

Attitudes of Educated Yoruba Bilinguals to Codeswitching

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Abstract

This paper investigates the attitudes of some university and tertiary institution students to codeswitching. Respondents were drawn from four tertiary institutions located in the Southwestern part of Nigeria. A structured questionnaire was administered to the informants whose ages ranged between sixteen and fifty-five years. The social variables tested included qualifications/programmes and schools. The study revealed that the overall attitude of Nigerian students to codeswitching is largely positive. It also showed, among other things, that students on degree programmes are more positively inclined to use codeswitching than those on other programmes.

Key words: Codeswitching, attitudes, multilingual setting, bilinguals and Nigerian languages

1.0 Introduction

This paper investigates the attitudes of some educated Nigerians to codeswitching. Nigeria is a multilingual country where there are more than 400 languages (Bamgbose 1971; Heine and Nurse 2000) with well over 200 ethnic groups. Some of these languages have dialects. For example, Yoruba which is spoken in the southwestern part of the country has more than seven dialects. Of the indigenous languages in Nigeria, Yoruba, Hausa and Igbo, each of which is spoken natively by over 20 million people (Central Intelligence Agency 2011), are considered as major languages. Each major language corresponds to a major ethnic group in the country. The minor languages have few native speakers and they have a limited geographical spread (see Emenanjo 1995). Another language which is spoken widely by Nigerians irrespective of diverse ethnic affinities or levels of education is Nigerian Pidgin English. This is

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a language that does not belong to any particular region and is spoken by people from different walks of life. In addition to this linguistic scenario, there is English: a language which serves in different capacities as the official language and a medium of instruction in Nigerian schools. In a multilingual setting like Nigeria, people are bound to codeswitch from one language to another to perform certain sociolinguistic functions. Although scholars have carried out studies on codeswitching from different perspectives in Nigeria (Akande 2010; Akere 1980; Amuda 1994; Goke-Pariola 1983; Ogunpitan 2007), only a few studies have been done on the attitudes of Nigerians to codeswitching (Akere 1982; Amuda 1989). It is to this scanty scholarship that the present work intends to contribute. In pursuing this goal, the present study seeks to answer the following questions:

- a. What is the general attitude of educated Nigerians to codeswitching?
- b. Is there a significant difference among the schools in their attitudes to codeswitching?
- c. Can academic qualifications/programmes cause a significant difference in the attitudes of Nigerian tertiary institution students to codeswitching?

Although the title of this paper suggests that the subjects are all Yoruba bilinguals, we would like to state that 89% of the informants are Yoruba while 11% are informants from other ethnic groups (Table 2). However, this study is not interested in ethnic related differences in the subjects' attitude to code switching, and therefore the high representation of Yoruba bilinguals does not detract us from our main focus.

2.0 Codeswitching: A Brief Overview

Codeswitching, the alternate use of two or more languages in the same utterance, conversation or writing has been extensively researched by notable scholars (e.g., DeBose 1992; Myers-Scotton 1993, 2002, 2006; Lipski 1982). Codeswitching (henceforth CS) could be seen as an essential feature of 'true' or 'balanced' bilinguals (Myers-Scotton 1988; Poplack 1980). It is thus a natural occurrence in a bilingual or multilingual setting

as people tend to shift from one code to the other depending on several social factors, including the need to accommodate or exclude other people in a discourse and to express a group's identity (Auer 2005; Gumperz 1982; Tabouret-Keller 1998). Gumperz (1982: 61) claimed that speakers "build on their own and their audience's abstract understanding of situational norms to communicate metaphoric information about how they intend their words to be understood." Amuda (1994) argues that CS can be used to encode social meanings while other scholars believe that the motivation for the use of CS is mainly stylistic (Akere 1980; Edwards 1985). Goke-Pariola's (1983) study seeks to answer four major questions regarding (1) the frequency of CS in the speech of Yoruba-English bilinguals, (2) the word classes that are likely to occur in the embedded language (i.e. English), (3) whether one of the languages involved in the CS consistently serves as the matrix language, and (4) whether what is observed in their speech is actually language mixing or linguistic borrowing. The study shows that instances of codemixing could involve nominal groups, verbal groups, adjectival groups or adverbial groups and they can occur at the subject, complement or adjunct position. It is noted that there is a high degree of codemixing in the speech of Yoruba-English bilinguals.

Akande (2010) carried out his research on the patterns of CS between Standard English and Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE). He used as his subjects thirty male university graduates selected from three universities in Nigeria. Although the focus of the study was the grammar of the verb phrase, it revealed that in spontaneous conversations, university graduates in Nigeria switch freely from English to NPE and sometimes to their indigenous languages, even in formal settings. The study also indicated that the use of NPE and indigenous languages are indexical of the subjects' identities. Babalola and Taiwo (2009) presented a report on the use of CS in the music of five Nigerian hip hop artists. They noted that one of the ways through which these artists identify with their roots is by codeswitching to either their mother tongue or to Pidgin English. The study found out that CS to Yoruba is more prominent than CS to other languages. They concluded by claiming that by engaging in CS, Nigerian hip hop artists "are establishing unique identities for themselves and their music" (Babalola and Taiwo 2009: 21).

Myers-Scotton (1993) proposed a theoretical framework for the analysis of codeswitching in her book, *Social Motivations for Codeswitching*. She proposed the Markedness Model which describes language users as rational beings who from time to time choose a particular language that marks their rights and obligations as against the rights and obligations of other speakers. This means that in any multilingual setting, each language is connected with certain social roles and it is the understanding of these roles that determines what language a speaker has to choose. The languages involved in CS may be negotiated or may modulate with the topic of conversation. Myers-Scotton (2006) emphasized this point in her work. When two or more languages coexist, the majority language is normally considered more prestigious— a language associated with political, cultural and economic power— while the minority language is seen as less prestigious, lacking in power and geographical spread. Concerning the position of the minority language, Hickey (2000) remarked that a significant increase in CS is indicative of the fact that a minority language is coming under pressure from a majority language. Li (2000) remarked that in a bilingual or multilingual setting, one language provides the grammatical framework, with the other providing certain items to fit into the framework.

3.0 Studies on Language Attitudes

As hinted above, the focus of this paper is the attitudes of some higher institution students in Nigeria towards CS. Language attitudes refer to the feelings and perceptions of people towards their own language or towards a language that does not belong to them (Crystal 1992). According to Baker (1992: 10), attitude is “a hypothetical construct used to explain the direction and persistence of human behaviour.” However, since human beings do change their views and perceptions, language attitudes are dynamic and subject to change based on several factors (Giles and Powesland 1975; Ryan and Giles 1982). Gardner (1985) claims that the kind of motive one has for learning a particular language may affect the attitude one may have towards it. Edwards (1982) opines that language attitudes can be cognitive, affective or behavioural. Language attitudes are said to be cognitive in that they consist in beliefs about the world, affective because they deal with feelings and opinions of people about

a particular language and behavioural in that they could compel people to act in certain ways (Garrett, Coupland, and Williams 2003: 3). As an example, a person who applies for a job which requires that s/he speaks and understands French may be forced not only to learn French but to have a positive attitude toward it, especially if the job is lucrative.

In his study, Akere (1982) examined attitudes towards dialect selection in Ikorodu, a prominent Yoruba community in Lagos State. Using responses to the questionnaire he administered on his respondents and also the tape-recorded interviews, he used the informants' self-reports and their opinions on their language use to determine their attitudes to their language as well as the dialects of the language. Akere (1982) concluded as follows:

The conclusion to be drawn from this study is that language attitudes, especially in multilingual and/or bidialectal situations in many indigenous African communities, are very much tied up with the acceptable norms of behavior in the sociocultural setting. Loyalty to the mother tongue is a function of the degree of identification with the folk culture. But where socioeconomic considerations and political aspirations warrant significantly modifying one's life style and behavioral patterns, such modifications are inevitably carried over to the linguistic behavior of members of the community, and their attitudes towards the linguistic codes in use will be a reflection of their positive or negative evaluation of the relevant components of the sociocultural setting (Akere, 1982: 359).

Akande and Salami (2010) also investigated the pattern of the use and attitudes of some university students in Nigeria to Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE). The subjects whose responses were used were 100 students selected through a purposive random sampling from University of Lagos (UNILAG) and University of Benin (UNIBEN), which are located in culturally diverse cities. The instrument used was mainly a questionnaire which contained 15 items focusing on the use, the attitudes and the perceptions of the students to Nigerian Pidgin English. The results indicated that the use of NPE is more common among UNIBEN students than among UNILAG students. The study's conclusion is in a way similar to Akere's claim above, that speakers tend to be loyal and have positive

attitudes to a language they consider their mother tongue. Akande and Salami (2010: 81) conclude:

We can thus say that NPE has more vitality among UNIBEN students than among UNILAG students. This may have resulted from the fact that UNIBEN is situated in Benin, and NPE in Benin has grown from a mere contact language to a native language for many people

The paper further showed that there is a gradual acceptance of NPE among undergraduate students as they have some positive attitudes towards its use.

4.0 Methodology

The informants who provided data for this study were mainly College of Education and University students whose ages ranged between sixteen and fifty five. The majority of these subjects are Yoruba and this is because all the four settings involved in the research are in the south-western part of Nigeria where Yoruba is predominantly spoken. While the majority of the subjects are bilingual in the native language and English, some of them could also speak Nigerian Pidgin English and/or another major language apart from their native language. The four schools where the questionnaires were administered are listed below (Table 1). Out of 300 questionnaires given to participants, 245 were returned. These schools are different in one major respect. While all participants in Obafemi Awolowo University (OAU), Ile-Ife and University of Ado Ekiti (UNAD), Ado Ekiti are students pursuing degrees, in Adeyemi College of Education (ACE), Ondo, and Lagos State College of Education (LASCE), Noforija, Epe, some students are studying for degrees while others are pursuing NCE diplomas. While 84.9% degree students participated in the study, only 15.1% NCE students did. The school where the highest number of informants participated is OAU and this might be connected to the fact that all the three researchers for this work are based in this university.

Table 1: Distribution of informants by Schools

Schools	Frequency	%	Programme
Frequency	%		
ACE 28.2	69	DEGREE	208 84.9
OAU 51.0	125		
LASCE 8.2	20	NCE	37 15.1
UNAD 12.7	31		
Total 100	245	Total 100	245

The instrument used in the collection of data was a questionnaire comprising three sections: Sections A, B and C. Section A comprises information on the biodata of the subjects. The subjects were required to provide information about their nationality, mother tongue, school, age group as well as gender. Section B consists of 20 items which are related to the attitudes of the informants to CS. Section C is made up of eight items which further probe why people codeswitch, where they codeswitch and how often they codeswitch. Table 2 shows the distribution of the informants who participated in the study.

Table 2: Distribution of Subjects by Mother Tongue

Mother Tongue	No of informant
Yoruba	218 (89.0%)
Igbo	16 (6.5%)
Hausa	4 (1.6%)
Others	7 (2.9%)
Total	245

Out of the 245 respondents, 89% were Yoruba, 6.5% were Igbo while Hausa accounted for 1.6%. The rest, who were not from any of these three major languages, comprised 2.9%. That the Yoruba respondents constituted almost 90% of the overall respondents is expected as the four research settings are all in the south-western part of Nigeria which is populated mainly by the Yoruba.

5.0 Data Analysis and Discussions

Perhaps it is better to start by examining the languages our informants indicated that they codeswitched to before we examine their attitudes to codeswitching. The languages that the subjects codeswitched to are seven as indicated below (Table 3). The instances of CS are mainly from English to Yoruba or vice-versa, with 35.8% and 34.1% recorded for Yoruba and English respectively. These high percentages for English and Yoruba can be connected with the fact that most of the respondents are Yoruba/English bilinguals (Table 2).

Table 3: Languages to which Respondents Codeswitch

Language	Frequency	Percentage
Yoruba	207	35.8%
English	197	34.1%
Pidgin English	70	12.1%
Igbo	39	6.8%
Hausa	34	5.9%
French	19	3.3%
Arabic	11	1.9%
Total	577	100

CS to Pidgin English (PE) constitutes 12.1% . That PE is higher in percentage than Igbo, Hausa and other languages apart from English and Yoruba is understandable. PE is not region-bound and can be spoken by any of the subjects. So, those subjects who do not speak other languages apart from English can switch to it. Least in this table is Arabic, a

language associated with Islam, which people do not often codeswitch to as regularly as they would to other languages like Yoruba, PE or Hausa. The majority of the subjects, who are Christians, cannot switch to Arabic, and there are even some Muslims who do not speak Arabic fluently and may not switch to it. Hence, its lowest percentage.

In Table 4, we present the item-by-item responses of the subjects to the questionnaire we administered to survey their attitudes to codeswitching.

Table 4: Attitudes of the Respondents to CS

		Strongly Dis- agree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	No Response
Attitude	Codeswitching is inevitable among bilingual Nigerian speakers.	22 (9.1%)	23 (9.5%)	108 (44.8%)	88 (36.5%)	4
	Instances of codeswitching should be corrected.	19 (7.9%)	87 (36.3%)	90 (37.5%)	44 (18.3%)	5
	Codeswitching is a source of irritation in any interaction.	35 (14.6%)	57 (23.8%)	101 (42.3%)	46 (19.2%)	6
	It is acceptable to initiate interaction with codeswitching.	23 (9.8%)	80 (34.2%)	107 (45.7%)	24 (10.3%)	11

	It is acceptable to codeswitch when people around you do so.	24 (10.0%)	71 (29.7%)	122 (51.1%)	22 (9.2%)	6
	Codeswitching is prevalent among educated Nigerians.	21 (8.8%)	62 (25.9%)	121 (50.6%)	35 (14.6%)	6
	Codeswitching is appropriate in Nigerian home made videos.	20 (8.2%)	74 (30.5%)	105 (43.2%)	44 (18.1%)	2
	Codeswitching is a marker of high proficiency among bilinguals.	39 (16.5%)	80 (33.8%)	91 (38.4%)	27 (11.4%)	8
	Codeswitching is a stigma among Nigerians.	21(8.8%)	88 (36.4%)	84 (34.7%)	49 (20.2%)	3
Implication	Codeswitching enhances effective communication.	32 (13.4%)	63 (26.5%)	105 (44.1%)	38 (16.0%)	7
	Codeswitching impairs effective communication.	30 (13.1%)	84 (36.7%)	84 (36.7%)	31 (13.5%)	16
	Codeswitching hinders proper acquisition of English.	47 (19.5%)	102 (42.3%)	70 (29.0%)	22 (9.1%)	4

	Codeswitching can affect proper usage of one's mother tongue.	26 (10.7%)	53 (21.8%)	108 (44.4%)	56 (23.1%)	2
Function	Codeswitching is an interactional strategy.	21 (8.8%)	40 (16.5%)	141 (58.3%)	40 (16.5%)	3
	Codeswitching helps to establish intimacy.	25 (10.5%)	49 (20.5%)	137 (57.3%)	28 (11.7%)	6
	Codeswitching is a means of alienating other people from conversations.	46 (19.0%)	91 (37.6%)	85 (35.1%)	20 (8.3%)	3
	Codeswitching can be used to express ethnic identities.	20 (8.4%)	48 (20.2%)	128 (53.8%)	42 (17.6%)	7
	Codeswitching arises from an inability to find appropriate terms in one language.	18 (7.5%)	70 (29.2%)	101 (42.1%)	51 (21.3%)	5
	Codeswitching is an index of language incompetence.	40 (16.7%)	76 (31.7%)	94 (39.2%)	30 (12.5%)	5
	Codeswitching is indicative of mental laziness	10 (4.1%)	40 (16.5%)	106 (43.8%)	86 (35.5%)	3

The table above, especially the section on attitude, generally suggests that the attitudes of most of the respondents to most of these items are positive. For instance, 81.3% believe that most Nigerian bilinguals cannot do without codeswitching. Since these respondents are educated, this high percentage seems to suggest that to most educated Nigerians, switching from one language to another is “normal”. This is especially so when we consider the fact that 44.2% of them hold the view that instances of CS should not be corrected. 56% believe that interaction can start with CS while 60.3% think that we can codeswitch when people around us do so. Similarly, 65.2% claim that CS is a common phenomenon among educated Nigerians. The majority of the subjects (61.3%) believe that CS is appropriate in Nigerian home videos. However, 54.9% believe that CS is a stigma while 61.5% think that it is a source of irritation in any interaction. In order to have an overview of the Likert Scale used, we then sum up the attitudinal values which give us a mean score of 52.1%. Out of the 245 respondents who participated, 54.7% (i.e., 134 respondents) scored over 52.1% while 45.3% (i.e., 111 respondents) scored below 52.1%. This, in a way, implies that the majority of our subjects had a favourable attitude towards CS.

a. Is there a significant difference among the schools in their attitudes to codeswitching?

In order to show whether or not there is a significant difference among the four institutions which participated in this research, the data are subjected to an ANOVA test as shown below (Table 5).

Table 5: Attitudes of Respondents by School

School	No	Mean	Std Dev	F value	P value	Decision	Reason
ACE	69	50.28	8.623	3.725	0.012	Significant	P<0.05
OAU	125	53.73	7.309				
LASCE	20	50.90	7.333				
UNAD	31	50.58	7.201				
Total	245	52.13	7.819				

The mean scores as well as their standard deviations are as stated above. After the ANOVA test, the F value is 3.725 while the P value is 0.012 which is less than 0.05. This means that there is a significant difference among the schools. However, since this ANOVA cannot state the relationships among the schools in terms of the significant difference, we then carried out a post hoc test to show which of the schools are significantly related to each other (Table 6).

Table 6: Post-hoc Test Showing Attitudes of Respondents by Schools

(I) School (J) Schools	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std Error	Sig	95% Confidence Interval	
				Lower Bound	Upper Bound
				ACE OAU	-3.453*
LASCE	-.625	1.953	.749	-4.47	3.22
UNAD	-.305	1.663	.855	-3.58	2.97
OAU ACE	3.453*	1.154	.003	1.18	5.72
LASCE	2.828	1.852	.128	-.82	6.48
UNAD	3.147*	1.543	.043	-11	6.19
LASCE ACE OAU	625	1.953	.749	-3.22	4.47
UNAD	-2.828	1.852	.128	-6.48	.82
UNAD ACE	319	2.206	.885	-4.03	4.66
OAU LASCE	.305	1.663	.885	-2.97	3.58
	-3.147*	1.543	.043	-6.19	-.11
	-.319	2.206	.885	-4.66	4.03

*The mean difference is significant at the .05 level

Table 6 shows that when ACE is held constant against other schools, it is significantly related to OAU, as the p value is .003, but it is not significantly related to either LASCE or UNAD. When OAU is held constant, it is significantly related to both ACE at .003 and UNAD at .043 but not to LASCE. Similarly, when UNAD is held constant it is significantly related to OAU at .043 p value. However, when LASCE is held constant against other schools, it is not significantly related to any of the schools. This then means that although there is a significant difference among the schools, the difference is caused by the relationship between ACE and OAU, OAU and ACE, ACE and OAU, OAU and UNAD and UNAD and OAU.

b. Can programme cause a significant difference in the attitudes of Nigerian tertiary institution students to codeswitching?

Presented here (Table 7) is the analysis of the attitudes of the subjects of this study based on their qualification:

Table 7: Attitudes of Respondents by Programme

	D		Total
	Degree	NCE	
Attitudes Favourable Count	116	18	134
% within attitudes	86.6%	13.4%	100.0%
% within D	55.8%	48.6%	54.7%
Attitudes Not favourable Count	92	19	111
% within attitudes	82.9%	17.1%	100.0%
% within D	44.2%	51.4%	45.3%
Count	208	37	245
% within attitudes	84.9%	15.1%	100.0%
Total % within D	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Out of 245 subjects who participated in this study, 54.7% had a favourable attitude to CS while 45.3% did not. 55.8% of the students pursuing degrees had a favourable attitude to CS while 44.2% had an unfavourable attitude to it. Whereas 48.6% of NCE students had a favourable attitude to CS, 51.4% had an unfavourable attitude to it. This means that undergraduate students are more positively inclined to use CS than NCE students. On the whole, more students are favourably disposed to the use of CS. However, this table has not shown whether or not the difference between the attitudes of NCE and undergraduate students is significant, neither has it shown whether or not there is a significant difference between favourable and unfavourable attitudes. Hence, a t-test is conducted, as shown below.

Table 8: Attitudes of Respondents by Programme II

Qualification	No	Mean	Std Dev	F value	P value	Decision	Reason
Degree	208	52.63	7.656	1.313	.253	NS	P>0.05
NCE	37	49.27	8.218				

The mean scores for the undergraduate students and NCE students are 52.63 and 49.27 respectively. The standard deviation for the undergraduate students is 7.656 while that of the NCE students is 8.218. The P value is .253, which is greater than .05. This means that the programmes of study of the subjects did not result in any significant difference in their attitudes to codeswitching.

Table 9 below presents the summary of the Chi-square test which shows the responses of the respondents by institution.

Table 9: Attitudes of Respondents by Institution

ACE OAU		Schools				
		LASCE	UNAD	Total		
Attitudes Favourable	Count	30	80	9	15	134
	% within attitudes	22.4%	59.7%	6.7%	11.2%	100.0%
	% within Schools	43.5%	64.0%	45.0%	48.4%	54.7%
Attitudes Not Favourable	Count	39	45	11	16	111
	% within attitudes	35.1%	40.5%	9.9%	14.4%	100.0%
	% within Schools	56.5%	36.0%	55.0%	51.6%	45.3%
Total	Count	69	125	20	31	245
	% within attitudes	28.2%	51.0%	8.2%	12.7%	100.0%
	% within Schools	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Chi-Square Tests						
	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig			
Pearson Chi-Square	9.127 ^a	3	.028			
Likelihood Ratio	9.180	3	.027			

Linear-by-Linear Association	.068	1	.795		
No. of Valid Cases	245				

From ACE, 43.5% of the subjects had favourable attitudes to CS w 56.5% did not. At OAU, 64% were favourably disposed to the use of and 36% were not. 45% and 55% were recorded in LASCE as hav favourable and unfavourable attitudes respectively, while in UN. 48.4% had favourable attitudes and 51.6% had unfavourable attitu to CS. Of all the schools, it was in OAU that we recorded the hig percentage of favourable attitudes. A Chi-Square test was used to sl if there is a significant difference between favourable and unfavour attitudes among the schools. The result indicated that the P-value is 0.0 which is less than 5%. This then implies that the difference among schools is significant.

6.0 Conclusion

The major goal of this paper has been to examine the attitudes of some educated Nigerians to codeswitching. The study set out to achieve this aim by finding out whether social factors like schools attended, ethnicity and the types of programme being pursued can affect one’s attitudes to CS. Generally speaking, the overall patterns of the respondents’ attitudes to CS indicate that more than half of the respondents are favourably inclined to use and engage in CS. This means that there is a gradual acceptance of the use of CS among educated Nigerians. This study confirms Akande’s (2010) study in which university graduates of different disciplines codeswitch freely between English and Nigerian Pidgin English. The study has revealed that schools differ in their attitudes to CS as it has been shown that a significant difference can exist due to the relationship between one school and the other. Although students on

degree programmes are more favourably disposed to the use of CS than students on NCE programmes, the programmes of students do not result in a significant difference in their attitudes.

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