POLITICS OF LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY IN ILORIN EMIRATE, NIGERIA

BY

OLOSO, YESEERA OMONIKE
B.A. Linguistics (Ilorin); M.A. Linguistics (Ibadan)
MATRIC. NO.: 130304

A Thesis in the Department of Linguistics and African Languages
Submitted to the Faculty of Arts in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

of the

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN

MAY, 2017

ABSTRACT

The status of Ilorin Emirate as a border community straddling Nigeria's Northern and Southwestern regions where different languages, ethnic groups and cultures co-exist makes identity construction and manifestation complex. Existing literature largely posit an inseparable link between language and identity, hence, language loss constitutes identity loss. Extant literature barely focuses on the influence of politics on the linguistic and ethnic identities of people. This study, therefore, investigated the relationship between linguistic and ethnic identities in Ilorin Emirate with a view to evaluating the influence of politics and religion on both identities in the community.

The Revised Social and Ethnolinguistic Identity Theory, and the Core Value Theory were adopted. Survey and ethnographic methods were used. Proportional sampling method was used for the selection of 300 questionnaire respondents from the five local government areas constituting Ilorin Emirate. Structured interviews were conducted with 25 purposively selected respondents with sufficient knowledge of their identities and community. Quantitative data were analysed using descriptive and inferential statistics at $p<0.05$ while qualitative data were ethnographically analysed.

Male respondents were 50.3% and Muslims were 89.0%. Majority of respondents (90.0%) identified Yoruba as their first language. However, in terms of political identity represented by regional preference, 57.7% and 34.3% identified as Northerners and Southwesterners respectively. Similarly, 60.0% preferred Northern Nigeria while 37.7% preferred Southwestern Nigeria. A pattern of linguistic identity was established in favour of Yoruba contrariwise for the Yoruba ethnic identity. Ancestral ethnicities influenced respondents' zones of preference ($x^2=126.802$) while language and religion had no significance. A mosaic pattern of identity was established as respondents preferred ancestral ethnic identities like Yoruba (32.0%), Fulani (16.0%) and Hausa (8.0%); sole Ilorin identity (8.0%) and hybrid ethnic identities like Yoruba-Ilorin (8.0%) and Fulani-Ilorin (4.0%). There were also cases of ethnic converts (24.0%), who claimed non-ancestral ethnic belongingness. Language loss did not constitute identity loss for a higher number of respondents of non-Yoruba ancestry (53.8%) as political allegiances and ancestral ethnicities rather than religion were central to identity and ethnic claims in Ilorin.

Allegiances to ancestry whose languages are lost in Ilorin Emirate demonstrate that language and identity are indeed separable. Language loss, does not in all cases, halt the preservation of identity.

Keywords: Politics of language and identity, Ilorin Emirate, Ancestral ethnicity, Ethnic converts

Word count: 361

CERTIFICATION

I certify that this work was carried out by Mrs. Oloso, Yeseera Omonike under my supervision in the Department of Linguistics and African Languages, University of Ibadan.

..... **.....**

Supervisor: **Date**

Prof. Herbert Igboanusi,
Department of Linguistics and African Languages,
University of Ibadan,
Ibadan, Nigeria.

DEDICATION

To

Almighty Allah (SWT),

Prophet Muhammad (SAW)

and

Busari Soffiyyah Adedamola.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research would not have been conceived, started and completed without assistance from many wonderful sources to whom I feel highly indebted. The first of such sources is Almighty Allah (SWT) through whose Benevolence I got the gift of a healthy life and amongst many other countless blessings, the ability to carry out a doctoral research. For His blessings, mercies and kindness, I will always be thankful to Allah.

My supervisor, Prof. Herbert Igboanusi, to whom I mostly owe my interest in Sociolinguistics and who supervised my Master's degree project, remains an invaluable source of inspiration, support and encouragement. His remarkable thoroughness, dedication and kindness all combined in unique proportions contributed immensely towards the successful completion of this thesis. Besides providing me with masses of very useful textbooks and other relevant materials, Prof. Igboanusi gave the thesis very constructive criticisms and in his effortlessly considerate manner, propelled me to read more, consult wider and work harder thereby, improving my thesis draft after draft. I whole-heartedly appreciate every effort you made towards the successful completion of my research.

The involvement of other good people in this work helped to make the work better in many ways. I am very grateful to the Head, Department of Linguistics and African languages, University of Ibadan, Prof. Arinpe Adejumo for her motherly disposition towards me and for always showing concern in the progress of my work; Prof. Dele Adeyanju of the Department of English for being a constructive critic whose insights have been found very helpful and for always sharing kind words; Dr. Ademola Lewis for challenging my propositions and sharing critical perspectives; Dr. Rasheed Olaniyi (Faculty of Arts Sub-Dean, PG) for being very generous with his invaluable time and knowledge and Dr. Jacob Oluwadọrọ for being very encouraging.

I am also incredibly appreciative of Prof. Duro Adeleke, Prof. Oye Taiwo and Dr. Maduagwu all of the Department of Linguistics and African languages, University of Ibadan, for their cherished contributions which greatly improved the thesis. Also generously appreciated are the sound advice of Dr. Sunday Adeshina and the contributions of Dr. Adebiyi Kazeem both of English Department, University of Ibadan which were found really helpful. I am equally thankful to Prof. Gbenga Adewale of the Institute of Education, University of Ibadan, for his invaluable assistance which helped to put the thesis in a better shape. I genuinely appreciate the kindness of Dr. Adam Akewula

(Faculty of Arts Sub-Dean, Undergraduate), Dr. Tope Ajayi and Mr. Gerald both of the Department of Linguistics and African Languages, University of Ibadan. All members of non-academic staff of the Department of Linguistics and African Languages, University of Ibadan are also highly appreciated for their kindness and assistance.

I owe a debt of gratitude to the Tertiary Education Trust Fund (TETFUND) for the grant awarded to me at the commencement of this research and to Professor Abdur-Rasheed Na'Allah (Vice-Chancellor, Kwara State University, Malete), Professor Bayo Lawal (Head, Department of Statistics and Mathematical Sciences, KWASU) and Professor Nike Lawal (Head, Department of Linguistics and African Languages, KWASU) for being of great help in the process of obtaining the grant.

My most sincere appreciation goes to my revered father, teacher, life coach and prayer partner, Imam Musa Busari for his prayers and constant enquiries about the progress of my thesis. A great deal of what I am today is directly or indirectly linked to the way he and my wonderful mother, Alhaja As'mau Busari raised me. I remain eternally thankful for the upbringing they gave me and for every bit of the sacrifices that they made for me. My deepest appreciation also goes to my in-laws especially my father-in-law, Professor Kamil Kojeyo Oloso, for their priceless support.

My warmest appreciation goes to my husband and foremost cheerleader, Kamaldeen Kola, in whom I feel highly blessed. The support and encouragement you have always generously offered are deeply appreciated. Thank you for being a dependable companion in every ramification. Your unwavering commitment to the success of this research made an invaluable impact. My children, Kashaaf Koleola and Kalilah Kikelola also deserve accolades for enduring this journey with me and for showing me the much needed understanding. I equally wish to thank my baby sister, Mazeedah Adedolapo for always "borrowing" me her time whenever mine was not enough to accommodate my busy schedule. My brothers, AbdBassit, Toyyeeb and Fat'hu are also deeply appreciated for their endless prayers and for being strong pillars of support over the years.

I really do have special reasons to be grateful to my good friend, Balogun Nasrudeen Akanbi for inviting me with open arms into the university system. I will always appreciate that particular kind gesture as it has been the beginning of many great experiences. *Jazakumu Llahu Khayran*.

A very warm appreciation is also reserved for a great mentor and wonderful benefactor, Alhaji Lookman Abiodun Lawal, for his highly treasured influence on my past which bears significant influence on who I am now and for always willing to provide me with "bail-out funds" whenever the need arises. *Egbon*, indeed, you are a great example of how better the world would be if only humans genuinely look out for one another.

Many helpful insights were gained from discussions and materials from Professor Jimba, M. M. and for which I am profusely thankful. I am also grateful to Dr. Shereefah Hussein-Abubakar for always sharing so much goodwill in moments of despair and to her husband, Dr. Abubakar, A.S. of the Department of English, University of Ilorin, who despite his busy schedule, set aside time to go through my work and offered insightful perspectives which were found highly useful.

A number of my colleagues at the Kwara State University, Malete, supported my work in different ways. These wonderful individuals are; my senior colleague, Dr. Ademola Odetokun, Messrs Ismail Otukoko, Hafsah Adewale and Adebola Isaiah. To them I offer sincere appreciations. Many special thanks to some of my students (both past and present) who willingly helped as research facilitators. Apart from helping to distribute copies of the questionnaire, some of them from Ilorin Emirate also constituted part of the interview respondents. I also owe a debt of gratitude to other research respondents for generously sparing me their time for the questionnaire and interviews. Thank you all for your support.

The companionship of my fellow doctoral student, Senayon Esther, is sincerely appreciated for it no doubt eased a lot of the burdens of navigating the highly convoluted PhD route. A bunch of gratitude also befits Messrs Adekunle and Oladayo for helping with the type-setting of the initial drafts of the thesis and for the gift of a very good book respectively.

If I could share the title that accompanies the completion of a doctoral research with just one person, that person would easily be my sister, Busari Soffiyyah Adedamola, for being such an extra-ordinary source of support in my life and especially for the unexplainable ease with which she always puts my interest first. I pray that God grants you all the good things that you wish for, makes your path easy in this life (and the hereafter) and shines His light on you all the days of your life-amen.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

CHAPTER FOUR: CONSTRUCTIONS OF IDENTITIES IN ILORIN EMIRATE

CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY, FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the research topic. It presents the discussions of the background, aims, scope and significance of the study. The chapter equally introduces the research problem and the study area.

1.2 Background to the study

Language can be described as an indispensable tool that people use to process their thoughts and further express such thoughts. But beyond this primary role of being an instrument of communication, language plays a significant role in the way that individuals see or identify themselves and also in the way that individuals are seen or identified by others. In essence, language performs the additional function of shaping people's perceptions of themselves and also that of shaping their perceptions of others and circumstances in their environments. Edwards (2009:20) states that "identity at one level or another is central to human and social sciences as it is also in philosophical and religious studies, for all these areas of investigation are primarily concerned with the ways in which human beings understand themselves and others". Edwards further adds that since language is central to human condition, and since many have argued that it is the most salient distinguishing aspect of the human species, it seems likely that any study of identity must surely include some consideration of it.

There has been an increased interest in identity as a subject of inquiry in the social and behavioural sciences (Omoniyi and White, 2006). This is as a result of the fact that identity as a concept is multifarious and multi-faceted. For example, identity theft involves stealing other people's legal identification information, and consequently, gaining access to such people's financial and other critical information. This form of identity is not the type that is usually investigated in language studies though they can be related. Legal identities, on the other hand, have to do with citizenships of particular countries in that legal identities say something about people's belongingness, and people in turn perform these identities by, for example, paying taxes, speaking or learning a language related to the social structure of the country or behaving in the many other ways that are appropriate to the social environment of a particular country

(Deckert and Vickers, 2011). The types of identities at the core of this research are linguistic and ethnic identities and the role which politics plays in their constructions, manifestations and perception.

Omoniyi and White (2006) describe identity as a problematic and complex concept in as much as it is recognised as something that is non-fixed, non-rigid and always being co-constructed by individuals of themselves (or ascribed by others), or by people who share certain core values or perceive another group as having such core values. This view of identity expressed by Omoniyi and White above is corroborated by Deckert and Vickers (2011), who differentiate between the term identity and the concept of self. In essence, the identity of an individual is subject to other people's interpretation though not all such interpretations are truly reflective of the individual.

Deckert and Vickers (2011:9) further explain that "it is possible for example, in an interaction with others to have identities constructed that do not at all reflect the way individuals think about themselves". An instance of this is the consequences of a guilty verdict in a court of law on an individual which means that the person is responsible for the commission of the crime regardless of whether the person actually committed the crime or not. Therefore, it becomes immaterial if the person actually committed the crime (in which case, the person would not want to accept the identity of a thief, murderer etc.) or not. The guilty verdict automatically confers the identity of a criminal on the individual.

Therefore, Deckert and Vickers (2011) describe identity as a non-static quality of an individual, which is also a flexible, fluid, and multi-aspected co-construction that is only partially (if at all, in some instances) representative of an individual's sense of self. Co-construction according to Jacoby and Ochs (1995:171) is the "joint construction of a form, interpretation, stance, action, activity, identity, institution, skill, ideology, emotion or other culturally meaningful reality". Deckert and Vickers further explain that though the co-construction implies that more than one individual is responsible for the construction, it does not however also imply that all of the constructions are necessarily affiliative or supportive. Identity then is co-constructed in ongoing interactions in relation to the specific contexts (relational, social, cultural, ethnic, political, etc.) in which the particular interaction is occurring. This shows that there could be wide gaps

between peoples' real identities and those perceived and even projected by the co-constructors or "others".

The foregoing therefore illustrate the point that language is an important tool in the construction manifestation and perception of identity, its role in identity formation makes it a critical component of this study as well. Gibson (2004:1) states that "language is a control feature of human identity. When we hear someone speak, we immediately make guesses about their gender, level of education, age, profession and place of origin". Taking it further from Gibson's perspective, we often make conclusions not just from the way people speak (which is the oral performance of language); we also make conclusions based on the way people write. Hence, co-constructors can use both oral and written performances to construct others' identities and even their ideas and beliefs based solely on their use of language. Language is therefore an important instrument in identity formation.

Rajagopalan (2001) posits that linguistic identity is largely a political matter and languages are flags of allegiance. He further describes linguistic identity as a function of the political climate prevailing in given societies at specific historic moments adding that where there are tensions and unresolved political disputes between warring factions, minor on even non-existing differences are blown up so as to justify the existence of different and mutually incomprehensible languages. It is not that differences between languages actually impair communication between peoples; it is that people who do not want to communicate across their sectarian divides are apt to conjure up linguistic differences where none in fact exists so as to justify their inability (or rather, unwillingness) to communicate. Rajagopalan therefore concludes that the time-honoured, instrumental view of language according to which natural languages are best approached as a means of communication with one's peers, stands in urgent need of reformulation.

Though the position above by Rajagopalan is largely acceptable, the submission that differences between languages do not actually impair communication should be approached with caution. Granted, it is true that people can magnify subtle linguistic differences in order to avoid communicating with each other as it is in the case of Hindu-Urdu between India and Pakistan. However, inability to communicate between different peoples cannot just be outright conjured up

where no actual linguistic differences exist. What can happen in such cases, is refusal to, or unwillingness to communicate, not inability to communicate. As we shall see later in this study, even a shared first language does not translate into a shared identity. This is because different peoples in the same community can share a first language in common and not necessarily be of the same ilk.

The subject of this study is to situate the role of politics in the constructions and manifestations and perceptions of the linguistic and ethnic identities of the people of Ilorin Emirate and to examine the extent to which the different ethnic groups native to the community under study identify with their ethnic ancestries and heritage languages. In essence, the degree of connectivity or otherwise between the first language(s) of the peoples of Ilorin Emirate and their cultures, ethnicities and identities is brought to the fore. The study of Ilorin Emirate's identity is important as it presents interesting dynamics that is not a prevalent characteristic of most speech communities in Nigeria and the world. Another reason for choosing to study the politics of language and identity in the context of Ilorin Emirate is to investigate the other identity markers which other ethnic groups in the community attach significance to after the loss of their first languages. In addition, the present study would investigate if all of these identities eventually coalesced into a single identity, markedly or remotely different from those of their ancestral ethnic groups.

This thesis is anchored upon the fact that different ethnic groups have different political and historical experiences and the link between language and identity cannot be the same for all ethnic groups as their different political and historical experiences are bound to have different influences on their identity constructions, perceptions and manifestations. Hence, the relationship between language and identity would vary from one group to another. The next section gives an overview of the study area (Ilorin Emirate). This will offer real insights into the politics surrounding the issues of language and identity in Ilorin Emirate.

1.3 The study area: Ilorin

The name Ilorin has two main applications. First, it applies to the capital city of Kwara State which consists of Ilorin East, Ilorin South and Ilorin West Local Government Areas (LGAs). Like most capital cities, it is a blend of different ethnic nationalities. In this case, the city is home

to the different ethnic groups which are native to the city and these include the Yoruba, the Hausa, the Fulani, the Nupe, the Kannike and the Baruba as well as many different ethnic groups which are not native to the city from within and outside Nigeria e.g Arab, Eggon, Igbo, Itsekiri, Ijaw etc. As the capital city of Kwara State, Ilorin is located on Latitude $8^0$30'N and Longitude $4^0$35' E (Kwara State of Nigeria, 1997). According to Nigeria's census figures (2006), it is one of the largest cities in Nigeria by population. The city is the transitional zone between the deciduous forest (rain forest) of the South and the open savannah to the North (Udo, 1970). This makes it easy for the city to attract settlers from both the southern and northern parts of modern day Nigeria (Danmole, 2012).

Another application of the name Ilorin refers not only to the state capital, but to an entire emirate known as the Ilorin Emirate. Ilorin Emirate comprises five local government areas which are those that make up the capital city (Ilorin East, Ilorin West and Ilorin South LGAs) as well as Asa and Moro LGAs. Unlike other local government areas in Kwara State where there exist traditional councils and graded chiefs as the head of these councils, each of the five local government areas under Ilorin Emirate have no such traditional councils because the Emir is the only graded chief in all the five local government areas under Ilorin Emirate. The exceptions are Shao and Jebba, two towns in Moro Local Government Area, which have their own kings (though with no governmental gradings) and traditional councils[1]. The combined population of the five local government areas under Ilorin Emirate according to the 2006 population census was put at 1,015,317 (Official Gazette of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2009). It is pertinent to state that the focus of the present study is Ilorin Emirate.

With this brief discussion, we now move to discuss other aspects of Ilorin Emirate such as its people, political structure, history, language situation amongst others. This is with a view to creating some familiarity with the study area as a needful ingredient for the proper situation of this study.

1.3.1 A brief history of Ilorin

The history of Ilorin, especially the one on the ethnicity of its founder, has different accounts. As a result of its status as the only Yoruba-speaking community under the emirate traditional leadership system, historical accounts of the founder of Ilorin are disparate. Despite its

geographical location on the Southern axis of Nigeria, Ilorin Emirate is politically and administratively considered a northern community and that label also applies to the whole of Kwara State. On the differences in the accounts of its founders, Omo-Ikokoro (1911), for example, claims that the founder of Ilorin was a Baruba hermit (from Bussa Kingdom in present-day Niger State) before he was later joined by Ojo, a Yoruba man who was an itinerant hunter from Oyo-Ile. According to Omo-Ikokoro (1911), Ojo, also known as Ayinla, was reported to have found a well-positioned rock near the place where the Baruba man lived and the rock was found remarkably suitable for sharpening tools. He then decided to erect a transit camp at the site where he found the rock. This rock, being a good metal sharpener, was called *Ìlo-Irin*, (meaning iron sharpener) by the Yoruba. The name Ilorin is therefore believed to be a contraction of *Ìlo-Irin.*

Another account on the founder of Ilorin is that offered by Johnson (1921), which asserts that a Yoruba man by the name Laderin founded Ilorin around 18th century thus making Laderin, the builder of Ilorin. According to Johnson (1921:199):

> The late Afonja was a native of Ilorin. The city was built by his great grandfather, Laderin, whose posterity bore rule in her in succession to the fourth generation. Laderin, the founder was succeeded by Pasin, his son, a valiant chief… Alagbin the son of Pasin succeeded his father and in turn, handed the government to his valiant son, Afonja, with whom the rule ended.

Johnson further adds that Ilorin is sometimes spoken of as Afonja's Ilorin. This he says is because he was the most renowned of her rulers, and not only so, but also because it was he who made it into the large city that it is now. Therefore, the Yoruba people had been established in Ilorin long before the arrival of the Fulani. Johnson (1921:193) equally asserts that "Afonja invited a Fulani Moslem priest named Alimi to Ilorin to act as his priest who in responding to Afonja's call came with his Hausa slaves and made Ilorin his home". According to Hermon-Hodge (1929), little is known of the pre-Fulani history of Ilorin. Indeed, all but the period immediately preceding the Fulani conquest is wrapped in obscurity.

An equally important personality in the founding of Ilorin whose ancestry has also been a major source of debate is Solagberu. Solagberu and his followers resided at Okesuna, one of the four

indigenous political quarters of Ilorin. Solagberu was an Islamic cleric who commanded a very large following and was an active gladiator in Ilorin during the era of Afonja. According to Johnson (1921), Solagberu was a Yoruba man while Jimoh (1994) reports that he was a Kanuri man (also known as Beri-beri) whose actual name, Al-Tahir, was overshadowed by the nickname "Solagberu" given to him by the Yoruba people. The third gladiator in the modern history of Ilorin was Alimi Al-Salih (popularly referred to as Shehu Alimi), a Fulani Muslim scholar who was invited to Ilorin by Afonja. He later became the head of the Fulani dynasty in Ilorin. It is interesting to note that Ilorin, like Johnson (1921) noted, is often referred to as "Ilorin Afonja" i.e Afonja's Ilorin while it is also referred to it as "Ilorin, *Geri* Alimi" i.e. Ilorin, Alimi's town.

Due to the afore-mentioned contentious issues on the founders of Ilorin, Danmole (2012) posits that it would be safe to treat these historical accounts with caution. In Danmole's (2012) opinion, a thorough assessment of a variety of literature which exists on the origin and subsequent development of Ilorin before an emirate was established in the 19th century shows that they are full of obscurities. In spite of all the inconsistencies in these accounts, a central theme of multiple ethnic ancestry is however perceivable from the accounts.

It is however important to add that the present study aligns with the accounts which posit that Ilorin was founded by a Yoruba person because it is the most plausible position in the literature on the founder of Ilorin. The fact that the community is also located below the River Niger on the Nigerian map which is generally considered the Southern axis and specifically on the Western zone of the Southern axis lends much credence to this position. We shall now proceed to the next sub-chapter which examines the people of Ilorin.

1.3.2. The Ilorin people

The people of Ilorin are of diverse ethnic backgrounds. Apart from the Yoruba people whom Jimoh describes (1994:55) as the "aboriginal Yorubas", there are also Hausa, Fulani, Nupe, Kannike, Kanuri and Baruba peoples in Ilorin. Jimoh further explains that with the passage of time, the city became multifarious following the influx of multiple cultural and sub-cultural groups. Each group lived semi-autonomously in their different quarters with their ethnic heads. The Yoruba people lived in Idi-Ape with their head. The Hausa, Nupe, Gwandu, Baruba and Kemberi people lived in the Gambari quarters with their head. The Fulani people lived in the

Fulani quarters with their head while the Kanuri people lived in Okesuna with their head. However, unlike the earliest times when each ethnic group strictly resided in its own quarters, intermarriage and migration of aborigines to different quarters within and outside the emirate have dissolved ethnic borders such that people are no longer restricted to their traditional quarters anymore (Saliu and Jawondo; 2006, Danmole; 2012).

It is however important to add that, the controversy surrounding the founder of Ilorin also extends to the population of the each ethnic group that make up the emirate. For example, Jimba (1990) maintains that the people of the Yoruba ethnic stock constitute the overwhelming majority of the population of Ilorin Emirate. According to Jimba, if Asa and Moro Local Government Areas were divided into four equal parts, the Yoruba ethnic group will take up three-quarter of each of those two local government areas and if Ilorin East, Ilorin West and Ilorin South Local Government Areas were all divided into five equal parts, Yoruba will take up two-fifth of each of the entire population in the three local government areas while the other ethnic groups will share the remaining population. Jimoh (1994) however claims that by 1807, the combined population of the non-Yoruba in Gambari, Fulani and Okesuna areas had greatly exceeded that of the Yoruba who lived at Idi-Ape and other Yoruba environs.

1.3.3 The political structure of Ilorin

The different ethnic groups indigenous to Ilorin had been living independently of one another since the 18th century (Salihu and Jawondo; 2006). The leaders of the different groups governed their quarters without recourse to one another. Though these quarters still exist today, they are now without the strict ethnic segmentation that characterised them in the past. The structure of the emirate puts into consideration, the different ethnic compositions of Ilorin. The need to achieve ethnic balance gave rise to the creation of four wards each headed by a chief (Balogun). These four wards which are the Alanamu, Ajikobi, Fulani and Gambari wards were created as political divisions by the first Emir of Ilorin, Abdulsalami (the first son of the late Alimi Al-Salih). These wards were partitioned for administrative purposes and the chiefs "Baloguns" were appointed to administer them. The Ajikobi and Alanamu quarters were mainly populated by the Yoruba people, the Fulani quarters was populated by the Fulani people while the Gambari quarter was populated by the Hausa people. These chieftains were also warlords being regional

heads in each of their quarters and they saw to the peace keeping of the emirate and defended her territorial integrity. All these chiefs were however responsible and accountable to the Emir. The position of the "Balogun" is hereditary and is thus confined to the families of each of the four war heads. Each "Balogun" is also a member of the emirate's advisory council.

The overall head of Ilorin is the Emir and the title of the Emir is restricted to the family of Alimi Al-Salih who was the progenitor of the Fulani dynasty in Ilorin. The legitimacy of the Fulani hegemony in Ilorin has been a controversial issue. This is because Ilorin had been under Oyo's suzerainty with Afonja as the leader before the establishment of Fulani dynasty. Jimoh (1994) however describes this development as being an acceptable one in consonance with the dynamics of human history. Jimoh (1994:12) states that:

> From whatever angle it is viewed,... it has become axiomatic that might is right. Within the framework of the Nigerian history, the establishment of Fulani hegemony in Ilorin relates harmoniously with the establishment of Fulani dynasties in the other Emirates of both Hausa and Nupe lands of Northern Nigeria. It also tallies with the seizure of Ibadan from the Egbas by Oyo fugitives.
>
> Seizure of power, as a universal phenomenon, whether by the Fulanis from the Hausas or from the Nupes or from the Yorubas or from any cultural sub-group by the other, has the same ultimate effect.

In contrast to Jimoh's position, this thesis avers that the phenomenon of seizure of power though universal, is not a legitimate means of power acquisition. Rather, it is an illegitimate means of acquiring power just like military incursion into politics. Seizure of power through violent means is universally acknowledged to be accompanied by carnage and disruption of normalcy. That any group in any part of the world succeeded in using it as means of dispossessing some aborigines of their legitimate powers does not confer any form of legitimacy on the entire power seizure process.

It is instructive to add as Jimoh (1994) notes, that the seizure of power by the Fulani from the Yoruba people in Ilorin was not an exclusive situation; the Hausa and Nupe peoples had lost power through the same means to the Fulani people in their various ancestral homes. This position had earlier been established by Adeleye (1977) who posits that the means used by the

Fulani people to get to power in Ilorin was not an isolated case as the Fulani people were known to have used similar means to take over power in the traditional Hausa dynasties of Kano, Katsina, Daura, Gombe, and Zamfara which were formerly under traditional Hausa rulers known collectively as "Habe" rulers. Each of the rulers under the Hausa dynasty had the "Sarkin" title hence, "Sarkin Kano", "Sarkin Katsina", "Sarkin Zamfara" etc. The Fulani also took over traditional Kanuri dynasties in Bornu and Hadejia under their traditional "Mai" rulers. Hence, till date, the titles of "Sarkin" and "Mai" of the Hausa and Kanuri dynasties have been replaced by "Emir" and the royal lineages in these places till the present moment, just like in Ilorin too, are of Fulani ancestry.

It should be noted however that Shao and Jebba are exceptions to the emirate leadership system in Ilorin Emirate. The two communities have Yoruba kingship system and Shao is completely independent of the political arrangement described above. When Kwara Sate was created on May 27th, 1967, Ilorin's status was upgraded from a provincial headquarter to a state capital and this enhanced its political significance. The first Governor of Kwara State was David Bamigboye (Jimoh, 1994).

1.3.4 The economic structure of Ilorin

Ilorin before the coming of the colonialists thrived on a wide variety of economic resources which included revenue from taxation, tributes from the emirate's districts, booty from incessant warfare and revenues accruing to the emirate from extensive network of traders. The fact that it was the window route through which territories in the North transacted business with territories in the South-West of the Niger boosted her economy a great deal (Danmole, 2012). As the transition zone between Southwestern and Northern Nigeria, the majority of Ilorin people practised agriculture and produced all kinds of farm products especially food stuff and cotton. Apart from farming, there were artisans such as blacksmiths, cloth weavers, pottery makers and producers of household utensils (Hermon-Hodge, 1929).

The most important source of revenue for Ilorin Emirate in the 19th century was trade. The location of the emirate's capital on a very important trading axis facilitated the promotion of trading relations from which the emirate derived considerable profits. Ilorin had trading connections with the southern territories of Ogbomoso, New Oyo, Ikirun, Osogbo, Ibadan, Ijebu-

Ode, Abeokuta and Lagos. It also had trading connections with the northern territories of Kano, Sokoto and Bornu. These trading networks had implications for markets at home which were the growths of markets with specialisation in goods wanted by buyers. Due to long distance trade, the economy of Ilorin Emirate also became buoyant in the 19th century while internal trade was also a contributory factor to the economy (Danmole, 2012).

Before the advent of colonial rule in Ilorin, Ilorin through her joint slave raid of Kabba, Ebira and Oworo lands with the Nupe had slaves for sale in hundreds. These slave raids according to Jimoh (1994:167) "seriously hampered the operations of the British owned Royal Niger Company then based in Lokoja" and almost paralysed commercial activities of the Royal Niger Company (RNC) with the resultant effect of inhibiting trading along the Atlantic coastline. These slave raids became so intolerable that they made life extremely difficult for the resident European staff of the RNC. Therefore, Bida and Ilorin Emirates were subsequently brought under colonial rule from 1897 to 1900 when the British Crown assumed direct governance of the territory, with Frederick Lugard as Governor (Jimoh, 1994).

1.3.5 Colonial era in Ilorin

As mentioned in the preceding section, Ilorin came under British colonial rule from 1897 to 1900 under the reign of Oba Sulaiman. Precisely on 16th February, 1897, troops of the RNC based at Lokoja invaded Ilorin with the collaboration of the British Administration in Lagos. Within two days of attack, Ilorin fell to the British power as a result of which the Emir signed a treaty by which Ilorin Emirate became a province under the authority of the RNC on 18th February, 1897 (Jimoh, 1994).

The effect of the colonial administration was that the Emir became answerable to the British administrators and obeyed all directives as signed in the 1879 treaty. Also, western education was introduced into the Emirate after colonisation. Western education was very unpopular at the time it was introduced into the emirate as a result of which enrolment into school and attitudes towards western education were extremely poor. However, by 1928, education had become attractive to many as the native administrations of the province were largely staffed by ex-pupils. A crafts school was also established under the colonialists in 1927 where carpentry, metal work, masonry and motor-work were all taught.

Apart from these human development programmes, there were also infrastructural developments; the establishment of the fuel plantation at Sobi in 1915; the building of the first native hospital in 1908; the opening of the railway from Ilorin to Jebba in 1913; the establishment of the Northern Provinces Police in Ilorin in 1903 amongst many others. Worthy of note is the fact that the British Government found the pre-colonial administrative system headed by the Emir very useful in terms of the structure of the government and maintained the system thereby ruling through the Emir (Hermon-Hodge, 1929).

Colonialism did create an upper class in Ilorin Emirate. These were traders and middlemen who according to Herman-Hodge (1929) exploited the gullibility and mental lethargy of the peasants to make more money than them. These middlemen pocketed most of the heard-earned incomes of the peasants accruable from the sales of the farmers' goods which may be sold two or three times before it reached the Emir's market. Each middleman made his own profit. Efforts to persuade the farmers to bring their goods directly to the market were futile partly because it was not their custom to do so and partly on account of the fear of the cartel of middlemen.

1.3.6 Religious and cultural beliefs and practices in Ilorin

The people of Ilorin Emirate were not predominantly Muslims from time. The people of Afonja who were ethnically Yoruba largely practised African Traditional Religions (ATR) though there were a few Muslims among them. These traditional religion adherents had all forms of Yoruba ancestral gods and deities. This was accompanied by various African traditional religious festivities, celebrations and rituals. Though, these ATRs have been wiped out in the Emirate today, names of places such as "Oloje" (owner of "masquerade") in Ilorin are pointers to the previous existence of these ATRs in the emirate.

According to Jimoh (1994), Solagberu had also firmly established a Muslim community in Okesuna and had a large group of followers. However, the arrival of the Fulani scholar (Alimi Al-Salih) on the invitation of Afonja changed the dynamics as all heads of the communal groups; the Fulani, the Hausa, the Kanuri acknowledged Alimi's outstanding piety and intellectual superiority thereby submitting themselves to him as a religious leader with the title "Amir Ul-Muminin" (leader of the Muslims).

By early 19th century, Ilorin had become a wholly Islamic Emirate as the Emirs under the Fulani dynasty waged a vigorous war against other religions beside Islam which they termed "paganism". They ensured that all idols within and outside the walls of the emirate were fished out and burnt publicly. According to Elphinstone (1921), the 3rd Emir, Zubair Aiyelabowo, whose reign ended in 1868 burnt the juju and juju house, and swore that he would put to death all pagans; an immense wave of Islam swept over the community in consequence.

Christianity was not established in Ilorin until 1926 when the establishment of railway attracted many workers from the south. Before then, requests by missionaries to establish churches were warmly turned down by the Emirs. The activities of these immigrants got a boost when it attracted the support of Bishop Smith who was based in Offa. This means that the missionaries' attempts at establishing churches in Ilorin were unsuccessful until immigrants who had converted to Christianity from their different communities took abode in Ilorin and started conducting fellowship. Apart from European missionaries, Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther also visited the Emir for the same reason but was not successful (Omotoye, 2010). Christianity still thrives in Ilorin till date but not in any of the traditional and administrative quarters (see appendix II) as there are no churches in these places because they are considered core Ilorin. Churches are in other parts of the Emirate which are not considered as part of the traditional Ilorin quarters and wards.

1.3.7 The language situation in Ilorin

Ilorin, the capital city of Kwara State like most capital cities in Nigeria plays host to people from several ethnic backgrounds both within and outside Nigeria. As a result of this, languages spoken in Ilorin include but are not limited to English, Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba, Fulfulde, Batonou, Ninzo, Eggon, Ijaw, Itsekiri, Arabic, Nupe, French amongst others.

As the language of the immediate environment, the Yoruba Language is taught as a school subject in Ilorin. This is with a view to complying with the National Policy on Education (NPE) which according to Igboanusi (2008), provides for a multilingual policy involving the learning of a child's L1 or language of the immediate community (LIC), one of the three major or national languages (i.e. Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba) and English. Since the language of the immediate environment is in this case one of the national languages, it therefore follows that two of these

languages are taught as subjects in Ilorin schools. These are the English and the Yoruba languages.

Ilorin's indigenous ethnic languages are those that are native to its early settlers and these include the Yoruba, Hausa, Fulfulde and Kanuri Languages. Today, the Yoruba language is the first language of the Emirate. However, the Hausa language still subtly thrives in Gambari quarters in the capital city where it is learnt as a second language but rarely acquired as a first language within the Emirate while Fulfulde is on the verge of extinction as it is only spoken as a first language by the first generation of speakers only in few villages like Gaa-Alaanu in Moro Local Government Area and such oldest generation of speakers speak it fluently alongside the Yoruba language which is actually the community's prevalent language. The gradual process of language loss led to the death of other indigenous languages like Kanuri in the Emirate though they are still spoken as first languages in other parts of Nigeria. Even in the palace where the Emir is Fulani by ancestry, the Yoruba language is the language of the palace and past Emirs are known to have borne Yoruba names. For example, the 3rd Emir was Oba Zubair Aiyelabowo, the 5th Emir was Oba Abdulsalami Momolosho (Jimoh, 1994) while the current Emir is Alhaji Ibrahim Kolapo Zulu Gambari[2].

Besides the general prevalence of the Yoruba language in Ilorin, other languages spoken in Ilorin are: English (the language of Western Education from primary to tertiary levels and which is also used in the home by some parents as L1 to their children), Arabic, Hausa, Fulfulde, Batonou, Nupe and French languages. It should however be added that the English language, apart from being Nigeria's official language, has also acquired the status of a Nigerian language because as stated earlier, it has become the first language in some Nigerian homes. Hence, the English language is the community's language for administration, education, government, mass media amongst others.

The prevalence of Arabic is closely related to Ilorin's association with Islam, which is the faith practised by the overwhelming majority of Ilorin people and also used as the medium of instruction in Islamic institutions of learning. French is taught as a subject in both primary and secondary schools (but mostly in privately-owned schools) and offered as a course of study in tertiary institutions located within Ilorin Emirate. The use of Hausa is still mostly perceivable in

Gambari Quarters where few of those of Hausa ancestry learn it as a second language. The Yoruba language is the dominant language in most mosques and local markets while churches predominantly use the English language and in a few cases, the Yoruba language or the predominant Nigerian language of the congregation. The English language and Nigerian Pidgin are the languages for inter-ethnic communication. Batonou and Nupe are also spoken by people from the northern part of Kwara State who are resident in Ilorin for interpersonal communication.

1.3.8 Reasons for the choice of Ilorin Emirate for the present study

Unlike most communities in Nigeria where there is a strong link between the ethnic identity of the members of the different communities and their first languages or mother tongues, the situation in Ilorin Emirate is not the same. With the controversies surrounding the origin of its founder at an obscure time in history, the settlement of other ethnic groups later on and the issue of the disparity between its traditional leadership institution when compared with what is obtainable in other Yoruba-speaking communities, Ilorin Emirate is a prime candidate for a research such as this.

It is an important site for this research because, unlike in the past when the Yoruba aborigines who were in the majority were militarily subdued by the Fulani people, some of them at the present moment, even without any further subjugation are willing to take up a northern identity over their southwestern ancestral identity. The reasons for such shifts in identities and orientations even when the threat of any attack or further subjugation is absent are considered worthy of research.

It is also important to see the surviving identity markers of the other ethnic groups after the loss of their first languages and to see whether the ethnic group whose language was retained (the Yoruba ethnic group) has equally lost other identity markers. Having established the reasons for the choice of Ilorin for this study, the next section will deal with the problem that is the focus of this study.

1.4 Statement of the problem

For reasons of the controversy surrounding its first settler and the eventual subjugation of Ilorin under the Fulani dynasty after being under the control of a Yoruba warlord, the identity of the people of Ilorin has attracted a lot of scholarly attention. In particular, a number of studies have attempted an appraisal of Ilorin's identity. For example, Aliyu (2010) appraises Ilorin's identity using various identity markers as indices. Jimba's (1990) and Jimoh's (1994) studies offer historical accounts of the emirate and dwell on the complexity of ethnic identity in Ilorin.

Danmole (2012) reflects on the religion, politics and economy of Ilorin in the 19th Century. However, Danmole does not examine the influence of politics and religion on the construction of linguistic and ethnic identities of the people of Ilorin Emirate. This study highlights the politics of linguistic and ethnic identities by interrogating everyday practices of individuals which point to the manipulation of language and identity to project some political, religious, social, economic and personal ideologies.

Compounding the problem of Ilorin's early days is the unreliability of oral accounts which was all that was available on the era that preceded Afonja's reign. The complexity of these contradictory oral accounts is better understood in the present day context of a Yoruba-speaking community under the leadership of an emir which creates the problem of how to categorise the people of Ilorin. How does one describe the ethnic identity of Ilorin people?

Another problem is that of assigning prominence to one identity marker over others. Demirezen (2006), for example, posits a bi-directional link between language and ethnic identity. This creates the impression that once the identity marker (in this case language) to which prominence is assigned is lost, the people concerned have lost their ethnic identity. This will be examined in the context of Ilorin Emirate where, as it shall be shown in Chapter Four and Five, most of the ethnic groups that make up the community today have lost their first languages but still maintain a strong link through other identity markers with their ancestral ethnicities.

Jimoh (1994:12) does not show or explain how the various distinct cultures of Ilorin dissolved into what he called "a uniquely composite Ilorin culture which obscures the inherent cultural pluralism". Jimoh's generalisation of a composite Ilorin identity neglects the possibility of

claims to sole ancestral identity and even dual identity; this needs to be empirically investigated. Also, previous works have not paid attention to shifting identities in Ilorin.

Furthermore, by investigating the surviving remnant identity markers of each native ethnic group, this study shows which identity marker holds the core value for each group and how those identity markers have manifested themselves in the present day Ilorin identity.

In view of the gaps identified above, the present study examines the roles of politics and religion in identity construction, perception and manifestation in Ilorin Emirate. It also provides an apt term for the classification of the people of the community under study. Furthermore, it shows the transient nature of language and other identity markers in the determination of identity and the mosaic patterns of identities that exist in Ilorin Emirate.

1.5 Aim and objectives of the study

This study aims to investigate the complex role that politics plays in the construction of linguistic and ethnic identities in Ilorin. The objectives of the study include:

- the explication of the perspectival and variable nature of the language and ethnicity link in Ilorin Emirate.
- the clarification of the classification of the people of Ilorin Emirate.
- the examination of the patterns of identities and orientation shifts in Ilorin Emirate.
- the role of politics in the rise and fall of different identity markers in Ilorin Emirate.
- the examination of the role that access to power and authority or otherwise plays in the determination of the status of any ethnic group in multilingual and multi-ethnic societies.

1.6 Research questions

With the aim of the research as a basis, the following specific research questions have been devised:

i. Is language the central marker of every group's identity? What is the relationship between ethnic and linguistic identity in Ilorin Emirate? Put differently, is the first language of the people of Ilorin Emirate enough basis to classify them as belonging to a larger group with the same language?

ii. How does one classify the people of Ilorin Emirate?

iii. What are the patterns of identity and orientation shifts in Ilorin Emirate?

iv. How does politics determine the centrality of any identity marker to a people's identity at different moments in their history? Better still, how does politics determine the salience of different identity markers at different moments in the history of Ilorin Emirate?

v. To what extent does access to power and authority have the potentials of changing the status of any ethnic group regardless of the size of their population?

1.7 Scope of the study

There are many perspectives to the study of identity in Ilorin. The present study concentrates on the impact that politics has on language and identity construction in Ilorin Emirate which comprises Asa, Ilorin East, Ilorin West, Ilorin South and Moro local government areas.

It should however be noted that the work does not add to existing literatures on the founder of Ilorin. The scope of the study encompasses the macro issues in the politics of language and identity which include the ethnolinguistic identity situation in Ilorin, language loss in Ilorin and identity shift in Ilorin.

1.8 Significance of the study

This study is important because it would be found particularly useful in the management of identity crises by facilitating an understanding of the fundamental issues in the politics of language and identity which could have dire consequences in multi-ethnic communities especially those like Ilorin which are straddled between boundary areas in Nigeria.

It will be found useful for researches in peace and conflict management as it offers means of better evaluating inter-group relations among different groups who through one way or another find themselves in the same community. Also, the study will prove useful regarding the classification of people into groups as it exploits other means of suitably classifying the people of Ilorin since they obviously do not constitute an ethnic group.

Furthermore, it represents a good attempt at examining the identity of Ilorin people from a sociolinguistic perspective. The inclusion of politics in its linguistic and ethnic identity analyses gives it an interdisciplinary outlook. Findings from this study will enrich the volume of available work on identity in general and Ilorin's identity in particular.

1.9 Clarification of concept

The title of this thesis is considered apt for it because the thesis sets out to investigate the influence that politics as a social variable, has on the constructions and manifestations of linguistic and ethnic identities in Ilorin Emirate.

As used here, politics represents political leadership and by extension, governance. The topic therefore seeks to capture the dominance that politics confers on members of different ethnic groups in the community at different points in history and the pervading influence of that dominance on people's identity constructions and manifestations. As we shall later see in Chapter 5, changes in the ethnic backgrounds of those in charge of governance at different moments in the history of the community influence people's linguistic and ethnic identities' constructions from the past till the present.

1.10 Chapter summary

This chapter has provided a general introduction to the study. In so doing, the chapter acquainted one with the background to the study and gave a detailed background of the study area. The chapter also shaped the focus of the research through the statement of the problem, aim, scope and significance of the study. It further explained the reason for the choice of Ilorin as the study cite.

Notes

1 Although Shao and Jebba communities have kings with the traditional titles of *Ohoro* and *Oba* respectively, these kings are only recognised by their subjects as such and currently without grades. Both were graded as third class chiefs by the Civilian administration of Governor Adebayo, C.O. in 1983 but the rankings were withdrawn in 1984 during the military regime of Salaudeen Latinwo (Adebayo, 2002; Punch, 24th October, 2014). In 2003, during the democratic regime of Late Governor Muhammad Adebayo Lawal, the *Ohoro* and *Oba* ranks were restored while the grades of some other traditional rulers and chiefs in Kwara State were upwardly reviewed. However, the succeeding administration of Dr. Bukola Saraki (2003-2011) reviewed the grading done by the administration of the Late Governor Lawal and amongst other things, withdrew the grades of the *Ohoro* of Shao and the *Oba* of Jebba both of Moro Local Government Area in Ilorin Emirate. Hence, both kings remain ungraded till the present moment.

2 The current emir on ascension to the throne in 1995 announced the removal of the Yoruba name "Kolapo" from the list of his names and enjoined other citizens of Ilorin Emirate to follow in his footsteps (Adeleke, 2000; Jimoh, 2000; Ajayi, 2005). This action is a form of identity "re-construction" and the intended effect is to gain a different "perception" from the "co-constructors" of the Emir's identity. It also tallies with Suleiman's (2006) observation about the importance of names as texts of identity. Suleiman notes that in Israel, the act of giving or assuming a Hebrew name to replace the old diaspora name signals a process of self-transformation and initiation into Israeli-Hebrew culture.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the different kinds of identities that that have been discussed in the literatures on identity. It also provides an insight into empirical studies on language and identity and includes some synopses of relevant literatures. In addition, the chapter will present the theoretical framework within which the present study will be analysed.

2.2 Types of identities

A range of types of identities have been identified from sociolinguistic studies. The variations in identities tend to suggest that language varies not only by region and dialect, but also by social categories such as class, gender (Labov, 1972; Trudgill, 1972). Reviewed below are the different types of identities that we have:

2.2.1 Personal identity

This according to Edwards (2009:19) "is essentially the summary statement of all our individual traits, characteristics and dispositions; it defines the uniqueness of each human being". Personal identity Edwards argues is synonymous with personality adding that it signifies the "sameness" of an individual at all times or in all circumstances. It represents a continuity that constitutes an unbroken thread running through the long and varied tapestry of one's life. It can even invoke an almost mystical sense of connectedness, particularly when one considers the very real changes that take place in that tapestry. Edwards further notes that individuality does not arise through the possession of psychological components not to be found in anyone else; rather, it is logical to assume that all personalities are assembled from the same deep and wide pool of human possibilities.

This position by Edwards above suggests that the uniqueness of the individual comes about through the particular combination or weighing of building blocks drawn from a common human store. This common human store suggests that personal identity cannot be treated in isolation of social identity as the reference "common human store" means that individuality does not arise through the possession of psychological components not found in anyone else (Edwards, 2009).

In discussing the dynamics of identity, Tabouret-Keller (1998) draws an analogy; the dynamics of ever-changing language in ever changing human polylogues takes place in a non-homogenous, unlimited ocean containing mainland, isles, and islets of relatively permanent usages based on a given linguistic stock, also only relatively permanent; these language pockets are located within larger sociolinguistic streamlets and streams. Personal identities, although not parallel or complementary to these variations, nevertheless show a similar kind of dynamic. At any given time, a person's identity is a heterogeneous set made up of all names or identities, given to and taken up by him or her. But in a lifelong process, identity is endlessly created anew, according to very various social constraints (historical, institutional, economic etc.), social interactions, encounters and wishes that may happen to be very subjective and unique.

Tabouret-Keller's position means that personal identities are always in a constant state of flux due to variations in different aspects of life. In essence, the individual is not in a stand-alone position, social circumstances are capable of bringing about changes in personal identities. As it shall be shown in Chapter 5, Keller's position holds true for the majority of Ilorin indigenes because their personal identities have changed over the course of time due to changes in the socio-political circumstances of the environment in which they live. Hence, the average Yoruba, Fulani, Kanuri or Hausa person of Ilorin extraction have attitudes and outlooks on life that are quite different from those of the same ethnic stocks as them from other parts of Nigeria. This leads to the next sub-chapter which discusses social identity.

2.2.2 Social identity

Following from the preceding sub-section, one can posit that a link exists between personal and social identities, and this, Edwards (2009:20) maintains, corroborates the long standing view that "no man is an Island, entire of itself". In essence, our personal characteristics derive from our socialisation within the group (or, rather, groups) to which we belong; one's particular social context defines that part of the larger human pool of potential from which a personal identity can be constructed. Thus, individual identities will be both components and reflections of particular social (or cultural) ones, and the latter will always be, to some extent at least, stereotypic in nature because of their necessary generality across the individual components. For example, certain actions are usually socially identified with certain groups of people. Dish washing and

changing diapers are considered actions that are socially related to the female gender and where men perform these actions, they are usually seen as deviating from the normal social construction of their gender.

2.2.3 Gender identity

Early work in the field of sociolinguistics presented a concept of gendered language that made claims that men and boys and women and girls had gendered speech styles and used language differently (Deckert and Vickers, 2011:14). For example, Labov (1972:303) finds differences in the way that women and men used language and in how they generated language change. He claims that "the sexual differentiation of speech often plays a major role in the mechanism for language change". In Trudgill's (1972) study for example, he finds out that women in Norwich used more language forms that were associated with prestige language, while men tended to give preference to working-class forms. Lakoff (1975) also explains that certain types of language use were more characteristic of the language of women than the language of men, with women tending to use more hedges, super-polite forms, tag questions, speaking italics empty adjectives, hyper correct grammar, hyper correct pronunciation, direct quotations, special lexical items and question intonation in declarative contexts.

Tannen (1990, 1994) however points out that it is not entirely possible to conclusively associate particular form with either men or women. He argues that men and women can be seen as using different interactional styles while communicating, with women using an interactional style that is focused on constructing solidarity and intimacy, and men using an interactional style that is focused more on individuality and independence. In similar vein, Bucholtz, Liang and Sutton (1999) maintain that the association of a particular action with a certain gender is not usually a natural one, but a socially constructed one that is differentially constructed in various speech communities. Bucholtz, Liang and Sutton's claim of variations in gendered role according to community is noticeable in Ilorin markets where the majority of those who sell beef are women as opposed to what is obtainable in most markets in other Yoruba-speaking communities in Nigeria. Deckert and Vickers (2011:17) claim that instances such as this reinforces "a recognition that gender is a social construct that may or may not align with the assumed binary of male and female".

2.2.4 Expert-novice identities

This kind of identity is that which holds between people who are constructed as experts and those that are considered novices. These expert and novice identities are seen as representing a binary pattern. For example, we are familiar with doctor-expert/patient-novice, teacher-expert/student-novice, and lawyer-expert/client-novice binary patterns, just to mention a few. The general assumption is that in all these roles, the expert-novice relationship is a predetermined, static one. For example, the doctor always enacts the role of the expert, while the patient enacts the role of the novice. However, sociolinguistic research has demonstrated that these expert-novice relationships are neither as static nor as obvious as they may seem at first (Deckert and Vickers, 2011). For example, Jacoby and Gonzalez (1991) discuss how expert identity is achieved in ongoing interactions. In looking at interactions between Physics professors and their graduate students, Jacoby and Gonzalez discover that the individual who is constructed with the expert identity is fluid and shifting in the course of conversational actions. It was not unusual in their data, for instance, for the Physics graduate students to achieve an expert identity, subordinating the professors they were interacting with in particular sequences of an ongoing discussion. During those discussions, Jacoby and Gonzalez claim that expert identity could shift from one person to another, depending on the topics within the conversation. Their work demonstrates that expert-novice identities are not simply tied to people enacting predetermined roles; they are also tied to expertise in the topics of discourse in ongoing interactions.

2.2.5 National identity

Smith (1991:15), a leading scholar of nationalism states that "national identity and the nation are complex constructs composed of a number of interrelated components - ethnic, cultural, territorial, economic and legal-political". Following from this, Suleiman (2006) points out the conspicuous absence of language from Smith's list therefore positing that language is not per se, a component of national identity.

Deckert and Vickers (2011) further claim that national identities can be constructed through political rules and regulations such as those determined by law in relation to birthplace or immigration policies adding that not all identities that would seem to be national ones are limited

to national boundaries. They further used the example of Gal's (1989) study in Romania in which the language a particular group of individuals spoke was correlated to their understanding of their group's national affiliation. In this case, individuals who spoke German considered themselves German nationals even though their families had lived in Romania for centuries alongside Romanian speaking people. German speakers, then, were identified as Germans and Romanian speakers as Romanians.

What this example shows is that life within the boundaries of a nation is not equivalent to national identity. This example from Gal's study as we shall see in Chapter Four of the present study, is in some ways similar to the case of the Fulani, Hausa and Kanuri peoples of Ilorin. Though these groups have lost their heritage languages within the Ilorin context and have been speaking Yoruba Language as their first language for centuries (except for Fulfulde which is on the verge of extinction as it is only spoken as a first language in a few villages in Moro Local Government Area and it is exclusive to the oldest generation of speakers who only have oral proficiency in it), they still do not consider themselves as Yoruba people despite having lived with Yoruba speaking people for centuries and even acquiring the Yoruba language as their first language.

2.2.6 Ethnic identities

Ethnic identity or ethnicity, according to Edwards (1985), can be defined by both objective and subjective characteristics. On the one hand, a definition of ethnicity must include features such as a common origin, language, religion, culture and common values. On the other hand, ethnicity cannot equally be accounted for without reference to less tangible notions such as a sense of collective belonging, or the belief that members of the ethnic group share a common history.

The concept of ethnicity is used more widely, especially by researchers, who refer to the ethnic identities of both insiders and outsiders, both majorities and minorities (Royce; 1982). According to Ross (1979), the characteristics of ethnic groups do not only constitute the essence or content of an ethnicity, they also serve as boundary markers, distinguishing the ethnic group from other ethnic groups. Oakes (2001) also adds that in the case of minority groups whose ethnic content has changed through acculturation, such as the adoption of the surrounding dominant group's language, cuisine etc., it is the existence of boundaries which ensured minority group continuity

over time. The notion of boundaries therefore constitutes a key element in the formal definition of ethnic identity. This is evident in the definition of ethnic identity by Edwards:

> Ethnic identity is allegiance to a group - large or small, socially dominant or subordinate - with which one has ancestral links. There is no necessity for a continuation over generations, of the same socialization or cultural patterns, but some sense of a group boundary must persist. This can be sustained by shared objective characteristics (language, religion etc.), or by more subjective contributions to a sense of groupness, or by some combination of both... (Edwards, 1994:128)

What one can deduce from Edwards definition above is that minority ethnic groups who share territories with majority ethnic groups have no lesser rights than the majority ethnic groups even though such majority ethnic groups may consider their ethnic status as the overall national identity. It also suggests that ethnicity should not be conceived of as a blanket term that incorporates certain features that all individuals it encompasses must share. Rather it should be seen as a unit of a "multi-aspected" relationship that all may not necessarily share. Hence, objective and subjective characteristics have equal importance in the determination of ethnicity.

It is also worthy of note to add that, certain determinants have been identified as markers of ethnic identity otherwise known as Ethnic Identity Determinants (EIDs). Okite (1987) lists several determinants of ethnic identity to include some or all of the following characteristics; ancestry, territory, history, language, religion, culture or other such attributes that a group have formed from birth. Okite further posits that these attributes are neither specific nor precise as situations could arise which are capable of greatly affecting or altering one's position in relation to some or all of them. For example, one may share a common ancestry, territory, history, language, religion, culture at birth and early life and events happening later in life could lead to a shift in time and space of such areas of common relationships without destroying the feeling of ethnic identity as exampled by the Jews all over the world and blacks in diaspora.

In its highlights of markers of ethnic identity, the international encyclopaedia of Sociology defines an ethnic group or groups as those groups characterised by some or all of the following features: common geographic origin, migratory status, race, language or dialect, religious faith,

ties that transcend kinship, neighbourhood and community boundaries, shared traditions, values, symbols, literature, folklore and music, food preferences, politics, institutions that specifically serve and maintain the group, an internal sense of distinctiveness and an external perception of distinctiveness (Magill, 1995).

Jaimoukha (2005) posits that each ethnic group may have different ideas about the characteristics that determine its identity so that each group emphasizes different sets of characteristics, which are attributable to complex factors. Jaimoukha further divides ethnic identity determinants into two categories based on observability i.e. internal and external EIDS. The external EIDS are those that can be perceived by an outsider and includes physical appearance, dress, language, folklore, religious rites, manifestation of customs and traditions etc. The internal EIDS are those that are difficult for an outsider to observe directly such as self-perception, outlook on life, internalised attitudes towards and perceptions of fellow members of one's ethnic group and outsiders and the perception of past history.

2.3 Review of related studies

Some works related to the present study have been carried out by different researchers across the globe. It is essential that those studies be reviewed for the purpose of gaining helpful insights into the present study. They are; language loss, ethnicity, politics of language, identity politics and bilingualism.

2.3.1 Ethnic identity of minorities and language loss

According to Baker (2003:51), "identity concerns the shared characteristics of members of a group, community or region. Identity provides the security and status of a shared existence. Sometimes, identity is via dress, religious beliefs, rituals, but language is almost always present in identity formation and identity display". He further adds that language is an index, symbol and marker of identity. This reinforces our position that identity formation can be actualised through different variables and that identity can be projected through different variables as well. Baker's addition that identity could be via different variables is worthy of note as it establishes the importance of all identity markers in identity formation and projection. More worthy of note however, is the addition that language is almost always present in identity formation. This means that as important as language is in the list of the different variables, it is not a constant item in the

identity manifestation of all groups. Taking it further from Baker's perspective, the position of this thesis is that whatever is deemed applicable to language as an identity variable should also be considered applicable to other identity variables as no single variable always cuts across as a shared feature. This means that cuisine, dress, religion(s), rituals are also not always equally present in the identity formation and projection of all groups of people. For example, two groups of people could share many identity markers in common except for language while other groups could share a language in common but have distinct identities as far as the other variables are concerned. An example is the case of the British people and the American people. The peoples of these nations share in common a first language and to a large extent, some aspects of dressing but the same cannot be said of their other identity variables. The Britons have in place a constitutional monarchy. That is, a royal dynasty in addition to a parliamentary system of government. In England, the Queen of England is the head of state though, with little political power while the Prime Minister and The Parliament have the major political influence and power. Generally, the English people can be considered as conservatives. The Americans on the other hand, have in place, a presidential system of government, have no monarchy and are mostly untraditional.

Ulrike (2008) explains that most scholars emphasize that although identity is deeply anchored in a society, thus leading to a strong emotional attachment to identity markers like language, language is not the only crucial aspect of minority group identity (Fishman, 1999; Romaine, 2000). For example, Blommaert (2006) points out that linguistic behaviour is not necessarily an indicator of ethnicity and that administrative belonging does not always reflect sociolinguistic belonging. Blommert also posits that language constitutes one of the several characteristics that can place an individual in the majority or in the minority. In essence, language is just as much as an identity marker as religion, dress etc because these elements of identity also determine the group (majority or minority) to which one belongs. The point in all of these is that a shared language or a shared territory does not always necessarily translate into a shared ethnicity. What defines a group of people transcends their language and geographical location - other identity markers are equally of importance.

Ulrike (2008) also posits that the major tendency in academic research is to regard ethnicity as composed of self-identification of a group. That is, how the group perceives itself, as well as its external perception through others - how others perceive the group. Ethnicity is considered the property of a group, associated with ancestry, culture and language. He further adds that most scholars agree that there are subjective and objective characteristics of ethnic groups/minorities. For example, Jenkins (1997) states that, belief in common descent is of subjective nature, whereas language and cultural practices are objective means of facilitating a group's formation. He concludes that ethnic identification arises out of and within interaction between groups.

Grin (2003) considers ethnicity as the result of subjective assignation or self-assignation to a non-elective group perceived as distinct. He defines ethnicity as a two-tier social construction in which one tier is non-elective (composed of, for example, ancestry, mother tongue and cultural models internalised during childhood), and the other tier result from assignation (by themselves and others). Grin's definition is similar to that of Fishman (1999) who states that ethnicity is made up of three elements: paternity - the perception of intergenerational continuity, patrimony - linguistic and cultural substance of what is passed on and gives material expression to this continuity, and phenomenology - the self-perceived character of ethnicity. Ulrike (2008) asserts that the most critical concept here is the self-conscious sense of group membership of ethnic minorities, in contrast to how they are perceived from outside. In essence, self-consciousness as a group by ethnic minorities is more important in their identification than external perception. The following table shows Ulrike's tabulation of how self-identification can be done through subjective and objective characteristics of ethnic groups.

Table 2.1: Elements that make up ethnicity

Subjective characteristics of ethnic groups - by self-assignation	Objective characteristics of ethnic groups - non-elective
• Belief in common descent. • Focus on symbols (e.g. jewellery) • Phenomenology (the self-perceived character of ethnicity)	• Ancestry/Paternity (the perception of intergenerational continuity) • Language practices. • Cultural practices and models.

Source: Ulrike, S. 2008.

According to this concept, ancestral, cultural and anthropological traits are commonly associated with particular ethnic groups, both by members of the groups themselves and by others regardless of whether those traits are objective; they are all means of facilitating a group's formation. Another more practical/operational concept of (self-) assignation makes a distinction between external and internal aspect.

Table 2.2: External and internal traits of ethnic groups

External	Internal
• Speaking a language. • Practising traditions. • Participating in ethnic networks, institutions, associations, functions by ethnic organizations.	• Cognitive (subjective knowledge of group values) heritage and history. • Moral (obligation and commitment to group). • Affective (attachment to particular group).

Source: Ulrike, S. 2008.

In external assignation according to this concept, language constitutes one of the three elements of accounting for ethnic identification and distinction. Internal assignation, however, gives more abstract concepts of identification and distinction that can, but do not necessarily include, the use of a distinctive language.

Language loss usually occurs in multilingual contexts in which a majority language comes to replace the range and functions of a minority language with the result that the speakers of the minority language shift over time to speaking the majority language. The fact that in multilingual situations, individuals constantly make choices on the use of language highlights the fact that language loss is not primarily a linguistic issue, but has to do with power, prejudice, (unequal) competition and sometimes overt discrimination and subordination. "Thus, ethnic or linguistic belonging considerably depends on political and social changes" (Ulrike, 2008:11).

Expressing an opinion similar to Ulrike's, Glaser (2007:6) asserts that "insider perceptions of a particular "language", "culture" or "tradition" are often at variance with external ascriptions, and the criteria by which an in-comer is granted or refused group membership in a given locality may have nothing to do with the grand narratives of the ethnocultural groups concerned".

In conclusion, the impact of language loss can differ from one group to another as minority groups live in very different political, social and geographic situations. The following examples by Ulrike (2008) prove that language loss does not inevitably result in the loss of ethnic identity because they show various effects of language loss on different groups as far as identity maintenance is concerned:

- On the British Isles, the number of Scottish Gaelic, Cornish, Irish and Welsh speakers has been declining for decades, due to the increasing use of English; still, speakers of these linguistic groups have retained strong affiliation with an ethnic identity as opposed to English identity. This is particularity true for the Scots.

- The Ingrian Finns living in the former Soviet-Union, despite their high degree of intermarriage and language loss, are still characterised by a strong sense of identity, which critically, has been related to more symbolic than linguistic bases.

- The Bretons have experienced language loss through assimilation policies by centralised France. However, their identity is very strongly reflected in traditional music and festivals that have a high status in Brittany.

Besides these examples by Ulrike, the following are different examples of the loss of language and other markers of ethnic identity amongst different minority ethnic groups in Nigeria and other parts of Africa:

- The Kanuri people in Gboko, Benue State, have through intermarriage, lost their language and other identity markers like dressing and facial marks. However, they are still able to maintain a strong sense of ethnic identity to their Kanuri origin through other identity markers such as Qur'anic education, Kanuri names and Kanuri meals. These are the identity markers that the Kanuri people in Gboko wrap their ethnic distinctiveness from other ethnic groups in the same community around (Tadaferua, 2010).

- The Defaka people in the Bonny District of Rivers State are barely distinguishable from their Nkoroo neighbours because they have completely assimilated to the Nkoroo culture. The degree of this assimilation is so high that one can hardly tell the difference between members of the two ethnic groups except for the struggling Defaka language which is the only surviving marker of a distinct Defaka identity. Even the use of the Defaka language among its people is receding in favour of the Nkoroo language as Defaka is rarely spoken among elderly Defaka people. According to SIL Ethnologue (2005), the total number of Defaka speakers is at most 200. The implication of this is that, in a very few decades, the Defaka language is likely to become extinct and the only reference the people would be able to make to a distinct Defaka identity is just a sense of ethnic distinctiveness from the Nkoroo people.

- The Suba ethnic group in Kenya has completely assimilated to the Luo ethnic group (www.newsafrica.org/newsfromafrica/art_7865.html). Most Suba people are completely assimilated Luo by culture, name, language, political orientation and have more or less the same outlook of life. This is as a result of heavy intermarriage and interaction. For the large population of Suba people, language shift has occurred making them one of Kenya's smallest tribes since they are now mostly counted as Luo people in population censuses. The Suba ethnic ancestry which is presently the only point of difference between the Suba and the Luo peoples exists only in mythology as most Suba people are

equally content to refer to themselves as Luo. The few Suba people who still profess the Suba ethnic identity only do so for symbolic purposes as they are usually hybrid Luo who are fluent in Luo, married to Luo spouses, have Luo names, give their children Luo names and cannot speak the extinct Suba language.

From these examples, it is safe to conclude that due to the differences in the complexities of the social situations in which different ethnic groups in multi-ethnic communities find themselves, they are neither able to retain the same kind of ethnic identity markers nor do they experience the loss of the same kinds of ethnic identity markers.

The fact that different identity markers are able to survive in these different examples makes it imperative that no identity marker be considered as inseparable from or synonymous with ethnic identity. This position is also supported by findings from the present study in Ilorin Emirate which as discussed in Chapter Five, shows how the native Fulani people of the community have through generations of intermarriage, lost not only their first language, Fulfulde, but also their indigenous naming system. As a result, they have for centuries been speaking the Yoruba language and answering Yoruba names. However, they have been able to retain other identity markers such as a sense of belonging to their heritage ancestry.

Also, the Yoruba people of Ilorin Emirate have been able to retain some identity markers such as language, dressing and naming system. However, they have lost other aspects of the Yoruba culture like traditional Yoruba religions and its accompanying festivals which are substantial parts of the Yoruba culture and are obtainable in other Yoruba communities in Southwestern Nigeria. In the next sub-section, we turn to examine the relationship that exists between language, ethnicity and identity.

2.3.2 Language, ethnicity and identity

Many writers have posited a strong link between language, ethnicity and identity. For instance, Le-Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) posit that the language spoken by somebody and his or her identity as a speaker of this language are inseparable. Hence, they conclude that language acts are acts of identity.

Recognising the controversial nature of the relationship between language, ethnicity and identity, Bamgbose (1991) suggests four possible positions. The positions as summarised by Nwagbo (2014) are as follows: that language is the most powerful factor which determines ethnicity; that language is dispensable in the construction of group identity and that race, political class affiliation are more important factors in the determination of ethnicity; that language is merely one of the cultural elements or symbols which determine ethnicity and not the only one and lastly; that the relationship between language and ethnicity varies depending on the state of the group involved.

This thesis strongly identifies with three of the four positions identified by Bamgbose because they are quite interwoven; namely, that language is dispensable in the construction of group identity and that race, political class affiliation are more important factors in the determination of ethnicity; that language is merely one of the cultural elements or symbols which determine ethnicity and not the only one and that the relationship between language and ethnicity varies depending on the state of the group involved. The reality of most minority groups living in multi-ethnic communities makes the first position which asserts that language is the most powerful factor in the determination of ethnic identity a little less appealing. Researches in linguistically plural societies have shown that minority groups are the ones who suffer the most when it comes to language loss. As a result, such minority groups usually shift to the languages of other groups (especially the dominant group) in their communities. When one equates language with ethnicity and identity, it means that minority groups who suffer language loss and adopt other groups' languages are automatically members of the ethnic groups whose languages they adopted after the loss of their languages. This conclusion, apart from being far from the reality, does more harm to the perception of such minority groups who have already suffered language loss.

In his foreword as an editor to Glaser (2007), Skutnabb-Kangas writes about the two major divisions on this topic. According to him, some researchers see languages as essential for ethnic identities, as possible and often likely core values of people's ethnic identities. Without them, such researchers claim an ethnic group or a people can in most cases not continue to exist as a group, more than a couple of generations. For others like May (2005:327), languages are seen as at most, "a contingent factor of one's identity. In other words, language does not define us, and

may not be an important feature, or indeed even a necessary one, in the construction of our identities, whether at the individual or collective level". The consequence of May's position according to Skutnabb-Kangas is that if language use were merely a surface feature of ethnic identity, adopting another language would only affect the language aspect of our ethnic identity, not the identity itself. Thus, the loss of a particular language is not the end of the world for a particular ethnic identity - the latter simply adapts to the use of the new language. Therefore, as Eastman (1984:275) posits "there is no need to worry about preserving ethnic identity, so long as the only change being made is in what language we use".

Tabouret-Keller (1998) however posits that the link between language and identity is often so strong that a single feature of language use suffices to identify someone's membership in a given group. The inhabitants of Gilead tried to identify their enemies among the hordes fleeing a key battle by applying a language identity test to sort out friends and foes. The test was designed to expose foes from the land of Ephraim and all were asked to pronounce the word "shibboleth"*;* those who pronounced the initial sound as [ʃ] were friends while those who pronounced it [s] were enemies and therefore killed at once. Anyone who wanted to escape the battle by crossing the Jordan River had to say "shibboleth" (meaning flood water). The people of Ephraim who could not pronounce the [ʃ] in the word perished just because they were found wanting of the correct sibilant by the Gileads.

A similar situation in Nigeria happened during the Nigerian Civil War between 1966 and 1970 in which government soldiers (also known as Nigerian soldiers) who were stationed at roadblocks made those fleeing from the war to say */tọrọ/* (meaning three pence) in order to cull Igbo people of Southeastern Nigeria from the general population. Those who said */tọrọ/* were friends while those who pronounced it as */tọlọ/* were enemies and were arrested and assaulted (Bamgbose, 2000). This is because in some dialects of Igbo, the sounds [r] and [l] are in free variation. Hence, a single phonemic feature may be sufficient to include or exclude somebody from any social or ethnic group. The problem with making language the deciding factor in ethnicity and hence identity determination is a wide possibility of erroneous judgement as it is common knowledge that not all individuals have native proficiency in their heritage languages especially when such individuals are born outside their heritage language communities.

According to Meyerhoff (2011), Haitians working in the Dominican Republic in 1937 were identified by their pronunciation of the [r] and the [j] in the word /*pereji*/ "parsley", and many, once identified, were killed in a pogrom against them. As Suleiman (2006) rightly observes, situations like the ones examined here are sad cases of instances where people pay with their lives for acts of linguistic transgression not because they knowingly transgress, but because they unknowingly violate lexical border guards that symbolically act as signs of belonging. Suleiman cites the case of the civil war in Lebanon in the 1970s and 1980s where the Arabic pronunciation of "tomato" was the shibboleth which was used in the determination of speakers' identities as either Palestinians or Lebanese. Literally, in some cases, pronouncing the word for "tomato" as *bandura* in a Palestinian inflection, rather than *banadura*, which is the Lebanese pronunciation, was tantamount to signing one's death warrant. Suleiman explains that the short vowel "a" inserted inter-syllabically meant the difference between life and death and in this instance, it represents a chilling example of how lethal identity-politics can be when it really gets out of hand.

Bamgbose's (1991) second position that language is dispensable in the construction of group identity and that race, political class affiliation are more important factors in the determination of ethnicity strongly holds true for the Ikwerre people of Rivers State, Nigeria, as the Ikwerre people offer another reason that language should not be straightforwardly equated with ethnicity and identity. Many Ikwerre people usually insist that they are not Igbo people despite the mutual intelligibility between what they now consider the Ikwerre language (the same speech form is considered the Ikwerre dialect of the Igbo language by other speakers of the Igbo language) and other dialects of Igbo. Ikwerre first names and names of traditional gods for example are same as those in other dialects of Igbo but the Ikwerre people insist on a distinct ethnic identity – the Ikwerre. In fact, the 1979 constitution gave official recognition to the Ikwerre people as a separate ethnic group in Nigeria.

Bamgbose's position above tallies with Fishman's (1998) who states that "ethnicity" is used to signify the macro-group "belongingness" or "identificational dimension of culture", whether that of individuals or of aggregates per se. He adds that ethnicity is narrower than culture and more perspectival than culture as there are many aspects of culture that are not (or are no longer)

viewed as aggregratively identificational. This perspectival quality of ethnicity means that its specification or attribution is fundamentally subjective, variable and very possibly, non-consensual. Fishman offers a hypothetical example in which some individuals who are described as *X*ians by others (who consider themselves to be *Y*ians) may actually not consider themselves to be *X*ians at all. And some of those who do not consider themselves *X*ians now, may come to consider themselves *X*ians five or ten years from now, or in the next generation. Finally, for some of those who do consider themselves as *X*ians, their Xianship may be much more central or salient in consciousness and self-identity than it is for others. This variability in perceived and experienced ethnicity also leads to variability in its association with language.

That languages and the identities they carry with them generally imply a boundary-marking function whereby the same identity prevails where and for as long as the same language is spoken has been questioned by Tabouret-Keller (1998) who submits that it certainly is no longer true today. He however adds that the longer a territorial identity is perceived as embedded in the use of an idiom - more often than not subsumed under a unique term that might designate the territory, the people, and their language - the stronger the representation of a highly focused unit of internal coherence. The strength of such a representation does not depend on permanent variation and change in language use. On the contrary, it helps to overlook these in favour of a unique identity supported by this unique term.

In a similar vein, Fishman (1998) adds that it is obvious that there should be some link between language and ethnicity since the major symbolic system of the human species must be associated with the perceived dimensions of human aggregation. If people group themselves into differently speaking collectivities, as they naturally must as long as large numbers of monolinguals exist, then their languages become both symbolic of as well as the basis for that grouping. However, just as ethnicity itself is perspectival and situational, and therefore variable in saliency, so the link between language and ethnicity is also variable. For some, (and in some historical and situational contexts) language is the prime indicator and expression of their own and another's ethnicity; for others, language is both merely marginal and optional (i.e., detachable) vis-a-vis their ethnicity (and that of "others" as well).

Nevertheless, although the link between language is merely constructed or conditioned by social, contextual and historical circumstances (rather than a constant given human condition), this "detached" scientific perspective on language and ethnicity does not keep the language and ethnicity link from being experienced as vital and as basis for social mobilisation. To claim that this is a specious basis for social action is not only to be judgemental but to miss much of the meaning in other people's lives. That is, to miss the very meaning that the researcher should as a matter of duty, elucidate. In essence, as desirable as it is that a link be established between language, ethnicity and identity, it should not be considered a fixed relationship for all communities as doing so neglects the existence of communities where such a link does not exist.

2.3.3 Dialects and the politics of language

A dialect according to Edwards (2009: 63) "is a variety of a language that differs from others along three dimensions: vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation (accent)". Edwards further adds that because dialects are forms of the same language, they are mutually intelligible. So, while French speakers cannot understand Fulfulde speakers, Texans can understand Cockneys. Tsaaior (2009:86) describes politics as the "processes through which individuals appropriate and utilise power or exercise authority over others based on class, race, status, gender and other affiliations". This means that politics, and by extension, governance which includes the promulgation of laws, affects every aspect of human life and language is not impervious to this. Therefore, the political class which exercises political power can use language to make proclamations about language itself and these proclamations can have different effects on the statuses of the languages in question. Hence, Rajagopalan's (2001) position that the primary conditions for a language to be recognised as such are political is very apt. This is because, every language is actually a dialect but not every dialect is a language. In essence, the dialect that gets chosen as the standard language has only enjoyed political favour through proclamations by the powers of the state.

Rajagoplalan (2001) further argues that the criterion of mutual comprehension fail to produce satisfactory results when we confront cases such as that of Hindu-Urdu which is practically a continuum of speech with words of Sanskrit and Arab origins occupying the polar extremes but

are considered two distinct languages for reasons of the long-standing political and religious stand-off between India and Pakistan.

The same criterion of mutual comprehension fails to work in cases such as those of the Venetian and the Napolitan "dialects" of modern Italian or the Mandarin or Cantonese "dialects" of what is vaguely referred to as Chinese that could very well be considered different languages were it not for the strong political interests at work in these cases. These further lend credence to the politics of language. In essence, the age-long criterion of mutual intelligibility with which linguists distinguish variants of languages from distinct languages fails to produce satisfactory results because in these cases, political expedience, not mutual intelligibility, is the criterion for determining what constitutes a language and what constitutes dialects of a language. Corroborating Rajagoplalan's position, Edwards (2009), asserts that though Cantonese and Mandarin speakers may have considerable difficulty understanding one another, but they are nonetheless considered to speak dialects of Chinese, not only because they use the same written form, but also because of the overarching state of which they are members.

What is deducible from the examples above is that there is a strong link between prevailing political situations and how differently or similarly variants of a language are put across and perceived by its speakers and others. This also explains the constitutional recognition of the Ikwerre people and their language as a distinct people and language. Hence, the Ikwerre language is seen by the Ikwerre people as a different speech form from the Igbo language. In fact, the Ikwerre language is being increasingly varied by its speakers to further dissociate themselves from the Igbo people. Igboanusi (2017:7) describes this kind of attitude as the "assertion of linguistic independence". The present study corroborates Igboanusi by adding that such an attitude is equally an assertion of ethnic independence. Such an attitude tends to suggest that because we do not speak like you, we are therefore, not like you. Igboanusi (2017) further shows how languages within and around Port Harcourt, the Rivers State capital, have adopted the prefix "R" to change Igbo names in order to make them look and sound differently as the following examples show:

Igbo	**Rivers language**
Ụmụokoro	Rumuokoro
Ụmụigbo	Rumuigbo
Ụmụokuta	Rumuokuta
Ụmụọla	Rumuola
Ụmụọmasị	Rumuomasi

These examples show that language could be used as an instrument of narrowing or widening political differences between two groups. Another is the example of the majority of the people of old Bendel State, Nigeria, who chose to closely identify with the Yoruba people of Southwestern Nigeria by answering Yoruba first names and aligning politically with the Yoruba people. The reason the people of old Bendel State identified with the Yoruba people in this way was the enormous political benefits such as free education, infrastructural development and rapid industrialisation experienced by the Yoruba people during the Awolowo era.

The instances above underscore Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's (1985) stance that the individual creates for himself the patterns of his linguistic behaviour so as to resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he wishes to be identified, or so as to be unlike those from whom he wishes to be distinguished. Interestingly, these examples are not just about individuals; they are about groups thus making it possible to extend the application of Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's position beyond individuals.

In the Scandinavian, Vikør (2000) states that Swedish, Danish and Norwegian are considered as distinct national languages. However, these languages apart from being historically related also exist on a continuum and are mutually intelligible, although each has its own special linguistic characteristics and regional flavour. Suleiman (2006) adds that in purely linguistic terms, these languages can be treated as varieties of the same over-arching language. The differences between them seem to be less than those between the Arabic dialects at the end points of the Arabic language continuum from East to West, which in contrast, are treated as varieties of the same language. Swedish, Danish and Norwegian are treated as three distinct languages for reasons that are intimately linked to political history, identity formation and nation building. In fact, the

relative proximity of Danish and Swedish has been a factor in the conscious marking of their difference through orthographic symbols.

The submissions above by Vikor and Suleiman corroborate Edwards (2009:64) who posits that "while Norwegian and Danish speakers can understand each other well, the demands of national and political identity require that they have different languages. On the basis of mutual intelligibility alone, Edwards states that there are really two Scandinavian languages: a continental variety comprising Norwegian, Danish and Swedish, and an insular language (Icelandic and Faroese)".

For Muslim Bosnians, Oakes (2001) points out that national identity relies heavily on their distinction from Orthodox Serbs and Catholic Croats. An effective means of reinforcing this distinction is by progressively filling their language with borrowings from Arabic. This tendency by Muslim Bosnians may over time, even spread to the introduction of the Arabic script (Baggioni; 1997). These examples Edwards (2009) posits show the dominance of political concerns over purely linguistic ones, concerns that dictate that Serbian and Croatian, Flemish and Dutch and so on are to be seen as separate languages in spite of their mutual intelligibility which should have made them dialects of the same language.

2.3.4 The politics of orthography

It is interesting to note at this point and in reiteration of Baggioni's point in the preceding sub-section, that orthography has even become a tool with which slight differences between languages are made more visible or pronounced. This means that orthography is no longer a neutral linguistic artifact as it is generally assumed in linguistics (Suleiman, 2006). According to Kamusella (2001), the constructing role of orthography/script as a political symbol has also been used to give a strong expression to Urdu and Hindi as different languages in spite of the fact that they are mutually intelligible in spoken form. The replacement of the Arabic script by the Roman and then Cyrillic scripts in the languages of the central Asian republics of the former Soviet Union, and the USSR in the 1990s, are pieces of linguistic constructioneering that are closely tied to different conceptions of ethnic and national identity and to competing imperatives of nation building, regionally and internationally. In Germany in the nineteenth century and up to

World War II, German was printed in Gothic type (black letter) to make it look different from French which used the regular Roman type.

Another interesting case of the politics of orthography has to do with the use of languages on the Nigerian currency. *Ajami* (an Arabic script used in writing Hausa) was inscribed on the national currency. According to Igboanusi (2017), in 2004, Professor Chukwuma Soludo, a Christian from Southeastern Nigeria, subtly changed the Arabic inscription and replaced it with inscriptions from the three major Nigerian languages. By 2009, when Mr. Sanusi Lamido, a Muslim from Northwestern Nigeria and current Emir of Kano State became the Central Bank Governor, he reverted to *Ajami* in place of the major Nigerian languages. Today, the *Ajami* inscription remains on naira notes. Despite the fact the only difference was the orthography used for the indication of the denomination of the currency, there was obvious discontent arising from different quarters from the change in the language regime adopted by each of the Central Bank Governors but such discontent did not result in a full-blown social conflict in the country.

In Ireland, until the 1950s, a specific Irish type was used for Irish in print to make the 1anguage look different from English in print. These examples provide evidence of how the adoption of different types within one and the same script is used as a device to construct and symbolise different national identities. Suleiman (2006) therefore concludes that proposals for replacing one script by another in writing a language are sometimes perceived as an attack on a group's identity, its culture and its place in the full sweep of history. This is particularly true when the script in question is allied to religion, as in the case of Arabic.

Woolard and Schieffelin's observation (1994:65) that "orthographic systems cannot be conceptualised simply as reducing speech to writing, but rather, they are symbols that carry historical, cultural and political meanings" is quite apt. Suleiman (2006) submits that Woolard and Schieffelin's position highlights the need for an approach to language that transcends its communicative functionality to incorporate its symbolic meanings. Writing is more than just marks on paper that records speech: it is a cultural artifact with an enormous capacity to signify symbolically

.

2.3.5 Identity politics

Following Kauffman (1990), identity politics refers to the recognition of the presence of a repressed or suppressed culture, people, values and way of life. It is a political action to advance the interests of a shared and marginalised identity such as race, ethnicity, gender and religion. Young (1960) explains that identity as a mode of organising is intimately connected to the idea that some social groups are oppressed; that is, one's identity as a woman or as native American, for example, makes one peculiarly vulnerable to cultural imperialism, marginalisation or powerlessness while Kymlicka (1999) describes identity politics from the perspective of group representation rights. In essence, the demand for the right of representation by the disadvantaged groups is a demand for inclusion. Groups that feel excluded want to be included in the scheme of things in the larger society and the recognition and accommodation of their differences is intended to facilitate this. Smith (2008) describes identity politics as the idea that only those experiencing a particular form of oppression can either define it or fight against it. All these show that identity politics mainly focuses on the interest and opinions of any particular sub-group in a society based on such group's claims of being oppressed or suppressed on account of its ethnicity, gender, occupation, religion, class etc.

The absence of national ideologically oriented political parties capable of representing defined interests of Nigerians across ethnic divides has given way to ethnic-based political movements who have come to fill the void and to challenge the present distribution of power and wealth, demanding a restructuring of the political system in such a way that will grant them equitable access to these properties (Natufe, 2006). For example, until its recent merger with the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) to form the All Progressives Congress (APC), the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) largely represented the interest of the people of South-west Nigeria. The All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA) represents the interest of the southeastern people. For the northern region in general, it has, since the beginning of the fourth Republic largely been the People's Democratic Party (PDP) while the same can be said for the South-South region. However, with the recent emergence of the CPC in the north and its current merger with the ACN to form the APC, the North's political leaning is currently divided between the PDP and the APC. The point in all this is that, there is no single political party that has a cross-ethnic appeal capable of galvanising the majority of Nigerians across all ethnic divides in the same

political direction. Arguably, this pattern of politics has increasingly made it difficult for any government at the federal level to forge a uniform Nigerian identity amongst the Nigerian populace.

Identity politics is also known to be strongly affiliated with "separatism". Separatism is a set of positions that share the view that attempts at integration of dominant and marginalised groups so consistently compromise the identity or potential of the less powerful that a distinct social and political space is the only structure that will adequately protect them. In Canada for example, Québec separatists claim that the French language and Francophone culture are persistently erased within an overwhelming dominant Anglo-American continent, despite the efforts of the Canadian state to maintain its official bilingualism and to integrate Québec into the nation. Given their long history of conflict and marginalisation, a separate and sovereign Québec, they argue, is the only plausible solution (Laforest, 2001).

A central charge against identity politics has been its alleged reliance on notions of sameness to justify political mobilisation because it involves looking for people who are like you rather than those who share your political values as allies. This, the liberals claim, runs the risk of sidelining critical political analysis of complex social locations and ghettoising members of social groups as the only persons capable of making or understanding claims to justice (Heyes, 2000).

In her critique of identity politics, Smith (2008) says experience has shown that it is not necessary to personally experience a form of depression to become committed to opposing it. For example, in the late 1960s in the United States of America, powerful civil rights movements inspired the rise of movement against the oppression of African Americans and women. Smith further argues that many thousands of white people actively supported the civil rights movements in support of African Americans while thousands of men also took part in the fight for the eradication of inequality against women. Therefore, the underlying assumption of identity politics according to which all men are assumed to benefit from women's oppression and all white people are assumed to benefit from racism is therefore fatally flawed. The support that Nigerians of different ethnic backgrounds gave to the emergence of Former President Goodluck Jonathan as the Acting President under the Umar Musa Yar'Adua administration in 2010 also shows the flaws of separatism. As much as those who wielded influence in political circles at

that time fought against the emergence of Goodluck Jonathan as the Acting President, he was well-supported by all Nigerians to take up that role because it was generally believed that despite being the second-in-command at the time, his ostracism in the circles of power was mainly because he was from the Southsouthern part of Nigeria. The support he got from within and outside his geo-political zone ensured that he was pronounced the Acting President by the Senate and he later went ahead to win the Presidential election held in 2011.

Regrettably, identity politics considers everyone else as part of the problem and cannot become part of the solution by joining the fight against oppression. The incorrectness of these assumptions shows that there is no such thing as a common, fundamental interest shared by all who face the same form of oppression. Oppression is not caused by the race, gender or the religion of the individuals who run the system, but it is generated by the very system itself - no matter who is running it (Smith, 2008).

2.3.6 Bilingualism and identity

As used here, the term is also used to refer to multilingualism. Bilingualism refers to the possession of two or more languages either by an individual or society (Baker 2003, Olaoye 1998). Edwards (2009) supports the contemporary wisdom in research that bilingualism does not mean loss; it correlates with heightened sensitivity and enhances cultural awareness. Bilingualism according to Olaoye (1998) is usually the outcome of contact situations. Such contact situations include; colonization, war, intermarriage, travels and trade etc. Following from this background, bilingual individuals and societies often have to choose what speech form to use on certain occasions and such choices often translate to identifying with the chosen language at such moment in time. In fact, the diglossic situation of assigning languages or variants of languages high or low status also often affects the way that members of the society identify with such languages. Romaine (2003) asserts that through the selection of one language over another or one variety over another, speakers display what may be called acts of identity; choosing the group with whom they wish to identify.

The tendency among bilinguals is to identify with the groups whose languages they speak. These identities which have become mixed in such bilingual individuals are manifested in the ways that the bilinguals speak through code-switching or code-mixing. Oftentimes, it is the minority

language groups who due to socio-cultural reasons are constrained to adopt and identify with the language(s) of the majority group. On the contrary, majority language groups do not feel the same constraint and therefore do not feel the need to either adopt or identify with the language of the minority group. The feeling of adequacy in their language makes the need for a mixed or increased linguistic repertoire unappealing (Korth, 2005).

According to Edwards (2009:247) "one of the most obvious consequences of a multiplicity of languages and one of the most interesting from the point of view of identity involves bilingual (or multilingual) adaptations". Edwards further adds that speaking a particular language means belonging to a particular speech community; speaking more than one may (or may not) suggest variations in identity and allegiances. Bilingualism is considered an important part of this study as it is important to see if the linguistic identities being projected by the people of Ilorin Emirate correlate with their cultural and ethnic identities.

2.4 Review of empirical studies

Quite a number of empirical studies have been carried out on the complex relationship between language, politics and identity amongst different groups of people around the world. Aliyu (2010) for example did an appraisal of Ilorin's identity using various identity markers as indices. The study whose focus was the type of indices to be used in classifying Ilorin people took a historical approach. Aliyu argues that unlike the Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba peoples who can be classified as such because of their languages, the Ilorin people cannot be so classified because of their ancestral differences. He eventually concludes that the people of Ilorin Emirate constitute an ethnic group adding that ancestry alongside religion and history are the most important indices to be used in identifying the people of Ilorin as an ethnic group. Aliyu's classification of Ilorin people as an ethnic group constitutes, amongst other things, the point of departure between it and the present study. Another is that the present study is based on the entire Emirate and not the capital city alone. In addition, the present study uses empirical means to investigate the role of politics in the construction of identities in Ilorin. The present study also becomes expedient as a result of the need to analyse the patterns of identity in Ilorin Emirate and to also find some other means besides ethnicity by which the people of Ilorin Emirate could be classified as the

present study shows that contrary to Aliyu's position, they do not constitute an ethnic group and that religion and history do not constitute common core values for them.

Jimoh (1994) gives a detailed historical account of Ilorin. The book contains a great source of genealogical information on Ilorin and is also to an extent, a justification of the Fulani rule in Ilorin. Jimoh's work does not examine the issues of language loss, politics of language, politics of identity and identity shift in Ilorin Emirate. Rather, Jimoh encourages researchers in social anthropology or sociology to do so. The present study fills these lacunae by investigating the issues of language loss, politics of language, politics of identity and identity shift in Ilorin Emirate.

Danmole (2012) reflects on religion, politics and the economy in nineteenth century Ilorin. The study examines the role of Ilorin clerics on the spread of Islam to the southwestern part of Nigeria and also discusses the political structuring of Ilorin with accounts of the overwhelming powers of the Balogun in the four indigenous quarters in the nineteenth century. The study further claims that the emirate also enjoyed an extensive trading network in the nineteenth century as a result of its central location between Northern and the Southern Nigeria. Danmole does not look at the influence of religion and politics on the identity construction of the people of Ilorin emirate. The present study seeks to take up that challenge by investigating the impacts that religion and politics have on the way that identities are constructed and perceived in Ilorin Emirate.

Padilla (1980, 1987) and Keefe and Padilla (1987) dwell on acculturation amongst Mexican immigrants in the United States of America. Acculturation according to them relies on two major supraconstructs which are cultural awareness and ethnic loyalty. Cultural awareness represents the implicit knowledge that individuals have of their cultures of origin and of their host cultures. Included in this are knowledge of things such as proficiency of the languages of each culture, knowledge of significant historical events that have shaped the cultures, understanding and appreciation of the artistic and musical forms of the cultures, and standards of behaviour and values that have shaped how persons conduct themselves. If individuals show more knowledge of their heritage cultures than they do of the new contact cultures, the model shows that they are less acculturated; similarly, if persons posses more knowledge of the host cultures, then, they are

more acculturated. Ethnic loyalty, on the other hand, is dependent on the self-ascribed ethnicity of the individuals amongst others.

In their study, Padilla (1980, 1987) and Kefee and Padilla (1987) show that cultural awareness declined from the first (immigrant) generation to the fourth generation of Mexican origin respondents. Furthermore, the steepest decline in cultural knowledge occurred between the first and second generation. However, an important discovery was the finding that ethnic loyalty to the culture of origin remained consistently high from the first to the fourth generation. In other words, although the Mexican heritage individuals possessed limited knowledge of the culture of their grandparents by the third or fourth generation, they still held on to their Mexican heritage identity. The present study is similar to Padilla (1980; 1987) and Kefee and Padilla (1987) in a lot of ways but the point of difference is that in the present study, there are cases of some members of minority ethnic groups who no longer hold onto their heritage identity ditto for some members of the majority ethnic group who also do not hold onto their heritage identity. In the process of acculturation, they have taken up identities different from their ancestral ones.

Cummins (1986) categorises groups in societies into two: the "dominant" and the "dominated". The dominant consists of those who control the institutions and rewards systems within the society. The dominated group is regarded as inherently inferior to the dominant group. It reveals how the dominated group is schemed out of political position and denied access to high status positions within the institutional structure of society. The dominated status of minority groups exposes them to conditions that predispose children to school failure even before they come to school. However, membership in these categories is not pre-determined. Students, even if they are in the dominated group, who are empowered by their school experiences, will develop the ability, confidence and motivation to succeed academically. Most of the dominated minority school children participate competently as a result of having developed a strong cultural identity as well as appropriate school-based knowledge and interactional structures.

In addition to Cummins' submissions, the present work, using Ilorin Emirate as a case in point, will show how the minority groups in a community formed an alliance so strong that the majority ethnic group was unable to dominate them. In essence, the present study establishes the need to differentiate between the usages of the terms "dominant and majority" and "dominated and

minority". That is, the interchangeable use of "dominant and majority" and "dominated and minority" is not always correct. The reason is that "dominant/non-dominant/dominated" is a function of access to power or otherwise while "majority/minority" has to do with the numerical strength or weakness of a group. The fact that in most societies, the group with the higher population is also usually the one with access to power does not mean that it is a phenomenon that is obtainable in all communities. In essence, dominant is not always synonymous with majority and dominated is not always synonymous with minority as well. For instance, in South Africa, Afrikaner is the dominant ethnic group while the language of the Afrikaners, Afrikaans, is the dominant language despite the fact that Afrikaner is not the group with the majority population. Therefore, a group in a community could be a dominant/minority, a dominated/minority, a non/dominant majority or a dominated/majority. The present study will also show how acculturation could bridge differences between different groups in multi-ethnic communities such that they could eventually wear a distinct outlook different from their proto ethnic groups.

In her study on shifting identities and orientations in a border town, Llamas (2006) uses Middlesbrough, an urban centre in the North of England where identity construction is very complex and fluid as a case study. Described by the Middlesbrough Official Guide (1997:16) as a "gateway to two regions", the town lies in the transition area between the extreme South of Newcastle, the dominant urban centre in the North-East, and the extreme North of Yorkshire in the North of England. The implication of this geographical location is that Middlesbrough is not wholly in one region or the other. Llamas' study seeks to investigate whether Middlesbrough's transitional character has an effect on the claimed identities, orientations and linguistic behaviour of its inhabitants. All groups of speakers in Llamas' study show variation in their responses to the question that seeks to establish contrastive self-definition in terms of what identity informants claim or what in-group informants perceive themselves to be part of as far as accent is concerned. Regarding the in-groups and out-groups feelings and attitudes, the most frequently given response in all cohorts was that a perceived misidentification as Geordie would cause greater offence, with only 5 of the 32 claiming otherwise. Reasons for the aversion to Geordie label appear to vary across age. The overwhelming majority of older speakers found being referred to as Geordie objectionable while many of the speakers in this age group claim an in-

group Yorkshire status and expressed incomprehension at the frequency of reference to them as "Geordie" though they often stress that their accent is not a broad Yorkshire accent. Amongst most of the middle aged speakers, the most frequent response is "Teeside" while "Middlesbrough" is the most frequently given response amongst the combined young speakers. In essence, the majority of response of each age group tallied exactly with the shifting identity of Middlesbrough.

This according to Llamas, suggests that speakers react to changing political boundaries of the area in which they live. If the political boundaries change, such changes may affect the way that inhabitants perceive themselves and the salience of relevant out-groups to which they may compare themselves with. Llamas study and the present study are similar in the sense that they show how politics (in this case, as visible in the delineation of boundaries), affects people's construction of their identities and the perception of such identities by others. In Ilorin Emirate, the present study shows that the construction of identities has different patterns which is mostly influenced by politics and ancestry while identity perception is mostly influenced by first language. The present study not only clarifies those patterns of identity in Ilorin Emirate, it also explores them and brings them to the fore. In both case studies, identity construction and perception remain very fluid and complex.

Burbano-Elizondo (2006) studies variations in local Sunderland dialect and identity using the framework of Silverstein's (1992) two orders of indexicality in language. Here, First-order indexicality refers to the links speakers establish between particular linguistic forms and some specific social category while the different perceptions and discussions of the First-order indexicality by different communities is Second-order indexicality. Unlike Middlesbrough however, Sunderland is more firmly situated in the North-East of England but in spite of this, Burbano-Elizondo asserts the presence of various strong and distinct local identities in Sunderland. The Sunderland community distinguishes itself from its closest neighbour, Newcastle, through the rejection of the "Geordie" label which many outsiders to the North-Eastern community, unaware of the ideological issues and symbols surrounding the Sunderland and Tyneside communities, assume is a blanket label for everyone from the North-East of England. It is however important to add that though the overwhelming majority of the people of

Sunderland make it clear that they would not stand being classed as "Geordies" and would actually correct anyone who does so, there was no unison in the choice of the label they would prefer to be identified as. Those who do not identify with the widespread "Mackem" label for the people of Sunderland refuse to do so on the grounds that it is a derogatory term invented by Geordie footballers to refer to Sunderland people. Such categories of people prefer to be identified either as "Wearsiders" or just simply as someone from Sunderland. Another category of people are some in the oldest age group who still refer to themselves as "Geordies" because the City of Sunderland was still part of County Durham in the 1980s and the people in that age group do not really accept the new relocation of the city as part of Tyne and Wear.

Of equal importance in Burdano-Elizondo's study is the nature of the identity of the people of Washington which in 1974 together with Houghton and Hetton was relocated as part of the city of Sunderland and then, together with Sunderland itself, separated from County Durham and realigned with the metropolitan County of Tyne and Wear alongside Tyneside. Despite the fact that most of the participants located Washington within the Sunderland territory, there was a general awareness that Washington is only officially part of the city of Sunderland; it is a town that to some extent, fails to identify with the Sunderland community. Identity-wise, its population is divided and thus regarded as a mixture of Geordies and Mackems. Washington has therefore been described by some as suffering from "identity crisis" while others label them as "Geordie rejects" due to the fact that they do not like to think of themselves as being from Sunderland but from Newcastle because despite being from Sunderland, many of them do not adhere to the local culture or to the local symbols of Sunderland. For example, many Washington people support Newcastle United, which is an evidence of their "Geordieness" while their dialect seems to be perceived as different; closer to Tyneside English than Sunderland English. Football allegiances and dialect were the two main factors that seemed to determine membership of the Sunderland community and the people of Washington are not compliant in both aspects. Another important factor is self-perception and in this case, many of the informants in the study commented on the fact that many Washington people refuse to class themselves as living in Sunderland. Therefore, belonging to the community depended not just on being perceived as part of it, but also on wanting to belong to it. It then seems that Washington is only part of the City of

Sunderland due to the high influence of the political boundaries but not ideologically so due to its rejection of certain local symbols of Sunderland.

Burdano-Elizondo's study is considered important because it shows that fluidity and complexity of identity is not a sole feature of communities in boundary areas; communities that are well within the boundaries of geo-political divisions can also experience these phenomena. The case of Washington particularly lends credence to the fact that administrative belonging does not indicate social or ideological belonging and as the present study shows in Chapter Five, this has a striking semblance with the present study as the people of Shao and Jebba communities in Moro Local Government Area, do not identify as part of Ilorin Emirate. The present study presents Shao and Jebba's acts of dissociation from Ilorin Emirate and the means through which they express their "otherness".

In their study of the cultural identities of Miao Chinese ethnic group undergraduates in a university dominated by the Han China, Trueba and Zou (1994) reveal that the Miao students had a very strong cultural identity to which they remained firmly attached and which inspired them to succeed even in a different learning environment. From the foregoing, Aboh (2012) concludes that learning a second language and a new culture did not in any way distract the Miao Chinese from their culture. Rather, it strengthened their pride in their identity and increased their sense of ethnic affiliation. For the Miao students, their empowerment as a group derived from retaining their identification and affiliation with Miao traditions, culture and language. The present study is similar to Trueba and Zou's (1994) in that it affirms the possibility of the maintenance of a distinct identity by minority groups outside of their home environments. In addition, the present study shows that identity maintenance in a new environment is possible even after the loss of the minority group's first language.

Delargy (2007) in her study of the language, culture and identity of the Chinese community in Northern Ireland (henceforth, NI) discovers that the Chinese community which forms the major bulk of ethnic minorities in NI has problems integrating into their host community due to language, cultural and religious differences. To be able cope in their new environment, the Chinese community in NI (which does not constitute a homogenous group) established various associations such as the Mandarin Speakers' Association, the Chinese language school,

Generation Y amongst others. The establishment of these institutions point to the fact that the Chinese community in NI have not yet fully integrated into the Irish community. The study did not however examine the identity marker(s) which formed the Chinese community's rallying point and which enabled them (in spite of their non-homogeneity) to come together and put the afore-mentioned structures in place even in the face of hostilities from their host community. The other identity variables that facilitated the Chinese community's rapport were also not brought to the fore. This study examines the other identity variables that non-homogenous communities use as their rallying point where they share no language in common in Ilorin Emirate.

In his study on the language, social history and identity of the "coloured" community of Wentworth, Durban, South-Africa, Kamwangamalu (2005), looks at the linguistic mechanisms that members of the Wentworth community employ to maintain, construct, manage, negotiate and re-negotiate their social identities. In the study, Kamwangamalu discusses the social history of the members of this "coloured" community and the effect of that history on their choice of language and identity display. Members of this community are considered people of mixed-race who do not belong to any distinct racial group such as Whites, Blacks or Indians but a combination of any of these racial groups. The "coloured" people of Wentworth Kamwangamalu reports, are mostly bilingual in English and Afrikaans with a few, especially those in their fifties also being fluent in all or one of Zulu, Xhosa and Sotho. All the subjects in the study reported that they have strong feelings for English and this has to do with their claims of being of British and African ancestries. However, because of the legacy of apartheid, they identify more with the Whites of British descent, whom they describe as "social elite" than with the Africans, whom they regard as people of lower social status (Fynn 1991). As for Afrikaans, the "coloured" community of Wentworth like other communities in South-Africa, see it as the language of social oppression and discrimination which they were forced to learn, so, they have no feelings for it. For African languages, their lack of feelings for them was reported to be as a result of the fact that those languages did not, nor do they at the present moment, play any role at all in their everyday lives. This Kamwangamalu says shows that though apartheid is dead, the walls it erected between the various ethnic groups still stand tall because the social status with which languages in the province were identified during apartheid has barely changed. However, the study did not examine other aspects of the Wentworth identity. It would have been interesting to

see if members of the "coloured" community of Wentworth retained other aspects of their African identity and in case they did not retain any of the other markers of African identity, the possible reason(s) for the total discard of such an integral part of their identity would have constituted an interesting aspect of the study. The present study like Kamwangamalu's, examines the effects of politics vis-a-vis political leadership on respondents' choice of linguistic and ethnic identity construction.

Thondhlana (2005) in her study on language and identity in Zimbabwe explores the ways in which Zimbabweans negotiate and signal their identities. Of the 18 Zimbabwean languages identified in the study, Shona, Ndebele and English are the national languages while English has the additional status of being the national official language. The study revealed that Zimbabwe's bilingualism is in three forms. The first form is where two or more languages are spoken by two or more different groups with each group being monolingual e.g. the Ndebele and the Shona peoples in Mashonaland and Matebeland are mostly monolingual irrespective of what other languages are spoken in their environment. The second form is where all the people in a group are bilingual e.g. Zimbabweans in the mining and commercial farm sectors are known to be bilinguals while most of the people of Hwange and Bulilimamangwe are also known to be proficient in up to six languages. The third form is that in which one group is monolingual and the other is bilingual. Urban Shona and Ndebele speakers are usually proficient in English whereas English speakers are usually monolingual. Furthermore, the study showed that some minorities out of preference for the national languages assimilated to those languages thereby losing their first languages. An example is the Tonya people of Mudzi who have almost fully assimilated into Shona and the younger generation of the Nyanja people who have fully assimilated into Shona and Ndebele. A few other minority groups like the Kalanga and the Nambya peoples have asserted their distinctiveness from the Shona and Kalanga peoples. These groups (the Kalanga and the Nambya peoples) have therefore, taken up separate ethnolinguistic identities and have continuously varied their languages from those of the majority groups which their languages were previously considered dialects of. However, the study does not account for the reasons in the aforementioned differences in the attitudes that different minority groups have towards their languages and identities. This is another area where the present study is deemed

needful as it examines the influence of social factors on respondents' preferred language and ethnic identities in Ilorin Emirate.

In their study of the language and identity of Afrikaans in the United Kingdom (UK), Kotze and Biberaur (2005) explore the home language as a component of the cultural and personal identity of South African expatriates of Afrikaans extraction living in the UK. The study which examines the frequency of usage of Afrikaans and English in different contexts shows that though the choice of Afrikaans features predominantly in all the relevant household scenarios contained in the questionnaire, it is even more predominant in written form than in spoken form. The study further reveals that English is mostly spoken to interlocutors who are members of the same household, less spoken to relatives living in the UK and much less spoken to relatives from South Africa. This pattern therefore shows that the new (socio-)linguistic environment and the (perceived) need to conform with the tradition of the erstwhile country of domicile influence the choice of language use. Hence, the stronger the latter, the less English is used. Contrary to the general assumption that the spoken form of the ancestral language might be expected to be maintained longer than the written form, Kotze and Biberaur's study reveals that the majority of respondents use Afrikaans in writing more than in speech. Kotze and Biberaur's study reveal that absence from the homeland creates a heightened sense of attachment to the homeland and this pattern is noticed in the present study where the majority of respondents' identity constructions directly correlated with those of their ancestral homes despite the fact that they cannot trace their roots back to such ancestral homes.

De Kagt and Ige (2005) investigate how Nigerians' identity in South Africa is constructed especially by the black community and how Nigerians find space to reconstruct their identity. Through interviews, the study reveals how Nigerians of different ethnic origins put up a uniform Nigerian identity in a foreign country and how they resist negative stereotypes and construct a more adequate "space" to project a better Nigerian identity. According to McDonald (2000), misconceptions about the number, intentions and activities of (im)migrants are now commonly held to be true. Respondents in the study reveal a generally hostile attitude towards black Africans and finds South Africans less hostile towards immigrants from North America and Europe. Such hostile attitude is premised on the fear of black immigrants' perceived tendency to

add burdens on their economy, increase crime rate and stretch health facilities. Respondents reveal that after the initial "shock" and "trauma" of the negative stereotype, they contest for adequate "space" within which they project a positive Nigerian identity and sometimes embark on a process of educating the uninformed about Nigeria. On a personal level, De Kagt and Ige, report that interactions with individual South Africans do result in the emergence of friendships. Yet, on the whole, it has little impact on the stereotype, which continues to be applied by those who are not open to such personal acquaintances. The study also shows how South Africans use language to exclude those who do not speak their languages by not using English when non-native speakers are present. At such moments, respondents in De Kagt and Ige's study report that they also resort to speaking Nigerian languages and where they share no Nigerian language in common, they speak the Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE). De Kagt and Ige's study further shows the asymmetrical patterns that could exist between people's real identities and those co-constructed by others. The study did not however show the different identity patterns exhibited by Nigerians (since they do not constitute a homogenous group) which could be responsible for such identity co-construction by members of their host community. The present study examines the different identity patterns that exist in heterogeneous communities and how the identities of different groups manifest in their non-ancestral environments.

Madiba (2005) examines the dilemma of linguistic minorities in South Africa and suggests alternative strategies to protect and promote their linguistic identities. He identifies two approaches used in the literature to identify linguistic minorities which are; the socio-political approach which defines a group in terms of domination and/or subordination and the demographic approach which stresses the importance of sheer numbers. Since the arrival of the Dutch and during the apartheid era in South Africa, the decision of which language(s) are majority or minority languages has been based on the socio-political approach thereby making it possible for colonial languages like Dutch and English to be given official status despite the fact that they were spoken by a tiny fraction of the general population while indigenous languages like Ndebele, Xhosa, Zulu etc. spoken by a large percentage of the populace are not so recognised. This approach is not egalitarian. To solve South Africa's language and identity problems, Madiba proposes a multiple identities framework based on the recognition of the various groups of people existing in a polity, be they nationalities or ethnic groupings. The

framework also acknowledges that these nationalities or ethnic groupings have different identities which may constitute a hierarchy of identities. The present study draws a distinction between the usages of the terms majority and dominant as well as minority and subordinate in heterogeneous communities. As a result, it acknowledges the existence of the dominant-minority (a group with lower numerical strength but with greater access to social, political and or economic powers) and the non-dominant majority (a group with higher numerical strength but with lesser access to social, political and or economic powers). Also, it is possible for there to exist dominated-minority (a group with lesser numerical strength with no access to social, political and or economic powers) and dominated-majority (a group with higher numerical strength but with no access to social, political and or economic powers).

At this juncture, it is important to note that these previous studies serve as examples for this study in a lot of ways. Besides the insights gained from the different theoretical frameworks and methodologies used in them, they also act as rich sources of information on the subject of language and identity and the varied contexts of the researches were found useful. Having said this, the present study becomes needful as none of these previous studies has examined the issues of identity shift, orientation shift, patterns of identity, language loss, politics of language and the politics of identity within the context of Ilorin Emirate. Filling such scholarly gap is the task that the present study aims to achieve. The next section reviews the theoretical framework adopted in this study.

2.5 Theoretical framework

For this study, two theories have been adopted. These are the Revised Social Identity and Ethnolinguistic Identity Theory (Revised SIT/ELIT) and the Core Value Theory. While the former is deeply rooted in the social psychology of language, the latter is a theoretical development of social science inculcating a humanistic sociology interpretive approach. For a proper understanding of the Revised SIT/ELIT, it will be insightful to take a look at the SIT and ELIT as it is their revisions and modifications that formed the basis for the Revised SIT/ELIT.

2.5.1 Social Identity Theory (SIT)

Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1974; Tajfel and Turner, 1986) is an identity theory developed within the field of social psychology of intergroup relations. It relies on four main concepts

which are linked in a casual sequence. These are social categorisation, social identity, social comparison and psychological distinctiveness.

The first concept of social categorisation involves the ways that individuals categorise themselves and others into social groups from an early age. Such categorisations could be ethnic, nation, state etc. It follows from this that individuals can either belong to the same group (in-group) or different groups (out-group). The concept of social identity which is the second concept in the model, follows from people's awareness of their own social group and the positive or negative values that are related to their membership in that group. The concept of social comparison which is the third concept of the theory describes the way individuals favour members of their in-group and discriminate against those of the out-group. This ethnocentric behaviour, which relies heavily on the use of popular myths and stereotypes such as those about neighbouring countries, seeks to generate or maintain a state of psychological distinctiveness which is the last concept in the theory. This state of psychological distinctiveness usually leads to a positive self-esteem and social identity.

Social Identity Theory also draws a distinction between "secure" and "insecure" identities (Tajfel, 1998) which is essential for understanding identity strategies used to promote social change. According to Oakes (2001:35), social comparisons and identities are said to be secure when the status relationship between the relevant groups is perceived as immutable: the dominant group remains dominant and the minorities remain subordinate. But, insecure identities do not only apply to subordinate groups; they can also affect majority groups. In insecure situations, dominant groups which regard their superiority as legitimate tend to intensify existing differences to maintain their psychological distinctiveness thus resulting in positive identity. This intensification of differences is usually manifested by a heightened sense of identity amongst the dominant group, and increased discrimination against minority groups. Such minority groups attempt to improve this status and generate a more positive identity by employing one or more of the following strategies (Tajfel and Turner, 1986:19-20): social mobility, social creativity and social competition. The SIT allows for the consideration of non-linguistic factors which may result in an emphasis being placed on language. These non-linguistic factors would explain why

language is favoured by some ethnic groups more than others as a symbol of ethnic and national identity.

The SIT has been criticised for a number of reasons. For instance, the theory has been criticised for positing that the desire for a positive self-esteem is the motivation behind the construction of social identity. Many researchers are of the opinion that self-esteem is insufficient and argue the need to incorporate additional motives into SIT. Such alternative motives they argue could include the desire for material wealth, power, control, psychological comfort or stability, security, self-efficacy, meaning and self-knowledge (Abrams, 1992). For example, in a study of British and European Identity, Cinnirella (1996) reveals that desires to maintain autonomy and exert control over world affairs were more important motivations associated with British identity than was self-esteem. On the contrary, Oakes (2001) maintains that alternative motives correspond to alternative goals of wealth, power, control, etc. and whether people are aware of it, these goals can themselves be linked to higher self-esteems in that a group could deem itself as having high self-esteem than the other group because the former is wealthier, more powerful, exerts more control, etc. than the latter. Oakes further adds that the possibility is to consider desires to be wealthy, powerful, etc. as intermediate goals which constitute a first step to reaching the ultimate goal of high self-esteem.

Another criticism is the seeming restriction of social mobility as referring to assimilation to the dominant group. Oakes (2001) argues that social mobility should be extended to groups as separate entities.

2.5.2 Ethnolinguistic Identity Theory (ELIT)

Like SIT, ELIT is also a social psychological approach and was proposed by Giles and Johnson (1981). ELIT was formed as an extension of the SIT. Therefore, ELIT is based on the same fundamental principles as the SIT but with the addition of three factors which are claimed to determine the salience of ethnolinguistic identity: perceived permeability of boundaries, multiple group membership and ethnolinguistic vitality (Oakes, 2001).

The perceived permeability of intergroup boundaries influences social mobility in that it deals with the accessibility or otherwise of intergroup boundaries. In essence, boundaries which are

perceived as soft and permeable facilitate social mobility while those perceived as hard and impermeable do not allow for social mobility and usually lead to heightened ethnolinguistic identities on both sides. What this means is that groups with soft boundaries accommodate out-groups while groups with hard boundaries do not accommodate out-groups making it easy for members of out-groups to gain access to groups with soft boundaries and vice-versa.

The concept of multiple group memberships introduced by ELIT has to do with the number of social groups to which an individual belongs. As a result, the strength of ethnolinguistic identity is determined by the number of social groups to which an individual belongs. These groups could be professional, social, class, age, religious, etc. It claimed that the fewer the groups an individual belongs to, the stronger his or her ethnolinguistic identity will be as a result of the fact that belongingness to several social groups weakens ethnolinguistic identity. According to Giles (1979), group members try to maintain a high level of perceived boundary hardness and this, when successful, clarifies ethnic categorisaton and norms for conducting intergroup encounters, thereby increasing the salience of group membership. Finally, those who see themselves as belonging to numerous different overlapping groups should possess a more diffuse social identity than persons who view themselves as members of only one or two groups. In other words, ethnolinguistic attachment should be stronger for those who can identify with few other social categories.

The third additional concept of ELIT is ethnolinguistic vitality. Ethnolinguistic vitality is defined by Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1997) as that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinct and active collective entity in intergroup relations.

Despite the introduction of three additional concepts, ELIT has been criticised for certain shortcomings. The first is that ELIT does not explain why language is favoured by some groups more than others as symbol of ethnic or national identity. ELIT has also been criticised for over simplifying large social groups by considering such groups as homogenous groups when in fact large social groups comprise smaller sub-groups, even at the level of the individual. This according to Husband and Saifullah (1982) makes the use of the term “group” problematic for large-scale categories such as nations. Breakwell (1996:22) also supports this criticism with claims that national identity is not real as “there is no such thing as national identity in an

absolute sense". Breakwell justifies his position by adding that every nation has many national identities since each individual, in social context, negotiates what the meaning of his or her national identity is and can renegotiate moment by moment. Oakes (2001) however maintains that though the concept of national identity is for the most part an abstract concept, but this does not mean that it is not real. It may have originated from the social reality of a small group of elites, bureaucrats and policy makers; it may have been largely constructed by the ethnic core. Nevertheless, with the help of compulsory schooling and the media, it is propagated as the legitimate national identity and appropriated to varying degrees.

In defence of the criticism that the theory focuses mainly on occasions where individuals act as a group, Oakes insists that that does not mean that it cannot be used to examine intragroup differences due to the emergence of sub-groups. Far from not being able to deal with sociolinguistic variations, SIT and ELIT treat such groups as entities in their own rights with separate ethnolinguistic identities.

Another criticism that is closely related to the above-mentioned one is that the theory considers all groups alike regardless of their size and nature. In essence, the theory neglects the specific meanings of social categories and flattens out different ways of representing the world.

The theory has also been criticised for having a bias for monocultural-assimilation. By monocultural-assimilationist bias, Husband and Saifullah (1982) refer to the incapacity of ELIT to deal with biculturalism and integration. Although, ELIT introduced the notion of multiple group membership in which individuals enjoy simultaneously different social identities (family, gender, age, sexuality, class, professional ethnic etc.) but refuses to take into account those cases when an individual belongs to multiple groups of the same nature. That is, ELIT does not take into account cases where individuals have multiple cultural identities or other kinds of identities of the same kind. This position by ELIT is erroneous in the sense that various models of acculturation (Berry, 1980) and bicultural identity (Hamers and Blanc, 2000) show that an individual or group can have multiple cultural identities without one being at the detriment of the other(s). For example, many second generation immigrant children have positive identities connected to their memberships both of the dominant and minority ethnic groups. A similar scenario characterises the lives of children raised bilingually and/or biculturally, often on

account of the different nationality of one parent. Another is the example of French-speaking Canadians, who do not have difficulty in reconciling their (minority) French-speaking and (majority) Canadian identities.

2.5.3 Revised SIT/ELIT

As a result of the shortcomings highlighted above, Oakes (2001) considers the need to review the SIT and ELIT and to also make some modifications to both theories leading to the birth of a revised framework encompassing the features of both the SIT and ELIT and even much more. In essence, the modified framework not only built on the strengths of both the SIT and ELIT, it also introduced the additional elements of integration, bilingualism and biculturalism. It is this modified framework that will be adopted in the analysis of the data generated in the course of this research. The modified framework is the Revised SIT/ELIT.

Part of the modification done to the SIT/ELIT by Oakes is the reclassification of the notions of social mobility and social creativity into those of convergence and divergence. He also broadens the scope of linguistic and non-linguistic boundaries in order to be able to use them to account for the negotiation process which takes place between different dimensions of national identity. Lastly, he introduces the concept of different linguistic arenas.

According to Oakes (2001:41), "the notions of convergence and divergence have their roots in Speech Accommodation Theory" (Giles, 1973; Giles et al., 1977; Giles and Coupland 1991) which later became known as Communication Accommodation Theory (Giles et al., 1987) to enable it encompass non-verbal as well as discursive dimensions of social interaction. Giles and Coupland (1991:63) describe communicative convergence "as a strategy whereby individuals adapt to each other's communicative behaviours in terms of a wide range of linguistic/prosodic/non-vocal features, including speech rate, pausal phenomenon and utterance length, phonological variants, smiling, gaze and so on". Within the framework of the Revised SIT/ELIT, Oakes (2001:42) posits that convergence is used "to refer to some form of cultural movement towards the majority outgroup". Convergence as an additional element of Revised SIT/ELIT will be needful for the present study as a means of highlighting and discussing those areas where respondents demonstrate preference or ownership of features or behaviours that are known to belong to outgroups indigenous to the emirate. In addition however, the present study

shows that cultural movement is not necessarily always towards the majority outgroup; members of the majority outgroup also converge culturally towards the minority out-group.

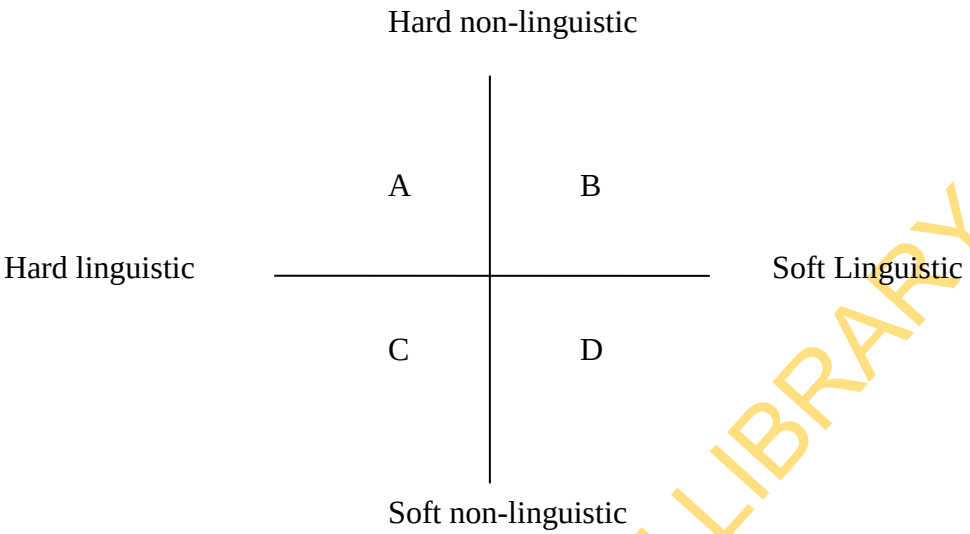
On the contrary, divergence refers to a situation whereby individuals or minority group members choose to emphasize their group's communicative style thereby accentuating differences between them and the dominant outgroup. The difference between the notions of social mobility and creativity and that of convergence and divergence is that whereas the former fails to recognise the possibility of mutual acculturation and or integration, the latter expands the former to accommodate instances where majority and minority groups mutually embrace each other's features without necessarily putting their ingroups' features at disadvantages. This new concept gives recognition to intermediate states of acculturation and/or integration on the part of both groups involved unlike in the original SIT/ELIT formulation where such is taken to imply complete assimilation. In essence, the convergence/divergence concept recognises the possibility of individuals retaining elements of their original group identity even while converging towards the other's identity. This mechanism will be useful for the present study in that it will enable one to account for areas of distinctiveness between respondents from different ancestral groups. This will show how members of different groups have maintained or accentuated certain features which serve as a point of difference between them and other groups within the same geographical entity regardless of the extent of acculturation that has taken place over the years.

Minority groups can adopt convergence mechanisms such as assimilation, acculturation/integration and overcommunication of dominant group's culture (in the case of bicultural individuals). Divergence mechanisms from dominant out-group include the re-definition of previously negatively-viewed symbols, creation of new, positively-viewed symbols, selection of an alternative, less favourable out-group for comparison and undercommunication of dominant group's culture.

The scopes of linguistic and non-linguistic boundaries were broadened to encompass hard and soft boundaries and these two in turn, rest upon the concepts of social mobility. The interaction of the notions of hard and soft boundaries creates four types of categories which are: hard linguistic boundary, hard non-linguistic boundary, soft linguistic boundary and soft non-linguistic boundary. Groups with hard linguistic boundaries have distinctive languages, those

with hard non-linguistic boundaries have other distinctive identity markers like religion and culture, groups with soft linguistic boundaries adopt others' languages yet, they retain other ethnic features while groups with soft non-linguistic boundaries adopt other ethnic features besides the language of the dominant out-group. The interaction of these two notions which creates the four types of categories mentioned above can be shown in the following figure from Giles (1979:275):

Figure 2.1: A figure showing hard and soft linguistic and non-linguistic boundaries.



Source: Giles, H. 1979.

The Hutterites and Amish in North America according to Oakes (2001) are examples of ethnic groups in Category A: they have a distinctive language (hard linguistic boundary) and religion (hard non-linguistic boundary). Category B would include the Irish, who have adopted another language which is English (soft linguistic boundary) yet, they retain other ethnic characteristics (hard non-linguistic boundary) which distinguish them from the English people. Following from this, it is obvious that the loss of language need not therefore imply the loss of identity (Edwards 1992; Liebkind 1996). It should also mean that the loss of other identity markers besides language should equally not imply a loss of identity. This mechanism is particularly important in the analysis of the present research as it enables one to identify any group whose language constitutes its distinctive identity marker and those whose distinctive identity markers are other identity markers besides language.

The newly introduced concept of different arenas for the construction of national identity recognises the fact that even when different groups converge and diverge simultaneously on different dimensions, they can also do so within different arenas such as on ethnic, national and global scales. These arenas can be considered as existing independently of one another while they can also overlap. In the case of the former, such independent existence is possible because

the status of a group may differ from one arena to the next such that a group may be dominant at the national arena but considered a minority at the continental and global levels.

This revised SIT/ELIT framework is considered appropriate for this research for its possession of the vital mechanisms of boundary delineation which is very apt for the analysis of the different ethnic groups of Ilorin. It is also considered a veritable tool for the analysis of the data generated in the course of this research as it incorporates the concepts of integration, bilingualism and biculturalism and acculturation. The concept of acculturation here is particularly significant to this study because of its consideration of the appropriateness of some degree of divergence on the part of minority groups towards the majority groups' cultures without necessarily assimilating.

The Revised SIT/ELIT is considered appropriate in analysing the present study in the following ways: it will help in the explanation of the linguistic and non-linguistic boundaries that exist between different ethno-linguistic groups native to Ilorin since it recognises the possibility of mutual acculturation and integration whereby majority and minority groups mutually embrace each other's features without completely jettisoning their in-group's features. This will be helpful in identifying those areas where the different ancestral groups have acculturated and where they have not; it is the same mechanism that will be used to locate the place of language as an identity marker amongst different groups in the emirate since the theory recognises that certain groups could have soft linguistic boundaries. With its convergence and divergence mechanisms, the theory will help to illustrate the patterns of identity in Ilorin; a broadened scope of linguistic and non-linguistic boundaries means that the theory will be useful in identifying and highlighting other identity markers (besides language) that are also considered significant in the Ilorin context; it will further help to account for certain levels of divergence by some respondents from ancestral ethnic affiliation recorded in terms of preferred social, cultural and political affiliation. It is however important to note that the Revised SIT/ELIT cannot solely account for all the data generated in the course of the present study hence, the need to complement it with an additional theory which is the Core Value Theory.

The need to employ the use of an additional theory is necessitated by the fact that though the Revised SIT/ELIT recognises linguistic and non-linguistic boundaries which were further

broadened to encompass soft and hard boundaries, the theory does not explain in concrete terms, the possible reasons behind such variations from one group to another. In essence, the theory does extremely well in the delineation of boundaries into hard and soft ones but fails to give possible reasons for such variations amongst different groups. This means that the theory addresses the effects of variations in boundaries and not the cause. This lacuna necessitates the introduction of the Core Value Theory into our analysis. The Core Value Theory, like the Revised SIT/ELIT recognises the fact that different groups have different dispositions towards different identity markers. In addition to the recognition of different dispositions towards different identity by different groups, the theory also goes further to offer reasons for the existence of such variations in boundaries across different groups and cultures.

The ability of the Core Value Theory to explain the cause of the "softness" or "hardness" of boundaries makes it possible to better understand the variations in such boundaries. The Core Value Theory therefore helps to better understand and apply the constructs of the Revised SIT/ELIT. It is for this reason that the application of the Core Value Theory becomes imperative for the present study.

2.5.4 The Core Value Theory

The Core Value Theory is a social science framework with a humanistic sociology approach. It was propounded by Smolicz (1981). The theory posits that the relationship between language and identity at any level is not predictable making it possible for variations to exist amongst different groups. With the notion of core values, Smolicz argues that different cultures have different values that are fundamental to their existence as a group, and the rejection of which can lead to exclusion from the group. For some cultures, language is such a value, for some others it is not. Smolicz explains that:

> Core values can be regarded as forming one of the most fundamental components of a group's culture. They generally represent the heartland of the ideological system and act as identifying values which are symbolic of the group and its membership… Whenever people feel that there is a direct link between their identity as a group and what they regard as the most crucial and distinguishing element of their culture, the element concerned becomes a core value for the group. (1981:75-7).

The theory therefore postulates a basic division between language-centred cultures (cultures for which the native tongue constitutes a core value) and other cultures which are based upon family, religion or some other ideals, be they political, historical or cultural which are referred to in this thesis as “non-language-centred cultures”.

Smolicz (1981:76) further adds that “whether a language becomes a core value or not depends on various circumstances and challenges” faced by a particular group both at the present time and throughout history. He cites the case of the Poles as example. For the Poles, language has been considered a core value ever since it was banned in the nineteenth century, when Poland was partitioned amongst its three powerful neighbours: Austria, Prussia and Russia. It was forbidden to speak the language at school and parents who organised Polish classes for their children were threatened with deportation to Siberia. This way, an "indissoluble link" was forged between the Polish people and their language which still exists till date although Polish is no longer an object of persecution. Another example discussed by Smolicz (1981) is that of the Irish who failed to revive their language following independence. In this instance, language is therefore not a core value for the Irish who found their identity on other elements. Concerning the Irish, Smolicz (1981:79) states that “bereft of their ancestral tongue, it was in Catholicism that the Irish found the refuge and shield behind which they could retain their identity and awareness of their distinction”.

The Core Value theory also postulates that community members who reject these values are endangering their group membership and that unanimous rejection will result ultimately in its disintegration as a community that can perpetuate itself as an authentic entity across generations (Smolicz and Secombe, 1989).

The majority of cultures around the world appear to be language-centred e.g. Igbo, Polish, English, French Yoruba, Greek, Hausa cultures. In these cultures, language has become equated with affiliation to the group. Such close ties between ethnicity and language does not however cut across for all groups and it is ideal that those other instances are also acknowledged.

Smolicz’s Core Value Theory has faced criticisms. For example, Oakes (2001) argues that Smolicz's position implies that a language can only be a core value if it serves as a regular

instrument of communication adding that language has other important functions such as acting as a symbolic marker of identity. Contrary to Oakes' criticism, the present study avers that Smolicz's argument holds water – a language that is not used by its speakers as a regular means of communication does not hold a core value for its speakers. This is because even if a language does not serve any officially stipulated national or regional functions, it should enjoy primacy as a means of inter-personal communication amongst its native speakers. This explains why not all minority languages are usually lost in multilingual contexts. For example, the Gbe language (also called Egun) has always been in co-existence with the Yoruba language in Lagos and Ogun States, Nigeria. The speakers of the language though usually bilingual in Gbe and the Yoruba language have not lost their mother tongue because they assign to it, a core value. Hence, they use it as a regular means of communication and their abilities to speak the Yoruba language have not led to the abandonment and loss of their mother tongue. For minority groups who lose their languages, it is mainly because they do not assign core values to such languages and only identify with the languages for symbolic purposes. A universal linguistic fact is that what keeps a language alive is its usage as a regular means of communication by its speakers. Otherwise, languages would not usually die with their last speakers; once there are no longer active speakers of a particular language, whatever significance attached to such a language becomes secondary and contestable.

Also, in the process of language revival, all materials obtained from ancient documents, literature and artifacts are processed for eventual usage by the existing members of the group to which the language belongs. This group of native speakers must however be willing to identify with the revived language beyond the attachment of symbolic value - they must use it as a medium of communication. They can then go further to attach other symbolic values to it. This is only when the revival efforts would have paid off.

Others who have voiced criticisms on Smolicz's Core Value Theory are Ager (1997), Williams (1999), O' Riagain (1997). Their argument is that the number of people claiming knowledge of the Irish Language has increased though this does not translate into a greater use of Irish. This they say reflects in the language's important constitutional status - it is the national language and

first official language of the Irish with English as the second and its role in the rhetoric and myth-making of political parties, not least in Ireland.

These arguments only lend further credence to Smolicz's Core Value Theory. If all of these were being done with the language and the people to whom the language belongs still do not find it necessary to use their language as a regular means of communication (even at the inter-personal level), then, they as a matter of fact, do not assign the language, a core value. The other roles which are symbolic which any language could be used to perform cannot be viable enough to guarantee any language's survival, revival or revitalisation in any community. In essence, the significance of oral transmission in language preservation cannot be overemphasized.

What is obtainable from the different examples that we have examined above is that different communities accord different identity markers varying degrees of importance. While some ethnic groups might place greater emphasis on their 1anguage as the rallying point of their identification, for some others, the fulcrum upon which their identity rests might be religion, a sense of common belonging, ancestry, culture, politics or anything else. That the Core Value Theory recognises the fact that there are many factors which determine the role that language plays in the construction of a group's identity aligns with the position of the present research which focuses on the influence of politics on the linguistic and ethnic identities of the people of Ilorin Emirate. The ability of the Core Value Theory to go beyond postulating variations in the attitudes of different groups towards different identity markers as obtainable in the Revised SIT/ELIT to further providing plausible reasons for such variations makes its application suitable for this research.

2.6 Chapter summary

In this chapter, we looked at the different kinds of identities that exist and did a review of related literature and empirical studies. The chapter also introduced the theoretical framework adopted in the study. The focus of the next chapter is the methodology adopted in this study.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the research methodology adopted in this study. The study employs a mixed methods design which incorporates elements of both quantitative and qualitative research methods. Sub-divisions of the chapter include; research instrument, methods of data analyses, validity test, demographic information, the relationship between different variables amongst others. The chapter will go further to analyse some of the data obtained in the conduct of this research.

3.2 Quantitative research method

This research method enables researchers to elicit data in a quantifiable manner. Quantitative research method has the quality of being measurable in terms of the number of research instruments involved and the range of distribution of such research instruments across age, gender, occupation, social strata and so on (Rasinger, 2010).

According to Levon (2010), quantitative data analyses employ deductive reasoning to examine any hypothesis. Such analyses are about counting something - counting in an analytical or scientific sense. In order for something to be counted, two conditions are normally considered to be necessary: (a) What one wants to count must itself be “countable” (i.e., quantifiable) and (b) What one wants to count must have the potential to be “variable” (i.e., be able to change). For example, if as a researcher, one were conducting a poll on which issues most affected voters' choice of candidate in an election, the condition of quantifiability requires that one operationalises the possible set of responses into categories such as “environment”, “economy”, “security”, “health”, and “education”, such that one gives a certain structure to the diversity of responses one receives (this is typically called coding). It is this structure that will then allow one to quantitatively analyse the results by, for example, counting how many responses fall into each of one's predetermined categories.

The condition of variability is however a more abstract and basic one. It requires, simply, that the possibility of variation exists in one's response set. In the earlier mentioned poll of voters' motivations in an election, this condition is met, since all voters are presumably motivated by

one issue or the other. Even if all voters were motivated by the same things, the possibility of variation will still remain unviolated since they could equally have been motivated by different things, and it just so happens that they are all motivated by the same thing. The condition of variability is therefore a requirement about the possibility of variation, and does not mean that variation will actually be found. Because of this variability requirement, the things we count in quantitative analyses are called, variables.

Rasinger (2010) further adds that quantitative research focuses on "how much" or "how many" there is/are of a particular characteristic or item. The great advantage of quantitative research is that it enables us to compare relatively large number of things or people by using a comparatively easy index. For example, when marking students' essays, a lecturer will first look at the content, the structure and coherence of the argument and the presentation, that is, analyse it qualitatively, but will ultimately translate this into a mark (that is, a number), which allows one to compare two or more students with each other: a student gaining a 61% did better than a student achieving a 57% because 61 is larger than 57 - we do not need to look at the essays per se once we have the numerical value. The quantitative value indicates their quality.

Quantitative research also deals with operationalisation which is a procedure that leads to the translation of (physical) properties of a case into a numerical value. To explain the concept of opreationalisation, Rasinger (2010) states that for example, most of us have a rather good idea of how long an inch is, so if someone tells us that an object is about 2 inches wide, we implicitly know it width. However, this only works because an inch always refers to the same amount of length (namely, around 25 millimetres). If anyone arbitrarily changes this, it would become impossible to make reliable statements about inches. Therefore, once we have established our measure and have operationalised it, we must not ever change it in the course of our study, as this will distort the results.

Quantitative research is also deductive: based on already known theory, we develop hypotheses, which we then try to prove (or disprove) in the course of our empirical investigation. Hypotheses are statements about the potential and or suggested relationship between at least, two variables such as "the older a learner, the less swear words they use" (two variables) or "age and gender influence language use" (three variables). A hypothesis must be proven right or wrong and

hence, it is important for it to be well defined. In particular, hypothesis must be "falsifiable" and not "tautological": the hypothesis "age can either influence a person's language use or not" is tautological - independent of any findings, it will always be true. A good hypothesis, however, must have the potential of being wrong. In a quantitative approach, we use this hypothesis and develop a methodology which enables us to support - ideally, to prove - their correctness or incorrectness. For example, using Ilorin as a case study, the present study sets out to prove the correctness or otherwise of the prevalent claim that language plays a central role in the construction and perception of the ethnic identity of all groups of people.

There are various ways of eliciting data quantitatively. Rasinger (2010) explains that there are probably as many different methodological tools for collecting quantitative data as there are research projects. These include: testing, recording and measuring and administering questionnaires. Of the listed types, this study uses the questionnaire as one of its data elicitation tools.

3.3 Qualitative research method

The classical methods applied in field research are primarily classified as qualitative research methods (Korth, 2005). Qualitative research method is concerned with structures and patterns and how something is. Qualitative studies are by their very nature inductive; this means that theory is derived from the result of our research (Rasinger, 2010). According to Korth (2005:41), "trying to answer questions about the How's and Why's of a topic, rather than on the What, When and How Many requires a qualitative approach". In his study on linguistic "crossing" for example, Rampton (1995) shows interest in how South-Asian adolescents growing up in the United Kingdom used code-switching between English and Punjabi to indicate their social and ethnic identity. Using interview data from interactions between teenagers of South-Asian descent, Rampton identifies particular patterns behind code-switches, and was able to infer what the underlying "rules" were with regard to the use of a particular language and the construction of identity. In essence, he used an inductive qualitative approach whereby theory was derived from data. Silverman (2001) however states that, human attitudes are rarely coherent and may change from situation to situation, or during a person's life. One informant may therefore contradict himself/herself, but still have meaningful reasoning behind his/her

contradictions. A qualitative analysis allows us to understand this reasoning and to find culturally determined patterns and concepts.

A major criticism that has been levelled against researchers using qualitative methods for data collection is that they collect anecdotal information and are even regarded as "better journalists" (Silverman, 2001, Bryman, 1988) because they do not produce much quantifiable data. Korth (2005) however argues that this accusation is only justifiable if the researcher lacks reflection about his own influence in the field or fails to define culturally relevant categories. Korth also in support of qualitative methods holds that a systematic approach, a progressively defined research focus and long-term immersion into the studied society facilitates critical reflection and interpretation of the gathered data.

Qualitative research is obviously not just about interviews (which could either be structured or unstructured). Under the qualitative research method, we also have Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), field notes and participant's observation. A feature that cuts across different types of qualitative approaches is that they all involve verbal interactions that must be transcribed and analysed (Baxter, 2010). Qualitative data for this study were gathered with the use of two research instruments which are; interview and participant observation.

3.4 Mixed methods designs

Projects in the field of linguistics often subscribe to either the qualitative or the quantitative paradigm even though a closer examination would indicate that a large number of these studies fall somewhere between the two ends of the continuum (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Another important issue that is often discussed in association with mixed method research is compatibility and transferability of various paradigms and methodologies, within and across different disciplinary and epistemological communities.

The mixed method paradigm has also been described as the class of research where the researcher mixes or combines quantitative and qualitative elements (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004). The key issue to be considered is the amount of "integration" of the two paradigms. Whether combining or integrating quantitative or qualitative elements, mixed methods designs

arguably contribute to a better understanding of the various phenomena under investigation; while quantitative research is useful towards generalising research findings, qualitative approaches are particularly valuable in providing in-depth, rich data (Bryman, 2007).

While there is a growing consensus that combining approaches is not only feasible but also beneficial in revealing different aspects of "reality" (Lazaraton, 2005:219), there is an open question as to whether many methods and types of research approaches would sit comfortably under the same design. The question then, is not whether the two sorts of data and associated methods can be linked during study design, but, whether it should be done, how it should be done and for what purposes (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The mixed method is not to be mistaken for an "anything goes disposition" (Dornyei, 2007:166) and should not be seen as an unstructured fusion of quantitative and qualitative researches or as just the additive sum of both paradigms (Angouri, 2010).

However, mixed methods research designs do not indicate "necessarily better research" (Brannen, 2005:183). The data (as in all paradigms) need to be analysed and interpreted systematically and following rigorous theoretical grinding. It is however the case that, when consistent, mixed methods research allows for "diversity of use" and "stronger inferences" (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003). The mixed method approach is applicable to this research because of the need to gather data through different means such as questionnaires, interviews and participant observation to enable the researcher make far-reaching conclusions.

3.5 Research instruments

In collecting data for this study, three research instruments were used. The research instruments used as mentioned earlier were: questionnaire, interview and participant observation. This approach to data collection falls in line with Igboanusi and Lothar (2015:7) who posit that "questionnaires are essential components of ethnographic research especially when the questionnaire items are designed in such a way that they could be triangulated with observation and interview instruments". These methods are considered by the researcher to be mutually helpful in realising the focus of the present research.

3.5.1 Questionnaires

Questionnaires are frequently used for collecting data across most linguistic sub-disciplines. They are used to measure peoples' attitudes to and perception of languages (or variables of particular languages, such as dialects and accents) or groups of speakers. In carrying out this research, three hundred (300) copies of a questionnaire were selected out of the three hundred and fifty copies (350) that were administered to indigenes of Ilorin Emirate. This sample size of three hundred (300) was arrived at with the use of Yamane's (1967) Criteria for Determining Sample Size (this shall be well-discussed in section 3.6). Additional fifty (50) copies of the questionnaire were administered so as to enable the researcher select only well-filled copies of the questionnaire[3]. Care was taken to ensure that the administration of the questionnaire cuts across the five local government areas that make up Ilorin Emirate.

The questionnaire was written in English as English is Nigeria's official language and it is understood by a high number of the research populace. The majority of respondents have oracy and literacy proficiency in English and for the most part, understood the questions contained in the questionnaire. For respondents with a lower rate of proficiency in English, the researcher took time to translate and explain questions that such respondents had problems comprehending. The researcher also offered similar explanations to research facilitators who helped in the distribution of copies of the questionnaire so that they could explain to respondents who might have similar problems as those encountered by the respondents whom the researcher administered copies of the questionnaire to.

The questionnaire used in this research contained two types of questions. Some parts contained multiple-choice questions which provided respondents with a set of possible answers to tick from. The multiple choice questions had options from which respondents could choose their answers from. These options were provided based on answers that were likely to be supplied by respondents having being considered as good representations of respondents' possible answers. Other parts contained open-ended questions which allowed respondents to write their answers in their own words. Open-ended questions are considered important for questions on linguistic and ethnic identity preferences as respondents' personal opinions can only be gotten through this means.

The questionnaire was also in two sections: the first section contained demographic and language questions which were used to obtain information on respondents' ages, gender, marital status, religion, local government areas of origin and first language or mother tongue. The second part contained questions on ethnic identity, political affiliations, preferred ethnic identities, preferred geo-political zone and reasons for such preferences. Questions asked in the questionnaire were based on outcomes of interactions with some indigenes of the emirate with whom the researcher had interacted on issues of linguistic and ethnic identity identities around the period the research commenced and these interactions were found helpful in the formulation of the questions asked in the questionnaire. Of the three hundred respondents who filled the questionnaire, 29 which constitutes 9.7% of the sample population were from Asa Local Government Area, 74 which constitutes 24.7% of the sample population were from Ilorin East Local Government Area, 67 which constitutes 22.3% of the sample population were from Ilorin South Local Government Area, 104 which constitutes 34.7% the sample population were from Ilorin West Local Government Area while the remaining 26 respondents which amounted to 8.7% of the sample population were from Moro Local Government Area. Also, of this number, 147 (49.0%) were female while 151 (50.3%) were male.

In the administration of the questionnaire, respondents' and research facilitators' consents were sought and obtained before copies of the questionnaire were given to them. Also, the focus of the research was made clear to them so that they would be well-aware of the purpose of the research.

3.5.2 Interview

The second instrument used in collecting data for this research is interview. Unlike the questionnaire however, a minimal number of respondents were chosen for the interviews because interviews are generally more time-consuming. The interview is considered an equally important instrument for eliciting data for this study because of the alignment of this thesis with the opinion of Hammersley and Atkinson (1983:107) who view interviews as accounts which are not just a representation of respondents' social world, but describe such accounts as "part of the world they describe". Korth (2001:45) further adds that such narratives are not only seen as representing experiences, but also as contributing to the construction of those experiences.

The type of interview used in this study is the structured interview. The choice of this type of interview is premised on the fact that it ensures the neutrality of the interviewer or moderator through the eradication of leading and ambiguous questions and through the standardisation of their delivery. The structured interview adopted for this study has been aptly described by Edley and Litosseliti (2006) as one which enables the interviewer to work through a series of pre-scripted questions while ensuring that both the order and the wording used is identical on each and every occasion. Despite such pre-scripted ordering of questions, interviewees were asked follow up questions where considered necessary. Such follow up questions helped to complete or clarify answers provided to the main (pre-scripted) questions where sufficient detail was lacking.

For this study, a total of 25 respondents across different age groups, social strata, local government areas, and gender were interviewed and recorded on tape. These interviews were conducted in different places such as offices and shops. The informal nature with which the interviews were conducted helped a lot in eliciting responses that were personal to the respondents. It is important to add that not all the interviews were conducted in the English language; some were conducted in the Yoruba language so as to be able to capture accurate perceptions of those with low or no proficiency in the English language. Hence, the need arose to conduct some of the interviews in the Yoruba language and later translate such into English for the purpose of the research.

Respondents' consent for the interviews were also sought and obtained from the respondents themselves. The research did not involve seeking the consent of different community heads because there are several communities that make up Ilorin Emirate and the study is not based on one community per se; it is an aggregation of perspectives from the people of the different communities. There was also no need to seek permission from the heads of the different communities because the highest number of respondents from one community was three. Highlighted below are some of the questions asked during the interviews:

- Which language is your first language?
- What other language(s) do you speak?
- What ethnic group do you belong to?

- Why do you not identify with the ethnic group whose language you claim as L1 and mother tongue? (In cases where linguistic and ethnic identities of respondents were at variance).
- What religion do you practise?
- In case the Federal Government decides to create more states and further divide Kwara State, would you prefer that your community is left as part of Kwara State which is currently considered a Northern State or you would want it to become part of the South-West? What are the reasons for your answer?

The interview questions were in most aspects, similar to those of the questionnaire and were intended to check the veracity of the answers offered by respondents in the questionnaire. Some other questions were asked to seek further clarifications about some unclear responses in the questionnaire and the interview was able to help really well in the accomplishment of that task. The interviews also helped in the collection of some new data which helped the research in a lot of ways. For example, interviews revealed respondents' heritage ethnic identities and this helped to understand why many respondents' linguistic and ethnic identities varied as observed in the analysis of questionnaire data. In all, data obtained through both research instruments complemented each other quite well.

It is pertinent to note at this juncture that while thoughts and emotions can be inferred on, the third element of attitude which is response, cannot be captured by interviewing or testing, but must be observed as it occurs naturally (Korth, 2005). This informs our decision to complement data obtained through questionnaire and interviews with those gathered through participant observation.

3.5.3 Participant observation

Participant observation as a method of data collection "is based on the idea that one has to participate in the world surrounding one in order to understand it, rather than just observe it" (Korth; 2005:55). The method has its origins in cultural anthropology (Malinowski, 1922) and requires long term immersion in the community under study. It allows the researcher to take part

in the everyday life and activities of the community being investigated without interfering (Silverman, 2001). Hence, it is a necessary complement of interview in any field research.

Meyerhoff (2011) sees participant observation as a means through which Sociolinguists attempt to overcome observer's paradox. Observer's paradox according to Meyerhoff is the double-bind researchers find themselves in when they are interested in knowing how people behave when they are not being observed; but the only way to find out how they behave is to observe them. With participant observation, researchers spend longer time in the research community observing how speakers use language, react to others' use of language and how language interacts with and is embedded in other social practices and ideologies.

Participant observation is deemed very crucial for this study because it offers the researcher the opportunity to see if there is really a correspondence between the identity the majority of the respondents claimed in both questionnaire and interview and the ones they actually manifest in their daily lives. Countless trips to the city in the last one and half decades have left the researcher puzzled about the intricate patterns of identity in Ilorin. The period also offered platforms for familiarity with different members of the community. This was particularly helpful in earning their trust (which came in handy during interviews), gaining helpful insights and obtaining the reliable data needed when this research work commenced four years ago.

Participant observation as an instrument of data collection proved equally helpful in this research as it acted as the backdrop against which claims derived from questionnaire and interviews were juxtaposed. This is because the method provides a natural ambience to witness naturally-occurring conversations and behaviours which would not otherwise be obtainable with questionnaires and interviews. Such naturally-occurring conversations and behaviours formed the bulk of the field notes used for this research.

3.6 Sample size

This refers to the number of the population elements that are selected for the research project (Yusuf, 2003). That is, sample size refers to the proportion of the population that is sampled for any research. Therefore a sample size should be a good representation of the entire population being investigated. For this study, the sample size was determined through the population of

people in each of the five local government areas that make up Ilorin emirate. The derived number was based on the 2006 census results which put the population of people in each of the local government areas as follows:

Asa ==========124,668

Ilorin East=======207,462

Ilorin South======209,251

Ilorin West======365,221

Moro==========108,715

Total ========= 1,015,317.

Since the entire population under study runs to over a million, the researcher cannot possibly reach all of them due to the constraints of time and other resources. Therefore, it becomes important to have a sample size. The formula used in arriving at the sample size is Yamane's (1967) Criteria for Determining Sample Size which is: $n = \frac{N}{1+N(e^2)}$.

This provides a simplified means of calculating sample sizes. Here, "n" is the sample size, "N" is population size, and "e" is level of precision. For this study, the level of precision (e) was chosen to be 0.0577 and N=1015317. Using the formula above, the sample size was determined as follows:

$$n = \frac{1015317}{1 + 1015317(0.0577^2)} = 300$$

Therefore, the appropriate number of questionnaire to administer for this study is approximately 300.

3.7 Methods of data analyses

Through questionnaire, interviews and participant observation, quantitative and qualitative data were obtained for this study. Quantitative data obtained were processed with the use of the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) 2.0. These analyses were done with charts, tables,

cross tabulations and percentages which enable one to easily see the distribution of responses across the different variables.

For the qualitative data, the method of analysis used was observer impression. According to Nwagbo (2014), observer impression requires that the researcher, who also doubles as the expert, examines the data, interprets the data by forming an impression and then, reports those impressions in a structured and sometimes quantitative form. This type of analysis has the advantage of enabling the researcher to deliver an analysis whose theme is easy to understand.

3.8 Methodological problems

Of the three instruments used for data collection in this study, two presented some problems and these were questionnaire and interviews. As far as the questionnaire was concerned, the researcher had problems with situations whereby some respondents copied one another's responses (probably because they were together when their copies of the questionnaire were administered). Hence, there were a few cases where two copies of the questionnaire (at least, as represented by two different writings) expressed strikingly similar opinions. It is however important to add that such copies as the questionnaire were part of those that were removed during sorting and they did not eventually constitute any problem in the final analysis and result.

As for the interviews, the most challenging part was getting people to disclose their heritage ethnic identity. In fact, some people did not eventually disclose theirs and that made it impossible to use data obtained from such people in our analyses. This is because heritage ethnic identity constitutes an important aspect of our analyses. Another problem was the manipulation of ethnic identity. One respondent was even later discovered to have declared a false ancestral ethnic identity. It also took some convincing to get a couple of respondents interviewed as they were sceptical about the intention of the recording. Unrecorded interactions with a few who objected to being recorded proved useful to the researcher as such interactions ended up constituting valuable field notes for the study. Information from such unrecorded interactions gave insights into the recorded interviews.

Some of the recordings were also disturbed by noises from backgrounds where the interviews were conducted. As with the final analyses and discussion of data obtained from questionnaire,

the problems encountered with interviews did not also constitute a significant difference in the final analyses and results. Participant observation posed no problems to this study.

3.9 Validity and reliability tests

According to Sirkin (1995), validity is the extent to which the concept one wishes to measure is actually being measured by a particular scale. Akinbile (2003) posits that validity can be described as the extent to which results of a data collection instrument indicates that the instrument measures what it is intended to measure adding that to ensure the accuracy, credibility and consistency of the data gathered in the course of any research work, such data must be subjected to the tests of validity and reliability as these are ways of revealing the truthfulness and appropriateness of the data collection instruments. Qualitative data gathered through such means as interviews, focus group discussions etc., can be subjected to tests of validation like; interviewer corroboration, prolonged engagement, member check and statistical reliability (Nwagbo, 2014). The methods adopted for testing the validity and reliability of data gathered for this research are member check for the qualitative data and statistical reliability test for the quantitative data.

According to Bryman (2004), member check and respondent validation is a procedure largely associated with qualitative research. Here, the researcher submits materials relevant to an investigation for check by the people who are the source of those materials. The crucial issue for such an exercise is how far the researcher's understanding of what was going on in a social setting corresponds with that of members of that setting.

Some of the disadvantages of the member check technique are that it is time-consuming, and some interviewees might not be willing to go through the process of cross-checking information they had earlier given. However, the researcher considers the technique as conferring more benefits than disadvantages. It was found particularly helpful for this research because of the availability of the interviewees for the purposes of feedbacks and corrections which really helped to validate earlier obtained data.

The second technique was used to test the reliability of the quantitative data obtained through the use of questionnaire and that is the statistical reliability test. The method used in this study is

known as Cronbach's Alpha and it is usually employed to measure the accuracy or otherwise of the data obtained. Cronbach's Alpha according to Ritter (2010) is a coefficient instrument used to measure the internal consistency of data collected. The test of reliability for this study is based on all aspects of investigation in this study. This includes: language background, identity projection, identity shift and political inclination. Below is a tabular representation of this information.

Table 3.1: A table showing the technique used in testing the validity of the data collection instrument

Cronbach's Alpha	Number of Items
0.9494	15

The computational formula is: $Cronbach's\ Alpha(\alpha) = \frac{K}{K-1}\left(1 - \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{k}\sigma_{Y_i}^2}{\sigma_X^2}\right)$.

Here is a breakdown and description of the formula:

$$\propto = \frac{k}{k-1}\left[1 - \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{k}\sigma_y^2}{\sigma_x^2}\right]$$

K = Number of questions (items)

σ_y^2 = Variance of Scores (Scale) on each question (item)

$\sum \sigma_y^2$ = Addition of Variable of Scores on each question (item)

σ_x^2 = Total Variance of Overall scores on the entire test.

$$\propto = \frac{15}{15-1}\left[1 - \frac{146.509}{}\right]$$

3.10 Sampling method

Since it is practically impossible to collect data from every unit of the population under study, the need to decide upon a sample size in any study becomes imperative. A sample is the actual number of individuals to be studied for a particular research. This approach is not unique to

sampling alone as it is not equally practicable to read all the literature relevant to the proposed research, to include every variable germane to the study and to interview every unit who might produce useful information about the population of the study or to use all the data collected in the study (Yusuf, 2003).

For this study, the collection of data was based on two types of sampling methods. For the quantitative data, proportional sampling method was employed. Proportional sampling is that in which the researcher divides the entire sample population into sub-populations based on the possession of certain attributes. Thereafter, the researcher applies simple random sampling method in choosing sample sizes from each sub-population. That is, the entire population is divided into sub-populations also known as strata after which random samples are taken from each stratum. Therefore, proportional sampling method involves two stages which are: the stratified sampling and the simple random sampling

The stratified sampling was used to ensure the stratification of the entire sample population into the five LGAs that make up Ilorin Emirate after which respondents were randomly chosen from each LGA thereby availing every member of the community an equal opportunity of being included in the sample size. Hence, administration of copies of the questionnaire to respondents was based on being an indigene of one of the five local government areas that make up Ilorin Emirate. That is, only those from these five local government areas were targeted in the administration of the questionnaire as each local government area was considered as a sub-population or stratum from which respondents were chosen.

As for the interviews, purposive sampling method was employed. This is because a smaller number of respondents were selected for the interviews and this method allows the researcher to use his/her judgement to choose the sample units.

3.11 Chapter summary

In this chapter, we discussed the research methodology adopted in the study and explained their suitability to the study. The focus of the next chapter is the discussion and analyses of the quantitative data while some parts of the qualitative data are also discussed and analysed.

Note

3. Following Igboanusi and Lothar (2015), fifty (50) extra copies of the questionnaire were administered in order to be able to select only those that were properly filled. During selection, all wrongly-filled copies which amounted to fifty were rejected and that helped to keep up with the required number of copies needed for the research.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONSTRUCTIONS OF IDENTITIES IN ILORIN EMIRATE

4.1 Introduction

This chapter largely uses data obtained through questionnaire to analyse respondents' constructions of their linguistic and ethnic identities in the study area. This will be followed by illuminating analyses and discussion of those identity patterns especially with regard to the complex mosaics of identity noticed in the responses. Some of the data collected through interviews will also be used to shed more light on the conclusions drawn from the questionnaire data.

4.2 Analyses of demographic information from quantitative data

As stated in Chapter Three, a total of three hundred (300) copies were selected out of the three hundred and fifty (350) copies of the questionnaire that were administered to respondents who are all indigenes of Ilorin Emirate. These respondents cut across the five local government areas which make up the emirate. These are: Asa, Ilorin East, Ilorin South, Ilorin West and Moro Local Government Areas. The respondents also cut across different age, gender, religious educational and occupational divides. The following is a detailed analysis and discussion of the number of respondents reflecting the different variables:

4.2.1 Local government area of origin

This variable is considered significant for our analysis as it is important to see whether respondents' linguistic and ethnic identities are determined by the local government area they hail from. In essence, the variable will be useful in checking which language is mostly reported as first language by respondents from each of the different local government areas which make up the emirate and the ethnic identity mostly constructed by respondents in each of the local government areas. Of the total number of respondents, 29 which constituted 9.7% of the sample population hail from Asa, 74 respondents which constituted 24.7% hail from Ilorin East, 67 which constituted 22.3% hail from Ilorin South, 104 which constituted 34.7% hail from Ilorin West while the remaining 26 which constituted 8.7% hail from Moro Local Government Area.

This information is succinctly captured in the table below:

Table 4.1: The distribution of respondents according to local government areas

Local Government Area	Frequency	Percent
1 Ilorin South	67	22.3
2 Ilorin East	74	24.7
3 Ilorin West	104	34.7
4 Moro	26	8.7
5 Asa	29	9.7
Total	**300**	**100.0**

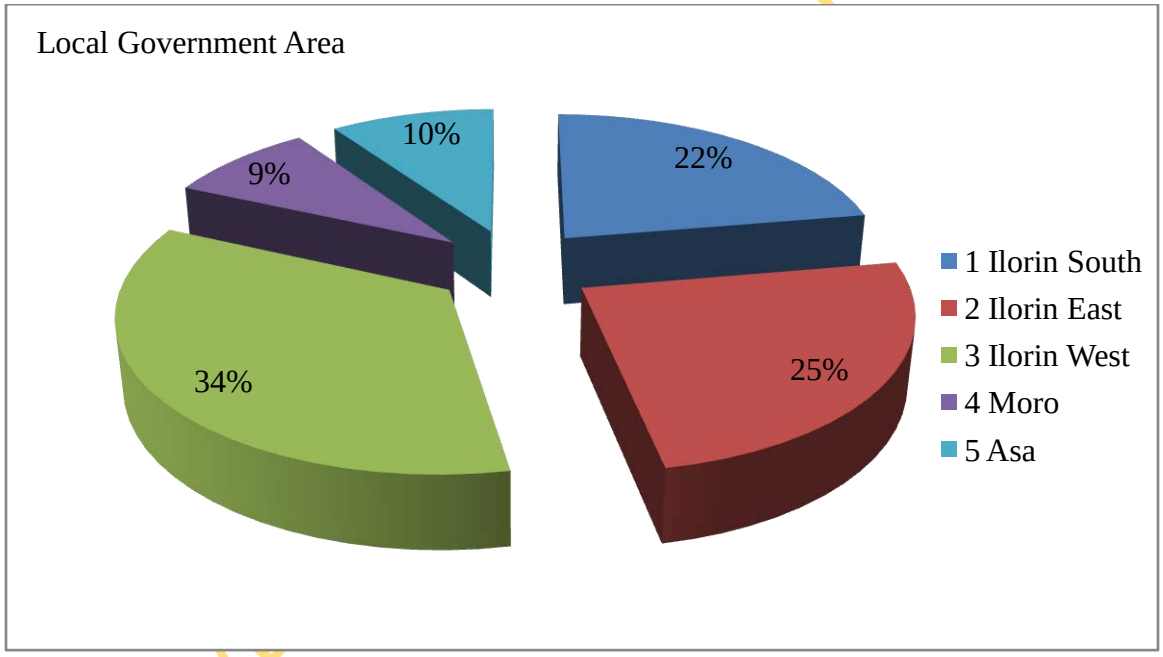


Figure 4.1: A pie chart showing the distribution of respondnets according to LGAs.

From the table and figure above, it is obvious that respondents were not equally drawn from the five local government areas that make Ilorin emirate. The reason is that the population figure in each of the five local government areas are not the same. Therefore, the sample size in each local government area is a reflection of the distribution of people across each of the five local government areas.

4.2.2 Occupation

Respondents were categorised into two: those in the formal sector and those in the non-formal sector. This variable is considered important as people's occupations form an integral part of their identity. Of the 300 respondents, 139 which constituted 46.3% worked in the formal sector while 150 which constituted 50.0% were in the non-formal sector. The remaining 11 respondents which constituted 3.7% of the sum total did not state their occupation leaving the impression that they are unemployed.

Table 4.2: The distribution of respondents according to their occupation

Occupation	Frequency	Percent
No Response	11	3.7
Formal sector	139	46.3
Non-formal sector	150	50.0
Total	**300**	**100.0**

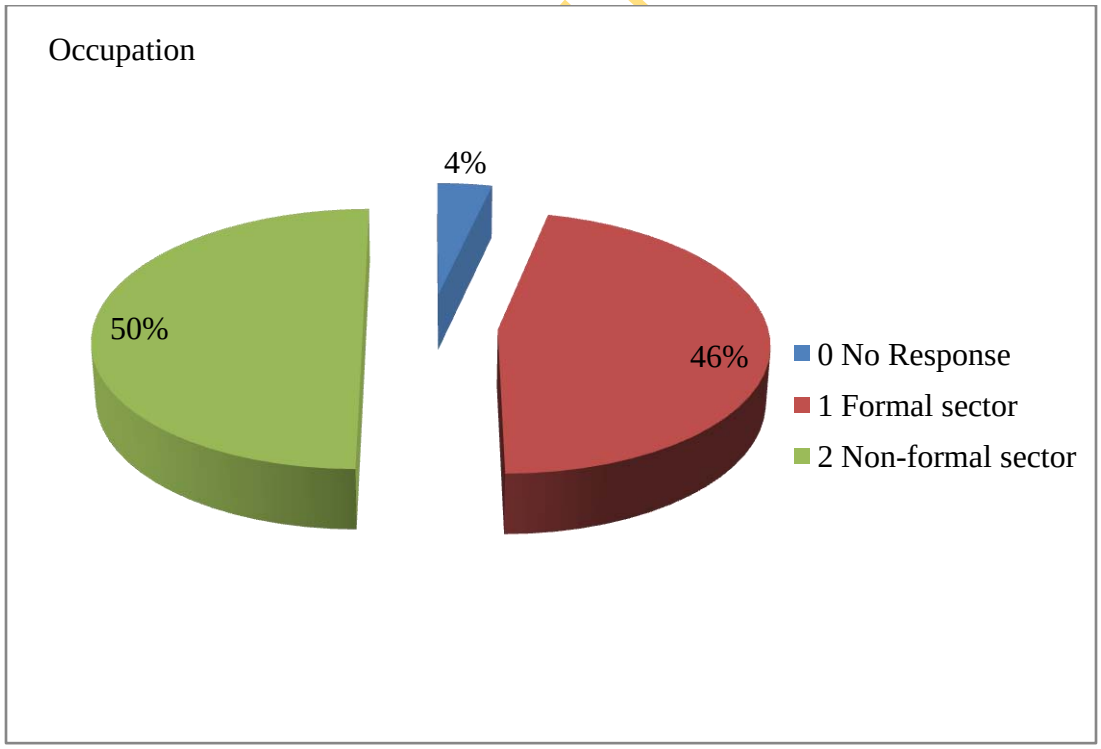


Figure 4.2: A pie chart showing the distribution of respondnets according to occupation.

4.2.3 Gender

Under this variable, respondents were grouped into two divisions of male and female. Of the 300 respondents, 147 were female while 151 were male. The female gender constituted 49.0% of the respondents while male respondents constituted 50.3% of the sample populace. The 49.0% to 50.3% female/male distribution represents a fair sex balance and the slightly unequal distribution rate would not have any significant effect on the outcome of the research.

Table 4.3: Respondents' gender distribution

Sex	Frequency	Percent
No response	2	0.7
Female	147	49.0
Male	151	50.3
Total	**300**	**100.0**

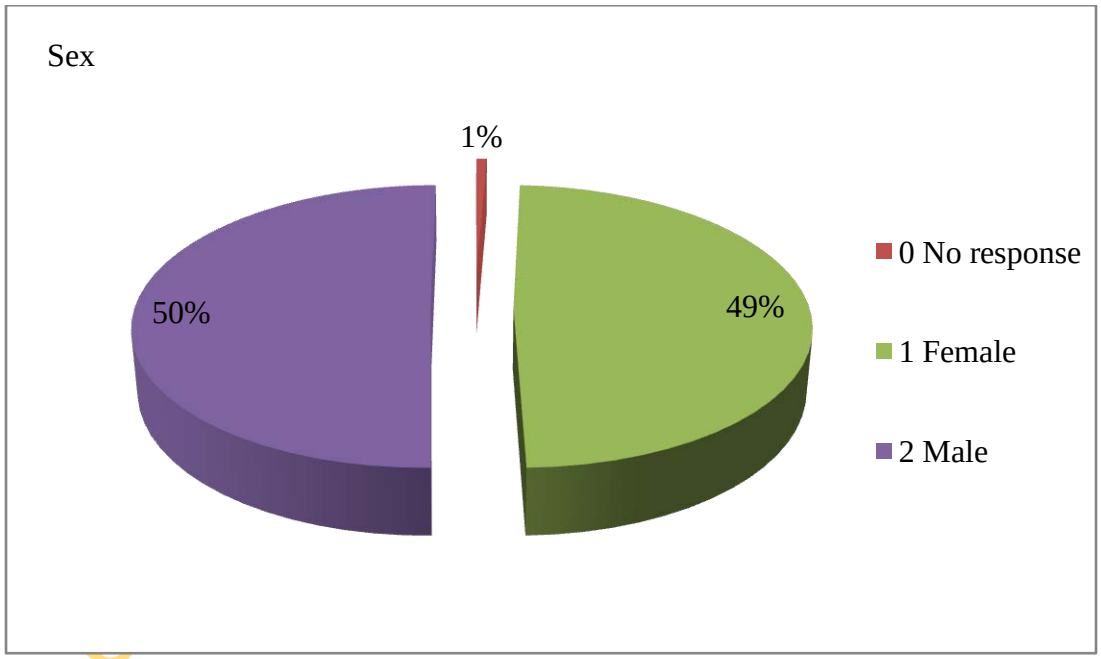


Figure 4.3: A pie chart showing respondents' gender distribution.

4.2.4 Age

Respondents were grouped into three age brackets of below 20 (teenagers), 20-50 (adults) and above 50 (older adults). Respondents below the age of 20 were 42 which was 14.0% of the total percentage, 236 respondents fall between the ages of 20-50 which formed 78.7% of the total percentage while those above the age of 50 were 33 which was 7.3% of the total percentage. This variable is important for the analysis in order to see if there is a tendency towards certain linguistic and ethnic identities within a certain age bracket.

Table 4.4: The distribution of respondents' ages

Age	Frequency	Percent
Under 20	42	14.0
20 - 50	236	78.7
Above 50	22	7.3
Total	**300**	**100.0**

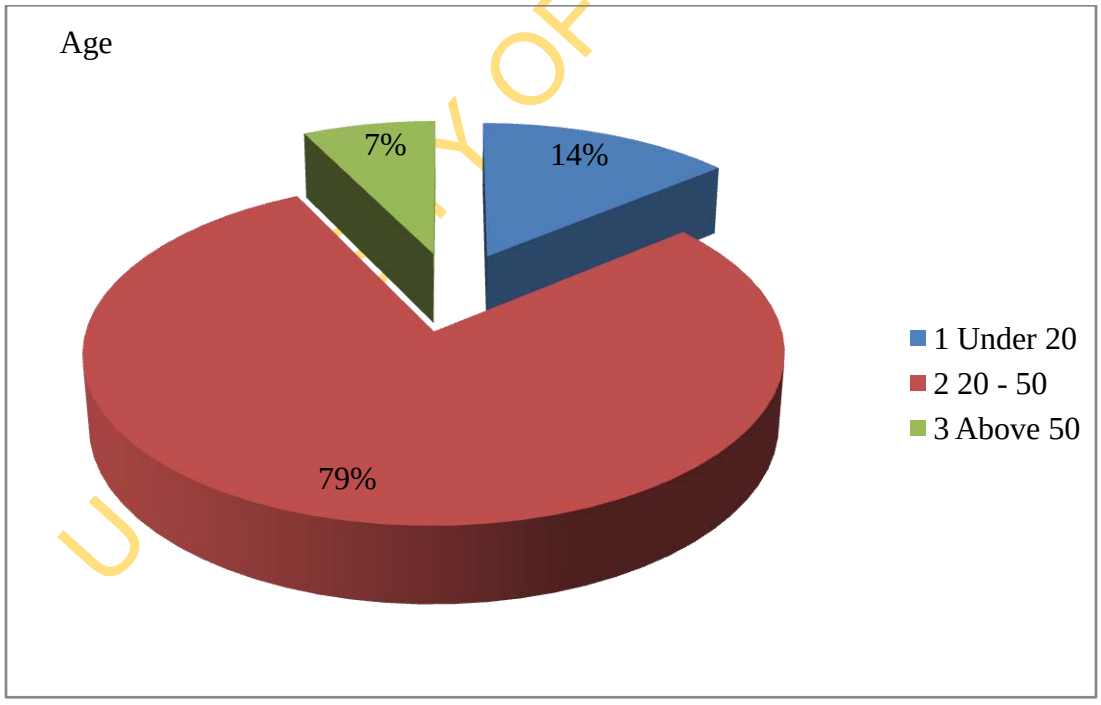


Figure 4.4: A pie chart showing the distribution of respondents' ages.

4.2.5 Level of education

Regarding this variable, the reference is to Western Education. This clarification is important because Islamic Education is very prominent in Ilorin Emirate. Here, respondents were grouped into four divisions: those that have no Western Education, those with primary school education, those with secondary school education and those with tertiary education. Respondents with no Western Education were 6 (2.0%), those with primary school education were 53 (17.7%); those with secondary school education were 98 (32.7%) while those with tertiary education were 143 (47.7%). The importance of this variable is that people's levels of education play a significant role in the construction of their identities and also in the way that they project such identities.

Table 4.5: The distribution of respondents' levels of education

Level of education	**Frequency**	**Percent**
Not Educated	6	2.0
Tertiary	143	47.7
Secondary	98	32.7
Primary	53	17.7
Total	**300**	**100.0**

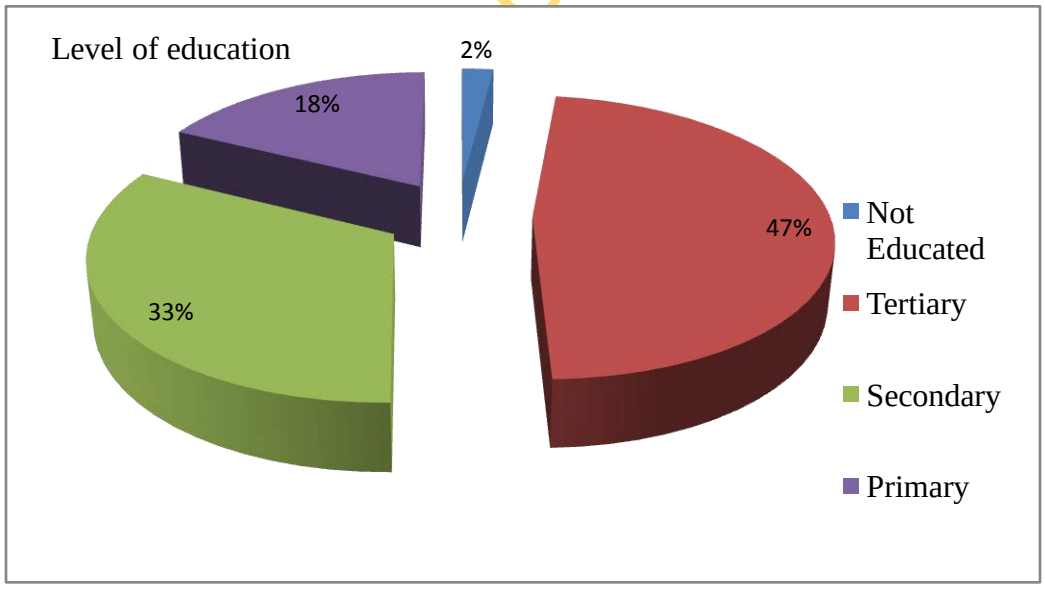


Figure 4.5: A pie chart showing the distribution of respondents' levels of education

4.2.6 Religion

This variable is significant for our analysis as religion cannot be divorced from identity construction, perception and manifestation. Respondents were given the options of Christianity, Islam and others. Others being any other religion respondents who were neither Christians nor Muslims might be practising. Of the 300 respondents, 31 (10.3%) were Christians, 267 (89.0%) were Muslims while 2 respondent (0.3%) reported being neither Christians nor Muslims. The higher number of Muslim respondents is due to the very high number of Muslims in Ilorin Emirate in particular and in Kwara State in general. Though the 2006 population figures did not provide the number of each of the adherents of the faiths in Kwara State, the 1963 population figures puts the population of Muslims in Kwara State at 75.6%, Christians at 13.6% and others at 10.8% (Ostien, 2012). Ilorin Emirate is one of the strongholds of Islam in Kwara State. Below is a table capturing the details of the religions of the respondents:

Table 4.6: The distribution of respondents' religions

Religion	Frequency	Percent
No response	2	.7
Christianity	31	10.3
Islam	267	89.0
Total	**300**	**100.0**

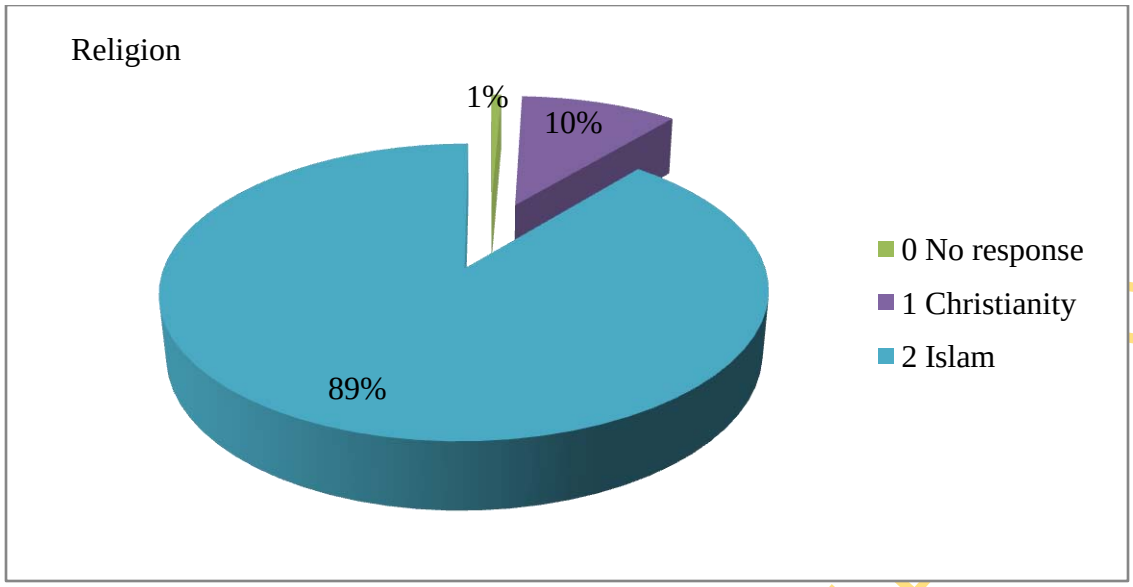


Figure 4.6: A pie chart showing the distribution of respondents' religions.

4.2.7 First language

This variable is considered significant for our analysis because language is important in the co-construction of others' identities. This is because the language(s) that someone speaks tells others a lot about them. Not only that, language constitutes a significant variable in the present study which seeks to examine the influence of politics on the linguistic identities of the people of Ilorin Emirate. No language options were provided as respondents were expected to write the language they consider their first language or mother tongue in the space in front of the question. Hence, 270 respondents which make 90.0% of the study population identified the Yoruba language as their first language, 15 which amounted to 5.0% of the sample size identified the Hausa language as their mother tongue, 7 which was 2.3% of the sample size identified Fulfulde as their mother tongue while 2 respondents representing 0.7% of the study population identified the English language as their first language.

Table 4.7: The distribution of respondents' first languages

Mother tongue/First Language	Frequency	Percent
No response	6	2.0
Yoruba	270	90.0
Hausa	15	5.0
Fulfulde	7	2.3
English	2	.7
Total	**300**	**100.0**

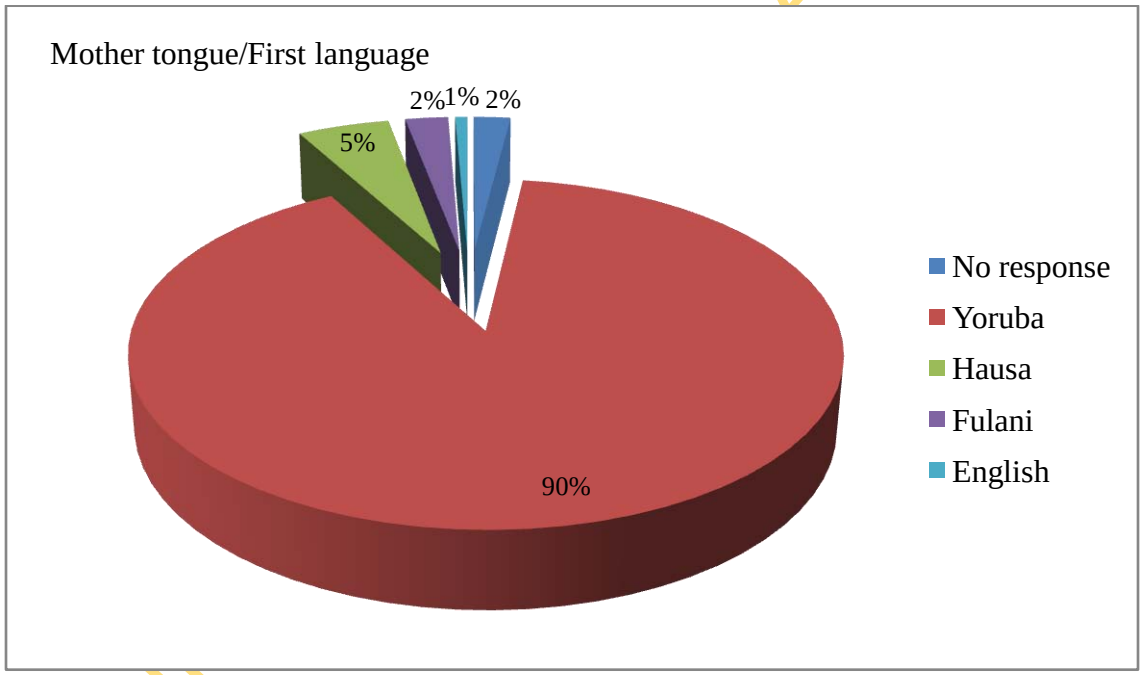


Figure 4.7: A pie chart showing the distribution of respondents' first languages.

As can be noted in the table and graph above, the overwhelming majority of respondents are L1 speakers of the Yoruba language. The reason for this as stated in section 1.3.7 is that, apart from the Yoruba language, other languages of the people of Ilorin Emirate are either extinct or on the verge of extinction (though most of them still thrive well as first languages in the ancestral

homes of their speakers). Therefore, most of those languages' speakers have for generations experienced shift to the Yoruba language which has since gained the status of a first language for all groups of people in the community. Even in the very few communities where Fulfulde still manages to thrive, the few Fulfulde speakers remaining in those communities also speak the Yoruba language with equal competence.

4.2.8 Other languages of respondents

It is important to know respondents' other languages as people's linguistic repertoires bear significant influence on their identity construction and perception. The following table contains the other languages spoken by respondents:

Table 4.8: The distribution of respondents' other languages

Other languages of the respondents	Frequency	Percent
No Response	40	13.3
English	126	42.0
French	2	0.7
Arabic	5	1.7
Yoruba	17	5.7
Hausa	28	9.3
Igbo	6	2.0
English and Arabic	6	2.0
English and Spanish	2	0.7
English and French	3	1.0
English and Hausa	30	10.0
English and Nupe	3	1.0
Baruten	3	1.0
Hausa and Baruten	1	0.3
English, Hausa and Nupe	2	0.7
English, Arabic and Hausa	7	2.3
English and Igbo	1	0.3
Fulfulde	4	1.4
Igbo and French	1	0.3
Hausa And Nupe	3	1.0
Hausa and Fulfulde	3	1.0
English, Hausa, Igbo etc.	1	0.3
English, Hausa and French	1	0.3
Yoruba, Hausa and English	1	0.3
Arabic, English and German	1	0.3
Nupe	1	0.3
English and Yoruba	2	0.7
Total	**300**	**100.0**

Amongst respondents' other languages, the English language was the most prominent. The reason for this is not far-fetched; the English language is Nigeria's official language. That explains its number one rank in the list of other languages spoken by respondents. Besides the English language, the French Language and Arabic also take prominent leads in the list of respondents' second languages. As for French, it is Nigeria's second official language added to the fact that a few respondents either grew up or lived for sometime in certain Francophone countries like Cameroon and Benin Republic. The close association of Ilorin Emirate with Islam explains the prominence of Arabic on the list as Arabic is the language of Islam.

4.3 Analysis of demographic information from qualitative data

The qualitative research instrument whose demographic information will be analysed is the interview; participant observation cannot be subjected to such analysis. Twenty-five respondents were interviewed. Five of the respondents are from Ilorin East LGA, one each from Ilorin South and Asa LGAs, ten are from Ilorin West LGA and eight are from Moro. Ten of the respondents were male while fifteen were female. Also, twenty of the twenty-five respondents were Muslims while five were Christians and twenty-four are L1 speakers of the Yoruba language while one speaks Fulfulde as L1.

4.4 Analyses of findings from quantitative data

As stated earlier in the methodology, the quantitative instrument of analysis employed in this research is questionnaire. The questionnaire was designed to elicit information about respondents' first languages or mother tongues, religion, education, age, spouses' states of origin, their ethnic identity and the geographical region in Nigeria they preferred to belong. This is with a view to measuring the degree of correspondence between the languages given as first languages and their ethnic nationality and to establish later in the thesis, the relationship between language and ethnic identity in Ilorin Emirate. The variables of local government area, gender, age and level of education were used to elicit answers to the questions "if the Federal Government decided to create another state out of the present Kwara State, which zone would you prefer that Ilorin be divided along?" and that which centres on the description of respondents' ethnic nationality. This is to check if respondents' answers would show certain patterns along the lines of each of these variables.

4.4.1 Linguistic identity in Ilorin Emirate

This section dwells on the languages claimed by respondents as their first languages / mother tongues and the influence that different variables have on the projection of respondents' linguistic identities. This will guide us in the establishment of their linguistic identities and will serve as the fulcrum upon which their ethnic identity claims shall be juxtaposed.

4.4.1.1 First languages and local government areas

The examination of the relationship between respondents' mother tongues/first languages and LGAs is very vital. This is because it offers one the platform to check whether a particular language has a higher number of speakers in certain LGAs or otherwise and whether that affects the construction of respondents' ethnic identities in any way. Following is a table showing the relationship between the two variables:

Table 4.9: The relationship between respondents' first languages and LGAs

			Local Government Area					
			Ilorin South	Ilorin East	Ilorin West	Moro	Asa	Total
Your mother tongue/First language	No response	Count	1	1	2	1	1	6
		% of Total	0.3%	0.3%	0.7%	0.3%	0.3%	2.0%
	The Yoruba language	Count	60	70	95	18	27	270
		% of Total	20.0%	23.3%	31.7%	6.0%	9.0%	90.0 %
	The Hausa language	Count	3	3	4	4	1	15
		% of Total	1.0%	1.0%	1.3%	1.3%	0.3%	5.0%
	Fulfulde	Count	3	0	3	1	0	7
		% of Total	1.0%	0.0%	1.0%	0.3%	0.0%	2.3%
	The English language	Count	0	0	0	2	0	2
		% of Total	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.7%
Total		Count	67	74	104	26	29	300
		% of Total	22.3%	24.7%	34.7%	8.7%	9.7%	100.0 %

From the table above, the overwhelming prevalence of the Yoruba language as the first language or mother tongue across the five local government areas was established. In essence, the Yoruba language is markedly dominant across all LGAs. Of the sixty-seven respondents from Ilorin South LGA, sixty, which constituted 90.0% and 22.3% of the sample population from the LGA and the entire sample population respectively, had the Yoruba language as their first language and or mother tongue with the Hausa language and Fulfulde having 4.5% and 1.0% of the sample population from the LGA and the entire sample population respectively. In Ilorin East LGA, the pattern is similar; of the seventy-four respondents from the LGA, seventy, which constitutes

95.0% and 24.7% of the sample population from the LGA and the entire sample population respectively, were L1 speakers of the Yoruba language with the Hausa language having only three L1 speakers thereby accounting for 4.0% and 1.0% of the sample population from the LGA and the entire sample population respectively.

Of the one hundred and four respondents from Ilorin West, ninety-five, which constitutes 91.3% and 31.7% of the sample population from the LGA and the entire sample population respectively, were L1 speakers of the Yoruba language. L1 speakers of the Hausa language were four thereby constituting 3.8% and 1.3% of the sample population from the LGA and the entire sample population respectively while respondents with Fulfulde as L1 in this LGA were three thereby accounting for 2.9% and 1.0% of the sample population from the LGA and the entire sample population respectively.

In Moro LGA, eighteen of the twenty-six respondents were L1 speakers of the Yoruba language and that accounted for 69.3% and 6.0% of the sample population from the LGA and the entire sample population respectively; the Hausa language had four respondents as L1 speakers in Moro LGA therefore accounting for 15.4% and 1.3% of the sample population from the LGA and the entire sample population respectively; Fulfulde had one L1 speaker which is 3.8% and 0.3% of the sample population from the LGA and the entire sample population respectively while the English language had two thereby accounting for 7.7% and 0.7% of the sample population from the LGA and the entire sample population respectively. In similar vein, twenty-seven of the twenty-nine respondents from Asa which is 93.1% and 9.0% of the sample population from the LGA and the entire sample population respectively were L1 speakers of the Yoruba language with the Hausa language having just one L1 speaker which was 3.4% and 0.3% of the sample population from the LGA and the entire sample population respectively.

In all, 90.0% of the three hundred respondents were L1 speakers of the Yoruba language and this goes a long way to tell one of the extent of language shift that has taken place amongst the different groups in the community under study because as this chapter later shows, the percentage of linguistic identity recorded here is much higher than the ethnic identities that respondents constructed for themselves. Also deductible from the foregoing is that the Yoruba language is the first language of the community under study as it is the prevalent L1 in all the

local government areas of Ilorin Emirate. Later in the study, whether this predominant linguistic identity in favour of the Yoruba language translates into a similar favour for the Yoruba ethnic identity in each of the local government areas shall also be investigated. A critical observation from the table also shows that Moro LGA has a lower percentage of L1 Yoruba speakers when compared with any of the other LGAs. It is also Moro LGA that had a good spread of all the languages mentioned as first language by all the respondents. The fact that Moro is larger than any of the other four local government areas in Ilorin Emirate and that it has more towns and villages than the others accounts for this good spread of the languages of Ilorin Emirate across the LGA.

That fifteen (5.0%) of the three hundred respondents are L1 speakers of the Hausa language corroborates the submission made in section 1.3.7. that Hausa subtly thrives in Ilorin Emirate as L2 but rarely acquired as L1. Fulfulde's record of seven (2.3%) L1 speakers out of the three hundred respondents bear eloquent testimony of claims that the language is on the verge of extinction in the community under study. Two of the three hundred respondents (0.7%) are L1 speakers of the English language and this does not come as a surprise as there are a lot of homes especially in Nigerian cities where the English language is the language of the home. This means that the majority of respondents' first languages are not determined or affected by their local government areas of origin and vice-versa.

Data obtained from interviews corroborate findings from the quantitative data and also give more insights as shown in some of the following interview extracts:

Researcher: What is your first language?
Folaṣade: My first language is the Yoruba language.
Researcher: What about your mother tongue?
Folaṣade: It is also the Yoruba language.
Researcher: Which LGA are you from?
Folaṣade: Ilorin East LGA.

Researcher: What is your first language?

Mayowa: The Yoruba language.

Researcher: What about your mother tongue?

Mayowa: It is the Yoruba language too.

Researcher: What LGA are you from?

Mayowa: I am from Ilorin West LGA.

Researcher: Which language is your first language?

Moshood: The Yoruba language.

Researcher: Which language is your mother tongue?

Moshood: The Yoruba language too.

Researcher: What LGA are you from?

Moshood: Ilorin East LGA.

Researcher: Which is your first language?

Nafeesah: The Yoruba language.

Researcher: What about your mother tongue?

Nafeesah: The Yoruba language is also my mother tongue.

Researcher: Which LGA are you from?

Nafeesah: Ilorin West LGA.

Researcher: Which language is your first language?

Taibat: The Yoruba language.

Researcher: Which language is your mother tongue?

Taibat: It is still the Yoruba language.

Researcher: Which LGA do you hail from?

Taibat: Moro LGA.

Researcher: What is your first language?

Tinuke: My first language is the Yoruba language.

Researcher: What about your mother tongue?

Tinuke: The Yoruba language is also my mother tongue.

Researcher: Which LGA do you hail from?

Tinuke: I am from Ilorin West LGA.

Researcher: What is your first language?

Ameenat: The Yoruba language.

Researcher: Which language is your mother tongue?

Ameenat: My mother tongue is also the Yoruba language.

Researcher: Which LGA do you hail from?

Ameenat: Ilorin West LGA.

Researcher: What is your first language?

Ajoke: My first language is the Yoruba language.

Researcher: Which language is your mother tongue?

Ajoke: The Yoruba language is also my mother tongue.

Researcher: Which LGA do you come from?

Ajoke: I am from Ilorin West LGA.

Researcher: Which language is your first language?

Yusuf: My first language is the Yoruba language.

Researcher: Which language is your mother tongue?

Yusuf: The Yoruba language is equally my mother tongue.

Researcher: Which LGA do you come from?

Yusuf: I am from Ilorin West LGA.

Researcher: Which language is your first language?

Ismail: My first language is the Yoruba language.

Researcher: What about your mother tongue?

Ismail: My mother tongue is also the Yoruba language.

Researcher: Which LGA do you come from?
Ismail: Ilorin West LGA.

Researcher: Which language is your first language?

Yahya: My first language is the Yoruba language.

Researcher: What about your mother tongue?

Yahya: It is also the Yoruba language.

Researcher: Which LGA do you come from?

Yahya: Ilorin West LGA.

Researcher: Which language is your first language?

Ṣola: My first language is the Yoruba language.

Researcher: What about your mother tongue?

Ṣola: It is also the Yoruba language.

Researcher: Which LGA do you come from?

Ṣola: Moro LGA.

Researcher: What is your first language?

Asake: It is the Yoruba language.

Researcher: Is the Yoruba language also your mother tongue?

Asake: No, the Yoruba language is not my mother tongue, Fulfulde is my mother tongue.

Researcher: Which LGA do you come from?

Asake: Moro LGA.

Researcher: Which language is your first language?

Ramatu: Fulfulde.

Researcher: What about your mother tongue?

Ramatu: Fulfulde.

Researcher: Which LGA do you hail from?

Ramatu: Moro LGA.

Researcher: What is your first language?

Isaac: It is the Yoruba language.

Researcher: Is the Yoruba language also your mother tongue?

Isaac: Yes, the Yoruba language is also my mother tongue.

Researcher: Which LGA do you come from?

Isaac: Moro LGA.

Researcher: What is your first language?

Mohammed: The Yoruba language.

Researcher: Is the Yoruba language also your mother tongue?

Mohammed: Yes, the Yoruba language is also my mother tongue.

Researcher: Which LGA do you come from?

Mohammed: Ilorin East LGA.

Researcher: Which language is your first language?

Olaide: My first language is the Yoruba language.

Researcher: What about your mother tongue?

Olaide: It is also the Yoruba language.

Researcher: Which LGA do you come from?

Olaide: Ilorin East LGA.

Researcher: Which language is your first language?

Maryam: Fulfulde.

Researcher: So, you speak Fulfulde.

Maryam: No, I do not speak Fulfulde... I neither understand nor speak Fulfulde unlike the Yoruba language which I speak fluently and understand well.

Researcher: Which LGA do you come from?

Maryam: Ilorin East LGA.

Researcher: Which language is your first language?

Taiwo: The Yoruba language.

Researcher: Which one is your mother tongue?

Taiwo: The Yoruba language.

Researcher: Which LGA do you come from?

Taiwo: Ilorin West LGA.

Researcher: What is your first language?

Bola: It is the Yoruba language.

Researcher: Is the Yoruba language also your mother tongue?

Bola: No, my mother tongue is Fulfulde but I only speak it as a second language.

Researcher: Which LGA do you hail from?

Bola: I hail from Moro LGA.

Researcher: Which language is your first language?

Opeyemi: The Yoruba language.

Researcher: What about your mother tongue?

Opeyemi: The Yoruba language is also my mother tongue.

Researcher: Which LGA do you hail from?

Opeyemi: I am from Asa LGA.

Researcher: Which language is your first language?

Odunayo: It is the Yoruba language.

Researcher: Is the Yoruba language also your mother tongue?

Opeyemi: Yes, the Yoruba language is also my mother tongue.

Researcher: Which LGA do you come from?

Odunayo: I am from Moro LGA.

Researcher: Which language is your first language?

Taofik: The Yoruba language.

Researcher: What about your mother tongue?

Taofik: It is also the Yoruba language.

Researcher: Which LGA do you come from?

Taofik: I am from Ilorin East LGA.

Researcher: Which language is your first language?

Michael: My first language is the Yoruba language. Actually, we are Nupe in my family but nobody in the family speaks Nupe anymore. Generations ago, our forefathers spoke the language but nobody in the younger generation speaks it. I don't speak it and even the old ones don't speak it.

Researcher: Which LGA do you come from?

Michael: I am from Moro LGA.

These interview extracts corroborate findings from our quantitative data in many ways. First, it shows the prevalence of the Yoruba language as the first language or mother tongue across the five local government areas of the Emirate. The reason is that, of the twenty-five interviewees, twenty-four are L1 speakers of the Yoruba language and that constitutes 96.0% of the interview sample size while one person which is 4.0% of the sample size spoke Fulfulde as first language. Also worthy of note is the fact that not all respondents who identified the Yoruba language as their L1 equally identified it as their MT. In essence, there were four interviewees (Asake,

Ramatu, Maryam and Bola) who said Fulfulde was their MT and three of those four respondents stated that their MT (Fulfulde) was distinct from their L1 (the Yoruba language). This means that most of those who identified Fulfulde as their mother tongue lacked proficiency in it. They only recognised it as their MT for symbolic reasons.

The significance of LGAs to respondents' first languages or mother tongues is more reflected in Moro LGA where there is a high concentration of interviewees who reported having L1 that is distinct from MT. Although, seven of the eight respondents from Moro are L1 speakers of Yoruba, there were however, three respondents who only identified the Yoruba language as their L1 but not as their MT. This means that more respondents from Moro LGA reported having Fulfulde as MT than other LGAs. The fact that of the eight respondents from Moro LGA, only one is an L1 speaker of Fulfulde also does justice to the earlier assertion that Fulfulde is on the verge of extinction and also, that it is mainly in Moro LGA that it is barely managing to survive.

4.4.1.2 First languages and sex

The examination of the relationship between respondents' mother tongues/first languages and their sex is important because of the well-established fact that people's sexes affect their language choice, language use and language attitudes. This has been proven by researches such as those conducted by Trudgill, (1972) and Labov (1990). Hence, this research attempts to check whether a particular language is favoured as a first language by members of a certain sex or not. The following table shows the relationship between first language and sex:

Table 4.10: The relationship between respondents' first languages and sexes

			Sex			
			No Response	Female	Male	Total
Your mother tongue/First language	No response	Count	1	3	2	6
		% of Total	0.3%	1.0%	0.7%	2.0%
	The Yoruba language	Count	1	130	139	270
		% of Total	0.3%	43.3%	46.3%	90.0%
	The Hausa language	Count	0	10	5	15
		% of Total	0.0%	3.3%	1.7%	5.0%
	Fulfulde	Count	0	3	4	7
		% of Total	0.0%	1.0%	1.3%	2.3%
	The English language	Count	0	1	1	2
		% of Total	0.0%	0.3%	0.3%	0.7%
Total		Count	2	147	151	300
		% of Total	0.7%	49.0%	50.3%	100.0%

From the table above, it is obvious that there are no significant differences in the percentages of the male and female respondents that speak the Yoruba, English and Fulfulde Languages. That is, there is a fair sex balance in the percentages of male and female of the respondents that speak each of the three languages. For example, of the two-hundred and seventy (270) L1 speakers of the Yoruba language, one hundred and thirty which was 48.0% of the entire sample population were female while 51.0% were male. Fulfulde had 43.0% female L1 speakers and 57.0% male speakers while English language L1 speakers were equally distributed between both sexes (50.0% each).

However, there is a significant relationship in the sex distribution of L1 speakers of Hausa language. Female L1 speakers of Hausa are 3.3% of the total number of all respondents (constituting, 66.6% of the total number of Hausa respondents) while their male counterparts were 1.7% of the total number of all respondents (constituting, 33.3% of the total number of

Hausa respondents). The result of a higher number of female speakers of Hausa language does not come as a surprise; it is because of the role of women in the retention of the home language hence, the nomenclature, "mother tongue". Their roles in the preservation of the home language usually makes a greater number of them vestiges of languages on the verge of extinction and the community under study has proven to be similar in this regard. Therefore, it is safe to conclude that sex has some effect on respondents' first languages.

Findings from interviews support the pattern analysed from the quantitative data. This is because all the ten male interviewees (Yusuf, Moshood, Is'mail, Yahya, Yusuf, Ṣola, Isaac, Mohammed, Taofik and Michael) which was 100.0% of the male sample size identified the Yoruba language as their L1 while fourteen (Folaṣade, Mayowa, Nafeesah, Taibat, Tinuke, Ameenat, Ajoke, Asake, Olaide, Maryam, Taiwo, Bola, Ope and Odun) which was 93.3% of the fifteen female interviewees identified the Yoruba language as their L1. Worthy of note is the fact that only one of those who asserted that Fulfulde is their MT speak it as a first language while the other three speak the Yoruba language as L1 thereby making the MT status of Fulfulde only symbolic. Also related to this is the fact the four respondents who asserted that Fulfulde is their MT were all females.

4.4.1.3 First languages and ages

Language varies "not only by dialect, but also by variables such as age, gender and social class, to name a few" (Deckert and Vickers, 2011:32). The fact that language use can also be influenced by the age of the users makes the examination of the relationship between both variables imperative in this study. For example, there is a steady global increase in the number of people with proficiency in the use of the English language. This has led to a global increase in the number of homes in which English language now functions as the language of the home without necessarily being the language of the community. For such homes, there is usually a disparity in the first languages of their members making it possible to have different first languages for different age groups within the home. Against this background, the following table shows the relationship between respondents' first languages and their ages:

Table 4.11: The relationship between respondents' first languages and ages

			Age			Total
			Under 20	20 - 50	Above 50	
Your mother tongue/First language	No response	Count	1	4	1	6
		% of Total	0.3%	1.3%	0.3%	2.0%
	The Yoruba language	Count	38	211	21	270
		% of Total	12.7%	70.3%	7.0%	90.0%
	The Hausa language	Count	0	15	0	15
		% of Total	0.0%	5.0%	0.0%	5.0%
	Fulfulde	Count	2	5	0	7
		% of Total	0.7%	1.7%	0.0%	2.3%
	The English language	Count	1	1	0	2
		% of Total	0.3%	0.3%	0.0%	0.7%
Total		Count	42	236	22	300
		% of Total	14.0%	78.7%	7.3%	100.0%

From the table above, it can be seen that the dominance of the Yoruba language as respondents' L1 is without age barriers. This is because the differences in the percentages recorded per language for the different age groups were statistically insignificant. Of the forty-two teenagers in the data, thirty-eight (90.4%) reported the Yoruba language as their L1, none were L1 speakers of the Hausa language (0.0%), two were L1 speakers of Fulfulde (4.8%) while English had one L1 speaker (2.4%). As for respondents in the adult age bracket (20-50), two-hundred and eleven (89.4%) of the two-hundred thirty-six were L1 speakers of the Yoruba language, fifteen (6.4%) were L1 speakers of the Hausa language, five (2.1%) were L1 speakers of Fulfulde while 1 (0.4%) was an L1 speaker of the English language. Twenty-one (95.5%) of the twenty-two respondents aged fifty and above were L1 speakers of the Yoruba language while the Hausa, Fulfulde and English Languages recorded no speakers in this age group. There was no significant relationship between respondents' ages and first language.

4.4.1.4 First languages and education

Like the other variables examined above, it is important to see if there is a significant relationship between respondents' levels of education and their mother tongues/first language. The yardstick being used for this variable is Western Education. Below is a table measuring the relationship between the two variables:

Table 4.12: The relationship between respondents' first languages and levels of education

				Level of education			
			Not educated	Tertiary	secondary	primary	Total
Your mother tongue/first language	No response	Count	1	1	4	0	6
		% of Total	0.3%	0.3%	1.3%	0.0%	2.0%
	The Yoruba language	Count	5	133	88	44	270
		% of Total	1.7%	44.3%	29.3%	14.7%	90.0%
	The Hausa language	Count	0	1	5	9	15
		% of Total	0.0%	0.3%	1.7%	3.0%	5.0%
	Fulfulde	Count	0	7	0	0	7
		% of Total	0.0%	2.3%	0.0%	0.0%	2.3%
	The English language	Count	0	1	1	0	2
		% of Total	0.0%	0.3%	0.3%	0.0%	0.7%
Total		Count	6	143	98	53	300
		% of Total	2.0%	47.7%	32.7%	17.7%	100.0 %

From the table above, one hundred and thirty-three (93.0%) of the one hundred and forty-three respondents with tertiary education were L1 speakers of the Yoruba language. Of those with tertiary education, there was only L1 speaker of the Hausa language and that accounts for 0.6%, all seven (4.9%) L1 speakers of Fulfulde have tertiary education while the remaining one (0.6%) respondent with tertiary education was an L1 speaker of the English language. Of the ninety-eight respondents with secondary school education, eighty-eight which constitutes 89.8% were

L1 speakers of the Yoruba language, five (5.1%) were L1 speakers of the Hausa language while the remaining 1 (1.0%) was an L1 speaker of English. Forty-four (83.0%) of the fifty-three respondents with primary school education were L1 speakers of the Yoruba language while nine (17.0%) were L1 speakers of Hausa. Also worthy of note is the fact that, five of the six uneducated respondents were L1 speakers of the Yoruba language while the remaining uneducated respondent did not indicate his/her L1.

The table also shows a significant relationship holds between these two variables. This conclusion was drawn from certain observations from the table. The first which is very obvious is that, there is no L1 speaker of the English language among respondents with no education and those with only primary school education. Also, the majority (60.0%) of respondents with only primary school education are L1 speakers of Hausa language while all L1 speakers of Fulfulde have tertiary education.

4.4.1.5 First languages and religion

The relationship between language and religion has been well-acknowledged in the literature (Safran, 2008; Edwards, 2009). This section seeks to measure the relationship that exists between these variables and determine the significance or otherwise of that relationship. That information is captured in the following table:

Table 4.13: The relationship between respondents' first languages and religions

			Religion			
			No response	Christianity	Islam	Total
Your mother tongue/first language	No response	Count	1	0	5	6
		% of Total	0.3%	0.0%	1.7%	2.0%
	The Yoruba language	Count	1	30	239	270
		% of Total	0.3%	10.0%	79.7%	90.0%
	The Hausa language	Count	0	0	15	15
		% of Total	0.0%	0.0%	5.0%	5.0%
	Fulfulde	Count	0	1	6	7
		% of Total	0.0%	0.3%	2.0%	2.3%
	English	Count	0	0	2	2
		% of Total	0.0%	0.0%	0.7%	0.7%
Total		Count	2	31	267	300
		% of Total	0.7%	10.3%	89.0%	100.0%

Thirty-one of the three hundred respondents practise Christianity and thirty (96.8%) out of that number were L1 speakers of the Yoruba language with the remaining one (3.2%) being an L1 speaker of Fulfulde. Of the two hundred and sixty-seven Muslim respondents, two hundred and thirty-nine (89.5%) were L1 speakers of the Yoruba language while fifteen (5.6%) were L1 speakers of Hausa language. Six respondents (2.2%) are L1 speakers of Fulfulde while two (0.7%) were L1 speakers of English.

The table shows that a significant relationship holds between respondents' mother tongues/first language and their religions. For example, all respondents who were L1 speakers of Hausa language were Muslims, Christian respondents were predominantly L1 speakers of the Yoruba language because thirty (96.8%) out of the thirty-one Christians were L1 speakers of the Yoruba language while six (85.7%) of the seven Fulfulde speakers were Muslims. Having a Christian L1 speaker of Fulfulde is also quite revealing as it renders the generalisation that Fulani people are

all Muslims an impressionistic one. Though, one out of thirty-one is still quite an exception to the rule, it is however considered an exception that is worthy of documentation.

Still on the relationship between respondents' mother tongues/first languages and religion, data obtained through interviews yielded results that are strikingly similar to those obtained from questionnaire data which show that a significant relationship exists between the two variables as shown in the following table:

Table 4.14: Interview respondents' first languages, mother tongues and religions

S/N	Respondent	First language	Mother Tongue	Religion
1	Yusuf	The Yoruba language	The Yoruba language	Islam
2	Folaṣade	The Yoruba language	The Yoruba language	Islam
3	Mayowa	The Yoruba language	The Yoruba language	Islam
4	Moshood	The Yoruba language	The Yoruba language	Islam
5	Nafeesah	The Yoruba language	The Yoruba language	Islam
6	Taibat	The Yoruba language	The Yoruba language	Islam
7	Tinuke	The Yoruba language	The Yoruba language	Islam
8	Ameenat	The Yoruba language	The Yoruba language	Islam
9	Ajoke	The Yoruba language	The Yoruba language	Christianity
10	Yusuf	The Yoruba language	The Yoruba language	Islam
11	Ismail	The Yoruba language	The Yoruba language	Islam
12	Yahya	The Yoruba language	The Yoruba language	Islam
13	Ṣola	The Yoruba language	The Yoruba language	Christianity
14	Asake	The Yoruba language	Fulfulde	Islam
15	Ramatu	Fulfulde	Fulfulde	Islam

S/N	Respondent	First language	Mother Tongue	Religion
16	Isaac	The Yoruba language	The Yoruba language	Christianity
17	Mohammed	The Yoruba language	The Yoruba language	Islam
18	Olaide	The Yoruba language	The Yoruba language	Islam
19	Maryam	The Yoruba language	Fulfulde	Islam
20	Taiwo	The Yoruba language	The Yoruba language	Islam
21	Bola	The Yoruba language	Fulfulde	Islam
22	Opeyemi	The Yoruba language	The Yoruba language	Islam
23	Odunayo	The Yoruba language	The Yoruba language	Christianity
24	Taofik	The Yoruba language	The Yoruba language	Islam
25	Michael	The Yoruba language	The Yoruba language	Christianity

For example, all five adherents of Christianity (100.0%) are L1 speakers of the Yoruba language while all respondents who claim Fulfulde as either L1 or mother tongue are Muslims. This shows that there is a direct correlation between being a Christian and being an L1 speaker of Yoruba and being a Muslim and having Fulfulde as either L1 or mother tongue in Ilorin Emirate.

4.4.2 Linguistic and ethnic identities in Ilorin Emirate

Having established a clear pattern of linguistic identity in favour of the Yoruba language, it is imperative that one examines the pattern of ethnic identity obtainable in the community under study by checking the correspondence between respondents' ethnic and linguistic identities through the use of certain items on the questionnaire. This will help in checking if the positive attitude recorded in favour of the Yoruba language also extends to the Yoruba ethnic nationality and identity, geographical region and by extension, culture.

4.4.3 Linguistic identity and the construction of ethnic identity

This section juxtaposes respondents' linguistic and ethnic identities and examine critically, the connectedness or otherwise between them. This is to enable one establish the position of this

thesis that language is not the central marker of identity. In essence, no identity marker should be singled out as being synonymous with identity because of the different social and political factors that speakers of different languages encounter in different communities around the world. The following is a table showing the relationship between linguistic and ethnic identities in Ilorin Emirate:

Table 4.15 (a): The relationship between respondents' first languages and ethnic nationalities

			If asked to describe your ethnic nationality, please indicate your first, second and third priority by writing first, second in the provided boxes				
			No response	Northerner[4]	Southwesterner	Other	Total
Your mother tongue/First language	No response	Count	0	5	1	0	6
		% of Total	0.0%	1.7%	0.3%	0.0%	2.0%
	The Yoruba language	Count	10	151	95	14	270
		% of Total	3.3%	50.3%	31.7%	4.7%	90.0%
	The Hausa language	Count	0	12	3	0	15
		% of Total	0.0%	4.0%	1.0%	0.0%	5.0%
	Fulfulde	Count	0	4	3	0	7
		% of Total	0.0%	1.3%	1.0%	0.0%	2.3%
	The English language	Count	0	1	1	0	2
		% of Total	0.0%	0.3%	0.3%	0.0%	0.7%
Total		Count	10	173	103	14	300
		% of Total	3.3%	57.7%	34.3%	4.7%	100.0%

Table 4.15 (b): The significance of the relationship between respondents' mother tongues and ethnic nationalities

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.603	12	0.883
Likelihood Ratio	9.032	12	0.700
Linear-by-Linear Association	.000	1	0.985
N of Valid Cases	300		

As seen in the table above, ethnic identity is represented in terms of belongingness to the region where the ethnic group could be found in Nigeria and in this case, linguistic identity has no significant correlation with ethnic identity. This is because the overwhelming favourable disposition towards the Yoruba language (90.0%) was not replicated on the question which bothered on respondents' ethnic nationality where only 34.3% of the entire sample size indicated that they were southwesterners. In response, the majority of respondents (57.7%) considered themselves northerners despite the 90.0% linguistic allegiance to the Yoruba language and this clearly demonstrates the variance between linguistic and ethnic identities in Ilorin Emirate. With this analysis, language cannot be considered the marker of ethnic identity. The statistical values of x^2= 6.603; df= 12; p> 0.883 obviously shows that language is not significant in the projection of ethnic nationality. The following interview extracts also buttress the points raised here and further help to explain other issues:

> My mother tongue is Yoruba Language but I am not a Yoruba person. I am Fulani and that is the only way I would identify myself and would want to be identified... (Yusuf).

> My mother tongue is the Yoruba language but I am not a Yoruba person. I am Hausa because my family is of Hausa ancestry… I prefer to identify with the Hausa ethnic group... (Folaṣade).

> My mother tongue is Yoruba Language although I am a Fulani person… (Ajoke).

Though my father is of Fulani ancestry (from Sokoto State), my mother is from Ijebu-Ode in Ogun State... I would identify myself as a Yoruba person. I do not consider myself as either Fulani or Ilorin neither do I consider myself as Fulani-Ilorin nor Yoruba-Ilorin... (Mayowa).

My mother tongue is Yoruba Language but I would not describe myself as a Yoruba person. I prefer to identify myself as an Ilorin person although I am of Yoruba ancestry… My family progenitors are from Igbeti but I strongly prefer the Ilorin identity... (Moshood).

I do not consider myself a Yoruba person though my first language is Yoruba Language. My family progenitors are from Mali though we cannot trace our roots back there anymore. I prefer to identify as an Ilorin person... (Nafeesah).

My mother tongue is Yoruba Language but I prefer to identify as Yoruba-Ilorin. My progenitors are of Yoruba ancestry... (Ameenat).

My first language is the Yoruba language but I am of Fulani ancestry… I prefer to identify myself as a Fulani-Ilorin person… (Yusuf).

My first language is the Yoruba language but I am of Fulani ancestry and I prefer to identify as a Fulani person... (Yahya)[5].

My first language is Yoruba Language though I am not a Yoruba person. I am a Fulani person… (Asake).

I am Fulani and my first language is Fulfulde... I would not mind being identified as a Yoruba person as that seem to be the trend now but I would not identify myself as Yoruba... (Ramatu).

My first language and mother tongue is the Yoruba language because I am an Ilorin person of Yoruba ancestry… I prefer to identify as a Yoruba person... (Mohammad).

My mother tongue is Fulfulde but Yoruba is my first language... I prefer to identify as a Fulani person though I wouldn't mind being addressed as a Yoruba person... (Bola).

My mother tongue and first language is the Yoruba language. I am from Shao community... I am a Yoruba person. (Odunayo).

My first language is the Yoruba language but I am of Hausa ancestry because I am from Gambari area in Ilorin. Although, I would identify with the Hausa ethnic group but would not object if I am referred to as a Yoruba person... (Taofik)

My first language is the Yoruba language. I am from Jebba and of Nupe ancestry... I said I am a Jebba man of Nupe ancestry because there are also people of Yoruba ethnic stock in Jebba. I however prefer to identify as a Yoruba person... (Michael).

It can be deduced from these interview extracts that the there is no symmetrical correlation between respondents' first languages/mother tongues and their ethnic ancestries. For example, not all respondents who claimed their first language is the Yoruba language claimed being of Yoruba ancestry. Also, unlike the high number of respondents (twenty-four of twenty-five) that claimed the Yoruba language as their L1, less than half of that number claimed being of Yoruba ancestry. In essence, twenty-four respondents have Yoruba L1 but only eleven claimed being of Yoruba ethnic ancestry. Hence, of the interview sample size, eleven (44.0%) expressed belongingness to a Yoruba ancestry unlike the 96.0% recorded for the Yoruba linguistic identity.

The issue became even more interesting when respondents were asked to describe their ethnic nationalities so as to check whether their ancestral backgrounds correlated with each individual's construction of his/her ethnic identity. Eight respondents which represents 66.7% of those with Yoruba ancestry actually described themselves as Yoruba people (Taibat, Tinuke, Ṣola, Isaac, Mohammed, Taiwo, Opeyemi, Odunayo), two (Ameenat and Isma'il) ascribed to themselves bicultural identities which was inclusive of their ancestral ethnicity, one (Moshood) preferred a civic identity (Ilorin) while one (Yahya) constructed for himself a Fulani identity. The analysis above shows that eight of the twelve respondents of Yoruba ancestry claimed the Yoruba ethnic identity, two of the remaining four claimed it partially while the other two re-constructed their identities to the exclusion of their heritage ancestry. These show that acknowledging one's ethnic ancestry is one thing and choosing to identify as a member of that ethnic group is another.

Also, of the nine respondents of Fulani ancestry (Yusuf, Mayowa, Ajoke, Yusuf, Olaide, Maryam, Bola, Asake and Ramatu) only Ramatu (11.1%) speaks Fulfulde as her first language while the remaining eight (88.9%) identified as L1 speakers of the Yoruba language and were not willing to learn Fulfulde. This gives huge credence to Glaser (2007:267) who posits that "language ability can certainly be assumed to be less important for a sense of belonging than ancestral connections". It also helps to affirm Edwards (2009:251) who argues that:

> A continuing sense of ethnic-group identity need not inevitably depend upon the continuing use of the original language in ordinary, communicative dimensions – but it can hardly be denied that linguistic continuity is a powerful cultural support. It is not the only pillar, but it is clearly an important one.

Like the case of the Yoruba respondents, this shows that the majority of respondents' linguistic and ethnic identities are at variance. Five (55.6%) of the respondents with Fulani ancestry positively identified with their ethnic ancestry by identifying themselves as Fulani people while the remaining four (44.4%) like those of Yoruba ancestry, ascribed to themselves ethnicities other than those of their ancestral backgrounds or combined it with some other to have a bicultural identity.

The two respondents of Hausa ancestry lack Hausa proficiency but identified with their ancestral ethnicity and claimed belongingness to the Hausa ethnic nationality while the respondent of Nupe ancestry who is also an L1 speaker of Yoruba acknowledged his Nupe ancestry but claimed belongingness to the Yoruba ethnic nationality. This means that the twenty-four respondents who claimed the Yoruba language as their L1 feel some sense of attachment to the Yoruba linguistic identity though not all them feel similar sense of belongingness to the Yoruba ethnic identity because of emotional connection to their different ancestral ethnicities.

Through convergence and in this case, acculturation (Giles and Coupland, 1991), the vast majority of people from different ancestral backgrounds in Ilorin Emirate overwhelmingly identified the Yoruba language as their first language without putting their heritage language on the same pedestal as the Yoruba language. Even the majority of those with a high degree of ethnic heritage consciousness did not mention their heritage languages when asked about their first languages or mother tongues. The notions of hard linguistic/hard non-linguistic boundaries and soft linguistic/soft non-linguistic boundaries explain why those of Yoruba extraction have a hard linguistic boundary and this is the reason for the retention of their heritage language and its spread amongst other ethnic groups in Ilorin.

A noticeable trait amongst the Fulani respondents is that they have a soft linguistic boundary. This has not only led to the loss of their language within the community under study, it is also a pointer to the lack of interest on the part of respondents who are of Fulani ancestry to learn Fulfulde. The language is therefore more prominent for serving symbolic purposes and less prominent for serving communicative purposes. Hence, attitudes towards the Fulfulde language by those of its ethnic stock are generally very poor. Equally worthy of note is the fact that even those of Fulani ancestry in the rural part of the Emirate (that is, those outside of the capital city)

have negative attitudes towards the acquisition of their heritage language. The respondents of Hausa extraction also have a soft linguistic boundary because for the majority of them, the Yoruba language is now their first language.

These findings echo the position of the Gaelic singer, Arthur Cormack (Glaser, 2007:266) who proposed that one "one can be Gael without actually speaking Gaelic to a certain extent" because being Gaelic "is ... about your whole background, where you come from, ... your history". Cormack's position is synonymous with that expressed by Mackenzie (2002) who avers that culture is rooted in language but perhaps more importantly, it is also rooted in social structures and traditions. In this way, it is quite possible to be a Gael and not have fluent (or even working) Gaelic. Arthur Cormack and Mackenzie's positions have helped to further prove that respondents of non-Yoruba ancestries are no less members of their ethnicities than those who speak their heritage languages.

In a similar vein, Woodbury (1993) asserts that the analyses of language shift have demonstrated that traditional communication patterns do not necessarily cease when ancestral vocabularies and grammars are abandoned. This, according to Woodbury, constitutes an interesting argument against the thesis that lexico-grammatical language shift engenders full-scale assimilation. The cases of language shift experienced by the respondents discussed above, have not led to identity shift. Edwards (2009:251) also puts this succinctly when he says that "the attachment felt by the English-speaking Irish or Welsh to a culture and an ancestry whose language they no longer posses is a psychologically real one and demonstrates the continuing power of what is intangible and symbolic". Edwards further adds that indeed, there often exists continuing attachment to the "lost" language itself as an important aspect of that ancestry. The fact that such attachments rarely lead to actual linguistic revival is regrettable in the eyes of those who feel that language is the pillar of culture. He further adds that these attachments (to a culture and ancestry whose languages are lost), however attenuated or "residual", have a meaning. Conversely, it has also proven that the respondents of Yoruba ancestry who despite being fluent in their L1 did not identify with their ancestral ethnic nationality feel no emotional attachment to their ethnic ancestry.

Having shown that the majority of respondents of non-Yoruba ancestry discarded their linguistic identities in the construction of their ethnic identities as a result of emotional attachment to their ancestral backgrounds, it is imperative that one compares this outcome from the interviews with that of the questionnaire and probe further into what particularly influences identity construction in Ilorin Emirate. Therefore, based on questionnaire analysis, the following table captures respondents' descriptions of their ethnic nationalities represented by geographical zone:

Table 4.16: The distribution of respondents' descriptions of their ethnic nationalities

If asked to describe your ethnic nationality, please indicate your first, second and third priority by writing first, second in the provided boxes		
	Frequency	Percent
No response	10	3.3
Northerner	173	57.7
Southwesterner	103	34.3
Other	14	4.7
Total	**300**	**100.0**

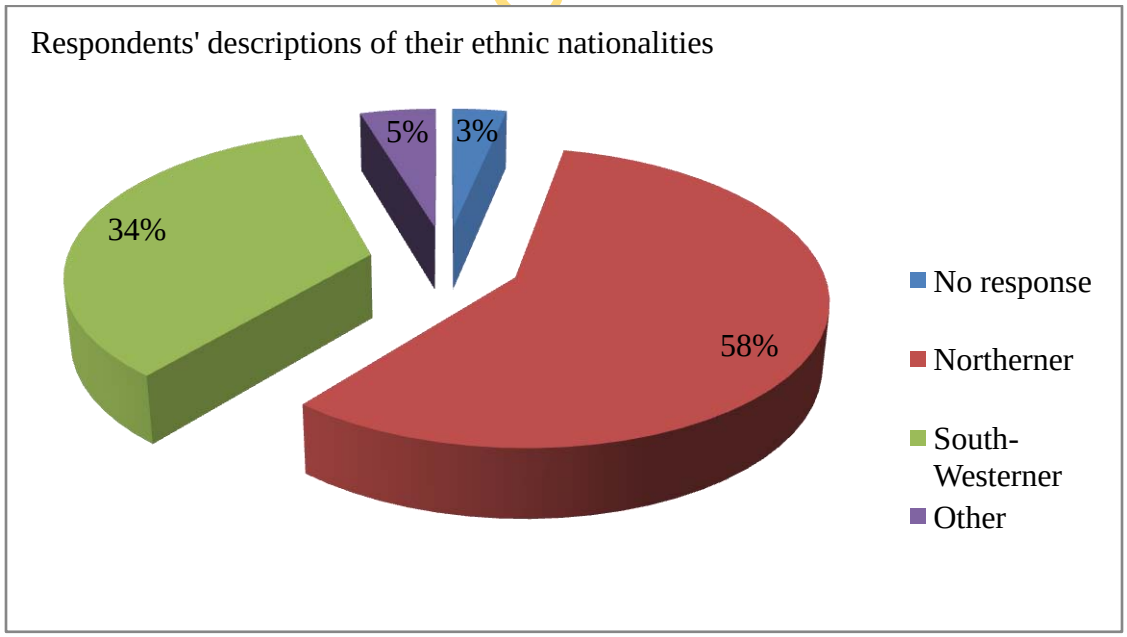


Figure 4.8: A pie chart showing the distribution of respondents' descriptions of their ethnic nationalities

The outcome above shows that the majority of respondents (57.7%) described themselves as northerners. This did not come as surprise because it is respondents of the Yoruba ethnic stock that largely have positive disposition towards the southwestern region which is considered their ancestral zone. Hence, they are favourably disposed towards describing themselves as southwesterners. The inability of respondents of Yoruba ethnic nationality to have the majority count on this questionnaire item is as a result of the fact that respondents of other ethnic nationalities are more favourably disposed towards the North which is their ancestral zone and as such, the majority of them described themselves as northerners. It is this collective ascription by respondents of different ancestral backgrounds from the North that gives the entry "Northerner" the majority count on this questionnaire item. The next section deals with the notions of state belonging at the individual and group levels.

4.4.4 Notions of state belonging amongst groups and individuals

As already observed in the preceding section, the concept of ethnicity for the majority of respondents has strong links with ancestral backgrounds. This section seeks to bring to the fore, respondents' zones of preference. The aim of the question is to check what choices respondents would make if their choices were put into cognisance in a matter of new state creation. This will help to establish the factor that influences the majority of respondents' zones of preference and to also establish whether government's administrative classification of the area of study as a northern community is indeed reflective of the people's perceptions and desires as well. Therefore, respondents were asked where they would want their community to be zoned if their preferences were taken into cognisance in a new state creation exercise. Presented with the alternatives of North or South-West, the following are the outcomes of the findings:

Table 4.17: The distribution of respondents' zones of preference

If the Federal Government decided to create another state out of the present Kwara state, which zone would you prefer that Ilorin be divided along?		
	Frequency	Percent
No response	7	2.3
North	180	60.0
South -West	113	37.7
Total	**300**	**100.0**

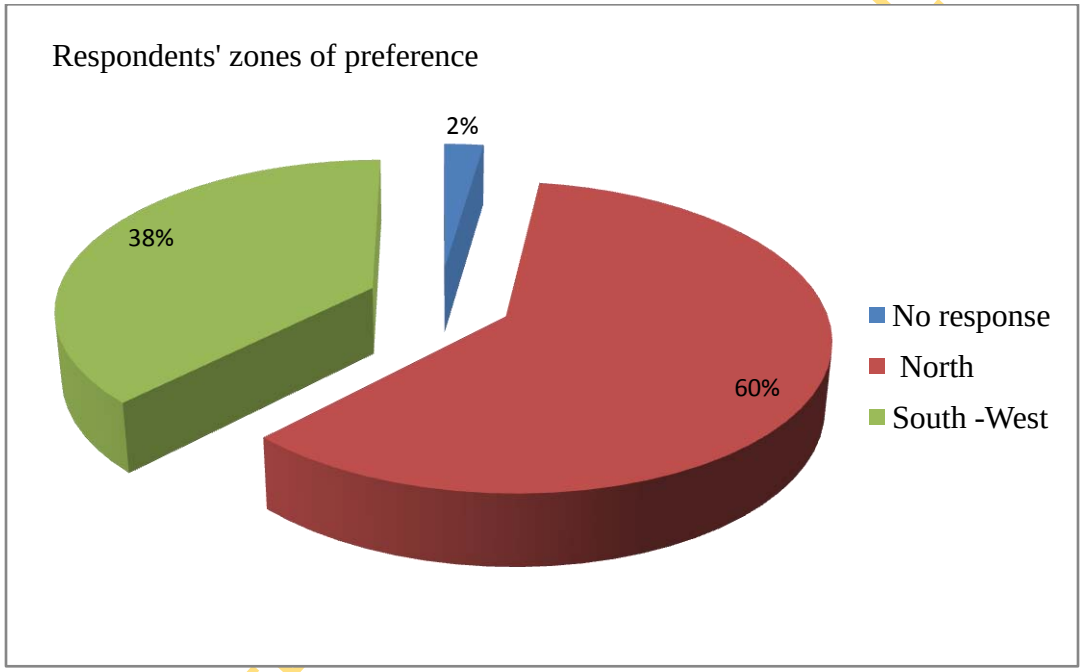


Figure 4.9: A pie chart showing the distribution of respondents' zones of preference

Obviously, the majority of respondents preferred that Ilorin Emirate remain in the northern zone. To break it down, there was no response from seven respondents (2.3%), one hundred and eighty (60.0%) wanted their community to remain in the North while one hundred and thirteen (38.0%) would want it to be in the South-West. Having established respondents' zones of preference, it is equally important to unravel the variable if any, that influenced the direction of their responses and juxtapose it with that which was responsible for the

descriptions of their ethnic nationalities. Presented below are discussions of the significance or otherwise between the different variables and zones of preference:

4.4.4.1 Local government area and respondents' notions of state belonging

The aim here is to see examine if respondents' LGAs have some degree of influence on where they would want Ilorin Emirate to be zoned to if a new state were to be created out of the present Kwara State. The following tables provide the answers in summary:

Table 4.18 (a): The relationship between respondents' LGAs and zones of preference

			Local government area					
			Ilorin South	Ilorin East	Ilorin West	Moro	Asa	Total
If the Federal Government decides to create another state out of the present Kwara State, which zone would you prefer that Ilorin be divided along?	No response	Count	1	2	3	0	1	7
		% of Total	0.3%	0.7%	1.0%	0.0%	0.3%	2.3%
	North	Count	38	48	64	13	17	180
		% of Total	12.7%	16.0%	21.3%	4.3%	5.7%	60.0%
	South - West	Count	28	24	37	13	11	113
		% of Total	9.3%	8.0%	12.3%	4.3%	3.7%	37.7%
Total		Count	67	74	104	26	29	300
		% of Total	22.3%	24.7%	34.7%	8.7%	9.7%	100.0 %

Table 4.18 (b): A table showing the significance of the relationship between respondents' LGAs and zones of preference

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.051[a]	8	.853
Likelihood Ratio	4.596	8	.800
Linear-by-Linear Association	.006	1	.941
N of Valid Cases	300		

The first table shows that there is a preference for the northern region in four of the five LGAs which are Ilorin South, Ilorin East, Ilorin West and Asa while there is an equal split in the preference for the two regions in Moro LGA. Taking the responses per LGA, it can be observed that thirty-eight of the sixty-seven respondents from Ilorin South LGA prefer the North against the twenty-eight respondents who favoured zoning it to the South-West. In essence, 56.7% of all the respondents from Ilorin South LGA preferred that Ilorin Emirate remains a northern geo-political entity while 41.8% preferred the South-West. No response was gotten on this item from one respondent from that LGA which represents 1.5% of the respondents from Ilorin South LGA. Overall, 60.0% of respondents from all the LGAs preferred the North which shows that LGAs do not have any significant effect on respondents' zones of preference because even in Moro LGA, no preference was recorded in favour of either of the two zones. This is more succinctly captured in the second table in which the statistical values of $x^2 = 4.051$; df=8; P> 0.853 indicates that there is no significant relationship between LGAs and respondents' zones of preference.

4.4.4.2 Sex and respondents' notions of state belonging

This section seeks to establish the correlation between the sexes of the respondents and their zones of preference in order to evaluate any noticeable pattern along gender lines. The following tables bear the information obtained through the questionnaire:

Table 4.19 (a): The relationship between respondents' sexes and zones of preference

			Sex			
			No response	Female	Male	Total
If the federal Government decides to create another state out of the present Kwara state, which zone would you prefer that Ilorin be divided along?	No response	Count	0	3	4	7
		% of Total	0.0%	1.0%	1.3%	2.3%
	North	Count	1	90	89	180
		% of Total	0.3%	30.0%	29.7%	60.0%
	South -West	Count	1	54	58	113
		% of Total	0.3%	18.0%	19.3%	37.7%
Total		Count	2	147	151	300
		% of Total	0.7%	49.0%	50.3%	100.0%

Table 4.19 (b): A table showing the significance of the relationship between respondents' sexes and zones of preference

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.400[a]	4	.982
Likelihood Ratio	.441	4	.979
Linear-by-Linear Association	.006	1	.940
N of Valid Cases	300		

From the tables above, the majority of respondents' preference for the North knows no sex barriers. This conclusion emanates from the fact that of the one hundred and forty-seven female respondents, ninety (61.2%) preferred the northern region, fifty-four (36.7%) preferred the southwestern region while the remaining three (2.0%) did not respond to the question. Also of the one hundred and fifty-one male population, eighty-nine (58.9%) preferred the northern region, fifty-eight (38.4%) preferred the South-West region while the remaining four (2.6%) did not respond. It should however be noted that the number of respondents with no response to the question is not significant enough to affect the conclusions in any way. This means that regardless of their sex, the majority of respondents are favourably disposed to the North. The statistical value of x^2 = .400; df=4; P> 0.982 indicates that there is no significant relationship between respondents' sexes and their zones of preference.

4.4.4.3 Age and respondents' notions of state belonging

Generally, differences in age demographics can produce differences in responses. Based on this, it becomes pertinent to use respondents' ages to check their zoning preferences and see if differences in responses have to do with the age brackets within which respondents fall. Data from the questionnaire was used to check the existence or otherwise of the relationship between age and choice of zone and presented in the tables that follow:

Table 4.20 (a): The relationship between respondents' ages and zones of preference

			Age			Total
			Under 20	20 - 50	Above 50	
If the federal government decides to create another state out of the present Kwara State, which zone would you prefer that Ilorin be divided along?	No response	Count	0	7	0	7
		% of Total	0.0%	2.3%	0.0%	2.3%
	North	Count	22	146	12	180
		% of Total	7.3%	48.7%	4.0%	60.0%
	South-West	Count	20	83	10	113
		% of Total	6.7%	27.7%	3.3%	37.7%
Total		Count	42	236	22	300
		% of Total	14.0%	78.7%	7.3%	100.0%

Table 4.20 (b): A table showing the significance of the relationship between respondents' ages and zones of preference

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.400[a]	4	.355
Likelihood Ratio	5.782	4	.216
Linear-by-Linear Association	.497	1	.481
N of Valid Cases	300		

Again, the first table shows that the favourable disposition of respondents towards the North is not based on the ages of respondents while the lack for preference for the South-West zone is not based on the ages of respondents as well. This means that regardless of their ages, the majority of respondents are favourably disposed to the North. The statistical values of x^2 = 4.400; df=4; P>

0.355 indicates that there is no significant relationship between respondents' ages and their zones of preference.

4.4.4.4 Education and respondents' notions of state belonging

In multilingual communities where the language of the home is often different from the language of the school or of education, gaining access to education also goes in tandem with the acquisition of a new language. The acquisition of a new language often comes with various degrees of attachment to the culture whose language is used in the acquisition of the education. This section seeks to establish if the level of education of respondents influences them positively towards a zone or otherwise. To check the existence or otherwise of the relationship between respondents' education and zone of preference, data from the questionnaire was used to process the information presented in the following tables:

Table 4.21 (a): The relationship between respondents' education and zones of preference

			Level of education				Total
			No response	Tertiary	Secondary	Primary	
If the federal government decides to create another state out of the present Kwara State, which zone would you prefer that Ilorin be divided along?	No response	Count	0	3	3	1	7
		% of Total	0.0%	1.0%	1.0%	0.3%	2.3%
	North	Count	5	88	54	33	180
		% of Total	1.7%	29.3%	18.0%	11.0%	60.0%
	South-West	Count	1	52	41	19	113
		% of Total	0.3%	17.3%	13.7%	6.3%	37.7%
Total		Count	6	143	98	53	300
		% of Total	2.0%	47.7%	32.7%	17.7%	100.0%

Table 4.21 (b): The significance of the relationship between respondents' levels of education and zones of preference

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.746[a]	6	.840
Likelihood Ratio	2.993	6	.810
Linear-by-Linear Association	.181	1	.671
N of Valid Cases	300		

The first table shows that regardless of the level of education, the majority of respondents preferred the northern region. A breakdown shows that respondents who did not indicate their level of education were six. Of that number, five (83.3%) preferred the North while one (16.7%) preferred the South-West; of the one hundred and forty-three respondents with tertiary education, 88 (61.5%) preferred the North, fifty-two (36.4%) preferred the South-West while the remaining three (2.1%) did not respond; fifty-four (55.1%) of the ninety-eight respondents with Secondary school education preferred the North, forty-one (41.8%) preferred the South-West while the remaining three (3.1%) respondents in this category did not respond. For the fifty-three respondents with Primary school education, thirty-three (62.3%) preferred the North, nineteen (35.8%) preferred the South-West while the remaining one (1.9%) did not respond.

The above shows that the level of education was not responsible for respondents' preferences for any region or otherwise. In the second table, the statistical value of $x^2 = 2.746$; df=6; P> 0.840 indicates that there is no significant relationship between respondents' levels of education and zones of preference.

4.4.4.5 Religion and respondents' notions of state belonging

Like other identity markers, religion has the potentials of influencing identity construction, perception and manifestation. Hence, Edwards' (2009:99) posits that "ethnocentrism and relativism have always had religious counterparts". The fact that languages like Arabic and Hebrew are associated with particular religions (Islam and Judaism) underscores the relationship

between religion and identity in the sense that the native speakers of these two languages are usually perceived as Muslims and Jews despite the fact that not all Arabs are Muslims and not all Jews practise Judaism. In Northern Ireland, for example, identity and community are strongly linked with religious affiliation. The majority of Catholics would identify themselves as Irish and many embrace the Irish language, traditional Irish music and dance. For members of the protestant community, the choice may be British identity with allegiance to the British crown and sports such as rugby and cricket (Delargy, 2007). Religion is therefore often regarded as having a high degree of correlation with identity. In order to check whether respondents' religious affiliation influenced their zones of preference, data from the questionnaire was used to process the information presented in the following tables:

Table 4.22 (a): The relationship between respondents' religions and zones of preference

			Religion			Total
			No response	Christianity	Islam	
If the federal government decides to create another state out of the present Kwara state, which zone would you prefer that Ilorin be divided along?	No response	Count	0	0	7	7
		% of Total	0.0%	0.0%	2.3%	2.3%
	North	Count	1	14	165	180
		% of Total	0.3%	4.7%	55.0%	60.0%
	South - West	Count	1	17	95	113
		% of Total	0.3%	5.7%	31.7%	37.7%
Total		Count	2	31	267	300
		% of Total	0.7%	10.3%	89.0%	100.0%

Table 4.22 (b): Significance of the relationship between respondents' religions and zones of preference

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.996[a]	4	.288
Likelihood Ratio	5.566	4	.234
Linear-by-Linear Association	4.565	1	.033
N of Valid Cases	300		

From the first table, one can deduce that fourteen (45.2%) of the thirty-one Christian respondents preferred the northern zone while seventeen (54.8%) preferred the South-Western zone. The difference of three is however statistically negligible and as a result, it is considered insignificant. Making a generalisation on the basis of such insignificant number will be inaccurate. Also, one hundred and sixty-five (61.8%) of the two-hundred and sixty-seven Muslim respondents preferred the North while ninety-five (35.6%) preferred the South-West. The insignificance of those differences is reflected in the statistical values of x^2= 4.996; df=4; P> 0.288 which show that religion is not a significant factor in the choice of zone of preference. In essence, though a difference in figures was noticed but the margin of the figures was not statistically significant in such a way that respondents' religions could be deemed to correlate with their preferences for either of the two zones.

The outcome of this quantitative analysis was supported by findings from qualitative data in which three of the five Christian respondents (Ajoke, Michael and Odunayo) expressed preference for the northern zone as shown in the following table thus:

Table 4.23: The relationship between interviewees' religions and zones of preference

S/N	Respondent	Ancestral Ethnicity	Ancestral Zone	Preferred Zone	Religion
1	Ajoke	Fulani	North	North	Christianity
2	Ṣola	Yoruba	South-West	South-West	Christianity
3	Isaac	Yoruba	South-West	South-West	Christianity
4	Odunayo	Yoruba	South-West	North	Christianity
5	Michael	Nupe	North	North	Christianity

The argument that ancestral ethnicity influenced respondents' choices of zone becomes more compelling when a breakdown of the Christian respondents' ethnic ancestries is considered. For instance, Ajoke and Michael, two of the three Christian respondents who expressed preference for the North are of Fulani and Nupe ancestries respectively. The fact that their ancestral homes are in Northern Nigeria has strong links with their preference for the North in spite of their religion. The remaining three Christian respondents (Ṣola, Odunayo and Isaac) are of Yoruba ancestry but one of them (Odunayo) expressed preference for the North. In essence, of the five Christian respondents, three (Ṣola, Odun and Isaac) are of Yoruba ancestry specifically from Shao Community, one is of Fulani ancestry (Ajoke) while one is of Nupe ancestry (Michael) from Jebba. The fact that preference for either of the two regions is not based on respondents' religions shows that religion as a variable is of no significance in respondents' choice of zone.

It therefore becomes obvious that Christians with preference for the North have a slight majority. That slight majority, it should be reiterated, is so marginal that it cannot serve as the basis for concluding that respondents preferred any zone because of their religion.

4.4.4.6 Ethnic nationalities and respondents' notions of state belonging

Since all the variables examined above have no significant relationship with respondents' zones of preference, it therefore becomes imperative that one examines the relationship between respondents' ethnic nationalities and their zones of preference. This has to do with our earlier finding which linked the majority of respondents' descriptions of their ethnic nationality not with their L1 but with their ethnic ancestries. The following are tables which show the relationship between both:

Table 4.24 (a): A table showing the relationship between respondents' ethnic nationalities and zones of preference

			If asked to describe your ethnic nationality, please indicate your first, second and third priority by writing first, second in the provided boxes				
			No response	Northerner	Southwes-terner	Others	Total
If the federal government decides to create another state out of the present Kwara State, which zone would you prefer that Ilorin be divided along?	No response	Count	2	2	2	1	7
		% of Total	0.7%	0.7%	0.7%	0.3%	2.3%
	North	Count	5	147	27	1	180
		% of Total	1.7%	49.0%	9.0%	0.3%	60.0 %
	South – West	Count	3	24	74	12	113
		% of Total	1.0%	8.0%	24.7%	4.0%	37.7 %
Total		Count	10	173	103	14	300
		% of Total	3.3%	57.7%	34.3%	4.7%	100.0 %

Table 4.24 (b): A table showing the significance of the relationship between respondents' ethnic nationalities and zones of preference

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	126.802[a]	6	.000
Likelihood Ratio	124.786	6	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	76.084	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	300		

The table clearly shows that respondents' descriptions of their ethnic nationalities have high degrees of correlation with their zones of preference. For example, one hundred and seventy-three respondents identified themselves as northerners. Of that number, one hundred and forty-seven (84.9%) preferred the North while twenty-four which is only 13.9% preferred the South-West. Seventy-four (71.8%) of the one hundred and three respondents who identified as southwesterners in turn preferred the southwestern region while twenty-seven (26.2%) preferred the North. Of the fourteen respondents who did not claim belongingness to either of the two regions, twelve (85.7%) preferred the South-West and one preferred the North. Expectedly, the statistical value of $x^2 = 126.802$; df=6; P< 0.000 indicates that there is a significant relationship between respondents' ethnic nationalities and zones of preference. The responses of those interviewed strongly support that of the questionnaire as shown in the following table which encapsulates the interview responses:

Table 4.25: A table showing interviewees' ethnic nationalities and zones of preference

S/N	Respondent	Ancestral Ethnicity	Ancestral Zone	Preferred Zone
1	Yusuf	Fulani	North	North
2	Folaṣade	Hausa	North	North
3	Mayowa	Fulani	North	South-West
4	Moshood	Yoruba	South-West	South-West
5	Nafeesah	Malian	Not Nigerian	North
6	Taibat	Yoruba	South-West	South-West
7	Tinuke	Yoruba	South-West	North
8	Ameenat	Yoruba	South-West	North
9	Ajoke	Fulani	North	North
10	Yusuf	Fulani	North	North
11	Ismail	Yoruba	South-West	North
12	Yahya	Yoruba	South-West	North
13	Ṣola	Yoruba	South-West	South-West
14	Asake	Fulani	North	No response
15	Ramatu	Fulani	North	No response
16	Isaac	Yoruba	South-West	South-West
17	Mohammed	Yoruba	South-West	South-West
18	Olaide	Fulani	North	No preference
19	Maryam	Fulani	North	North

S/N	Respondent	Ancestral Ethnicity	Ancestral Zone	Preferred Zone
20	Taiwo	Yoruba	South-West	South-West
21	Bola	Fulani	North	No preference
22	Opeyemi	Yoruba	South-West	North
23	Odunayo	Yoruba	South-West	North
24	Taofik	Hausa	North	North
25	Michael	Nupe	North	North

Of the twenty-five interview respondents, twelve are of Yoruba ancestry (Moshood, Taibat, Tinuke, Ameenat, Ṣola, Isaac, Mohammed, Taiwo, Opeyemi, Isma'il, Yahya and Odunayo), nine are of Fulani ancestry (Yusuf, Mayowa Ajoke, Yusuf, Ramatu, Olaide, Maryam, Bola and Asake), two are of Hausa ancestry (Folaṣade and Taofik), one was of Malian ancestry (Nafeesah) while one was of Nupe ancestry (Michael). Also, fourteen (56.0%) of all interview respondents preferred the northern zone, the South-West zone was the choice of seven respondents (28.0%), there was no response from two (8.0%) respondents while the remaining two respondents were indifferent (8.0%). This clearly corroborates the outcome of the questionnaire because of the total of twenty-one respondents who were precise about their zones of preference (fourteen for the North and seven for the South-West), the North has 66.7% (14 of 21) of that number while the South-West has 33.3% (7 of 21) of the total number.

It should also be added that of the twelve respondents of Yoruba ancestry, eight (66.7%) constructed for themselves, Yoruba ethnic identity by describing themselves as Yoruba while the others (33.3%) had some other forms of self-ascription. Clearly, the high number of respondents of Yoruba ancestry interviewed translated into an equally high number of respondents who constructed a Yoruba ethnic identity for themselves though the same did not translate into a high number of respondents with preference for Southwestern Nigeria. This is

because, eight (Taibat, Tinuke, Ṣola, Isaac, Mohammed, Taiwo, Opeyemi and Odunayo) identified exclusively as Yoruba while six (Moshood, Taibat, Ṣola, Isaac, Mohammed and Taiwo) of that eight preferred the southwestern region. This leaves the number of respondents of Yoruba ancestry with preference for the North at six (Tinuke, Amina, Isma'il, Yahya, Opeyemi and Odunayo). That is, of the twelve respondents of Yoruba ancestry, eight constructed for themselves, a Yoruba ethnic identity; six of that eight expressed preference for their ancestral zone while the other six expressed preference for the North.

A breakdown of the responses of respondents of Fulani ancestry shows that four of the nine respondents which was 44.4% preferred the northern region (Yusuf, Ajoke, Yusuf and Maryam), two which was 22.2% (Olaide and Bola) were indifferent and said that any zone would suit them; one which was 11.1% preferred the South-West (Mayowa) while two which was 22.2% did not respond (Asake and Ramatu). The remaining four respondents who are of Hausa, Malian and Nupe ancestries also expressed preference for the northern zone.

That half of the respondents of Yoruba ancestry in Ilorin Emirate expressed preference for Northern Nigeria means there is a weak sense of belonging to the southwestern region. In essence, the Yoruba people of Ilorin Emirate have a soft non-linguistic boundary in terms of a sense of belonging to their ancestral zone. This observation corroborates Bamgbose's (1991) second position on the relationship between language and ethnicity which posits that language is dispensable in the construction of group identity and that race, political class affiliation and social class are more important factors in the determination of ethnicity. In the case of some respondents of Yoruba ancestry, political class affiliation has an equal influence as ancestral ethnicity on the determination of identity.

As for respondents of Fulani ancestry, there is a stronger sense of attachment to their ancestral home than that of the Yoruba respondents and this translates into a greater degree of preference for the northern zone in contrast to the southwestern zone. This is because, there were more respondents of this ancestral background who positively identified with their ancestral zone than those who did not. Apart from those who were indifferent or did not respond, one respondent of Fulani ancestry expressed preference for the South-West. This group can therefore be said to have a hard non-linguistic boundary as far as a sense of belonging to the ancestral home is

concerned. Respondents of Hausa, Malian and Nupe ancestries were unanimous in their preference for the North. The attitudes of respondents of Fulani, Hausa, Nupe and Malian ancestries viz-a-viz their languages and ethnicities lends credence to Ross (1979:4) who states that, "concerns about language loss may have the effect of heightening ethnic consciousness". Conversely, the retention of the Yoruba language by people of Yoruba background does not seem to have strengthened their sense of ethnic consciousness. Hence, it will be apt to postulate that the successful retention of an ancestral language by an ethnic group in a multi-ethnic community may have the effect of reducing such group's sense of ethnic consciousness.

The summary of the analysis above is that Ilorin people of Yoruba ancestry do not have a strong sense of ethnic belonging or attachment to their ancestral home. Hence, half of the interviewees of Yoruba ancestry did not express preference for southwestern Nigeria. Ilorin people of non-Yoruba backgrounds on the other hand, have a strong sense of attachment to their ancestral zone. The interviews also show the negotiation processes that take place between linguistic and non-linguistic components of identity and how that makes it possible for each of the groups to maintain its psychological distinctiveness. It is this negotiation process that makes it possible for the ancestrally non-Yoruba groups to converge linguistically to the Yoruba language, yet still maintain a distinct identity through divergence on other, non-linguistic dimensions of intergroup comparison. The implication of this is that ancestral ethnicity influenced the majority of respondents' descriptions of their ethnic nationalities and ethnic nationality in turn largely influenced respondents' choices of zone especially those of non-Yoruba heritage. Having established the fact that ancestral ethnicity had a greater influence on respondents' identity construction, the next section examines other reasons given by interview respondents for their zones of preference.

4.4.5 Other explanations for respondents' identity construction and zones of preference

Having analysed respondents' zones of preference and the reason for that preference, it is important that other reasons for respondents' choices are discussed. This section therefore unravels other reasons besides allegiances to ancestries which respondents offered for their zones of choice. The fact that not all respondents had reasons for their preferences makes it imperative

that only those with reasons are discussed. Those reasons are discussed under the following headings:

4.4.5.1 Religious reasons

Some respondents cited religion as the reason for their construction of a non-Yoruba identity and their preference for the North. Worthy of note is the fact all the respondents who cited religion as the reason for the construction of a non-Yoruba identity and preference for the North were Muslims and a higher number of them are of Yoruba ancestry. Below are the excerpts from their interviews:

> ... The reason I prefer the Ilorin identity is my religion … For example, if one is called a Yoruba person, that description will evoke a lot of assumptions part of which is paganism or association with traditional Yoruba religions and I don't want that because my family progenitors are Islamic clerics. But, if one identifies as an Ilorin person, such assumptions will not be there. For example, those of them (southwestern Yoruba people) who claim to be Muslims still indulge in practices that are against the teachings of Islam such as worshipping traditional gods like *Eegun*... (Moshood).
>
> ... In terms of zoning, I would want Ilorin to remain in the North-Central geo-political zone because of Islam. (Nafeesah).
>
> ... I would not want Ilorin to be zoned to the South-West because of Islam... (Ameenat).
>
> ...Yoruba people of southwestern region do mix Yoruba cultural practices with their religions. For example, people from Osun State regardless of their religious affiliation will still worship the Osun goddess and I would not like to associate with a group whose cultural practices will affect my religion. Also, some Yoruba people find magic as a form of entertainment. Something Islam completely forbids. For me, my religion, Islam, is the most important aspect of my life and I will stay as far away as possible from any group or thing that can adulterate it. It is for these reasons that I will never support zoning Ilorin to the South-West. The North is a better alternative for me as I prefer to identify with the culture of the North than that of the South-West. (Isma'il).
>
> ... I would like Ilorin to remain in North-Central because of my religion; Islam. For example, there is no single state in the entire

> South-West region that has a Shariah Court of Appeal and that means there is a limit to which Muslims in the South-West can practise their faith. Hence, when it comes to legal matters, the dictates of their faith would not be used in the course of adjudication. (Yahya).

These interview extracts show that these respondents' reason for shying away from a Yoruba identity and in other cases, preference the North is religion (Islam). According to these respondents, the "brand" of Islam that is practised in Southwestern Nigeria (where the religion is also well-established) is with an admixture of "un-Islamic" Yoruba cultural practices. This stereotype of Muslims from Southwestern Nigeria further revealed respondents' belief that Muslims from the South-West do not practise Islam in its pristine form. This, in their opinions, gives Muslims from the northern region an "edge" over their southwestern counterparts on Islamic issues. Noteworthy is also the fact that this attitude mainly emanated from respondents who are of Yoruba ancestry because three of the five respondents who preferred Northern Nigeria because of religion, are of Yoruba extraction while one is of Malian ancestry while the one who expressed preference for a non-Yoruba identity based on religion is also of Yoruba ancestry.

Another observation is the extent of acculturation that has taken place in the community under study because of the obvious convergence of respondents on their view about southwestern Muslims viz-a-viz Islam. In essence, that it is mainly respondents of Yoruba ancestry who feel this strongly about southwestern Muslims shows they no longer consider them as being of the same ilk as them.

4.4.5.2 Political reasons

Another factor that can influence identity construction is politics. Preference for a particular zone could be for political reasons as revealed in the following interview extract:

> ... I would want Shao and indeed, the entire Moro LGA to be part of the South-West. Moro LGA was coerced into Ilorin Emirate and I say "coerced" because Moro LGA does not fall within Kwara Central Senatorial District which encompasses Ilorin Emirate. Moro belongs to Kwara North Senatorial District and by virtue of that, Moro should not be considered as part of Ilorin Emirate… Ilorin Emirate is alien to the people of Moro and for that reason, a

> number of Moro LGA indigenes like Pa Saka Adeyemi, have gone to court to challenge this anomaly and judgments have been given in their favour... The King of Shao, the *Ohoro* had been enjoying government grading since the colonial time when he was a 5th Class King but the politicisation of ethnic identity in Ilorin has led to the on and off revocation and re-instatement of the grade of the *Ohoro*... thereby putting our King in disrepute... I also prefer the South-West because of the all-inclusive way that politics is played there and not this feudalistic system which obtains here... (Isaac).

4.4.5.3 Economic reasons

The economic advantage that membership of a particular group offers has the capacity to attract membership into such group. The reason is that membership of such a group gives access to upward economic mobility and members are better economically placed than others just by virtue of their membership of the group. The following interview extract reveals that the respondent's preference for the North is hinged on economic benefits:

> ... I prefer the northern zone because I grew up in the north and had my education there. Besides that, northerners often assist one another while Yoruba people are fond of working against each other's interests. For example, if an Hausa person knows you can speak his language, he will go to any length to meet your needs and be of help to you. They don't take life too seriously and are flexible when their assistance is needed but Yoruba people will deliberately work against your interest even if you are one of them. In fact, I pray that God creates me an Hausa person in another life. (Michael).

4.4.5.4 Cultural reasons

Preference for a particular zone could also be based on cultural reasons as a particular region could be seen to better serve a particular culture better. The following respondents' preference for the South-West is based on cultural reasons:

> … I would prefer that Ilorin be ceded to the South-West in case another state were created out of Kwara State because our founding father is Afonja... All that our people know about Afonja is that Alimi took power from him, other historical facts about Afonja no longer exist in our collective minds... I also prefer the South-West because most of the Yoruba people in Ilorin today no

> longer identify with the Yoruba culture... Even the rock (for sharpening tools) from which the name "Ilorin" was derived has been completely neglected in the family compound with no value attached to it... Hence, I would prefer that we become part of the South-West so as to better preserve our culture and history (Mohammad).
>
> ... I prefer the South-West because I am a Yoruba person and our culture and tradition align with that of the South-West... I do not consider myself as belonging to Ilorin Emirate because my town, Shao, is a Yoruba community in Moro LGA which has its own King, the *Ohoro*. This sets us apart from other communities which are headed by the Emir, Daodu and Magaji. (Ṣola).
>
> ... I like Yoruba culture and tradition and I also prefer the Yoruba traditional leadership system to the Emirate system that we have in place. (Taiwo).

4.4.5.5 By virtue of birth

Preference for a zone could also be based on the classification met in place. The fact that one respondent was born into Ilorin as a northern zone was the reason for her preference for the zone as revealed in the following extract:

> ... I prefer to remain in the North because it has been that way before we were born and it is fine by me … becoming part of the South-West is needless. (Opeyemi).

These analyses buttress the claims by Riehl (2000) and Silverman (2001) that attitudes are a personal and internal phenomenon and we can only infer about underlying attitudes from the way people evaluate languages and speakers. Thus, while the expression of attitude and experience can be analysed, we can never directly analyse the attitude (which is internal) or the experience (which belongs to the past) itself. A high positive disposition towards the northern zone and a low positive disposition towards the southwestern zone cut across respondents of all ancestral backgrounds thus, buttressing Korth's position that:

> Accounts and explanations of one's experiences are often part of a community's knowledge and elements of narratives can be produced in similar forms by different speakers. Thus, certain recurrent topics in the biographies underline the fact that the

> respondents "construct their social world" collectively and that there is a collective account of language attitude (2005:45-46).

The application of Korth's position here goes beyond language attitudes, it covers attitudes towards ethnicity and culture as well.

4.5 Chapter summary

This chapter has brought to the fore, the complex patterns of identity in Ilorin Emirate and has used insights gained through questionnaire and interview data to explain the reason behind the complexities in respondents' submissions. The next chapter takes the discussion and analyses further by exploiting the rest of the qualitative data to provide more useful insights.

Notes

4. The use of "northerner" and "southwesterner" to refer to ethnic nationalities here is because in Ilorin Emirate, those two words correlate with people's perception of all ethnic nationalities from the North and Yoruba people respectively. The need for the target respondents to easily understand the concept necessitated such usages.

5. Yahya's claim to a Fulani ancestry was invalidated through a background check by the researcher. This background check became needful as a result of the fact that the respondent had made claims to different ancestral ethnic identities at different moments with the researcher. In a casual conversation with the researcher when collection of data for the study had not begun, the respondent claimed that his ancestors were *Egba* people (from Ogun State) of the Yoruba ethnic stock but during interview, the respondent claimed to be of Fulani ancestry. Since the researcher amongst other things asked respondents of the names of their family houses during interviews, this information was then used to do a background check on the respondent's actual ancestral background and it was discovered that contrary to his claim in the interview, he is actually of Yoruba ancestry. Hence, Yahya's actual ethnic ancestry (Yoruba) was used to refer to him throughout the analyses.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE INFLUENCE OF POLITICS ON THE MANIFESTATIONS OF IDENTITIES IN ILORIN EMIRATE

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses naming as a convergence and divergence mechanisms in Ilorin Emirate and examines the role of politics in the spread and fall of language as an identity marker in the community under study. Also, it looks at the influence of ancestral multi-ethnicity on the Ilorin dialect of the Yoruba language though the prevalence of that variety is to the exclusion of Shao and Jebba communities in Ilorin Emirate. The chapter also discusses the mosaic patterns of identity in Ilorin Emirate and the variations in identities and orientations in Moro LGA in particular and Ilorin Emirate in general.

5.2 Naming: a mechanism for convergence and divergence in Ilorin Emirate

The objective of every act of naming is to make what is named knowable and communicable (Shore, 1996). Generally in Africa, names are often semantically transparent and accessible (Neethling, 2003). According to De Klerk and Bosch (1996), the meanings of African names reside in the messages that they convey, the wishes they express, the histories they record and the gratitude that they express to God. Suleiman (2004) stresses the importance of names and ethnic labels as texts and semiotic practices that shed light on issues of ethnic and national identity. According to Arua (2009), examples of names that illustrate these objectives of naming in the Igbo language for example are *Chibiko* (a plea to God), *Ada* (first female child), *Ọnụkaọgụ* (dialogue is better than war) e.t.c. In the Yoruba language, there are names like *Akínyelé* (the brave suits the home front – exclusive for male children), *Olúwafúnmiláyò* (God has given me joy - exclusive for female children), *Babátundé* (father has reincarnated- exclusive for male children), *Ìyábó* (mother has reincarnated- exclusive for female children) e.t.c.

The objectives of naming practices in Ilorin are not in any way different from the objectives identified by (De Klerk and Bosch, 1996). In addition however, naming system especially among those of non-Yoruba ancestry, is also used as a mechanism for both convergence and divergence. As a convergence mechanism, giving children Yoruba names or answering Yoruba names irrespective of heritage ethnic ancestry seem quite the norm as people who identified themselves

as being of non-Yoruba ethnic ancestries answered Yoruba names. The following are the Yoruba names mentioned by such respondents of non-Yoruba ancestries in the course of the interviews; Folaṣade (Hausa), Mayowa (Fulani), Bolanle (Mali), Ajoke (Fulani), Olaitan (Fulani), Asake (Fulani), Olaide (Fulani), Damilola (Fulani) and Bola (Fulani).

Noteworthy is also the fact that amongst those with Yoruba ancestry, there is no convergence in equal direction because no Yoruba person interviewed mentioned answering names belonging to other ancestral groups. However, such people have names which indicate their religious backgrounds. Therefore, just like the Yoruba language is used for the maintenance of psychological distinctiveness as no ancestrally Yoruba person claimed another language as his/her L1, the Yoruba naming system also does the same for people of Yoruba ancestry. As a result, the Ilorin people of Yoruba extraction answer names which only depict their cultural and religious backgrounds and do not answer names from other ethnic backgrounds.

What these show is that Yoruba personal names are viewed as a mechanism for convergence by a vast majority of non-ancestrally Yoruba people of Ilorin Emirate because the data show that Yoruba names amongst Ilorin people is not an exclusive preserve of people with Yoruba ancestry. It equally demonstrates that a minority can in fact share cultural features with the majority without compromising its minority identity (Hamers and Blanc, 2000). This favourable disposition towards Yoruba personal names shows some level of acculturation which is one of the levels of convergence identified by Oakes (2001) amongst the features of the Revised SIT/ELIT. Acculturation according to Redfield et al. (1936) occurs when groups of individuals from different cultures come into continuous contact with each other, and subsequently, there are changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups. Therefore, the use of Yoruba personal names by those who are not of Yoruba ancestry in Ilorin Emirate is a form of cultural movement towards the Yoruba ethnic group.

Apart from serving as a convergence mechanism, personal names in Ilorin also simultaneously serve as a divergence mechanism. For example, one of those interviewed claimed to answer the name *Gogo*. This name has its roots in Fulfulde language and the fact that the bearer also answers the Yoruba name “Folaṣade” shows a simultaneous case of convergence and divergence. One can therefore conclude that religion and the prevalent culture are not the only yardsticks

considered in naming in Ilorin. The ancestral ethnicity of the family into which the child is born sometimes also contributes to the list of names given to the child. Through participant observation, the following names whose ancestral origins are put in brackets were noticed amongst Ilorin people: *Tukur* (Fulfulde), *Jumai* (a girl born on Friday - Hausa), *Danjuma* (a boy born on Friday - Hausa), *Jimba* (Kanuri), *Bello* (Fulfulde) and *Garba* (another way of calling someone named Abubakar – Hausa). It is important to add that the Islamic name Abubakar which is an equally prominent name amongst Muslims in other Yoruba-speaking communities is not referred to as *Garba* in those communities as it is done in Ilorin.

An important observation from the above-listed names is that not all their meanings were provided. This is because the meanings of names like *Bello* and *Tukur* are no longer known but parents still pass them down to the next generation through naming as a means of keeping record of the family's ancestral background. Besides personal names, names of family houses in Ilorin also depict the non-Yoruba ancestry of some of the families of the community. Examples of such family names are Gambari, Katibi, Belgore, Kannike, Jimba, Bayero e.t.c.

In addition, naming in Ilorin varies from what is obtainable in other Yoruba-speaking communities in Southwestern Nigeria in the sense that people adopt the names of their community or localities as their surnames. This practice, which is very prevalent amongst Hausa and Fulani people in the northern region has brought prominence to such localities through the famous individuals who answer such surnames. Examples of communities that have come into limelight as a result of such practice are: Jega (Jega Local Government Area, Kebbi State), Shagari (Shagari Local Government Area, Sokoto State), Tambuwal (Tambuwal Local Government Area, Sokoto State), Suntai (a community in Taraba State), Buratai (a community in Borno State) and Kano (the capital city of a state by the same name) while the individuals that have brought such communities' names into limelight are: Attahiru Jega (the immediate past Chairman of the Independent National Electoral Commission), Shehu Shagari (Nigeria's former Civilian President), Aminu Tambuwal (current Governor of Sokoto State), Dan Baba Suntai (Former Governor of Taraba State), Tukur Buratai (Current Chief of Army Staff) and Mallam Aminu Kano (a former presidential aspirant). This practice though not quite as commonplace in Ilorin Emirate as it is in these non-Yoruba-speaking northern communities, but is also obtainable

in Ilorin Emirate hence we have surnames like *Gambari*, *Olooru* and *Gegele* which people from such communities bear as surnames.

Based on insights gained through observation, another point of difference between naming practice in Ilorin and other Yoruba-speaking communities in the South-West is the general societal disapproval of calling a child who shares a first name with the king by such name. Instead, such children are called *Oba* (King) which is a shortened version of *Olókooba* (*Oni* (owner of) + *orúko* (name) + *oba* (king) but the appellation *Oba* often over-shadows the children's actual names. Besides the fact that it is commonplace to hear people with the first name *Oba* in Ilorin, it should be noted that such peoples' actual names often differ as the appellation applies to a male child whose first name is the same as that of the king under whose reign the child was born. This practice is considered an act of reverence for the king as it is believed that a king's name should not be the mention on everyone's lips.

This particular naming act is however not obtainable in Shao and Jebba communities because of the psychological distinctiveness that these two communities maintain (especially in the constitution of their own kingship system which does not frown upon answering the same first name as the king) from other communities in Ilorin Emirate.

5.3 The Ilorin dialect of the Yoruba language

As noted in chapter one, Ilorin is home to people of diverse ethnic backgrounds most of whom have experienced language shift and now identify the Yoruba language both as their mother tongue and first language. These different ethnic nationalities have however infused some lexical entries from their ancestral languages into the Ilorin dialect of the Yoruba language and these have enriched the Ilorin dialect of the Yoruba language in many ways thus, giving it special linguistic characteristics and regional flavour. The variety of the Yoruba language discussed here is however not spoken in Shao and Jebba. That is, the variety under discussion is spoken in all the communities in the five local government areas that make up Ilorin Emirate except for two communities in Moro LGA which are Shao and Jebba.

Lexical borrowing is a universal linguistic phenomenon of language maintenance and there is hardly any language that is impervious to it. Thomason and Kaufman (1988:37) cited in Winford

(2003) refer to borrowing as "the incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language by speakers of that language". Based upon Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) definition, Winford (2003) observes that it is clear, first, that the borrowing language is maintained, though changed in various ways by the borrowed features, and that the agents of change are its native speakers. Winford (2003) further adds that such borrowing can occur under a variety of conditions, ranging from casual familiarity with the source language (even without real contact with its speakers) to close interaction between recipient and source language speakers in bilingual communities.

As noted in Winford's submission on the conditions of the occurrence of borrowing, the Ilorin dialect of the Yoruba language has lexical borrowings from languages like Fulfulde, Hausa and Nupe as a result of sharing the same landscape with the native speakers of those languages. On the other hand, the Ilorin dialect of the Yoruba language is also greatly influenced by Arabic as a result of the heavy influence of Islam on the emirate.

The following table contains a list of words borrowed into the Ilorin dialect of the Yoruba language from the languages of the different ethnic nationalities that make up the community:

,

Table 5.1 (a): Lexical borrowings in the Ilorin dialect of the Yoruba language

S/N	Lexical item	Source language	Meaning
1.	Alangua [6]	Hausa	Sub-district head
2.	Ladabi	Hausa	Politeness
3.	Kokondo	Hausa	Dome
4.	Senteli	Hausa	Kettle
5.	Gaa	Fulfulde	Settlement
6.	Geri	Hausa	Town
7.	Lalase	Hausa	Destroy/ Spoil/ Bad
8.	Kawu	Fulfulde	Uncle/Father (Also used to refer any elderly male relative or acquaintance)
9.	Nma	Fulfulde	Mother
10.	Ipata	Hausa	Abbattoir
11.	Fakati (Originally, Faqat)	Arabic	Finished (That's all)
12.	Benle (Originally, Balha)	Arabic	Let alone
13.	Gogo	Fulfulde	Aunty
14.	Eero (Originally, Hinr)	Arabic	Stranger(s) (Often derogatorily used to refer to non-indigenes)
15.	Takada	Hausa	Paper
16.	Kalamu (Originally, Qolam)	Arabic	Pen
17.	Eeba	Nupe	Yes.
18.	Emir	Fulfulde	King.
19.	Kelimo	Arabic	Word
20.	Buga	Hausa	Fetcher (An object used for taking water from the well)

This table is a synthesis of data from Katibi, A.M. (2011) and those obtained from the field by the researcher through participant observation.

Listed below in tabular form are the common Yoruba equivalents of the afore-listed lexical items:

Table 5.1 (b): Standard Yoruba equivalents of the lexical borrowings in the Ilorin dialect of the Yoruba language

S/N	Lexical item	Standard Yoruba	Meaning
1.	Alangua	Baálè	Sub-district head
2.	Ladabi	Ìteríba	Politeness
3.	Kokondo	Adodo	Dome
4.	Senteli	Àgé	Kettle
5.	Gaa	Abà	Settlement
6.	Geri	Ìlú	Town
7.	Lalase	Bàjé	Destroy/ Spoil/ Bad
8.	Kawu	Bàbá	Uncle/Father (Also used to refer any elderly male relative or acquaintance)
9.	Nma	Ìyá	Mother
10.	Ipata	Odò-eran	Abattoir
11.	Fakati (Originally, Faqat)	Ìparí	Finished (That's all)
12.	Benle (Originally, Balha)	Amḿbòsì	Let alone
13.	Gogo	-	Aunty
14.	Eero (Originally, Hinr)	Àjèjì	Stranger(s) (But not used in a derogatory manner)
15.	Takada	Ìwé	Paper
16.	Kalamu (Originally, Qolam)	Gègé	Pen
17.	Eeba	Béèni	Yes
18.	Emir	Oba	King
19.	Kelimo	Gbólóhùn	Word
20.	Buga	Ìfami	Fetcher (An object used for taking water from the well)

Like Table 5.1 (a), this table is also a synthesis of data from Katibi, A.M. (2011) and those obtained from the field by the researcher through participant observation.

Besides lexical borrowing, another point of difference between the Ilorin dialect of the Yoruba language and other dialects of the Yoruba language is in the aspect of pronunciation. Here, vowel sounds at word final positions are usually elongated or lengthened during casual conversations. This elongation is without restriction as it applies to even personal names so long as such a lexical item ends with a vowel sound. Examples of such are *ìwé* (book) being realised as *ìwéé*, *tìtí* (road) being realised as *tìtíí* e.t.c.

5.4 Effects of politics on different identity markers in Ilorin Emirate

This section examines the effects that politics and by extension, different political leaderships (represented by the traditional leadership system with its pervading influence on modern governance) had and still has on different identity markers in Ilorin Emirate. The examination of the importance that members of the majority and minority ethnic groups attach to different identity markers under different ethnic leadership systems over the years in the community under study is also imperative. This is with a view to showing the influence that politics has on the salience of different identity markers at different moments in the lives of the different people of Ilorin Emirate.

5.4.1 Politics of the Àfònjá era and its influence on the identity marker in Ilorin Emirate

Language and religion according to Safran (2008) have been the two most important markers of ethno-national identity: sometimes linked, sometimes at odds. He also explains that religion was historically more often the bedrock of identity and that its replacement by language is a more contemporary phenomenon. Furthermore, he posits that "religion had the upper hand until the Renaissance, and that language from then until the present" (Safran, 2008:178). The present study aligns with Safran's in two ways; first, on the importance of language and religion as identity markers and second, on the fact that the two can sometimes be at odds.

This study also differs from Safran's in two ways, namely; in the clear-cut ordering of the periods of the prominence of language and religion as identity markers and in their description as the two important markers of identity. On the former, Edwards (2009:100) argues that Safran's ordering "may be a little too neatly drawn". In line with Edwards' observation, the present study has shown in the preceding chapter (where some respondents cited religion as the reason for their preference for the North) that for some people in Ilorin Emirate, religion was the identity marker

which replaced language and not the other way round thus showing that Safran's position cannot be held as sacrosanct for all communities throughout history. Also, the present study has shown the need to designate all identity markers equal importance as the importance of different identity markers to different groups of people is hinged on such people's experiences throughout history. In essence, no identity marker should be assigned prominence over others. It is however important to add that, Safran's position aptly draws attention to the fleeting nature of different identity markers.

As discussed in the history of Ilorin in Chapter One, the city at different points in its early years was under the political leadership of men of different ethno-linguistic backgrounds. For example, before the arrival of Alimi, the Fulani cleric in Ilorin, Afonja, a Seventeenth Century Yoruba noble warrior also doubled as the community leader and was in charge of affairs in Ilorin (Johnson, 1921). Till the 18th Century, Ilorin under the rein of Afonja was unarguably a Yoruba community whose language, the Yoruba language, served as its identity marker. Hence, the situation was that the community's inhabitants' first language, served as the marker of their ethnic identity.

The head of the community was equally the army general of the entire Oyo Kingdom and the history of the displacement of the Yoruba language as Ilorin's identity marker goes hand in hand with the period of heightened political tension in Oyo Kingdom. The heightened political tension began as a result of the discord between Afonja, the army general of Oyo Kingdom and the then Alaafin of Oyo, Awole, over a particular war (Johnson, 1921). This discord eventually led the Alaafin upon Afonja's insistence, to commit suicide in line with tradition. Not long after, the cordial relationship between Afonja and Alimi also went sour and war eventually ensued. Afonja was killed in the war by the Fulani people and his death marked the end of the era of Yoruba leadership in Ilorin (Johnson, 1921).

An equally important deduction that could be made from this is that, language shift by the other ethnic groups to Yoruba had reached a critical stage before the end of Afonja's era. Therefore, the identity marker in Ilorin before the arrival of Alimi and his followers was (Yoruba) language. Political leadership, represented in this case by Afonja's leadership, guaranteed the position of the language as the community's identity marker and also played a significant role in its

acquisition by people of other ethnic stocks; it was the language of the dominant and majority group. In essence, political power symbolised by Afonja's leadership influenced the spread of the Yoruba language among the non-native speakers of the Yoruba language in Ilorin so much so that the eventual coming into power of the Fulani could not reverse the loss of Fulfulde, Hausa, Kanuri and other minority groups' languages in the community.

Politics was therefore instrumental to the linguistic gains of the Yoruba language in Ilorin during Afonja's rein even without any official promulgation of a state language or the subjugation of minorities' languages. In addition, there are no historical accounts which suggest that Afonja had a mastery of another language apart from the Yoruba language. Therefore, Afonja's ability to communicate his need for spiritual and military assistance (Jimoh, 1994) to Alimi at that time, must have been facilitated by Alimi's proficiency in Afonja's mother tongue, the Yoruba language. It was also politics, represented by the war which ended Afonja's leadership and the commencement of the Fulani dynasty that contributed to the displacement and the end of language as an identity marker in Ilorin.

5.4.2 Politics of the Fulani era and its influence on the identity marker in Ilorin Emirate

By providing Afonja with military powers through his Jama'a to crush the dreadful Oyo army and many others (Jimoh, 1994), Alimi had established for himself even during Afonja's lifetime, some degree of political relevance. After winning the war against Afonja, the Fulani took over the reins of power in Ilorin. By that time, the community's population had considerably changed into a multi-ethnic one and had a different political leadership in place. Therefore, under Alimi's reins, religion (Islam) became an instrument of the state and in addition to the Yoruba language, also became a common means of identification in Ilorin. This was because it cut across ethnic divides since the practice of other religions was at the time, outlawed.

At that time, the Yoruba language which was the mother tongue of the ethnic core had spread as the community's L1 due to language shift experienced by the other ethnic groups. Therefore, Yoruba Language no longer united people strictly on ethnic basis because the city had become multi-ethnic and the Yoruba language which had the widest currency among all the ethnic groups, continued to serve communicative functions across the board. The new leadership also used the instrument of office to establish a state religion which was Islam. Thus, religion,

through the powers of the state assumed the status of the new identity marker in the community. This shows how disposable different identity markers are especially in relation to the determination of identity. It further shows the intervening power of different social factors such as politics in the prominence of different identity markers at different times in peoples' histories. In essence, politics played a key role in the determination of the prevalent identity markers in Ilorin during Afonja's days and Alimi's days.

From the interviews, one could observe that religion (Islam) was the reason for a few respondents' preference for the northern region. As explained earlier (section 4.2.4.1), the set of respondents who expressed preference for the northern region based on religion revealed that they are mainly of Yoruba ancestry (Ameenat, Isma'il, and Yahya). This suggests that it is mostly amongst the Yoruba people that there is a shift from language to religion as an identity marker therefore validating the claim that that politics played a vital role in the fall of language as an identity marker especially among the people of Yoruba ancestry in Ilorin Emirate.

Politics is also the reason for the high sense of attachment to ancestral ethnicity expressed by many respondents of non-Yoruba ancestry. This is because it was after the minority groups had experienced language shift that a member of one of the minority groups gained access to power. The attainment of political leadership by a member of a minority group thus made it possible for such minority group members to ascertain their distinctiveness from the ethnic core and attach their identities to an intangible notion (a sense of ancestral belonging) even after the loss of their heritage languages. In a similar vein, politics, symbolised by the loss of power to the Fulani, further affected the sense of ethnic identity among some Yoruba people which as shown in the preceding paragraph, is responsible for such people's preference for non-Yoruba identity and ancestral region tied around religion; the instrument used by the Fulani ascent to power.

From the foregoing, it is obvious that politics has affected the capacity of either language or religion to play the role of the identity marker for the people of Ilorin Emirate because neither of the two markers of identity cuts across a significant majority of the respondents. Hence, what different groups wrap their ethnic distinctiveness around vary. For example, the core value that cuts across the majority of people of non-Yoruba ancestry is a sense of attachment to their ethnic ancestries; language (Yoruba) for the majority of respondents, functions only for communicative

purposes. On the other hand, religion was put forward by some people of Yoruba ancestry as the indicator of their ethnic distinctiveness though the number of such respondents is not significant enough to lead to the conclusion that religion is the identity marker for Ilorin people of Yoruba ancestry. This is because those who put religion forward as the reason for their preference for a non-Yoruba identity often did so with the aim of establishing a point of departure between themselves and Yoruba people of Southwestern Nigeria. Equally important is the fact that the expression of preference for the northern region by a higher number of Christian respondents shows that religion is not significant in the construction of ethnic identity. Religion is therefore not significant in respondents' choice of zone of preference. This further shows that there is no full integration of the different ethnic groups of Ilorin Emirate such that one can rightly refer to them as an ethnic group. Therefore, the people of Ilorin do not constitute an ethnic group and the core value for all the different groups is a sense of attachment to their different ancestral ethnicities.

5.5 Politics and the transformation of Ilorin Emirate into a civic community

Politics, through which the instrument of power and governance is often gained and lost, has been shown in the preceding sections, to be instrumental in the change of the status of Ilorin Emirate and her people. This change particularly had to do with the transitioning of the community from an ethnic one into a civic one. The description of Ilorin as a civic community in the present study appropriately captures the features of all the ethnic nationalities within the community in an all-encompassing manner. The civic label with which the present work describes Ilorin Emirate is fashioned after Smith (1991) who uses it in reference to nations. Here however, it is being aptly applied to a community within a nation.

Smith (1991) distinguishes between two fundamental types of nations; the ethnic and the civic nation. An ethnic or organic nation such as Germany or Sweden, can be considered as an extension of the ethnic group in so far as it is founded on jus sanguinis (blood right). Taboada-Léonetti (1998) states that it is this ethnic dimension of a nation which gives rise to the notion of nationality as opposed to citizenship. Connor (1978) asserts that when introduced into English in the Thirteenth Century, the word was used in the sense of a blood-related human collectivity, but has since seen its meaning expanded to include people who share a common culture. What this

means is that an ethnic nation or any ethnic entity for that matter is built on the existence of a common ancestry and language. Ilorin under Afonja's leadership was clearly an ethnic community as its people, the Yoruba people, shared a common ancestry, language and culture.

At the other extreme is the civic or political nation. In such countries such as the USA, France, Australia and Mauritius, people are united around common laws and rights, regardless of their ethnic descent. Members of the nation are treated as individuals who freely, with authority and independently, make decisions regarding their own destiny (Hettne, Sörlin and Østergård, 1998). Wardhaugh (1987:212) asserts that "it is these civic principles which form the basis of a nation which is territorial in nature or founded on *jus soli* (soil right)". The civic nation often brings together different ethnic groups which share a cause or interest, such as a common enemy. This was the case of the Swiss confederation which began as a military defence alliance in 1921. It was also the case with Ilorin in the latter days of Afonja's life whom according to Johnson (1921) partnered with Alimi in order to strengthen his hands in the enterprise of conquering new territories. The nation may have been one thing or another in the past, but now - it has evolved into a political unit, a "community of citizens" whose membership in the nation revokes earlier ethnic attachments. Civic principles are therefore said to transcend the ethnic reality of nations by having recourse to the notion of citizenship (Schnapper, 1994).

In the civic nation, Edwards (2009) posits that individual identity becomes a political phenomenon and not something based on foundation myths, ancestral ties, blood relationships and other appurtenances of the ethnic bond. This philosophical reworking of the "nation" also derives some of its appeal from the possibilities that seem open to such civic arrangements but often closed to ethnic ones.

Oakes (2001:12) states that "the ethnic-civic polarity has given rise to much conflict throughout history. While German Romanticists advocated the ethnic model of the nation, French intellectuals of the 19th Century gave support to the civic model". Echoing Rousseau's notion of social contract, Renan (1990:19) claims that irrespective of its ethnic composition, a nation was defined by the will of its members to coexist through a "daily plebiscite". Thus, French authorities have throughout history justified their claim to Alsace on the argument that Alsatians are French because that is what they want to be. This contrasted with the claims of German

governments who maintained that Alsace belonged to Germany for linguistic and cultural reasons (Nguyen, 1998).

The people of Ilorin Emirate do not therefore, constitute an ethnic group. Ilorin Emirate is a civic community and its people are a civic group with different ethnic ancestries, different heritage languages and different religious backgrounds but who have acculturated and now share a common first language and have strong attachments to each of their respective ethnic ancestries. There are however differences in religious and political affiliations as shown in the data. Even then within it is Shao, an ethnic community, which does not share this over-riding civic feature. The existence of such an ethnic community within a larger civic community lends credence to Smith (1991) who posits that despite the ethnic-civic dichotomy, it is rare that a nation finds itself at one extreme or the other.

5.6 The mosaic patterns of identities in Ilorin Emirate

Convergence and divergence as key features of the Revised SIT/ELIT play prominent roles in the present study. Hence, this section examines their impacts on the identity patterns observed amongst respondents and draws on the features of both (as discussed in section 2.5.3) to explain the mosaic patterns of identity that emanated from the study. These patterns are discussed below:

5.6.1 Ethnic converts

Glaser (2007:289) in her investigation of Gaelic and Sorbian perspectives to minority languages and cultural diversity in Europe, used the term "converts" in relation to cultural expertise to describe "the most perceptive and committed circle of activists" which includes "individuals who come from non-Sorbian backgrounds". The term "ethnic converts" as used in this study is coined after Glaser and used in a similar sense but without a dose of activism. Therefore, ethnic converts refer to those individuals who show commitment to ethnicities other than theirs and who willingly identify with another ethnic group or claim belongingness to another ethnic group.

These kinds of people cut across different ancestral backgrounds in the present study demonstrating the fact that the act of ethnic conversion is not an exclusive characteristic of respondents of a particular ancestry in Ilorin Emirate. The concept of ethnic conversion is also akin in some aspects to the convergence mechanism of the Revised SIT/ELIT which caters to

different categories of accommodation ranging from cases of complete assimilation (which involves complete movement to another group) to those of intermediate state of acculturation and or integration. The difference however is that ethnic conversion is more restricted because it deals strictly with ethnic identity while convergence embraces a wider range of notions. Six cases of ethnic conversion were recorded amongst the twenty-five respondents interviewed. One of Yoruba ancestry (Yahya, who described himself as a Fulani person), four of Fulani ancestry (Mayowa, Maryam, Olaide and Asake) who described themselves as Yoruba people and one of Nupe ancestry (Michael) described himself as a Yoruba person.

There were however variations in the levels of their ethnic conversion. For example, the most radical case of ethnic conversion in the present study is that of Yahya. Unlike other respondents (Mayowa, Maryam, Olaide, Asake and Michael) who acknowledged their ancestral backgrounds but simultaneously constructed for themselves different ethnic identities, Yahya's case was different. This was because not only did he express belongingness to the Fulani ethnic group, but also wrongly claimed that his fore-bears were Fulani people and went ahead to express preference for the northern region. This sort of overcommunication (by Yahya) to his desired ethnic group showed the extent to which he is willing to go just to deny his ancestral ethnicity. Equally interesting is the fact that Yahya was originally of the majority ethnic group but his claim of being Fulani cannot be separated from the effect of politics on the sense of ethnic belonging of some Yoruba people of Ilorin discussed in section 5.4.2. Attitude similar to Yahya's was noted regarding individual Sorbian identities by Elle (1992b); Ela (1998a). In their works, more than half of those in the Protestant area who indicated Sorbian language ability identified themselves as German, even though a majority of them came from Sorbian or mixed homes.

For the ethnic converts of Fulani ancestry (Maryam and Asake), their convergence did not go beyond their preference for the Yoruba ethnic identity because in terms of zoning, they indicated preference for their ancestral zone; the North. The Revised SIT/ELIT equally accommodates this set of people thereby enabling them "to retain elements, if not all, of their original group identity" (Oakes, 2001:42). The Revised SIT/ELIT describes this category of ethnic converts as people for whom ethnicity was situational because "individuals and even whole groups

customise their identities, over- and undercommunicating them according to context, often to seek socio-economic gains" (Oakes, 2001:43). Mayowa and Olaide expressed preference for a Yoruba identity; while Mayowa chose the southwestern region, Olaide expressed indifference for both regions. The case of the respondent of Nupe ancestry was similar to those of Fulani who identified as Yoruba but preferred the northern zone.

The last case of ethnic conversion in the present study is that of Moshood and Nafeesah who identified as Ilorin in spite of their Yoruba and Malian ancestries. Though there is no such ethnic group as Ilorin but Moshood and Nafeesah's construction of an Ilorin identity instead of their ancestral identities is an indication that they did not want to associate themselves with their ancestral ethnicities. In Moshood's case, he still eventually expressed preference for the southwestern region but Nafeesah expressed preference for the North. It also shows that the respondents in question preferred a civic identity to an ethnic one. Moshood's case proves that being of a particular ancestry and being able to speak the language of that ancestry does not guarantee a sense of attachment to that ancestry. Thus, variations in the degrees of convergence affected the way ethnic converts handled their ancestral ethnicities and ancestral zones and the way they handled their "new" identities and ancestral zones.

5.6.2 Bicultural identities

Biculturalism according to Edwards (2009) refers to the link that individuals have with more than one ethnocultural community. He described bicultural individuals as those who have their feet in more than one cultural camp adding that biculturalism does not necessarily require having more than one linguistic ability. The bicultural individuals to be discussed in this section are in two categories. The first category includes those whose parents are of different ethnic backgrounds but who have converged (overcommunication) to the extent that they no longer ascribed to themselves, only their paternal ancestral ethnicity and even sometimes, ancestral zone. The second category includes respondents whose parents are of the same ancestral background but whom by virtue of their citizenship of a culturally plural society, have integrated to the extent that they no longer ascribed to themselves their sole ancestral ethnicity. In essence, this section captures respondents who were bicultural by birth and those who acquired a bicultural status by virtue of the community in which they found themselves.

Two of the twenty-five interview respondents fall under the first category (Mayowa and Maryam) and both of them are of Fulani ancestry but described themselves as Yoruba. For Mayowa whose mother is Yoruba from Ogun State, her preference for the Yoruba ethnic identity was not unexpected as a result of the influence of her maternal ethnicity. For her, kinship is for both Fulani and Yoruba ethnic groups out of which she feels a sense of attachment only to the Yoruba. This explained her preference for a sole Yoruba identity and the zoning of Ilorin Emirate to the South-West. The Revised SIT/ELIT recognises cases such as those of Mayowa who have minority and majority identities but overcommunicate the latter at the expense of the former (Oakes, 2001). Mayowa's case is similar to that of Olaide, whose mother is also of Yoruba ancestry. Though she preferred a Yoruba identity, she was however undecided about her choice of region. This indecision on the choice of region is also meaning-bearing; it is an indication that she feels a sense of attachment to both regions making it impossible for her to express preference for one region at the expense of the other.

In the second category, there were three respondents two of which are of Yoruba ancestry but described themselves as Yoruba-Ilorin (Ameenat and Isma'il) while the third person in this category, who is of Fulani ancestry, described himself as Fulani-Ilorin (Yusuf). The three respondents in this second group all preferred the northern zone. Glaser (2007:274) came in contact with respondents similar to those in the second category and one of them who Glaser referred to as OL2 talked about having value for both his Sorbian heritage and the input from the German side. The respondent adds that "I actually feel that I have been more strongly influenced and inspired by German arts and culture and would not want to sacrifice what I have gained from them... We are, after all, talking of biculturality". The famous Lebanese-French writer, Maalouf, author of the best-selling novel, *Leo the African* (1998) in his book *On Identity* (2000:3) wrote about his identity thus:

> How many times since I left Lebanon in 1976 to live in France have people asked me with the best intention in the world, whether I felt "more French" or "more Lebanese"? And I always give the same answer: "Both!"
>
> To those who ask the question, I patiently explain that I was born in Lebanon and lived there till I was 27; that Arabic is my mother tongue; and that it was in Arabic translation that I first read Dumas

> and Dickens and Gulliver's Travels; and that it was in my native village, the village of my ancestors, that I experienced the pleasures of childhood and heard some of the stories that were later to inspire my novels. How could I forget all that? How could I cast it aside? On the other hand, I have lived for 22 years on the soil of France; I drank her water and wine; everyday my hands touch her ancient stones; I write my books in her language; never again will she be a foreign country to me.
>
> So, am I half French and half Lebanese? Of course not. Identity can't be compartmentalized. You can't divide it up into halves or thirds or any other separate segments. I haven't got several identities: I have just got one, made up of many components combined together in a mixture that is unique to every individual.

Though the issue raised by Maalouf here is in reference to his personal identity, it also resonates to a very large extent with the respondents discussed above whose identities are made whole by different social circumstances.

5.6.3 Sole heritage ethnic individuals

Apart from the two identity patterns described in sections 5.5.1 and 5.5.2, other respondents identified themselves solely in line with their heritage ethnic identities. These set of respondents also cut across ethnic divides but their expression of belongingness to their ancestral ethnicities did not in all cases translate into preference for their ancestral zones.

5.7 Cultural practices and psychological distinctiveness

Psychological distinctiveness, one of the four main concepts of the SIT which the Revised SIT/ELIT encapsulates, deals with the ethnocentric behaviour of any group. This ethnocentric behaviour according to Oakes (2001) relies heavily on the use of popular myths and stereotypes and seeks to generate or maintain a sense of difference which itself leads to a positive self-esteem and social identity. It is this mechanism that will be used to examine the different means through which various groups in Ilorin Emirate create their psychological distinctiveness. Interview extracts will be used to access this information from respondents who were asked about other cultural practices still retained in their families. The interview extracts of those to be discussed are those of Fulani and Yoruba ancestries because the Hausa, Nupe and Mali

respondents did not report any mechanism of psychological distinctiveness and none was observed through participant observation. It is also important to add that it is only from the interviews with Yoruba respondents from Shao community that psychological distinctiveness was recorded. Below are the responses from the interviews:

Researcher: Are other Fulani customs still being practised in your family?

Yusuf: Yes, the Fulani traditional wedding ceremony is still being practised in my family.

Researcher: Are other Fulani customs still being practised in your family?

Mayowa: Yes, there are. The traditional Fulani wedding practice is still maintained. My father enjoys listening to Fulani songs and Fulani meals are still cooked till date in the family house though my mother does not cook them in our house.

Researcher: What other Fulani customs are still maintained in your family?

Yusuf: The traditional Fulani wedding ceremony is still practiced in my family till date and every bride and groom from the family must participate in it during their wedding.

Researcher: Apart from your language, what other Fulani customs are still preserved in your community?

Ramatu: We conduct our wedding ceremonies in accordance with Fulani tradition with accompanying Fulani songs (she starts singing in Fulfulde)... We also give our children Fulani names like Bana, Nuhun, Bake, Biyun, Bako and so on but it is these ones (pointing at her daughter-in-law) that give their children Yoruba names like Ajoke, Abike, Asamu and so on. Our language is still well-spoken among members of the older generation. It is our children and grandchildren who do not understand the language.

Researcher: Are there remnants of the Fulani culture in your family?

Olaide: Yes, the Fulani wedding ceremony is still practised in my family although the practice of giving the groom some strokes of cane is no longer in practise.

Researcher: Are Fulani customs and traditions still retained in your family?

Maryam: Yes, there are. Like the traditional Fulani wedding ceremony. The way we celebrate our wedding is different from others'. It is characterised by a dance called *Ijo Olomo Oba* (literally, the dance of the king's offsprings). This involves the bride or groom dancing to the Emir's palace to pay homage to the king and seek royal blessing for the marriage.

Researcher: Are Fulani customs still practised in your family?

Bola: Yes. Fulani cultural practices still retained in my family and community are the traditional wedding ceremony, cuisines and names. For example, we name our first sons *Boboji.*

It is obvious from these interview excerpts that the majority of the respondents mentioned the importance of the traditional Fulani wedding ceremony and the fact that in spite of their level of acculturation to Yoruba, it has survived for centuries bears testimony to its vibrancy amongst the Fulani people of Ilorin Emirate. It can be rightly considered a mechanism of psychological distinctiveness amongst the Fulani people because no other group in the community has such a peculiar kind of wedding ceremony especially one which involves a dance to the king's palace. The maintenance of the Fulani traditional marriage ceremony is one way that they have maintained divergence from the other ethnic groups of Ilorin. This tallies with Giles and Coupland's (1991:80) assertion that, "minority group members may wish to emphasize their own group's communicative style in a process known as divergence which seeks to accentuate differences between the ingroup and the dominant outgroup along salient and valued dimension". Oakes (2001) in addition suggests that this notion can be expanded to include all forms of behaviour, not only communicative ones. The next set of interview extracts reveals the psychological distinctiveness among some respondents of Yoruba ancestry:

Researcher: Apart from the Yoruba language, are there still other Yoruba cultural practices retained in your family?

Taibat: Yes. I come from a family of drummers and that is still practised in my family till date.

Researcher: What other Yoruba practices are still practised in your family and community?

Ṣola: My town, Shao, is a Yoruba settlement with a king…, the *Ohoro*… This sets us apart from other communities that are under the control of the Emir, "Daodu" and "Magaji".

It could be observed that unlike the Fulani, respondents of Yoruba ancestry did not express a uniform mechanism for psychological distinctiveness. This emanates from the fact that apart from the traditional kinship system which is not in line with the Yoruba culture and tradition in most parts of Ilorin Emirate, the majority of the other aspects of Ilorin's culture are the Yoruba culture. Therefore, the question of investing psychological distinctiveness in one cultural item does not really arise for people of Yoruba ancestry. However, as noted earlier, the people of Shao do not fall into the over-arching Ilorin Emirate civic description and they have, through the maintenance of their kingship system, maintained a psychological distinctiveness from other groups in the community under study. This was aptly revealed in the interviews above.

5.8 Application of the Core Value Theory

We have so far been able to use the constructs of the Revised SIT/ELIT to analyse the attitudes of respondents towards their ancestral ethnic groups and cultures. It is however also needful to incorporate the notion of core value into our analyses for a better explication of the patterns of identity in Ilorin. This would help to explain the reason certain boundaries are considered as soft while some others are deemed as hard. All that the Revised SIT/ELIT does is posit that some boundaries are soft while others are hard. The core value theory will help in explaining the reasons behind such variations in boundaries.

Since the Core Value Theory is anchored upon the notion that members of different groups would regardless of their situation at any moment in their history protect the identity marker they attach the most significance to, it is important to explain in the light of core values, the identity markers that hold the core value for the different ethnic groups of Ilorin who have metamorphosed into a civic group.

The identity marker that holds the core value for the Fulani people of Ilorin is a strong sense of ethnic belonging while the other is their traditional wedding system. Such strong sense of ethnic attachment even in the absence of tangible markers of identity corroborates Edwards' (2009:186) position that "the continuing power of ethnicity and nationalism resides exactly in that intangible bond which, by definition, can survive the loss of visible markers of group distinctiveness. Its invisibility and its apparent weakness often constitute its strengths, and accounts for its persistence over long periods of time".

Therefore, a strong sense of ethnic belonging and the traditional wedding system are the elements of identity that the Fulani people consider as representing the heartland of their ideological system. On the contrary, the language of the Fulani people, Fulfulde, and their naming system do not hold for them, core values. In the history of Ilorin, there is no record of a period that the Fulani people were under any form of oppression or persecution that could have put their language at a disadvantage. The process that led to the gradual loss of Fulfulde in an environment where its speakers were never under any form of subjugation suggests that its speakers do not assign to the language, a core value. The same holds for their naming system; the fact that none of the interviewees of Fulani ancestry answer Fulani names showed that the Fulani naming system does not constitute a core value for the Fulani people.

Therefore, a strong sense of ancestral attachment is the core value for the Fulani people of Ilorin. That is, the Fulani people of Ilorin have through generations, passed down the Fulani ethnic identity without such corresponding transmission of their language thereby making it possible to for them to secure the maintenance of certain aspects of the Fulani culture even in the absence of their language; Fulfulde. This submission is congruent with that of Wilking and Kroll (1993) who following a research visit to the Spreewald, argue that there was no reasonable justification for treating a distinct manner of communication (in this case, Sorbain) as the primary marker of *ethnos*. They also add that language shift had caused the traditional medium to lose its original function and reduced individual "Sorbianess" to a matter of "subjective identification".

For the Yoruba people of Ilorin, attachment to ancestral ethnicity also holds the core value. However, unlike what is obtainable amongst respondents of the other ethnic groups where attachment to ancestral ethnicity translates into preference for their ancestral zone, half of respondents of Yoruba ancestry expressed lack of preference for their ancestral zone and

therefore, preferred the northern region. For this group of people, a sense of allegiance to ethnic ancestry does not translate into a sense of allegiance to ancestral geo-political zone. Other identity markers that that hold the core value for the Yoruba people of Ilorin are language and the Yoruba naming practice. All interviewees of Yoruba ancestry speak the Yoruba language as their first language and they all answer Yoruba names. It should also be added that though some respondents of Yoruba ancestry mentioned Islamic religion as the reason for their preference for the northern region, their population was however, not significant enough to lead to the conclusion that religion as an identity marker holds a core value for the Yoruba people.

The element that holds the core value for Ilorin people of other ancestral extractions is also a sense of attachment to their ethnic identity. One can then conclude that loyalty to ancestral ethnicities is the core value for all groups of people in Ilorin Emirate. That the people of Ilorin Emirate have senses of attachments to different ancestral ethnicities show how strongly psychological boundaries are drawn among members of the different groups that make up the community. It further underscores the mosaic patterns of identity in Ilorin.

The subtle distinctiveness in certain aspects of the core values for the different groups as shown above is similar to the outcome of Delargy (2007) who observes that in Northern Ireland, identity and community are strongly linked with religious affiliation. Therefore, in Northern Ireland, the majority of Catholics would identify themselves as Irish and many embrace the Irish language, traditional Irish music and dance. For members of the Protestant community however, the choice may be British identity with allegiance to the British crown and sports such as rugby and cricket.

5.9 Participant observation

It is important to use this data elicitation mechanism to check the veracity of claims made by the respondents in this research. This is with a view to strengthening our findings and conclusions.

The researcher noticed that a lot of Ilorin indigenes would not mind being identified as Yoruba people in the context of casual conversations but within the context of answering questionnaire and granting interviews on their identities, many would actually object to being called Yoruba people. Therefore, it appears that in non-formal contexts, they would not object to a Yoruba ethnic perception and co-construction. This buttresses Omoniyi's (2006) position that the

location of an identity option on the hierarchy fluctuates as the amount of salience associated with it fluctuates between moments.

Another observation made by the researcher is the reason for the preference for the northern region cited by some of those interviewed. These interviewees claimed that Muslims from the southwestern region practice Islam with an admixture of traditional Yoruba practices. This showed that the interviewees considered Muslims from the South-West as "lesser" Muslims whose practice of the Islamic faith is mixed with non-Islamic practices. This generally held impression is an instance of what Korth (2005:44) describes as the "reproduction of culturally determined scripts" because these claims were not based on any facts known to these respondents. In fact, one of such respondents made particular mention of Ogun and Osun states as those states in the South-West where the practice of mixing aspects of the Yoruba culture with Islam were most prevalent. It is obvious that the respondent in question equated the names of these states with "charms" and "idolatry" respectively and came to the conclusion that all indigenes of both states regardless of their religions, must be involved in the practises connoted by the names of the states. The implication being that the Muslims amongst them cannot practise Islam in its pristine form.

That the Fulani people of Ilorin have a strong sense of attachment to their ancestral ethnicity and region as shown in questionnaire and interview responses could also be corroborated by the researcher. Underscoring this observation was the preference a Christian respondent of Fulani ancestry (Ajoke) expressed for her ancestral ethnicity and the northern region. Also, the researcher had on different occasions experienced large presence of nomad Fulani in Ilorin around the period of Eid-el Kabir festival especially within and around the vicinity of the Emir's palace. Such visits are considered by the nomad Fulani from different parts of the country as solidarity visits to one of their own.

In terms of naming, it was observed through participant observation that apart from names with religious connotation, answering Yoruba names is the norm in Ilorin. In fact, if names were considered the marker of ethnic identity, the people of Ilorin Emirate would easily be co-constructed as Yoruba people but here again lies the thesis of this thesis; no identity marker should be deemed as equivalent or parallel to identity or considered the most significant marker

of identity. There is therefore in this regard, a strong correspondence between data from the field and participant observation.

5.10 Chapter summary

With insights from qualitative data, this chapter analysed and discussed the different manifestations of identity in Ilorin. It also examined the role of politics in the spread and displacement of language as the marker of identity in Ilorin and, in the eventual transitioning of the community from an ethnic community into a civic one.

Note

6. Of the twenty words used in the illustration of lexical borrowing in the IDOTYL, eleven (numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15 17 and 18) were selected from Katibi, A.M. (2011) while nine (numbers 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 14, 16, 19 and 20) were obtained by the researcher through the observation of language use among Ilorin people. It should however be pointed out, that explanations on the source languages for numbers 7, 12 and 14 were sourced by the researcher.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, findings of the study are summarised in relation to the five research questions posed in the first chapter of the study. By so doing, one will be able to see whether this research has been able to answer the questions it sets out to answer from the outset. Thereafter, recommendations are made while conclusions are drawn before suggestions for further studies are provided.

6.2 Overall summary

To begin with, the question of the centrality of language to ethnic identity was sufficiently answered. A higher number of respondents put forward linguistic and ethnic identities that were at variance with each other such that correspondence between linguistic and ethnic identities recorded a lower number of respondents. This goes a long way to show that, language was not a marker of identity for the majority of respondents. Such respondents were members of ethnic groups that have experienced language shift and language loss. The study therefore showed that the first language and mother tongue of the people of Ilorin (the Yoruba language) is not enough basis to classify them as belonging to the Yoruba ethnic group. A strong Yoruba linguistic identity resonates across all groups while very weak linguistic identities were recorded for all minority groups. A strong Yoruba linguistic identity was expressed by respondents of every social, gender and religious class while no such affirmative linguistic identity constructions were recorded for the other heritage languages of Ilorin Emirate. This is not to however completely rule out the significance of language as an identity marker, rather, it is its centrality to identity that should be treated with caution; other identity markers are equally as important as language in the ethnic identity construction of groups of people especially minority groups. This is the foundation upon which the Core Value Theory was built.

Also, the study answered the question of whether the people of Ilorin constitute an ethnic group by looking at the different ancestral groups native to the Emirate and the role that politics played in the identity constructions of those different groups at various points in history. Through responses to questionnaire and interviews, respondents' claims of allegiance to different ethnic

ancestries and a sense of psychological distinctiveness amongst them make it imperative that the people of Ilorin are not classified as an ethnic group despite the seeming sameness of their general outlook. This is because in spite of the high level of acculturation, respondents constructed for themselves different identities. They are therefore, a civic group.

Equally brought to the fore, were the different forms that identity and orientation shifts take in Ilorin Emirate. Generally, identity shift is a phenomenon that cuts across respondents of different ancestral groups native to the city because shifts from ancestral ethnicities to preferred "new" ones cut across the board. In essence, preference for non-ancestral ethnicities was not an exclusive preserve of respondents of certain ancestral origins. However, orientation shift was noticed specifically among respondents of Yoruba ancestry as it this category of respondents who aver that Muslims of the Yoruba ethnic stock (that is, those that are not of Ilorin Emirate) do not practise Islam in its pristine form.

The influence of politics on the rise and fall of different identity markers in the community under study was also properly investigated. It was shown that at a time in the history of Ilorin Emirate when a leader of Yoruba ancestry (Afonja) was in charge of the mantle of leadership, the Yoruba language was the marker of ethnic identity. However, when power changed hands ushering in a Fulani leadership, religion, the instrument used by the Fulani to come into power, became the identity marker in the community. At the moment, neither identity markers cuts across all groups in the community as the central marker of identity because respondents allegiances to their various ancestral ethnicities override any other identity marker.

The significance of the dichotomy between majority/minority and dominant/dominated was also brought to the fore. While the former is strictly a matter of the number of a group, the latter is on the other hand, a matter of access to the instrument of power through political leadership (even if it were from the past). What this means is that a group could be the dominant group without necessarily having a superior numerical strength in the community because such a group has access to power and vice-versa. This demonstrates the extent to which access to power and authority can affect either positively or negatively, the status of an ethnic group within a multi-ethnic community.

It therefore follows from this that the transient nature of power affects the status of any group as the change of power could also determine the group with the dominant status. This aptly applies to the community under study because the manner in which power changed hands between two ethnic leaders in 18th Century Ilorin affected the positioning of each of those groups in the scheme of things. Findings from the study also revealed the tendency for people to manipulate their ethnic identity in order to be seen as members of the dominant group. This clear manipulation of ethnic identity is done in order to be seen as belonging to the right power bloc.

Also explored was how respondents vary their identities in different moments of identification (Omoniyi; 2006). The researcher through participant observation noticed that Ilorin people generally have no problem being perceived or co-constructed as Yoruba people in moments of casual conversation but the formalisation of the moment of identity co-construction changes their identity construction and that is when the majority bring up their ancestral ethnicities. This was confirmed by Taofik who said that if not for the interview, he would not have brought up his ancestral ethnic identity. Ramatu and Asake also said that they would not mind if they were identified as Yoruba but that they would not construct for themselves, a Yoruba ethnic identity.

6.3 Summary of findings

In line with the aim and objectives of the study as outlined in Chapter One, we have been able to:

- Explicate and clarify the link between language and ethnicity in Ilorin Emirate.
- Do a proper classification of the people of Ilorin Emirate (they constitute a civic group).
- Show the patterns of identity and orientation shifts in Ilorin Emirate.
- Clearly illustrate the role of politics in the salience of different identity markers at different moments in Ilorin Emirate.
- Show the difference between majority and minority groups (numerical factor) and the dominant and the dominated groups (political power) and that majority and dominant may not always refer to the same group in a community and the same applies to the minority and the dominated.

6.4 Recommendations

This study revealed that the over-generalisation that people within the confines of a geographical entity speaking the same language or having the same religion constitute an ethnic group is not supported by empirical study. As a way out, the study recommends the recognition of civic communities like Ilorin Emirate thereby reducing the inaccuracy of assumptions and over-generalisations.

The study also recommends the recognition of the significance of all identity markers in general such that no identity marker is deemed as synonymous with identity. This is because in a world where all identity markers have become more and more fleeting in nature, attaching central significance to any identity marker would lead to the erroneous conclusion that identities are gained and lost when identity markers are gained and lost as well. The study therefore, recommends that no identity marker should be considered as central to identity because of the influence of various social factors such as politics on identity construction, perception and manifestation.

6.5 Suggestions for further research

This study has examined the influence of politics on language and ethnic identity in Ilorin Emirate. It has discussed the complex patterns of identity in the Emirate especially as it concerns the three major ancestral groups in the Emirate which are Fulani, Hausa and Yoruba. In Chapter One, the study made mention of other smaller ancestral ethnic groups like the Kanuri, Nupe, Baruba etc but did not give a detailed account of those groups' acculturation processes as it did for the Fulani, Hausa and Yoruba. A future study which looks at those smaller groups and the extent of their acculturation will be useful. It is however anticipated that findings from such study will have a great degree of semblance with those of the present study.

In the chapters on analyses, that is, Chapters Four and Five, consistent mention was made of the Fulani people of Ilorin and the Hausa people of Ilorin suggesting (and rightly so) that these groups now have characteristics that set them apart from those of the same ethnic ancestries as them in other parts of the country. It would be insightful if a future study examines how these groups fare in other environments that are equally not their ancestral homes. In essence, it would be interesting to have a future study dwell on the identity construction and manifestation of these

groups of people in their non-ancestral environments so that one can see the similarities and differences between their behaviours in those environments and that of Ilorin Emirate since that is not a major concern of the present study.

Lastly, a study on the effects of acculturation on the linguistic and ethnic identities of different groups in other communities in boundary areas of the country will also be interesting so that it could be seen whether such communities share features in common with Ilorin Emirate or not. This will bring to the fore other dimensions in the intricate relationship that holds between language and identity especially when politics is introduced as an important variable in such analyses.

6.6 Conclusion

The relationship between language and identity in Ilorin Emirate is not symmetrical. The reason for such asymmetry is the language shift experienced by members of minority ethnic groups who have however been able to maintain their different ethnic identities despite the experience of language shift. Their abilities to hold on to identities whose languages they have lost has been shown to be influenced by the dominant status that one of the minority groups later acquired in the political history of the community under study.

There exists, mosaic patterns of identity in Ilorin Emirate with which respondents constructed their identities. In that complex mosaic community of identities, there were respondents who still hold on to their sole ancestral ethnic identities, those who preferred "other" ancestral ethnicities to theirs (although the degree of preference was on a continuum as it was shown that such preferences vary from one respondent to the other) and those who were bicultural and therefore claim their ancestral identities alongside some other ones.

REFERENCES

Aboh, R. 2012. Lexical and discursive construction of identity in selected 21st Century Nigerian novels. PhD Thesis. Department of English. University of Ibadan. xii + 214pp.

Abrams, D. 1992. Processes of social identification. *Social psychology of identity and the self concept*. Breakwell, G. Ed. Surrey: Surrey University Press/Academic Press.57-99.

Adebayo, C. 2002. Grading and re-grading of traditional chiefs in Kwara State. M.ilorin.info/fullnews.php?id=403. 30-09-3002.

Adeleke, A. 2000. Afonja to be or not to be. *Guardian*. Oct, 22 .

Adeleye, R. A. 1977. *Power and diplomacy in Northern Nigeria: 1804-1906*. London: Longman Group Limited.

Ager, D. E. 1997. *Language, community and the state.* Exeter: Intellect.

Ajayi, A. 2005 Traditional rulership in Kwara State: an uphill task for Saraki's administration. *Nigeriaworld.com/columnist*. Nov, 1.

Akinbile, L. A. 2003. Validity in research. *Contemporary Social Science research methods: a practical guide*. Tunde Agbola et al. Eds. Lagos: MURLAB Searchwisdom Educational Services. 189-196.

Aliyu, S. A. 2010. The indices of ethnic identity in a multicultural society: an appraisal of Ilorin's identity. *The FAIS journal of the humanities* 4. 2. 1-29.

Angouri, J. 2010. Quantitative, qualitative or both? Combining methods in Linguistic research. *Research methods in Linguistics*. Litosseliti, L. Ed. London: Continuum International Publishing Group. 29-48.

Arua, A. E. 2009. Gender and loyalty to first names in Botswana. *Language gender and politics: a festschrift for Yisa Kehinde Yusuf.* Odebunmi, A. E., Arua, A.E. and Arimi, S. Eds. Lagos: Concept Publications Limited. 64-68.

Baggioni, D. 1997. *Langues et nations en Éurope.* Paris: Editions Payot.

Baker, C. 2003. *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism*. 3rd ed. Great Britain: Biddles Limited.

Bamgbose, A. 1991. *Language and the nation: the language question in Sub–Saharan Africa.* London: Edinburgh University Press.

Bamgbose, A. 2000. *Language and exclusion: the consequences of language policies in Africa.* New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, Rutgers University.

Baxter, J. 2010. Discourse–analytic approaches to text and talk. *Research methods in Linguistics*. Litosseliti, L. Ed. London: Continuum International Publishing Group. 117-137

Berry, J. W. 1980. Acculturation as varieties of adaption. *Acculturation: theory and models and some new findings*. Padilla, A. Ed. Boulder: Westview Press/American Association for the Advancement of Science. 9-25.

Blommaert, J. 2006. Language policy and national identity. *An Introduction to language policy: theory and method.* Ricardo, T. Ed. Malden: Blackwell Publishing. 238-254.

Brannen, J. 2005. Mixing methods: the entry of qualitative and quantitative approaches into the research process. *International journal of social research methodology.* 8. 3. 173-184.

Breakwell, G. 1996. Identity processes and social change. *Changing European identities: social psychological analyses of social change.* Breakwell, G. and Lyons, E. Eds. Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann.

Bryman, A. 1988. *Quantity and quality in social research.* London: Routledge.

----------. 2004. Member validation and check. *The Sage Encyclopaedia of Social Science Research Methods.* Lewis-Beck, M.S, Bryman, A. and Liao, T.F. Eds. C.A: Sage. 348-373.

----------. 2007. Barriers to integrating quantitative and qualitative research. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research* 1. 1. 8-22.

Bucholtz, M., Liang, A.C., and Sutton, L.A. Eds. 1999. *Reinventing identities: the gendered self in discourse.* New York: Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Burbano-Elizondo, L. 2006. Regional variation and identity in Sunderland. *Sociolinguistics of identity*. Omoniyi, T and White, G. Eds. U.K: Continuum.113-130.

Cinnirella, M. 1996. A social identity perspective on European integration. *Changing European identities: social psychological analyses of social change.* Breakwell, G. and Lyons, E. Eds. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann. 253-274.

Cohen, A. P. 1985. *The symbolic construction of community.* London and New York: Routlegde.

Connor, W. 1978. A nation is a nation, is a state, is an ethnic group is a … *Ethnic and racial studies* 1:377: 400.

Cronbach, L. J. 1951. Coefficient alpha and the internal structure of tests. *Psychometrika,* 297-334.

Cummins, J. 1986. Empowering minority students: a framework for intervention. *Harvard Educational Review*. 56. 1. 18-36.

Danmole, H. O. 2012. *Religion, politics and the economy in nineteenth century Ilorin: some reflections.* Ilorin: Unilorin Press.

De Kadt. E. and Ige B. O. 2005. Findings "space" in South Africa: constructing identity as a Nigerian. *Language and identities in a postcolony*: *Southern African perspectives*. Finlayson, R and Slabbert S. Eds. Germany: Peter Lang. 121-146.

De Klerk, V. and Bosch, B. 1996. Naming practices in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. *Names.* 44(3): 167-188.

Deckert, S. K. and Vickers, C. H. 2011. *An introduction to Sociolinguistics: society and identity.* United Kingdom: Continuum.

Delargy, M. 2007. Language, culture and identity: the Chinese community in Northern Ireland. *Language, power and identity politics*. Nic Craith, M. Ed. United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan.123-145.

Demirezen, M. 2006. Identity problems of non-native teachers of English in teacher education. Retrieved: May 21, 2015 from http://iteslj.org/Articles/Demirezen-Non-Nativeteachers.html

Dornyei, Z. 2007. *Research methods in Applied Linguistics: quantitative, qualitative and mixed methodologies.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Eastman, C.M. 1984. Language, ethnic identity and change. *Linguistic minorities, policies and pluralism.* Edwards, J. Ed. London: Academic Press. 259-276.

Edley N. and Litosseliti, L. 2010. Contemplating interviews and focus groups. *Research methods in Linguistics*. Litosseliti, L. Ed. London: Continuum International publishing Group. 155-179.

Edwards, J. 1985. *Language, society and identity*. Oxford: Blackwell.

_____ 1992. Language in group and individual identity. *Social psychology of identity and the self concept.* Breakwell, G. Ed. Surrey: Surrey University Press/Academic Press. 129-146.

_____1994. *Multilingualism.* London: Routledge.

---------- 2009. *Language and identity. Key topics in Sociolinguistics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ela, L. 1998a. Etno-a sociolinguistika situacijaserbsciny. *Najnowsze dzieje jezykow slowianskich. Serbscina*. Faska, H. et al Eds. Opole: Universytet Opolski. 43-57.

Elle, L. 1992b. Die sorbische Sprache als komponente der ethnizitat der Sorben. *Letopis* 39(1), 123-27.

Elphinstone, K. V. 1921. *Gazetteer of Ilorin Province*. London: Waterlow.

Federal Republic of Nigeria. 2009. Official gazette, volume 96.

Finlayson, R. and Slabbert, S. 2005. Introduction: language and identity. *Language and identities in a postcolony: Southern African perspectives.* Finlayson, R. and Slabbert, S. Eds. Germany: Peter Lang. 13-28.

Fishman, J. A. 1999. Ed. *Handbook of language and ethnic identity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

---------- 1998. Language and ethnicity: the view from within. *The handbook of Sociolinguistics.* Coulmas, F. Ed. NJ: Wiley-Blackwell. 327-343.

Fynn, L. M. 1991. The "coloured" community of Durban: a study of changing perceptions of identity. M. A. Thesis. Centre for Social and Development Studies. University of Natal, Durban.

Gal, S. 1989. Language and political economy. *Annual review of Anthropology*. 345-367.

Gibson, K. 2004. English only court cases involving the U. S. workplace: the myths of language use and the homogenization of bilingual workers' identities. Retrieved May 25, 2015 from http://www.hawaii.edu/sls/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/Gibson.pdf.

Giles, H. 1973. Accent mobility: a model and some data. *Anthropological Linguistics.* 87-105.

_____ 1979. Ethnicity markers in speech. *Social markers in speech.* Scherer, K.R. and Giles, H. Eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 251-89.

Giles, H. and Coupland, N. 1991. *Language: contexts and consequences.* Milton Keyness: Open University Press.

Giles, H. and Johnson, P. 1981. The role of language in ethnic group relations. *Intergroup Behaviour*. Turner, J. C. and Giles, H. Eds. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 199-243.

Giles, H., Bourhis, R. Y. and Taylor, D. M. 1977. Towards a theory of language in ethnic group relations. *Language, Ethnicity and Intergroup Relations.* Giles, H. Ed. London: Academic Press. 307-348.

Giles, H., Mulac, A; Bradac, J. J. and Johnson, P. 1987. Speech accommodation theory: the next decade and beyond. *Communication Yearbook*. Vol 10.Newbury Park: Sage.

Glaser, K. 2007. *Minority languages and cultural diversity in Europe. Gaelic and Sorbian perspectives.* England: Clevedon.

Grin, F. 2003. Diversity as a paradigm, analytical device and policy goal. *Language rights and political theory*. Kymlicka, W. and Patten, A. Eds. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hamers, J. and Blanc, M. 2000. *Bilinguality and bilingualism*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hammersley, M. and Atkinson, P. 1983. *Ethnography: methodological explorations.* London: Routlegde.

Hermon – Hodge, H. O. 1929.*Gazetteer of Ilorin Province*. London: George, Allen and Unwin.

Hettne, B., Sörlin, S. and Østergård, U. 1998. *Den globala nationalism.* Stockholm: SNS Förlag.

Heyes, C.J. 2000. *Line drawings: defining women through feminist practice*. 6th Ed. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press.

Husband, C. and Saifullah Khan, V. 1982.The viability of ethnolinguistic vitality: some creative doubts. *Journal of multilingual and multicultural development.* 3. 3. 193-205.

Igboanusi, H. 2008. Mother tongue-based bilingual education in Nigeria: attitudes and practice. *The international journal of bilingual education and bilingualism*. Philadelphia: Taylor and Francis. 721-734.

Igboanusi, H. and Lothar, P. 2015. The language-in-education politics in Nigeria. *International Journal of bilingual education and bilingualism.* United Kingdom: Routledge. 1-16.

Igboanusi, H. 2017. *The conflicts and politics of language.* An inaugural lecture. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press.

Jacoby, S. and Gonzales, P. 1991. The constitution of expert–novice in scientific discourse. *Issues in Applied Linguistics* 2. 2. 149-181.

Jacoby, S. and Ochs, E. 1995. Co-construction: an Introduction. *Research on language and social interaction* 23. 3. 171-183.

Jaimoukha, A. Ethnic identity. Retrieved May 25th, 2015 from reocities.com/Eureka/Enterprises/2493/ethniciden.html

Jenkins, R. C. 1997. *Rethinking ethnicity: arguments and explorations*. London: Sage.

Jimba, S. 1990. *Iwe itan Ilorin.* Ilorin: Jimba Book Productions.

Jimoh, L. A. K. 2000. Yoruba claim is false. *Daily Vanguard*. Oct, 22.

----------1994. *Ilorin: the journey so far*. Ilorin: Atoto Press Limited.

Johnson, R. B. and Onwuegbuzie, A. J. 2004. Mixed methods research: a research paradigm whose time has come. *Educational researcher* 33. 7. 14-26.

Johnson, S. 1921. *The history of the Yorubas.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kamusella, T. D. I. 2001. Language as an instrument of nationalism in central Europe. *Nations and nationalism* 7. 235-251.

Kamwangamalu, N. M. 2005. Language, social history, and identity: the "coloured" community of Wentworth, Durban. *Language and identities in a postcolony.* Finlayson, R and Slabbert, S. Eds. Germany: Peter Lang. 29-48.

Katibi, A.M. 2011. Arabic and non-Arabic elements in the Ilorin dialect of Yoruba Language. *Ilorin journal of Linguistics, literature and culture* 2:72-84.

Kauffman, L. A. 1990. The anti-politics of identity. *Socialist Review* 20:1, 67-80.

Keefe, S. and Padilla, A.M. 1987. *Chicano ethnicity.* Al-burquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Korth, B. 2005. *Language attitudes towards Kyrgyz and Russian.* Germany: Bern.

Kotze, E. and Biberaur, T. 2005. Language and identity: the case of Afrikaans in the United Kingdom. *Language and identities in a postcolony.* Finlayson, R. and Slabbert, S. Eds. Germany: Peter Lang. 91-120.

Kwara State of Nigeria.1997. *Kwara State Diary*. Ilorin, Nigeria: Government Press.

Kymlicka, W. 1999. *Multicultural citizenship: a liberal theory of minority rights*. Oxford: Claredon Press.

Labov, W. 1972. *Sociolinguistic patterns.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

_____. 1990. The intersection of sex and social class in the course of linguistic change. *Language variation and change.* 2. 205-254.

Laforest, G. 2001. The true nature of sovereignty. *Canadian political philosophy.* Beiner, R. and Norman, W. Eds. Don mills: Oxford University 298-310.

Lakoff, R. 1975. *Language and woman's place*. New York: Harper and Row.

Lazaraton, A. 2005. Quantitative research methods. *Handbook of research in second language teaching and learning.* Hinkel, E. Ed. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Le Page, R. and Tabouret-Keller, A. 1985.*Acts of identity: creole-based approaches to language and ethnicity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Levon, E. 2010. Organizing and processing your data: the nuts and bolts of quantitative analyses. *Research methods in Linguistics*. Litosseliti, L. Ed. London: Continuum. 68-92.

Liebkind, K. 1996. Social psychology and contact linguistics. *Contact Linguistics. an international handbook of contemporary research.* Vol. 1. Goebl, H., Nedle, P., Stary, Z., Wölck, W. Eds. Berlin / New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Llamas, C. 2006. Shifting identities and orientations in a border town. *Sociolinguistics of identity*. Omoniyi, T and White, G. Eds. U.K: Continuum.92-112.

Maalouf, A. 2000. *On identity*. Translated from French by Barbara Bray. London: The Harvill Press.

MacKenzie, J. 2002. Gaelic, social exclusion and cultural fascism (letter to the editor). *WHFP* 12 April, 2002.

Madiba, M. 2005. Integration and national identity in South Africa: a dilemma for Linguistic minorities. *Language and identities in a postcolony*. Finlayson, R. and Slabbert, S. Eds. Germany: Peter Lang. 175-194.

Magill, F.N. Ed. 1995. *International encyclopedia of Sociology*. Vol 1.

McDonald, D. A. Ed. 2000. *On borders: perspectives on international migration in Southern Africa.* Southern African migration project. New York: St. Martins Press.

Meyerhoff, M. 2011. *Introducing Sociolinguistics* 2nd ed. London: Routledge.

Malinowski, B. 1922. *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*. New York: Dutton, E.P and Co.

May, S. 2005. Language rights: moving the debate forward. *Journal of Sociolinguistics.* 9(3), 319-47.

Miles, M. B. and Huberman, A. M. 1994. *Qualitative data analysis* 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Milroy, L. 1987. *Language and social networks*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Nafufe, O.I. 2006. Identity crisis and political contest in Nigeria. Retrieved November 12, 2014 from http://www.okpenation.org/identity.

Neethling, B. 2003. Perceptions around the English names of Xhosa speakers. *Nomina Africana* (17(2): 47-65.

Nguyen, E. 1998. *Les nationalisms en Europe: quete d'identite ou tentation de repli?* Paris: Le Monde / Edition Marabout.

Nwagbo, O.G. 2014. Language and identity in Oru refugee camp, Ogun State, Nigeria. PhD. Thesis. Department of Linguistics and African Languages. University of Ibadan. xiii + 204pp.

O Riagain, P. 1997. *Language policy and social reproduction: Ireland 1893-1993*. Oxford: Clarendon

Oakes, L. 2001. *Language and national identity: comparing France and Sweden*. U.S.A: John Benjamin's Publishing Company.

Okite, S.O. 1987.Ethnic identity and the problem of national integration in Nigeria. *Nigeria Magazine.*Vol. 55, No 3.

Olaoye, A. 1998. *Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. Abuja: Ogunleye Publishing and Printing Press.

Omo-Ikokoro, A. 1911. *Taalif akhbar al-qurun min 'umara bilad Ilurun.*

Omoniyi, T. 2006. Hierarchy of identities. *Sociolinguistics of identity.* Omoniyi, T. and White, G. Eds. U.K: Continuum.11-33.

Omoniyi, T. and White, G. Eds. 2006. *Sociolinguistics of identity*. United Kingdom: Continuum.

Omotoye, R.W. 2010. Religious experience in the post-colonial era in Nigeria: an examination of the challenges of Pentecostal churches in Ilorin, Kwara State, Nigeria. Retrieved December 5, 2014 from http://www.censur.org/2010/omotoye1

Ostien, P. 2012. A survey of the Muslims of Nigeria's north central geo-political zone. Nigeria Research Network (NRN), Working Paper No. 1 Oxford Department of International Development: University of Oxford 1-57.

Padilla, A.M. 1980. The role of cultural awareness and ethnic loyalty in acculturation. *Acculturation: theory, models and new findings.* Padilla, A.M. Ed. Boulder: Westview. 47-84.

---------- 1987. Acculturation and stress among immigrants and later generation individuals. Frick, D. Ed. *The quality of urban life: social psychological and physical conditions.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Public Relations Department, Middlesbrough Borough Council. 1997. *Middlesbrough Official Guide.*

Rajagopalan, K. 2001. The politics of language and the concept of linguistic identity. Revista de Filologia J Su Didactica. Retrieved December 15th, 2013 from http://www.scielo.br/pdf/rbla/v5nl/05.pdf.

Rampton, B. 1995. *Crossing: language and ethnicity among adolescents.* London: Longman.

Rasinger, S. M. 2010. Quantitative methods: concepts, frameworks and issues. *Research methods in Linguistics*. Litosseliti, L. Ed. London: Continuum International Publishing Group. 49-67.

Redfield, R., Linton, R. and Herskovits, M.J. 1936. Memorandum for the study of acculturation. *American Anthropologist*, Vol 38, 149-152.

Renan, E. 1990. What is a nation? Translated and annotated by Thom. M. *Nation and narration.* Bhabha, H. Ed. London: Routledge 1-22.

Riehl, C. M. 2000. Spracheinstellung and stereotype im lichte diskursiver praxis.*Einstellungsforschung in der soziolinguistik und nachbardisziplinen*. Deminger, S., Thorsten, F., Joachim, S. and Simone, Z. Eds. Studies in Language Attitudes. Germany:

Bern 141-155.

Ritter, N. 2010. Understanding a widely misunderstood statistic. Cronbach's Alpha. Paper presented at South Western Educational Research Association (SERA) Conference 2010 New Orleans: LA (ED526237).

Romaine, S. 2000. Multilingualism. *The handbook of linguistics*. Aronoff, M. and Rees-Miller, J. Eds. United Kingdom: Blackwell Publishers 513-533.

---------- 2003. *Languages in society: an introduction to sociolinguistics.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ross, J. A. 1979. Language and the mobilization of ethnic identity. *Language and ethnic relations.* Giles, H and Saint-Jacques, B. Eds. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Royce, A. 1982.*Ethnic identity.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Salihu, H. A. and Jawondo, A. I. 2006. Ilorin Emirate: its people and politics. *Ilorin: centre of learning*. Jimoh, S. A. Ed. Ilorin: University of Ilorin Press. 1-16.

Safran, W. 2008. Language, ethnicity and religion: a complex and persistent linkage. *Nations and nationalism* 14: 171-90.

Schnapper, D. 1994. *La communate des citoyens: sur l'idee modern de nation.* Paris: Gallimard.

Shore, B. 1996. *Culture in mind: cognition, culture and the problems of meaning.* New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Silverman, D. 2001. *Interpreting qualitative data: methods for analysing talk, text and interaction*. London: Sage.

Silverstein, M. 1992. The uses and utility of ideology: some reflections. *Pragmatics* 2. 3. 311-323.

Sirkin, R. M. 1995. *Statistics for the social sciences.* California: Sage Publications.

Smith, A.D 1991. *National identity.* London: Penguin.

Smith, S. 2008. The politics of identity. *International Socialist Review*. Issue 57. www.isreview.org/issue. Online edition.

Smolicz, J. 1981. Core values and cultural identity. *Ethnic and racial studies* 4.1: 75-90.

Smolicz, J.J. and Secombe, M. J. 1989. Types of language activation and evaluation in an ethnically plural society. *Status and function of languages and varieties*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de gruyter.

Suleiman, Y. 2004. *A war of words: language and conflict in the Middle East.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

_____ 2006. Constructing languages, constructing national identities. *Sociolinguistics of identity*. Omoniyi, T and White, G. Eds. U.K: Continuum.50-71.

Taboada-Leonetti, I. 1998. La naton le civique et l'ethnique. *Cultures en movement.10 aout-Septembre: 30-3.*

Tabouret-Keller, A. 1998. Language and identity. *The handbook of sociolinguistics*. Coulmas, F. Ed. NJ: Wiley Blackwell.315-326.

Tadaferua, U. 2010. Two days with the Kanuris of Benue. Daily Trust. Retrieved November 25th, 2014 from http://www.dailytrust.com.ng

Tajfel, H. 1974. Social identity and intergroup behaviour. *Social Science Information* 65-93.

Tajfel, H. and Turner, J. C. 1986. The social identity theory of intergroup behaviour. *Psychology of intergroup relation*. Revised edition of: *The social psychology of intergroup relations.* Worchel, S. and Austin, W.G. Eds. 1979. Chicago: Nelson-H Publishers 7-24.

Tannen, D. 1990. *You just don't understand: women and men in conversation*. New York: Morrow

---------- 1994. *Gender and discourse*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tashakkori, A. and Teddlie, C. 2003. The past and the future of mixed model research: from "methodological triangulation" to "mixed model designs". *Handbook of mixed methods in social and behavioural research.* Tashakkori, A. and Teddlie, C. Eds. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Thomason, S.G. and Kaufman, T. 1988. *Language contact, creolization, and genetic linguistics.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Thondhlana, J. 2005. Language and identity in Zimbabwe. *Language and identities in a postcolony*. Finlayson, R. and Slabbert, S. Eds. Germany: Peter Lang 49-65.

Trudgill, P. 1972. Sex, covert prestige and linguistic change in the urban British English of Norwich. *Language in society* 1.2.179-196.

Trueba, H. and Zou, Y. 1994. *Power in education: the case of Miao university students and its significance for American culture.* London: Falmer Press.

Tsaaior, J. 2009. Gender, politics, ideology and naming strategies in Tiv oral narratives. *Language, gender and politics: a festschrift for Yisa kehinde Yusuf.* Odebunmi, A., Arua E. A., and Arimi, S. Eds. Lagos: Concept Publications Limited.

Udo, R. K. 1970. *Geographical regions of Nigeria*. London: Heinemann.

Ulrike, S. 2008. Language loss and the ethnic identity of minorities. ECMI (European Centre for Minority Issues). Brief 18, Nov, 2008.

Vikør, L. S. 2000. Northern Europe: languages as prime markers of ethnic and national identity. *Language and nationalism in Europe.* Barbour, S and Carmichael, C. Eds. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wardhaugh, R. 1987. *Languages in competition.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Wilking, D. and Kroll, R. 1993. Die definition von ethnos oder sind der Sorbein ein Volk? Lětopis 40. 2. 10-31.

Williams, C. 1999. The Celtic world. *Handbook of language and ethnic identity*. Fishman, J. A. Ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Winford, D. 2003. *Introduction to Contact Linguistics.* United Kingdom: Blackwell Publishing.

Woodbury, A. C. 1993. A defence of the proposition "when a language dies, a culture dies". *Proceedings of the First Annual Symposium about language and society (SALSA).* Austin: Texas Linguistic Forum 33.

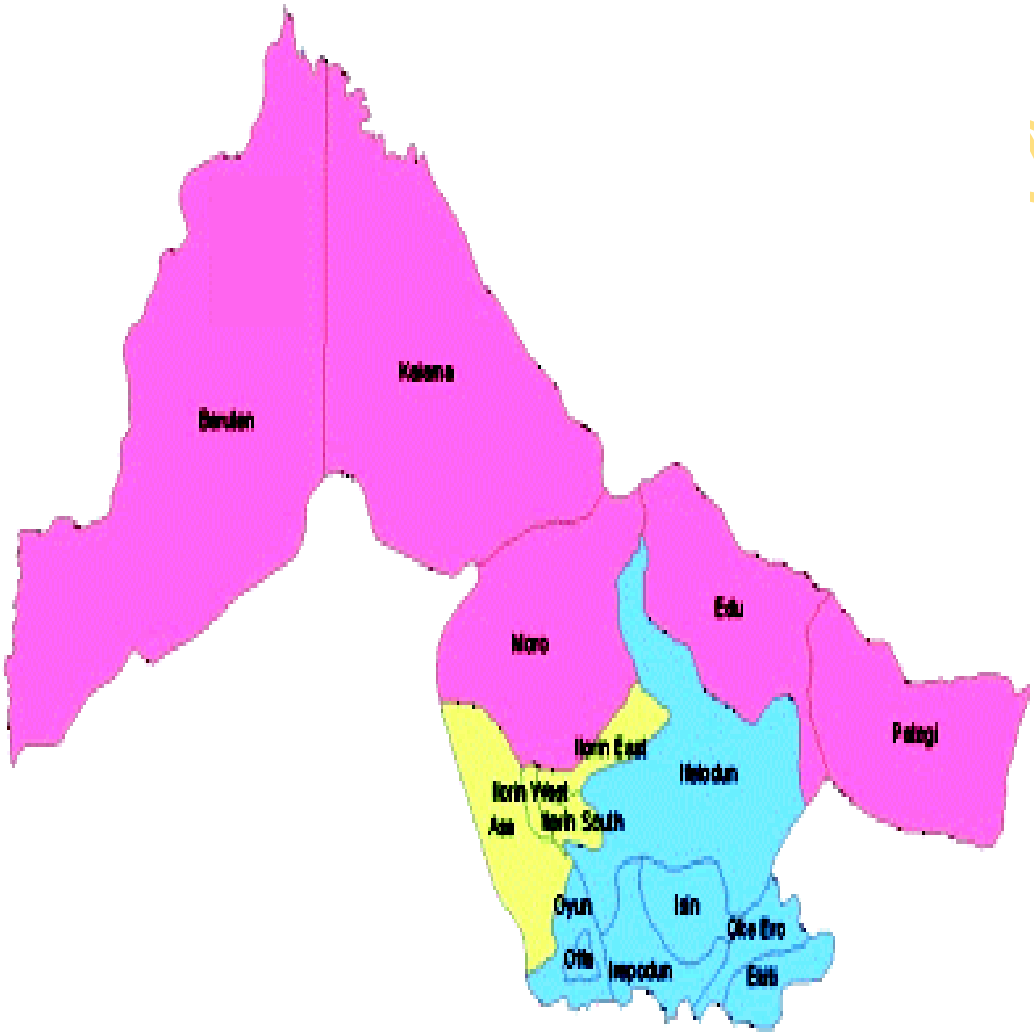
Woolard, K. A. and Schieffelin, B. B. 1994. Language ideology. *Annual review of Anthropology*. 32. 55-82.

Yamane, T. 1967. *Statistics: an introductory analysis.* 2nd ed. New York: Harper and Row.

Young, I.M. 1960. *Justice and the politics of difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

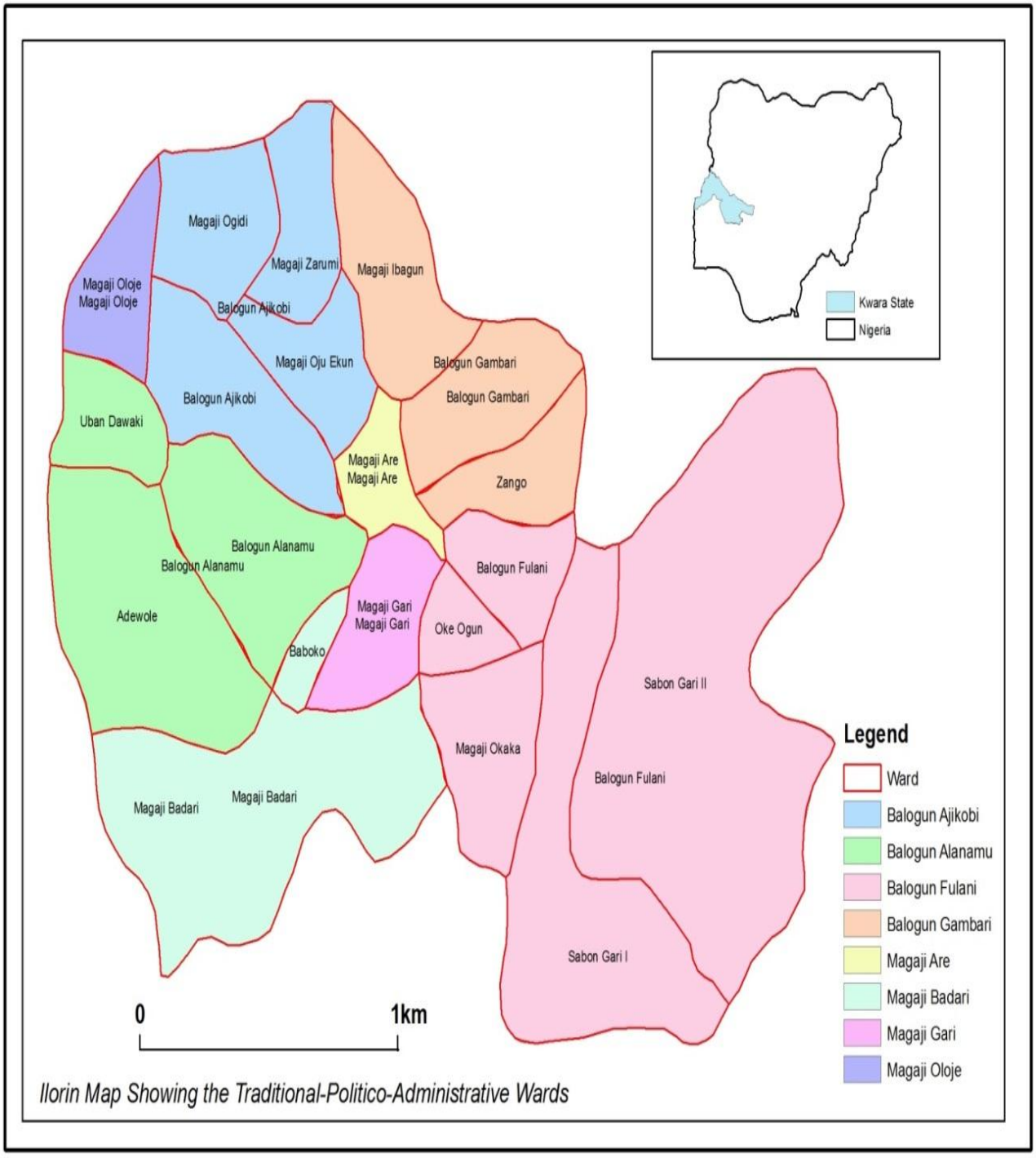
Yusuf, S. A. 2003. Sampling techniques. *Contemporary Social Science research methods: a practical guide*. Tunde Agbola et al. Eds. Lagos: MURLAB Search Wisdom.

Appendix 1



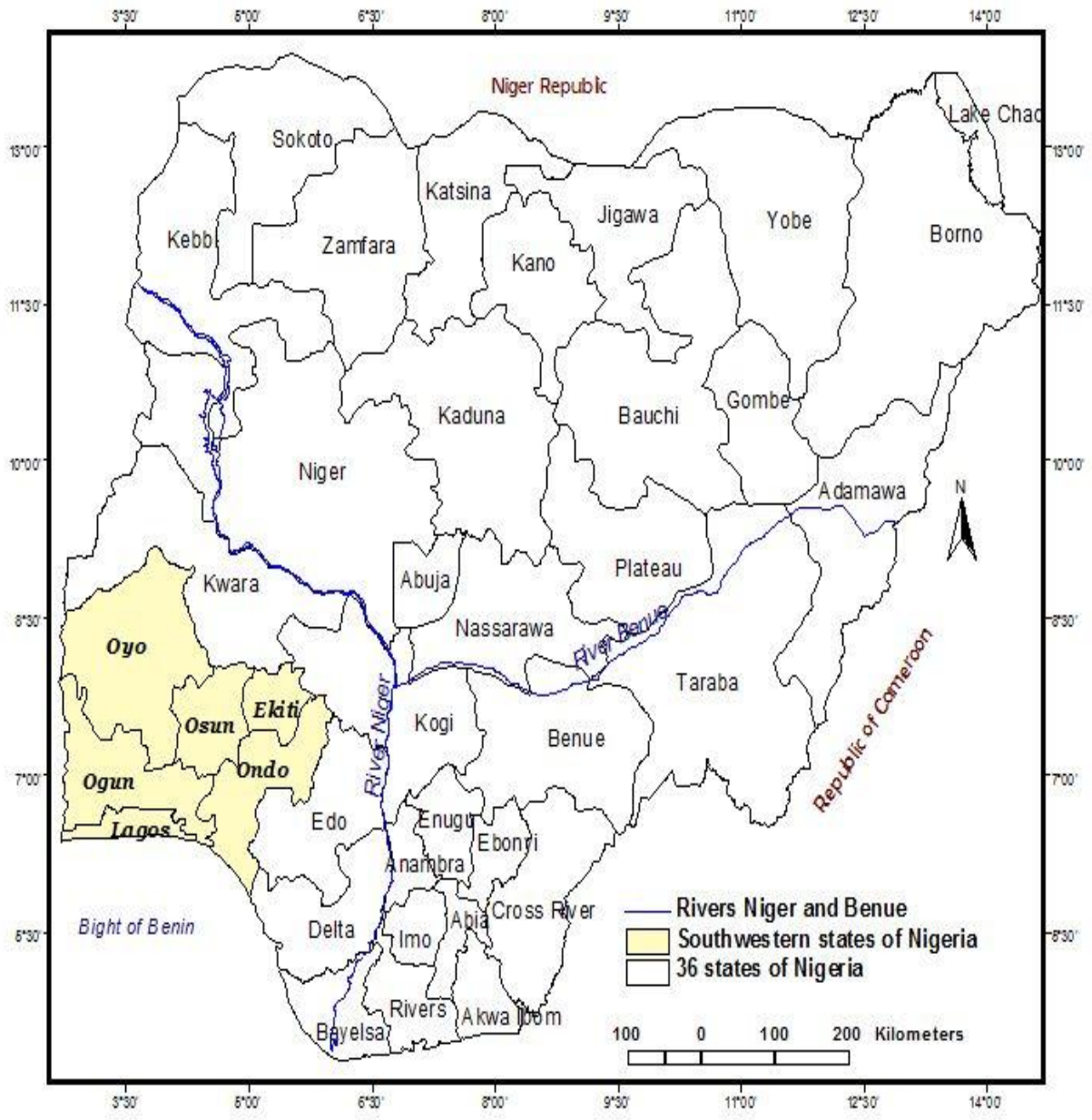
A map containing the five local government areas that constitute Ilorin Emirate.

Appendix 2



A map of Ilorin, the state capital, with all the traditional and administrative quarters and wards.

Appendix 3



A map of Nigeria showing the location of Kwara State below the River Niger. Retrieved April 4th, 2016 from http://www.google.com.ng/search?q=nigeria+map+showing+36atates.

Appendix 4

The inscription on one side of a signpost at the entrance of Shao. The second line of the insription which is in Yoruba literally translates to "the land of Odua children" while the last line is part of the praise poetry of Shao people.

Appendix 5

The inscription on the other side of the signpost at the entrance of Shao.

Appendix 6

INTERVIEW WITH MICHAEL FROM MORO LGA

Researcher: Which language is your first language?

Michael: The Yoruba language. Actually, we are Nupe in my family but nobody in the family speaks Nupe anymore. Generations ago, our forefathers spoke the language but nobody in the younger speaks it. I don't speak it and even the old ones don't speak it.

Researcher: Where are you from?

Michael: I am from Jebba but of Nupe background. There are also people of Yoruba ethnic group in Jebba but I am from the Nupe part.

Researcher: What religion do you practise?

Michael: Christianity. Although some parts of our family practise Islam but I belong to the part that practises Christianity.

Researcher: How would you describe your ethnicity?

Michael: (Long pause) I will call myself Nupe. Hmmm, sorry, I will call myself Yoruba.

Researcher: Why the long pause and change of ethnic ascription?

Michael: If not for this interview, I will not describe myself as Nupe. So, I will describe myself as Yoruba.

Researcher: Which identity do you really prefer?

Michael: It is Yoruba. I was raised in accordance with Yoruba culture and that what I am used to.

Researcher: Why did you not describe yourself as Nupe?

Michael: Nupe traditions look strange to me. I feel like a stranger among them. I no longer have any sense of belonging to Nupe.

Researcher: What other Nupe customs are still surviving in your family?

Michael: There are no remnants of Nupe customs and traditions in my family except some part of our family praise poetry which elderly ones use to praise someone who has done something praise-worthy. That part of the family praise poetry is *Omo Tapa n'tapa.*

Researcher: What about naming traditions, wedding traditions and the kinds of food you eat?

Michael: Everything is done in accordance with Yoruba customs because we were brought up in accordance with Yoruba customs and traditions.

Researcher: If the Federal Government decided to create another state out of the present Kwara State, what zone would you prefer that your community be divided along?

Michael: Northern zone. That's my preferred region.

Researcher: Why do you prefer the North?

Michael: I grew up in the North. I had my early education there. I like their attitude so much so that I pray God makes me a northerner in another life. Yoruba people take things too seriously. For example, if a Hausa man works here and you need his help and he realises that you are Hausa, he will go to any length to help you but Yoruba people will even constitute themselves into an impediment for someone's progress whereas, northerners assist one another once they know you're one of them.

Researcher: What is the kingship system obtainable in your place?

Michael: The Emir of Ilorin is the one who appoints the King of Jebba and anyone not appointed by him cannot become the King. The Emir sends people from Ilorin to act as Daodu and it is whoever the Daodu recommends that becomes the king. We cannot even call such a person (the one appointed by the Emir on the recommendation of the Daodu) the king because they are only given Third-Class status. There is however a problem between the two royal families at the moment. The Adebara family was the last family to ascend the throne and that should make the Okedare family the next to the throne but the Adebara family still occupied the throne and now, the case is in court and everyone is awaiting the judgment of the court.

Appendix 7

INTERVIEW WITH ṢOLA FROM MORO LGA

Researcher: Which language is your first language?

Ṣola: My first language is the Yoruba language.

Researcher: What about your mother tongue?

Ṣola: It is also the Yoruba language.

Researcher: What religion do you practise?

Ṣola: Christianity.

Researcher: What ethnic group do you belong to?

Ṣola: I am a Yoruba person and I do not consider myself as belonging to Ilorin Emirate because my town, Shao, is a Yoruba community in Moro LGA which has its own King, the *Ohoro*. This sets us apart from other communities which are headed by the Emir, Daodu and Magaji.

Researcher: If the Federal Government decided to create another state out of the present Kwara State, what zone would you prefer that your community be divided along?

Ṣola: South-West.

Researcher: Why?

Ṣola: It is because our culture and tradition align with that of the South-West.

Appendix 8

INTERVIEW WITH YAHYA FROM ILORIN WEST LGA

Researcher: Which language is your first language?

Yahya: My first language is the Yoruba language.

Researcher: What about your mother tongue?

Yahya: It is also the Yoruba language.

Researcher: What religion do you practise?

Yahya: Islam.

Researcher: What ethnic group do you belong to?

Yahya: I am a Fulani person.

Researcher: Why do you not identify with the ethnic group whose language is your first language?

Yahya: It is because Yoruba cultural practices such as the celebration of death and belief in luck make the Yoruba ethnic identity unappealing to me.

Researcher: If the Federal Government decided to create another state out of the present Kwara State, what zone would you prefer that your community be divided along?

Yahya: North.

Researcher: Why?

Yahya: I would like it to remain in the North because of my religion; Islam. For example, there is no single state in the entire South-West that has a Shariah Court of Appeal and that means there is a limit to which Muslims in the South-West can practise their faith. Hence, when it comes to legal matters, the dictates of their faith would not be used in the course of adjudication.

Researcher: What other Fulani customs are still retained in your family?

Yahya: Remnants of Fulani culture in my family can be seen in the way that the older ones are addressed by the younger ones. Older males are called Kawu while older females are called Gogo.

Appendix 9

INTERVIEW WITH RAMATU FROM MORO LGA

Researcher:	Which language is your first language?
Ramatu:	Fulfulde.
Researcher:	What about your mother tongue?
Ramatu:	Fulfulde.
Researcher:	Describe your ethnic identity.
Ramatu:	We are Fulani people.
Researcher:	Where are you from?
Ramatu:	*Gaa Alaanu.*
Researcher:	What religion do you practise?
Ramatu:	Islam.
Researcher:	You said you are Fulani, how come your community has a Yoruba name?
Ramatu:	Our village is actually *Gure Lanu* but we call it *Gaa Alaanu* because of Yoruba people who cannot speak our language.
Researcher:	Apart from your language, what other Fulani customs are still preserved in your community?
Ramatu:	We conduct our wedding ceremonies in accordance with Fulani tradition with accompanying Fulani songs (she starts singing in Fulfulde)... We also give our children Fulani names like Bana, Nuhun, Bake, Biyun, Bako and so on but it is these ones (pointing at her daughter-in-law) that give their children Yoruba names like Ajoke, Abike, Asamu and so on. Our language is still well-spoken among members of the older generation. It is our children and grandchildren who do not understand the language.
Researcher:	But, look at you too, your apparel (*Iro* and *Buba*) is that of the Yoruba people...
Ramatu:	Are you trying to say Fulani people were walking around naked before...?
Researcher:	No, I am only trying to say that there seem to be more aspects of the Fulani culture that have gone into extinction amongst your people than you are admitting to...

Ramatu: Okay, I did not understand that is what you were trying to say... It is true, the Fulani mode of dressing has gone into extinction amongst our people. We used to wear Fulani apparels before all these that we wear now due to civilisation. Even food too, our meals are going into extinction and we eat all kinds of things these days in the name of food. Is Rice food? Or that white one they call erm erm ... *bubu* (Foofoo)? Are those foods or something to eat in order not to starve? We used to serve food with calabash; that is our tradition but they are no longer in use. Plates met us in existence not the other way round but that is what we now use.

Researcher: But what stops you from preparing and eating your traditional meals?

Ramatu: Look at me (in reference to her old age), can I still pound Fura like this? That is why our foods too are going into extinction.

Researcher: From your look, I would just assume that you are a Yoruba person and the way you even speak Yoruba, one would think you are Yoruba. Would you mind if someone describes you as a Yoruba person?

Ramatu: No, I would not mind being called a Yoruba person as that seems to be the trend now but, I would not identify myself as Yoruba. I will always construct for myself, a Fulani identity.

Appendix 10

INTERVIEW WITH ISMAIL FROM ILORIN WEST LGA

Researcher: Which language is your first language?

Ismail: My first language is the Yoruba language.

Researcher: What about your mother tongue?

Ismail: My mother tongue is also the Yoruba language.

Researcher: What religion do you practise?

Ismail: Islam.

Researcher: How would you describe your ethnic identity?

Ismail: I would describe myself as an Ilorin man of Yoruba extraction and I would seriously object to being called a Yoruba person. I would rather identify as a Yoruba-Ilorin person.

Researcher: Why?

Ismail: This is because Yoruba people of South-West region do mix Yoruba cultural practices with their religions. For example, people from Osun State regardless of their religious affiliation will still worship the Osun goddess and I would not like to associate with a group whose cultural practices will affect my religion. Also, some Yoruba people find magic as a form of entertainment; something Islam completely forbids. For me, my religion, Islam, is the most important aspect of my life and I will stay as far away as possible from any group or thing that can adulterate it.

Researcher: If the Federal Government decided to create another state out of the present Kwara State, what zone would you prefer that your community be divided along?

Ismail: Northern zone.

Researcher: Why do you prefer the North?

Ismail: The North is a better alternative for me as because I prefer to identify with their (northern) culture more than Yoruba culture.

Appendix 11

INTERVIEW WITH MAYOWA FROM ILORIN WEST LGA

Researcher: Which language is your first language?

Mayowa: My first language is the Yoruba language.

Researcher: What about your mother tongue?

Mayowa: It is the Yoruba language too.

Researcher: What religion do you practise?

Mayowa: Islam.

Researcher: How would you describe your ethnic identity?

Mayowa: I describe myself as Yoruba although I am Fulani by ancestry because my father's fore-bears were from Sokoto State but my mother is from Ijebu-Ode in Ogun State. ... My paternal grandmother is from Calabar in Cross-River State. I do not consider myself as Fulani, Ilorin, Fulani-Ilorin or Yoruba-Ilorin. I see myself as a Yoruba person.

Researcher: Are there aspects of the Fulani culture still preserved in your family?

Mayowa: Yes, there are. The traditional Fulani wedding practice is still maintained. My father enjoys listening to Fulani songs and Fulani meals are still cooked till date in the family house though my mother does not cook them in our house.

Researcher: If the Federal Government decided to create another state out of the present Kwara State, what zone would you prefer that your community be divided along?

Mayowa: South-West.

Researcher: Why?

Mayowa: I just like the South-West.

Appendix 12

INTERVIEW WITH OLAIDE FROM ILORIN EAST LGA

Researcher: Which language is your first language?

Olaide: My first language is the Yoruba language.

Researcher: What about your mother tongue?

Olaide: It is also the Yoruba language.

Researcher: What religion do you practise?

Olaide: Islam.

Researcher: Describe your ethnicity?

Olaide: My family is partly Fulani because my father is of Fulani ancestry while my mother is of Yoruba ancestry… People call us Fulani-Ilorin because of our Fulani heritage but I prefer to identify myself as a Yoruba person.

Researcher: Why do you prefer a Yoruba identity?

Olaide: I prefer a Yoruba identity because I speak the Yoruba language…

Researcher: Are there remnants of the Fulani culture in your family?

Olaide: The Fulani wedding ceremony is still practised in my family although the practice of giving the groom some strokes of cane is no longer in practise.

Researcher: Do you have a Fulani name?

Olaide: No, I do not have a Fulani name. It is only the Fulani traditional wedding that is still practised.

Researcher: If the Federal Government decided to create another state out of the present Kwara State, what zone would you prefer that your community be divided along?

Olaide: I do not have preference for any zone. Any zone is okay by me.

Appendix 13

INTERVIEW WITH TAIBAT FROM MORO LGA

Researcher: Which language is your first language?

Taibat: The Yoruba language.

Researcher: Which language is your mother tongue?

Taibat: It is still the Yoruba language.

Researcher: What faith do you belong to?

Taibat: Islam.

Researcher: What ethnic group do you belong to?
Taibat: I belong to the Yoruba ethnic group.

Researcher: Why is the Yoruba ethnic group your preference?
Taibat: It is because my fore-bears are from Kisi in Oyo State.

Researcher: Apart from the Yoruba language, are there still other Yoruba cultural practices retained in your family?

Taibat: Yes. I come from a family of drummers and that is still practised in my family till date.

Researcher: If the Federal Government decided to create another state out of the present Kwara State, what zone would you prefer that your community be divided along?
Taibat: South-West.

Appendix 14

INTERVIEW WITH MARYAM FROM ILORIN EAST LGA

Researcher: Which language is your first language?
Maryam: Fulfulde.

Researcher: So, you speak Fulfulde.
Marayam: No I don't speak Fulfulde; it is my mother tongue but the Yoruba language is my first language.

Researcher: What religion do you practise?
Maryam: Islam.

Researcher: What ethnic group do you belong to?
Maryam: I am Fulani but I prefer to identify myself as a Yoruba person.

Researcher: Why?
Maryam: I neither understand nor speak Fulfulde unlike Yoruba which I speak fluently and understand well.

Researcher: Would you mind if someone described you as a Fulani person?
Maryam: No, I wouldn't mind.

Researcher: Are Fulani customs and traditions still retained in your family?
Maryam: Yes.

Researcher: Like which one please?
Maryam: Like the traditional Fulani wedding ceremony. The way we celebrate our wedding is different from others'. It is characterised by a dance called *Ijo Olomo Oba* (literally, the dance of the king's offsprings). This involves the bride or groom dancing to the Emir's palace to pay homage to the king and seek royal blessing for the marriage.

Researcher: What other Fulani customs are still surviving in your family?
Maryam: Just the Fulani wedding practice.

Researcher: If the Federal Government decided to create another state out of the present Kwara State, what zone would you prefer that your community be divided along?
Maryam: North-Central geo-political zone.

Researcher: Why do you prefer the North?

Maryam: I'm used to the zone and I do not like change.

Appendix 15

INTERVIEW WITH TAIWO FROM ILORIN WEST LGA

Researcher: Which language is your first language?
Taiwo: The Yoruba language.

Researcher: Which one is your mother tongue?
Taiwo: The Yoruba language.

Researcher: What religion do you practise?
Taiwo: Islam.

Researcher: What about your mother tongue?
Taiwo: My mother tongue is also the Yoruba language.

Researcher: How would you describe your ethnic identity?
Taiwo: I am an Ilorin person of Yoruba extraction and I prefer to identify as a Yoruba person.

Researcher: If the Federal Government decided to create another state out of the present Kwara State, what zone would you prefer that your community be divided along?
Taiwo: The South-West.

Researcher: Why do you prefer the South-West?

Taiwo: I like Yoruba culture and tradition and I also prefer the Yoruba traditional leadership system to the Emirate system that we have in place.

Appendix 16

INTERVIEW WITH OPEYEMI FROM ASA LGA

Researcher: Which language is your first language?
Opeyemi: The Yoruba language.

Researcher: What about your mother tongue?
Opeyemi: The Yoruba language is also my mother tongue.

Researcher: What faith do you practise?
Opeyemi: Islam.

Researcher: What ethnic group do you belong to?
Opeyemi: I belong to the Yoruba ethnic group.

Researcher: If the Federal Government decided to create another state out of the present Kwara State, what zone would you prefer that your community be divided along?
Opeyemi: I prefer the North-Central.

Researcher: Why do you prefer the North-Central?
Opeyemi: I prefer the North-Central because I am comfortable with the culture and traditions of this place hence, becoming part of the South-West is needless.

Appendix 17

INTERVIEW WITH MOSHOOD FROM ILORIN EAST LGA

Researcher: Which language is your first language?
Moshood: The Yoruba language.

Researcher: Which language is your mother tongue?
Moshood: The Yoruba language too.

Researcher: What faith do you practise?
Moshood: Islam.

Researcher: What ethnic group do you belong to?
Moshood: I belong to the Yoruba ethnic group because my fore-bears migrated from Igbeti (Oyo State) but I won't describe myself as a Yoruba person.

Researcher: So, how would you describe yourself?
Moshood: I would describe myself as an Ilorin person

Researcher: But, you just said your fore-bears were from Igbeti, why would you construct an identity that is different from Yoruba for yourself?

Moshood: My belief is that, if one is called a Yoruba person, that description will evoke a lot of assumptions part of which is paganism or association with traditional Yoruba religions and I don't want that because my family progenitors are Islamic clerics. But, if one identifies as an Ilorin person, such assumptions will not be there.

Researcher: So, you mean Yoruba people who are Muslims are all pagans or are adherents of Yoruba traditional religion?

Moshood: You know, Yoruba Muslims all changed from paganism to Islam but in our own case, we have been Muslims even before other Yoruba people started embracing Islam.

Researcher: If the Federal Government decided to create another state out of the present Kwara State, what zone would you prefer that your community be divided along?

Moshood: I prefer the South-West.

Appendix 18

Questionnaire

We are investigating language and identity related issues and would like to have your sincere opinions and ideas on these. You are assured that your responses will be treated with the confidentiality that they deserve and as such, you are not required to write your name on the questionnaire.

PART 1: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

(I) State of origin

(II) Local Government Area.

(III) Occupation

(IV) Sex: Male ( ), Female ( )

(V) Age: Under 20 ( ), 20-50 ( ), Above 50 ( )

(VI) Your mother tongue or your first language

(VII) Mention other languages that you speak

(VIII) Level of Western Education:

- (a) Not Educated ( )
- (b) Tertiary ( )
- (c) Secondary ( )
- (d) Primary ( )

(IX) Religion:

- (a) Christianity ( )
- (b) Islam ( )
- (c) Others (specify)

PART 2:

(I) Which state is your spouse from?

(II) Which Local Government Area?

(III) Where did you grow up?

(IV) For how long have you been living in Ilorin?

(V) Have you ever lived anywhere else?

(VI) If "yes", Where?

(VII) For how long?

(VIII) Where do most of your friends and relatives live?

(IX) If asked to describe your ethnic nationality, (multiple answers are possible) please, write your first, second and third priority in each of these boxes:

☐	Northerner
☐	Southwesterner
☐	Others (That is, if it is neither of the two and state which you ascribe to yourself)

(X) Would you be annoyed if someone referred to you as a descendant of *Oduduwa?*

Yes No Indifferent

(XI) Would you be annoyed if someone referred to you as an *Arewa descendant*?

Yes No Indifferent

(XII) What makes an Ilorin person *Ilorinish* or how do you show that you are Ilorin or what qualifies someone to be an Ilorin indigene?

(XIII) If the Federal Government decided to create another state out of the present Kwara State, what zone would you prefer that Ilorin be divided along?

North ( ) South-West ( ).

(XIV) State the reason(s) for your answer in (XIII).