the complex nature of bilingualism. There was found inequality between its two constituent elements contrary to the hypothesis which Clark, Hatcheson and van Buren put forward in their study.⁴ For instance, the comparison of the ordinal scales showed the order of comprehension and fluency abilities to be different in each language. Likewise, the order of bilingual proficiency is different from the order of proficiency in any one language. The changing order of abilities in the ordinal scales, culminating in the order of bilingual proficiency, thus showed the attritive or corrosive

4. Ruth Clark, et. al. (1974), op. cit.

relationship between the constituent elements of bilingualism and their effect on the ultimate bilingual status of a person. What therefore constitutes a valid description of bilingual proficiency for a person or group of bilinguals is the product of these elements. This was computed and stated for our subjects in their school groups.

Following the computation of bilingual proficiency for the schools, comparabilities among them have further lent support to our earlier finding that the socio-educational status of bilinguals in this category is a strong predictor of their degree of bilingualism.

The reordering on the ordinal scales of proficiency in Yoruba and English, we might say, has provided evidence to corroborate the general notion concerning imbalance between co-existent languages in a bilingual matrix. This is the same as the existence of the dominance of one of the languages. The fourth issue was therefore an attempt to ascertain the patterns of such dominance among the subjects in this investigation. Our finding in this respect is again relateable to the socio-educational factors of language proficiency. We found that large majorities of the

subjects who belonged to the socio-economically superior homes and who attended certain qualitatively superior schools (Type I) were clearly dominant in English. Among the subjects from the humbler homes, who also attended the qualitatively poorer schools, we found evidence of more mixed proficiency: ED majorities were smaller while YD majorities were larger than the proportions found among their counterparts in Type I schools. However, we found in respect of the total sample ED majorities in all the contexts of language use. These vary between the contexts, with education and health showing greater ED than the others.

7.2 The methodology of the investigation

Two methodological issues of interest in this overview are sampling and the instruments of the investigation.

With regard to sampling the main consideration here is its representativeness. This was to be ensured by the method of selection and the size of the sample. The size, 402, would be considered statistically adequate. Of course, it could have been larger and be still more representative by being so, but such

screening as described in Chapter III was considered necessary to ensure that we had subjects whose mother tongue was Yoruba within the bilingual complex. Thus we rejected other pupils who spoke Yoruba relatively natively alright but whose parents probably did not. Even then, the screening was not as rigorous as was desired, for we still had two subjects whose mothers did not speak Yoruba. The undetected infiltration of the two was however considered unlikely to have distorted the findings too greatly.

Our selection of schools for the investigation suffered one particular limitation. It could not be said to have achieved the degree of randomness which could be said to be totally proof of all the theoretically possible errors. But the limitation was due to two main factors, viz., the category of the subjects chosen, and the uncooperative attitude of some school authorities.

In consideration of the level of attainment in English that would be required of pupils who were about to enter adult participation in public life, we chose Form V, the top class of the secondary school system as more generally known before the introduction of Sixth Form education. But their very status in the

system made some of the school authorities unwilling to spare the time for their pupils to participate as subjects in the investigation. Their attitude was apparently borne of their anxiety for the success of their pupils in the school leaving certificate examination which was drawing close and for which they were preparing the pupils. In some cases the headmasters did not respond at all to our communications. This happened in the case of schools located in the rural areas; hence we had only one rural area school in the sample. In view of these limitations we decided to work with all of the few schools who were willing to participate. No further selection was made, and this indeed ensured, even in this limited sample, the probability of an unbiased, cross-sectional representation of bilingual abilities.

The two instruments used in the investigation were the LBQ and the tests of proficiency. The appraisal here is concerned with their efficiency in the light of our own use of them.

Moses Hoffman first recognised the usefulness of ascertaining a bilingual's background; he also scheduled how this could be done.⁵ Weinreich⁶ and Haugen⁷ also emphasized the need for a close study of the bilingual individual who is the ultimate locus of language contact. In his background would be found some of the non-structural stimuli, but also resistance, of bilingual proficiency, and these would then constitute part of the explanation for his degree of achievement in the two languages.

The tests of proficiency administered were those of listening comprehension and fluency. The English comprehension texts were in two varieties of the language but on the same, topic - 'Audience reactions in the theatre'. For Yoruba comprehension the topic was 'Njé èkọ kò ná ilé ayé jé báyi í?' (English paraphrase: 'Is western education not corrupting the world (i.e. of the African)? The test of fluency used was Word Naming.

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5. Moses N.H. Hoffman: (1934), op. cit.
 6. Uriel Weinreich, (1970), op. cit.
 7. Eina Haugen (1956), op. cit.

The instruments would, of course, be open to a number of general criticisms. For instance there is a facile assumption in all applications of the IBO that the bilingual informant understands the objectives of the investigation and appreciates the investigator's need for untainted testimony of the informant's background relating to his bilingual behaviour. Despite all precautions neither of these may be so. Firstly, there could be some unwitting misinformation such as when, as Macnamara has pointed out, bilingual self-rating might be contaminated by the influence of examination marks although marks in tests in two different languages are most usually incomparable.⁸ Secondly, due to social pressure, there could also be deliberate distortions in the responses to an IBO. Claims made concerning acquisition, choice and usage could be influenced by non-linguistic considerations such as the informant's own ego, or the cultural and political attitudes and prejudices of his society.

8. John Macnamara, (1967, 1969), op. cit.

One criticism of the listening comprehension test may have to do with the unusual length of the texts. Apart from the use of short conversational narratives in the School Certificate oral English examination, there is not known to this writer any research in which such full-length oral texts in English have been used in achievement measurement. Perhaps there has never been any Yoruba listening comprehension test administered to native speakers of the language (except to those who have hearing impediments).

A criticism of the kind of fluency test used is that the production of a large number of words in response to a stimulus word does not too validly reflect high fluency since fluency is a function of both linguistic competence and performance. In this regard, therefore, some more expressive stretches of language, necessitating the use of varied

structures and a wider vocabulary, would measure fluency better.⁹

These criticisms notwithstanding, we have found the two instruments useful in our investigation. The LBQ was used as a screening device. More importantly, all our hypotheses were consciously formulated to involve the joint use of the responses to the LBQ and the tests of proficiency; the information served as bases to which we then related proficiency achievements. In this way we have tried to meet some of Fishman's valid criticism of measurements of bilingualism in which the instruments are not so correlated.¹⁰ We have found positive correlations between background information and achievements thus confirming the hypotheses based on them. We also found discrepancies or inverse relationships between the variables and tried to account for them as they relate to particular

9. Beardsmore and his colleagues at the Institut de Phonétique, Université Libre de Bruxelles, have been experimenting with the measurement of oral fluency in English, using fairly long 4-minute recordings by their subjects. One of their main difficulties is how to objectivise scoring. See Baetens H. Beardsmore: 'Testing Oral Fluency'. IRAL XII, No. 4 (1974), pp. 317-326.

10. Joshua A. Fishman, (1968a), op. cit.

hypotheses. In both cases the joint use of the IBQ and the tests of proficiency has guided our understanding of the nature of bilingual proficiency.

7.3 Some implications of the findings

The educational implications are the most recurrent in the literature of bilingualism, understandably because language is the vehicle of most learning. The formation of intricate concepts as well as the transmission of such concepts to a child, even in that child's mother tongue, can be quite problematical. The problems in these learning activities therefore become compounded when they are done in two different languages. Hence bilingualism is often viewed as a hindrance to efficient learning especially in situations such as Nigeria where one of the languages (English in this case) is typologically unrelated to any of the indigenous

languages.¹¹ Not so often well considered, however, are the social implications. Of course education is a social issue, but the ones considered here are the more strictly social and political implications. Some evidence from our investigation forms part of the basis for the consideration.

First, since YbE bilingualism functions within a multilingual Nigeria, it becomes an issue of national interest—alongside such other bilingualisms involving English in the country. The focus here is upon the role of English in the national setting. It is the language of western type education from the upper ends of the primary through the university

11. A few of such considerations are:

- (i) Thomas Kellaghan: 'Some implications of bilingualism for education in Nigeria'. IBADAN, 11 (1961), pp. 31-33.
- (ii) Paul Christopherson: Bilingualism (an inaugural address). Methuen and Co. Ltd. (1948).
- (iii) E.F. O. Doherty, (1958), op. cit.
But some others see a blessing in "the two windows on the world" which bilingualism affords a person. Among these is:
 - (iv) M. Rado: 'Bilingual Education in Australia. The Multilingual Project - A Model for effective learning in a multicultural society'. Folia Linguistica IX, 1/4 (1976), pp. 45-57.

levels. As the official language it is the medium of political and commercial administration. It can also function to promote national integration, and in this regard it has often been reassuring to refer to it as the language of unity - obviously in the narrow sense of political organization.¹² Since there is no ready substitute for English in these roles, the development, and to some extent, the internal cohesion of the country appear to depend on the language. Bilingualism involving English is therefore essential for responsible participation in these national endeavours. At present, although relevant statistics are not available, by reasonable estimation, the percentage of functional YBE bilinguals must be quite small

12. The extent to which English or any other language has promoted lateral social integration (which is the wider sense of unity) is limited. Indeed, it may be sheer optimism to expect that English can effect this by the fact only that it is a common language. Banjo exemplifies the myth in such optimism by the failure of Yoruba, a common indigenous language, to effect such political unity among the Yoruba people. See Ayo Banjo, 'Language Policy in Nigeria' in Smock, and Bentsi-Enchill (eds.) The Search for National Integration in Africa. The Free Press (1975), pp. 206-219.

judging from the generally low percentage of the Nigerian population who are able to operate in English. There is therefore the need to direct effort at increasing YbE bilingualism quantitatively and qualitatively.

Second, the patterns of bilingual dominance seen in our analyses have social implications. In particular there is the feature of ED which echoes Kerr's finding in a comparable investigation,¹³ and again raises the question whether the YbE bilingual society is in fact drifting towards monolingualism in English. The suggestion appears quite remote judging from a casual observation in the wider contemporary society. Instead it may be argued that this society has only merely achieved the logical conclusion of Diebold's incipient bilingualism¹⁴ i.e. stable bilingualism, in which one of the languages is bound to be dominant.

But the factors of dominance configuration (such as relative proficiency, usefulness in communication, literary - cultural value, function in social advance)

13. J.Y.K. Kerr, (1972), op. cit.

14. Richard A. Diebold, (1961), op. cit.

appear to be greatly in favour of continued and even increased English dominance. In such circumstances stable bilingualism may itself be only a protracted stage en route monolingualism. Fishman expresses the possibility thus:

'Under certain conditions ... the relative incidence and configuration of bilingualism stabilizes and remains fairly constant over time ... However, under other circumstances an "other tongue" may continue to gain speakers to the end that bilingualism initially increases and then decreases as the erstwhile "other tongue" becomes the predominant language of the old, and the mother tongue of the young'.¹⁵

It still may be argued that according to our finding in this inquiry ED is large only among the pupils from the socioeconomically or socio-educationally superior homes, and that the tendency towards ultimate English monolingualism as suggested above will be restricted to only that section of the society. The first comment is that such a polarization of society

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15. Joshua A. Fishman: 'Language Maintenance and Language Shift As a Field of Inquiry: A definition of the field and suggestions for its further development'. Linguistics: An International Review, 9 (1964), pp. 32-70. The quotation is on p. 48.

into high and low English proficiency groups, were it to materialize, is dangerous as it contains the seeds of insecurity for the nation. This is because under the present arrangements, high English proficiency is the passport to most of the benefits in the country - high positions, high incomes, and other privileges, while the same benefits do not attach to high proficiency in any of the indigenous languages. And therein lies the danger constituted by such uneven achievements in English: it can be the remote cause of future class struggle which may be catastrophic. Indeed, it would seem that the struggle has begun, constructively for the present, in the effort being made by the under-achievers to attain the same high proficiency in English which would place their members in the privileged positions.

But in fact our open, upwardly mobile society makes Fishman's suggestion (as contained in the quotation above) a clear possibility. The kind of motivation for higher English proficiency which we have just stated is a hardly arguable pointer to generally increasing ED in the society. If such increasing ED runs counter to the assumed aspirations ^{of} Nigeria's cultural (including language) nationalism it at least may be acknowledged as the contribution of the lower society to achieve social equilibrium and thus avert

any disastrous eruptions in society; but its end product may be monolingualism - in some kind of English.

However, within a broad public language policy the same disaster may also be averted by either of two contrasting measures. The first is to devalue all nationalistic feelings presently associated with the indigenous languages (including Yoruba), and boldly support the private effort of the lower society for greater English proficiency through a more massive English language teaching programme in the school and possibly in adult education. The second is to check the ascendancy of English in the society by removing some of the advantages it presently confers. This is achieved by raising the prestige of at least the major indigenous languages in the public and in the school system through their use in more formal respectable discourses where hitherto English has exclusively held sway. To this end, effort will have to be made to endow the indigenous languages with greater intellectual capability by means of research which is directed at expanding their critical and technical vocabulary, and if possible, at making their structures generally more flexible. The languages will then be in positions

to share in the present functions and benefits of English. And when thus deemphasized, English becomes, in Nigeria, technically more or less a foreign (instead of second) language, but as Banjo has pointed out ironically the language itself will gain from the reduced emphasis,¹⁶ for instance, in better teaching to smaller numbers. The latter of the two options will cost less (in money and emotions) to achieve. It will be more efficient in public administration and will have also satisfied the cultural aspirations of the people.

7.4 Some suggestions for future research

Some issues in the subject of this inquiry requiring further investigation have been mentioned in the discussions following the statistical analyses in Chapter IV, V, and VI. Suggestions were also given on how they might be better carried out. Yet there are a lot more issues of sociolinguistic interest in bilingualism. Among them are:

16. Ayo Banjo in Smock and Bentsi-Enchill, (eds.) (1975), op. cit.

(a) Bilingual codeswitching

Switching between their two languages within a semantically single utterance is more frequently observed among the younger bilinguals. For this habit they are sometimes regarded by purists of usage as bad cases of bilingual hybrids.

Investigation of the grammatical structures of such utterances as well as their psychological and sociological bases will be of interest to both the pure and applied linguists.¹⁷

(b) The factor of age in bilingual proficiency

The subjects in our investigation were adolescents. It will be of comparative interest to measure bilingual proficiency among other age categories in the same bilingual community.

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17. On a microlevel an insightful analysis of this phenomenon among YbE bilinguals is David O. Oke's 'Synchronic linguistics and the problem of interlingual influence' in Roger Shuy and Ralph Fasold (eds.): Analyzing Variation in Language. Georgetown University Press (1975), pp. 269-281. As Oke has correctly observed codemixing is commonly practised by all YbE bilinguals irrespective of their educational levels; but because the younger people may be interlingually less constrained by any puristic consciousness, bilingual usage among them will yield more copious evidence for linguistic and sociolinguistic examination of the phenomenon.

(c) The trend of dominance in YbE bilingualism

If the statement of YD and ED patterns in this investigation may be described as a synchronic study, a related area is the trend of bilingual dominance. The study will be experimental, working with the same subjects over a specified period, and periodically measuring their proficiency for any changes in the patterns of dominance. Preferably the subjects should be younger people whose periodic proficiency performances will indicate whether or not the society is drifting towards monolingualism in one of the languages.

(d) Bilingualism and biculturalism

A bilingual society is often considered automatically a bicultural society.¹⁸ Undoubtedly the two phenomena are interwoven. For the YbE bilingual society it will be of interest to ascertain the nature of the interdependence in pure linguistic and in general sociolinguistic terms.

18. For a clear explication see:

- (a) James P. Soffiatti: 'Bilingualism and Biculturalism'. Journal of Educational Psychology. 46, No. 4 (1955).
- (b) Ralph Pieris: 'Bilingualism and Cultural Marginality'. The British Journal of Sociology Vol. 2, No. 4 (1951), pp. 321-339.

Haugen has written, first, about the 'problems of bilingualism'¹⁹ and later of the 'pleasures and problems of bilingual research'.²⁰ In both cases his emphasis is on the bilingual individual and the problems which his behaviour poses for the bilingualist. Among such problems, as the foregoing illustrates, are the choice of the bilingual sample, and of the descriptive and explanatory framework. The pleasure consists mainly in the attempt to ascertain the nature of the curious but only ability which makes intergroup relations possible, and the relative insight gained into it.

19. Einer Haugen (1949), op. cit.

20. Einer Haugen: 'Some Pleasures and Problems of Bilingual Research'. International Journal of American Linguistics. XX, No. 2 (1954), pp. 116-122.

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APPENDIX A

Questionnaire A - To Principals/Headmasters/Head
mistresses of Secondary Schools.

1. Name & Address of School:
2. Name of Principal/Headmaster/Headmistress:
3. Proprietorship of School:
4. No. of Classes in School:
Form I - Form IV -
Form II - Form V
Form III - Form Sixth
5. No. of Pupils in School: Boys Girls
Total
6. No. of Teachers in School:
Yoruba; Non-Yoruba Africans; British & Americans
Others Total -
7. Languages taught in School - Class - Period per week
8. No. of Pupils offering English Language in the 1975
May/June School Certificate examination:
Boys - Girls - Total
9. Qualification & Nationality of English language
teachers: Qualification e.g. B.A. (Hons English),
B.Ed. or NCE with specialization in English.
Nationality - whether Nigerian, Non-Nigerian African,
British or American:
Qualification & Year of Graduation - all in respect
of Forms I - V.

10. Is Oral English a compulsory subject in your school? Yes or No
11. Since when?
12. When were pupils in your school first entered for the School Certificate Oral English?
13. Please state whether teachers of Oral English are Nigerians, or native - speakers of English and their qualification and experience:
Class - Nationality - Qualification - Year of Graduation -
14. How Oral English is taught.
 - (a) as part of the English Language course.
 - (b) specially, i.e. with periods allocated to it on the time-table.
15. If Oral English is specially taught, please indicate number of periods per week.
16. No. of pupils offering Oral English in the 1975 May/June School Certificate examination:
Boys - Girls - Total -
17. Is Yoruba a compulsory subject in your school? Yes/No
18. Since when?
19. When were pupils in your school first entered for the School Certificate Yoruba examination?

20. Qualification and Experience of teachers of Yoruba
e.g. B.A. (Hons Yoruba, or with Yoruba as
subsidiary), B.Ed. with specialization in Yoruba,
NCE, Senior Teacher, etc.
21. Periods of Yoruba teaching on the time-table:
Form I - V.
22. Medium of instruction in Yoruba lessons,
(Place X to indicate),entirely in Yoruba
.....Partly in Yoruba, Partly in English.
23. No. of pupils offering Yoruba in the 1975 May/June
School Certificate examination:Boys
.....GirlsTotal
24. Is there any 'language rule' in your school?
Please state it briefly.
25. Please list activities intended to promote the
Use of English in school, e.g. Literary and Debating
Society, Dramatic Club, etc.
26. Are teachers involved in these activities? Yes/No
27. Any presentation(s) or production(s) in the last
school year? Yes/No
28. Please list activities similar to those in 25
above which are intended to promote the Use of
Yoruba in the school:

29. Are teachers involved in these activities? Yes/No
30. Any presentation(s) or production(s) in the last school year? Yes/No

Thanks very much for your patient and prompt co-operation.

APPENDIX B

Department of English
University of Ibadan
Ibadan.

September, 1975.

Dear Form V Student,

Survey of Bilingual Attainment and Use among
Secondary School Students

This survey is to find out what our attainment in English, and in our mother tongue is, and how much use we make of these languages in our everyday life.

From among several schools, your school has been selected for this study, and you, in particular, will be playing a vital role in the exercise. The exercise will involve you in some discussions, in a simple comprehension, exercise and such related exercises. I assure you that it will not take much of your time. But the first exercise is the completion of the attached questionnaire, Please complete it faithfully, and quickly too. I shall let you know the date(s) for the other exercises.

Thanks very much in advance.

I remain,
Yours sincerely,

Questionnaire 'B' - All Yoruba-speaking Form V Students

Part A

1. Name: (2) Address:
3. Age: Sex (4) Class
5. School: (6) Place of Birth
7. Language(s) spoken by parents:
(a) Father (b) Mother
8. Occupation of parents:
(a) Father (b) Mother
9. Do you live with your Parents/with Gurdians/
in the Boarding House?
10. Which languages do you speak? Do you also read
and write them?
11. Is there any language rule' in your school?
i.e. Is there any restriction about which
language you may not speak? Yes/NO
If 'Yes', Please state the rule briefly.
12. At what age did you start learning English?
13. Where? At home; at school; abroad ? Mark X
at the Appropriate place.
14. When and where did you start learning your other
Nigerian or foreign language?

15. Are you offering Yoruba in your School Certificate examination? Yes/No
16. Are you offering Oral English in your School Certificate examination? Yes/No

Part B

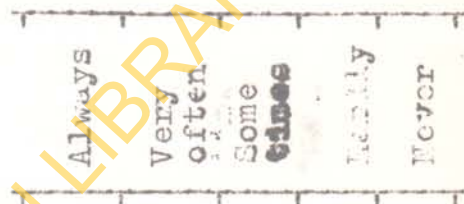
17. Which of the languages listed in 10 above do you speak most often?
18. In your everyday life, what makes you decide to speak English at one time, but Yoruba at some other time? (Give a fairly detailed answer possibly with some examples of when you will decide to use either language).
19. Do you always or sometimes or never mix your language, i.e. use both English and Yoruba in the same utterance or discussion?
20. Why?
21. What language do you use when joking or chatting with your friends?
22. What language do you use when discussing a serious matter with your friends?
23. Now, assess the relative importance of the languages you know and use, and give some reasons. e.g. (i) --- is the most important because --- (ii) --- is the next most important because -----

24. According to your estimation, strike out from among the following sentences those which express opinions contrary to yours:
- (a) English is superior to Yoruba i.e. Yoruba is inferior to English
 - (b) English is inferior to Yoruba. i.e. Yoruba is superior to English.
 - (c) English is neither superior nor inferior to Yoruba.
25. In the Western State today English is the official language, Which of the following would you advise government to do?
- (a) Retain English as the official language,
 - (b) Adopt Yoruba as the official language,
 - (c) Make both English and Yoruba the official languages.
26. Give reasons for the choice you have just made in No. 25.
27. Now, please assess your own proficiency in Yoruba and English (speaking, reading, writing and understanding). e.g. very good/Good/Fairly good/Not so good/Bad.
28. Are you an active member of the English literary club in your school? Yes/No
29. Are you an active member of the Yoruba literary club in your school? Yes/No

PART C

Estimate to what extent YOU and other people around you use Yoruba and English in the situations described. Place X on the line of language used and under the marker of frequency.

YOU



- A
- i. Talking to parents YOR.
ENG.
 - ii. Talking to brother/sisters YOR.
ENG.
 - iii. Talking to parents' friends YOR.
ENG.
 - iv. In private prayers YOR.
ENG.
 - v. In prayers with family YOR.
ENG.
 - vi. At meals with family YOR.
ENG.
 - vii. In discussing house cleanliness YOR.
ENG.
 - viii. In discussing sports, films; television shows, with brothers/sisters YOR.
ENG.
 - ix. In discussing school matters with parents YOR.
ENG.
 - x. In general discussion with parents and their friends YOR.
ENG.

- xi. On holidays when
your friends
visit YOR.
ENG.
- xii. In discussion with
your friends in
school YOR.
ENG.
- xiii. In talking to my
teachers YOR.
ENG.
- xiv. In talking about
our teachers YOR.
ENG.
- xv. On the playground YOR.
ENG.
- xvi. In the dining hall YOR.
ENG.
- xvii. In discussing
school subjects YOR.
ENG.
- xviii. Estimate how often
you read YORUBA
newspapers ENGLISH
newspapers
- xix. Estimate how often
you listen to or
watch Radio and
T.V. programmes YOR.
ENG.
- C. OTHER PEOPLE:
- xx. Estimate how often
your parents use
YORUBA in the home,
use ENGLISH in the
home ; YOR.
ENG.
- xxi. How often your
brothers/sisters
use YORUBA in the
home; use ENGLISH
in the home ; YOR.
ENG.

APPENDIX Ci

Audience reactions in the theatre

- M. It always seemed to me, Janice, that comedy has a much wider appeal than tragedy. That is, the people tend to respond far more readily to comedy than tragedy. Do you think that's true?
- F. Yes.
- M. Why do you think it, why do you think that might be so?
- F. Well, er... firstly, most people, a lot of people tend to go out to the theatre for a night of enjoyment, to relax, to have a good laugh, you know, and generally feel in good spirit. And ...
- M. You mean comedy is more entertaining.
- F. Yes, possibly they might feel that tragedy can be rather disturbing and that, for some people, is not what they look for in going to the theatre. I'm talking generally, you know a lot of people do like going to see tragedy, but a lot of people don't.
- M. Yes, I wonder also if it may be because people are always more distant from tragedy. That, in a sense, tragedy deals with passion, and that often passion on the stage looks ridiculous so that you find people going to performances of

Othello or King Lear and often finding ..the heavy dramatic scenes rather funny ... whereas they are surrounded with comedy. Comedy seems to be more realistic er ... less passionate; so may be, it seems closer to them, in a way, than tragedy.

F. Yes, also for Othello that you've quoted, er ... it really is er... a concentrated effort if you know what I mean, of tragedy....

It's more than one can take sometime?

M. Well, there are instances of course, of tragedy really affecting people very deeply. There is an interesting story of the army officer attending a performance of Othello and getting so involved in it that he eventually he got up and shot Othello before the play finished. So, it can obviously affect people very much.

F. Yes, yes Hamlet and Romeo and Juliet just to quote Shakespeare they really can, at the end of a performance leave you feeling very worn out, it's amazing.

M. I think that tragedy in a sense is harder to perform because it demands more of the audience, really it demands more of suspension of disbelief than comedy because you can always get away with a

good belly laugh in comedy whereas in tragedy you can't. But it is true that many plays in the past have provoked riots and it's always struck me that the theatre, live theatre, is far more immediate in effect than the television. Er ... on television you're distant from the play itself but in the theatre, it reaches out to you in the stalls and can provoke so that it's more an instrument for provocation and can arouse you far more than on television.

F. Yes, that's true, but I must say ... a night out at the theatre, ... lays the impression you know ... and you look at the television and may be an hour or two afterwards there has been quite a good programme you find that you've forgotten it; but a night after the theatre, well you are surrounded by human beings and you are looking at human beings perform right there before you, and you can hear people breathing, laughing ...

M. You mean there is more of a communal life in the theatre.

F. Yes. It leaves its impact for a much longer time

M. Yes, that is one thing that you see on television play you've seen something which is already recorded and to a certain extent it's dead, it's finished. But in the theatre you're going to see someone on the stage being acted ... before you; so you don't know exactly what's going to happen.

F. It really does mean a lot more to you I think. It's far more personal.

M. But I often find ... in the West ... that audience reactions tend to be formalized. Er ... In past periods people have often shouted out during performances ... but now they've been involved in them... but now often people sit there with great reverence before performance and they are glad to clap, and laugh in places but there is not so much involvement in the play as there used to be. Sometimes it's good and sometimes it's bad when you think of plays on an Elizabethan stage for example er ... it was far more of a communal act than nowadays; there was far less separation between the stage and the people watching than nowadays.

F. It seems inevitable to me I think. The more er ... I don't know whether this is the right reason but I think, that the more educated people become, I don't know, you become a little bit more inhibited

don't we somehow? We all conform and sit still, I don't really know the reason for it.

- M. We ... become more highly critical, I think, less er ... less ready to put up with something which doesn't seem quite so good. But you notice the difference in er ... If you go to see a play in Nigeria ... because the audience, and again the drama is much more communal, the audience joins in with what's said. Sometimes it's bad because you can't hear what's said, but sometimes it shows considerable enthusiasm in that the play ... has in fact touched them and they enjoy the play and it shows in what they say.
- F. But I always think that the little bit of Nigerian drama that we've seen, it seems just like real life and I think the audience really appreciate it and when the actor says anything, it might be a very common-place phrase, everybody loves it, they recognise it, there seems to be a great appreciation for it and they thoroughly enjoy the performance.
- M. I think they are much more ready to allow for any kind of weakness in the acting, and much more ready to join in with the comedy ... in a sense they're sympathetic, particularly to comedy but I don't know how they respond to tragedy.

APPENDIX Cii

The questions below are based on the discussion to which you have just listened. For each question three possible answers are suggested, but only one of them is the correct answer. Draw a ring round the letter of the correct answer. For example: The man says

- A. tragedy and comedy have equal appeal
- B. tragedy has a wider appeal than comedy
- C. Comedy has a wider appeal than tragedy.

The correct answer is C. The man says that comedy has a much wider appeal than tragedy. So we draw a ring round (C). Now, do the same for the ten items below.

1. According to the woman people go to the theatre because
 - A. they have no better things to do
 - B. the theatre is their only means of enjoyment
 - C. they want to enjoy, to relax, and to have a good laugh
2. Which of these differences do the speakers find?
 - A. Comedy is fun all through, tragedy is blood all through
 - B. Comedy is entertaining, tragedy is disturbing
 - C. Comedy entertains only the young people, tragedy disturbs only the old people.
3. The man says that comedy is closer to the audience because it is
 - A. more passionate and less realistic
 - B. less passionate and more realistic
 - C. both passionate and realistic.

4. The two people agree that for a producer
 - A. tragedy is easier to handle than comedy
 - B. Comedy is easier to handle than tragedy
 - C. they are equally easy to handle
5. By a live theatre the man means
 - A. performance that is not yet dead
 - B. performance on the stage in a theatre
 - C. performance on the television
6. Comparing the theatre to the television the woman says
 - A. the effect of both is equally long-lasting.
 - B. the effect of the television lasts longer
 - C. the effect of the theatre lasts longer
7. By audience reactions tending to be formalized nowadays the man means
 - A. restrained and mechanical
 - B. spontaneous and boisterous
 - C. restrained and spontaneous
8. The two speakers observe the reactions of educated people to performances in the theatre, and say
 - A. the more educated you are, the more readily you react
 - B. the more educated you are, the less readily you react
 - C. the degree of your education has nothing to do with your readiness to react.

9. The man describes the Nigerian theatre as communal because
- A. the audience sometimes joins in what the actors say
 - B. the theatre is usually in a market place.
 - C. a communal theatre is the best kind of theatre
10. What does the man think of the audience joining in what the actors say?
- A. it doesn't matter
 - B. it is good
 - C. it is not good.

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APPENDIX Di

Audience reactions in the theatre

- K. Now, now, one of the most interesting aspects of Nigeria or Nigerian, of acting in Nigeria or Nigerian theatre is the way the audience reacts to the play. Er ... I'll start off by giving an example. In 1964 the Nottingham Play House came to Nigeria to do some Shakespearean plays. While they were doing at ... Macbeth, the Macbeth came on the stage and you know, "These my hands will rather the multitudinous seas incarn ..." and everybody burst into laughter. And the man was so disappointed, and he kept on asking, why did they do it? I mean, how does one explain some of the audience reactions that we get in this country, like say, extreme sorrow expressed on the stage causes laughter?
- F. I think we are dealing with two things here. The first being the concept of drama as is held from country to country, and the second, the concept of tragedy itself, you know, I think er ... the way the African expresses sorrow is probably different from what you get from Shakespearean stage. You know, first of all, the audience know this is a game anyway. I mean in Africa here it doesn't in fact, preclude, it doesn't stop people really

enjoying the play. But they know all the time that this is a play and they may in fact learn a lot from it, and identify with it but they still know that this is a play, you know, and that they are watching something that has been, may be, drawn from life, but is being acted out, you know ... And the way this tragedy is expressed in the European tradition I think it could only draw laughter here, you see.

W. Now, this is at the point I will really like to pick up, er... This is due actually to what I will call the cultural and the linguistic differences. Now, for example, it's not that the blackman or let's say the average Nigerian cannot react to tragedy as tragedy; that is, it is not that he is, you know constantly in a position where he finds he has to laugh, or he is liable to laugh, you know, at tragedy, but that, you know, the language in which it is presented is very important, and then, after you know the cultural background of, you know, the play itself ... it might some ... For example now I remember Lumumba. You know that when we acted Lumumba at school there were quite a number of people who burst into tears; now because for them, they were actually seeing the whole thing being played all over again.

K. Something that they are familiar with

W. They could identify with it

K. Yeah, Wale, ... but I was going to ...

F. I have acted, let me draw another example, you know George Pardon you know, in Moliere's play here, you know, and I remember that ... you see, this is a story about an adulterous wife with perhaps the better of the husband all the time, you know, and at one point the husband traps her outside the house and decides to lock the door, but in fact, she comes and tricks him outside, came in, and locks the man out. And then the point where she is asking the man to kneel down and beg her, you know, I was acting this part, of course I had to kneel down but at this point the whole audience rose up shouting: 'No, you must not kneel down. You must not kneel down'. You know, and, you know when I finally went down the whole audience burst to bits, they, you know, missiles thrown at me, you know and the whole play came to a stop, and I remember Dexter coming. You know the whole play had to stop, then. We had about ten minutes before we could begin again.

K. That's interesting.

F. Dexter coming in and saying 'Look', I mean you know because I was worried you know. Dexter Lindsay coming in and saying that 'Look, that was in fact very good acting' because it meant that the people got this thing, you know; there was no reason why we should be bothered by this at all, you know. I think you have that kind of participation, you know, that the audience here participates actively in whatever is going on, you know. There is not that aloofness that you have in Europe. I mean the audience is still, if you go to a European theatre, they are listening to every word. I mean this kind of thing makes for rhetorics, for eloquence, you know, verbal something and the people enjoy this, you know, but when you come here, you know, rhetorics is just one aspect of the drama, you know.

K. But at times there is the question: Is there no mix-up of reaction as against participation? That sometimes, it's reaction. I'm giving the other example of Olo Rotimi's Overwhelm. When it was produced in Benin, somebody from the audience was er ... reported as picking up a cutlass, and going to cut the whiteman who was mistreating the man acting the part of the king, and they had to hold him.

- W. In real life?
- K. Yes. So this is a kind of reaction rather than participation.
- W. This is very impressive.
- F. It's intense participation too because I remember a case, a similar case in Zambia too, er... in case where in fact a culprit was running out. Some people in the audience jumped up to go and arrest him ...! The culprit must not run away.
- W. But this raises a very fundamental question which I like us to tackle. That: Does the Nigerian see theatre in the same way as the whiteman sees it?
- K & F. No really, possible not.
- W. This a more fundamental question because it appears now that for us, may be, a theatre is actually, you know, more or less part ...
- K. Part of life
- W. Part of life and you cannot cut it away altogether
- F. We are going to the origins of drama. You see, the European has successfully transformed theatre into a different thing, that of a ... distant, social event, different. You just go there, you watch you know, and you go.

. I mean it's a social event you know. In fact that is responsible for the modern, you know, revolutions in the theatre. They are trying to bring back this participation of, to bring out the audience they've lost to the cinema and the television, you know. Whereas here, people have still kept that part of drama as more than a social, almost it's a religious event you know, that has many implications apart from entertainment, you know. People really, I mean people will tell you at times that, you know, certain examples 'You know what happens to that man in the play, that's what is going to happen to you?

K. Exactly.

F. It's still got that religious, you know, because this is the origin of it, you know, religious implication as a purgative, as something that will purge the whole society; the kathermic effect; also things that you can draw out lessons from, you know, rather than just a distant, social event, you know, that you go to like a dance, you know, something like, you know.

K. There is, there is the other question about 'how do people react, say, to foreign ...

F. Things

- K. Theatre like Indian film. I don't know if any of you has ...
- F. The other part of drama, you know, which say, the Western theatre has excised, you know, dance, music, you know, and so on and so forth which the indian film incorporates. So people do not really care for, you know, content, or whatever. They enjoy the music, the dancing. You know, the Indian films are the most popular here.
- W. Since they are geared to the action.
- F. And you know some films which are philosophic in content and all the rest of it, people don't go to them. They've removed this other aspect.
- K. I see.

APPENDIX Dii

As in the last exercise, the ten questions below are based on the discussion to which you have just listened. Choose the correct one among the three answers suggested and draw a ring round the letter of the answer.

1. When did the Nottingham Play House come to Nigeria?
A. 1960; B. 1966; C. 1964
2. According to one of the speakers the Nigerian audience laughs when sorrow is expressed on stage because
A. Nigerians do not sympathise with people in sorrow.
B. they realise that what they are watching is only a play.
C. they do not understand the action on the stage
3. Would you say that the play LUMUMBA cited by one of the speakers, was
A. tragi-comedy B. Comedy; C. tragedy
4. One of the speakers recalled the occasion when he was acting a play and the audience threw missiles at him. By so doing the audience was
A. cheering him; B. condemning his action;
C. showing their enjoyment of the play.
5. According to one of the speakers, which of the following statements is true of the Nigerian and the European audience reactions in the theatre:

- A. The Nigerian audience participates, the European audience is aloof.
- B. the Nigerian audience understands plays, the European audience doesn't.
- C. the Nigerian audience is awake in the theatre, the European audience is asleep.
6. What one of the speakers calls rhetorics can also be called
- A. verbosity; B. loquacity; C. eloquence.
7. The speakers agree that for an African, drama is
- A. only a social event.
- B. a social and a religious event
- C. neither a social nor a religious event.
8. To **say** that theatre has a purgative effect on society is to say that it has
- A. a kathartic effect. B. a laxative effect;
- C. a preventive effect.
9. Indian films are said to be popular here because
- A. Nigerians admire the Indians greatly
- B. Indian films have dance and music
- C. Indian films are new in this country
10. The Western theatre has excised dance and music. This means
- A. it has dance and music
- B. it has done away with dance and music
- C. it exercised dance and music.

Appendix E

Njé èkọ kò nba ilé ayé jé bayií?

K. Gbọ Dèjì, ọ̀ wa tì ẹ̀ rí bí ilé ayé tì nílọ̀. Njé èkọ̀ tì a n̄kọ̀ lóde isinyì, njé kò nba ilé ayé wa jé bayií? Nítorípé mo ẹ̀'akiyèsí wí pé ọ̀pọ̀lọ̀pọ̀ awọ̀n ọ̀mọ̀ ọ̀de isinyì, bí wọ̀n tì ẹ̀ tì wá n̄hùwà kò tì ẹ̀ yé wa mò pátápátá. Iwa wọ̀n, ó dàbí ẹ̀nìpé ó lòdì sí gbogbo iwà tì awọ̀n èyàn wa n̄hù ní ọ̀de àtíjọ̀ n̄gbatì èkọ̀ kò tì gberàn to bayií. Àbí kí l' ọ̀ rí sí?

A. Tò; amúkún, wọ̀n ní ẹ̀rù rẹ̀ wọ̀, ó ní àtìsàlẹ̀ nì kí wọ̀n tì wò ó. Bí èyàn bá gbé sùn-ran wo ọ̀de ọ̀nì, ẹ̀rù yó ba nì bí gbogbo n̄kan tì n̄rí n̄tòótọ̀. Ọ̀mọ̀ gbọ̀ tì baba, iyàwó ọ̀ gbọ̀ tọ̀kọ̀; ọ̀bẹ̀ ọ̀ dùn, torípé gbogbo ẹ̀ lókù t' a n̄f' ọ̀yìnbó sè. Ibití tì n̄gbun n̄áa nu. Omí a bá sì jẹ̀ bí yàn n̄nà l'èyàn nu dàgbà. Emí rò pé n̄kan tì ndà wa láàmú nì wípé ó dàbí wípé a n̄lajú s'ódì. Bẹ̀ẹ̀ a kàn n̄lajú nì, ẹ̀tẹ̀ ní n̄bẹ̀ n̄bí ọ̀lajú.

K. N̄bẹ̀ n̄bẹ̀ẹ̀.

A. Hẹ̀n, nítorípé, màlúù tó bá ẹ̀ fààrí tó lọ̀ sí Lọ̀ndọ̀nu, gbogbo wa l'a mò wípé ouńjẹ̀ alágolo nì yó bá padà.

K. Inú agolo ni ó ba padà wá

A. Torináà èyun ùn nfa wípé ó yẹ k'á yẹ ara wa wò.
Şùgbòn ònà tí a le wá f₁ yẹ ra ẹnì wò ni nba èmi
lẹrù. Níbo l'o rò pé a lè gbe gbà?

K. Hà; hẹn, èmí rò pé ọpọ níhú yíí nì 'awọn òbí ó ẹ, nítorí pé á à lè sọ pé ayé dí ayé ọyìnbó k'a ma fi
ojú egbò tẹ lẹ, òkúta ó bí olúwarẹ léèrè.

A. Ó di dandan.

K. Awọn nì wọn ó ẹ ışé yíí, nì wọn ó ẹ ọpọlọpọ rẹ. Ó
wá kù sí ọwọ òbí oníkálùkù, bí kálukú bá tì ẹ tójú
awọn ọmọ rẹ sí látılé, mo rò pé yíó mú iyípadà rere
wá, bí ó tilẹ jẹ wípé ẹkò t'a nkó, a kò lè ẹ ẹ k'á
má kọ mó, síbẹsíbẹ iwa t'ó yẹ kí awọn ọmọ ó máa hù
sí awọn òbí t'ó yẹ kí ẹnìkẹni ó máa hù sí ẹnì t'ó
bá ríi pé ó ju òun lọ, kò yẹ kí a mu kúrù nìbẹ gégé
bí a tì nşe nì igbà àtıjọ wá.

A. T'òbí t'ò wí un, òótọ nì èèyan nro wípé t' òbí íbá
şe pàtàkì, şùgbòn ohun t' ó mba èmi lẹrù nì wípé òbí
gan an fẹ ẹ má l'ágbára tó bẹẹ lórí àwọn ọmọ òde òní,
Enikan òkè ọhún nı, wèrè kan òkè ọhún nı, ó ní, wọn
ní wọn nílẹ e bọ, ó ní tí wọn bá dé òkè odò kí wọn
dúró de òun, pẹlú ọmọ odó lówọ. Njé ẹrù ò ní
ba nı? Àwọn òbí t' a wípé yó nipa l'órí kını, àtıjẹ,
àtımu gan kò jẹ k' óbíí ó gbádùn. Ọpọlọpọ l'ó jẹ

wípé látí kékéré ni wọn tí nju ọmọ wọn sínu kíni agbòdò
tí wọn ó ma tí wọn kíni. Ọmọ ọdò ló kù tí nítójú ọmọ
èniyàn nílá míràn. Baba gan an kò rójú gbọ tí ọmọ;
iya gan kò rójú gbọ t'ọmọ; àtíjẹ àtímu tí gbogbo wa
nílé kíni yí, ó nǹjẹ k'a gbàgbé ojúṣe wa. Nǹjẹ ilé wé
kọ ní a ó lọ, nítorípé b'a fẹ, b'a kọ gbogbo awọn
ọmọ wọnyí ní wọn ma nítàn sí lé iwé? Èrù ilé wé na
tún nba ní; èwo l'ẹ rì?

K. Hà! Hẹn, tí ilé wé t'a tún fenu bà yí? Hẹn, igbà kan
tí wà rí tí lé wé, t'o ní yí gidigidi, t'o sí ní èrù
púpọ; ẹ̀gbòdò ó dàbí ẹni pé lóde isinyí, ara rẹ nàà ní
a fí nǹwípé ilé ayé, ó dàbí ẹni pé o ndorikodò. Lóde
isinyí, ó dàbí ẹni pé awọn ọmọ tí wọn nlo ilé iwé ọhún
gan an, wọn kò tí lẹ ní èrù kankan lókàn mọ. Olùkọ
wọn kò jọ wọn lójú gégé bí olùkọ ẹ ní yí látíjọ. Ẹ
látíjọ nù un, papàá nígbàtí a wà ní kékèké bayí, tí
a nlo sí ilé wé, t'a bá gbúrò olùkọ, a ó fẹ le bẹ
lugbó.

A. Eniyan yó bẹ̀rù.

K. Kò rí bẹ̀ẹ̀ mọ lóde isinyí. Kódà, papàá, olùkọ, tí wọn
bá pàdẹ ọmọ ilé iwe lona, ọmọ ilé wé fẹ le na ọwọ
papàá wípé 'Olùkọ, kú àtíjọ'. Kò sí bẹ̀rù nàà mọ.
Nítorínà, ó wá dàbí ẹni pé ọ̀rọ̀ nàà kò wá yé mí. Ibití
a lè sá sí kò tíl yé mí.

A. Ó gbòdò yé èyàn ni, nítorí pé oniyà ni yó jẹ èyítí ó pòjù. Ènítí wòn nǵbá létí, t'ó nímójú, àjẹkún iyà ni yó kàn jẹ.

K. Nì ó jẹ o !

A. Bí a ní ilé wé dà rú, t'a ní òbí dà rú egbò t'ó wá íbẹ lara t'èşinşin nǵà lé yí, báwo la ó tì şe şé? Egbò t'o mú ní yí igi imú kọjá ohun t' éniyàn nǵa filà bò.

K. Ó kọjá rẹ o.

A. Nǵbà ayé dẹ wá dà b'ó tì dà yí, şé a ó wa f. sílẹ ni? Ayé ijoun kò şe é padà sí, tì isinyi náà tún dàbí ẹnípé ó nǵé kankan, kí ni a wá le şe? Njẹ, a ò ní lẹ bá ijoba wípé kí joba ná... kiní òhun ni..., tàbí şé? Tàbí báwo ni?

K. Ijoba yẹn gan an ni mo rò pé a á fẹ ẹ ké sí, nítorí ijoba, ó dàbí ẹnì pé ijoba ní àşş lórí ilé iwe, ó láşş lórí olùkọ, ó láşş lórí gbogbo àwọn èyàn t' ó wá ní lú. Tí a bá ké sí wòn, pé kí àwọn náà kí wòn ó f. ojú sílẹ, kí wòn ó wòran, kí wòn ó rí wípé èsúkè tì wọ rárà ni kò jẹ kí ilé ayé ó gún mọ; kẹ wòn ó wò dáda, kí wòn ó mọ irú ntí wòn yó şe lée lórí. Yálà òfin ni wòn ó şe ni o t'ó f. jẹ wípé ẹrù ó wá lókàn àwọn omọ kékéké, pé ibítí olùkọ bá ntọ wòn sí, ibẹ náà ni kí wòn máa gbà, ibítí òbí wòn bá ntọ wòn sí, ibẹ náà ni kí wòn ó máa gbà. Mo rò pé tí ijoba bá lè

şe eléyíí, tí wọn şe ^{òfín} ırú náà, t'ó sì mú, mo rò pé ilé
ayé yó tun fẹ ẹ̀ dù ju bí ó şe wà nisisiyíí lọ.

A. Hẹn, mo kàn dárúkọ tı ıjọba nı, omınú tún nkọ mí náà.
Wọn nı' ıjọba fún reẹ fún reẹ gan, adıẹ bà lókun ara ò
r'okun ara ò r'adıẹ.

K. Bẹẹnı.

A. ıjọba ọpọlọpọ gbogbo ayé na ní tún wa nıı. Ẹnıtı ẹ
nı' k'ó wá wo gọbı, tí. ò tıı dé bẹ t'ó tı nwı pé
'ẹ wo gbogbo nkan gọbı gọbı gọbı gọbı gọbı gọbı 'nıjẹ
gọbı tı reẹ gan kò tı pọ ju eyıtı a ní k'o wa wò?

K. Ó tı wá pọ jú lọ

A. ıjọba náà, wáhálà tı ıjọba náà tún wá nıpọ, bẹẹnı
onıgẹgẹ rée kò yẹ k'ó ní méjı l'ọrún: kò yẹ k'ónıgẹgẹ
tún jẹ gbèsè.

K. Kò yẹ k'ó tún jẹ gbèsè.

A. Bẹẹ, ıjọba ọhún t'ó jẹ pé bóyá yıó dànù, bí ò ní dànú,
bóyá yıó dúró kò dúró, ẹnıyẹn rójú gbọ t'omọ ọlomọ?

K. Hà!

A. Awọn èèyan wa wá nıwı pé, emı wá nıró wıpé nıjẹ Ọlọrun
gan an kọ lèèyàn ó pè wıpé k'ó wá bá nı şe, tàbí báwo?

K. Tòò, hẹn, b'a tı ẹ pé a á ké s'Ọlọrun ọhún náà,
orışırışı ọnà kọ la lè gbà ké s'Ọlọrun? Àwọn tí wọn

jé agbátẹ̀rù ọ̀rọ̀ Qlọ̀run gan pàápàá ... ó dàbí ẹ̀ni pé a à m'ẹ̀mì nínú ẹ̀mì, a à sì m'òwè nínú òwè. Àwọn náà gan, ọ̀pọ̀lọ̀pọ̀ wọn, ibàjẹ̀ wọn ibàjẹ̀ tí wọ̀ lọ̀rùn; ibàjẹ̀ wọn ibàjẹ̀ tí wọ̀ wọn lọ̀rùn; . . . nítorípé mo ... ó dàbí ẹ̀ni pé mo rárisá wọn díẹ̀, t'awọn oníṣẹ̀ Qlọ̀run tí wọn wa ...

A. Gbogbo wọn kọ́ l'ó nípe Qlọ̀run gan lódodo mọ́.

K. Wọn nípè é ní tí pípè, wọn nífenu pé é, sùgbón ọ̀kàn wọn, ó dàbí ẹ̀ni p'ó jìná sí 1 nígbà tí a bá nwo irú iwà t'áwọn náà nhù: iwà ibàjẹ̀ t'ọ̀pọ̀lọ̀pọ̀ wọn nhù lóde Ìsinyíí. Ẹ bí láyẹ̀ Ìgbà a nì, awọn tí wọn jẹ̀ oníṣẹ̀ Qlọ̀run, k'ó tó dī pé ọ̀r'awọn ẹ̀sìn ọ̀yìnbo, ẹ̀sìn t'ọ̀yìnbo mú dé àti eléyíí t'áwọn ilẹ̀ Aráàbù tí wọn mú wá sí lẹ̀ wa nihin, tí wọn nípè ní Islam; k'ó tó dī pé wọn dé, ẹ̀sè a ní ẹ̀sìn? T'ó sì jẹ̀ pé awọn tí wọn jẹ̀ olùsìn nígbà náà lẹ̀hun, àwọn tí wọn jẹ̀ adimu òrìṣà nígbà náà lẹ̀hun, ọ̀kàn wọn, ó mọ́. Ó mọ́ gidigidi; wọn (k)ò jẹ̀ rí tí ẹ̀ni ẹ̀lẹ̀nì k'í wọn ó pé kí ó bàjẹ̀. Ohun tí wọn bá sì ẹ̀ bayíí, k'énìyàn ó mọ́ pé mímọ̀ nì wọn ẹ̀ é. Wọn sì gba òrìṣà náà gbọ́ gidigidi. Ó dàbí ẹ̀ni pé irú ẹ̀sìn t'a wá n'wí yíí, ẹ̀sìn Ìgbàgbọ̀ àti tí imàle yíí, àwọn tí wọn jẹ̀ agbátẹ̀rù rẹ̀ gan pàápàá, kò pọ̀ ninu wọn t'èyàn le súnmọ̀ pé k'ó ma ba òun pé Qlọ̀run, láti wípé k'á máa bẹ̀ Qlọ̀run fún nkankan.

A. Èrù tún òbà ó nìbití Qlòrun?

K. Ó òbà mí.

A. Báwo l'a ó şe wá gbe gbà t'a fí s'òkè tí óf ò dílè?
Ó kù b'a şe wá sọ fún lèmòmù k'ó tó fí pèlèpèlè fẹ
ná k'ó má wá jẹ wípé ìnà ó ràn.

K. Ihá nì yẹn!

A. Torí òkan tí òba nì lẹrù nì wípé ohun tí ó sọ̀nù nì
mọ̀sáláṣí, ó dàbí ẹnì pé ó kọ́já sálúbàtà o.

K. Ó kọ́já a rẹ̀ o.

A. Lèmòmù gan l'aà nwa t'a ò rí yì. `Iyà tí nǝ̀nikòkan
lábẹ̀ ilé nǝ̀pa òna òlájú tí a là kò kéré; wàhàlà ibẹ̀
pọ̀. Aṣọ̀ wa tí a nṣe, wàhàlà ibẹ̀ wà; onjẹ̀ wa yìí,
wàhàlà ibẹ̀ wà; a à tún wá lóòtọ̀ ìnú, a à tún ní wàa
're; gbogbo ẹ̀ wá bá wa bàù bí ikúnlẹ̀ bá arọ̀. Níbo la
ó gbe gbà?

K. Emi rò pé ohun t'a le şe nì pé kí kalùkù k'ó ronú ẹ̀
wò; k'ó ro nú ẹ̀ gidigidi k'ó sì rí wípé òun òhùwà
tó tọ̀, àti wà tó yẹ̀ láàrin ọ̀rẹ̀, láàrin mọ̀lẹ̀bí, láàrin
ẹ̀gbẹ̀, láàrin ọ̀gbà, láàrin ijọ̀. Nigbat' a bá nṣe
gbogbo iwọ̀nyí, yíó jẹ̀ àpẹ̀rẹ̀ fún àwọ̀n ọ̀mọ̀ wa, tí wọ̀n
ó sì máa tẹ̀ lé. Ilé ayé yó sì rọ̀jú, yó sì ráàyẹ̀.

A. Tòò, k'á rò pé yíó bà tù, yíó bà şe o.

Nisisiyí, ẹ ó dáhùn àwọn ibéèrè kékèké mewa kan lori àṣàrò ti ẹ ṣèsè gbọ tán lenu àwọn ọkùnrin méjì yi. Fún ibéèrè kòòkan mo ti dáḅá ìdáhùn méta ṣùgbọn ọkan nínú mètẹ̀tẹ̀ta na ni ó tọ̀nà. Mo fẹ́ ki ẹ yi òfo yíká lẹ̀tà tí ó bèrẹ̀ ìdáhùn èyíti ó tọ̀na na.

Fún àpẹ̀rẹ̀: Àwọn ọkùnrin méjì yi rò pé

- A. Ẹ̀kọ̀ kò ba ilé ayé jẹ
- B. Ẹ̀kọ̀ nába ilé ayé jẹ
- C. 'Ilé ayé ti bàjẹ tan.

Ẹ o ri pe èrò àwọn ọkùnrin yi ni pé ẹ̀kọ̀ nába ilé ayé jẹ. Nítorí náà, ìdáhùn kejì ni ó tọ̀nà, a ó sì yí àmì òfo yíká B bá yí (B). Nisisiyí, ẹ dáhùn awọn ibèrè wònyí bakan náà.

1. Ẹ̀rù amúkún wó nitorípé
 - A. ẹ̀sẹ̀ amúkún wó
 - B. ẹ̀rù náà wúwo púpọ̀.
 - C. kò gbée sí orí dáadáa.
2. Apẹ̀rẹ̀ ti ó fihàn wá pé àwọn òbí kò rí ààyè tọ́jú àwọn ọmọ wọn ni pé:
 - A. wọn kò bí ọmọ tuntun: mọ ni orílẹ̀ èdè yi.
 - B. onjẹ àwọn ọmọ nìkan ni awọn òbí nńwá.
 - C. àwọn ọmọ ọ̀dọ̀ ni ó nńtọ́jú àwọn ọmọ-

3. Itumò "ayé di ayé òyìnbó" ni pé
- A. àwọn òyìnbó ni ó ni gbogbo ayé.
 - B. gbogbo ayé ni yíó di ti òyìnbó.
 - C. òlájú ti dé ilé ayé.
4. Kini orúkọ mǐràn tí a ńpe 'egbò'?
- A. àìsàn.
 - B. oaju.
 - C. ogbé
5. Ogbèni kan sọ pé "ominú ńkọ mí" nipa ìrànlowó ti ìjọba le še. Itumò ọrọ yí ni
- A. inú ńrun mí
 - B. ọrọ na kò dá mí lójú.
 - C. ìjọba kò lè še ìrànlowó kankan.
6. Kini gègè?
- A. aṣọ ara.
 - B. arùn ara.
 - C. igi oko
7. Àwọn wo ni a ńpè ní agbátẹ̀rù ẹ̀sìn kan?
- A. àwọn aṣiwájú nínú ẹ̀sìn náà
 - B. Àwọn aláàrù ninu ẹ̀sìn náà
 - C. àwọn ti ó ńtẹ̀lé awọn aláàrù.

8. Kíni ìtumò ọ̀rọ̀ yì: "A kò mọ ẹ̀mí nínú ẹ̀mí, a kò sí mọ òwè ninu òwè"?
- A. ẹ̀mí àti òwè jẹ́ ọ̀rẹ́.
 - B. kò sí iyàtò lārin ẹ̀mí àti òwè
 - C. iyàtò lārin ẹ̀mí àti òwè kò pọ̀
9. Àwọn àdímú òrìṣà n.
- A. àwọn tí nmu ẹ̀mu ní ilé òrìṣà
 - B. àwọn aṣiwájú nínú ẹ̀sin òrìṣà.
 - C. àwọn tí nḡ ẹ̀mu fún òrìṣà
10. Àwọn tí a le pè ní ọ̀gbà nì
- A. àwọn tí ó jẹ́ ẹ̀gbé wa.
 - B. àwọn tí a jù lọ ní ọ̀jọ̀ orí
 - C. àwọn tí ó jù wá lọ ní ọ̀jọ̀ orí.