CODESWITCHING AND IDENTITY AMONG YORUBA-ENGLISH BILINGUALS IN CANADA

by

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ABSTRACT

The thesis investigates codeswitching and identity among Yoruba-English bilinguals in Canada. This thesis is unique because no study has approached codeswitching and its possible identity acts among Yoruba-English bilinguals using variationist and speech act theories in any part of the world. It combines quantitative and qualitative methods of data analysis to investigate the frequency, contextual constraints, and functionality of CS in 8-hour speech data collected from a socially stratified sample of 12 speakers. The research looks at when code switching is employed (context and function), how codeswitching is used (identity construction), influence of social factor (age, gender) and the structure of codeswitching among these bilinguals in Canada using St John's Newfoundland as a case study. The analysis reveals that CS is a regular phenomenon among the speakers interviewed, and that its occurrence is constrained by social factors (age, sex) and interactional factors (function, topic). The thesis discovers that codeswitching is used for discourse and topic purposes. It observes that switch to Yoruba is to form allegiance and show affiliation with other Yoruba heritage speakers. When the switch is to English, it is both used for euphemism purposes motivated by cultural factors such as inhibition and prohibition in Yoruba culture to talk openly or publicly about certain topics, and for formal topics such as those related to academia, immigration and religious institutions.

Interestingly, the thesis discovers that young people codeswitch to Yoruba as much as they do to English contrary to research assumption that they will do fewer switching to Yoruba and that the male gender switches more to All English than their female counterparts which is treated as a overt prestige language.

Dedication

To God the giver of life; my refuge and strength, an ever-present help in time of trouble!

And

To Mary Tomori Aina, my mother who was denied formal education because she was a girl child but did not allow that to stop her but defined and groomed herself. she raised her children well, ensuring they have access to the education she was denied.

A queen I stan!

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List of Abbreviations

AE	All English
AY	All Yoruba
CS	Codeswitching
EI	English Insertion
SYE	Starting with Yoruba and ending in ixEnglish
SEY	Starting with English and ending in Yoruba
YI	Yoruba Insertion

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Overview of the research

Code switching, (hereafter CS) is a widely studied language contact phenomena (Lin & Li, 2012) in which participants switch from one language to another during a conversation (Auer 1998). Code switching may be done consciously or unconsciously depending on the intention of the interlocutors and the nature of the speech environment. However, the choices they make are governed by a number of social and linguistic contextual factors. Bilingual speakers often move from one language to another and back again during conversations. CS becomes an integral element of bilingual speech situations when there is no functional difference between the two languages in contact or restrictions on their use (Christopher, 2014). However, CS can play a functional role such as identity creation. CS occurs in formal and informal speech situations such as official meetings, religious sermons, classroom interactions, and often during conversations between peers or at times among family members (Inuwa et al 2014).

There is a good deal of literature on CS among Nigerian bilinguals between English language and one of the three major languages in Nigeria (Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa) in Nigeria. This is due to the multilingual nature of Nigeria society and according to Chukueggu (2010), people in multilingual societies are always faced with communicative situations, which demand that they choose an appropriate code with which to express themselves. Nigeria is a multi-lingual and multi-cultural nation with over 500 ethnic based languages (Adegbija, 2004) co-existing with

one another. It is also worthy to note that apart from the many indigenous languages, which are of course the mother tongues of Nigerians, non-indigenous languages such as English, French, Arabic, German and Russian also exist. This, coupled with the absence of an indigenous Nigerian language as a lingua franca and colonial influences, made it possible for the adoption of English as the Lingua Franca (Fakeye, 2002) and eventually the official language. It is the official language, the language of education and upward social mobility, the language of wider communication or international language and the language of interethnic communication. Its knowledge is therefore most valued in Nigeria (Oyetade 2002:52)

The language has played on the seeming inadequacies of Nigeria's national languages and now carries with it a level of prestige desired by most citizens. Moreover, acceptance in the Nigerian society hinges on one's articulation of the English language. As the official language of the country, English is also the official medium of teaching and learning from pre-primary to the tertiary levels of formal educational institutions. Its significance in the Nigerian educational system is so prominent that failure to pass the course at the secondary school certificate level makes it virtually impossible for a student to secure admission to university, irrespective of the intended course of study. (Igboanusi & Peter, 2005: 77; Grimes 2000:202). The implication of all this is that the country's indigenous languages have been relegated to the fringes of society and indigenous language speakers are considered inferior. Regardless of the multiple attempts made by governmental and non-governmental bodies to somewhat boost the esteem and appeal of indigenous languages, there have been little or no corresponding improvements. As a result, the average Nigerian is forced to be at least bilingual and the reason for this is the fact that indigenous languages come in contact with one another on a regular basis. When languages

come in contact, several linguistic processes occur, such as the evolvement of pidgins. According to Adedimeji (2010:3) pidgin English is a combination of "[the] English language (the superstrate) and Nigerian languages (the substrate)". A lot of borrowings also occur as well as code switching. There are possibilities that one who is exposed to more than one language uses them together at particular times during conversation.

In light of the circumstances explained above, Nigerians tend to speak English more, and even in instances of code switching, the switch is not to other native languages but to English since fluent English speakers are considered more knowledgeable and educated than indigenous language speakers. This also applies to Yoruba speakers in the country. Most native Yoruba speakers occupy the southwestern part of the country and number between thirty to forty million. Yoruba is also spoken in other countries of the world as a second language and has over 22 million speakers. These countries include Cuba, Brazil, Benin, UK and Togo among others (Ajayi 2019). In the homes of the Yoruba elites, English is the sole language of communication, to the detriment of knowledge of their indigenous language. It is therefore no surprise that the Yoruba language is gradually fading in prominence even though it is a taught language in educational institutions and even as a course up to doctoral degree in universities. States which have predominantly Yoruba speakers also have a large number of English speakers and even there, the English language is still considered more prestigious. Students in schools were punished for speaking Yoruba, and it was unacceptable in offices and official gatherings (Adetuyi et al 2017). These bilinguals therefore mastered the art of switching between Yoruba and English in certain situations.

My expectation about Canada does not include coming across Nigerians mixing languages, as English language is one of the official languages spoken in Canada and there is no use for Nigerian indigenous languages. But as I move around and come across Nigerians, I see that they use Yoruba language not only at home, but outside their homes, among friends, strangers and acquaintances. You see them switching to Yoruba in their conversations. This aroused and informed my interest in conducting a research on CS among these Nigerians living in St. John's, NL, where there is no need for Yoruba language. It motivated me to know when and how they codeswitch. The participants for the study are native speakers of the Yoruba language who are equally more or less native speakers of English language because they acquired English language from childhood.

In Canada's 2016 Census, over 68,680 people identified themselves as Nigerians, and there has been a steady increase in the number of Nigerians in Canada, and this, therefore, underscores the possibility of CS by the Nigerians who find themselves in a mixed linguistic and socio-cultural environment such as Canada. A Nigerian is potentially a bilingual or multilingual (speaks his or her mother tongue, another Nigerian language and/or English which is the lingua franca of the nation). When a Nigerian meets another of his tribe in the Diaspora, for instance in an English-speaking nation, there is a strong tendency toward switching from the language of the host community to their mother tongue to mark identity in various social contexts.

The motivation for the current study is that while several studies have explored CS among other linguistic mechanisms found in speech among Yoruba speakers, to the best of my knowledge no study has appraised code switching and its possible identity act functions among Yoruba-English bilingual speakers in Canada specifically and the diaspora in general, from the perspective of

variationist theory. This study focuses on how immigrants use code switching in identity practice (Bucholtz & Hall 2004, 2005, Eckert 2000, Halmari 2014, Velásquez 2010). The specific objective of this study is identifying possible social factors influencing CS, and the functions and role CS plays in identity construction among Yoruba-English bilinguals in Canada, using Yoruba speakers of St. Johns, NL, as a case study. The study aims to give answers to these research questions:

- **When** CS? I seek contexts where CS is employed, and its functions (Al-Horani 2016, Myers- Scotton 1993 Shodipe 2012).

- **How** is CS used in identity construction? (De fina 2007, Eckert 2000, Wei 1995,1998, Gal 1978)

- What is the influence of **social factors** (age, gender) on patterns of Yoruba-English code switching? (Al-Rowais 2012, Fereshteh 2009, Labov 1972)

- What is the **structure** of CS in this data set? I investigate the frequency of switches from one language to other, the predictability of such switches, and the types of CS used (Muysken 2000, Goke-Pariola 1983, Nyaavor 2017).

The goal of the study is a detailed description of CS among these bilinguals. Various aspects related to code-switching are highlighted in this paper. Code-switching is made out to be a meaningful activity, that is, there are functions and intentions assigned to this behaviour (Gumperz, 1971; Myers Scotton 1989; Hoffman, 1991). Based on this assumption, this study investigates how code switching serves certain functions in conversation and also to find possible impacts that the social factors of age and gender may have on CS patterns.

It is hoped that the literature review of earlier studies by local and international researchers will contribute to the present study, and that the methodological refinements used in this study will help to generate new knowledge of how identity is formed, the relationship between code switching and culture, and the role of codeswitching in the negotiation of identity.

Chapter 2

Literature Review and Theoretical Frameworks

2.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I will provide necessary background for some concepts discussed in this thesis. The chapter is divided into two sections. The first discusses previous research and the second discusses theoretical frameworks used in this research. The first section reviews the relationship between language and identity, and its connection to culture and ethnicity; the definition of CS; social motivations and functions in conversation as well as CS and identity. It also looks at previous literature on Nigerian languages and CS.

2.1 Language and Identity

Identity has been defined in this regard as "how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is structured across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future" (Norton 2013). Many writers (Block 2007, Norton &Toohey 2011, Pavelenko & Blackledge 2004) have argued that identity has been theorized as multiple, subject to change and a site of struggles. Language helps to promote identity, but the diverse conditions under which language learners speak, read or write a second language are influenced by relations of power in different sites; learners who may be marginalized in one site may be highly valued in another. For this reason, every time language users interact in a second language, they are engaged in identity construction and negotiation. In my own view, there is

no identity without a language. And the very easy means to recognize a person quickly is through his or her spoken language.

And it is also argued that language, culture, and identity are intricately related and dependent on each other, as language is formed by culture and culture is influenced by language (Giles et al 1979, Rossi-Landi 1973). Culture and language shape, one's identity and personality at different levels of identification such as social class, sexuality identity or gender, professional identity etc. Through language, the group to which an individual belongs, or not, is identifiable. Hamers and Blanc (2000:199) state that language transmits culture and is used by the individual to internalize culture. This shows that language plays communication and identity roles in a speech community. Language not only expresses identities but also constructs them (Evans, 2014). In our use of language, we represent a particular identity at the same time that we construct it. Language tells more about people and where they come from. This implies that as humans, we create desired social identities with the choice and use of language in different speech situations. Thus, identity is constantly interactively constructed on a micro level, where an individual's identity is claimed, contested, and re-constructed in interaction and relation to the other. Language is one major symbolic resource used for cultural production of identity. However, language is not exclusively a marker of identity, as people's identities may also be defined based on religion, sexual preference, hobbies or politics for example. Speakers of the same language do not necessarily share a culture.

It suffices to state that the capacity of a language to create identity is connected (though not exclusively) with the status of the language, especially as determined by its speakers. Byram (2006) submits that people acquire new identities and language varieties throughout their

existence. Thus, human consciousness of such possibilities results in deliberately shifting/switching from one language/variety to another within the same conversation, thereby signaling a change from one identity to another.

Identity and its construction in social practices have become a central theme in sociolinguistic research in the past two decades (Auer 1998, 2005, Myers-Scotton 1993, Gal 1988, Lo 1999, Hall & Nilep 2015). Immigrants and their sense of ethnic belonging has become a focus of frequent debates and polemics (De Fina 2003, Cashman 2005, Finnis 2013, Hanan 2015). De Fina (2007) relates codes switching to ethnicity creation of immigrants and argues that ethnicity construction cannot be understood if abstracted from social practices and actual talk in interaction. Bhat (2017) submits that language-identity research takes into cognizance verbalization features of speakers which are reflections of geographical background, age, gender, ethnicity, social origin, level of education, intelligence, and affability, among others. In agreement with Bhat, Luoma (2005) opines that language is a marker or indicator for speaker's cultural identity, as through language, identity is being communicated.

In this study, I will look at the relationship between language and identity creation, observing how code switching and identity are used to align speakers with others in specific situations (e.g., defining oneself as a member of an ethnic group) and how CS “functions to announce specific identities, create certain meanings, and facilitate particular interpersonal relationships” (Johnson, 2000: 184).

According to Hansen and Liu (2007), individuals may also belong to several ethnic groups that could be defined by language. Rather than choosing to belong to one group or the other as

Tajfel's (1974, 1981) theory maintains, the individual may wish to identify with a certain group in specific contexts (i.e., speak different languages in different situations). This implies that language is placed in contextual use to express social identity. Eastman (1985) submits that language use as an aspect of social identity is described in terms of specific cultural vocabulary, context-sensitive topics, and shared attitudes.

Since Norton's conception of identity in the 1990s (1995,1997), it has also become a central construct in language learning research, foregrounded by scholars such as Block David(2007), Aneta Pavlenko (2001), Kelleen Toohey(1999), Margaret Early(1990), Peter De Costa et al(2016) and Christina Higgins (2011). A number of researchers have explored how identity categories of race, gender, class and sexual orientation may impact the language learning process. Identity now features in most encyclopedias and handbooks of language learning and teaching, and work has extended to the broader field of applied linguistics to include identity and pragmatics, sociolinguistics, and discourse. In 2015, the theme of the American Association of Applied Linguistics (AAAL) conference held in Toronto was identity, and the journal *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* in the same year focused on issues of identity, with prominent scholars discussing the construct in relation to a number of topics. These included translanguaging (Angela Creese and Adrian Blackledge), transnationalism and multilingualism (Patricia Duff), technology (Steven Thorne) and migration (Ruth Wodak)

In clear terms, the relationship between identity and language is of interest to scholars in the fields of Second Language Acquisition, Language Education, Sociolinguistics and Applied Linguistics. It is best understood in the context of a shift in the field from a predominantly psycholinguistic approach to SLA to include a greater focus on sociological and cultural

dimensions of language learning in Canada. Contemporary researchers of identity are centrally concerned with the diverse social, historical and cultural contexts in which language usage takes place, and how people negotiate and sometimes resist the diverse positions those contexts offer them. Norton demonstrates how learners construct and negotiate multiple identities through language, reframing relationships so that they may claim their position as legitimate speakers. There is now a lot of research that explores relationship between language and identity.

2.2 Bilingualism and Multilingualism

Bilingualism and multilingualism are the typical consequences of language contact, which creates a foundation for code switching. There are various definitions of bilingualism available within the literature. For example, Bloomfield (1933) suggests that native-like control over both languages is an essential factor for bilingual speakers. On the other hand, Haugen (1953) proclaims that when a speaker has the ability to produce comprehensive sentences in both languages, he or she can be considered a bilingual speaker. Diebold (1964) uses the term 'incipient bilingualism' for the initial stages of contact between two different languages. He mentions that a person may be bilingual to some degree, but he or she cannot make complete meaningful utterances. For example, a person cannot produce a language, but he or she is able to comprehend that language. In such examples, linguists generally talk about 'passive' or 'receptive' bilingualism. Usually, a bilingual or multilingual conversation is full of language strategies that increase meaning. One of these language strategies is the use of code-switching. According to Gal (1988), "code-switching is a conversational strategy used to establish, cross or

destroy group boundaries; to create, evoke or change interpersonal relations with their rights and obligations". Code-switching is a common phenomenon among multilingual countries such as Singapore and Malaysia where English and Malay as well as other languages are combined in sentences. In the Malaysian context, it is so common to hear a conversation when there are a lot of English words, but the Malay language is dominant, and vice versa (David, M.K. 2003)

2.2.1 Codeswitching and its social factors

Definitions of CS vary within the literature as many scholars have attempted to define code switching and code mixing. Among them are Amuda (1989), Atoye (1994) and Belly (1976). Hymes (1971) defines code switching as “a common term for alternative use of two or more languages, varieties of a language or even speech styles”, while Bokamba (1989:278) defines both concepts as follows: ”Code switching is the mixing of words, phrases and sentences from distinct grammatical (sub)systems across sentence boundaries within the same speech event. Code mixing is the embedding of various linguistic units such as affixes (bound morphemes), words (unbound morphemes), phrases and clauses from cooperative activity where the participants, in order to infer what is intended, must reconcile what they hear with what they understand.” Esen (2019) describes code switching as when a speaker alternates between two or more languages (or dialects or varieties of language) in one conversation for the purpose of compensating deficiency, expressing solidarity and excluding person(s) from conversation or discourse. Switching of codes could be inter-sentential, intra-sentential or extra-sentential. Numan and Carter (2001:275) briefly defines CS as “a phenomenon of switching from one language to another in the same discourse”. Auer (1998:1) defines code switching as the

"alternating use of two or more codes within one conversational episode". In this case, "codes" refer to distinct language varieties or dialect. Although code switching is a common linguistic outcome in situations of language contact, prevailing ideologies of linguistic purity discredit the practice in most bilingual communities. Myers-Scotton (1993:47) refers to CS as "use of two or more languages in the same conversation, usually within the same conversational turn, or even within the same sentence of that turn."

From the different definitions of CS, it can be deduced and established that CS is a process by which bilinguals use the resources of languages they command in various ways for social and stylistic purposes. CS has attracted a great amount of research as it concerns significant aspects of bilinguals and multicultural communities' communication and interaction (Auer 1984,1996, Jacobson 1988, Wei & Martin 2009). Traditionally, CS was considered random and was seen as a strategy to compensate for weakened language proficiency -- that people switch because they do not know either language completely (Adendorff 1996, Huerta&Quintero 1992). However, Inuwa et al (2014) describe code switching as a conversational strategy normally used by bilinguals to effectively share social meanings and communicate efficiently. CS has a role, functions, facets and characteristics (Kim 2006:51). Belarbi (2013) assessed code switching and mixing among older generations in Tiaret, stating that code-switching is not a random communicative strategy of mixing two languages without recourse to the syntactic structure of either language, but a rule governed technique that the bilingual speakers resort to in different situations. The implication of this finding is that code-switching is a strategy that encourages speech continuity, rather than a communication hindrance.

CS can be approached from either a structural or social perspective. A social perspective investigates the social motivation for switching, as well as the influence of social factors such as age, gender, social class, attitude etc. on patterns of CS. A structural motivation is concerned with the grammatical constraints and restrictions between the languages. For example, in a (2005) study by Redouane on linguistic constraints on code switching and code mixing of bilingual Moroccan Arabic-French speakers in Canada, it was found that code-switches consist of both smaller constituents (adjectives, adverbs, determiners, nouns, prepositions, and verbs) and larger constituents (e.g., sentences and clauses), with nouns having a large number of switches. Switches occur in different clause boundaries of sentences. Switches occur mainly across word internal morpheme boundaries involving an inflectional morpheme from Arabic and a root morpheme from French, and these occurrences were observed in both formal and informal situations, and on the other hand, a considerable number of cases of switching occur even though the surface structure of the two languages was not equivalent (violation of the syntactic rules and structures).

In the present study, the social perspective is my major focus. One of the most frequently asked questions in CS literature is “why do people code switch”? Previous research has established that CS can be motivated by various factors, including syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, psychological and social factors. For example, Hasan and Akhand (2015) report that users of Bangla are concerned about the language during their speech in order to establish and/or realize social, pragmatic and metalinguistic functions. Hadei et al (2016) report that the factors motivating code-switching within the social context of Malay-English bilingual speeches are

showing identity, addressing different audiences, lack of facility, pragmatic reasons, and lack of register competence.

2.2.2 Uses and functions of Code switching

Linguists have carried out extensive research on the functions CS performs in bilingual speech. Trudgill (2000), highlighting some of the functions, says speakers switch to manipulate or influence or define the situation as they wish, and to convey nuances of meaning and personal intention. Inuwa et al (2014) propose that code switching is a conversational strategy normally used by bilinguals to effectively share social meanings and communicate efficiently. Switches reveal the relationship between the participants within a conversational context, the status of the speakers, the formality of the social setting, the functions of the language in use and the purpose of the conversation among the English-Hausa bilinguals studied.

Another function of CS is to build intimate interpersonal relationships among members of a bilingual community. In this respect, it may be claimed that CS is a tool for creating linguistic solidarity, especially between individuals who share the same ethno-cultural identity (Holmes 1992). Habyarimana (2017) investigated social motivations that prompt Rwandan bilingual speakers to code-switch from Kinyarwanda to English, French or Kiswahili in their casual conversations about real-life situations. Signaling educated status, expressing different social identities, demonstrating measures of power, authority and prestige, narrowing or widening social distance, and maintaining relationships were identified as social factors predicting code-switching among the Rwandan bilingual speakers. Algharabali et al (2015) found that code

switching is seen a desirable social behavior by most French School of Kuwait teenagers, who code switch for reasons such as comfort, peer pressure, solidarity and affection, lack of vocabulary and laziness. Bullock and Toribio (2009:2) also state that CS can be used to fill linguistic gaps and achieve discursive aims, as well as to express ethnic identity.

A summary of the functions, motivation and uses of CS discussed above can be found in Gumperz (1982). He states that code switching occurs in quotations of direct or repeated speech, it is governed by addressee specification – a different code for different addressee, it functions as a mark of interjection or sentence filler. Next is for reiteration, meaning to repeat an expression in another code either to clarify or emphasize a message. Code switching also functions to qualify a message, and it functions in personalization vs objectivation, which refers to the change of codes when talking about oneself as opposed to talking about other people. Other factors that could influence the use of code switching in speech events are to quote someone, for clarification, or lexical need.

Ndembele (2012) found out that English-IsiZulu code-switching functions as a marked choice (reprimand, expand, signify group solidarity and identity among others), an unmarked choice (emphasis, clarity of concepts and social identity among others), an explanatory choice (divert attention and exclusion of speaker(s) from conversation) and as a sequential unmarked choice (negotiating the central language of communication).

Da Costa (2010), in a study of Angolan migrants in Cape Town, found that the discourse of long-term migrants shows marked and unmarked social code-switching. The former case is characterised by a deliberate attempt by participants aiming to gain something for their action

whilst the latter is more unconscious and does not necessarily depend on cost – rewards concerns. In both cases marked code-switching predominated and was motivated by a search of a new identity and exclusion of the late arrivals (newcomers) from group membership.

2.3 Codeswitching and identity

There are clearly different reasons for CS as established in previous section, but this study focuses more on CS as a marker of identity, a notion that recurs in the other theoretical frameworks described in following sections. As stated by Fishman (1986), one identifies oneself with a different speech network to which he belongs, wants to belong and from which he seeks acceptance. Wong (1979) is of a similar opinion. She holds that speakers may code switch to mark their unique linguistic and cultural heritage. Woodward (1997), quoted in Blomquist (2009), asserts that social identity is created when an individual categorizes her surroundings, and places herself in a group with which she shares common characteristics, meanwhile distancing herself from other social groups. In multicultural societies, social groups distinguish themselves from others based on linguistic, cultural and ethnic characteristics. Hamers and Blanc (2000:203) demonstrate that language is often the most important marker of ethnic identity in the context of intercultural and interethnic encounters. Spotti (2005) submitted that the schoolchildren studied are able to conceptualise a form of social identity that is strongly marked by being raised between two cultures, as they feel themselves to be part of the Dutch nation (through speaking Dutch and being born in the Netherlands), but also hold 'elements' of their social identity that they 'bring along' from the home environment and from their family

routes of migration. Hadei et al (2016) report that the factors motivating code-switching within the social context of Malay-English bilingual speeches is to show and portray identity when addressing different audiences in conversation. Draga (2015) argued that language speakers actively manipulate linguistic variables and non-linguistic qualities to construct their identities. Offiong and Okon (2013) found that one sociolinguistic benefit of code switching is communicating solidarity or affiliation to a particular social group, that is, creation of identity. Crystal (1987) suggests that the need to show solidary and sense of belonging with a particular social group and also to establish some sort of rapport could also necessitate switching of codes.

Park (2011) assessed language use by bilingual Korean English speakers in offline and online interaction in relations to their social identities and argued that bilingual Korean English speakers intentionally use Korean when talking about topics specifically related to Korean life or addressing others in ways that reflect cultural norms; their social identities are shaped by the shared idea about typical Korean-Americans; and they use both Korean and English differently online depending on their social identities. It can be argued from these findings that there is a great deal of relationship between language use by the Korean English speakers and their identity creation. Similarly, Al-saleem (2011) found that English is the dominant language used online among a particular group of undergraduate students of Internet users in Jordan, and that a previously little used written form of Romanized Jordanian Arabic is also widely used in informal communication by this group. Thus, the development was posited as one expression of a strengthening of global (English-language dominant) networks in Jordan, as well as local

(Jordanian) identities, with a corresponding weakening of more "traditional" sources of identity, such as (Arab) nationalism.

Chugtai, Khan and Khan (2016) reported that in almost all contexts, English code is switched and mixed in their speech by Pakistani young learners, mostly not to make their own tongue to be inferior. This in essence shows that the learners are conscious of retaining their linguistic identity despite the magnitude of usage and functions of English language.

While these studies have looked into CS among migrants of many nationalities, no known study has given attention to Yoruba-English bilinguals living in Canada. My study will attempt to fill this gap.

2.4 Nigerian Languages and Code-switching

Nigeria is a multilingual country, with over 500 indigenous languages. Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba are the major languages, with over 80 million speakers (Odebamike, 2011). In addition to these indigenous languages, English is used as the official language in administration and education and as a lingua franca (Amuda 1986). Multiple studies have been carried out on CS and related linguistic phenomena in Nigeria and its diaspora. Shodipe (2012) studied the bilingual Lagos Island speech community to identify the social motivations for bilingual behaviour, the sociolinguistic acts used by the Yoruba-English bilinguals in speech situations to express socio-cultural identity. It was submitted that language mediates in individual and social identities. Based on work on language switch among Yoruba-English bilinguals, Robbin (2010) proposed that language switch is a function of audience, topic and setting of conversation. Exclusion of person(s) from conversations and showing that the audience have a shared knowledge of the

two languages are some reasons for CS among Yoruba speakers of English language in South West Nigeria identified by Adetuyi et al (2017). Building on Adendorff's (1996:389) description of CS as a "functionally motivated" behaviour, Emeka-Nwobi (2014) found that CS can be triggered by various conversational contexts, and that among the three regional languages in Nigeria, Igbo-English bilinguals seem to be more prone to switching to English. The resulting switched language is known among the Igbo speaking people of Nigeria as *Engligbo*. Kuponiyi (2013) describes CS in Nigerian hip hop songs, involving English and one (or more) of Yoruba, Hausa and Igbo. Yoruba appears to be the most frequently used, especially as evident in the titles of some of the songs. Fakeye (2012) found that pre-service (education student) teachers' CS is influenced by individuals present, the physical setting, the topics and functions of discourse and the style. Code choices correlate with language attitude dominance, social status and age as well as the need to be clearly understood and assertive in verbal communications. Jalaludeen (2016) found that switches among Hausa-English bilinguals in Manchester, UK are constrained by a set of grammatical rules of both participating languages and are affected by interactional and sociolinguistic requirements such as reiteration, quotation, clarification, low level of competence in English, lexical gap, grammatical loan and unique referent. More so, code switching is used to shut some individuals out of a conversation.

2.5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

My research adopts the theoretical frameworks of variationist sociolinguistics and speech act theory to guide my investigation of how CS is used for identity construction. These theoretical

approaches come from Labov (1972), Eckert (2000) and Tagliamonte (2006), Searle (1969, 1975) and Austin (1962, 2009),

2.5.1 Variationist Theory

This research adopts a variationist sociolinguistic theoretical framework to explain patterns of linguistic variation and change. Deploying this approach allows me to study the social use of language by examining the systematic relationships between CS and speakers' social characteristics such as age, gender, and social class. It equally allows me to look at the pervasive social meaning as outlined by Weinreich et al (1968). Pervasive social meaning is the observation that language does not just transmit information, but also makes a statement about who the speaker is, with what group the speaker's loyalties reside and how the speaker perceives his relationship with the kind of conversation. Taglimonte **(**2006) explains the contextual use of language, such as the ways an individual uses language and the context (where, when and why) of use for same individual.

Throughout this paper, I discuss linguistic forms of codeswitching in the light of discourse functions and topics of discourse, concentrating on social factors of age and gender. Within this research, I will discuss the patterns of variation and how change within this group of speakers is meant to represent the wider community. The tool used to discover these patterns generally is multivariate analysis, a statistical modelling technique that can calculate the complex influence of internal linguistic and external social factors on a given linguistic

phenomenon. The variants considered here are different kinds of CS and the social factors examined here are sex and age to view identity within variationist sociolinguistics.

I will use the Labovian speech community model (Labov 1966; 1972a) where both identity and community are considered to be co-constructed by individuals participating in a conversation as Eckert (2000) assets that people develop and share beliefs, values, ways of doing things and speaking if united by cultural background. Here, shared cultural background and language inform membership of the Yoruba bilinguals in Canada.

2.5.2 Speech Act Theory

For this research, I also analysed my data using the Speech Act theory, which is a subfield of pragmatics. Speech Act theory has been established as one of the most widely studied and relevant fields of Linguistics (Bardosi-Harlig 2002). This is because for speakers to develop ability to comprehend and perform, there is need to use different speech acts to communicate appropriately. Searle (2001) states that speech act theory studies language based on the relation of an utterance to the acts performed by the speakers. Speech act theory considers language as a sort of action rather than a medium to convey and express our utterances with a variety of different uses. This theory, first proposed by Austin (1962) and further developed by Searle (1969), has had a huge influence on functional aspect of Pragmatics. Many other researchers, including philosophers and linguists have worked more on this theory which enables a better way to understand human communication. Kemmerling (2002) states that "part of the joy of doing speech act theory, from my strictly first-person point of view, is becoming more and more reminded of how many surprisingly different things we do when we

talk to each other". Speech act is an influential theory on the actual communicative function of language and tries to answer to what extent impartial interaction is possible between speakers. Austin (1962) claimed that people use language not just to say things but to do things. Under his performative hypotheses, he asserted that when people use language, they do more than just make statements – they perform actions:

For example,

(1) a. *I will slap you*- A mother to her son. Here, though she is yet to slap him, the statement performs an action as it poses as a threat to the child, thereby allowing the child to adjust his behaviour. The mother uses the statement to perform the act of threatening.

b. *I will do the dishes* says Paul. This utterance does not describe what he is doing or what he will do but rather the utterance performs the "act of promise".

c. *I declare you husband and wife* - from a priest to an intending couple, this statement performs an action rather than just the words.

d. *you are "fired or hired" from an employer to employee*. This statement immediately creates a hierarchy between them.

All the statements above do not explain or describe a thing, rather they "perform" actions. In essence, people use various kinds of verbal actions to accomplish something e.g., greet, insult, compliment, plead, flirt, supply information, and get work done etc. These fall into different kinds of speech act which are utterances that speakers make to achieve an intended effect.

Searle (1975) distinguishes between 'propositional content' (the literal meaning of an utterance) and 'illocutionary force' (what the speaker intends by what is said), while Austin proposes the distinction between locution, illocution, and perlocution. The locutionary act is the basic utterance that produces a meaningful linguistic expression. The illocutionary act means the performance of an act in saying something; it represents what is done in saying something (locution) and the intention or force behind the words. The perlocutionary act is the effect brought about by performing the illocutionary act. It creates a consequential effect on the audiences. These consequences on the feelings, thoughts or actions of the participant may be intentional or not.

Using the Searle's (1976) classification of speech act theory which is more explanatory to Austin's perfectively fits into the current research, he classified speech acts into five categories

Assertive: this is an illocutionary act in which the speaker expresses their belief about a truth of preposition. e.g. boasting, swearing, putting forward etc.

(2) a. *No one sings better than I do*

Directive: this is an illocutionary act that makes the addressee performs the action. e.g. asking, ordering, requesting, inviting etc.

(2) b. (i) *Please, wash the plates*

(ii) *Bring the bowl over there*

Commissive: this commits speakers to do something in the future e.g. promising, planning, betting

(2) c. (i) *I will make some pancakes for you tomorrow*

(ii) *Henceforth, I will read one book per week to develop my mental capacity*

Expressive: this allows speaker to express his/her feeling or emotional reaction e.g., apologising, welcoming, deploring etc.

(2) d. (i) *I am very sorry about my behaviour earlier today*

Declaration: this brings change to the external situation e.g. blessing, bidding, firing etc.

(2) e. (i) *You are hired*

(ii) *You are out of the game.*

Searle (1975) further differentiates between direct and indirect speech acts. He claimed that direct speech acts are in the propositional content which carries the illocutionary force, so that there is a connection between the literal meaning and the conventional meaning. In indirect speech acts, the literal meaning and the conventional meaning are different and indirect speech acts are a normal occurrence in everyday language use.

In this research, speech act theory was applied to codeswitching to show that the utterances of Yoruba bilinguals did not only present information, but also performed actions, and the type of action influenced the tendency to code-switch. Some of the actions their utterances performed which are analysed and discussed in this research include conventional examples of speech acts such as insult, threat, exaggeration, jokes. However, slang and euphemism are categorized as speech acts within this framework as speakers uniquely use them to exclude non-speakers of this speech community while including and amusing members of the community with them.

This is a kind of codification. This step is necessary as this thesis concentrates more on the effect and purpose of their usage rather than the information as discussed and revealed in chapter 5.

With the above literature review, it is discovered that CS is not a deficiency, but CS is used for identity and interactional purposes, and existing research traditions in sociolinguistics and speech act theory provide the theoretical and methodological tools that I am going to use in this research.

The methodology employed in the present study will be discussed in following chapter.

Chapter 3

Methodology

3.0 Introduction

An important aspect of research is the decision on how the data should be collected and analysed. Therefore, the focus of this chapter is on the process of investigation and analysis used in this study. This includes the research type, area of research, population of study, sampling and sampling techniques, instrument for data collection, methods of data collection and data analysis. Data was taken from sociolinguistics interviews conducted in St. John's in May and October 2019. A total of 15 participants were interviewed; however, six males and six females will be compared in this paper. These twelve were chosen as they clearly demonstrated high proficiency in English Language and Yoruba and claimed full membership in the community.

3.1 Research Design

This study utilizes both quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative method is necessary in accounting for the frequency of switches in the recorded spontaneous speech data. The qualitative approach will be used to attempt to figure out the functions and context of codeswitching. This approach allows the researcher to share in the perceptions and

understanding of others and to know how people learn about and make sense of themselves and others (Creswell 1998).

3.2 Participants

I used my social network to obtain recordings from 12 proficient Yoruba-English bilinguals, stratified by age (under or over 35) and gender (male and female). The 12 participants were chosen from the 7 recorded interviews I had with participants in different locations in St. John's where they are resident, collected during separate recording of free-flowing conversations involving the participants. All participants are native speakers of Yoruba from the South-western part of Nigeria who demonstrate native-like competence in English. This was important in participants' selection as it is generally observed that CS occurs among skilled bilinguals (Winford 2003). Therefore, all participants are fluent in both languages and they have no problem communicating with native speakers. This is done to ensure that CS is not attributed to insufficient knowledge of either language. Participants were chosen based on being readily available. All participants are university students or graduates. The participants in this research know one another well. Some of them even share a school, workplace, or church. Gardner-Chloros (1991) established as observed by Fereshteh (2009) that CS occurs more when interlocutors know each other and are not constrained by the overt norms which govern conversations. Also, participants are actively engaged in Yoruba culture as they occasionally dress in Yoruba attires such as agbada, danshiki, Ankara among others; maintain contact with relatives back home using Yoruba in some of their conversations; eat Nigerian food such as Amala, ewedu among others and form association of Yoruba people in the diaspora. Their

active engagements in the culture as it would reflect later in the study explain why they codeswitch.

3.3 Data Collection

The data for this research is both qualitative and quantitative. The quantitative was used to investigate variation while the qualitative consists of observation and notes taken while on field before, during and after sociolinguistic interviews. As the examination of instances of code switching requires collection of data in spontaneous and natural surroundings (Blom & Grmperz 1972), I conducted and recorded sociolinguistic interviews of spontaneous speech, at a place convenient for the participants (e.g. at home, church , malls , parks etc.). Efforts were made to ensure that conversation took place in a friendly atmosphere, as Poplack (1980) claims that CS tends to occur more frequently in highly social and informal settings.

A detailed recruitment letter which explained what the research was all about, and the nature of participant involvement was sent out through my social network to the speech community. People interested in the study gave me responses and as I am member of the speech community, I am familiar with most of them. The participants signed a consent form to ensure the agreement to use the recorded data.

The data for the study were collected in two ways, sociolinguistic and informative interviews.

3.3.1 Sociolinguistic interview

A sociolinguistic interview is defined as a series of hierarchically structured sets of questions, also referred to as conversational modules or 'resources' (Labov 1973). The design for this study was informed by Labov (1972b) where his principles of style-shifting demonstrate that speakers produce a range of speaking styles, with some styles being more formal and deliberate and others being informal and spontaneous. The interview was designed to elicit natural speech, as participants were allowed to have free flow of conversations. Also, these interviews gradually shifted to interactions because the participants seemed to have a lot to discuss and the conversations flowed well, providing me with more data than I would have got in only sociolinguistic interviews. My tasks were to just observe, jot notes and join in the conversations without their consciousness of me and this enabled me to elicit natural and spontaneous code-switching among participants. I collected the data in different situational and interactional settings like the mall, family settings, social gatherings, official discussions etc. The participants were in relaxed mode as they discussed their daily activities, values, political views, love, food etc. For this interview, approximately 50 minutes of interaction per person in small group discussion were recorded. Being a member of the speech community helped a great deal in obtaining casual speech, as most of the participants are familiar with me or familiar with one or two participants.

Some of the questions asked included:

1. When did you move to St John's and how has your experience been so far?
2. What do you think of the weather here and what are your coping strategies?

3. Do you think there are differences and similarities between Nigerian cultures and the culture here?
4. Tell me about the last movie you watched.
5. How did you celebrate last Christmas?
6. When I first moved here, I could barely understand my professors. Tell me about your experiences in school, workplace as regards understanding the accent here.

3.3.2 Informational interview

The informational interview is optimal for collecting data on individuals' personal histories, perspectives, and experiences, particularly when sensitive topics are being explored. It is effective in eliciting data on the cultural norms of a group and in generating broad overviews of issues of concern to the cultural groups or subgroups represented (Donna & Zita 2002). For this research, informational interviews were conducted to ask specific questions on reasons and motivations for codeswitching. This was done to allow me to see how their utterances from the sociolinguistic interviews relate to those utterances' described functions. These informational interviews were conducted after the sociolinguistic interview. I followed up with the participants to get the ideas behind their switches to Yoruba or vice versa at intervals during their conversations. The setting and topics being discussed determined when this happened.

For instance, in example (38) in chapter 5, which is given below:

***Egba lo ma je**, **sha**, come over here and take cookies (Ka2om)*

'you will be flogged, just come over here and take cookies'

I followed up with the participant (a mum reprimanding her son), asking why she decided to switch to English at that point. She said it was because of the people available in the setting and that she also wanted to pacify the child. This follow up interview revealed to me that the switch was intentional and that the mother was trying to cut the general public off from the conversation. For many CS or utterances observed, I had to ask the participants their intention. This interview was done after the sociolinguistic interview had been transcribed, so in some cases I read out their utterances and asked them certain questions for clarification. Some of the questions below were asked while conducting the informational interviews.

1. you switch just now? Are you aware you did that?
2. Do you codeswitch like the one you did now in your daily conversation?
3. Do you mainly use English or Yoruba when talking to your child?
4. What do you think were your reasons for code switching?
5. How do you feel switching these languages or people doing so in conversations in which you are a participant? What can you say about what you did now?
6. Do you think code switching with Yoruba connects you back home?

Some interviewees had answers to some of these questions, while others did not have direct answers. The latter just code switched without realising it or having conscious motivation for doing so either in Yoruba or English, but their explanation gave me understanding of what they were doing with the switches.

3.4 Equipment

Participants were recorded in living rooms, kitchens, church, parks, malls, and restaurants. They were recorded on high quality voice recorder (dBR-D1-32G) and phone (LG G6). The gadgets were placed in a corner at each physical setting of the conversation while participants had their discussions without being bothered about being recorded. Most of the time, they forgot they were being recorded though they were informed already that their conversations would be recorded.

3.5 Data Extraction

The thesis recorded over 8 hours of interview. Over 2000 sentences were analysed, 1179 tokens were extracted as language mixture from the 7 recordings of 12 participants. Each participant has approximately 50 minutes of interaction. All utterances(unit of speech bound with silence or pause) that has mixture of English and Yoruba languages were extracted from the audio file and coded for the variants considered which are different kinds of CS & social factors of age and gender as explained below under data coding section.

3.6 Data Coding

The goal is to get comprehensive overview of use of CS and also investigate its use in interviews conducted in different settings, and discover correlations with the social factors of speaker age and gender, linguistic/discourse factors such as topic, discourse function (speech act), presence of discourse marker, and type of interview.

To permit multivariate analysis of the data, I treat each sentence analyzed as a token of the variable, and code each sentence for the type of CS (if any) found in that sentence. These are the possible variants. Based on my reading of the data, this required six sentence types to be coded. These are exemplified below.

3.6.1 Variants

All in English (AE):

(3) a. *Esther, how are you? I thought you are working today**.** (LO2eh)*

b. How were the weekly activities, learnt we had two babies, Mrs. Adeyemi and sis Kenny (Am2kc)?

All in Yoruba (AY):

(4) a**.** ***Kini ke emi ti mo wa lati UK se?*** *(LO2eh)*
'What should I that came from Uk do?'

b. ***nnkan to da niyen, ati wipe eni ti o b ani iya, kin da egbo eyin****. (am2kc)*
'That is good, and it is known that if you don't have mother, you don't overstep your boundary'

English with Yoruba word insertion (YI):

(5) a. *interview me **jare** ('jare' insertion is just discourse marker) (lo2eh)*

b**.** *baby je kin **gbe e** jade for your birthday…(lo2eh)*
'baby let me take you out for your birthday'…

c. *… my mum and brother came, so it was **ebi parapo**, family reunion **ni o***
'…my mum and brother came, so it was family joint, it is a family reunion'(ka2om)

Yoruba with English word insertion (EI):

(6) a**.** ***Iyen naa daa*** *right? **E ku igbadun** (de2Eh)*

'That one too is good, right? Keep enjoying'

b. ***iyen ma ma*** *fail* ***gan oo, oun na o gbodo fi bobo sile ni*** *(ene1w)*
'that one will definitely fail, why can't he leave the guy alone'

Start with Yoruba and end with English (SYE):

(7) a. ***E mi o mo bo se*** *make pay at the end of the day because she is not always at her desk (ene1w)*
'I do not know how she makes her pay at the end of the day because she is not always at her desk'

b. ***boya o n sun pelu awon oga*** *at the top in this call center (ed1ew)*
'probably she is sleeping with the top officials in this call center'

c. ***shori bayen, emi gan ti mo*** *submit letter from my doctor that I want day shift…(ene1w)*
'Did you see that, even me that submit letter from my doctor that I want a day shift'…

Start with English and end with Yoruba (SEY):

(8) a. Speaker A: *my friend, sit down there****, o fe fi mi sile lori ijoko wole lo.*** *(Lo2eh)*
'*my friend, sit down there, you want to walk out on me'*
Speaker B**:** *what happened? I don't trust you* ***because wahala ti e po ju fun mi***
'what happen, I do not trust you because your trouble is too much for me'

b. *And so expensive, the other day* ***epo lasan ni mo fe ra, lo bani $25*** *(am2kc)*
'And so expensive, the other day, I wanted to buy ordinary palm oil, they said it's for $25

3.6.2 Factor groups

To be able to successfully analyse the factors. I coded each utterance for these factors. I coded for every instances of topic of discussion: death, food, pregnancy, relationship, academic,

gossip, church, sex, immigration and other. I coded for instances of every discourse function: threat, jokes, insults, slang, exaggeration, euphemism, statement, and others. I also coded for every instance of CS for discourse marker such as filler, change in focus, change in topic, for coordination etc.

3.6.2.1 Discourse functions

Several switches during conversation among the participants are informed by speech acts which are considered to perform discourse functions. These functions include threat, insult, jokes, exaggeration which are the conventional slang performs discourse function for inclusion, exclusion and for amusement and euphemism perlocutionary effect is to reduce obscene expression. Reason for this has been explained in section 2.5.2 above. . Examples of the discourse functions I coded for are listed below:

(9) ***Threat:*** *Mofe is not going and you stop fussing**, ki lo n se, ma fun e nisi**. (ko2wr)*
'Mofe is not going and you should stop fussing, what is your problem, I will give you now'
(A father trying to discipline the child, he was trying so hard not to spank him)

(10) ***Insult****: I don't blame you; I blame myself for asking for interview,* ***Radarada,*** *come here (ene1w)*
'I do not blame you; I blame myself for asking interview, bullshit, come here'

(11) ***Joke:*** *Where,* ***So maa mu nnkan bayi?*** *You are drinking or is it smoking? (de2Eh)*
'Where, hope you are not intoxicated like this, are you drinking or smoking'

(12) ***Slang****: ... I was so surprised when I was told,* ***ogbeni japa ni*** *(ch1lm)*
'…I was so surprised when I was told as in, Mr., Flee'- ***run away***

(13) ***Exaggeration****: He has come to my house on many occasions in fact* ***o ti fe te omo adiye pa si lemi*** *(fw3hc)*

'He has come to my house on many occasions in fact, he has nearly crushed all the chickens in my compound with his legs'

(14) ***Euphemism****: …* ***awon mejeji o le fowo soya pe*** *they are not sleeping together; it is obvious they have sex always (ed1ew)*

'… Both can't boldly say, they are not sleeping together, it is obvious, they have sex always.'

3.6.2.2 Topic of discussion

Bilinguals switches often when discussing several topics based on language preference and inclination on the part of the interlocutors. Below are the examples of different kinds of topic I coded for.

(15) ***Church****: Speaker A: … I am not joking, I don't understand you, you are now backsliding, just join the baptismal class for this year. Every worker in Redeemed are expected to be baptize before joining the workforce, its just that they bend rules outside Nigeria… (ene1w)*

Speaker B: ***…*** *they told me in Joyce Meryer sermon that going to church is just the basic or baby entry to Christianity, it's your individual life that matter, if we are looking for God in corporate gathering, you will not find him, see I'm tired of religion.(de2Eh)*

(16) ***Death****: Speaker A: … signated authorities and its likes. Its well o. I like employers, they make provisions for everything because they believe anything can happen any time, (fw3hc)*

Speaker B: even with us death, accident insurance is mandatory, you can not opt out(fm3ch)

Speaker A: Insurance is very good but its just with our people we do not plan it, I think our faith doesn't carry it, when you have burial insurance, you tell them the kind of burial you want.(fw3hc)

(17) ***Academics:*** *Speaker A: … The child we are talking about, He has run down last last, he is no longer here (ko2wr)*

*Speaker B**:** no wonder, I have not been seeing him (sl4kr)*

Speaker A: They sent him out of school, he was unable to finish his studies, he was planning to go to medical school before he started misbehaving (ko2wr)

(18) ***Sex****: Speaker C: before nko, the same person, she has been giving him blowjob steady now (ka2om)*

*Speaker D: **…**with those views especially the private views that shows the raw things, you pay a lot to view those scenes, you pay to see where they are having their shower, see nakedness, kissing, sex and all sorts… (ko2wr)*

(19) **Gossip***: **on sun pelu boyfriend TL**, mi **o fe so oruko e**, in this very place (ed1ew)*

'she is sleeping with one of the TL's boyfriends, I don't want to mention her name, in this very place'

(20) ***Food****:* And so expensive, the other day **epo lasan ni mo fe ra, lo bani $25,** (am2kc)

'And so expensive, the other day, I wanted to buy ordinary palmoil, they said it's for $25'

(21) **Pregnancy:** Awon oloyun po this year, there will be plenty baby showers (am3kc)

'there are lots of pregnant women this year, there will be plenty baby showers'

3.6.2.3 Social factors:

Just like I highlighted above, the gender coded was male verses female, coded separately for the two genders as when they codeswitch and same was done for the young, and old while coding for Age factor.

Age

Gender

3.6.2.4 Type of interview

I coded for type/location of interview: at the mall, family setting, casual friend's discussion, official discussion, or social gathering.

3.6.2.5 Discourse marker

Discourse marker performs diverse functions such as signalling change in focus or topic, as a filler and sometimes for coordination. So, I coded for whether the Yoruba insertion or English insertion was or was not a discourse marker.

NO discourse Marker: when there is no discourse marker in a variant

Discourse Marker: when discourse marker is available in a variant

(22) I don't have time for you **jare** (jare is a discourse marker**)** (pr5oc)

3.7 Data Analysis

The data collected from the audio recording of the study participants was analysed in two ways, as the two different interview types produced different kinds of data.

Data from the sociolinguistic interviews was transcribed, coded as described above, and subjected to thorough quantitative analysis. This involved basic statistical analysis of the frequency of switches per utterance (units of speech bounded by silence or pause) and the choice among the six sentence types in light of the social and linguistic/discourse factors coded. Multivariate analysis was used to reveal these statistical correlations.

Data from the informational interviews was used to find recurring tendencies in the ways that participants described their understanding of the purpose and techniques of Yoruba-English

code switching in this community. The speech act theory (Searle 1978) was used to determine how CS informed actions being performed in different conversations and how this produced solidarity which in turn constructed the speakers' identity.

These multiple sets of findings provided the material for more theoretical discussions of the way CS is both used and perceived to be used by members of this community in order to regulate discourse as well as to present and construct a Yoruba-English identity in the Canadian context.

CHAPTER 4

Coding and Results

This chapter briefly explains the result of the statistical modelling technique used to calculate the complex influence of the variants considered and the social factors on this linguistic phenomenon; code switching. Over 2000 utterances were analysed and there were mixture of languages in 1179 of them which are coded for and analysed. Each variant was subjected to multivariate analysis with goldvarb in which the variant run as application value and all other variant were non-application. As explained above the variants coded for are the different kinds of CS which run as the application value in light of the social factors of gender and age and linguistic/discourse factors.

The following chapter gives a more detailed description of each set of findings and explains a detailed analysis and discussion.

Table 1-factors selected as significant for SEY

Table 1. Factors selected as significant to the choice of "start with English, end with Yoruba" (SEY)

Total N: 1177		Corrected mean: .126	
		%	N
Age			
Old		15.4	623
Young		16.3	553
RANGE	**Ns**		
Gender			
Female		17.0	605
Male		14.5	553
RANGE	**Ns**		
Discourse function			
Threat	.**87**	48	31
Exaggeration	.**80**	36	175
Insult	**.75**	31	65
Slangs	.**69**	24	54
Joke	.**64**	21	121
Statement	.24	4	208
Euphemism	.27	5	176
Others	.44	10	291
RANGE	*63*		

Not selected as significant: age, gender, topic, and discourse marker

Table (1) shows that age, gender topic, and discourse marker do not significantly affect the choice of the SEY (start English, end Yoruba) sentence type. The one significant factor for this variant is discourse function and this shows that there are various speech acts being performed when this kind of Codeswitching occurs. SEY is used for all the speech acts listed above but "Threat" is the most favouring factor.

Table 2- factors selected significant for SYE

Table 2. Factors selected as significant to the choice of "start with Yoruba, end with English" (SYE)

Total N :1177		Corrected mean:.109	
		%	N
Age			
Old	**.57**	16.4	623
Young	.42	11.2	553
RANGE	*15*		
Gender			
Female		15.5	605
Male		12.4	572
RANGE	**Ns**		
Discourse functions			
Threat	**.70**	22.6	31
Exaggeration	**.70**	24.0	175
Insult	**.58**	15.4	65
Slang	**.56**	13.0	54
Joke	**.75**	30.6	112
Statement	.24	3.8	208
Euphemism	.34	6.8	176
Others	**.52**	12.7	291
RANGE	*51*		
Topic			
Food	**.55**	17.2	198
Academics	.48	9.3	86
Gossip	**.62**	16.9	189
Relationship	**.67**	22.9	35
Church	**.69**	23.1	39
Pregnancy	**.64**	23.7	59
Death	.37	8.5	59
Sex	.40	8.6	116
Immigration	.20	2.9	34
Other	.45	12.1	348
RANGE	*49*		

Not selected as Significant: gender, discourse marker, type of interview

Table (2) represents the results for CS that starts with Yoruba and ends with English (SYE). This table shows that age, discourse function and topic are significant. Gender, discourse marker, and type of interviews are insignificant with this variant. For age factor, surprisingly the old people (.57) have higher usage than the younger age (.42). For discourse function, joke is more favouring than the rest of the speech and it is equally important to note that whether they codeswitch starting with Yoruba and end with English or vice versa, discourse function plays an important role.

Topic of discussion plays a significant role in this kind of CS, with church, relationship, pregnancy and gossip most favouring. As we saw in table 1, for English to Yoruba switches, topic has no impact.

Table 3-factors selected significant for AE

Table 3. Factors selected as significant to "All English" (AE)

Total N: 1177		Corrected mean: .184	
		%	N
Gender			
Male	**.58**	36.4	553
Female	.42	25.5	605
RANGE	*16*		
Age			
Old	.35	30.2	553
Young	**.67**	34.5	623
RANGE	*22*		
Discourse functions			
Threat	.10	3.2	31
Exaggeration	.17	6.9	175
Insult	.12	4.6	65
Slang	.16	5.6	54
Joke	.29	11.6	121
Statement	**.95**	83.7	208
Euphemism	.13	4.0	176
Others	**.80**	48.1	291
RANGE	*70*		
Topic			
Food	.43	24.7	198
Academics	**.55**	41.9	86
Gossip	.22	16.4	189
Relationship	.41	32.2	59
Church	**.50**	33.3	39
Pregnancy	**.71**	28.6	35
Death	**.56**	40.7	59
Sex	**.66**	46.6	116
Immigration	**.58**	44.1	34
Other	**.55**	30.2	348
RANGE	*49*		
Discourse Marker			
No discourse Marker	***.61***	36.9	911
Discourse marker	*.17*	7.5	252
RANGE	*44*		

Not selected as significant: types of interview

Table (3) represents the variant “all English” (AE). This table shows that age, gender, discourse function, topic of discussion, and discourse marker are significant in this kind of CS. The gender shows male uses it more, even though research elsewhere (Labov 1990, 2001) suggests that women generally prefer the standard variant, which would be English in this context. The age shows young people uses it more, which matches my anecdotal observation that young people in this community are comfortable talking more in English. Most discourse functions disfavour this variant, which is reserved largely for statements of fact and the “other” category. English is considered the language for official matters among these bilinguals and cannot give the effect Yoruba language will give when performing certain discourse functions. Topic of discussion is another significant factor and as we can see this variant has high usage for academics, church, and immigration discussions which are considered as official matters and has low usage for gossip. Also, AE has high usage when discussing pregnancy and death related matters, which are considered sacred in Yoruba. Furthermore, AE is used for sex related discussion, as Yoruba language does not permit this kind of discussion, considered taboo.

Table 4-factors selected as significant for AY

Table 4. Factors selected as significant for "All Yoruba" (AY)

Total N: 1177		Corrected mean: .074	
		%	N
Age			
Old		10.0	623
Young		8.1	553
RANGE	**Ns**		
Gender			
Female		10.1	605
Male		8.0	572
RANGE	**Ns**		
Discourse functions			
Threat	**.76**	19.4	31
Exaggeration	**.64**	14.9	175
Insult	.**80**	27.7	65
Slang	.**52**	7.4	54
Joke	**.76**	24.0	121
Statement	**.29**	4.3	208
Euphemism	0.0	0.0	0
Others	.35	4.5	291
RANGE	*45*		
Discourse Marker			
No discourse Marker	.**56**	10.6	911
Discourse marker	**.29**	3.2	252
RANGE	*27*		

Not selected as significant: Age, gender, types of interview

Table (4) shows that in All Yoruba (AY) sentences, age & gender have no significant role which means both young and old, male, and female uses it in conversation at the same frequency. This contradicts my hypotheses thinking the young ones will have lower usage of it. The significant factors are discourse function and discourse marker. For discourse function, insult with ***.80*** is the highest while euphemism has no usage at all, which matches my intuitions:

Yoruba language culturally is not used to lessen harsh words, it's a language full of taboos. In discourse marker, AY has lower usage when discourse markers are present.

Table 5-factors selected as significant for YI

Table 5. Factors selected as significant for "Yoruba insertion" (YI)

Total N:1177		Corrected mean: .096	
		%	N
Discourse functions			
Threat	.37	3.2	31
Exaggeration	**.62**	16.0	175
Insult	**.65**	20.0	65
Slang	**.68**	35.2	54
Joke	.46	9.1	121
Statement	.21	2.4	208
Euphemism	**.51**	14.8	176
Others	**.61**	21.6	291
RANGE	*47*		
Topic			
Food	**.54**	16.7	198
Academics	**.64**	19.8	86
Gossip	**.52**	20.6	189
Relationship	.23	14.3	35
Church	**.54**	15.4	39
Pregnancy	.38	5.1	59
Death	**.72**	22.0	59
Sex	**.53**	12.1	116
Immigration	**.55**	23.5	34
Other	.42	15.8	348
RANGE	*49*		
Discourse Marker			
Discourse Marker	**.86**	49.6	252
No discourse Marker	.39	7.5	911
RANGE	*47*		
Interview			
1	**.62**	21.8	193
2	**.87**	36.4	22
3	.36	13.2	53

4	**.62**	22.3	184
5	.51	18.5	151
6	**.62**	12.0	435
7	.33	11.8	136
RANGE	54		

Not selected as significant: age, gender

Table 5 shows result for Yoruba insertions in English utterances. Discourse function, topic, and discourse marker are the notable factors. Age and gender play no role in this variant.

For discourse function, the favouring functions are slang, insults and exaggeration, while usage with threat and euphemism are low here.

Topic of discussion also plays an important role, with pregnancy taking low usage as pregnancy is considered sacred and most of the time, discussions around it are avoided and in a situation where it can not be avoided, English language is used more.

Insertion of Yoruba is used as discourse marker in conversation as the result shows high usage of it. Types of interview also plays a significant role here: interview 2, which is an interview with only young people, has high usage.

Table 6-factors selected as significant for EI

Table 6. Factors selected as significant to the choice of "English insertion (EI)

Total N: 1177		Corrected mean: .042	
		%	N
Discourse Function			
Threat	.29	3.2	31
Exaggeration	.34	2.3	175
Insult	.26	1.5	65
Slang	**.83**	14.8	54
Joke	.49	4.1	121
Statement	.17	1.0	208
Euphemism	**.98**	68.2	31
Others	.30	1.7	291
RANGE	*81*		
Discourse Marker			
Discourse marker	**.76**		
No discourse marker	.53		
RANGE	*23*		

Not selected as significant: age, gender, topic, type of interview

Table 6 shows result for all Yoruba with English insertion (EI). This table shows that only discourse function and discourse marker play significant roles. Age, gender, and topic have no effect. For discourse function, euphemism is the highest, which is expected as English words are mostly used to replace words which are not allowed in Yoruba language or considered offensive. In this same vein, the insertion of English words also shows high usage for discourse marker.

Chapter 5

Data Analysis and Discussion

5.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses and attempts to explain the distribution of the six variants of sentence type found in codeswitching conversations among Yoruba-English bilinguals in St. John's: starting with English and ending with Yoruba (SEY), starting with Yoruba and ending with English (SYE), all Yoruba (AY), all English (AE), Yoruba insertion (YI) and English insertion (EI). This chapter is interested in finding out how and why each of the variants listed above is informed by speech acts (threats, slang, insults, jokes, exaggeration etc.) and topics being discussed. Also, the chapter aims to bring out how, in the broader sense, the aforementioned are related to identity creation in the speech community.

5.1 Starting with English, ending with Yoruba (SEY)

Here, the data shows that these bilinguals switch from English to Yoruba often and this SEY is favoured by the speech acts of threat, exaggeration, insult etc. as discussed below. From a general sociolinguistic perspective, bilinguals use this variant to index solidarity and power (Van Herk 2012, Eberhardt 2014). Speakers use this type of code switching with speech acts that can be taken to index affiliation, casualness, and intimacy (which can be broadly categorised as solidarity), and to display power relation.

Table (1) in chapter 4, shows that speakers' social characteristics, age, and gender, have no significant effect on the choice of this variant. Male and female, young and old, are equally

likely start sentences with English and end with Yoruba. Instead, Rather, for this variant it is discourse functions which perform an important role.

5.1.1 Discourse Functions

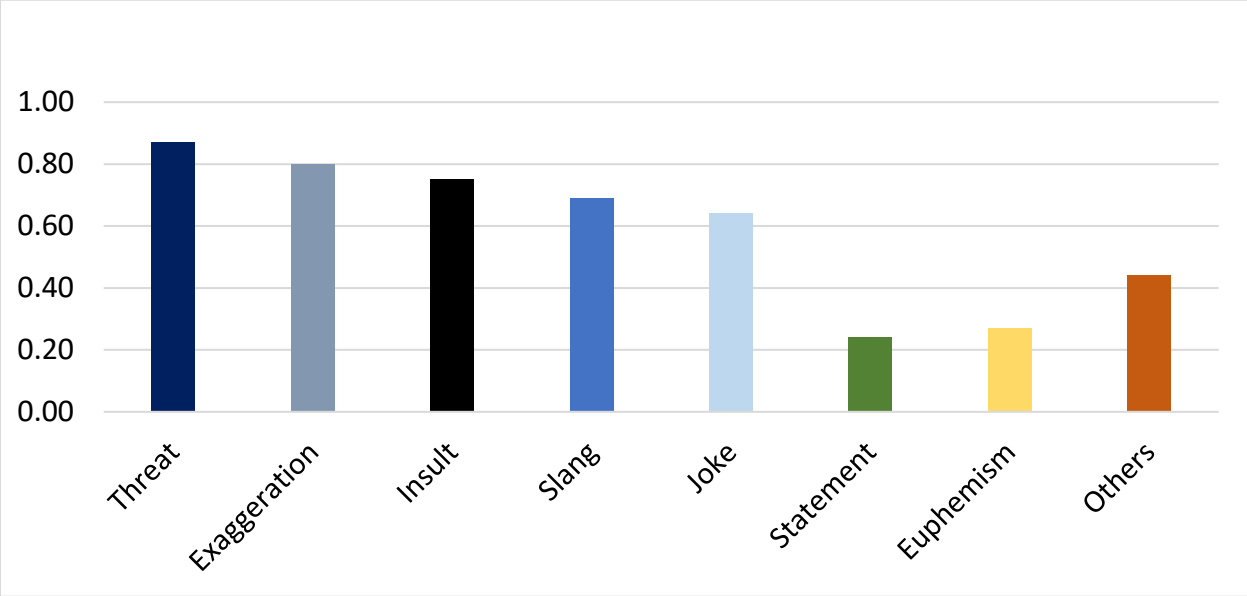

Figure 1- discourse function factor results for SEY

5.1.1.1 Threat

Here, we can see that threat has the highest favouring effect on SEY variant choice, with a factor weight of .87. Based on my knowledge as a native speaker of Yoruba and an active member of the speech community in St. John's, I observed that Yoruba-English bilingual conversations often involve threats, especially older speakers intimidating or trying to correct the younger ones, as seen in example (23).

(23) Mum: Mofe come, don't cry again okay, ***Oba moshi ma na wo naa.*** *(am2kc)*

'Mum: Mofe come, do not cry again okay, Oba, I will still beat you also.'

The power in such exchanges is often held by the older speakers. The example comes from a conversation between a mother (the power holder) and a son at the mall. Here, the mother was consciously switching to Yoruba for the overt threat, imposing discipline without running afoul of the law, which does not allow beating or physical abuse.

(24) Mum: I told you to stop jumping, stay right here with me

Son: No, I want to see that…

Mum: will you move here ***kin to fun e ni igbaju****(ka2om)*

*Mum: 'will you move here before I slap you****'***

Son: but I told you, I don't want to stay here, I want to see that

(pointing to something at to another store)

Mum: Don't stress me out, ***tori mo ma fi kan ran mo e ni, I*** *won't repeat myself, just stay here else* ***o ni feran ara****. What is your problem, I'm talking to you****, pada sibi yi, se e ti n dun awon ebi baba e ni****? (ka2om)*

'Mum: Do not stress me out, because I will pass my frustration on you, I will not repeat myself, just stay here else, you will not like yourself. What is your problem, I'm talking to you, come back here or your father's family members are suffering from ear defects?'

Example (24) is a longer, similar exchange, in which the mother seeks compliance from her son, while allowing him to preserve his negative face needs by switching to Yoruba for the threats.

According to Brown and Levinson (1987) in politeness theory, "A face threatening act is an act that inherently damages the face of the addressee or the speaker by acting in opposition to the wants and desires of the other". So, this Yoruba speech community, one face threatening act would be, literally, a threat, by parents or elders. Canadian law and convention may forbid

beatings or threats of beatings especially those considered not "transitory and trifling"[1] but in Yoruba culture, threat is seen as a way of bringing out the best in people (Osakwe 1999). To not beat or threaten the child in this case would be seen as pampering them.

5.1.1.2 Exaggeration

These bilinguals codeswitch to Yoruba rather than complete their sentences in English during exaggeration and emphasizing, perhaps for want of appropriate expressions to capture the exact feeling or words in English. They believe the Yoruba words capture it better. Most of the times these Yoruba words are idioms, perceived by Yoruba speakers as better driving home their points (Akanbi 2015). If literally interpreted into English, the intended force of the idiom would be lost.

> *(25) He has come to my house on many occasions in fact* ***o ti fe te omo adiye pa si*** *lemi(fw3hc)*
>
> > *'He has come to my house on many occasions in fact, he has nearly crushed all the chickens in my compound with his legs'*

Consider example (25) above, where the speaker aims to convince the addressee that someone had visited his house so often that he was tired of his presence. The speaker code-switched to a Yoruba idiomatic expression because this type of exaggeration cannot be fully captured in literal English expressions. And of course, only we Yoruba speakers are familiar with these idiomatic expressions.

[1] **Criminal Law and Managing Children's Behaviour**
https://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/rp-pr/cj-jp/fv-vf/mcb-cce/index.html

5.1.1.3 Insult

Insults also significantly favour the use of SEY code-switching. This factor shares a discourse intent with threat as these participants try to cut off potential overhearers or eavesdroppers (Bell 1984) from the conversations. Another reason for SEY during this context is that it lessens the effect of the insult, for example, body shaming will not attract a great offence in Yoruba as it will if the language used is English, so speakers consciously switch to Yoruba.

(26) Speaker *A: Did you know that girl,* ***omo to se ese soso yen****(ed1ew)*

Speaker *A: 'Did you know that girl the lady whose legs appear tiny when walking'*

Speaker *B: Hunnn oh yes, she wears sleeveless a lot that's true,* ***A rin ka n jabata ni***

Speaker *B: 'Hunnn, oh yes! She wears sleeveless a lot that is true, walking about aimlessly damages shoes' -****(wandering about is very bad)****' (ene1w)*

Speaker *A: Her behaviour is something else* ***radarada ni*** *(ed1ew)*

Speaker *A: 'Her behaviour is something else, it's rubbish'*

From the examples above, the speakers were talking about another colleague at work who was not present at the moment of conversation. During this interlocution, there were four workers present, two were Yoruba and the other two were not. The speakers were insulting a Yoruba woman and switched to Yoruba as a means of identity creation and to cut off the non-Yoruba folks' present. This in a sense is a display of ethnic affiliation. They did not want the non-Yoruba interlocutors to know they were insulting as this could generate ill feelings.

Based on the interviews and my native speaker intuitions as stated earlier, in the Yoruba culture insult is not a big deal or really taken to heart. It is most of the time seen as joking,

especially if the discussion is among friends and family members (Abiodun 1998). Insult among Yoruba speakers is so known and common in the speech of people that it is now becoming regular language in their daily conversations (Olumuyiwa 2016:296). This means Insult was used to index closeness and intimacy. In example (27) below, speakers threatened each other's positive face (Brown &Levison 1987), but the bilinguals intentionally switched to Yoruba when trying to insult as they will joke it off and laugh over it. However, if the statement were uttered in English, it could be attracting annoyance.

(27) Speaker *A: your tummy is getting bigger, do something about it(de2eh))*

Speaker *B: what do you mean? stop body shaming, I don't like it (ed1ew)*

Speaker *A: I'm not joking,* ***O mi nikun ni e*** *(de2eh)*

Speaker *A: 'I am not joking; you have got a big tummy full of water'*

Speaker *B: shut up,* ***ode*** *(ed2eh)*

Speaker *B: 'shut up, fool'*

Here, when the speaker mentioned her tummy being too big in English, she sees it as body shaming and felt offended, but when the same words were uttered in Yoruba, it was seen as less offensive and the addressee joked it off and also insulted the speaker back to show she was not offended any longer. I asked speaker B why she took offence to "your tummy is getting bigger" but laughed off the "omi ni ikun". She replied she did not know why, but she felt offended.

5.1.1.4 Slang

Slang is another speech act that has high usage with the SEY variant. Chen (2006) describes slang expressions as part of a language that is usually informal and out of standard usage and

may consist of both newly coined words and phrases and of new or extended meanings attached to established terms. Okoro (2018) in his analysis of slangy expression in Nigerian pidgin asserts that slangy expressions are a product of social forces and it is a creative use of language by Nigerians to satisfy communication needs. These bilinguals switch to Yoruba slang terms to satisfy their need at a particular point in time and also to prevent understanding by outsiders, as Olumuyiwa (1989) cited by Odogwu(2018:33) reports that slang is "a variety of speech characterized by newly coined and rapidly changing vocabulary used by the young or by social and professional groups for 'in-group' communication and thus tending to prevent understanding by the rest of the speech community". In other words, slang expressions among these speakers are a form of classified encoding which invariably isolates non-members of this speech community and indexes affiliation among the bilinguals, as observed in the examples below:

*(27) Guy must keep moving higher and **paali se Pataki** (pr5oc)*

'Guy must keep moving higher and paper is important'

*(28) She has tools, as in she carries front and back, **Ojo iwaju e dara, teyin gan o baje***

*'She has tools as in she carries front and her, her backside and frontside are very nice**'** (sl4kr)*

*(29) … I was so surprised when I was told, **ogbeni japa ni** (sl4kr)*

*'…I was so surprised when I was told as in, Mr., Flee'**- run away***

*(30) You really look beautiful today, **mo ko e je** (pr5oc)*

*'You really look beautiful today, I eat you' **- I like you***

*(31) But Canada **lo kami lowo ko** (ka2om)*

*'But Canada makes me fold my hands'- **render me powerless**'*

As seen in the example (27) above, **"paali**" in its literal meaning is "ordinary paper". However, metaphorically, the word is used by these Yoruba speakers to mean "foreign residency document", such as a permanent resident document or citizenship document. The word is often used by this speech community to hide information from non-members for fear of knowing why they are resident in Canada. The locution is just the literal meaning of the expression which is "paali se Pataki" (paper is important). The illocutionary aim of the switch to Yoruba here is to encode a message solely meant for speech community members. However, this use achieves the effect of identity creation. Yoruba speakers often feel "home-away-from-home" in Canada when such slangs as the ones above are used in conversations. Also, "japa" in (29) is just a street slang by young Yoruba people whose literal meaning can be associated with running away. The speaker used the word while discussing with a friend why a colleague at a particular place of work left his job. Instead of using the conventional word "salo" which translates "run away" in English, the speaker used the slang "japa" to create a kind of class identity. This is to show the quick, weird manner in which the fellow being discussed left his job as he reportedly disappeared without notice or resignation letter. The force here is still specialised encoding, but this time by the young Yoruba speakers. The term is particularly strange to the elderly Yoruba speech community members. The effect being created here is still that of identity creation among the young Yoruba speakers.

5.1.1.5 Jokes

Jokes are also important in this kind of CS because some of the words used as jokes in Yoruba language will lose their meaning when uttered in English. So, for the expression to be well

captured and appear funny enough, these bilinguals tend to switch to Yoruba. In doing this, appropriate lexicons are used to pass the messages across for addressees to laugh even when they already start the utterance in English. In the real sense, it is used just to make the jokes very funny as the English language may not fully portray the direct meaning that the people intend to bring out with the jokes. Friendships, intimacy, and casualness are indexed in this kind of speech act.

Examples

(32) Your presentation today was really good, I love the idea behind it, ***mo fo***

'*Your presentation today was really good, I love the idea behind it, I break' –* ***I am really impressed*** *(lo2eh)*

(33) Everything you are saying since morning is meaningless, I don't even understand you, ***so o ma mu nnkan bayi?*** *(ene1w)*

'Everything you are saying since morning is meaningless, hope you are not being intoxicated by alcohol'

(34) You have really done well today, ***omo re bi iyan*** *(ko2wr)*

'You have really done well today, good child like pounded yam' - ***A good child***

(35) which school are you talking about, he is attending ***jeile o si mi ni*** *(am2kc)*

'which school are you talking about; he is attending let the house have peace' ***day care***

In example (32) and (33) above, "mo foo o" is a slang cum jocular expression. It means the person really loved the presentation the addressee did during which the speaker was present. Equally, "se o ma mu nnkan bayi?" is a form of rhetorical question which literally means "Hope you are not being intoxicated by alcohol". If this is uttered in English, the humorous sense of the expression in Yoruba will be completely lost. In Yoruba, most jocular expressions appear in

form of digs which often are not meant to be taken seriously or regarded as a serious form of abuse.

5.1.1. 6 Euphemism, statement, and others

Statement and euphemism have low SEY usage, which means that in euphemistic expressions or bare statements of fact, participants do not use CS starting with English and ending with Yoruba. Yoruba language is rarely used to cover up harsh or unaccepted words as the language is full of taboo words and most often English words are used in form of replacement. Also, Yoruba is not mostly used for statement of facts or statement considered as official.

5.2 Starting with Yoruba, ending with English (SYE)

In SYE, discourse functions and topic of discussions are the significant factors while gender, discourse marker, and type of interview are not significant. More often, when these utterances start, Yoruba speakers tend to be colloquial (casual), but they switch consciously to English when they want to be serious or formal. This is a kind of style shift that, unlike casualness and affiliation associated with Yoruba, indexes social distancing. They switch to English from Yoruba intentionally when it appears the subjects of discussion require a tone of seriousness.

For instance, in the conversations below:

(36) Speaker *A: I don't know what he has to say, just go and see him, He is one of your daddies (ene1w)*

Speaker *B:* ***Jo fimi sile jare ,****I know he has nothing tangible to say, he just likes talking, I'm tired of those baseless talks… (de2eh)*

Speaker *B: 'please, leave me alone I know he has nothing tangible to say, he just likes talking, I'm tired of those baseless talks…*

Speaker *A:* ***Haaaaa, eberu olorun,*** *my sister, by the way, today service really made sense, I enjoyed the sermon…(ene1w)*

Speaker *A: 'Haa fear God! my sister, by the way, today service really made sense, I enjoyed the sermon…'*

As reflected above, speaker B responded to speaker A who urged her to see a senior fellow starting with Yoruba with a tone of familiarity in her request to let her be. However, the conversation switched to English when Speaker B was getting serious in a bid to give a reply to Speake A's request and justify why he would not see the man. Also, speaker A began her response colloquially "haaaaaa", asking speaker B to fear God in Yoruba with an exclamatory tone. She switched to English when she wanted to bring up the issue of the sermon from the service, which could consider as "official business".

Additionally, speakers often switched to English from Yoruba when they realized they were excluding non-speakers during a conversation context where non-speakers were present. Yoruba interlocutors momentarily got lost in Yoruba conversations, perhaps temporarily unconscious of the social setting they found themselves, only to realise they needed to accommodate non-speakers who at times appeared embarrassed by their exclusion from the conversations. Here, bilinguals moved from indexing affiliation to displaying accommodation.

(37) Speaker A: He proposed to his girlfriend last month in Nigeria, ***baba ti di oko iyawo***

Speaker A: 'He proposed to his girlfriend last month in Nigeria, the man has become husband-to-be'(ene1w)

Speaker B: ***ara e o bale mo****, always on phone, I am sure* ***pe ko le wait*** *to get the wedding done(ch1lm)*

Speaker B: 'he is so restless, always on phone, I am so sure he can not wait to get the wedding done'

Speaker A: ***ogaju Oko iyawo yawo*** *haaaa, Paida, don't mind him, he is on another level now, over working himself and always on phone talking to the babe. He is no*

longer here with us oo, we are only seeing him physically but otherwise, he is in Nigeria…. (ene1w)

Speaker A: 'so great, bridegroom, the bridegroom, Paida, do not mind him, he is on another level now, over working himself and always on phone talking to the babe. He is no longer here with us oo, we are only seeing him physically but otherwise, he is in Nigeria….'

Speaker C: I know right? Our dear brother is in Love…

Here, Speaker A and Speaker B were in conversation, switching between Yoruba and English, however, on realising that they were excluding Speaker C, Speaker A reverted to English, mentioning Speaker C's name as a way of apologising for excluding him from the conversation. Speaker C, who is a non-Yoruba speaker, was thus invited to the conversation

5.2.1 Age factor

Table 7-Age result for SYE

Table 7, Age result for SYE

Total N:1177		Corrected mean:.109	
		%	N
Age			
Old	**.57**	16.4	623
Young	.42	11.2	553
RANGE	*15*		

In SYE switching, age factor is significant, in contrast with the findings for switching to Yoruba (SEY). As reflected in the table (7), older people have greater usage than the younger ones**.** Though older people switch from Yoruba to English a little bit more than the younger people, both start their conversations in Yoruba consciously to create friendly, informal, and cultural atmosphere.

5.2.2 Discourse function

Just as in SEY, similar discourse functions of threats, jokes, exaggerations, insults, slang, euphemism, statement, and others affected the use of SYE.

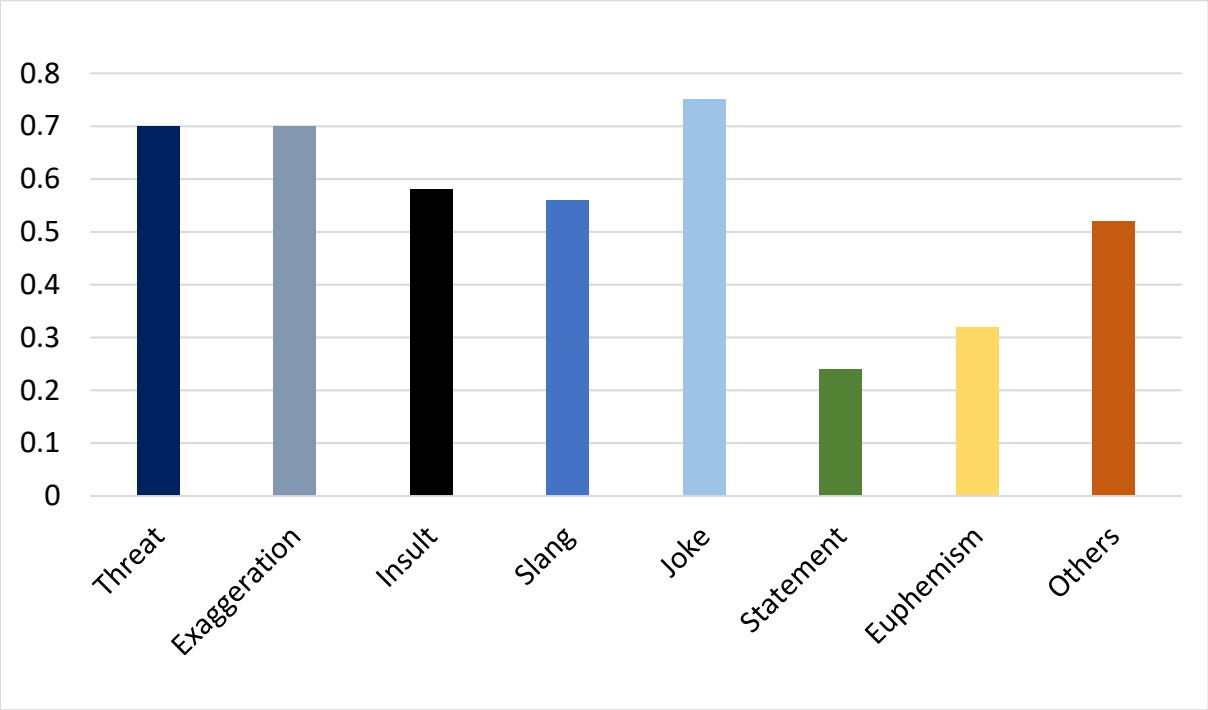

Figure 2-Discourse functions factor results for SYE

5.2.2.1 Threat

Just as in SEY, Yoruba speakers code-switch to threaten one another. However, Yoruba speakers tend to apply "stick and carrot" approach when switching from Yoruba to English. In other words, they threaten in Yoruba and pacify in English at the same time. In the example (38) below, the expression "Egba lo ma je" (You will be flogged) was used by the speaker to threaten the child while the expression in English "come over here and take cookies" was used to pacify the child. When asked why she switched to English, the speaker said she didn't want the child to cry, thereby attracting the attention of the general public, and thus using English

was a cover up for the threat used in Yoruba. The mother has damaged the child's face (Brown & Levinson 1987) in her threat expressed in Yoruba, and seeing the child felt threatened, she switched to English to pacify him.

(38) ***Egba lo ma je****,* ***sha****, come over here and take cookies (ka2om)*

'You will be flogged, just come over here and take cookies'

5.2.2.2 Insult

Though in SEY, insults are contained in Yoruba expressions rather than English expression, this is also the trend in SYE, showing that among these Yoruba bilinguals, insults are very common as observed in (39) though mainly jovially waived by the addressee. In example (39) below:

(39) ***Ogbeni gbe enu e so hun jare****, I'm not sure, you are alright. (lo2eh)*

'Mr. man, keep your mouth shut, I am not sure you are alright'

While insult is the motive here, the effect of switching to English language here is to strengthen the insult as the addressee may not feel the insult if expressed further in Yoruba, " I'm not sure you are alright" if uttered in Yoruba may not achieve the real aim of insult the speaker intended. Based on my observation on the field, I realised the speaker was angry and wanted to make the addressee aware that he was not joking around with him. Later, when I asked the speaker in informational interview, the speaker let me know that he was really angry at that point in the conversation.

5.2.2.3 Slang

As in SEY, the Yoruba portions of code switches are meant to construct identity and create ethnic group affiliation. In this example,

(40) ***Baba jara e*** *know the way forward and do the needful. (ch1lm)*

'Mr Man, wise up, know the way forward and do the needful'

"jara e" is street slang among the Yoruba. Here, the switch to English strengthens the slang term to make addressee know he is being serious. So, the discourse function of Yoruba slang terms in both SEY and SYE is the same, but the switch to English adds another discourse resource.

5.2.2.4 Jokes

Jokes also performed the same function as in SEY. The jokes are either in the Yoruba or English language.

(41) ***Omoge o po po po, o po yeye,*** *that is to say it is plenty (pr5oc)*

'Baby girl, it is so plenty, very plenty, it is plenty'.

Here the joke is both in the two languages as the speaker just translates what he said in Yoruba to English to make it funnier and it does add to the humor behind the joke as the addressee laughed so hard and was asking the speaker what is plenty, the speaker was making a joke about how elaborate and gorgeous she was looking that day.

5.2.2.5 Euphemism

Euphemism has a stronger correlation with SYE switching than with SEY because these bilinguals often switch to English to express words that are considered sacred or taboos in the Yoruba speech community. Words such as "death", "pregnancy", "female or male genitals" etc. are considered sacred and taboo in Yoruba culture (Bello 2014, Fakoya 2007, Olurankinse 1992) and therefore not appropriate in public conversations. In the examples below, the speakers switched to English to replace words related to death and sex**.**

*(42) Speaker A**: awon eleyi naa ti maa n se eto iku won si le** they even get their caskets ready(fm3ch)*

Speaker A: 'these people have plans about their deaths on ground, they even get their caskets ready'

*Speaker B: **eyin ile wa yen ni** where the burial home is, they burn in fact they incremate there and have service in the chapel there…(fw3hc)*

Speaker B: 'Behind our house there, where the burial home is, they burn them in fact they incremate there and have service in the chapel there…'

*(43) … **awon mejeji o le fowo soya pe** they are not sleeping together; it is obvious they have sex always (ed1ew)*

'…Both can't boldly say, they are not sleeping together, it is obvious, they have sex always.'

*(44) **anu e ti e maa n se mi** those breasts are too big for her. (ko2wr)*

'I do have pity on her, those breasts are too big for her.'

5.2.3 Topic functions

Another differentiating factor is the topic of discussion, which plays a role in this kind of codeswitching (unlike the findings for SEY code-switching) Switches do actually occur but are very tightly constrained and the switch to English is to discuss topics related to pregnancy, sex,

and death which can be broadly categorised as taboos (see also 5.2.2.5 above) as well as academia fall under domain-based lexical competency. These are fully discussed below under the AE variant.

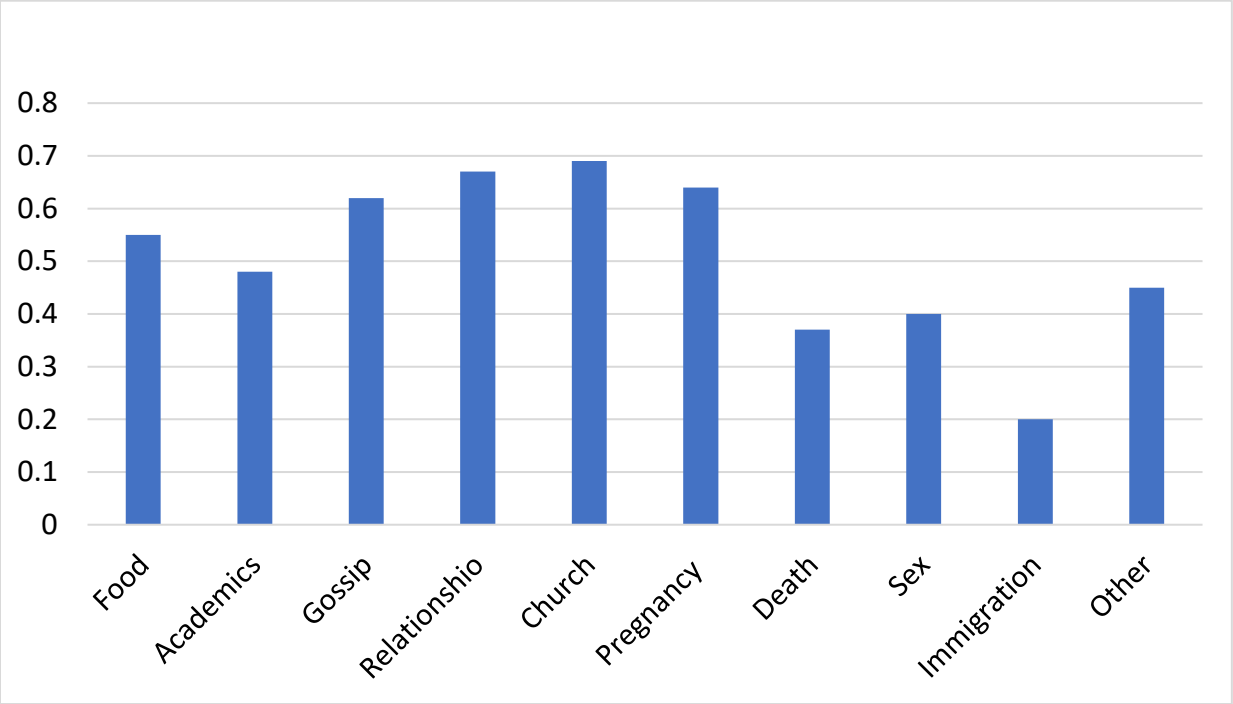

Figure 3-Topic function factors for SYE

5.2.3.1 Gossip

Gossip as a topic involves a discussion among interlocutors about a person or people in absentia. Often, gossip among Yoruba speakers attempts to deride or cast an aspersion on perceived negative behavior or habit of the party being discussed. In the example below, the interlocutors were discussing the negative habits of some people in the presence of non-Yoruba speakers. The switch start from Yoruba to English intentionally to exclude non-Yoruba speakers

from this part of the conversations. They started the switch in Yoruba to stop the non- Yorubas to understand then they switch to English even though the non- Yoruba speakers were aware that they were talking about someone, they do not know the extent to which the discussion is as most of the derogatory words are in Yoruba. This explains why major derisive words like "n fo" (jumping aimlessly), "sun pelu" (have sex casually with), "o kan maa n ri kiri" (she just walks aimlessly about) were expressed in Yoruba. The interlocutors here made sure non-Yoruba speakers did not understand who they were really discussing about. This becomes evident in Speaker A's expression "mi o fe so oruko e'' (I don't want to mention her name). In other words, for the Yoruba-speaking interlocutors to successfully carry out their gossip mission, switch to Yoruba from English, and occasionally back to English became necessary**.** Though these type of switches shows Yoruba to English, the topic strategy which is gossip here is strategically found in the Yoruba at the beginning of the sentence and the English is just use to water down what they are discussing from the non- Yoruba speakers.

(45) Speaker A: ***so, mo girl yen to ma n fo, to ma n fo kiri****, she put on sleeveless like this*

Speaker A: 'do you that girl that jumps aimlessly, she put on sleeveless like this'(ed1ew)

Speaker B: ***ti mi o mo boya*** *, if she attends to customers because* ***o kan ma n ri kiri ni. Mi o mo boya oni bra sef, ara maa n gbon ni,*** *so unserious (ene1w)*

Speaker B: 'I don't know, if she attends to customers because she just walks aimlessly, I don't know if she owns a bra, she is so restless, so unserious…'

Speaker A: ***on sun pelu boyfriend TL****, mi* ***o fe so oruko e****, in this very place(ed1ew)*

Speaker A: 'she is sleeping with one of the TL's boyfriends, I don't want to mention her name in this very place'

*Speaker A****: rara, ko i ti lo,*** *the one I'm talking about.* ***Bobo yen de tun sun pelu obirin meta ninu*** *this call center. (ed1ew)*

Speaker A: 'no, he has not gone, the one I am talking about'. The boyfriend has slept with 3 ladies in this call center'

5.3 All English (AE)

With this variant, the significant factors are gender, age, discourse marker, discourse functions and topics of discussion. According to Fishman (1972), codeswitching by topic seems to lie between situational and conversational codeswitching. Topic itself, he maintains, is incorporated in a situational category. He notes, for example, that a topic in a panel of discussion is situational. In SYE segments here, topics are both situational and conversational in codeswitching. The topics such as food, academics, relationships, church, pregnancy as reflected in the table below are situated in home, education, marriage, religion and family settings respectively. It is equally conversational because topics in SYE codeswitching are reflections of language preference and inclinations on the part of the interlocutors.

Table 8-significant factors for AE

Table 8, Significant factors result for AE

Total: 1177		Corrected mean:.184	
		%	N
Gender			
Male	**.58**	36.4	553
Female	.42	25.5	605
RANGE	*16*		
Age			
Old	.35	30.2	553
Young	**.67**	34.5	623
RANGE	*22*		
Discourse Marker			
No discourse marker	*.61*	36.9	911
Discourse marker	*.17*	7.5	252
RANGE	*44*		

5.3.1 Age and Gender

As seen in table (8). above, gender and age are selected as significant constraints on the use of AE sentences. Males use more AE than females**.** Back home in Nigeria, English is seen as a weapon of attraction and anyone aspiring to attain an enviable status must possess a good command of English. Obiegbu (2014) and Olusoji (2012) conclude that the only path to wealth, influence and power is through knowledge of English. The better English you have, the more you attract people. Women's rates of use of AE are lower than men's, which is at variance with sociolinguistic literature that posits that women are more likely to use high-status variants (which English presumably is in this context) (Labov 2001). This I observed a lot during the interviews, when there are young women in the conversation, the young men use more of English and put more effort to be eloquent unlike when no female is present in the conversation and this was obvious in all of the interviews.

For age factor, younger speakers use more AE than older ones. This is presumably because younger ones feel more comfortable in English because they are predominantly students who are being taught in English. More often, they like to discuss academic matters, where the preferred language is all English. Also, they tend to showcase their skills and intelligence in English to impress one another.

5.3.2 Discourse Function

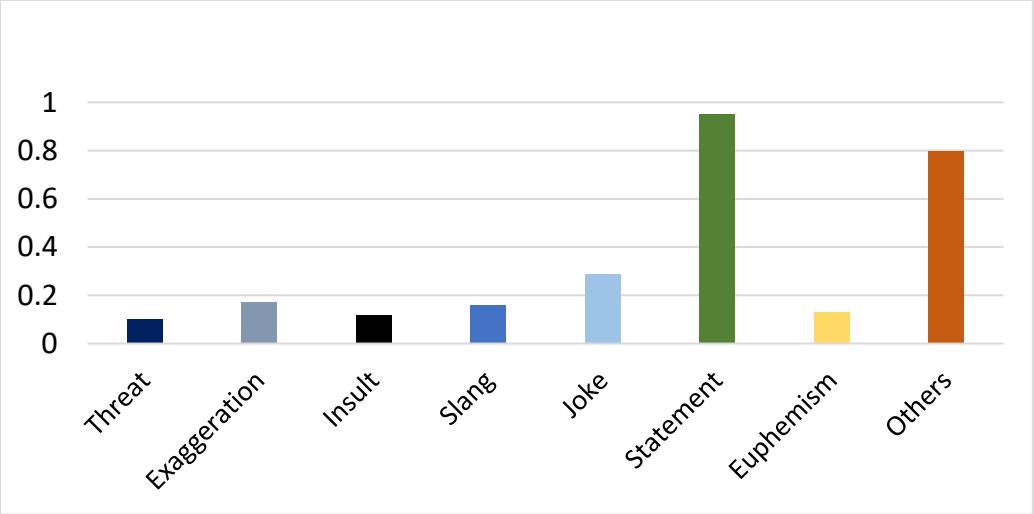

Figure 4-Discourse function factor results for AE

For discourse functions as seen in figure (4), threats, exaggeration, insult, slang, and jokes disfavour AE sentences. The reason for this is that Yoruba speakers tend to use all English for formal purposes. The evidence for this is found in the high factor weight for statement as a function, the highest in the table. Yoruba speakers mainly use all English to discuss important topics and not for functions such as threats, exaggeration, insult, slang and jokes. For "others" which include interrogation and discipline, there is equally a high favouring factor weight. In other words, all English conversations among the Yoruba bilinguals are mainly for official purposes or serious discussion.

5.3.3 Topic factors

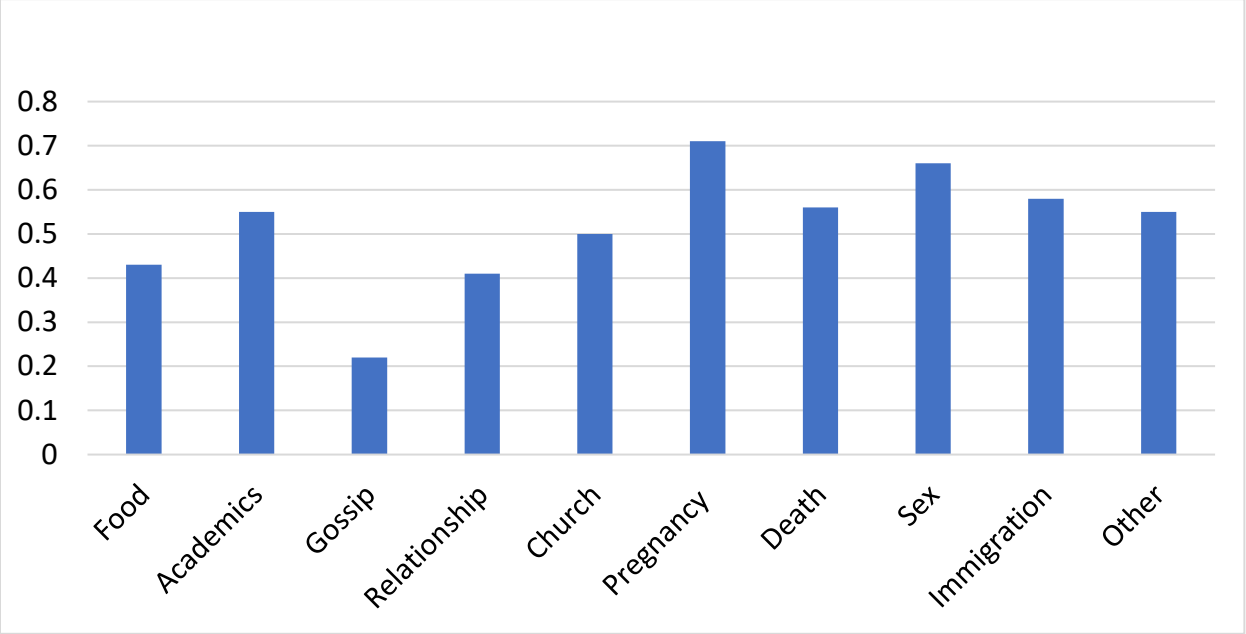

Figure 5-Topic factor results for AE

We stated in the SYE section that bilinguals switch to English to discuss important topics and showcase their English vocabulary competence. Thus, the finding in figure 5 is not surprising. For academics, church and immigration as topics of discourse, all English becomes imperative due to problems associated with lexical choices and transliteration, and because speakers felt more comfortable discussing the topics in English having been trained officially in English on those topics. For pregnancy, death and sex, Yoruba language forbids discussion of such topics in public as they are seen as taboos. Hence, the use of English by the interlocutors was inevitable as English language gives room for usage of such taboo words. However, this variant was disfavoured by the topics of gossip, relationships and food.

5.3.3.1 Church

Church topics fall under the situation of Christian religion. However, the use of All English here is conversational and based on lexical competence as the speakers are much more inclined to lexical choices on church matters in English than in Yoruba as Christianity is associated with

English Language. This, for instance, explains the interlocutors' preference for the English forms of words like "baptismal", "baptize", "Redeemed", "backslide", and "sermon".

> *(46) Speaker A: … I am not joking, I don't understand you, you are now backsliding, just join the baptismal class for this year. Every worker in Redeemed are expected to be baptize before joining the workforce, its just that they bend rules outside Nigeria…(ene1w)*
>
> *Speaker B: … they told me in Joyce Meryer's sermon that going to church is just the basic or baby entry to Christianity, it's your individual life that matter, if we are looking for God in corporate gathering, you will not find him, see I'm tired of religion.(de2eh)*

5.3.3.2 Death

Death is another topical factor favouring AE among these informants. Apart from the fact that terms associated with death are often avoided in Yoruba language because they are sacred in nature, many Yoruba speakers often like to use English words when it comes to death and terms associated with it because they have more terms to express death issues in English than in Yoruba. For instance, Yoruba lacks a one-word translation for "will". The closest expression to the word is "Iwe ipin ogun" (document detailing sharing of property). This is one reason why the topic of death forced a switch from Yoruba to English. Fishman (1972:439-440) argues that topic regulates language choice because certain topics are handled "better" or more appropriately in one language than on another in particular multilingual contexts: "some multilingual speakers may 'acquire the habit' of speaking about topic x in language x particularly because that is the language in which they are trained to deal with this topic, particularly because they (and their interlocutors) may lack the specialised terms for a satisfying discussion of x in language y, partially because language y itself may currently ack as exact or as many terms for handling topic x as those currently possessed by language x, and partially because it is considered strange or inappropriate to discuss x in language y."

> *(47)* Speaker A: *… signated authorities and its likes. Its well o. I like employers, they make provisions for everything because they believe anything can happen any time, (fw3hc)*
>
> Speaker *B: even with us death, accident insurance is mandatory, you can not opt out. (fm3ch)*

Speaker *A: Insurance is very good but its just with our people we do not plan it, I think our faith doesn't carry it, when you have burial insurance, you tell them the kind of burial you want.(fw3hc)*

Speaker *B: …That's true, it's part of this training, those that would have gone ahead to book in funeral home with their insurance, so once they passed, the funeral home takes charge because they already register with them…(fm3ch)*

5.3.3.3 Academics

As with previous topical factors, the use of AE when discussing academics is both situational and conversational, relating to the domain-based lexical competence of the speakers. Again, the switch can relate to the language in which speakers are officially trained to deal with the topic, the environment in which they find themselves, and a desire for brevity of expression. Many academic terms in Yoruba are phrasal and cannot be expressed in single-word terms. As seen in the example below, words like "midterm", "studying", "Engineering", "medical school" and "school" can only be translated to "Aarin sa ikeko" (between period of learning), "kika iwe" (reading book), "Imo ero Oyinbo" (knowledge about white technology), "Ile iwe ikeko isegun Oyinbo" (school for learning Western medicine) and "ile iwe" (house of book) respectively.

(48) (i). Speaker A: when was the midterm breaks and the exams are just all over the place, I am not well prepared, studying is not an easy task(pr5oc)

Speaker B: Engineering is not a joke, and this is just your second year(sl4kr)

(ii) Speaker A: … The child we are talking about, He has run down last last, he is no longer here (ko2wr)

Speaker B: no wonder, I have not been seeing him (sl4kr)

Speaker A: They sent him out of school, he was unable to finish his studies, he was planning to go to medical school before he started misbehaving (ko2wr)

5.3.3.4 Sex

Topics related sex comes to the fore when speakers' discussions turn towards relationships and marriage. Unlike in academic and church matters which are lexical, or vocabulary based, sex as a topic in Yoruba culture is treated with utmost restraint as it is a taboo to mention the word or expressions associated with it in public. Yoruba people believe that sex is very private and should be treated as such (Salami 2006). Armed with this knowledge, Yoruba speakers often switch to English completely from Yoruba to avoid the embarrassment such expressions or terms denote in Yoruba. Also, and presumably related, there seem to be more terms associated with sex in English than in Yoruba. As was the case for academics, translating sexual terms into Yoruba requires phrasal expressions. For example, words like "sex", "knack" (slang for sex), "marry", "blowjob", "raw things", "nakedness", "kissing" and "shower" can be translated to "Ibalopo okunrin ati obirin" (sexual intercourse between male and female), "ibasepo lori ibusun" (sex on the bed), "Se igbeyawo pelu" (do wedding with), "gbigbe nkan omokurin si enu" (putting man's sexual organ in the mouth), "awon ohun ti a ri bi o se wa" (things seen as they exist), "ihoho omo eniyan" (nakedness of humans), "ifi enu ko enu" (putting mouth out to mouth), "wiwe"(taking bath) respectively. It can be concluded that the speakers opted for English expressions on sex topic first to avoid obscene pictures such would have painted in Yoruba and second, to minimize the long sentence constructions the equivalent of such words would have required in Yoruba.

(49) Speaker A: when she got married to teddy, that was when I gave up. (ka2om)

Speaker B: her body is not stone now, so sex was needed at that point (de2eh)

Speaker C: …they knack now and they show it, that is so ridiculous (am2kc)

Speaker B: she married the same person? (de2eh)

Speaker B: before nko, the same person, she has been giving him blowjob steady now

Speaker D: …with those views especially the private views that shows the raw things, you pay a lot to view those scenes, you pay to see where they are having their shower, see nakedness, kissing, sex and all sorts… (ko2wr)

5.3.3.5 Pregnancy

Speakers' preference for shifting to English from Yoruba when discussing pregnancy is directly linked to the fact that the term, "pregnancy" is equally a taboo word in Yoruba. In Yoruba culture, pregnant women and things related to them are not often discussed in the open due primarily to danger associated with exposing them to the public (Aworinde et al 2019, Odejobi 2013). The pregnancy stage, Yorubas believe, is a secret state for women for avoidance of evil occurrence at this stage. People get to know only when the pregnancy has reached an advanced stage. Due to the foregoing, speakers consciously resort to English when mentioning this term. The issue of brevity does not arise here as pregnancy is easily translated to Yoruba's "oyun" though some terms relating to pregnancy are not found in Yoruba culture at all. For instance, the terms "baby shower" and "scan" are not available in Yoruba are these activities are alien to Yoruba culture. The speakers had no choice but to resort to English for want of such expressions in Yoruba.

(50) Speaker A: she will just put the load of baby shower on me. See Jeff wife is pregnant o. she is heavy now. (ka2om)

Speaker B: pregnant! good news, happy for him (am2kc)

Speaker A: she was in the hospital one day now. I told you, I saw her the other day, she told me that she is not feeling alright that she needs to go to hospital.(ka2om)

Speaker C: that is true, there was a day she was just sleeping even throughout the programme, the pregnancy should be around 4 months now…, we have many pregnant women, enough baby showers this year. Even Linda, I'm so sure, she has gone for scan, but she is not just disclosing the gender

Speaker A: don't even mind her, she is lying, she sent it to the group that she doesn't know the gender and will not be finding out until the baby is born but she has forgotten that she told me before that she will be having a girl. What's my own I have told people to buy girl stuffs before I saw her message on the group….(ka20m)

5.3.3.6 Immigration

Speakers' use All English during discourse on immigration seems to be related to lexical gaps (Fishman 1972). It is no news that Yoruba speakers in Newfoundland are intent on acquiring permanent status in Canada. Hence, discussions on this immigration topic are not uncommon. However, that many of the terms related to immigration are lacking in Yoruba makes the switch from Yoruba to English inevitable. In the example below, speaker A uses English to be able to use English terms like "processing" and 'Permanent Residency' which lack direct translation in Yoruba. Speaker B switched from Yoruba to English to avoid difficulty in finding Yoruba terms for ''express entry" and "provincial nominee". These terms are only available in English because Yoruba people do not have any program like express entry, permanent residency, provincial nomination, Atlantic Immigration Pilot Program, among others.

(51) Speaker *A: … I should have started processing my PR (lo2eh)*

Speaker *B: Are you going for express entry or the provincial nominee (ch1lm)*

Speaker *A: I should pass this exam first, I don't know why we have to write this exam in the first place, we have been studying here for over three years so why writing the exam again, are we not communicating in English? The Atlantic pilot program is a good one but not all companies are into it…(lo2eh)*

Speaker *B: … we have got no choice, but the good thing is once you pass it very well, it makes the journey easier, getting PR here is not that stressful compare to other provinces. Here, the province can nominate you as well(ch1lm)*

Speaker *A: I know right(lo2eh)*

Others

Just as in immigration and death topics, a search for better terms and expressions in English precipitates a switch from Yoruba to English among these speakers, for example in discussions of politics. In the data below, the speakers reverted to English when they was about mentioning 'Trump', 'social media', 'Joe Biden', 'Africa', 'church', 'Kuwait', among others. The need to mention some of these names may have triggered a return to All English.

Politics

(52) Speaker *B: … that thing was planned for next week, because they were not supposed to say it…(Fw3hc)*

Speaker *A: …He is old, and you see that position and that's why I'm laughing for Joe Biden what is he coming to do. He is older than trump. To ba je Africa, ani Buhari darugbo, (if it is African now, we would say Buhari is old), even Buhari is younger. This seventy old years people, don't want to leave this life for younger people (ko2wr)*

Speaker *B: Haa, O se mistake ("he made mistake") (Fw3hc)*

Speaker *A: … is not mistake, he did favour for the chosen ones, you know that thing will perplex the church, you know those that have PR are not much in church. One of our sisters in London, he worked in home office. One day, she was like let me worship in this church very close to my house. In the church a pray about everybody sitting on my paper, blind them,(prayers in English) was made, the lady said and she went outside the church and was like laughing for a long time… and that was the time I applied for my US visa…(ko2wr)*

In conversations on the topic of food and relationships, the situation is almost the same as the above. Speakers' switches from Yoruba to English were often as a result of search for better terms in English, willingness to isolate non-speakers from conversation and/or non-availability of one-word interpretations of equivalent terms in Yoruba though they have lower favouring value.

Moreover, the fact that gossip as a topic ranks lowest in usage with this variant lends credence to our submission earlier in our discussion on the previous variant that Yoruba bilinguals prefer to switch to Yoruba or when gossiping to English. This invariably explains the low rank gossip occupies in All English in figure (5) above.

5.4 All Yoruba (AY)

For this variant, the data shows that speakers are using it to perform the same function as SEY. As earlier posited, the speakers associate emotions with Yoruba language. As stated in Olumuyiwa (2016:294), Copi (1953:35) posited that language is used either to evince the

speaker's feelings or evoke certain feelings (positive or negative) and of course it may do both. The choice of different expressions has to do with the speech context and the respective roles the interactants take on. In my data, Yoruba serves expressive functions and is used to communicate feelings, emotions, or attitude.

Table (5) in chapter 4 shows that for this variant, age and gender play no significant role. This contradicts my hypotheses that younger speakers will have lower rates of use of this variant. The data shows that though they use more AE, they are not using less AY. This is presumably because they are showing solidarity and affiliation by "doing being Yoruba". When interviewed, they responded by saying they were showing that they belonged to the community and just wanted to make sure that they kept in touch with their roots. One of the participants explained further that his parents ensured that she speak Yoruba whenever she was talking to any Yoruba speaker. This fact was established as one of the elders, during the sociolinguistic interview, kept interrupting two younger members of the community who were engaging in conversation, asking one of them to speak more Yoruba to her friend who, though she understands Yoruba, is not as fluent.

The significant factors for this variant are discourse functions and discourse marker. In discourse markers, AY sentences are dispreferred when there is a discourse marker.

5.4.1 Discourse function

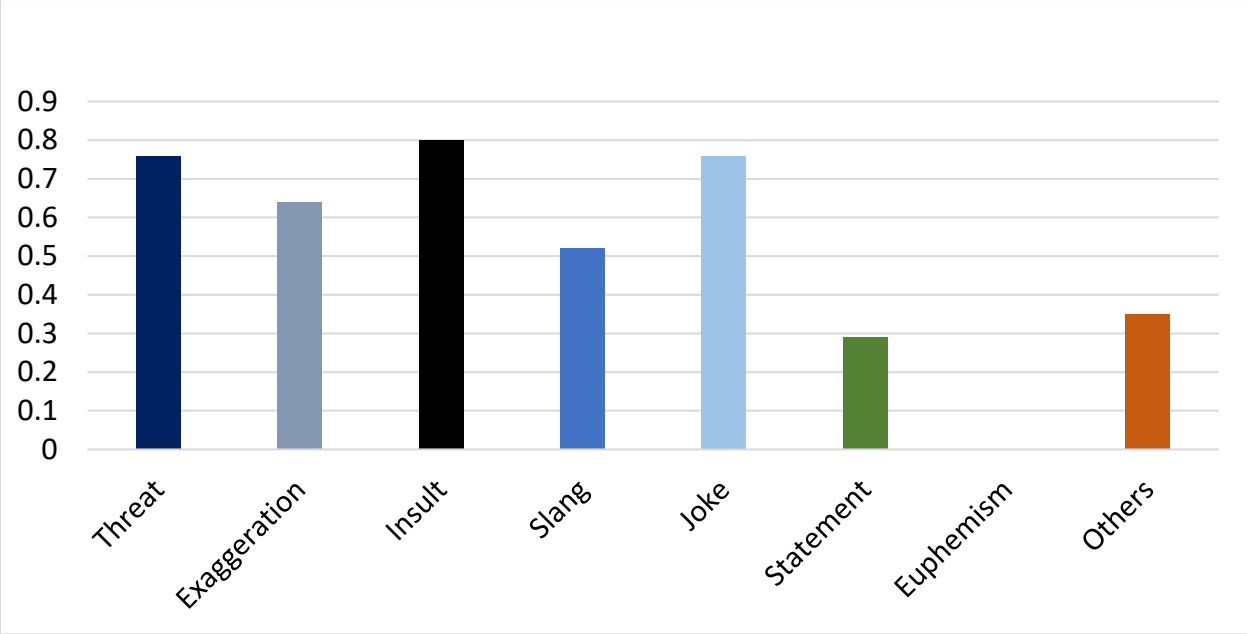

Figure 6-Discourse function factors result for AY

From the figure (6) above, it is evident that discourse functions play prominent roles in the choice of AY sentences, as threat, exaggeration, insult, joke, and slang show a positive correlation. This strengthens our earlier discussion that these speakers associate emotional speech acts or topics with Yoruba. The result here is further reinforced by a similar finding for SEY switching, discussed above. As expected, statements showed low usage of AY because these bilinguals prefer AE with that speech act.

However, as the figure (6) shows, euphemism leads to no usage of AY at all. This is mainly because bilinguals switch to English anytime they need to use taboo expressions. This was established by Prince (1960:66) in his work "Curse, Invocation and Mental Health among the Yoruba." He explained that Yorubas will avoid the use of a word or get a word as euphemism rather than use a word they believe if mentioned will draw evil them or will be frowned at in the public. In the same vein here, the bilinguals will rather codeswitch to English to discuss taboo words in Yoruba.

Examples for AY

Threat

(53) ***Daddy e fi won sile. E gba ni won je****. (am2kc)*

'Daddy, leave them, they need spanking'

Slang

(54) ***Egbon mi, mo ya gboju*** *(sl4kr)*

'my brother, I look away'

(55) ***ki lo n sele?*** *(fm3ch)*

'what is happening?'

Insult

(56) ***Ode ni omo olori gbeske*** *(pr5oc)*

'This boy is stupid, with his unserious head'

Exaggeration

(57) ***emi ti o jata, emi yepere ni****. (fw3hc)*

'if you don't eat hot peppers, you won't live long'

5.5 Yoruba Insertion (YI)

Now, we move on to a specific subset of bilingual behaviour, the insertion of single words or compounds from one language in another. We begin with Yoruba insertions in All English utterances. These insertions are significantly constrained by discourse function, topic, discourse marker and types of interviews. Each of these factors is briefly discussed below.

5.5.1 Discourse Marker

Table 9-Discourse marker result for YI

Table 9 Factors result for YI

Discourse Marker	**.86**	49.6	252
No discourse Marker	.39	7.5	911
RANGE	*47*		

In All English conversations among Yoruba bilinguals, it is not uncommon to find Yoruba insertions in form of discourse markers. These often cannot be semantically interpreted as they tend to perform grammatical functions such as marking questions, showing emotions such as surprise, fear, joy, sorrow, and signalling a change in speech direction, among others. For instance, the "haa Yepa" example (58) is a marker which was uttered by the speaker as she expressed surprise at the number of the bags. The marker "baje" indicates high emotions the speaker attached to the action of being freaked out by something interlocutors were talking about which informed the use of the Yoruba pronominal "O". Also, markers were used to signal a pause in conversations. The markers "bi kini" (like what), "mi o" (I don't), "iyen naa" (that also) were inserted in separate conversations by the speakers when pausing for additional clauses. Speakers also insert Yoruba discourse markers to end conversations. "gan" and "jare" in example (58 1v, vi) below are markers signalling the end of the conversations. They have no real meanings but were inserted by the speakers for emotional purpose.

(58) (i)Haa Yepa, 500 bags! that's huge o (am2kc)

'oh waoow, 500 bags, that's huge'

(ii) It freaks me out baje (ene1w)

'I'm so freaked out'

(iii) I'm telling you, Package ni (lo2eh)

'I'm telling you, it just package'

(iv) are you calling her every day, bi kini all over her gan? (ene1w)

'are you calling her everyday, like what all over her?

(v) there is one that left, iyen naa bird of the same feather (fm3ch)

'where is the one that left, that one too, they are bird of a feather'

(vi) I don't know what I want jare (pr5oc)

'I really do not know what I want'

5.5.2 Discourse functions

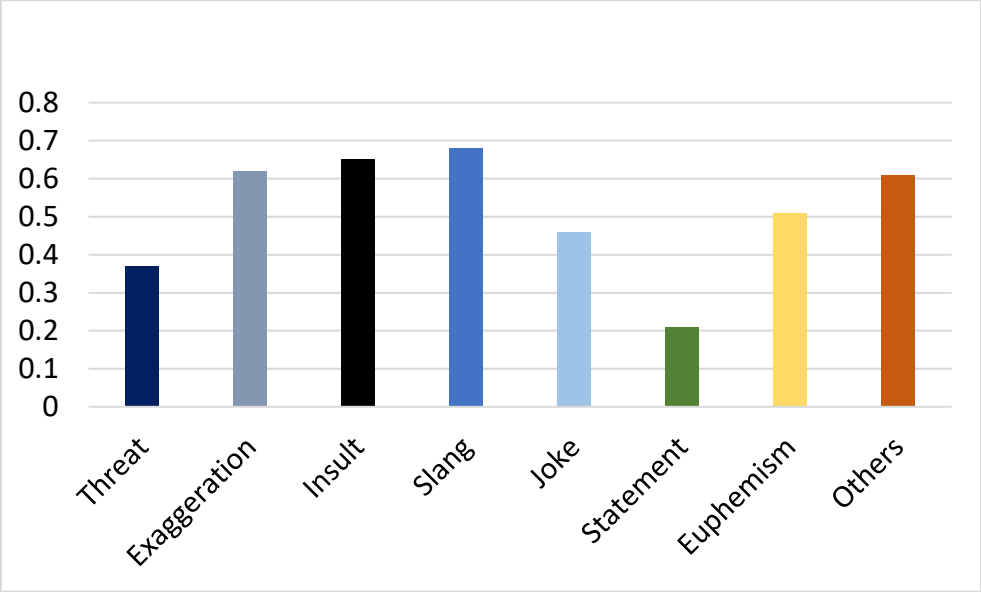

Figure 7-Discourse functions factor results for YI

Just as we have seen in other variants discussed so far, discourse functions significantly constrain Yoruba insertions in All English utterances.

5.5.2.1 Exaggeration

One speech act favouring YI is exaggeration. In the example (59) below, the speaker was expressing how much a girl loved him. He inserted the word "bajebaje" (to a fault) in order to exaggerate. In example (60) the speaker inserted the word, 'Oluwa' (Lord) with long particle 'ooooo" to exaggerate how sweet the bole (roasted plantain) in Port Harcourt was. In Southwest Nigeria, when the elongated particles "oooo" are added to words, it shows

exaggeration. Here, "Oluwa", with the added particles, is tantamount to saying "My Looooooord" in English. In example (61), "tipetipe" (which literally means 'age immemorial') was used by the speaker to mean an action ceased existing just a couple of weeks earlier.

(59) gerrahia both of you. Even Esther, when she saw fine boy, she was just all over me, as the Yoruba sweet angel boy, she like me ***bajebaje*** *(lo2eh)*

'get out of here both of you, even Esther, when she sees fine boy, she was just all over me as the Yoruba sweet angel boy, she likes me to a fault'

(60) You know that PHC bole. ***Oluwaaa ooooo,*** *Well I do make it here. I used my oven to bake the plantain and it's almost like the real deal… (ene1w)*

'you know that port Harcourt roast plantain, O Lord ooooo, well I do make it here. I used my oven to bake the plantain and it's almost like the real deal…'

(61) they have stopped it ***tipetipe*** *(fm3ch)*

5.5.2.2 Insult

Insults also favoured Yoruba insertions. In example (62) the speaker used the word "radarada" (meaning nonsense) as a form of insult to the addressee who was misbehaving when being asked for an interview. She used the word, well understood by the addressee, to paint a very negative picture of how unserious the addressee was behaving. She knew using English equivalent word would not achieve her illocutionary aim of getting him to be serious. The speaker in example (63) was referring to a lady whom he had asked for a joint visit to Nigeria. He claimed that the lady, rather than agree to go with him, was behaving like "elemi geisha" (someone with very weird behaviour). The word, "elemi geisha" was intended to paint a picture of the kind of strange spirit dwelling in the person. The English version of the word could not have painted this picture.

(62) I don't blame you; I blame myself for asking for interview, ***Radarada,*** *come here and let's move to business… (ene1w)*

'I do not bame you; I blame myself for asking for interview, nonsense, come here and let's move to business'

(63) You sit down there? We have to go home together, I told her, but she is doing like ***elemi geisha*** *(lo2eh)*

'You sit down there? We have to go home together. I told her but she is doing like someone with strange spirit'

(*64) if we are going, let me dress up then as I don't have time for your* ***rakatia****, you are the real definition of* ***Alabosi*** *(de2eh)*

'…if we are going, let me dress up then as I don't have time for your rubbish, you are the real definition of gossip'

(65) Esther you like ***wahala*** *(ch1lm)*

'*Esther you like trouble'*

(66) ***elejo wewe*** *,you talk too much; did she ask you all those questions? (am2kc)*

'Talkative, you talk too much; did she ask you all those questions?'

5.5.2.3 Slang

Slang is another speech act favouring Yoruba insertion. Like in the examples below, "paali" (Permanent Residency documents), "Omoboy" (Child boy), "kudi" (money), "eeyan mi: (my man) are Yoruba words inserted as a form of slang. The effect here was to create solidarity among the bilinguals. In other words, the speakers wanted to create an atmosphere of Yoruba speech community with the slangy expressions inserted in all English conversations**.**

(67) …but as you know now, guy must keep moving higher and ***paali*** *is very important. I decided to get a graduate diploma in Canada, MUN was one of the cheapest I found,* ***Omoboy*** *that has no* ***Kudi,*** *so I moved to newfondland…* *(lo2eh)*

'… *but as you know now, guy must to keep moving higher and Permanent Residency documents is important, I decided to get a graduate diploma in Canada, MUN was one of the cheapest I found and as a young man without money, I moved to newfoundland..'*

(68) Don't mind him ***eeyan mi****, how much are you owing me? (ene1w)*

'Do not mind him, my man, how much are you owing me?'

5.5.2.5 Others

Among the other functions, Yoruba insertions were used for question marker, exclamation and to mark a change in discourse topic.

(69) Esther don't mind him. Stay here I will get you something from Marybrowns or what do you want? Ogbeni, you ***nko****?* ***(question marker)*** *(ch1lm)*

Esther, do not mind him, stay here I will get you something from Mary browns or what do you want? Mr, what about you?

(70) ***Se****, you know I love you now (lo2eh)*

'Hope, you know I love you'

5.5.3 Topic factors

In this segment, topics of discourse, as reflected in figure (8), constrain Yoruba insertions. Earlier in our analysis, we observed under SYE and AE variants that topics of discourse precipitated the choice of English as the speakers intentionally switched to the language when important issues were being discussed. This we attributed to the fact that the bilingual speakers acquired skills in English usage formally from classrooms and were, as a result, accustomed to expressing issues of serious concerns in English. In this same manner, these issues of serious, often personal concerns are pivotal in this Yoruba insertion variant as the expressions here are predominantly English aside from the Yoruba insertions.

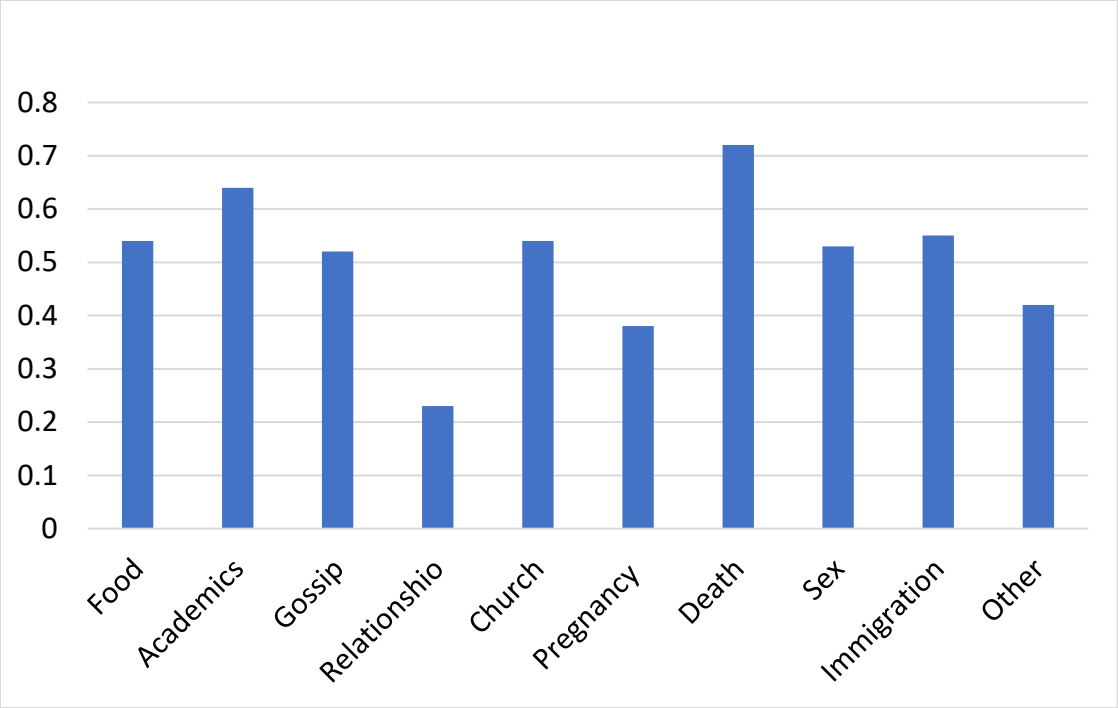

Figure 8-topic function result for YI

That topics of discourse are important here might be connected to the fact that the All English expressions rubbed off on the inserted words. If topical factors are significantly attributed to predominance of English expressions in this variant, what then is the role of Yoruba insertions?

As can be seen in the examples below, inserted Yoruba words mainly perform discourse functions. “eeyan mi” (my man), for instance, is a slang term inserted by the speaker who was concerned about how much her interlocutor owed her. In the second example, “omoboy” and “kudi” were used by the speaker as a form of slang while discussing immigration and academic matters. Equally, “paali” (Permanent Resident Document) was inserted by the speaker to shield the meaning of the word from non-Yoruba speakers whether present or not as seen in examples (67-68) repeated in (71-72) below.

> *(71) …but as you know now, guy must keep moving higher and **paali** is very important. I decided to get a graduate diploma in Canada, MUN was one of the cheapest I found, **Omoboy** that has no **Kudi,** so I moved to newfondland… (lo2eh)*
>
> > *‘… but as you know now, guy must to keep moving higher and Permanent Residency documents is important, I decided to get a graduate diploma in Canada, MUN was*

one of the cheapest I found and as a young man without money, I moved to Newfoundland..'

*(72) Don't mind him **eeyan mi**, how much are you owing me?*

'Do not mind him, my man, how much are you owing me?' (ene1w)

5.5.4 Types of interview

Types of interview is another factor that is significant to the choice of this variant, but there is no specific role that type of interview played in their choices of languages based on the data.

5.6 English Insertion (EI)

Just as there are Yoruba insertions in All English utterances, there are equally English insertions in All Yoruba utterances. However, the English insertions in this variant are constrained only by discourse functions and discourse marker, as seen in table (10). These are highlighted briefly.

5.6.1 Discourse Marker

Table 10-discourse marker result for EI

Table 10, factor result for EI

Discourse marker	**.76**
No discourse marker	.53
RANGE	*23*

Certain English insertions are used by the speakers as discourse markers. In most cases, just like Yoruba discourse markers, the English discourse markers are often exclamations showing surprise, fear, joy, among others, as well as interrogations which merely show the speakers' attitudes during conversations. For example, "really?" in the example below expresses surprise. The speaker was shocked to see the person she was addressing in the conversation.

(73) *Really?* ***O ti pada wani***

'Really, so you are back' (fm3ch)

5.6.2 Discourse Functions

English insertions are correlated with discourse functions as figure (9) indicates. However, only euphemism and slang have high usage, while other factors like threat, exaggeration, insult, joke, and statement have low usage. This can be supported with our earlier explanation that English language is associated mainly with serious and official issues; as a result, English insertions perform few discourse functions.

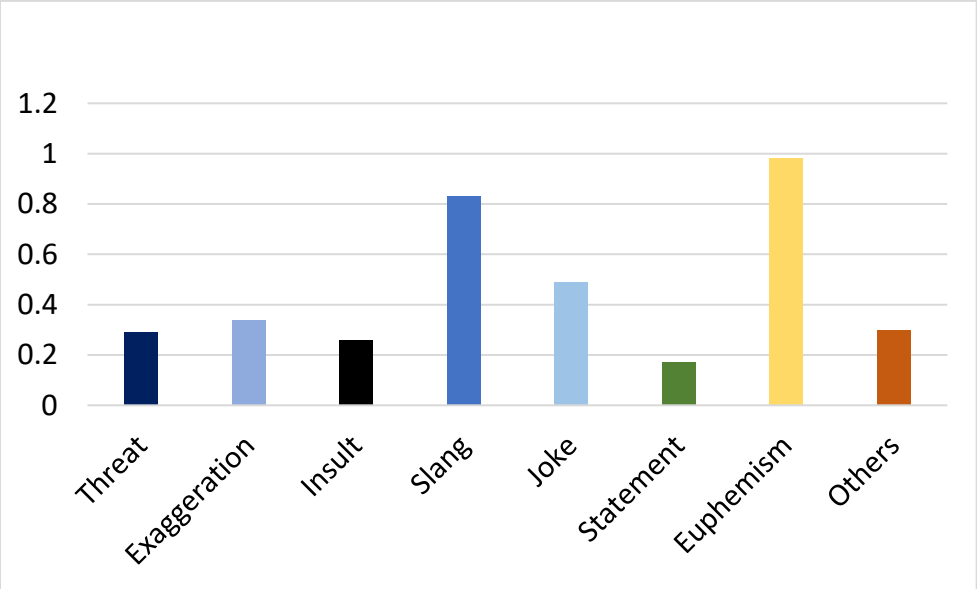

Figure 9-Discourse function factors result for EI

For euphemism, which has the highest usage, English insertions were used by the speakers to replace words whose corresponding meanings or translations in Yoruba are prohibited. For instance, **"private parts**" and "**rape**" in the examples below are used to lessen the effect it would have given in Yoruba language which will be frowned at in the public space.. Also, English

insertions are associated with the speech acts of jokes and slang. An instance of joke in the data below is "**love dovey"** which the speaker inserted to describe the act of being in deep love.

(74) ***Oni ranu lomo yen, iwo kuwo e po,*** *private parts* ***e nikan loku ko gbe saye*** *(fm3ch)*

'*The girl is a wayward child, she dresses provocatively, the only thing left for the world to see is her private parts.'*

(75) ***Won soro nipa*** *rape* ***naa o, o ti e su mi*** *(fm3ch)*

'*they discussed about rape as well, I am tired of the whole situation'*

(76) ***Ko mo pe baba ti di*** *love dovey (ch1lm)*

He is not aware that you are deep in love'

(77) ***se won ma lo*** *honeymoon nibe (am2kc)*

'*are they having their honeymoon there'*

(78) ***mo mope oun ni, mi ri oju e nitori*** *reflection* ***ni*** *(de2eh)*

'I know he is the one, I can't see his face because of reflection'

(79) ***boya o n sun pelu awon oga*** *at the top (ed1ew)*

'Maybe she is having sex with the managers'

Chapter 6

General Discussion and Conclusion

6.1 Discussion

Several broad themes emerge from the description of findings in chapter 5 of this thesis. These include the frequency of code switching, the clustering of variants into categories based on the symbolic role of Yoruba, and the role of discourse requirements in the choice of variant.

First, CS among these bilinguals is a very common phenomenon; it is not an occasional occurrence among them. It is basically their way of talking as they mix languages in virtually all their speech events. I observed during my interviews that CS occurred even in somewhat formal domains such as workplace or classroom, once there was more than one speaker of the Yoruba language. At times, they even got carried away forgetting that there were other people who were not speakers of the language in their midst. The quantitative data confirms this impression. I collected over 8 hours of recordings from 12 participants and analysed over 2000 sentences. There is a mixture of English and Yoruba in 1,179 sentences. This buttresses the fact that CS is an everyday occurrence in the speech of all these speakers.

As discussed in previous chapters, CS in this study was categorised into six types. The interactional factors of speech act type and topic influence the kind of CS used in a conversation. That is to say, there are discourse and pragmatic effects on the choice of CS variant. Based on these findings, we can broadly classify the six possible variants into two categories based on the referential, expressive and phatic functions (Yankova 2013).

Firstly, the variants that construct identity by indexing solidarity among speakers pattern together. These are switching from English to Yoruba (SEY), using all Yoruba (AE) or inserting one or two Yoruba words (YI). These types of CS among these speakers were used for specific conversational/social purposes such as declaration of social roles/ identity (Chan 2004). These bilinguals were engaging in ethnic affiliations, thereby creating identity.

All three of these CS variants were favoured by speech acts of threat (displaying power) and in jokes, insults or slangy expressions, to cut off the prying public who were not members of the speech community. This is a form of identity construction by the speakers who intentionally isolate non- members because according to Hymes(1974) SPEAKING model, they do not understand the ends and share the norms of interactions. So, each time in conversation a speaker used these kinds of CS, it was a way of connecting with the speech community. Also, according to Torio (2004), people code switch for the purpose of conforming to an in-group or community norm. It is not a different case with these bilinguals when they code switched between English and Yoruba. When they switched to Yoruba, expressive functions were being served. They used Yoruba in the conversations to vent or communicate their feelings, emotions or attitudes and to reveal the speakers' feelings (positive or negative) or both (Copi 193: 35).

To refer to culture-specific ideas, these bilinguals switched to Yoruba, inserted Yoruba or made all the conversations in Yoruba. For instance, in cases related to threat, insult, joke, exaggeration etc. as explained in section 5.1.1**,** it was used for direct functional purpose which was to get someone to do something for you as seen in the discourse function of threat. This is culture specific because Yoruba itself is seen as an abusive language, therefore, threat, insults and joke are seen as part of daily life of people back home and are not regarded as serious

offence. But in other climes like in Canada here, threat and insult can be seen as a great offence and may attract jail term.

Perhaps the most surprising result of the analysis of CS variants among these bilinguals is the social distribution of All Yoruba (AY) sentences. Based on my experience in Nigeria as a native speaker, I presumed that young people would have fewer AY sentences, but that is not the case here. They did have more All English (AE) sentences, but at the same time they did not have fewer All Yoruba sentences. This, as explained in chapter five, means they were 'doing being Yoruba' at the same time. As members of the minority group in Canada, bilinguals' switch to Yoruba reflects their cultural identity. They liked associating themselves with persons who share similar bilingual identities (Myers-Scotton 2002). In other words, they were showing social identification with their speech community.

The second category of variants that pattern together are Switching from Yoruba to English (SYE), All English (AE) and insertion of one or two English words in Yoruba utterances (EI). These kinds of switch occur mainly because of topic of discourse, although discourse functions are also significant with SYE and IE. In other words, discourse functions affect the choice of most variants (all except All English). For the most part, it is Yoruba words in the conversations that serve affiliation or solidarity functions, as explained above. When speakers switched to English or used AE, they more often switched for serious and official purposes, or to economise expressions as the words to capture some ideas may be too long in Yoruba language. As earlier established in chapter five, switching to English was intentional and premeditated as speakers tried to rephrase or restructure their conversations. For instance, in switch to English under SYE with threat as a discourse function, the mother was seen switching to English, first to pacify the

child after threatening him in Yoruba and second, to avoid attracting unnecessary public attention.

Topic of discourse is the major constraint favouring this category of variants. There are certain topics which are not acceptable in Yoruba conversations. These bilinguals switched to English to discuss words described as unpleasant or taboo and used the English words as euphemisms. For certain topics that are completely avoided in Yoruba community (e.g., death and pregnancy), bilinguals switched to English. Yoruba in these specific circumstances would be frowned at, considered irregular and tagged sociocultural insensitivity (Toribo 2004:136). Though there are several euphemized expressions in Yoruba, this community found it easier to replace such Yoruba words with English expressions rather than racking their brain to get the inoffensive equivalent expressions in Yoruba.

Switch to English is also based on associations that speakers have built between languages and domains (Fishman 1972). When topics like immigration, church, and academics were discussed, speakers used more English because it is the language in which they have more vocabulary and lexical competence in these domains. Furthermore, these topics lack equivalent words in Yoruba. For example, most of the terms associated with documentation of immigrants are not readily available in the Yoruba language and speakers have no choice but to use English for the appropriate terms. As a minority group in Canada, these bilinguals are fond of switching to the dominant language of the environment in which they live when discussing matters relating to their immigration. This Myers-Scotton (2002: 36-37) describes as “economic opportunity” and socio-economic mobility”.

Also, switching to English is sometimes indicative of communication accommodation. When the speaker realises that he is creating a kind of language isolation for a non-member of the community, he quickly switches to English to ensure he is not social distancing or cutting off non-members of the speech community.

Another surprising of the result of the analysis in this category is the slight favouring effect on AE for male speakers if we treat English as the language with overt prestige among the speakers. As discussed in chapter 1 and 2 of this thesis, English language to these speakers expresses power and status, it is socially acknowledged and highly valued among them. This is their orientation from Nigeria. Thus, I predicted that females should use more English as the language has enjoyed more privilege and women are likely to use more prestige forms. But here, the reverse is the case, as younger men use more switching to English, to prove to their female counterparts that they possess good English grammar and therefore stand a better chance of wooing them, whereas the female gender uses the same rate whether there are male or female present in the conversation.

6.2 Conclusion

The data collected for this research contribute to Yoruba variationist sociolinguistics. The analysis centred on conversations by Yoruba-English bilinguals in Canada. The research generated new knowledge of how identity is expressed, constructed and negotiated by these bilinguals in Canada.

This is a quantitative and qualitative study that analysed audio recordings of an informal group of English- Yoruba bilinguals in Canada. The study analyses CS from the stance of how CS is used as an important index of ethnic affiliation. This study takes into consideration not only the linguistic factors, but also social and interactional constraints. The mechanisms by which these constraints influence code switching were determined through observation and through informative interviews. Also, variationist and speech act theory help us understand the social reality and the motivation for code switching among these speakers, which align with individual knowledge of their current environment and of their Yoruba background.

The thesis established that CS into Yoruba is motivated by lexical gap and identity factors; demonstrating allegiance or affiliation with other Yoruba heritage speakers and culture and switches to English is motivated by cultural factors such as inhibition and prohibition in Yoruba culture to talk publicly or openly about certain topic such as sex and death as well as switches to more formal topic such as those related to academics, immigration and religious institutions. It reveals that CS behaviour is affected by discourse functions and topics.

This research has shown that for these speakers, Yoruba is the “language of the soul”, used for solidarity and identity creation, while English is the formal language of function and euphemism.

However, my research approach has shown that among these bilinguals, it is truly code-switching itself that is used for identity creation. Switching to Yoruba or English among these bilinguals reflects cultural identity. Using their native language and English allows speakers to project themselves as people with identities associated with more than one languag

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Additional readings & External Links

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Appendix

Ethics approval.

MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY

Aina, Esther Oluwakemi <eoaina@mun.ca>

ICEHR Clearance # 20192756-AR – EXTENDED

1 message

dgulliver@mun.ca <dgulliver@mun.ca> Mon, Apr 6, 2020 at 8:42 AM
To: "Aina Esther(Principal Investigator)" <eoaina@mun.ca>
Cc: "Van Herk Gerard(Supervisor)" <gvanherk@mun.ca>, dgulliver@mun.ca

MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY
Interdisciplinary Committee on
Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR)

ICEHR Approval #:	20192756-AR
Researcher Portal File #:	20192756
Project Title:	*Code Switching and Identity among Yoruba- English Bilinguals in Canada*
Associated Funding:	Not Funded
Supervisor:	Dr. Gerard Van Herk
Clearance expiry date:	**April 30, 2021**

Dear Miss Esther Aina:

Thank you for your response to our request for an annual update advising that your project will continue without any changes that would affect ethical relations with human participants.

On behalf of the Chair of ICEHR, I wish to advise that the ethics clearance for this project has been extended to April 30, 2021. The *Tri-Council Policy Statement on Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans* (TCPS2) requires that you submit another annual update to ICEHR on your project prior to this date.

We wish you well with the continuation of your research.

Sincerely,

DEBBY GULLIVER
Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR)
Memorial University of Newfoundland
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MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY

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ICEHR Number:	**20192756-AR**
Approval Period:	April 24, 2019 – April 30, 2020
Funding Source:	Not funded
Responsible Faculty:	Dr. Gerard Van Herk Department of Linguistics
Title of Project:	*Code Switching and Identity among Yoruba - English Bilinguals in Canada*

April 24, 2019

Miss Esther Aina
Department of Linguistics
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
Memorial University of Newfoundland

Dear Miss Aina:

Thank you for your correspondence of April 12 and 23, 2019 addressing the issues raised by the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR) concerning the above-named research project. ICEHR has re-examined the proposal with the clarification and revisions submitted, and is satisfied that the concerns raised by the Committee have been adequately addressed. In accordance with the *Tri-Council Policy Statement on Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (TCPS2)*, the project has been granted *full ethics clearance* to April 30, 2020. ICEHR approval applies to the ethical acceptability of the research, as per Article 6.3 of the *TCPS2*. Researchers are responsible for adherence to any other relevant University policies and/or funded or non-funded agreements that may be associated with the project.

The *TCPS2* requires that you submit an Annual Update to ICEHR before April 30, 2020. If you plan to continue the project, you need to request renewal of your ethics clearance and include a brief summary on the progress of your research. When the project no longer involves contact with human participants, is completed and/or terminated, you are required to provide an annual update with a brief final summary and your file will be closed. If you need to make changes during the project which may raise ethical concerns, you must submit an Amendment Request with a description of these changes for the Committee's consideration prior to implementation. If funding is obtained subsequent to approval, you must submit a Funding and/or Partner Change Request to ICEHR before this clearance can be linked to your award.

All post-approval event forms noted above can be submitted from your Researcher Portal account by clicking the *Applications: Post-Review* link on your Portal homepage. We wish you success with your research.

Yours sincerely,

Kelly Blidook, Ph.D.
Vice-Chair, Interdisciplinary Committee on
Ethics in Human Research

KB/lw

cc: Supervisor – Dr. Gerard Van Herk, Department of Linguistics