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Editorial note

The 21st volume of the SOAS Working Papers in Linguistics announced its call for papers in 2021 when both editors were doing their MPhil at SOAS. Ambitiously, we thought we could publish the volume in the same year, but our field trips were prioritised. Thus, this volume comes two years after the announcement of the call for papers and the 20th volume, with us both deep into our PhDs after fruitful fieldwork in Kenya (Jelpke) and Palau (Vita).

As before, the volume features the work of SOAS graduate students, faculty, and alumni. The six papers in this volume feature work on historical linguistics, semantics and pragmatics, language documentation, and sociolinguistics – from language attitudes to family language policy. This volume is blessed with a wide range of languages represented, with African languages featuring in three papers, and others focusing on Mandarin Chinese and the Tukanoan languages of South America.

The first two papers deal with aspects of negation from different perspectives. The first paper by Dunn focuses on the historical reconstruction of two parallel semantically negative verbs in a number of Tukanoan languages of South America. Xue and Jiang then discuss the quasi-logical use of *yòu* (又) 'again' in naturally occurring Mandarin Chinese conversation and note its possible interpretations in a negation context.

The next two papers focus on languages of the African continent and their journeys. In particular, they deal with attitudes of speakers towards African languages that emerged through contact: Lubumbashi Swahili, and Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE). Carson focuses on the attitudes of local speakers in Lubumbashi, DRC, while Nwoda investigates attitudes towards NPE in Coventry, UK.

The editors of the 20th volume Ọlátúnjí and Lovestrand come with different topics. Ọlátúnjí investigates the language management practices of the first and second generations of the Yorùbá community in London, offering the first small-scale study of the language management practices of a London speech community not extensively studied. Lovestrand's review of Chelliah's (2021) "Why Language Documentation Matters" provides not only critical comments about the field of language documentation in general, but also concrete recommendations on how the book could be used by academics and beyond.

As with the 20th volume, each contributor gave feedback on one other submitted paper, and in addition we recruited another person to give expert feedback for each paper. We did not anonymise the review process, and we would like to thank

the reviewers for their insightful and productive feedback. We would like to thank each of the reviewers who gave their own time to be part of this process: Christopher Lucas, Chara Vlachaki, Yewa Ogunseye, Selena Hong, Kendall King, and Bryan Banks.

SOAS Working Papers in Linguistics is an unfunded, volunteer-run, open access publication. We thank each of the contributors for their sustained efforts through multiple rounds of comments and proofreading, and for their understanding and patience throughout the editorial and formatting process.

Tom Jelpke and Vasiliki Vita
Editors

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To not have or to not be: Negative Verbs in Proto Tukanoan

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Abstract
A number of Tukanoan languages of South America are noted for their parallel semantically negative verbs ‘to not be’ and ‘to not have’. This paper reconstructs the history of both forms, showing that they developed independently as complex forms first in Proto Tukanoan (‘to not have’) and then in Proto Eastern Tukanoan (‘to not be’), and also proposes two negative particles present in these proto stages of the language family: **bã* (Proto Eastern Tukanoan) and **p’e* (Proto Tukanoan). These results will be discussed in the context of two negative cycles: the established Negative Existential Cycle and the recently proposed Privative Cycle.

Keywords: Tukanoan, Proto Tukanoan, negative existential, privative, non-standard negation

1. Introduction

The sentence “He was hairless”, which expresses being without something, demonstrates privative negation.[1] This is a type of non-standard negation which is conceptually similar to a negative existential construction, expressing the absence of something (Veselinova 2013). In the Tukanoan languages of the Amazonian basin in South America, negative meanings of this sort are given through two negative verb forms: the negative existential ‘to not be’ and the privative ‘to not have’. Although a verb with a negative existential meaning is found in nearly all the Tukanoan languages today, its form in Eastern Tukanoan (ET) differs greatly from its form in Western Tukanoan (WT). Moreover, its form and meaning in WT show more similarity with a privative verb found in only three languages of the ET group.

The aim of this paper is to consider whether a diachronic path of development can be reconstructed to an earlier stage of the language, and whether these forms show evidence of cyclic regeneration, a common characteristic of negative constructions worldwide. The similarities between these verbs have been noted on numerous occasions (Stenzel 2018: 180), and there has been some attempt to address the diachronic developments of such verbs within individual languages, such as Ramirez (1997: 168–169) on Tukano, as well as some discussion of the negative existential in relation to the existential verb (see Malone 1988, and Stenzel 2018 on Kotiria and Wa’ikhana). However, this is the first time that an attempt at reconstruction has been made of both verb forms to the level of Proto Tukanoan.

The context of the Tukanoan languages, their history and subfamilies will be given in **2**. **2.2.** will present the current conversation on negative cycles and non-standard negation: of particular relevance for this paper are the Negative Existential Cycle (Croft 1991) and the Privative Cycle (Rybka & Michael 2019; Van der Auwera & Krasnoukhova 2020).

[1] Thanks to Matheus C.B.C. Azevedo and Alejandro García Matarredona for their help with translations, and to Martine Bruil, Joey Lovestrand, and Chris Lucas for their valuable comments.

Following this, the data will be presented in two parts, discussing first the negative existential form found in ET (**3.1.**) and then the negative verb found in WT and some ET languages (**3.2.**). **4** offers a summary and discussion of the results, with particular reference to the negation cycles, before the conclusion is given in **5**.

2. Background

2.1. Tukanoan languages

The Tukanoan languages form a language family of around 29 languages, some twenty of which are still spoken in Colombia, Brazil, Ecuador, and Peru (Chacon 2014). There are two main geographical groupings: the languages gathered in the Vaupés river basin on the Colombian-Brazilian border; and the languages on the Ecuadorian-Colombian border. One language, Máíhɨ̃kì, is separated from both groups and is found in Peru. As will be shown, these geographical groupings broadly correspond to the proposed internal classification of the family tree, which has at least an Eastern branch and a Western branch. The map in Figure 1 shows only living languages.

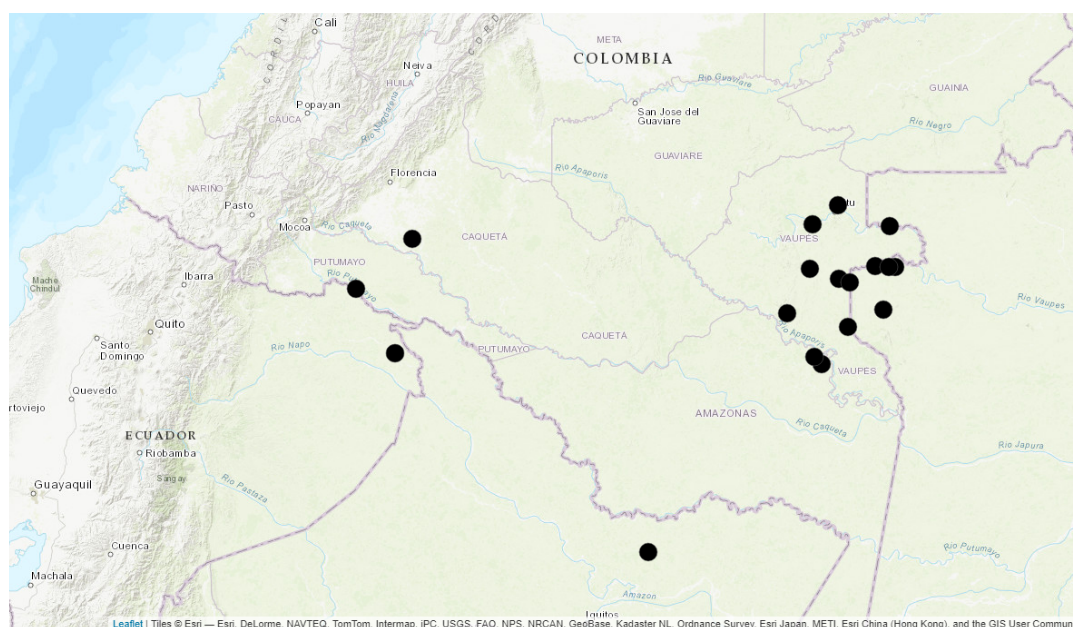

Figure 1: Map of living Tukanoan languages (Created with Glottospace (Norder 2022))

Internal classifications have been so far based on lexicostatistics (Waltz & Wheeler 1972) and phonological reconstructions (Chacon 2014), although more recent work has focused on computational approaches (Chacon & List 2015). The results have varied between a three branch classification (Waltz & Wheeler 1972; Barnes 1999) and a two branch classification (Mason 1950; Chacon 2014; Chacon & List 2015). The three-branch model proposes Eastern, Western, and Central branches. The Eastern branch is the largest branch with twelve languages, split further into three subgroups. The Western branch contains four languages over two subgroups, while the Central branch contains Kubeo and (in Barnes' (1999) classification) Tanimuka-Retuarã. More recent work favours the two-branch classification (see Figure 2), which groups the family into Eastern and Western Tukanoan. Eastern Tukanoan encompasses those languages which were classified as ET or Central Tukanoan under the three-branch model, while the WT branch encompasses the remaining five languages: Kueretu, Máíhɨ̃kì, Koreguaje, Siona, and Sekoya. In all

models, the position of Kubeo is the most disputed: Waltz and Wheeler (1972) argue for its independence from the ET branch based on lexical similarity with Siona (WT), however Chacon (2014) considers it as part of Western-ET, and Chacon and List (2015) consider the language to be under ET, but independent of any further subgrouping. This paper will follow the two-branch model, bearing in mind the discussion on the position of Kubeo between Chacon (2014) and Chacon and List (2015) where relevant.

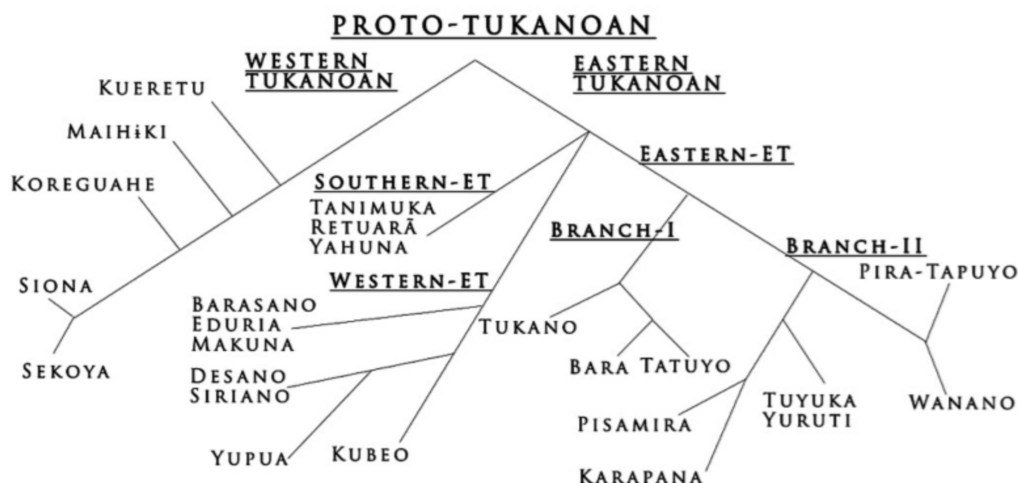

Figure 2: Proto Tukanoan as proposed by Chacon (2014, 282)

The history of the Tukanoan languages is one of language contact, although the history of this differs between the ET and WT languages. WT languages may have been relatively isolated from other Amazonian languages, being closer to the Andean foothills; ET languages, on the other hand, have a long history of contact with the Arawakan languagesand smaller language groups in the area, such as Nadahup and Kakua-Nukak (Chacon 2013). Despite this, there is a high level of shared vocabulary across the whole family. Waltz and Wheeler (1972) show that Siona shares around 65-80% of its vocabulary with languages of the Eastern branch,[2] and within the ET branch, shared vocabulary is over 80%. Reconstructions have not attempted to date the Proto-Tukanoan family, however Chacon (2013) proposes a tentative time depth of 2000 – 2500 years based on the archaeological record and comparison with diversification within Indo-European.[3]

Table 1 gives the fourteen languages considered in this paper, with the relevant ISO code and the sources used.[4] The names used below are those used throughout, although widely used alternatives are given in brackets. It was not possible to include every Tukanoan language, in part due to lack of an available description, although Pisamira (ET: Herrera Molina and Portilla Quintero 2016) was discounted due to the apparent lack of the relevant verb forms.

[2] They did not compare languages within the WT branch with each other.
[3] Given this, the difficulties of comparing diversification between two language families and differing rates of change should be borne in mind.
[4] All data is taken from these sources unless otherwise indicated.

Table 1: Tukanoan languages and sources

Eastern Tukanoan	
Tatuyo (tav)	Bostrom (1998)
Tukano (tuo)	Ramirez (1997)
Kotiria (Wanano) (gvc)	Stenzel (2013)
Wa'ikhana (Piratapuyo) (pir)	Stenzel (2018)
Karapana (cbc)	Metzger (1981)
Tuyuka (tue)	Barnes (1994)
(Tanimuka-)Retuarã (tnc)	Strom (1992)[5]
Barasana-Eduria (ban)	Jones and Jones (1991)
Kubeo (cub)	Chacon (2012)
Desano (des)	Miller (1999)
Siriano (sri)	(Malone 1988)[6]
Yurutí (yui)	(Malone 1988)
Western Tukanoan	
Máíhɨ̀kì (Orejón) (ore)	Farmer (2015)
Koreguaje (coe)	Cook and Criswell (1993)
Sekoya (sey)	Johnson and Levinsohn (1990)
Siona (snn)	Bruil (2014)

2.2. Negative verbs

Before moving forward with the data, it is first necessary to understand the terms which will be used here, and to give the context of what is already known about negative existential and privative constructions.

The forms under consideration have been referred to in this paper as a negative existential meaning 'to not be' and a privative form meaning 'to not have'. Croft (1991) considers existential predication to refer to the presence or absence of something, although the form discussed here can also refer to the existence of an identity or attribute, or to possession, and there is overlap with the semantics of the privative form. It is not surprising that these semantic concepts overlap: the difference between negation of existence and of possession can be viewed as a difference in the totality of absence: while negative existentials typically refer to a total absence, negation of possession and location refer to an absence within a defined space. In practise, the overlap is even greater, partly because the expression of total non-existence in languages is rare cross-linguistically.[7] Both negation of existence and of possession are often found as types of non-standard negation, defined by Van der Auwera and Krasnoukhova (2020: 91) as anything diverging from the "non-emphatic negation of a lexical main verb in a declarative main clause".

Following Veselinova (2013), the negation of statements of existence is often achieved with a non-standard strategy, which share semantic and morphosyntactic similarities cross-linguistically. Earlier work by Croft (1991) proposes a three-stage Negative

[5] This description is of the Retuarã variety of Tanimuka-Retuarã, and therefore will be referred to only as Retuarã.

[6] Data taken from this paper refers only to the negative existential, and therefore Siriano and Yurutí are not included in the discussion of the privative verb.

[7] Thank you to Chris Lucas for highlighting this point.

Existential Cycle, in which (1) negative existential predication is formed with the standard verbal negator, (2) it becomes distinct from and coexists with standard verbal negation, and then (3) comes to be used in place of standard verbal negation and is reanalysed as a standard negative form, being bleached of its existential meaning. This highlights the relative instability of negative constructions, also evidenced in the more widely known Jespersen Cycle (Van der Auwera 2009), in which double negation develops through the emphasis of standard negation.

Also within the semantic field of absence is privation, which relates to being without something. As indicated above, this has a conceptual overlap with existential negation, and although it is included in the discussion of negative existentials by Veselinova (2013), privation has not been widely studied, so many questions remain regarding its realisation and distribution. However, it has been discussed in relation to individual languages and language families, such as the privative form in the Arawakan language family, which neighbours the Tukanoan family in South America. Michael (2014) proposes that a Proto-Arawakan privative has developed into a standard negator in some modern Arawakan languages, leading Van der Auwera and Krasnoukhova (2020) to propose a Privative Cycle as a subtype of the Negative Existential Cycle. Although this hypothesis has not yet been fully explored, a Privative Cycle would see privatives following the same path as the Negative Existential Cycle to become standard verbal negators.

By contextualising both Tukanoan forms in the light of the wider discussion, it is hoped that the data shown here will shed further light on existential and privative negation, both conceptually and formally, and on their patterns of cyclic regeneration.

3. Negative verbs in the Tukanoan languages

This section will present the verbs under discussion and their proposed reconstructions, presenting first the ET negative existential verbs (**3.1.**), before discussing the ET privative and the WT negative verbs in **3.2.**

3.1. Negative existentials in Eastern Tukanoan

Throughout the ET languages, a negative verb exists with a meaning relating to the negation of existence (1), presence (2), identity (3), and, in some languages, of possession (4). This section gives an overview of the form in different languages and will show that it can be reconstructed back to Proto ET. Whether or not all the ET negative existentials can be considered cognate and conform to this same history will be discussed in **3.1.1**.[8]

[8] Abbreviations: ~ = nasal word, 1,2,3 = first, second, third person, 1p = first person plural exclusive, ADI = additive, ASS = assertive, C' = laryngealized consonant, CLS = classifier, DECL = declarative, DED = deductive, DES = destination, DVBL = deverbalizer, EV = evidential, EXIS = existential, FEM = feminine, INAN = inanimate, MASC = masculine, N = neuter (3rd person), NEG = negation, NOM = nominative, nom = nominalizer, NON.1 = non-first person, P = patient, PST = past, p.cad = recent past, PERF = perfective aspect, PL = plural, PST = past tense, PP.NF = non-finalized noun, present participle, PRS = present, REF = referential, SG = singular, SUS = noun, TERM = human, TRS = translation, VBLZ = verbaliser, VIS = visual.

(1) **Kotiria** (Stenzel 2013: 265)[9]
(in response to the question: Weren’t there any (edible) ants in your daughter’s village?)

~de	~badia-re
NEG	not.exist-VIS.PERF.NON.1

‘No, there weren’t.’

(2) **Tuyuka** (Barnes 1994: 337)

Yaa-ré	mãnĩ́-ã
eat-NOM:NAN	not:be-EV

‘There isn’t any food.’

(3) **Retuarã** (Strom 1992: 148)[10]

herõʔõ	paru-bã-rĩ-a	iʔsia
no	plantain-not.be-DVBL-N	that

‘No, that’s not a plantain.’

(4) **Retuarã** (Strom 1992: 148)

pita-bã-rĩ-rã-te	yiha-ĩã-rape
hand-not.be-DVBL-PL-TERM	1p-see-PST

‘We saw people without hands.’

As seen in examples (1) - (4), the formal appearance of this verb is not the same in every language, however it occurs in some form in Tatuyo (*mani*), Tukano (*mãrĩ*), Kotiria (*bãdĩã*), Wa’ikhana (*bãdĩẽdã*), Karapana (*mani*), Tuyuka (*mãnĩ*), Barasana-Eduria (*bãdi*), and Desano (*bãrĩ*), Retuarã (*bã*), Kubeo (*ãbẽ*), Siriano (*bãdĩ*), and Yurutí (*bãdĩ*). Putting Retuarã and Kubeo aside for a moment, the forms are remarkably similar, consisting of an initial bilabial plosive or nasal consonant and a medial /n, r, d/ segment. This variation is largely due to differing orthographic conventions in different descriptions: /d/ and /r/ are often intervocalically allophonic in ET (Chacon 2014), and the choice between <m, b> and <n, d> reflects the representation of nasalisation of the consonants. Across most of the family, [m] and [n] are allophones of /b/ and /d/, as voiced stops are nasalised in nasal environments, therefore while some authors write these as <b, d> and some as <m, n>, all are pronounced as [m, n] (Chacon 2014). From this, it is possible to identify an underlying form of /bãdĩ/ in Tatuyo, Tukano, Karapana, Tuyuka, Barasana-Eduria, Desano, Siriano, and Yurutí. The forms in Kotiria and Wa’ikhana additionally show the standard verbal negation suffixes *-a* and *-eda*, but otherwise have the same form and should therefore also be considered as cognate.[11]

The question remains of whether this is a morphologically complex form and, if so, how it developed. Standard negation in the languages in question is achieved through post-

[9] All examples have been presented as they are in the source material, except where translations are required.
[10] In Retuarã, the form most commonly occurs with the deverbaliser *rĩ* and an incorporated noun, as in these examples.
[11] This additional negation will not be discussed further in this paper, but Stenzel (2018) notes it is most likely due to emphasis, showing evidence of Jespersen’s Cycle.

verbal negators of the shape -*keti* (Tatuyo), -*ti* (Tukano), -*be* (Barasana-Eduria, Retuarã, Kubeo), and -*biri* (Desano), and although many of these forms could be argued through sound change to be the basis of the whole or a component part of the *bãdĩ* form, none of these would be supported by the phonological reconstruction proposed by Chacon (2014). However, the syllable -*dĩ* does have an identifiable source still found in several of the languages. As shown in Table 2, below, -*dĩ* occurs in several of the languages as the copula, with the meaning 'to be'.

Table 2: Copulas and Negative Existentials in Eastern Tukanoan languages

Language	(Present/Past)[12] Copula	'to not be'
Tatuyo	*ani*	*bãdĩ*
Tukano	*dĩ*	*bãdĩ*
Kotiria	*hi*	*bãdĩã*
Wa'ikhana	*hi*	*bãdĩẽdã*
Karapana	*ãnĩ*	*bãdĩ*
Tuyuka	*dĩĩ*	*bãdĩ*
Retuarã	*ĩbẽ*	*bã*
Barasana-Eduria	*dĩ*	*bãdĩ*
Kubeo	*-ba/-be*	*ãbẽ*
Desano	*árĩ*	*bãdĩ*
Siriano	*ãˀrĩ*	*bãdĩ*
Yurutí	*dĩ*	*bãdĩ*

Although not all forms are identical, the forms *ani*, *dĩ(ĩ)*, and *ã(ˀ)rĩ* again show variation due to representations of nasality and allophony and are all differing representations of the form *(ã)dĩ(ĩ)*. Divergence from this form is seen in Kotiria, Wa'ikhana, Retuarã, and Kubeo, and these will be dealt with after discussion of the *dĩ* form, in **3.1.1**.

If the -*dĩ* of the negative existential form is assumed to be the same as that of the copula, it can also be assumed that the initial syllable, *bã*-, is what gives the negative meaning to the verb: NEG+to.be. Although *bã*- is not found as a preverbal negator in ET, it has been noted that a morpheme of the shape *ma* is found throughout the region with a negative meaning: beyond Tukanoan it is noted in the Arawakan and Tupían languages and in Yagua (Payne 1990; Campbell 2012). It is not necessary to assume that this has spread through contact: Campbell (2012) notes that it is found as a negator worldwide, likely due to its unmarked yet highly salient consonant. Furthermore, Chacon (2014) proposes either **p'* or **m* as the reflexes of ET root-initial *b*-, making **ma* a likely candidate for the source of this morpheme (although notably Chacon (2014) claims the *m* > *b* merger occurred before Proto ET). Given that *bãdĩ* is found throughout the ET languages, but not in the WT languages, it is at this point possible to propose that **bãdĩ* is a development of Proto ET, and that Proto ET had a preverbal negator of the shape **bã*-, likely developing out of an earlier PT negative particle, **ma*. This is supported by evidence from WT, where the verbal negator is -*ma* or a similar form.[13] Whether or not **bã* is related to the privative

[12] In Tuyuka, Wa'ikhana, Tukano, Kotiria, Karapana, Barasano-Eduria, Desano, and Siriano, the same or a similar form is used for both the past and present copula. The past tense form of the copula is not known for Tatuyo, Retuarã, or Kubeo. In Yurutí, the form given in the table is the past tense copula. In Kubeo, the forms are given for both the general copula (-*ba*) and the 3rd person singular copula (-*be*) respectively.

[13] -*ma* in Sekoya and Máíhɨ̃kì, -*mane* in Koreguaje and -*a* in Siona.

verb will be considered in **3.2**. However, before moving on, the divergent forms in Wa'ikhana, Kotiria, Retuarã, and Kubeo will be considered.

3.1.1. Divergent forms

Wa'ikhana, Kotiria, Retuarã, and Kubeo differ from the story proposed above in two ways. Wa'ikhana and Kotiria show the same shape of negative existential (*bãdĩẽdã*, *bãdĩã*, respectively) but differ in the relationship with the copula (*hi*, in both cases), while Retuarã and Kubeo show both a differently shaped copula (*ĩbẽ*, *-ba/-be*, respectively) and a differently shaped negative existential (*bã*, *ãbẽ*, respectively). Turning firstly to the different form of the copula in Wa'ikhana and Kotiria, two closely related languages, this has already been discussed by Stenzel (2018), who considers the *hi* form to be innovative, likely a borrowing from a nearby language. She notes that *dĩ* is seen in both languages, but as a progressive auxiliary copula, where other ET languages use a different root. By this account, *hi* came to be used in Wa'ikhana and Kotiria only after these languages split from the other ET languages, and prior to this, the *dĩ* form was used, as elsewhere in ET, as a copula with existential meanings. Therefore, there is no reason to propose a different account for the development of the negative existential in these two languages: it was likely formed prior to the split of the Kotiria-Wa'ikhana subbranch, prior to the suppletion of the copula.

Turning secondly to Retuarã, the form here differs from the other ET negative existential verbs both in the shape of the negative verb and in the relationship of the verb with the copula. The negative existential has the shape *bã*, so it is likely that this is a phonological reduction of the same *bãdĩ* verb seen elsewhere. Given this, the relationship with the copula is not of great importance: it is possible that, as in Kotiria and Wa'ikhana, it is a suppletive form.

Finally, however, the negative verb in Kubeo cannot be so easily explained (and a conclusion will not be reached here). A possible explanation is that *ãbẽ* followed the same path of development but with the third person copula, *-be*, followed by the loss of the initial *b-*. However, the verbal negator in Kubeo is *-be*, and it is also possible that this forms the second syllable of the negative existential. That the Kubeo negative existential cannot be proved to be related would support the most recent internal reconstruction of Proto ET, which puts Kubeo as diverging earlier than the other subgroups (Chacon & List 2015). This also means that the development of the *bãdĩ* verb cannot be precisely dated to Proto ET but may have developed after the split of Kubeo.

3.2. Privative verbs

The following section will address the ET privative form and the WT negative verb together, for reasons which will become clear. Firstly, the meaning and spread of both forms will be considered separately (**3.2.1., 3.2.2.**), and then the possible path of development will be traced (**3.2.3.**).

3.2.1. Privative verbs in Eastern Tukanoan

As was seen earlier, the ET negative existential often encompasses the negation of both being and having. However, at least three ET languages have a second negative verb which distinguishes not being from not having, as shown in (5) - (7).

(5) **Tuyuka** (Barnes 1994: 337)
Nĩyéru **mõṍ**-ã
money not:have-EV
'I do not have any money.'

(6) **Desano** (Miller 1999: 136)
bõã **bõo**-bã
salt not:have-3PL
'They don't have any salt.'

(7) **Tukano** (Ramirez 1997: 139)
dohasehére marî maatá moopã́

dohá-sehé-de	bãdî	bãá-ta	**bõó**-pã
assoprar-nom.INAN.PL-REF	nós	logo	não.ter-p.cad.DED.outras.pessoas

'desde o principio, nós não tivemos assopros (maléficos)'
(TRS. 'From the beginning, we didn't have (evil) blows.')[14]

Again, the variation in form can be considered as a difference in the representation of nasality in the surface form: the underlying form is /bõõ/. Although this form is not as widespread as the negative existential form, it is worth noting that Tuyuka, Desano, and Tukano are in three separate clades within ET following Chacon (2014) and in two separate clades (Tuyuka and Tukano both being in East-ET) following Chacon and List (2015). Although a contact situation cannot be discounted, this paper will discuss the possibility of a diachronic solution.

3.2.2. Negative verbs in Western Tukanoan

Turning to WT, a number of negative verb forms are found; in particular Sekoya and Siona both show multiple negative verbs. However only one form, with the shape *peo* or *beo* and with meanings covering both existence and possession, is pervasive throughout WT and will be discussed here.

In Máíhɨ̃kì, the form is glossed only as 'not exist', which is supported by the examples given.

(8) **Máíhɨ̃kì** (Farmer 2015: 189)
túkùtà béógɨ

túkù-tà	**béó**-gɨ
star-also	not.exist-3SG.MASC.PAST.DECL

'There weren't any stars either.'

However, in Koreguaje, the form is glossed both as 'to not be' and 'to not have'.

[14] It is not clear from the source material, however this likely refers to blow darts.

(9) **Koreguaje** (Cook & Criswell 1993: 31)
ǰɨʔɨ haʔkhɨ `thama **peo**-siʔ-kʰi-aʔ-mɨ
yo padre tama no.ser-PER-SUS.MASC.SG-VBLZ-MASC.SG
'Mi padre no era tama.' (TRS. 'My father was not Tama.')

(10) **Koreguaje** (Cook & Criswell 1993: 51)
waʔthi-heʔe **peo**-mɨ ǰɨʔɨ
cuchillo-ADI no.tener-MASC.SG yo
'Yo no tengo cuchillo alguno.' (TRS. 'I don't have a knife (at all).')

In Sekoya, *peo* means 'to not have' or 'to be without', suggesting that its semantic meaning is closer to possession than existence or identity.

(11) **Sekoya** (Johnson & Levinsohn 1990: 64)
Ai-ñe **peo**-ye oca-na sa-ji'i
comer-PP.NF ser.NEG-PP.NF río.abajo-DES ir-PST.3SG.MASC
'Como no había nada que comer, fue río abajo.'
(TRS. 'Since there was nothing to eat, he went down the river.')

In Siona, the form *peo* is glossed as a negative existential, although (13) suggests that a meaning relating to possession may also be possible.

(12) **Siona** (Bruil 2014: 244)
Yë'ë beocona Jairo toto nejëyobi
Jɨ'ɨ **beo**-ko-na, Jairo tohto ne-hɨjo-bi
1SG NEG.EXIS-SG.FEM.PRS-DS Jairo board do-break-3SG.MASC.PST.ASS
'While I wasn't there, Jairo broke the board.'

(13) **Siona** (Bruil 2014: 94)
pḛo.ɾoʔ.ɾo.wɨ
beo-do'do-wɨ
NEG.EXIS-basket-CLS:CONTAIN
'containing nothing'

Given these examples, it is possible to summarise the distribution of meaning in WT as in Table 3, below.

Table 3: Negative verb meanings in Western Tukanoan

	'to not be/have'	existence/identity	possession
Máíhɨ̃kì	*béó*	✓	
Koreguaje	*peo*	✓	✓
Sekoya	*peo*		✓
Siona	*beo*	✓	(✓)

This demonstrates at least a partial overlap in the semantics of the WT and the ET verbs. Formally, the verbs also demonstrate a close relationship. Following Chacon (2014), where WT languages (excluding Máíhɨ̃kì) now have an initial *p* (or *p'* in Siona), ET languages and Máíhɨ̃kì have *b*, from a reflex of **p'*, a laryngeal consonant.[15] The question of why the verb is nasalized in the ET languages but not in the WT languages can also be easily answered by the regular phonological development of ET and WT: nasalization is a phonemic feature in WT, but a suprasegmental feature in ET. Following Chacon (2014), nasalization in PT was a feature of individual segments, which is maintained in WT, where nasal and oral vowels (and stops) contrast. However, in ET, nasalization is a feature of the morpheme, and nasal and voiced stops have (partially) merged. This is seen in the ET privative; as the initial consonant became voiced, the syllable has also become nasalized (most likely an independent development), a process which has not occurred in the WT privative.[16]

Having discussed the semantic and formal relationship between the ET privative and the WT negative verb, section **3.2.3.** will focus on the development of these forms, aiming to answer the question of whether this form can be reconstructed to PT.

3.2.3. Diachronic development

An analysis of the privative verb in Tukano proposed by Ramirez (1997: 169) is that the form is constructed of a negative morpheme *bãá* and the causative suffix *-o* (a suffix which is widespread throughout both ET and WT), with the application of regular regressive assimilation causing *-a-* to shift to *-o-*. Under this analysis, it would be reasonable to assume that the negative morpheme *bãá* is the same as that in *bãdĩ*, undoing the analysis made in the previous sections. However, this would require not only a shift from *-a-* to *-o-* in ET, but from *-a-* to *-e-* in WT, suggesting two independent vowel shifts in each branch. Instead, it will be considered here that the negative reflex in *peo* and *bõõ* in PT was not *bãá*, but **p'e*.

If the root form in PT is **p'e*, the vowel need only change once, from *e* > *o* in ET, and the consonant change from *p'* to *p*/*b* in WT and *b* in ET is supported by Chacon (2014). There is no reason to assume that the Proto ET form **ba-* is related to this form: although the change of *p'* to *b* is supported, this would require an unmotivated vowel change, and there is as yet no reason to doubt the existence of the already discussed form **ma*. This indicates that the reflex of *peo*/*bõõ* is distinct from the reflex of *bãdĩ* and that there are two negative roots: **p'e*, present in PT, and **ba-*, present in Proto ET, from the earlier PT form **ma*.

Evidence for **p'e* as a negator in PT is also seen in ET languages, where an element of the shape *be* is found in a number of negative constructions: in Barasano-Eduria, Tanimuka-Retuarã, and Kubeo, the verbal negator is a morpheme *-be*, while in Karapana it is the reduced form *-e*. In Tuyuka, *-be* negates nouns (Malone & Barnes 2000: 443). In Desano too, a number of negative forms contain this element: *sõbẽ* is the future negative

[15] Chacon (2014) gives a preglottalized stop as the Máíhɨ̃kì form, however, Farmer (2015) does not include preglottalization in her consonant inventory.

[16] See Chacon (2014) and Barnes (1999) for more discussion of the development of nasalization.

suffix, *bẽhẽ* is a negative postposition used with nominal forms and subordinated clauses, and *bea* is an allomorph of the standard verbal negator.

This proposal differs from that of Ramirez (1997): his analysis is based on a regular regressive assimilation process which specifically targets /a/, while this hypothesis would suggest a process of regressive assimilation from /e/ to /o/, and it is unclear whether this would have applied as a regular process. No matter how this process applied, it is possible to reconstruct a form of **p'eo* to Proto Tukanoan, and in doing so to reconstruct a negative form **p'e*. Another aspect of his proposal is that the final *-o* is the causative suffix, and at this point there is no reason to doubt that. The causative suffix *-o* is found in most (although not all) ET and WT languages, making it an ideal candidate for the suffix in the privative verb. However, the question of how the addition of the causative suffix would have led to a privative meaning would require analysis of how the causative suffix is used in the Tukanoan family, which will be left for another time.

It is possible to consider the meaning of **p'eo* in relation to its form today. The semantics of the negative verb in WT and ET differ in breadth: in ET languages, it is restricted to negating possession, while in the WT languages, it negates both possession and existence, something achieved by a different verb in many ET languages. The question then arises of whether a widening or a narrowing of the semantic meaning from the proto form is more likely; Chacon (2013) views WT as more conservative than ET, as has been seen in the phonological changes described in this paper. If this is also the case in terms of semantics, it would support a narrowing of the semantics within ET, presumably under the influence of the later development of the negative existential *bãdĩ*.

4. Summary and discussion

This paper began with a discussion of the Negative Existential Cycle (Croft 1991), in which negative existential forms shift to being used as standard negators, bleached of their existential meaning. This process is visualised in three stages, of which only the first stage can be seen in the Tukanoan verb *bãdĩ*: this was formed of a preverbal negative element and the copula, and has shifted to be semantically opaque, as the negative element **bã-* is no longer found with this meaning. However, there is no evidence that this form has moved beyond the initial stages of the Cycle into cyclic regeneration. Veselinova (2013) argues that negative existentials commonly use a non-standard negation construction, as is seen in the Tukanoan languages today. Diachronically, however, the Negative Existential Cycle demonstrates how a non-standard construction can develop from a standard one, as is the case here. Therefore, despite not showing evidence of the entire Cycle, the ET negative existential highlights how negative existential constructions come to exist as non-standard constructions.

The question was also raised of whether a Privative Cycle existed (Van der Auwera & Krasnoukhova 2020), with the same process as the Negative Existential Cycle. The evidence from Tukanoan suggests that the privative form has developed along a similar path as the negative existential: it formed with a negative particle which is no longer recognised within the synchronic form of the verb. However, a Privative Cycle would also suggest a stage in which this comes to again be used as a standard negator, which cannot be shown for the Tukanoan languages. The similar developmental paths again

highlight the conceptual similarity between privative and negative existential forms, which does add further weight to the possibility of a Privative Cycle.

5. Conclusions

This paper has considered the histories of two negative verbs found throughout the Tukanoan language family: *bãdĩ* 'to not be' and *peo/bõõ* 'to not have'. In doing so, I have proposed a reconstruction of **bã-dĩ* 'NEG-to.be' to Proto Eastern Tukanoan, most likely following the divergence of Kubeo, and a reconstruction of **p'e-o* 'NEG-CAUSE' to Proto Tukanoan, predating the negative existential. These depend on two negative forms: **p'e* (Proto Tukanoan) and **bã* (Proto ET), which cannot be shown to be related. These have been considered in light of both the Negative Existential and the Privative Cycles, although as yet the forms can only be shown to exist in the earliest stages of these cycles.

Given the current lack of research on privative and, to a lesser extent, negative existential forms, this paper has adds to what little is known in these areas and highlights that there is still a great deal to be gained from the study of non-standard negation. Furthermore, the Tukanoan languages are host to a number of negative verbs, including some not discussed here, which are worthy of further investigation.

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The Semantics and Pragmatics of the Quasi-logical Use of *yòu* in Mandarin Chinese

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Abstract

This paper focuses on the quasi-logical use of *yòu* (又) 'again' in naturally occurring conversation. It is argued that such a usage of *yòu* not only keeps its generalised conjunctive meaning, whose left conjunct can be either explicitly present or omitted, but also contributes to inducing pragmatic inferences. Since the logically encoded meaning of *yòu* and the presuppositional meaning it engenders fail to provide a coherent interpretation of *yòu* in a negation context, there is a need to backtrack and accommodate an implicit proposition as the premise for inferring the implicature of that utterance, i.e. a conditional. We also argue that what really invites the said abductive inference is the specific construction of [*yòu* + neg + right conjunct], rather than the adverb *yòu* per se.

Keywords: Mandarin grammar, construction, pragmatic inference, Mandarin adverb yòu

1. Introduction

Mandarin adverbs relating to extent or range in meaning often display chameleonic nature (Hole 2004). Sometimes, they are used as Boolean operators, i.e., *and*, *or*, *not* (also known respectively as conjunction, disjunction, and negation), and can be readily translated as such in logical form. Some other times, they have highly colloquial usages that are hard to explain in purely logico-semantic terms. We call them quasi-logical words here, namely they are essentially logical terms but also carry extended uses that are derived from their intrinsic properties. *Yòu* (又) 'again' is a case in point. In fact, it has been observed in the literature that *yòu* in daily communication is intuitively associated with presupposition-negation or counter-expectation at a pragmatic level.

This paper is organized as follows: **2** gives a brief review of previous studies on the meaning of *yòu*. **3** introduces two types of use of *yòu*: the logical use and the quasi-logical use. **4** analyses the meaning of both quasi-logical *yòu* and a special construction formed by *yòu* plus a negated proposition. **5** further discusses the function of *yòu* in this specific construction, and conclusions are given in **6**.

2. Literature review

Yòu is treated as a presupposition-negator by Peng (1999), Wu (1999), Tang (2007), Yang (2008), Zhang (2013), etc. They claim that *yòu* + *neg.* does not aim to negate a statement, but through the denial of a presupposition[1], the speaker's negative attitude towards the

[1] To be more exact, it is an assumption not a presupposition, as argued above.

presupposition and/or current event/state of affairs is emphasized. An example from Xia (2017: 14) is shown in (1). The given presupposition is assumed to be true by the speaker, and she refutes the view that she should drink sweet wine (a view held by the hearer) by negating the proposition that 'she is being treated as a child'.

(1)

吃	甜酒？		又	不是	小孩，
chī	*tiánjiǔ?*		***yòu***	*bùshì*	*xiǎohái,*
eat	sweet-wine		YOU[2]	NEG	child

还	问	人	吃	甜酒！
hái	*wèn*	*rén*	*chī*	*tiánjiǔ!*
still	ask	people	eat	sweet-wine

'I am not a child, so I cannot ask for sweet wine.'

Presupposition: Only children drink sweet wine.

Yet another treatment of *yòu* uses the notion of counter-expectation. Shi (2005) and Li (2014) propose that *yòu* functions as a counter-expectation marker, indicating that the negated proposition introduced by *yòu* is contrary to the addressee's expectation. However, the real meaning of *yòu* is more complicated than what has been proposed in previous studies. Both *expectation* and *counter-expectation* are informal terms loosely used in pragmatics without clear definition, and their related terms such as *presupposition* and *assumption* have not been sharpened or accurately used with distinctions by many Chinese linguists in their studies.

3. Two uses of *yòu*

3.1 *Yòu* as a Boolean conjunctor

Yòu is an additive particle whose logical meaning is usually interpreted as 'in addition', where the new proposition introduced by *yòu* is a supplement to the information previously given, as shown in (2) and (3).

(2)

a.

我	这两天	也	在	补钙	补铁，
wǒ	*zhèliǎngtiān*	*yě*	*zài*	*bǔgài*	*bǔtiě,*
1.SG	these-days	also	PROG	supply-calcium	supply-iron

之前	吃的	不	频繁。
zhīqián	*chide*	*bù*	*pínfán.*
before	take	not	frequent

'I am also taking calcium and iron supplements these days, which I did not take frequently before.'

[2] Abbreviations used in this paper are listed as follows: 1 (first person), 2 (second person), 3 (third person) ATTR (attributive), AUX (auxiliary), CL (classifier), DM (discourse marker), EXP (experiential aspect), NEG (negation), PFV (perfective), PROG (progressive), SFP (sentence final particle), SG (singular), YOU (*yòu).*

b.

你	又	吃	钙片,	又	喝	牛奶,
nǐ	***yòu***	*chī*	*gàipiàn,*	***yòu***	*hē*	*niúnǎi*
2.SG	YOU	take	calcium-tablets	YOU	drink	milk

会不会	便秘	啊？
huìbúhuì	*biànmì*	*a?*
yes-no-yes	constipated	SFP

‘Will you be constipating if you take calcium tablets and drink milk at the same time?’

(3)

a.

晚上	少	吃点,	可以	分	两顿	吃。
wǎnshàng	*shǎo*	*chīdiǎn,*	*kěyǐ*	*fēn*	*liǎngdùn*	*chī.*
at-night	less	eat	can	divide	two-servings	eat

‘Eat less at night. Maybe you can divide into two servings.’

b.

我	婆婆	家里	的	还	没	吃完，	又
wǒ	*pópo*	*jiālǐ*	*de*	*hái*	*méi*	*chīwán*	***yòu***
my	mother-in-law	in-home	AUX	still	NEG	finished	YOU

买	了	一个	回来，	西瓜	供应	不断。
mǎi	*le*	*yīgè*	*huílái,*	*xīguā*	*gōngyìng*	*bùduàn*
buy	PFV	a	back	watermelon	supply	never-in-short

‘My mother-in-law’s family has not finished the watermelon yet, and they bought another one. Watermelons are never in short supply.’

In both (2) and (3), the left conjunct appears first, followed by *yòu* introducing the right conjunct.

Yòu can also be interpreted as ‘repetition’, as a proper subset of the ‘addition’ meaning, which means that an action, event, or situation that happened in the past occurs again, as shown in (4) and (5), where the left conjunct does not have to be explicitly given.

(4)

a.

你	在	干嘛	呢？
nǐ	*zài*	*gànma*	*ne?*
2.SG	be	doing	SFP

‘What are you doing?’

b.

我	又	在	去	浙大	的	路上。
wǒ	***yòu***	*zài*	*qù*	*zhèdà*	*de*	*lùshàng.*
1.SG	YOU	be	go	Zhejiang-university	AUX	on-the-way

‘I am on my way to Zhejiang University (ZJU) again.’

(5)

a. 李四 呢?
lǐsì ne?
Lisi SFP
'Where is Lisi?'

b. 他 **又** 没 来 开会。
*tā **yòu** méi lái kāihuì.*
3.SG YOU NEG come attend-meeting
'He did not come to the meeting again.'

In (4), *yòu* expresses the fact that the action of (4b) going to ZJU has already happened at some point in the past before the conversation takes place, and now it happens again. Similarly, in (5), *yòu* expresses the replication of the situation. Not only did Lisi fail to attend the meeting this time, but he also did not attend a previous meeting.

As *yòu* can be interpreted as either denoting the more specific 'repetition' or the more general 'addition', it is understandable that it can sometimes be ambiguous between the two, as shown in (6):

(6)

a. 怎么 好久 没 看到 小张 了？
zěnme hǎojiǔ méi kàndào xiǎozhāng le?
why a-long-time NEG seen Xiaozhang SFP
'Why haven't I seen Xiaozhang for a long time?'

b. 他 最近 又 找 了 一份 兼职。
*tā zuìjìn **yòu** zhǎo le yīfèn jiānzhí.*
3.SG recently YOU find PFV a.CL part-time-job
'He has recently taken up a part-time job in addition to what he is doing.' Or 'He has recently taken up another part-time job.'

In (6), *yòu* can indicate the combination of two eventualities. One is a certain given event understood in the context where Xiaozhang is doing and such a context is shared by both the speaker and hearer; (6b) being a different one. But another scenario could be that *yòu* triggers the iterative presupposition that Xiaozhang was already working part-time and now he has found another part-time job. So, the second event is a repetition of the first event. In neither interpretation, the left conjunct is explicitly given. We can generalize from the examples so far examined that while *yòu* needs to co-occur with the right conjunct, the left conjunct can either appear or be understood.

Rooth (1992) observes that the additive particle is much like an *anaphoric element* which is taken to be a linguistic entity that 'recalls to the consciousness of a hearer entities or concepts that have already been introduced into a discourse' (Botley & McEnery 2000: 2). König (1991: 62) also points out that 'all sentences with simple additive particles

entail the corresponding sentences without the particles and presuppose furthermore that at least one of the alternative values under consideration in a context satisfies the complex predicate.' Following Rooth (1992), the interpretation of the additive *yòu* is sensitive to the information in the preceding discourse or background information, from which a viable antecedent is required to identify *yòu*'s presupposition. In line with König (1991), the additive *yòu* in Mandarin can be seen as a 'presupposition trigger', presupposing the existence of at least one alternative that fits the complex predicate. Hence the left conjunct of *yòu*, even if invisible, can be recovered.

The interpretation schema for (5b) is given as (7):

(7) Logical meaning encoded by yòu: conjunction
lP.Q (P & Q)
Proposition introduced by *yòu* [the right conjunct]
Q: Lisi has not come to the meeting this time.
Presupposition triggered by *yòu*: iterative presupposition
P: Lisi did not come to the meeting last time [the left conjunct]

Inferred conclusion: P & Q, given as (8):

(8) Ù-Introduction
Lisi did not come to the meeting last time, and he has not come to the meeting this time.

It is generally assumed that the meaning of *yòu* is in common with the Boolean operator Ù, an utterance like (8) is true if and only if both conjunct propositions are true.

3.2 The quasi-logical use of *yòu*

However, it has also been recognized that utterances with *yòu* have types of meaning beyond the conjunctor sense. In a different paradigm of cases, *yòu* can carry a contrastive connotation, which is not part of *yòu's* truth conditional meaning, as shown in (9) - (11) and is often lacking in utterances without *yòu*.

(9) discusses the university's increasingly complicated requirements for lecturers:

(9)

a.

我	以为	是	要	简化	流程。
wǒ	*yǐwéi*	*shì*	*yào*	*jiǎnhuà*	*liúchéng.*
1.SG	think	be	will	simplify	process

'I thought they wanted to make things simpler.'

b.

本来	我	也	这么	觉得，
běnlái	*wǒ*	*yě*	*zhème*	*juédé,*
basically	1.SG	also	so	think

但是	现在	上完课后	又	要	签字。
dànshì	*xiànzài*	*shàngwánkèhòu*	***yòu***	*yào*	*qiānzì.*
but	now	after-class	YOU	have-to	sign

‘I thought so too, but now I have to sign, as an extra requirement, after the class.’

If a presupposition is triggered by *yòu*, it can only be that a signature was required in the past, but no such meaning can be perceived; on the contrary, the implied contextual information is that no signature was required before. This demonstrates that *yòu* only triggers a vague existential presupposition: something else had to be done before, for example, giving lectures as routine work. The proposition introduced by *yòu* expresses the fact that there is now another thing to be done in addition to what had to be done before. Therefore, to sign is a new state appended to a given conjunct. This is a case of addition of events with no ‘repetition’ meaning expressed. On top of it is a contrastive meaning of what is introduced as new, compared to what was not in existence.

Similarly, in (10), there is no presupposition triggered as the repetitive *yòu* does, while *yòu* illustrates a contrast between two different situations in line with the semantics of ‘but’. Blakemore (1989: 15) proposes that *but* has part of its meaning in common with *and* so that an utterance is true if and only if both conjuncts are true, “however, utterances with *but* have contrastive connotations often lacking in utterances with *and*”.

The speaker of (10b)’s cousin scored 564 points in this year’s college entrance examination and his performance was not very satisfactory.

(10)

a.

感觉	已经	很高	了。
gǎnjué	*yǐjīng*	*hěngāo*	*le.*
feel	already	very-high	SFP

‘I feel the score is high enough.’

b.

好像	能	上	重本，	但	又	好像
hǎoxiàng	*néng*	*shàng*	*zhòngběn,*	*dàn*	***yòu***	*hǎoxiàng*
like	can	admitted	key-university	but	YOU	like

不大行，	至少	专业	没得	选。
bùdàxíng,	*zhìshǎo*	*zhuānyè*	*méide*	*xuǎn.*
not-qualified	at-least	major	NEG	choose

‘It seems like he can be admitted to a key university, but it doesn’t seem to be a too certain result because there is limited choice for a major.’

P: He can be admitted to a key university.
Q: He can’t be admitted to a key university for sure.
P Ù Q
Here, *yòu* introduces a negated proposition as the right conjunct, and the previous utterance provides a left conjunct. P Ù Q is true only if P and Q are true.

(11) discusses postnatal rehabilitation:

(11)

a.

你	试	过	正骨	吗？
nǐ	*shì*	*guò*	*zhènggǔ*	*ma?*
2.SG	try	EXP	orthopedics	SFP

‘Have you ever tried orthopedics?

b.

我	感觉	我	两条	腿	不一样	长,
wǒ	*gǎnjué*	*wǒ*	*liǎngtiáo*	*tuǐ*	*bùyíyàng*	*cháng*
1.SG	feel	my	two-CL	leg	not-same	long

很	想	去,	又	怕	疼。
hěn	*xiǎng*	*qù,*	***yòu***	*pà*	*téng.*
very	want	go	YOU	afraid	pain

‘I feel like my legs are not of the same length. I want to go, but I am afraid of the pain.’

P: I want to try orthopedics.
Q: I am afraid of the pain.
P Ù Q

In the same vein, *yòu* in (11) cannot trigger the iterative presupposition ‘I was afraid of the pain before/in the past’. However, the two propositions connected by *yòu* can be interpreted as the schema shown above, with the latter implicating the negation of the former. If the conjunction *kěshì* ‘but’ is inserted before the *yòu*-clause, the legitimacy of the sentence and the original meaning will not be affected. The addition of this new state to the *yòu* proposition is a complement to the previous knowledge.

(9) - (11) are all cases with *yòu* interpreted only as ‘in addition’, not as ‘repetition’, hence carrying no iterative presupposition. A conjunction carrying ‘but’ meaning can co-occur with *yòu* in such cases, and a contrast between the left and right conjuncts of *yòu* can be detected.

By contrast, if a ‘but’ is inserted before the *yòu*-clause in (11b), the sentence would not make sense semantically, because the *yòu*-clause and the previous utterance cannot constitute an adversative relation or a contrast. Moreover, given that no ‘repetition’ meaning is available here, it is not immediately clear how the more general sense of ‘addition’ is obtained.

(12) Context: (12b) wants to give an expensive razor to his cousin as a gift, but (12b)’s husband does not allow her to do so. So, (12b) complains to her friend (12a).

(12)

a. 如果 不 送人 的话，
rúguǒ bù sòngrén dehuà,
if not send-people DM

真 没 必要 买 太 贵的。
zhēn méi bìyào mǎi tài guìde.
indeed NEG need buy too expensive
'There is no need to buy anything too expensive if you are not giving it away as a gift.'

b. 就是 送人 啊，
jiùshì sòngrén a,
exactly send-people SFP

他 又 不是 没 工作。
tā ***yòu*** *bùshì méi gōngzuò.*
3.SG YOU NEG NEG job
'It is exactly for a gift. It is not the case that he [(12b)'s husband] does not have a job.'

If *yòu* here induces a conjunction relationship, then the left conjunct of *yòu* will be unclear. We cannot say the presupposition is that there is already an instance of 'it is not the case that he does not work', since it would be tautological with the right conjunct of *yòu*. Thus, presuppositional meaning no longer applies in such a negation context, nor does it help to reach a coherent interpretation. In such a case, *yòu*'s role needs reconsideration.

Similarly, if we cling to the 'repetition' sense of *yòu*, (13) would be interpreted as '(13a) had not spent her (13a) mother-in-law's money before, and still does not', thus presupposing that (13a) never spent her mother-in-law's money. But *yòu* and its right conjunct express the negation of an implicit hypothetical assumption that '(13a) had spent her mother-in-law's money before'. The presupposition, if obtainable, would contradict the implicit assumption, so the speaker's real intention or the communicative information she wants to convey to the hearer is obviously not as simple as such a presupposition, whose existence is doubtful in this case.

(13) Context: (13a) complains to (13b) that her mother-in-law is stingy with her granddaughter.

(13)

a. 孩子 的 东西 都 是 我 买 的，
háizi de dōngxī dōu shì wǒ mǎi de,
children AUX thing all be 1.SG buy AUX
'I bought the kid's stuff myself.'

b. 又 没有 花 她的 钱，
yòu *méiyǒu* *huā* *tāde* *qián*
YOU NEG spend her-ATTR money

就 不 知道 咋 那么 抠！
jiù *bù* *zhīdào* *zǎ* *name* *kōu.*
only not know why so stingy
'I did not use her money, so I simply do not know why she is so stingy.'

c. 可能 觉得 你 花了 她 儿子的 钱，
kěnéng *juéde* *nǐ* *huāle* *tā* *érzide* *qián*
probably think 2.SG spend her son-ATTR money

所以 心疼？
suǒyǐ *xīnténg?*
so feel-bad
'Probably she feels bad because you spent her son's money.'

In addition, the utterance meaning of the same proposition expressed in different contexts can be very different. In the conversational contexts of examples (5b) and (14b), *yòu* and its following proposition should be interpreted differently.

(14)
a. 李四 知道 后天 的
Lǐsì *zhīdào* *hòutiān* *de*
Lisi know the-day-after-tomorrow AUX

活动 安排 吗？
huódòng *ānpái* *ma?*
activity plan SFP
'Does Lisi know the plan for the day after tomorrow?'

b. 他 又 没 来 开会。
tā ***yòu*** *méi* *lái* *kāihuì.*
3.SG YOU NEG come attend-meeting
'He did not come to the meeting though.'

Although the information provided by (14b) is a negative answer identical to (5b), (5b) states that Lisi is not in the meeting room and that it is not the first time that he has not attended the meeting. But what (14b) says is that Lisi does not know about the plan for the good reason that he did not come to the meeting (excluding other means through which he may learn about the plan). The former is about a repetition of the same event, while the latter is to supply the causal relation between two events, i.e., Lisi's failure to come to the meeting is the reason why he is unaware of the plan, which explains the current situation. Moreover, from (14b), we only know that Lisi did not come to the

meeting this time, which does not mean that he had missed yet another meeting before. That is, the iterative presupposition in (5b) is not present in (14b).

4.The interpretation of quasi-logical use of *yòu*

4.1 Implicit conditional

As an attempt to explain the special use of *yòu* with a negated right conjunct, Shao & Rao (1985) take the basic grammatical meaning of *yòu* to be a conjunctive relationship between similar activities, states, or properties. When used in a sentence with negation, they think *yòu* triggers association with an implicit premise, which is a hypothetical (Shao & Rao 1985: 12). Some implicit inference is recoverable, lending the *yòu* + negated sentence an argumentative force in the inferential process, and hence the emphatic tone. Still, they take the basic meaning of *yòu* to be conjunctive. The argumentative force, according to them, is a pragmatic effect. Although the exact reasoning pattern is not spelt out in Shao & Rao (1985), we can explicate their point with example (13). (13a) says she does not know why her mother-in-law has been so stingy, as she has been using her own money. We give the tentative reasoning pattern in (15):

(15)
a. *yòu* (I don’t use her money) [Ù ~ P]
b. I don’t know why she is so stingy [? Q]
c. She is stingy [Q] (presupposition triggered by (15b))
d. If I don’t use her money, she is not stingy. [~ P ® ~ Q]
e. (She is stingy) only if (I use her money) [Q ® P]
[P = I use her money; Q = She is stingy.]

(13a-c) provides a more complete set of utterances for discussion, because it even contains (13c), i.e., (15b), which is a description of the given, current situation often not explicitly uttered in many other examples involving the [*yòu* + neg + right conjunct] construction. The right conjunct of *yòu* with negation in (13b) is given here as (15a). Only (15a) and (15b) are uttered. (15b) yields presupposition (15c). As (15a) and (15c) are presented as forming a puzzle, one way to resolve it is to accommodate the conditional in (15d). But (15d) is too weak, as negating the antecedent does not necessarily lead to negating the consequent. So, it should be strengthened into (15e), which is a necessary conditional[3].

Note that the accommodated (15e) here is not the left conjunct of *yòu.* Although the left conjunct is explicitly present in this case, i.e. I bought the kid’s stuff myself; it is missing in most examples. Moreover, as a [*yòu* + neg + right conjunct] construction is not usually followed by a sentence like (13c), we need to explain how can the construction alone, like (15a), lead to the accommodation of a necessary conditional like (15e)? That is, given (15a), while (15b) is not uttered and is only contextually manifest, how (15e) can still be inferred? This is crucial to the characterization of the quasi-logical use of *yòu*.

4.2 Relevance-driven accommodation

It falls on an ostensive-inferential pragmatic theory to give an adequate account of meaning-accommodation and meaning-derivation in utterance comprehension related to

[3] Cf. also Chen (1987).

the puzzling construction presented above. In terms of relevance-theoretic pragmatics (Sperber & Wilson 1986/1995, Wilson & Sperber 2012, Carston 2012, among others), given an utterance containing the [*yòu* + neg + right conjunct] construction, it is necessary to search for its optimal relevance in the context. According to the communicative principle of relevance (Wilson & Sperber 2004), the speaker produces an utterance with the given construction believing it will enable the hearer to obtain enough cognitive effects without incurring an undue amount of processing effort in terms of mental computational labour and the time spent on the processing. Following the presumption of optimal relevance (Sperber & Wilson 1986/1995) that a communicated utterance does not only convey its intended meaning but also the understanding that the speaker intends the utterance to be optimally relevant to the hearer, the hearer, when comprehending the utterance, also believes the speaker will aim at letting him obtain an interpretation with maximal relevance, matching her verbal ability and preferences. Otherwise, he does not need to bother himself with the processing of her utterance. The exact details of the pragmatic inference activated depend on the available assumptions in the cognitive context in the online processing of the utterance, e.g., assumptions made manifest by the encoded content of the utterance and the overall discourse, associated assumptions retrieved from the memory: personal experiences, information acquired from others through communication, and encyclopaedic knowledge (Carston 2012).

The extent of the exactness of the encoded form of the utterance will lead to the accommodation of specific assumptions, resulting in specific inferences being made. In the case of the construction being scrutinised here, the encoded information is *yòu* with a negated right conjunct. This is a very specific syntactic form, a construction that is used as a fixed form for native speakers to accommodate a premise in the form of a necessary conditional. Although the inferential process is sophisticated, native language users as hearers find it easy, and in fact, automatic, to reach the interpretation originally intended by the speaker. The negation form in the '*yòu* + negator + right conjunct' construction can be said to make it easier for the necessary conditional to be accommodated, because a negation, when presented without the accompanying reasoning, will often prompt the hearer to contrast it with its positive counterpart and explore the consequences of both the forms. This will serve as a clue for the accommodation of implicated premises. But it can also go along another route. From (15a) and (15b), the hearer can accommodate (16), which, in everyday language use, is often strengthened into (17), as an instance of conditional strengthening.

(16) If I use her money, she will be stingy. [P ® Q]
(17) If I don't use her money, she won't be stingy. [~ P ® ~ Q]

Either inference routes are possible and they lead to the same conclusion: complaining about the non-generosity of the person concerned.

4.3 More examples
In addition to example (13) whose inference pattern we have spelt out, we now give analysis to one more example presented in **3**. Analysis of example (12) is presented in (18) below:

(18)

a. The razor is a gift. [P, being the left conjunct of *yòu*], given assumption
b. *yòu* (He is not unemployed = he has a job) [Ù ~ Q], given assumption
c. [Not buying an expensive razor] only if {[the razor is not a gift] and [he is unemployed]} (~ R only if (~ P Ú Q)), accommodated assumption
d. P Ù ~ Q Ù-introduction (18a), (18b)
e. ~ (~ P Ú Q) De Morgan's Law (18d)
f. R [implicated conclusion] Modus Tollens (18c), (18e)

5. The function of *yòu*

If what is accommodated when processing the [*yòu* + neg. + Proposition] is a conditional which is not the left conjunct of *yòu*, where is the left conjunct? We have established in **3.2** that the right conjunct, when negated, does not replicate a previously occurring eventuality. Hence, the meaning for *yòu* conjunction would be the more general 'in addition' meaning. That is, *yòu* introduces a right conjunct which is presented in addition to a left conjunct, be it present or implicit. The left conjunct could be an identified eventuality of immediate relevance under discussion, e.g. (13a). So *yòu* can continue to be treated as having the meaning of conjunction. What really invites the accommodation of the conditional is the whole construction of [*yòu* + neg. + Proposition]. Our inferential pragmatic account thus subsumes some alternative treatments of *yòu* using the notion of counter-expectation, such as Shi (2005) and Li (2014), because our treatment takes expectation as one kind of recovered assumptions. Moreover, since *yòu* is not a negator, it cannot be used to deny an expectation. Some other treatments[4] take the construction of [*yòu* + neg. + Proposition] to have a presupposition-negation, negating a presupposition like the antecedent of (16). We find this kind of claim puzzling, as it is not clear how the alleged presupposition is triggered. Since it is not possible to identify a trigger, some works, such as Xia (2017), claim that the said presupposition is a pragmatic one, and hence does not need a trigger. To us, that is just like saying that there is some worldly knowledge, encyclopedic or cultural, that is accommodated as some background assumptions which join in the pragmatic inference. Our account makes no use of pragmatic presupposition.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, we have discussed the purely logical use of *yòu*, namely it is a conjunctor. In the structure 'P, *yòu* + Q', Q can be another situation or particularly a repetitive state of affairs in addition to the one previously given by P which does not have to be explicitly uttered but must be active in the background. In contrast, P in the construction 'P, *yòu* + neg. + Q' is always missing and does not have to be active in the preceding discourse but can be derived from the context and is sometimes a presupposition. We provide a unified treatment retaining the conjunctive role of *yòu* within this construction while attributing a special function to the construction, which is to accommodate a conditional assumption (strengthened into necessary conditional in some cases) to help with the comprehension of the negated Q. In this sense, *yòu* represents a quasi-logical use, which has presented some problems for grammatical analysis and natural language processing. It is hoped that our findings can contribute to computational processing of utterances that involve quasi-

[4] Such as Peng (1999), Tang (2007), Yang (2008), Ma (2009), Zhang (2013) and Zhang & Yan (2015).

logical words by providing a relatively fixed inferential schema induced by that fixed construction.

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"A Metamorphosed Language": Tracing Language Attitudes Towards Lubumbashi Swahili and French in the DRC

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Abstract
Language attitudes in Lubumbashi, and particularly towards Lubumbashi Swahili and French, are not only indicative of positive, negative, and ambivalent feelings towards vocabulary or syntax, but of larger socio-historical and current developments, too. These attitudes, however, have not been explicitly researched. This paper seeks to begin filling that void, examining three intertwined hypotheses grounded in the language attitudes seen across Sub-Saharan Africa: (1) languages have historically been regarded ambivalently, and will continue to be held in such regard, but also that; (2) Lubumbashi Swahili has become an indispensable tool for survival in the city and that; (3) French remains an important tool for social mobility. Building off the limited scholarship on historic attitudes, my fieldwork conducted in Lubumbashi in July 2022 confirms these hypotheses, giving a fuller indication of how locals and settlers felt and continue to feel about languages as they relate to the now modernised society of Lubumbashi.

Keywords: language attitudes, Lubumbashi Swahili, Lubumbashi, Swahili Bora, French

1. Introduction

1.1. The language situation and need for study

Swahili is an East African language spoken by more than 200 million people worldwide, and by 100 million on the continent itself (UNESCO 2021). Its spread from the Eastern coast of Africa (between Somalia and Mozambique) began in the late 18th century. The Democratic Republic of the Congo (hereafter DRC), formerly Zaire, is one neighbouring country where the language has penetrated, and it has been developing there for nearly 150 years. The language arrived via Arab slave traders in the late 19th century and, through prolonged contact with local people in the south-eastern DRC, became a lingua franca used predominantly for business (Kapanga 1991: 100). Continually rivalling French as the dominant interethnic means of communication, four leading variations of Swahili emerged through the 20th century in the DRC: Kivu Swahili in North and South Kivu provinces; Kisangani Swahili in Tshopo province; Bunia Swahili in Ituri province; and Lubumbashi Swahili in Haut-Katanga province and peripheral areas (*Figure 1*). Lubumbashi Swahili (hereafter LS) is known simply as "Swahili" by the Lushois (the name claimed by Lubumbashi locals). This variety acts as Haut-Katanga's lingua franca, and its rapid proliferation has prompted its focussed study.

Figure 1. Congo Swahili dialects and their approximate extension (Nassenstein and Shinagawa 2019: 14)

Despite LS's relative popularity in academia (see 2), no scholars or studies have focused expressly on Lushois language attitudes. The most recent related study is Woods's (1995) study of language use and attitudes in the neighbouring Republic of Congo (discussed further in 2). Indeed, the study of language attitudes is a relatively new field, only gaining real speed in the last 60 years (Dragojevic et al. 2021), but does not seem to have yet been fully recognised or prioritised in Sub-Saharan Africa. African urban languages tend to be further neglected in this domain "because they are considered unimportant or an unwelcome problem in the complex multilingual situations that characterize many Sub-Saharan African countries" (Githinji 2003: 1). Despite this stigmatisation, understanding a particular population's language attitudes can be a useful tool in policy making and in conflict resolution and mitigation (Adegbija 1994). In the context of Sheng, a popular urban language that mixes Swahili and English in Nairobi, Githinji (2003: 5) asserts that:

> The significance of knowing people's attitudes is underscored by the fact that by exposing the attitudes, especially those of detrimental nature, the functions those attitudes serve can be identified and addressed. Addressing the underlying functions of negative attitudes that are of linguistic nature minimizes the cultural conflicts that result from biased perspectives and stereotypes.

With a gap in its academic representation, this dissertation will contribute to the study of language attitudes in Lubumbashi, focusing primarily on LS, shining a descriptive light on existing and emerging trends in the attitudes towards it and French. To substantiate my

claims, I conducted fieldwork in Lubumbashi in July 2022.[1] The fieldwork, consisting of 16 interviews[2], revealed mixed feelings towards LS and French. When asked about languages used in the home, about half the interviewees would prefer to teach their children LS before French, whereas the other half preferred French or an ancestral language, most with varying first languages of their own that differ from French and LS. Though many informal interactions during my time in the city reinforced the ideas brought forward in the interviews, my field research brought up new questions and these attitudes certainly warrant further study. Nonetheless, my enquiry sought to interrogate the following hypotheses in the Lushois context: (1) languages have historically been regarded ambivalently (as vehicles of communication that elicit positive and negative responses simultaneously) and will continue to be regarded as such; (2) LS has become an indispensable tool for survival in the city; (3) that French remains an important tool for social mobility.

1.2. A brief history of Swahili in the DRC and the emergence of Lubumbashi

The study of language attitudes is multidisciplinary by nature, drawing insights not only from linguistics but also anthropology, and sociology, and thus necessitates a broad lens through which to perceive its arguments. Indeed Adegbija (1994: 68) rates the socio-historical context as the primary determining factor for the development of a multilingual context, as is the case in Lubumbashi. One must also be wary of where and how data was collected as well as its context and aims. In his socio-historical recount of the DRC's Lingála-Kiswahili border, Meeuwis (2006: 131) notes that linguistics cannot exist without sociolinguistics and an understanding of data collection's root proponents or aims.

With this in mind, Kapanga (2001) provides a thorough discussion on the sociological development of Swahili in the DRC and of LS in the city of Lubumbashi, while Fabian (1986) discusses its colonial appropriation from 1880-1938, and Ferrari (2012) continues this study, examining materials from 1938-1960.[3] Soon after the language arrived in the central African nation, King Leopold II claimed the area now known as the DRC as his personal property under the guise of the 'Congo Free State'. Until 1914, Leopold carted native Swahili speakers from Zanzibar into the former Katanga province to train its military against encroaching Arab aggressors (Mugane 2015: 196). A host of conflicts through the early 20th century between the Belgians and these East Coast traders would ultimately solidify Swahili's status in the country ahead of its independence in 1960. French, growing in status alongside Swahili, then found a stronger foothold when the DRC opted to make it the language of education.

Belgium's arrival in the DRC in the late 19th century coincided with the discovery of minerals in and around what is now known as Lubumbashi. The city, formed circa 1909-1910 first as Elisabethville, is the second largest city in the DRC and is in the south-eastern corner of the country in Haut-Katanga province (see *Figure 1*). It eventually headquartered the former 'Union Minière du Haut-Katanga' (UMHK, "The Mining Union of Upper-Katanga"), now 'La Générale des Carrières et des Mines' (GECAMINES, "The General

[1] Many thanks are given to my hosts, friends, and respondents in Lubumbashi, without whom this paper would not be possible.

[2] All interviews can be found here.

[3] I recognise how periodisation contributes to the problematic way in which scholars study the continent of Africa, shading these contributions, however it tends to be the best way to categorise large scale social change that occurs around these moments.

Quarry and Mine Company"). At its birth, the city housed no more than 2,000 people and the arriving population was almost evenly divided between French-speaking Europeans, locals speaking Luba, and Bemba-speaking Zambians loaned from the British South Africa Company (Polomé 1963). This, and the economic shift towards a mining economy in the quickly urbanising city, created the need for a common means of communication, and thus Swahili emerged (Fabian 1986, Kapanga 1991: 117).

Under Mobutu's reign, the former Katanga province was renamed 'Shaba' in 1971, the Swahili word for copper, before reverting to its original name in 1997 (a constitutional amendment in 2015 was enacted and Katanga was broken down further into four provinces that exist today: Haut-Katanga, Tanganyika, Lualaba, Haut-Lomami). The rapid diffusion of the language around the urban centre of Lubumbashi was facilitated as well by Belgian missionaries, recognising its potential power as a tool for evangelisation. Further trade and travel between Lubumbashi and its surrounding areas to supply food and move minerals reinforced Swahili's position as the region's dominant language (Bostoen 1999: 74). The post-independence Katanga secessionist movement, led by Moïse Tshombe, used Swahili as the language of revolution, and though its efforts failed, the language remained popular in the region (Ferrari et al. 2014: 128). It can thus be said that the agents responsible for the language's expansion through the early 20th century were UMHK, the Belgian colonial administration, and its missionaries (Kapanga 2001). I would add to this that the secessionist campaign in the former Katanga as well as the increased urbanisation toward Lubumbashi seem to be primary proponents of its expansion in the area during the late 1900s.

In a little over 100 years, Lubumbashi has become home to nearly three million people. Mining and Swahili formed a lasting bond during this time, evidenced by Mutambwa's explanation of how Lushois citizens classify the days of the week in LS: "Monday was known as the first day of work, translated as «kazi moya» or more literally «work 1» [and so on]" (2021: 31-2, author's translation). The Lushois claimed Swahili and its heritage, giving birth to LS, and paving the path for future generations to also claim it as their own. The city is prosperous, vibrant, and a veritable living being as Mudimbe-Boyi (2021: 7-8) puts it.

LS has been referred to under several names through its scholarly life — Kingwana, Katanga Swahili, Congo Swahili, Shaba Swahili (hereafter ShS) — and by its locutors: mu biswahili bwao, Kiswahili ya Union Minière, Kiswahili ya Monpere, Swahili ya kwenu, and Swahili (Mugane 2015: 195-96). They are evidently associated with its historical development. These labels have changed over the years, and scholars have equally attempted to categorise LS as pidgin, creole, codeswitching, borrowing or language (see Mushingi 1989, Kapanga 1991, Gysels 1992, Meeuwis and Blommaert 1998, De Rooij 1996, Mutambwa 2021).

1.3. Differences between Lubumbashi Swahili and Swahili Bora

Language classification is nuanced, but as this paper aims to centre Lushois voices, it will use the term Swahili Bora (hereafter SB) to refer to Standard Swahili since Nassenstein and Shinagawa (2019:14) find that SB is how DRC natives refer to Swahili of the East African Coast — a fact I also found to be true in my fieldwork. Based on the way the Lushois respondents spoke about SB, one could categorise it as an aspirational version of Swahili, often coming from Tanzania or Kenya (see Appendix 7, 0:34 - 1:10 for example). Nassenstein and Shinagawa stipulate that "specific communities, especially of Muslim faith,

use more standardized or more coastal-sounding Swahili, which is often classified as "Swahili bora" by their direct neighbours." (2019:14). Further, Ferrari (2012: 77) likens SB to standard Swahili (generally emanating from Zanzibar), so I will adopt this view for simplicity's sake, recognizing that this is an imperfect comparison, and that others (Rettova 2018: 5, for example) have refuted their similarities.

SB and LS share the same Bantu noun-class system and many vocabulary terms, but they also equally diverge from one another (for a comprehensive comparison of their noun classes and various lexical differences through time, see Mwela-Ubi 1979; Kapanga 1991; Ferrari et al. 2014; and Mutambwa 2021). From interactions during my field visit, the mixing of Swahili and French in Lubumbashi is apparent in the most basic of exchanges. In SB one might greet you with *Uko poa?* 'are you ok?', the equivalent in LS being *Uko bien?*. Ferrari et al. (2014: 118) estimate that up to 25% of spoken LS uses French terms. Further evidence of LS's diversion from SB and convergence with French for identification and social reasons is summarised by Kapanga (1991: 138):

> Ever since French was introduced in Zaire by the colonizers, it has been associated with political, social, and economic prestige. It is the language of socio-economic advancement. Lack of its knowledge makes communication with the establishment, the intellectuals or elite and any governmental agencies almost onerous. Because of this prestige, the speakers of ShS with a formal education see it as a prerogative to use features of French in their speech as a matter of social identity; thus, they have created a new variety which is typical of their social group.

1.4. Conclusions

The lack of language attitude data in Sub-Saharan Africa and specifically in Lubumbashi calls for further inquiry. LS was once a branching arm of SB and, having matured into an identity of its own, there is no better time to study it. Armed with the analysis of its evolution, as well as its functional differences with SB, the attitudes towards LS and French's historical trajectory that are examined through the next chapter can be properly appreciated and understood.

2. Language attitudes in Sub-Saharan Africa and Lubumbashi

This section begins with an overview of language studies in Sub-Saharan Africa, exploring existing trends and drawing on specific examples of a regional study of attitudes towards codeswitching in South Africa, attitudes towards Sheng, a mix of Swahili and English found in Nairobi, and a study of national language attitudes in the Republic of Congo. It then examines attitudes about LS from the scholarship available. Language status, cultural significance, religious connotations, and place in education are considered as themes shaping the narrative of attitudes towards LS.

2.1. Scholarship on language attitudes in Sub-Saharan Africa

The study of language attitudes in Sub-Saharan Africa have been distilled into several broad themes by Adegbija (1994) that provide a useful starting point for other studies. They are: (1) a dominant force of the historical past of colonialism in attitude formation seems evident; (2) generally positive evaluations of European languages, especially in official domains, because of their instrumental roles and the socio-economic gains associated with their command; (3) positive evaluations of mother tongues and sometimes national languages

(Kiswahili in Tanzania) as symbols of ethnic, and national loyalty, or of nationhood and independence or sovereignty; (4) a further general attitude of ambivalence is sometimes evident with regard to European languages and indigenous languages; (5) ethnolinguistic minorities are sensitive to language issues and are often closely attached to their languages and cultures; (6) there is a growing acceptance of European languages in many parts of Africa, largely because of the perception that they serve unifying roles in largely multi-ethnic societies on the continent, and; (7) native varieties of European languages are developing and this may be contributing towards their increasing acceptance. As the most recent seminal work on the larger study of language attitudes in Sub-Saharan Africa, one must be apprehensive that nearly three decades have passed since Adegbija's publication and that it's possible these themes have shifted or changed.

A few recent scholars focusing on Sub-Saharan African language attitudes in the 21st century have used these common threads to discuss their findings in relation to respective regional languages. Schilling (2013) finds higher social desirability for codeswitching between Xhosa and English, and lower desirability to codeswitch between Afrikaans and English. The findings cling to Adegbija's themes of: (1) general acknowledgment of colonialism in Afrikaans and English, and (4) ambivalence towards English. The findings also support a study Adegbija mentions from Namibia that yielded results showing preference for English over Afrikans during the era of apartheid (1994: 51). On the other hand, Githiora (2018) discusses these themes in relation to Sheng in Nairobi. After participants listened to 10 'Kenyanese' ways of speaking including Sheng, English, and Kiswahili Sanifu (Standard Swahili), they judged the speaker's education, occupation, personal characteristics (such as honesty, intelligence, and self-confidence) and even physical attributes like height. Githiora's findings line up with themes: (2) of rating English positively, and (3) positively evaluating KS as a national language. Adegbija's language attitude themes prove a solid benchmark to refer to when pursuing language studies in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Woods's (1995) survey of use and attitudes towards French, national languages and mother tongues in the neighbouring Republic of Congo is perhaps the most relevant research to the current study. He finds that French is rated the most favourably of all languages present in the context, even to show anger amongst the middle-aged male sample (1995: 414), an expression usually reserved for a language one has mastered or a mother tongue (Holmes and Wilson 2017). Additionally, nearly half of the 253 respondents rated French as the most important language at the present day, and that it would hold that position in 30 years. The domain in which French is held in disregard is when respondents were asked what language the president should speak, to which they mostly chose a national language. Woods summarises the study by saying "French and the national languages are increasingly vital among younger and more urban subjects and the mother tongues, though still a vital source of identity, are shrinking in their range of utilisation and positive attitudes towards them are increasingly being shared with both French and the national languages" (1995: 414). One can clearly draw lines between his study and themes 1, 2, 3, 5 and 6 from Adegbija's exposition.[4]

[4] Unfortunately, Woods compares his findings against few sources, perhaps because there were so few to draw from at the time, though his study is certainly substantial enough that it merits acknowledgment.

Language attitudes are influenced by the environment in which the evaluator finds themselves, and "[where] the linguistic arena is already saturated, emergence of forms that further complicate the already fluid situation is not usually treated with sympathy because it is seen as negating the national aspirations of the eradication of ignorance and promotion national cohesion" (Githinji 2003: 1-2). Further, Githiora finds that his "results in general show that indigenous African languages are poorly evaluated even when couched behind a Swahili façade; they are backward (*mshamba*) and unsuitable for high status activities. Their speakers are not attractive to young people, and the occupations linked to them are of low status and undesirable to the young people" (2018: 79, italics in original text). These presumptions, though not rooted in the exact same experience of a Lushois, reveal the influences and issues of multilingualism in urban culture, contributing to negative language evaluations.

2.2. Tracing historical attitudes from the scholarship on Lubumbashi Swahili and French

There is a breadth of research available about LS, though mostly in descriptive capacities (see Polomé 1963, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1971a, 1971b, 1985; Heine 1970; Mwela-Ubi 1979; Schicho 1980; Fabian 1982, 1986; Fabian et al. 1990; Kapanga 1991, Kapanga 2001; Gysels 1992; De Rooij 1996, 2007; Bostoen 1999; Ferrari 2012; Ferrari et al. 2014; Rettová 2018; Nassenstein and Shinagawa 2019; and Mutambwa 2021). However, language attitudes have historically been disregarded in the field of linguistics. For this reason, the attitudes discussed below are drawn primarily from works that spotlight LS's morphology, syntax, phonology, and lexical structure that introduce their topic with brief socio-historical backgrounds.

2.2.1. Hierarchies of status

Language attitudes are said to be most strongly influenced by social and political factors (Holmes and Wilson 2017: 433). Ferrari (2012) references De Rop (1960: 22), a university professor in Kinshasa at the time of the publication, for his overt disdain and lack of faith in the future of Swahili as a language in the DRC. Pertinently written in the year of the country's independence, De Rop's claims were a product of political tensions, as Ferrari continues to explain, and are certainly a misconstrued version of broader attitudes towards the language.

French is often found at the top of perceived language hierarchies in the former Katanga, and more broadly in the DRC (see Kapanga 1991: 134 and Mushingi 1989: 34, respectively). As scholars we should be wary of employing such a method to class language since a "hierarchical view of multilingualism…is more an echo of political wishes than of social realities" (Fabian 1982: 18). Still, it would still seem fair to say that French carried much prestige through 20th century DRC, as Samarin (1996: 391, italics in original text) evidences with this example of social membership:

> …by the 1940s in both the Belgian and French Congos there had emerged Africans whom the whites called *evolués* (those who had 'evolved' or had become 'civilized'), a special class, membership in which was determined in part by one's ability to use the colonizers' language and in part by the work that one could do--based ultimately on literacy in French.

This said, the idea of language hierarchies is perhaps dissipating as Mudimbe-Boyi (2021: 7, italics in original text, author's translation) suggests:

> "Without a doubt […] Swahiliphones of Lubumbashi have appropriated the language (*ya kwetu* = our's), and have, in this sense, erased vertical relations and a hierarchy sometimes suggested to exist between standard high Swahili [SB] and local Katangan low Swahili [LS]".

On the other hand, Swahili was seen as a useful language for basic communication in the region as was discussed in 1, but it was also seen as a means of control by the Belgian colonial administration (Fabian 1986: 137). The convergence of Swahili and French in the Lushois context seems invariably politically influenced. In his earlier work, Fabian (1982: 39) suggests that lexical borrowing of French terms into LS could be seen as a way of articulating this historical power dynamic, which would certainly draw mixed sentiments towards its use. Conversely, Sando Marteau, a famous Lushois artist, purposefully uses Swahili (though often SB) in his lyrics as a retort to the colonial imposition of French, and to connect to the people of his home city and the broader region (Rettová 2018). Its association as a sign of solidarity has been ongoing. Since as early as 1963, when Katanga attempted to secede from the DRC, it has acted as a symbol of regionalism (Ferrari et al. 2014: 107). It could then be placed higher up in a theoretical hierarchy than French, though this certainly depends on the locutors' social experiences.

2.2.2. Identity

Gysels (1992) quotes Kabamba on the cultural significance of the language to its speakers: "Swahili carries prestige in completely different contexts [than French], since this is the medium in which one is able to express the collective experiences of urban culture, and in the final instance it carries the identity of the population" (1979: 223). This sentiment is echoed by Kapanga and De Rooij who respectively claim that "no one can claim full integration into the Shaban culture without knowing ShS" (1991: 135) and "Group membership and solidarity highlights Shaba Swahili use" (1996: 53).

2.2.3. Religion

At the turn of the 20th century, Christian missionaries had a negative attitude towards Swahili due to its connotation with Islam, opting first to preach in Sanga (then the contemporary lingua franca), but would eventually adopt Swahili as their language of prayer (Fabian 1982: 19). Early forms of LS were then codified primarily by these missionaries to curb the influence of the language's Muslim users (Kapanga 1991: 121). Its status grew in the church as it became the sermon language, and it was thought that by 1966, when Fabian conducted much of his fieldwork, that Swahili was usurping French as the dominant language of church (1982: 19). By comparison, Woods (1995) finds French often to be the common language of religion in the neighbouring Republic of Congo. From the Lushois point of view, the language of religion is LS (Ferrari et al. 2014: 133).

2.2.4. Education

The multilingual nature of the DRC and the active institution of French as its official language and language of instruction (hereafter LOI) at independence inherently and subconsciously forced its locutors to create different attitudes about the languages they use (Kapanga 1991: 134). Mushingi (1989: 149) discusses the issue this raises for the case of Swahili as an LOI in the former Zaire:

> It is not rare to hear the same student use a local variety of Swahili on the playground a few minutes after he/she has read a passage in 'SWAHILI

> BORA' with the teacher. The result is that in the Zairean community, different values will be associated to French and Swahili as used in the education system and outside

He continues by quoting Ferguson (1977) on choosing an LOI who asserts that attitudes towards this decision are much more important than whether the language has a complete vocabulary to work with or not, the latter being an argument against Swahili in classrooms.

Until the DRC's independence in 1960, Swahili was used as the LOI, a policy Mushingi states was "perceived as a way of keeping the indigenous people in an inferior position" (1989: 34). It was only after this that French, in what Fabian (1986) describes as a bout of anti-colonial sentiment, was adopted as the new language of education in schools go fight back against that perceived linguistic oppression. The new French-only policy was enforced so strongly that students were subjected to physical punishment if they were caught using Swahili. In this case, since French dominates the prospect of social mobility, it may have been regarded as more important than Swahili. French is "perceived as the language of education, regulation, and modernization in present day Zaire" (Kapanga 1991: 133). Bostoen sums up this conflicting sentiment pertinently: "Although speaking French is often seen as threatening the norms and the values of the local community, it continues to be considered as the key to success in school and further life" (1999: 48).

2.3. Conclusions

This section explored literature language attitudes in Sub-Saharan Africa, describing the lens through which academics and local people perceived LS and French. It then looked at language attitude studies in sub-Saharan Africa. Attitudes towards LS and French in the DRC's Copperbelt region were in flux through the 20th century, depending on who you spoke to. The attitudes towards LS and French as symbols of status remain somewhat ambiguous, though French seems to hold a higher status in this realm while LS gains speed behind it. Culturally, it seems that LS would never have been ranked lower than French due its interethnic neutrality and group identification. LS and French seem to both be present in religious proceedings through history and today, with a slight favour towards the former. Lastly, due to the country instituting French as the language of education at its independence in 1960, it appears that French dominated through the later 20th century and continues to do so today. As Bostoen states in his conclusion on the sociolinguistic context of LS and French: "It is obvious that these languages, due to their constant interaction, have always been influencing each other and will never stop to do so" (1999: 47). One would then expect attitudes towards these languages to continue in turn to change.

3. Methodology

This chapter recounts the methodology of the research, including my hypotheses, approach, and the limitations of the fieldwork.[5] In July 2022, I went to Lubumbashi to conduct field research. I prepared for the visit by poring over the existing academia about LS, and by speaking to scholars who had previously done work in the area, as well as local Lushois. My hosts' driver introduced me to his church community, and through this connection I

[5] Though this venture was self-funded, and the interview transcriptions ended up being more laborious than expected, it is important to study a concept at its source. Any study that aims to centre local voices should consider this strongly. Further, as a predominantly spoken language, LS is ever-changing and thus warrants and requires continuous examination to keep an accurate account of its development.

built my sample of 16 respondents. Approximately half of the respondents were compensated with lunch and/or a drink, while the others were simply happy to be interviewed. One respondent was compensated monetarily. Upon starting my interviews, I was immediately reminded of Ferrari's experience: "I felt this devalorisation of LS in the field through the shock of a Lushois when I would say to them that I was conducting a study about Lubumbashi Swahili: they systematically responded with "ah! Simple Swahili" (2012: 76, author's translation).

3.1. Hypotheses

Based on the existing research and descriptive nature of LS, I hypothesised in line with the sentiments that (1) languages have historically been regarded ambivalently (as vehicles of communication that elicit positive and negative responses simultaneously) and will continue to be held in such regard in Lubumbashi, but also that (2) LS has become an indispensable tool for survival in the city and, (3) that French remains an important tool for social mobility.

3.2. Semi-structured interviews

Following in the tracks of previous scholars examining LS, I sought out respondents to interview. Referred to as 'Interviewer' (I) and 'Respondent x' (Rx), I conducted one-on-one semi-structured interviews about language in Lubumbashi, following a framework of questions provided by my dissertation supervisor with the aim of building rapport. The interviews eventually focused on LS and the person's attitudes towards it, and while some were less productive than others, all revealed unique aspects about the person and language in their city more broadly.

Between July 10 and 21, 2022, I spoke to seven women and nine men for a total of 16 respondents, their ages ranging from 22 to 60. The interviews lasted between five and 24 minutes, with the average interview spanning 10 minutes. The locations of the semi-structured interviews varied, including outside a church, at a restaurant, in the backyard of a building complex, at my place of residence, in various people's homes, and in a small shop. Each interview was preceded by a short verbal explanation of who I am, what the study was about, and consent, followed by obtaining verbal consent from the participant to use the semi-structured interview as data for the purpose of this dissertation (see beginning of each appendix). In most cases, to develop a familiarity with the respondents, I began with introductory questions. Some of the respondents were more frequent acquaintances, but most of the participants were friends of friends who were keen to contribute to the conversation about language attitudes. Though a variety of semi-structured interviews were conducted and several different points of inquiry were explored, it is essential to acknowledge the fieldwork's limitations so that it is not misconstrued.

3.3. Limitations

Language itself is a limitation of my research. Kapanga (2001) comments on previous scholars collecting descriptive data about LS, saying that: "For the most part, the theory [explored] was speculative in nature, or it relied on non-native speakers of ShS". The interviews comprising my fieldwork were conducted in French, my second language and that of some respondents, limiting the depth of our semi-structured interviews (see Appendix 3, 7:03). Further, I only have an elementary working knowledge of Swahili (SB no less), and thus was limited in who I could speak to (see Appendix 12 for example), effectively silencing a population that would certainly contribute unique viewpoints to the

discussion. I did however learn basic greetings in LS which helped break down the cultural barrier with participants. Because of language limitations, I only interviewed people within Lubumbashi who spoke French, and with LS expanding beyond the boundaries of the city, a future study would do well to include respondents beyond the urban. This was in part due to the limited time I allotted to collect my data. By spending a longer period in the city and its surrounding areas, the study could have yielded a larger and more representative sample size, ultimately resulting in a more rigorous excavation of Lushois language attitudes.

4. Findings

Three notable themes appeared in the interviews I conducted. The first being the overt recognition of the distinction between LS and SB, with the former being perceived as a lesser version of the latter. Second, French continues to be evaluated positively, and English is emerging to be held in the same regard. The third theme is conflicting attitudes towards what language children should be brought up with, yielding several votes in favour of LS, and an equal amount of ambivalence or favour for French.

4.1. Lubumbashi Swahili vs. Swahili Bora

Based on the respondents' answers, LS is not real Swahili, "Swahili facile", "bizarre", but on the other hand "transformée" and "métamorphosée". Through several interviews it became clear that SB is equated to that of its eastern neighbours. Respondent 4 summarises this sentiment:

> *[Lubumbashi Swahili is] really very different than that of Tanzania and North-Kivu. You see, Swahili over there, is likened to the Swahili of Rwanda, Tanzania, Burundi […] but with our Swahili in Lubumbashi, I reckon it's our way of creating Swahili.* (Appendix 4, 1:28, author's translation).

Respondent 1 claims that SB is richer than LS. Despite the negative-leaning sentiments towards what is a primary language for most of the respondents, many of them expressed LS's importance for everyday life, supporting the notion of ambivalence, or simultaneous positive and negative evaluation, towards the language. Holmes and Wilson (2017:434-5) discuss the concepts of overt and covert prestige in language attitudes. The dichotomy clearly exists in Lubumbashi with SB and LS, though the former is not spoken very widely. Overt prestige, or express acknowledgement of the utility of a language because of its standardisation, can be associated with SB in this case. Covert prestige on the other hand — the acknowledgement of the utility of a non-standard variety of a language — can be seen in the attitudes towards LS. It seems many will not boast about their ability to use Swahili, yet it is an essential part of life in Lubumbashi.

4.2. French and English proficiency

European languages carry great prestige in Lubumbashi. When asked why they placed their mother tongue[6], Chokwe, lower in a theoretical language hierarchy than European languages (a line of questioning that emerged naturally), Respondent 11 said:

[6] Prior to this study, as a linguistic researcher whose first language is English, I tended to prescribe desirability to mother tongues as they usually carry connotations of one's culture and means of deepest emotional expression. For this reason I chose to employ the term mother tongue in this line of questioning. The response from not only respondent 11, but others too, has helped me understand more fully the geographical implications and language attitudes towards mother tongues.

> *[…] because I know it already. We rate what we don't know as better. Better, we're looking for that. […] This is why we try - to be better. But to be better, we need to learn the languages of the places we want to go. For people to help you, you must speak their language. If not, they'll chuck you out because they don't understand you*. (Appendix 11, 21:07, author's translation)

French is the language of business, school, and by extension, vertical social mobility. Having spoken to several current and former students of the University of Lubumbashi, it is clear that French is perceived to be paramount for education and even though LS is the primary language of many of the respondents, they indicated how important French was: Respondent 15 said people would have difficulties if LS was the LOI; Respondent 4's parents spoke French to them at home to prepare them for school; whereas Respondent 2 said "French will get you by everywhere" (Appendix 2, 1:58, author's translation) whereas LS would not, and therefore it would naturally hold a higher stature than its counterpart. Respondent 13 was explicit in saying they preferred French to LS because French sounds better.

English was mentioned several times throughout the interviews, seven out of 16 respondents expressing interest and a will to learn the language. Indeed, Bostoen (1999: 48), 23 years ago, gave a nod to the rise of English in the region. The language seems to be gaining ground, in my short experience in Lubumbashi. Though none of the respondents spoke English, through many of the interviews and through several informal interactions it became clear that the language is very much desired, but that the cost of lessons at private learning centres remains a barrier.

4.3. Home language and parents' desires

The most fascinating line of enquiry I latched onto was the respondents' actual and expected choice of first language for their child or children. The respondents were split between LS and French. Nearly half expressed that LS was generally the language spoken at home in Lubumbashi. Respondent 1 said they want to teach their children LS because it is the language of communication and Respondent 8 is worried their children will not be able to play with their friends if they do not know LS. The other half had mixed desires or wanted their children to learn French or their mother tongue (Luba or Chokwe for example). Though, as has been mentioned, the importance of French was massive around the time of the DRC's independence. Nkulu suggests that in the era of the 'évolués': "Forcing the children to use [French] at home among other things then became a commonplace habit" (1986: 171). It would seem that this sentiment has shifted in part. Mushingi (1989: 156) references research done in the 1970s showing that when the parents are taught in French they are more likely to prefer it, and teach it to their children first, though the research also finds that: "At the same time they do not want the same children to lose contact with the local community. So, some Swahili is desirable. This cycle continues from one generation to the next". It appears that this remains mostly true today.

5. Discussion

My hypotheses that (1) languages have historically been regarded ambivalently and continue to be held in such regard in Lubumbashi, but also that (2) LS has become an indispensable tool for survival in the city and, (3) that French remains an important tool for social mobility were confirmed in the interviews I conducted. The methodology of my approach could have been more direct in its line of questioning to elicit a more uniform data

set. The limitation of my positionality should also not be forgotten, including the issue of language and communication in conducting the fieldwork. Ultimately though, the three themes that can be gleaned from the interviews invite thoughtfulness about language use and attitudes towards LS and French in Lubumbashi. Comparison of LS and SB is almost inevitable in a conversation about languages with a Lushois. French has continued to entrench itself into local society, while English is making inroads. Lastly, the question of home language and parents' desired first language for the child yields mixed results, indicating a pull in both directions to LS and French. Future research on language attitudes in the area should seek a larger sample size of native speakers, across age, gender, and location to substantiate the claims made in my discussion. It might also benefit from researching the attitudes of SB speakers towards LS, as has been recognised as a point of interest in scholarship (Gysels 1992: 52). Examination of attitudes towards other locally relevant languages, such as Bemba, Luba, and Chokwe, would also yield important insights into its locutors' feelings about them in relation to LS and French, similar to Woods's (1995) study.

6. A way forward to investigating Lushois language attitudes

Language attitudes in Lubumbashi, and particularly towards LS, are not only indicative of feelings towards vocabulary or syntax, but also of larger socio-historical developments. This paper has provided a thorough overview of the language situation in Lubumbashi, the capital of Haut-Katanga province, and the second largest city in the DRC. Through reviewing LS's classification as a language, as well as how it diverges from its parental SB, we can begin to analyse why certain attitudes are held about this unique branch of Swahili. Scholarship on historic attitudes is limited to when the language started gaining sociological meaning and began from scholarship produced in the 1960s. This gives us a rough indication of how locals and colonial settlers felt about the languages they used as they relate to symbols of status, the economy, culture, religion, and education. With a foundational knowledge of the situation cemented, I then explored the fieldwork I conducted in Lubumbashi in July 2022. The study, despite its admitted limits, yields fascinating results relating to perceptions and attitudes towards LS, SB, French, English, and what languages parents prefer to teach their children, confirming the hypotheses and introducing new potential lines of inquiry.

Respondent 4 was one of the keener participants, very interested in language use and attitudes. When discussing the elemental nature of language acquisition, they said: "[…] when a baby is born, well, the baby has no language, language will be thrust upon it and the baby will follow." (Appendix 4, 10:20, author's translation). A child's environment, influenced by socio-politically inclined hierarchies, tensions, and ambitions, will surely influence their attitudes towards the languages they learn, too. For this reason, as well as its importance in policy making, more work can be done in the field of language attitudes as they relate to African linguistics to better comprehend societies' sentiments that are often rooted in larger sociological processes. In Lubumbashi, the voice of the Lushois will prove to be the best way to tell this story.

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Attitudes Regarding the Use of Nigerian Pidgin English among Nigerian Students at Coventry University

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Abstract
Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE) is a widely spoken language in Nigeria and is used by many Nigerian students in educational institutions. It evolved into a predominant means of communication among Nigerians, serving as the most extensively used language of interaction across diverse ethnic groups that lack a shared linguistic background. This study examines the use, perception, and recognition of NPE by Nigerian students at Coventry University (CU) in the UK. To determine the perspectives and attitudes of selected students regarding the language, an online questionnaire and a focus group interview were administered. The findings revealed that, in general, participants held a negative attitude towards Nigerian Pidgin English. In conclusion, prejudices against NPE continue to exist and date back to the colonial era, when the language was perceived as a low and corrupted language (Akande & Salami 2010).

Keywords: Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE), Lingua Franca, Language attitudes, Language Contact, Coventry University (CU)

1. Introduction

1.1. Background

In a speech community, language attitudes involve social meanings in relation to social-cultural norms. The study of language attitudes is crucial because it can shed light on how shifts and maintenance in a language are contingent on whether members of the speech community like or dislike it (Mann 1997). It contributes to understanding the social significance of a given language or code and the use of language as a symbol of identity (Salami 1991; Adegbija 1994; Ihemere 2006). Prior research on Nigeria's linguistic environment revealed the complexity of the country's indigenous sociolinguistics context. According to Adegbija (1994: 75), there are over 500 spoken languages in Nigeria. As a result, Nigerian society is multilingual, leaving room for the adoption of English as the country's official and secondary language. Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba are constitutionally recognized as major indigenous languages in Nigeria, endowing them with a formal status among the country's linguistic diversity. In contrast, Nigerian Pidgin English holds a unique position with both exogenous and indigenous characteristics (Adegbija 2004: 46). Nigerian Pidgin is spoken by approximately 3-5 million individuals as their native language, while an additional 75 million people use it as a second language (Ihemere 2006). Faraclas (2021) provides a more recent estimation, indicating that the number of Nigerian Pidgin speakers in Nigeria exceeds 110 million, affirming its notable numerical strength.

The language with the most speakers in Nigeria, Nigerian Pidgin English, developed through historical contact between English and other indigenous languages in Nigeria

(Dada 2007: 87).[1] Its generative and dynamic capabilities have continued to support the country's interaction and communication processes. It is regarded by Akande & Salami (2010) as a distorted form of English and the language of illiterates, and its use has therefore been used as a measure of one's English proficiency. Nonetheless, Nigerian Pidgin English has assumed an important communicative role among Nigeria's diverse cultural groups that do not share the same language. According to Akande (2008), NPE is the dominant language of Nigeria's educated elites, including graduates, lawyers, professors, and journalists. It has been demonstrated that NPE is also used in popular advertisements, other public service announcements, local political debates, and radio (Durodola 2013). Therefore, it is untrue that only illiterates or those without a formal education use NPE (Agheyisi 1984). On the contrary, educated users can speak both NPE and Standard Nigerian English, the latter of which enjoys widespread acceptance and used in diverse formal contexts within the nation (Akande 2008).

Unlike English and the other three major languages mentioned above in Nigeria, NPE is not recognised by the government and is subject to marginalisation. Evidently, a prevailing perception among the Nigerian elite is that Nigerian pidgin is predominantly perceived as a contact language devoid of any discernible ethnic or regional association (Balogun 2013). Consequently, it is relegated to the periphery of social acceptance owing to its perceived lack of influential impact. Like other indigenous languages, English is taught as a subject in Nigerian schools and universities, but neither a school nor a department teaches Nigerian Pidgin English. This suggests that NPE is receiving less emphasis in the Nigerian educational system and the government's apparent lack of interest in promoting NPE could be a factor in its continued marginalisation.

The increasing use of NPE by Nigerians has helped raise the status of the language in the country. Despite lacking official recognition, it is still widely spoken and used in contemporary Nigeria. Since NPE is the only language used by many Nigerians, educated and uneducated, regardless of ethnicity and identity (Akande & Salami 2010), one could argue that it has facilitated the dissemination of national ideas and linguistic, sociocultural, and political developments. It has been observed, however, that many adults, including teachers and high-ranking government officials, disapprove of its use in formal and informal settings by adolescents and young adults (Akande & Salami 2010: 72). Despite its numerous seemingly beneficial practical applications, Nigerian Pidgin continues to be an undervalued language.

1.2. Problem statement

What began as a contact language between black traders and British colonialists is now the primary language spoken by most Nigerian students in educational institutions, outside and inside the classroom. Nigerian students frequently use non-standard forms of communication, such as code-switching and NPE, due to their multilingualism. Since Standard English is the only acceptable medium of instruction used for teaching and learning in tertiary institutions and secondary schools in Nigeria, students are regularly cautioned not to employ NPE, with potential financial penalties for its use during school

[1] I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Ross Graham, for his knowledgeable, timely, and invaluable support and direction throughout the completion of this paper. I would also like to express my gratitude to those who took the time to fill out the questionnaire and provide feedback, as well as those who participated in the interview; your cooperation made this research possible.

hours (Ojarikre 2013). In light of this context, this study investigates the attitudes of Coventry University (CU) Nigerian students towards the use of NPE and the possibility of its official recognition.

1.3.Objectives of the study

This study aims to discover the following. First, an objective would be to determine how Nigerian students at CU perceive NPE. The next goal would be to assess the context and extent of NPE usage among Nigerian students enrolled at CU. Finally, it hopes to examine the perspectives of students regarding the official recognition of NPE in key Nigerian domains[2].

1.4. Rationale and possible significance

As a result of this diachronic change and growth, NPE has become popular among Nigerians both within and beyond Nigeria. The significance of this study lies in the fact that its findings can shed light on the perceptions and attitudes of Nigerian CU students towards NPE and the potential for its status to be elevated. This work may raise awareness of the language's usage in the diaspora. It will help determine how widely NPE is used in the diaspora. Given Akande's (2008) claim that NPE is a marker of solidarity and identity, it is crucial to ascertain whether NPE among Nigerian students at CU serves any solidarity-marking function.

2. Literature Review

2.1. The origin of Nigerian Pidgin English

Controversy surrounds the emergence of pidgin and creole contact languages (Siegel 2008: 6). Despite numerous academic hypotheses, the origin of pidgin remains obscure. Late in the 18th century, West African Pidgin, also known as the Creole language of the Guinean coast, emerged (Holm 1988: 426). It is a creole and pidgin language based on English that is used throughout Nigeria and beyond (Deuber 2005: 183). It is intriguing to note that pidgin languages generally involve business or trade contacts between individuals from culturally diverse groups. NPE is connected to a group of English lexifier pidgins and creoles spoken in various African diaspora communities and along the coast of West Africa across the Atlantic Basin. Cameroonian Pidgin is more similar to NPE than Jamaican Krio or Sierra Leonean Pidgin (Owusu, Adoma & Aboagye 2016: 541). Notwithstanding, these pidgins and creoles share a wide range of phonological, grammatical, and semantic features (Faraclas 2013). The colonial government, social conditions, and the introduction of schools by missionaries all contributed to the development and diffusion of the language (Adegbija 1994: 16). According to Jenkins' (2003: 10) assertion, pidgin languages initially developed to satisfy the limited communication requirements of individuals[3] who do not share a common language. In a similar manner, Elugbe & Omamor (1991) assert that the origin of NPE derived from contact between visiting European merchants and multilingual coastal communities, first in Portuguese, then Dutch, and finally English.

According to Egbokhare (2003) and Deuber (2005), the Niger Delta is the birthplace of NPE, where it has acquired native speakers (Holm 2000), from which it is believed to

[2] For "domain", I use the definition provided in Holmes & Wilson (2017).

[3] Many thanks are given to my mentor, the late Temitope Balogun Joshua, family, and friends for their unwavering love, support, and encouragement, without whom this paper would not be possible.

have spread to other regions and acquired speakers. In particular, it was already spoken in the Niger Delta region's coastal states (Ogu 1992), and its use was restricted to commercial transactions (Agheyisi 1984). As a lingua franca among speakers of mutually incomprehensible languages, NPE is likely to evolve over time in a multilingual country like Nigeria, where it serves more and more functions (Buba, Al-Shujairi & Ya'u 2016). When Pidgin is nativized by a speech community, a creole develops (Todd 2003), and as a mother tongue, it is capable of expressing diverse facets of human thought and emotion. According to Holm (2000: 6), generally, creole is descended from pidgin because it is spoken as a first language by a multilingual speech community. Therefore, a speech community cannot be conceptualised as a group of speakers who speak the same language but rather as a group that shares the same language norms (Daoust 1997). Throughout history, it has maintained contact with both the substrate and lexifier languages (Deuber 2005). Under British colonial rule, English became the official language of Nigeria, despite the fact that the vast majority of Nigerians speak indigenous languages as their native tongue. However, Nigerian Pidgin English serves as a supplementary medium of communication in restricted informal contexts because it has acquired some functions in other formal domains (Akande 2008) and is now a common language among educated Nigerians having informal conversations. Thus, Nigerian Pidgin English is not a dialect of English like Australian or American English. It has been viewed as a hybrid of African languages (Gennadievna 2019).

2.2. Uses and functions of Nigerian Pidgin English

According to Labov (1990: 9), the term "pidgin" generally refers to a contact language resulting from interaction between speakers of a socially subordinate language and speakers of a culturally dominant language. A Pidgin community demonstrates linguistic diversity. Nigeria is exemplary of an African colonial state that is multilingual, pluralistic[4], and heterogeneous (Ogunmodimu 2015). It is necessary to investigate the use of NPE to comprehend the country's social structure. Jowitt (1991) shows that the use of Pidgin in Nigeria signifies familiarity and informality. It has recently earned the respect of both literate and illiterate members of society (Akande 2008). According to Deuber 2005), the primary domain of use for NPE and other Nigerian Indigenous languages is informal as opposed to formal. As a result, NPE is a common lingua franca used in informal communication, as many Nigerians are proficient in the English language, which they employ with ease when discussing matters of more than local importance. Moreover, it serves as a political tool, as it is now widely employed for mass mobilisation, public announcements, political campaigns, and government propaganda. It is also widely used in advertising as a means of identifying with the average person (Adegbija 2004).

Since the first poem written in Nigerian Pidgin English (Egbokhare 2003), the language has served an intellectual purpose. Its prevalence in media, advertising, radio, and television confers a great deal of visibility on a language deemed incorrect or malformed. Elugbe & Omamor (1991) view Pidgin as a marginal language that arose to serve communication purposes in specific contexts. It is widely used in the country as a second language, and the number of native speakers is growing. Based on the preceding definition, it can be asserted that pidgin is not recognized as an official language; rather,

[4] It is pluralistic in the sense that it is a diverse country with various ethnic, cultural, religious, and linguistic groups.

its usage is limited to facilitating communication among individuals who possess varied linguistic and social backgrounds.

2.3. Language policy on education in Nigeria

The current language policy on education in Nigeria acknowledges roles for all indigenous languages but does not specify any role for Nigerian Pidgin English in education, despite the recognition of the role of indigenous languages in the early years of schooling (NPE 2013). The languages of the immediate environment are used as the medium of instruction in primary education. For example, in the context of a primary school situated within a demographically Yoruba-dominant community in Nigeria, Yoruba emerges as one among the languages of the immediate environment. It is noteworthy that the students within this locality predominantly employ Yoruba as their primary language of communication within familial contexts. Consequently, the educational institution in question may opt to employ Yoruba as the medium of instruction. This strategic selection is rooted in the pedagogical principle of leveraging languages of the immediate environment to facilitate effective early education. English is used in numerous facets of Nigeria's multilingualism, including educational, communication, national, institutional, policy-related, and symbolic functions. However, other indigenous Nigerian languages, particularly Igbo, Hausa, and Yoruba are regarded as instruments for cultural enrichment, symbols of Nigerian independence, and vehicles for nationalism (Adegbija 2004).

Nigerian Pidgin English, on the other hand, is an ethnically neutral language that serves as a lingua franca in Nigeria's informal domains. It is now the most widely spoken language in Nigeria and the multilingual speech communities of the diaspora. Despite these dynamics, Nigeria's language policy has yet to address the status of NPE (Adegbija 2004).

2.4. Attitudes towards Nigerian Pidgin English within the familial domain

Positive or negative attitudes towards languages are frequently influenced by the language standardisation process (Garrett 2010). Fasold (1984) identifies two approaches to the study of language attitudes: cognitive and behaviourist. The former is concerned with the responses of language users to social situations in a language, while the latter views attitudes as an internal state of readiness used to predict other behaviours (Ihemere 2006). Language attitudes possess a unique characteristic that sets them apart from other types of attitudes, namely their direct focus on languages themselves and the way they shape individual and collective identities. The mentalist framework makes behavioural inferences to account for the direct study of the mental state of language users. As a result, this study employs a mentalist methodology, as attitudes towards language frequently reflect attitudes towards individuals of diverse ethnic backgrounds (Fasold 1984).

Even though most Nigerians speak NPE (Faraclas 2008; Igboanusi 2008) and both educated and illiterate Nigerians use it (Akande 2008), the attitudes of many Nigerian citizens remain overwhelmingly negative. Some Nigerian families use it as their native language. However, the characterization of NPE as English that has been corrupted or broken is indicative of a negative attitude towards this language. In contemporary Nigerian society, people tend to view NPE as a corrupt or inferior language (Mann 1996; Igboanusi 2008). However, it plays an important role in the lives of Nigerians but lacks

the socioeconomic prestige of English. Parents and students consequently view education in indigenous languages or NPE as detrimental.

Ogunmodimu (2015: 159) argues that a country as linguistically diverse as Nigeria could benefit from adopting a multilingual language policy in which all languages are accorded due recognition according to their function. A major argument in favour of NPE's adoption as Nigeria's official language is that it is an ethnically neutral code. Igboanusi (2008) further argues that elementary schools should use NPE as a medium of instruction for NPE-speaking students. The language is currently unrecognised[5] despite efforts by advocates for its official recognition (Elugbe & Omamor 1991); Egbokhare (2003). As such, these negative attitudes can be attributed to the weak power position of NPE speakers.

3. Methodology

This study is predicated on a mixed-methods research approach that permits the exploration of diverse perspectives and the discovery of relationships among multifaceted research questions. In this study, the advantages and disadvantages of qualitative and quantitative methods were combined, resulting in a more cohesive research design.

3.1. Research questions:

This study sought to answer the following research questions:

1. To what extent and in what contexts do Nigerian students at CU use Nigerian Pidgin English?
2. What is the perception of Nigerian students at CU towards NPE?
3. What are Nigerian students' views towards the official recognition of NPE in certain key domains in the country?

3.2. Sample selection and size

This research employs two methods of data collection: a 10-minute online questionnaire and a 30-minute focus group interview. 22 Nigerian undergraduate and graduate students currently enrolled at CU responded to the online survey, while four (two male and two female) Nigerian undergraduate and graduate students participated in the focus group interview. Stratified purposive sampling was used to select the sample for this study. Even though students were selected at random from various disciplines, each participant was required to be a Nigerian-born undergraduate or graduate student at CU.

3.3. Instrumentation

3.3.1. Questionnaire

The online questionnaire for participants consisted of fifteen closed questions (see Table 1) about their usage, attitudes, and perspectives regarding Nigerian Pidgin English. These questions were partially adapted from Akande & Salami (2010). Although closed questions lack spontaneity and expressiveness (Oppenheim 2005), they offer a variety of alternative responses to respondents.

[5] In this context "unrecognised" means that Nigerian Pidgin is not officially acknowledged, endorsed, or accepted as a formal or legitimate language within formal institutions, such as the educational system or government. It lacks official recognition or status, which can result in limited or no support, resources, or inclusion in official policies or programs.

3.3.2. Focus group interview
A semi-structured focus group interview was conducted to discuss their perceptions of NPE in more detail. Seven open-ended questions prompted interviewees to elaborate on their general perspectives, attitudes, and use of Nigerian Pidgin English.

3.4. Data Analysis
Regarding the analysis of responses to the questionnaire, responses from participants were distributed according to polar and non-polar questions. The responses have been converted to percentages using a simple statistical instrument and tabular frequency. This is required as the obtained data is quantitative and fixed. Thematic analysis was used to identify patterns or themes within the qualitative data to interpret them. The framework of thematic analysis provided by Braun & Clarke (2006) was used to analyse the focus interview data because it provides a clear and usable structure for thematic analysis.

4. Online Questionnaire
4.1. Results
According to Table 1, 77.3% of Nigerian students in CU agree that NPE is a language, whereas 22.7% disagree. The percentage of students who view NPE as a language is greater than that of those who do not, as shown by the data presented below. Similarly, 72.7% of participants believe that NPE is an English dialect, while 27.3% disagree.

Table 1. Yes/No Responses to Views, Uses, and Attitudes Regarding Nigerian Pidgin English

	Questions	Yes	No
General Views	Is Nigerian Pidgin English a language?	77.3%	22.7%
	Do you think it is a variety of English?	72.7%	27.3%
Use	Do you use Nigerian Pidgin English?	81.8%	18.2%
	Do you read materials (books, magazines, and novels) written in Nigerian Pidgin English?	31.8%	68.2%
	Should there be more books, magazines written in Nigerian Pidgin English?	54.5%	45.5%
	Should there be more television programmes in Nigerian Pidgin English?	77.3%	22.7%
Attitudes	Should Nigerian Pidgin English be taught in Nigerian schools?	22.75	77.3%
	Should Nigerian Pidgin English be one of the mediums of instruction in primary school?	18.2%	81.8%
	Should Nigerian Pidgin English be adopted as an official language in Nigeria?	50%	50%

Regarding the use of NPE, 81.8% of Nigerian students at CU claim to use the language, compared to 18.2% who say they do not. Furthermore, 68.2% of students indicate that they do not read any magazines or books written in Pidgin English, while only 31.8% indicate that they do. As shown in the table above, 77.3% of respondents agree that more television programmes should be produced in Nigerian Pidgin, while 22.7% disagree. This is consistent with Elugbe & Omamor (1991) assertion that Pidgin English in Nigeria is a spoken language that has successfully maintained a vital and robust oral literature.

In addition, 77.3% of respondents disagree that Nigerian Pidgin English should be taught in Nigerian schools, while 22.7% of respondents agree. Similarly, 81.8% are opposed to the use of the language as a medium of instruction in primary school, whereas 18.2% are in favour. On the topic of the official recognition of Nigerian Pidgin English, fifty percent of respondents agree that it should be adopted as the official language of Nigeria, while the remaining fifty percent disagree completely.

Presented below are the responses to the non-polar questions "What Category of people do you think speak Nigerian Pidgin English?" (Table 2) and "When did you start learning Nigerian Pidgin English?" (Table 3).

Table 2. "What Category of people do you think speak Nigerian Pidgin English?"

Category	Percentage
All Categories	81.8%
Literates	0
Non-literates	18.2%

81.8% of the participants at CU agree that NPE is spoken by all categories of Nigerians; 18.2% of respondents say that the language is spoken by illiterate Nigerians; and none of the respondents claimed that only literate Nigerians speak it (Table 2). According to the data presented in Table 2, Nigerian students at CU hold positive views of NPE in its role as a tool for fostering effective communication and bridging gaps among speakers from different ethnic backgrounds and encompassing various social categories.

Table 3. "When did you start learning Nigerian Pidgin English?"

Domain	Percentage
Childhood	40.9%
Primary School	4.5%
Secondary School	31.8%
University	22.7%

Table 3 shows the statistical analysis of when participants first learned NPE. The results indicate that 40.9% of participants acquired the language at elementary school and 31.1% at secondary school. This indicates that most students acquired the language at a young age; consequently, negative transfer[6] and fossilisation issues may arise when communicating using standard Nigerian English.

Table 4. "Where do you normally use Nigerian Pidgin English?"

Domain	Percentage
Home	13.6%
Social Gathering	59.1%
Classroom	0
All the above	13.6%
None of the above	13.6%

[6] Negative transfer here focuses on interference or influence of NPE (or a previously learned language) on the learning and use of Standard Nigerian English.

Table 4 reveals that 59.1% of participants use NPE primarily in social settings, whereas 13.6% claim to speak it at home. 13.6% of respondents also use pidgin at home, in social settings, and in the classroom.

Table 5. "How often do you speak Nigerian Pidgin English?"

Frequency	Percentage
Occasionally	54.5%
Frequently	13.6%
Rarely	22.7%
Never	9.1%

Table 5 demonstrates that most respondents (54.5%) occasionally communicate in NPE. Only 13.6% of those surveyed report using the language frequently in their communication. However, 22.7% of respondents said they rarely use NPE, and 9.1% said they have never used it in any of their conversations.

Table 6. "Should its use in school be allowed, actively encouraged, or used at the discretion of the school or the teacher?"

Response	Percentage
Yes	27.3%
Maybe	18.2%
No	54.5%

Table 6 depicts the responses to the question "Should its use in school be allowed, actively encouraged, or used at the discretion of the school or the teacher?", which reveal that 54.5% of respondents do not encourage or accept the use of the language in schools, even at the discretion of teachers. 27.3% are in favour of its use in schools, while 18.2% of these respondents are neutral and neither agree nor disagree with this statement.

Table 7. "Is Nigerian Pidgin English capable of expressing any area of your thoughts and feelings?"

Response	Percentage
Yes	54.5%
Sometimes	45.5%
No	0

Table 7 demonstrates that 54.5% of Nigerian students claim to be able to express their feelings, desires, and thoughts in any area of communication using NPE. According to 45.5% of these students, these can only be used occasionally, not always, depending on the context. Respondents seem to agree that NPE has the potential to convey at least some of the student's thoughts and emotions.

4.2. Discussion

A large proportion of Nigerian students at CU use NPE occasionally, according to the findings of the data analysis presented in Table 5 above. More importantly, the students' perception of the language leans predominantly towards negativity, particularly in its role

as a language for formal education. This contradicts the findings of Buba, Al-Shujairi & Ya'u (2016), in which NPE was viewed favourably. This may have happened because NPE is viewed by these students as a threat to the English language, which they consider to be the 'real one', while NPE is viewed as a form of English in miserable disguise (Adegbija 2004: 129). Over 70% of the students in Table 1 agree that NPE is both a language and a variety of the English language.

Based on Table 2, it seems that students consider NPE in a way as a neutral language, without the ethnic connotations of the indigenous languages nor the elitist connotations of English. Consequently, literate Nigerian students at CU are not an exception, as the findings indicate that a significant number of students use it in the multicultural and heterogeneous society in which they reside. The available data in Table 7 indicates that NPE serves more than a limited purpose, as it is used in every conceivable aspect of their daily lives and can express the participants' thoughts, emotions, opinions, and desires regardless of the domain they are engaged in.

Even though most Nigerians both inside and outside of the country use NPE, 50% of the participants in Table 1 disagree with its official recognition in Nigeria. The results indicate that the lack of status of Nigerian Pidgin English is because speaking the language alone confers no social advantage on its speakers. As a result, the negative attitude of these participants towards the official adoption of NPE may be a result of their inability to read and write in NPE as they can in English, which they believe allows them to advance in society. Therefore, NPE is less prevalent among Nigerian students at CU.

Moreover, Nigerian students at CU use NPE more frequently in social settings, like informal meetings or casual get-togethers with friends and/or family, than at home or in the classroom. The occasional use of NPE by these Nigerian students may have resulted from their linguistic background and the small number (13.6%) of Nigerian students who use NPE frequently for communication as presented in Table 5 above. It should be noted, however, that the majority of university students do not support the use of Nigerian pidgin as a medium of instruction in primary school, nor do they accept its use in Nigerian schools. This is one way in which the language in Nigeria has been marginalised. Mann (1993), as cited in Adegbija (2004: 130), contends that despite the essential services, social prestige, and credibility that NPE provides, it has yet to be officially recognised as an official language, and as a result, the sociolinguistic survival of the language is neither guaranteed nor assured.

5. Focus Group Interview

5.1. Themes

Three themes and a total of seven subthemes were identified during the focus group interview (Table 8). The three major themes are based on the study's three research questions: "use of NPE with an emphasis on the how and why of NPE," "perceptions of Nigerian Pidgin," and "recognition of NPE".

Table 8: Themes and Sub-themes

Theme	Sub-theme
Theme 1: Use of NPE	Reasons for using Nigerian Pidgin English

	How Nigerian Pidgin English is (not) used Where Pidgin is used
Theme 2: Perceptions Towards Nigerian Pidgin English	Meeting Academic expectations
Theme 3: Recognition of NPE	Awareness raising on its widespread use. What students want from NPE Influence of NPE on English

5.2. Discussion

5.2.1. Use of Nigerian Pidgin English

In the four-person language-based focus group discussion, NPE was variously described as "a language in its own right," "not proper," "unrecognised," and "English mixed with local stuff". One respondent, referring to NPE as a variety of English, stated, "Pidgin is a broken piece of English that is mixed together in order to communicate". Another participant argued that "the British should have the final say because it is their language to begin with". In the discussion, the significance of NPE usage was also evident. Three respondents stated that NPE was their primary language for social activities:

> **Moderator:** *do you use Nigerian Pidgin very often?*
> **Participant 2:** *I use it mostly when I want to get into someone…. it's just like be free with the person like you…peers….*
> **Participant 1:** *I think I use it frequently not with anybody but mainly friends just made purposely for social activities…. Yeah, I think it shows more connection that we have in common…. you understand we are people from almost different ethnicity and other things.*

It is evident that NPE is predominantly used with friends, family, and in other informal contexts. According to Deuber (2005), the use of NPE conveys endearment and signifies familiarity and friendship. It is therefore consistent with Ndimele's (2016) assertion that NPE is significantly excluded from both educational and official domains, while it is heavily utilised in informal domains.

In the following statement, participant 4 acknowledges using NPE on occasion but primarily at the market:

> **Moderator:** *How often do you use Pidgin English?*
> **Participant 4***: not often…I only use Pidgin if I'm in the market* [in Nigeria] …
> ***Moderator:*** *why's that? Do you think people in the market are less educated? What's your reason for that?*
> **Participant 4:** *I only use Pidgin if I am in the market because you don't know if the person can understand what you are saying if you speak English…. I just feel like that's the best way you can speak with them…*

According to the participant's comments, the use of NPE in interethnic business contacts in different regions of Nigeria is functionally unparalleled. This may be because its origin and history are rooted in this field on both individual and societal levels. This is consistent with Adegbija's (2004) assertion that the predominant use of NPE in Nigerian markets

demonstrates that it is a language of interethnic communication used for soliciting and price haggling. This participant's predominant use of NPE in the marketplace demonstrates that it is a language of informality and socialisation. Consequently, its use in the commercial realm serves not only to facilitate negotiations but also to foster solidarity. As a result, NPE is regarded as a useful means of communication due to its simple structure and widespread use, particularly in a nation as linguistically and culturally diverse as Nigeria.

> **Moderator:** *Does Pidgin have the capacity to express every area of your thoughts and feelings?*
> **Participant 1:** *of course, yes…of course like most times I have to express myself using pidgin you know…there are some situations you will find yourself and you will just have this thing you want to express and the best way you could express it is using Pidgin …*
> **Participant 2:** *yeah…well I think it is same for local languages as well……laughs…*

Clearly, participant 1 uses NPE to express a variety of desires, emotions, thoughts, and beliefs, while participant 2 suggests the same is true for local languages. Participant 2 is more interested in other local languages than in NPE.

5.2.2. Perceptions towards Nigerian Pidgin English

Two of these respondents appear to oppose the use of NPE within the Nigerian educational system. They believe that the coexistence of English and NPE would cause problems in the Nigerian educational system. These participants recognised that the coexistence of these two languages, English and NPE, would hinder the effective acquisition of Standard English. This is evidenced by the following statement:

> **Moderator:** *From its widespread use, do you think it should be one of the mediums of instruction in primary schools?*
> **Participant 2:** *personally, I don't think so because there will be like huge margin the way you handle professional life and the way you do it with your peers…because let's say you go international now it's going to affect how we professionally communicate in Standard English…*
> **Participant 3:** *you can't take it to the professional world to express word to express feelings…I mean a corporate world you can't do that…you need proper English to relate with people all over the world as well….*

Considering that NPE has always been referred to as a substandard language and viewed as inferior, the evaluation of these Nigerian students' perceptions of NPE at CU further confirms that. As a result, the participant was opposed to its use in schools and the incorporation of NPE into the curriculum of primary schools in Nigeria. This result is consistent with the findings of Akande and Salami (2010), whose study revealed that neither students from the University of Benin nor those from University of Lagos hold a favourable view of the use or instruction of NPE in Nigerian schools. The result reveals that two of these respondents oppose its use in the Nigerian educational curriculum. Significantly, the remaining two respondents (Participants 1 and 4) believe that NPE is undervalued and worthy of international recognition:

> **Participant 1:** *logically I think it should...my reason is because if you look at South Africa they have 15 languages and their schools are channelled to if a*

> *child understands a language better, he or she can be sent to the school that teaches with that particular language...if Nigeria could adopt this system that if a child can understand more of 'Broken' then the child will be taught with Broken I think that's cool…*
> **Participant 4:** *I think Pidgin should be adopted in the educational system because if you find yourself maybe outside Nigeria like people from different ethnicity...it's a way for people to communicate in a better way...that's my own opinion...*

Therefore, it is suggested that NPE should be used in schools in Nigeria where students understand NPE better than English. Participant 1 believes that students will learn more effectively if they are instructed in their native language, as this will eliminate the initial shock of learning a new language. Therefore, the Nigerian language policy should logically result in the development of NPE as the official medium of instruction in Nigerian schools.

Moreover, participant 2 demonstrates a strong affinity for and preference for indigenous languages over Pidgin English. In his statement:

> **Participant 2:** *yeah, in my own view we have local languages and I think it is better to reinforce our local languages than Pidgin…*

Even though NPE is spoken by all ethnic groups and is more popular than the three major languages: Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba (Elugbe & Omamor 1991), as well as the language's perceived neutrality, Participant 2 continues to advocate for the promotion of indigenous languages over NPE. Dooga (2012) asserted that losing one's language entails losing one's culture and heritage, as well as a substantial portion of the nation's origin, because as language declines, so do cultural norms. As a result, it is possible that the participant believed that choosing NPE over our native languages could result in a loss of cultural values and identity.

5.2.3. Recognition of Nigerian Pidgin English

Participants are consistent and lucid regarding what constitutes a potential candidate for official language status, and they have provided concrete suggestions for enhancing NPE's acceptability and standing. What students want for NPE is rooted in the challenges of understanding its status and prestige, the need for further development, and the perception that NPE poses a threat to standard NPE. Participants favour a language that accommodates both individual and societal viewpoints.

> **Moderator:** *my question now is that since one can express his/herself using Pidgin…and other important functions it performs…do you think it should have an official status in Nigeria? Being the fact that different ethnicity can speak it…do you think it should be officially recognised in Nigeria?...*
> **Participant 2**: *there will be like huge margin…the way you handle our professional life and the way you do it with your peers…because let me say you go international now and it's going to affect how we professionally communicate in standard English….*

Instead of advocating for the official recognition of NPE, Participant 2 prefers English as the official language and medium of instruction in Nigerian schools.

> **Participant 2**: *I know what you mean but uhm mm…because my own support is an international language first of all like proper English… and like having Pidgin in the education is going to be a problem….*

Participant 2's statement hints at a comparison with standard Nigerian English. Participant 2's partial opposition to the official recognition of NPE can be attributed to the prejudice that the language lacks international acceptability and intelligibility and is viewed as a corrupt form of English. Also, due to its lack of linguistic development (Deuber 2005), this participant believes that a language must have social prestige, be an international language, and have widespread usage as well as international acceptability and intelligibility to qualify as a country's official language, just as English does.

Nonetheless, Participant 1 articulated the need to increase recognition of Nigerian Pidgin English. He further explains that the use of NPE by Nigerians unifies the nation. An example is the frequency with which the keyword "unity" was mentioned.

> **Participant 1:** *Well for me I think when it's given more awareness, more acceptability, it will* ***unite*** *us. You know because part of the basic element of development is* ***unity*** *and* ***unity*** *start with communication, regardless of your locality, if I can understand you, you discover that we are going to be close friends…*

Three of the respondents who supported the official recognition of NPE in Nigeria cited its widespread use by Nigerian citizens and its status as a neutral language that connects Nigerians across social and ethnic lines. They believed that NPE is inextricably learned in society because it does not require formal education and is simple to comprehend. Participants identified and acknowledged its use and significance; therefore, it cannot be ignored.

> **Participant 3:** *within Nigeria yes because it's already been used by a lot of people like* ***majority of Nigerians*** *use it…so…why not just* ***recognise*** *it yeah…*
> **Participant 2:** *in that point of view, I think maybe we can have uhmm…maybe another form of English, you know we move English aside and Pidgin aside...you know…it's because I can see from where this is going...we can have written English and then pidgin aside so we can know like to create awareness so they discover the difference between Standard and pidgin English becomes the main…we have this aside and the other aside.*

Participant 3 supports the recognition of NPE because most of the population now speaks it. Participant 2 concludes by advocating for a policy that recognises NPE as an official language while retaining English for diplomatic purposes, higher education, and international communication. In my personal view, NPE has survived despite opposition because it serves primarily as a fallback language when there is a need for communication between people of different ethnicities.

Perhaps the most notable result observed is that for these participants, NPE is a more plausible and desirable candidate than other indigenous languages for the status of official language, as they acknowledged that it is a unifying language that is widely used by most Nigerians, as stated by Participant 1 below:

> **Participant 1:** *because one unique thing about the language is that despite ethnicity from Nigeria or even Africa…you discover that 80% can understand each other when they are speaking Broken….*

Participant 1 referred to NPE as "Broken". This is consistent with the findings of Faraclas (2008 and Igboanusi (2008), which indicate that most Nigerians speak NPE. Even those who maintain the language by speaking it continue to refuse to acknowledge or recognise it. In my perspective, given the diminished social prestige associated with this language, there exists a notable disparity between acknowledging the occasional use of NPE and being recognised as someone who speaks NPE. Consequently, it is evident that the language has survived and flourished because it is readily accessible and useful, filling a communication void in Nigeria.

These findings indicate that despite the issues surrounding NPE, such as low social prestige and perception as a low or corrupt language, it is widely used among these students due to its usefulness, simplicity, and significance. The sociolinguistic reality among these Nigerian students at CU demonstrates that both literate and illiterate members of society speak NPE, supporting Akande's (2008) claim that both groups use the language. The research revealed that there are numerous negative perceptions of NPE. These perceptions have resulted in a string of disparaging views of NPE as an improper or corrupted form of the English language. As a result, others have started to view the language as subpar, inferior, marginal, and adulterated (Deuber 2005). The results revealed these degrading qualifications, which explain why these Nigerian students at CU use NPE as an oral mode of communication. NPE as a language is without a doubt widely used, spoken, and understood by these Nigerian students at CU. Based on an analysis of the interview data, it has been determined that these students use NPE primarily at social gatherings[7]. This suggests that the language is used more frequently with their peers.

6. Conclusion

The perception of NPE, particularly in relation to its applicability in education, demonstrates a lack of favourable sentiment, as revealed by the outcomes of both the online questionnaire and the focus group discussion. This finding holds significance as it signifies a discernible division of opinions regarding the official status of NPE (Buba, Al-Shujairi & Ya'u 2016). Furthermore, the data indicates the existence of varying degrees of prejudice among Nigerian students at CU, and there is presently no indication of imminent alterations in the existing language policy and practice. The findings contradict the claim that Nigerian college students have the most positive attitude (Elugbe & Omamor 1991). This could be due to inadequate language development. In the absence of literature and orthography, NPE cannot effectively compete with other Nigerian languages for government recognition. Since it is not developed and does not play a role in formal education, it is not the linguistic superiority of the English language that places it above NPE, but rather the value that Nigeria and the rest of the world place on it. In contrast to indigenous languages, NPE has not been evaluated in any of the country's formal education systems. This is a direct result of the government's lack of interest (Elugbe & Omamor 1991).

[7] The use of NPE in a social gathering refers to a gathering of people in a relaxed and casual setting where they come together for social interaction, enjoyment, and informal conversations. These gatherings can take various forms, such as parties, get-togethers, hangouts, or other informal events.

The lack of NPE development in Nigeria could be responsible for the negative perception (Elugbe & Omamor 1991). NPE lacks a standardised orthography because there have been no efforts to expand its lexicon and there is no codified standard variety of the language (Deuber 2005). Consequently, the results of the focus group interview may be described as promising for a non-standardised language that suffers most from low social prestige and lacks official recognition. It could be argued that the significance and benefits of NPE have not yet been fully exploited in the nation's policy planning. Since it is a national language and the only ethnically neutral language, it could be viewed as an asset. According to the findings of the study, proposals to expand and officially recognise the functions of NPE are not without merit. Due to socio-political developments, it is difficult to predict whether NPE will surpass its unofficial recognition and become an officially recognised language (Deuber 2005). However, due to the increasing popularity and widespread use of the language in Nigeria and the diaspora, it will continue to play an important role in the sociolinguistic context of Nigeria.

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Reflections on how Family Language Policies have contributed to language shift among Yorùbás in London[1]

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Abstract
This paper presents a small-scale, qualitative, interview-based investigation into Yorùbá families' language policies, according to the tripartite model of practice, management, and beliefs. The objective was to determine factors that have resulted in the second-generation of Yorùbá in London not being active speakers of their heritage language. Findings suggest that first-generation parents were not intentional about transmitting Yorùbá to the next generation because they did not perceive any value in language maintenance. Language management was primarily confined to safeguarding English; any explicit Yorùbá policies were not sustained, and a laissez-faire management style arose as a theme. As a result, the home was not an environment that supported the development of Yorùbá. In terms of language practices, the quantity and quality of language input was sufficient for the second-generation to acquire rudimentary working knowledge of Yorùbá, however because participants felt no impetus to speak their mother's tongue, English was adopted as their 'mother tongue'. Beliefs about language were largely centred around economic principles where value was ascribed on the basis of the ability to create numerous and economically prosperous connections. The value and utility of Yorùbá to create connections with culture and heritage has only begun to be considered important in the wake of a recent attitude shift.

Keywords: Heritage Languages, Yorùbá, Family Language Policy, Language Shift

1. Yorùbá in London

The Yorùbá people and language have travelled far and wide – willingly and forcibly – across the globe. The migration relevant to this study is that of post-WWII movements to the UK. One of the primary purposes for this wave was education. The colonial legacy of Britain in Nigeria had imposed English as the country's official language, and an English education increased the possibility of prestigious jobs back home. In the mid-twentieth century, Nigeria's economy was prosperous, and these early expatriates were among the wealthier communities of emigrants to Britain. However, in the 1980s, motivation for migration shifted from education to escaping the declining socioeconomic and political situation in Nigeria. The succession of military regimes, coupled with the high levels of inflation resulting from the stifling IMF structural adjustment policies, led to the flight of both elite and middle-class Nigerians seeking a better life abroad (Akinrinade & Ajibewa 2003). The vast majority made their homes in London. The largest population of Nigerians grew up in Peckham around the community of Yorùbá owned shops and Nigerian churches and mosques so that the area has come to be known affectionately as Little Lagos. Despite the Yorùbá people appearing to replicate the comforts of home, the

[1] My sincerest gratitude for the very constructive critiques made by Kendall King, and for the attention to detail provided by Selena Hong in reviewing this paper.

lamentations of language and cultural loss with the emergence of the second generation[2] has become a common narrative. Over two decades ago Oyètadé (1993: 90) wrote about the adolescent second-generation:

> They were all born or raised in London and cannot speak the language they considered to be their mother tongue, or they speak a few words of it and they feel inadequate and want to learn more.

And a BBC article (White 2005) quoting a Yorùbá interviewee stated that:

> The trouble is that many London Yorùbás have neglected to pass their traditions on to their children. A few insist on Yorùbá being spoken at home, but many have given up the struggle of teaching Yorùbá to unenthusiastic children, and English has become the family language.

According to the 2011 census (Office for National Statistics 2013), in England and Wales, 14,914 people (0.03% of all residents aged three and over) spoke Yorùbá as a main language. In London, 10,119 people (0.13% of all residents aged three and over) spoke Yorùbá as a main language. We can draw from this data that Yorùbá speakers are concentrated in London. However, this figure does not account for those who identify as ethnically and culturally Yorùbá but who would not speak it as a 'main language', i.e., the second-generation participants in this study[3].

2. Language shift

Situations of language contact give rise to modification in habitual language behaviour. It also often results in asymmetries where power and status translate social difference into social deficiency (Edwards 1999: 101). Language shift (LS), i.e. the gradual displacement of one language by another, therefore occurs where there is a difference in prestige attached to the languages (Hornberger & King 1997 as cited in Kigamwa 2016). LS is much more common than language maintenance among the children of immigrants in countries where there is one dominant language (Fenigsen 1998; Fishman 1991; Portes & Rumbaut 2005).

In the writings of scholars such as Oyètádé (1993) and Adéniyi (2016) and via social media and online content (Daramola 2017; Feyi 2014; Kuku 2016; Spectra 2013a; Spectra 2013b), there is plenty of evidence suggesting that there has been a 'mother tongue' shift from Yorùbá to English between the first and second generations of Nigerians in Britain. Therefore, the prevailing assumption of this study is that the second-generation Yorùbá cannot speak the language of their parents. It is consequently concerned with the disruption of intergenerational language transmission (Fishman 1991); where the

[2] In this study, 'first-generation' is used to denote the Nigerians born abroad who migrated and settled in the UK without their parents. They are the first generation of Nigerians to live in the UK in the modern era. Consequently 'second-generation' refers to their children. This categorisation includes those who were born abroad but who migrated with their families as children as well as those born in Britain. Some research has delineated a category of 'Generation 1.5' (Rumbaut 2004) to refer to the former. Although the division may provide insight into variations in FLP, this initial study will not make a distinction between generation 1.5 and the second for reasons mentioned in **7**.

[3] Further detailed demographic information on Yorùbás in the UK is difficult to come by. One may find information on Nigerians as a national group but rarely is it broken down further into ethnic or linguistic sub-divisions.

ordinarily assumed process of passing one's native language to their children has been interrupted.

The traditional conceptualisation of LS is provided by Fishman's three-generational model of migrant families (1991). This model presumes that the first-generation add the new dominant language to their repertoire, the second-generation grow up bilingual and a third generation becomes monolingual in the dominant language. This pattern is pervasive but not evidenced in all communities. As it was based on Europeans-ancestry groups in the USA, its application to migrants who have moved from African and Asian countries which have colonial histories needs to be questioned because language use in the diaspora is influenced by language status and practices in the home countries (Kigamwa 2018; Canagarajah 2008).

In a study on language shift in the Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora, Canagarajah (2008) demonstrated how the family and consequently their languages practices, are shaped by historical relations; reproducing ideological values and power inequalities established in colonial Sri Lanka. In many former colonies, like Nigeria, the colonial language is used in high status activities and local languages are ring fenced into the family domain (Phillipson 1992: 27). The dominance asserted and maintained between English and other languages in a colonial context is what Phillipson (1992) referred to as *Linguistic Imperialism*. Such a system ensures that indigenous languages are stigmatised and devalued in comparison to the colonial one, and a lack of proficiency in the latter closes doors to opportunities. English is essential for upward mobility and privileged positions in society, and acquiring proficiency is therefore seen as desirable by the indigenous populations. Thus, the colonial history of Nigeria would likely contribute its challenges to language transmission and maintenance of Yorùbá language in the UK.

3. Family Language Policy

Schwartz (2010: 172) notes that research in the field of LS and maintenance has underscored the role of the family because of its critical role in forming a child's linguistic environment. Family Language Policy (FLP), as a field of enquiry, conceptualises the family's role in phenomena such as LS and maintenance. Initial definitions emphasized the explicit and overt planning of language use within the home setting (King, Fogle & Logan-Terry 2008) although, the reality is that only a small percentage of families make definitive choices on which languages to speak and then strategize on how to raise their children as multilingual. All FLPs lie along a continuum from highly planned to invisible, and decisions regarding language use at times arise spontaneously and without discussion (Schwartz 2010). In recent years, scholars have demonstrated the value of family policies that are implicit, covert, unarticulated and occurring because of ideological beliefs, in understanding processes of language change (Okita 2002; Kopeliovich 2010; King & Fogle 2017; Curdt-Christiansen 2018).

Conceptualising family language use within the vein of *policy* emphasises the agency that brings about a particular linguistic environment. It has also meant that the majority of research has adopted a Spolskian (2004) model where language policy is analysed according to the three components of: language practices (what people habitually do with language), language management (efforts to modify language practices) and language beliefs (what people think about language and its value). Using this model enables

researchers to examine how beliefs play out in the level of practice and then how practices, including management and intervention may or may not contribute to the development of a heritage language[4] (Smith-Christmas 2015).

4. Objectives

The primary objective is to determine factors that have contributed towards the shift in use of Yorùbá as the language of the home within British-Nigerian families. The FLPs that may accelerate or impair heritage language maintenance vary between speech communities. Although the trends, patterns and challenges of intergenerational language transmission have been widely documented for decades, there has been a disproportionate focus on WEIRD (white, European, industrialised, rich and democratic) populations (Wright & Higgins 2022). Within the framework of FLP, studies focusing on the experiences of the African diaspora are relatively few (see Kamuangu 2008; Gafaranga 2010; Obeng 2010; Kigamwa 2016). In the British context this is even more markedly so, with the notable exception of Abdullahi & Li Wei's (2021) research on Somali families. The Yorùbá population has been in Britain for over half a century, yet their language choices and factors influencing them have not been observed in a substantive way. This study is an attempt to redress this imbalance. Knowledge of this speech community can only illuminate the field of FLP and further our understanding of LS within different migrant and linguistic communities.

Within literature on FLP there is often a disproportionate focus on reports from parents, with the children being forgotten partners in negotiations on language use in the home. Parents are viewed as the 'architects' of policies so their ideologies and attempts at managing language are frequently at the centre of a family's linguistic narrative. A few recent studies have emphasized children's role and agency in the process (Gafaranga 2010; Kopeliovich 2010; Schwartz 2010; Smith-Christmas 2016), however it is rare that their views are at the centre of the analysis. Consequently, this paper presents primarily the reflections of the second-generation on their bilingual development and FLPs throughout their lives as an alternative perspective to investigating LS. Often the viewpoint of those impacted by the policies is also missing from analysis in FLP research and such reports could be used to strengthen or call into question the validity of data collected from parents. It is hoped that this in turn would contribute to a deeper understanding of how LS may be arrested and reversed.

4.1. Research questions

This study sought to answer the following research questions:

1. Has there been a shift away from the use of Yorùbá between generations of families living in the UK?
2. How do Yorùbá families use language within the home; what are their language practices?
3. How has language been managed within the Yorùbá families?

[4] Languages within a migrant or diasporic context are generally viewed against a backdrop of dominant languages, and thus always considered as 'other' (Fishman 1991; Valdés 2014). Although the term community language is usually favoured within the UK, the fact is that the Yorùbás in Britain also use English in the communities of which they are a part. It is because a salient feature of a heritage language is the personal connection and ability to act as a marker of cultural heritage and identity, that this paper will refer to Yorùbá as a heritage language (HL).

4. What beliefs do Yorùbá families in London hold about language?
5. How have the beliefs, practices, and management of Yorùbá language led to intergenerational language shift?

5. Data collection & analysis

This paper presents a small-scale qualitative study consisting of semi-structured interviews with second-generation Yorùbá adults in London, and where possible their parents. It is an attempt to understand the factors that have contributed to an intergenerational shift away from the heritage language use within the family. The analysis utilizes the tripartite model of family language policy. For the purposes of this study the 'family' is conceptualized as the nuclear family consisting of parent(s) – or those in loco parentis – and child(ren).

5.1. The participants

Table 1 shows a breakdown of all participants, with names changed for anonymity. SOAS University of London offered a Yorùbá language course on which most of the students enrolled at time of writing were of Yorùbá heritage. Initially, participants for this study were recruited from the language course then subsequently through referral sampling. The requirement that second-generation participants were born and raised in the UK until adulthood was required; however, during the recruitment process it emerged that a significant proportion have had transnational lives. Some participants were born in the UK but lived in Nigeria for extended periods during their childhood before returning, and others who were born in Nigeria and had migrated as infants or children also identified as British-Nigerian[5]. The latter in some sociological studies are termed 'generation 1.5' (Rumbaut 2004). They are differentiated from second-generation on the basis that primary socialisation would yield different outcomes. However, the 'one-and-a-half' generation were included in this study as they also reflect the truth of Yorùbá families in Britain and any differences would contribute interesting findings for analysis.

Interviewing siblings was a way to create multiple points of entry in a family's language policies, corroborate stories and mitigate against inaccurate reports. The intention was also to interview parents of each second-generation participant to add a multidimensional layer to the analysis. However, in many cases not all members of the same family were willing or able to participate.

In order to confirm the assumption that there had been a disruption in Yorùbá language transmission, Yorùbá language competence was established among participants on the basis of self-reporting. Each person was asked what languages they spoke, how fluently, then asked to compare their levels of comprehension and production across all the languages in their repertoire. They were also asked about situations in which they would use Yorùbá in order to understand the role that the language plays in their lives.

Although self-reporting is not the most accurate method to assess language ability, the lack of readily available level tests for Yorùbá meant it was the only option available. In

[5] While the term could be used to refer to a Nigerian citizen of British heritage; in this paper, it denotes those of Nigerian heritage with geographical ties to Britain by virtue of being born or primarily socialised in the UK. It is thus used to refer to the second-generation rather than first-generation of migrants and is an ideological rather than a political definition.

addition to some limitations of self-report such as social desirability bias, the reliance on retrospective data also throws up the potential for inaccurate reporting of past events due to the fragility and malleability of memories. While an ethnographic study with the ability to observe daily interactions would be beneficial to triangulate the data, this study was subject to the constraints of time. In the absence of an option to conduct a longitudinal study this is a good starting point as perception of events that determine behaviour may be equally as important as what actually transpired, particularly when trying to uncover ideologies.

5.2. Data analysis

Prior to every interview, participants were given a copy of a consent form to read and sign. Interviews typically lasted one hour and were recorded. Rather than transcribing all interviews in their entirety, I began by closely listening to the recordings as there was a lot of information that would not have been relevant for the research concerned. During the second listen, I transcribed any data that I believed would be useful and relevant in answering the question as suggested by Bryman (2016: 483). Although the procedure of transcribing the entire interview has certain advantages, the time constraint for this project also necessitated expediency. In coding the transcribed data, I followed Auerbach & Silverstein's (2003) method of selecting relevant text from the raw data, identifying repeating ideas and then organising them into themes. The themes were categorised under the concepts of language practice, management, and ideology according to the Spolskian framework of FLP and analysed using previous research and literature.

Table 1: Summary of Participants

	Age range	Genera-Tion	Home	Relationship to other participants (if any)
Fọlárìn	22-25	2nd	London	Sibling to Tókẹ́
Tókẹ́	22-25	2nd	London	Sibling to Fọlárìn
Tolú	22-25	2nd	London	n/a
Adé	25-29	2nd	London Festac age 10 – 14 (Boarding school)	n/a
Fisáyọ̀ Fáwọlé	25-29	2nd	London aged 0 – 3; Lagos age 3 – 10; London age 10+	n/a
Mrs. Fáwọlé	60-64	1st	Lagos	Fisáyọ̀'s Mother
Mr. Fáwọlé	60-64	1st	Lagos	Fisáyọ̀'s Father
Daniel	30-34	2nd	London	n/a
Ibi	30-34	2nd	Ibadan age 0-5 London age 5+	n/a
Kiìtán	30-34	2nd	London	n/a
Andy	30-34	2nd	Jos age 0-10 (Boarding school) London age 10+	n/a
Dùnní	25-29	2nd	London	Sibling to Gbenga

Gbenga	30-34	2nd	London	Sibling to Dùnní
Ms. Dábírí	60-64	1st	Ibadan	Mother of Dùnní & Gbenga

6. Findings

The assumption that intergenerational language shift has taken place was born out because the second-generation participants reported not being able to speak Yorùbá beyond a few phrases. All participants reported being able to understand Yorùbá to varying degrees or infer meaning when spoken to, however no one had any literacy skills in the HL. A few participants used Yorùbá in the interviews, but it was primarily to demonstrate phrases they were familiar with rather than instances of code-switching. The self-reported level of fluency and comprehension of Yorùbá would allow us to conclude that the second-generation participants are receptive bilinguals or latent speakers (Basham & Fathman 2008). Having been raised in an environment where the HL was spoken, they acquired comprehension and advanced phonological production, but they did not become confident speakers as their receptive skills surpass productive skills. They tended to be hesitant to speak and have a low estimation of their language ability but remembered common expressions and emotion-laden vocabulary.

6.1. Language practices

> **Andy (2nd Gen):** *...that* [English] *is what we were speaking in the house. I grew up around Yorùbá speakers but yeah, that's what we'd speak in the house.*

The pattern of language use reported by the second-generation was in line with Pauwels' (2016: 91) observation that first-generation parents are likely to communicate through the HL with each other and with same-age or older relatives. Interactions between first and second-generation was predominantly through English: parents spoke to their children in English more often than Yorùbá and the children responded in English, and it was the language used between siblings. This finding confirms what other studies looking at intergenerational language transmission have found: children growing up with two languages invariably learn to speak the majority language of the wider environment (De Houwer 2007).

The majority of Yorùbá conversation that surround the second-generation was not directed at them but towards other adults:

> **Ibi (2nd Gen):** *Mum and Dad would actually be speaking Yorùbá to each other in full topics on something other than washing the plates, but we were never involved in those conversations.*
> **Andy (2nd Gen):** *I learned Yorùbá from my mum but not directly, she was always speaking to people around me and I'd always just pick it up like that.*

When parents did speak to their children in Yorùbá, they practiced heavy code-switching. In some cases, it appeared that the switching was not intentional but simply a way to facilitate quicker communication. However, in some two-parent households the HL was used to obscure meaning and a switch in code signalled that the children were to be excluded from the present conversation:

> **Fọlárìn (2nd Gen):** *They'll start having a conversation in English over something important or like some drama or scandal and they'll switch to Yorùbá and often they'll say certain phrases which, like, imply that they don't want Fọlárìn to hear. Which I can pick up on.*

Response to this exclusion fell into two camps: either the children were disinterested in the language enough to be indifferent, or they used it as an opportunity to secretly acquire more Yorùbá knowledge:

> **Adé (2nd Gen):** *And she [Nan] would talk about me to my parents while I was there, or my parents would talk to her about me while I was there ... But I'd sit there and like, listen ... they might be talking about someone else, they might be talking about my Aunt or Uncle or whoever but they felt like they could have that full blown adult conversation in my presence cos I didn't understand what they were saying. And I'm there just there acting like I'm not listening. I'm listening to everything.*

Code-switching was also employed to give instructions or when disciplining children:

> **Adé(2nd Gen):**...*so they would say, like the odd thing to me as parents would like...**wá ba mi gbá rimòt** [pass me the TV remote]*
>
> **Kúnmi:** *How did you learn Yorùbá?*
> **Dùnní (2nd Gen):** *From my mum speaking it to me as I was growing up...telling me off! [laughs]*
>
> **Kúnmi:** *How did you learn Yorùbá?*
> **Daniel (2nd Gen):** *From home, it would be people giving me commands*
>
> **Mr. Fáwọlé (1st Gen, Fisáyọ̀'s father):** *And most of the time when you do speak Yorùbá to them – it just occurred to me now – you're telling them off. **"ma na ẹ o ... t'o ba kuro ni beyen"** [I'll spank you...if you don't move from there] you know, so it wasn't the greatest fun*

Pavlenko (2004) noted that sometimes bilingual parents code-switch to emphasize that they really mean what they are saying. When this happens, the HL can become associated with rebuke and correction (Kigamwa 2016). Although many of the participants laughed about this during the interviews, as Mr. Fáwọlé mentioned, such a practice created negative associations with the HL for the second-generation. One participant, Ibi (2nd Gen) cited it as the reason she forcibly willed herself to not understand Yorùbá as an adolescent.

Aside from the habitual language practices described, second-generation participants also referred to extra-linguistic habits that interfered with any attempts at speaking their HL. Often, Yorùbá mispronunciations were met with laughter. Yorùbá is a tonal language, so the same phoneme produced with different intonation results in several possible meanings. In the 'wrong' context, the mispronunciations may seem amusing. However, the Yorùbá children did not have enough comprehension of the language to distinguish the mistake and were thus excluded from the joke. It, therefore, appeared as though they were being 'laughed at', creating what some scholars have referred to as 'heritage

language anxiety' (Xiao & Wong 2014). Participants reported that this became a deterrent in attempts to engage with Yorùbá.

6.2. Language management

Explicit attempts to manage language were predominantly reserved for the promotion of "proper" English, and in some reports the prohibition of Nigerian-Pidgin as it contravened attempts at ensuring children spoke good English:

> **Andy (2nd Gen):** *We spoke Pidgin among ourselves…which my mum hated. She was like "why are you talking like that? I didn't send you there to start talking like that".*
>
> **Adé (2nd Gen):** *...so she didn't allow Pidgin in the house...my nan spoke the Queen's English to me and she always wanted me to speak English and she always wanted my English to be very, very...[pause]...polished, as it were... Like no ebonics, no slang, proper use of diction and that's what my nan wanted.*

Most participants did not report much of what could be construed as explicit management of Yorùbá. Almost across the board the second-generation felt that the HL was never expected, enforced nor encouraged. This is the reason why, when parents spoke to them in the Yorùbá, their practice was to respond in English. Occasionally extended family members would encourage them to converse in Yorùbá, however such instances were rare enough not to have any impact on their development of the HL.

> **Tolú (2nd Gen):** *We wasn't (sic) really encouraged or, we wasn't (sic) required to speak it. So, if your parents were speaking to you in English, it wasn't a requirement that you have to respond in Yorùbá or anything like that. There was just no major requirement for me to speak it as much.*

In one reported instance of explicit Yorùbá management, Fisáyọ̀'s parents – Mr. & Mrs. Fáwọlé – employed a language tutor for her and her brother when they were living in Nigeria. It is during this time that Fisáyọ̀ recalls speaking Yorùbá to their domestic help because her parents had imposed a Yorùbá only policy with their staff. In their interview, they stated two reasons for this: to expose the children to more of the HL and to reduce exposure to 'bad English'. It should be noted that Fisáyọ̀'s parents did not believe they alone were able to transmit the HL to the children despite it being their mother tongue. They blamed this on the linguistic situation in Nigeria:

> **Mr. Fáwọlé (1st Gen, Fisáyọ̀'s father):** *[Yorùbá] is not a language of science, you learn science in school. It's not a language of mathematics. It's not even...when you learn African literature, they called it African literature 'in English'. So, you're in this sea of English. So those of us who did 60:40 [Yorùbá/English] it was even good, because many parents did not. Including those I wouldn't consider as middle class as we were.*

Once back in London, the Yorùbá tuition did not continue and Fisáyọ̀ was aware of a shift in focus to English at the expense of the family's native tongue:

> **Fisáyọ̀ (2nd Gen):** *...when our parents moved here [to London] it feels like they were focused a lot more on like, teaching us English and wanting us to be good at English to the point where it almost seemed as if Yorùbá and other languages were not as important.*

Fisayọ̀'s parents expressed a love for and pride in their culture and which is reflected in their intention to transmit the HL to the next generation. However, the desire to safeguard their children's English language acquisition is very evident in their management policy. When in the UK, the dominance of English was too powerful to attempt to overcome, so in an instance of ideological conflict, the Yorùbá management policies were abandoned. Curdt-Christiansen (2018: 431) had previously written that language ranking and ideological conflicts often invoke complex power relations that can inhibit intergenerational language transmission. English was permitted to take prime place within the family.

In contrast to Fisayọ̀'s parents, Ms. Dábírí was very deliberate in her decision not to impose Yorùbá language on her children:

> **Ms. Dábírí:** *...it wasn't like I thought "we need to have Yorùbá lessons now". But I would speak it to them and they would understand. But because they're going to school they would also speak English. So English was the language they spoke but they understood Yorùbá.*

Her attitude corresponds inversely to the language management she was accustomed to during her childhood. In Nigerian schools, English was the medium of instruction imposed by the colonial powers. Pupils' native languages were prohibited in class with punitive measures taken against those who dared to speak 'vernacular'; a term that stigmatised the indigenous languages and held English up as the norm (Phillipson 1992: 40). Rather than follow the same controlling measures she had been subjected to, Ms. Dábírí decided to take a laissez-faire approach to language management and permit the children to speak what she believed was their language. She felt it sufficient that they understood her because, despite being bilingual, Yorùbá was at times more comfortable to use than English. The fact that she spoke her children's language made for an easy life for all the family. From their interviews both Ms. Dábírí's children, Gbenga and Dùnní, were very aware of their mother's policy for them to understand Yorùbá but not necessarily speak it. Consequently, they made no attempts to do so. The English language proficiency of all their extended family members further facilitated this.

> **Gbenga (2nd Gen):** *I think as a child you go for the path of least resistance so if an Aunty or Uncle is communicating to me in Yorùbá and I know that they could speak good English, then the best way for me to get my message across to them would not be for me to attempt to speak a language in a broken form. Let me speak the language that I can speak well, to communicate with them.*

Another parent who attempted to develop their children's Yorùbá through literacy was Tókẹ́'s father. She recalls him buying books for her and her brother, Fọlárìn. However, this initiative was short lived in the face of opposition from the children:

> **Tókẹ́ (2nd Gen):** *...but I think we weren't really interested at the time, and we were quite young ... we were kind of like "no" and it was made, kind of like an errand like, "you have to learn Yorùbá, you have to speak to us in Yorùbá" so it was more like a battle.*

Ms. Dábírí's attitude and Tókẹ́'s father's decision to abandon his language maintenance project is in line with Okita's (2002) findings that raising children bilingually is an

emotionally demanding and at times stressful task which may cause tension in the family. Additionally, as a single parent, maintaining the heritage language alone was a battle that Ms. Dábírí was not willing to fight.

6.3. Language beliefs

Yorùbá was on the whole not believed to be a useful language socially or economically. More useful languages mentioned in interviews were English, Spanish, French, Arabic, and Chinese (Mandarin) on the basis that knowing these would permit one to speak to many more people around the world, and Swahili in the context of Africa.

When discussing what may encourage a community to maintain their HL, most answers were predicated on economic prosperity:

> **Kunmi:** *What do you think would keep people speaking Yorùbá in London?*
> **Fọlárìn (2nd Gen):** *Like, so, economic call for necessity, in the sense that if people in the culture need to speak Yorùbá to make money or do business, then yeah, they're gonna speak Yorùbá and that keeps it like, thriving and keeps it developing.*

Despite Yorùbá being perceived as having very little economic and social utility, its value is predicated entirely on its ability to connect one to Yorùbá culture and act as a marker of Yorùbá identity. Yorùbá language was seen as essentially for Yorùbá people:

> **Daniel (2nd Gen):** *It's a way to keep the culture, to keep the identity that I have as a descent of someone who is of the Yorùbá people.*

Parents giving their children Yorùbá names was the main marker of cultural identity. However, for a significant portion of their lives, the second-generation did not want to be connected to or identify with their heritage. They described how, as children and adolescents, they held negative attitudes towards Yorùbá culture and language; from feelings of disinterest to embarrassment at being spoken to in Yorùbá when in public, and contempt for their *"long and unpronounceable"* (Kìítań, 2nd Gen) names that were frequently *"butchered"* (Adé, 2nd Gen).

Before the millennium and rise of Afrobeats in mainstream pop culture, being African in Britain was *"not cool"*. This sentiment was repeated across multiple interviews and no doubt stemmed from the overt racism and anti-immigrant narrative that was the mainstay of much of post-war Britain (Fryer 1984; Olusoga 2016). As a result of the stigmatisation that Africans in Britain faced, some participants attempted to obscure their heritage and align themselves with the more *"fashionable"* (Tolú, 2nd Gen) Caribbean population that had arrived a generation or two prior:

> **Kìítań (2nd Gen):** *Well, I remember growing up being 'African' as a generalisation wasn't so cool, so I wasn't so into the culture as much, and my friends, a lot of them were Caribbean growing up. So I think that was part of why I like "urgh, keep that [Yorùbá] at a distance".*

Fishman (1991) states that such self-views reflect a destruction of self-esteem due to decades of negative comparisons with the dominant power. 'Linguistic self-hatred' (Labov 1966: 489 in Sallabank 2013) may not be too extreme a description in this case and was enough of a motivator for a Yorùbá child to anglicize or change their name and

relinquish association with their heritage. Tolú felt that a sense of pride in the culture and thus language was not evident in his community:

> **Tolú (2nd Gen):** *I don't think we were taught to be overly proud of where we're from. Or outside, around us people weren't proud to be Nigerian as much.*

Participants appeared to have a lot of insight into their attitudes as children and adolescents because they are markedly different to the ones they hold now. In recent years, coinciding with the visible rise of commercially successful Africans in mainstream media and entertainment (Abiade 2018), it is possible to observe what Sallabank (2010: 78) refers to as an "attitude shift" or potentially an "ideology shift" because it seems to be happening on a society-wide basis:

> **Dùnní (2nd Gen):** *Our culture or black cultures are a lot more accepted in England now, ever since afrobeats and stuff like that. It's not just about being Jamaican.*

7. Discussion

The objective of this study was to determine factors that have contributed to the intergenerational LS away from Yorùbá by the second-generation in London using the framework of family language policy. The three components of language policy are to some degree hierarchically structured; practice is often as a result of management (or lack thereof) and management tends to be influenced by beliefs or ideology. Consequently, most research into FLP has focused on parents' language beliefs; as the policy makers, what they believe underpins most decisions within the family. However, the micro level of daily interactions is also important for understanding how and why LS occurs. At times it is difficult to finely delineate the boundaries of practice, management and ideology as the components are interrelated and interdependent, nevertheless this study demonstrates the efficacy of the tripartite model for the analysis of intergenerational LS in a previously unstudied group.

Participants subscribed to the belief that language was a form of capital, the market value of which is determined by the number of speakers it gives one access to and the status of these speakers. The more valuable the interactions it makes possible, the more valued the language (Robichaud & Schutter 2012). The high status 'global languages' are well endowed in terms of linguistic capital which can then be converted to economic capital and used to improve one's socioeconomic standing (Bourdieu 1991; Curdt-Christiansen 2009). The most useful and valuable languages mentioned by participants, correspond to a list produced in a study conducted by the European Institute of Business Administration in which Kai Chan created a Power Language index (2017) to compare the efficacy of more than one hundred languages. It placed English, Spanish, French, Arabic and Chinese (Mandarin) in the top five positions demonstrating that participants' beliefs reflect wider global ideologies of language value and utility. In the modern world, the 'global' languages provide more opportunities for valuable linguistic transactions that may result in economic wealth. Yorùbá is just for Yorùbá people and consequently unable to fulfil this function. It is not a useful or valuable commodity for modern London living. Because of this belief by parents, there was no intention to transmit the heritage language to the next generation. According to Fishman (1991; 2001 cited in Kigamwa 2016: 44), effective HL learning is predicated upon intentional home use. The lack of intention on

the part of most parents discussed was the starting point for the family language practices and management that resulted in the disruption of intergenerational Yorùbá transmission.

At the level of management, we observed the primacy of English. Most steps to modify language were centred around safeguarding and ensuring the development of English with explicit policies created to curtail 'bad' varieties. The Queen's English and Nigerian Pidgin can be conceptualised as extreme ends of a language hierarchy. Pidgin was seen as a bastardisation of the prestigious English language; it was the code of the non-literate and considered an indicator of one's (low) proficiency in English. The general assumption was that those who used Nigerian-Pidgin have little or no formal education (Akande & Salami 2010: 70). Despite the reality being that most sections of society use Pidgin, both in Nigeria and the diaspora, the low status is such that parents felt that its use needed to be curbed among their children. The prestige of English means that parents insisted on its development in order to position their children for a good education and prospects of economic advancement (Bamgbose 2003: 423). The HL is not highly valued because it does not facilitate as many interactions that would offer the same economic or social advantages. Therefore, both the first and second-generations conduct a cost-benefit analysis and forgo the opportunity-cost of investing in low yielding HL. Instead, they spend time and effort on the more lucrative languages like English, French or Spanish because they have a higher potential for economic return.

Any attempts to develop Yorùbá proficiency were not upheld in the face of English dominance. An ideological conflict between cultural and economic value of language forced parents to reconsider educational priorities for their children and abandon deliberate language management strategies. Additionally, laissez faire policies that left matters to the laws of the linguistic marketplace strengthened the more powerful, dominant language (Phillipson 2003: 19). In the case of the Yorùbá it has meant that without active management or encouragement Gbenga, Dùnní and the other second-generation participants felt no impetus to speak their mother's tongue and English was adopted as their 'mother tongue'.

The *"sea of English"* (Mr. Fáwọlé) as was mentioned was conceived of as being too powerful for families to fend off alone and required external support. Being able to afford domestic help situates the family firmly within the Nigerian middle class[6] meaning they would have been interacting significantly with English in their daily lives. As a result, the amount of Yorùbá input for their children would inevitably be reduced hence the perceived difficulty in transmitting the language. Mr. Fáwọlé's comments implied that the lack of available Yorùbá input was seen as a direct result of their socioeconomic status; those of a lower class should have been more successful at language transmission because they would not have been subjected to the same onslaught of English as middle-class families. However, the force of English was such that even lower-class families were struggling against the tide. His comments demonstrate the hegemonic power of English in Nigerian society and more importantly in the minds of Nigerians, including those who emigrated. Under such a system of linguistic imperialism the minds and lives

[6] Although a proper class analysis is out of the scope of this paper, it was a recurring theme that cannot be ignored. All participants were from university educated families which reflect the demographic of the initial wave of migration in the 1950s. However, it would be interesting to conduct research into more recently arrived Yorùbá families with younger second-generation children.

of the speakers of a language are dominated by another language. This colonisation of the mind is so entrenched that individuals believe that they can and should only use the foreign language in more certain higher status spheres of life such as education, philosophy, literature, governments, the administration of justice (Ansre 1979: 12–13 cited in Phillipson 1992: 56).

As a result of the linguistic history of Nigeria, the English/Yorùbá bilingualism of the first-generation ensured that language shift among the Yorùbá in London occurred faster than Fishman's three-generational model. This community did not need to spend time acculturating to a new language and in fact parents were able to be a source of English language input for their children. Even though in Nigeria the family sphere had been the preserve of Yorùbá language in all generations since British rule, within one generation after migration parents had begun to use English in a domain previously reserved for Yorùbá. LS at the individual level resulted in a disruption in intergenerational language transmission.

Understanding what family members actually do with language allows us to see how, at times, unconscious practices may result in a disruption in language transmission. The Yorùbá parents were unaware of the impact of their practices. Laissez faire, short lived, and non-existent Yorùbá management resulted in habitual practices that did not create an environment conducive to the development of the HL, and in some cases were counterproductive. The type of interactions participants reported were consistent; every family demonstrated a preference for English with the first-generation being the only ones engaging significantly with the HL. And although the home incorporated Yorùbá, most of it was not directed at the younger generation and was at times even used to obscure meaning from them. Döpke (1992 as cited in Smith-Christmas 2016) found that language maintenance hinged on the extent to which interactions are 'child-centred', for instance involving playtime and story time. Because most Yorùbá content was not intended for children, the second-generation were not directly engaging with the HL and so it was difficult for them as language learners to benefit from this input (Kigamwa 2016: 51).

Despite the practice of covert language learning by some, parental code-switching also curtailed the use of the HL within the home. It diminished the amount of comprehensible input that the second-generation were able to benefit from in order to develop Yorùbá proficiency. In line with Smith-Christmas's (2015) discussions; the quantity of Yorùbá used in the home was not substantial and the quality that the children were exposed to meant that despite Yorùbá being around, the second-generation were not able to benefit from it. Language practices also did not create opportunities for two-way interaction in Yorùbá between parent and child. This was compounded by negative association of the language with rebuke and laughter at mispronunciation which created 'heritage language anxiety' and a reluctance to speak Yorùbá. All this has combined to keep any acquired language skills latent.

The cultural aspect of Yorùbá language had previously not been prized highly enough by both the first and second-generations to warrant explicit language maintenance efforts. For the second-generation, their negative self-views reflect a destruction of self-esteem due to decades of negative comparisons with the dominant power (Fishman 1991). 'Linguistic self-hatred' (Labov 1966: 489 cited in Sallabank 2013: 66) may not be too

extreme a description in this case and was certainly enough of a motivator for a Yorùbá child to anglicize or change their name and relinquish association with their heritage. However, in recent years the group identity that Yorùbá language affords has been increasing in value for British-Nigerians as they seek to connect culture and heritage. The second-generation now expresses pride in their culture, confidently claim their Yorùbá heritage and assert a Nigerian or dual British-Nigerian identity through the music they listen to, the food they eat, the clothes they wear and the hairstyles they fashion. Some participants are also seeking ways to reconnect by taking classes or downloading Yorùbá language apps. It was interesting to hear that some have begun conceiving of their own FLP in order to reverse the shift, maintain the language and then transmit it to their own children. However, group identity can exist outside of language so it remains to be seen whether initial observations of this attitude or ideological shift will have a linguistic effect on the third-generation of Yorùbás in London.

8. Reflection

A qualitative study of this sample size cannot make generalisations about patterns of LS across the entire Yorùbá diaspora. It nonetheless provides valuable insight into family language policy formation, intergenerational language transmission and HL shift of a speech community not significantly studied. It supplies information for the future development of qualitative and quantitative studies and highlights the significant component of colonial history into the discussion on family language policy.

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Book Review: Why Language Documentation Matters (Chelliah 2021)

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1. Introduction

Shobhana Chelliah is well-placed to write a book on language documentation: decades of linguistic fieldwork experience (e.g., Chelliah 2001), co-author of a linguistic fieldwork handbook (Chelliah & Reuse 2010), former Program Director of NSF-DEL (2012-2015), and Director of the Computational Resource for South Asian Languages Archive (CoRSAL). Since the concept of language documentation was first theorized by linguists (Himmelmann 1998), there have been several book-length publications and countless articles on the topic. In more recent years, publications on the state-of-the-art in language documentation include two journal articles by prominent linguists (Austin 2016; Seifart et al. 2018) and a special issue of *Language Documentation & Conservation* (McDonnell, Berez-Kroeker & Holton 2018). Unlike those previous publications which were for an academic readership, in her 2021 book, *Why Language Documentation Matters*, Chelliah writes for non-specialists stating that "the purpose of writing this book was not for [those of] us who are already language documenters. It really was for people who know nothing about what we do" (Chelliah et al. 2021).

2. Structure

The book is just under 100 pages and has eight chapters. The first is a four-page introduction. The second chapter "Languages Heal" (26 pages) is the heart of the book. It primarily contains case studies of communities engaging with their language and culture through language documentation projects. The next three chapters are about language endangerment. Chapter 3 "Languages Inform" is an eight-page overview of academic interests in documenting linguistic diversity. Chapter 4 is ten pages on "Reasons for Endangerment". Chapter 5 "Supporting Linguistic Vitality" (18 pages) covers "a wide range of initiatives that relate to language documentation" (p. 64). Chapter 6 "Methods in Language Documentation and Description" is a 16-page overview of the recording and annotation process with examples of possible outputs and other materials included in a documentation project. Chapter 7 "Linguistic Fieldwork Contributing to Documentation" is a five-page retrospective on historical motivations for describing and documenting languages prior to the language documentation movement. Chapter 8 is a three-page conclusion.

3. Why does language documentation matter? (Chapters 2 & 3)

The strongest answer to the titular question of the book is the second chapter's compelling stories of how "resources created through documentation serve to link language users to past practices, affirm identity, and support language revitalization and reclamation" (p. 7). It is hard to argue whether language documentation matters when it can be demonstrated that such projects may have a crucial role in promoting human flourishing (Taff et al. 2018) and implementing linguistic rights (Roche 2019) particularly among the most marginalized peoples of the world.

The other reason why language documentation matters is given in the third chapter: "The documentation of language diversity matters because through the study of typologically unique languages we discover the extent and limits of language structure, expected and unexpected patterns of language change, and creative uses of language which highlight the boundaries of language structure" (p. 33). Whether this a compelling motivation rests largely on the interpretation of "we" as inclusive or exclusive, but the language documentation movement was initiated by academics, and was largely motivated by data-centric thinking, like that expressed by Krauss (1992: 8): "Obviously, for scientific purposes, it is most urgent to document languages before they disappear."

While the more abstract intellectual goals of linguists may have been the catalyst of the language documentation movement, there has arguably been an historic shift to a significantly higher degree of recognition of the social and practical importance of linguistic research. Chelliah (p. 89) reflects on this change:

> Our field is progressing from one that pursues purely scientific goals (language science for science's sake) to societally impactful goals (affirmation of culture and identity through language). This progress has been propelled by Indigenous researchers who, as drivers of the research, disrupt practices that treat a given language as a construct separable from the people who use the language.

This change has been accompanied by increased levels of collaboration, another prominent theme of this book. Linguists interested in the diversity of the world's languages have always worked with speakers of those languages. The new element is more recognition of the value of community-driven research (p. 18).

Along these lines, Chelliah makes a useful distinction between "language documentation" and "Documentary Linguistics" (p. 2). Language documentation is the activity of creating annotated and accessible records of language. It is an activity done by linguists and non-linguists alike. Documentary Linguistics is a subfield of academia concerned with making linguistic data available to answer scientific questions about the nature of language, and to theorize what it means to create a record of language, and in what manner academic institutions should engage in the language documentation movement now that it has expanded beyond the university.

3. Related issues (Chapters 4-7)

Having discussed the two main motivations for language documentation in Chapters 2 and 3, the remaining chapters cover topics that are somewhat tangentially related to the main topic of the book. For readers unfamiliar with language endangerment, Chapter 4 briefly lays out five reasons why a language might go out of use. Chapter 5 is an eclectic mix of topics. One section explores reasons why it is difficult to measure language endangerment. Another section introduces Ethnologue, Glottolog and the Catalogue of Endangered Languages. Those topics are somewhat removed from the central themes of language documentation, though they are relevant to metadata collection and deciding on priorities in language documentation. A third section introduces language archives and some of the technical challenges creating and maintaining them. The fourth section discusses NSF and ELDP funding—in particular how it has been used for training and creating resources. The fifth section is on language revitalization, the topic suggested by

the title of this chapter. The first two subsections list six types of language revitalization programs, seven relevant types of media, and the final subsection is about the role of linguists in influencing governmental language policy.

Chapter 6 shifts to the "how" of language documentation. The chapter opens with another inspiring story of community-driven language documentation using an MP3 recorder. Video recording is only briefly mentioned. Overall, the book does not really emphasize the importance of video in language documentation (see Ashmore 2014; Seyfeddinipur & Rau 2020). The section on transcription aims to give an impression of the complexity of the transcription task, even introducing the International Phonetic Alphabet, as well as software tools such as ELAN. The section on translation unexpectedly focuses on the process of parsing the morphosyntactic structure and creating interlinear glossing, rather than discussing issues around creating a free translation (e.g., Sasse & Evans 2007). The final section of this chapter lists possible additional elements of a language documentation project, with some discussion of technical issues in creating a dictionary or lexicon.

Chapter 7 shifts the focus to linguistic fieldwork before the conceptualization of language documentation. The first two sections discuss 20th century American linguists and SIL (discussed in more detail by Chelliah & Reuse 2010: 33–77). The final section portrays language documentation as a platform for motivating students of linguistics by bridging the gap between their intellectual pursuits and desire for positive social impact.

4. Uses of this book

Although the book is written for non-specialists, its structure does not have the flow of a popular science book, but rather it feels more like a handbook. The advantage of this structure is that chapters and sections can be read independently of each other, making this an ideal resource for instructors who need updated material for reading assignments at high school, undergraduate or graduate level. Chapter 2 is a relevant introduction to language documentation for students of any type of linguistics or anthropology, as well as students of Indigenous studies or cultural studies. Chapter 4 can stand alone as a brief introduction to language endangerment. Chapter 5, Section 2 can be read as a very short introduction to language catalogues (but see also Drude 2018). The first half of Chapter 6 would give a sense of why the process of language documentation is time-consuming. Chapter 7 works as a very short read on the history of linguistic fieldwork (in North America), but for a fuller treatment of the historical context of documentary linguistics, see Henke & Berez-Kroeker (2016).

While this book is undoubtedly useful as an educational resource, one reason it is unlikely to be read widely by a popular audience is its price (£40 eBook, £50 hard copy). This is an unfortunate obstacle which Chelliah acknowledged at the book launch (Chelliah et al. 2021) and is also planning to address by releasing an open-access publication on this same topic. Popular audiences might also struggle with the description of technical aspects of phonological and morphosyntactic analysis peppered throughout the book. These are introduced with as little jargon as possible to give the reader some taste of this aspect of language documentation, and will no doubt pique the interest of some readers, even if others end up skimming through those paragraphs. As Chelliah suggests (p. 3), the book would be an inspiring introduction to linguistics for a motivated book club or reading group.

5. Final comments

Given the relatively short length of this book, and its intended non-specialist audience, there are, by design, many topics that are either omitted or only superficially treated. However, there are four areas where some additional information would help to contextualize what is discussed in the book. One surprising omission is any mention of the influence of Himmelmann (e.g., 1998; 2006) on the field of language documentation. Granted, the book is not primarily about the history of the field, but Chapter 7 lists many linguists who were influential in the development of linguistic fieldwork, while the one name most commonly associated with the conceptualization of documentary linguistics is conspicuously absent. A second omission is the lack of much discussion of language documentation in the areas of the world with the largest numbers of endangered languages: the Amazon, central Africa, and Southeast Asia. Most of the case studies come from India and Central or North America—essentially, the areas where Chelliah has worked. This is perfectly understandable, but the reader should be aware that the examples given are not a representative sample.

The reader may also want to be aware that there are also two academics cited whose work and ideas are somewhat controversial. The first is Benjamin Whorf (pp. 34-35, 87). Whorf's own ideas and the theories of linguistic relativity based on his work are intriguing and consistently attract the interest of non-specialists, but a passing mention of Whorf's ideas oversimplifies the complexity of the issues (see Bohnemeyer 2020). The second reference that merits further contextualization is the long quote (p. 47) from Peter Ladefoged (1992). In the middle of a book that presents linguists as meaningfully engaging with the communities whose languages they study, it is odd to see an uncritical reference to a paper recommending "professional detachment" and to be "wary of arguments based on political considerations". For a critical response to Ladefoged (1992), see Dorian (1993) and Romaine (2008).

Overall, *Why Language Documentation Matters* offers a fresh perspective on a movement now in its third decade. The book places the speakers and signers whose languages are being documented at the center of the story, offering a compelling case for the impact of language documentation and an inspiring vision for an academic field that is positioned to use its resources in a way that matters far beyond the lecture halls and libraries of universities.

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