

Travaux du 19ème CIL | 19th ICL papers

Congrès International des Linguistes, Genève 20-27 Juillet 2013
International Congress of Linguists, Geneva 20-27 July 2013



19th International
Congress of Linguists
July 21-27 2013
Geneva - Switzerland

Christine OFULUE

National Open University of Nigeria
yetofulue@gmail.com

*Bilingualism and Language maintenance in
small language communities in Nigeria: the
case of Gungbe and Oko*

oral presentation in session: 8 Sociolinguistics and multi-
lingualism (Edgar Schneider)

Published and distributed by: Département de Linguistique de l'Université de
Genève, Rue de Candolle 2, CH-1205 Genève, Switzerland
Editor: Département de Linguistique de l'Université de Genève, Switzerland
ISBN:978-2-8399-1580-9

Bilingualism and Language maintenance in small language communities in Nigeria: case of Gungbe and Ọkọ¹

Christine I. Ofulue

Abstract

The fate of small languages has engaged the attention of linguists over the last few decades in view of global threats of language endangerment and loss. Bilingualism is often identified as the culprit responsible for language shift and ultimately language loss particularly where the other language is a dominant language. However, although bilingualism can and does lead to language endangerment and ultimately language loss, it may either be mitigated or may take much longer than predicted in linguistic situations where bilingualism is stable. This study examines language use among two small language groups, Gungbe and Ọkọ within their socio-cultural and historical contexts with the view to investigate the impact of bilingualism on their maintenance. Both language groups share certain features in common that predispose them to endangerment: first, they are comparatively small language groups located in border communities; second they share close proximity with Yorùbá, a dominant regional language; and third, their speakers show a high degree of bilingualism in the use of Yorùbá and their mother tongue in various domains. However, while these factors constitute strong indications that these languages are endangered, there are equally convincing factors that suggest their maintenance. The need to understand the role of factors of ethnic and cultural identity in promoting maintenance from the perspective of the languages' respective socio-cultural and historical contexts, in the context of their co-existence with dominant regional languages, should contribute to the discourse on empowering small linguistic groups within nation states.

Keywords: Language endangerment, Language contact, Bilingualism, Language shift, Language maintenance.

1. Introduction

This paper examines the role of bilingualism and its interaction with social factors in the maintenance of Gungbe and Ọkọ as minority languages that co-exist with a dominant regional language. Studies predict that up to 90% of the world's languages may well be replaced by dominant languages by the end of the 21st century (e.g. Bradley & Bradley 2002, Brenzinger & Graaf 2006).

Out of 7,105 of the world's living languages, 906 are nearly extinct based on the criterion that 'only a few elderly speakers are still living', while even more are in trouble. Of this number, 137 are in Africa and 42 in Nigeria, one of Africa's most linguistically diverse countries (Lewis et al 2013). Language endangerment is prevalent among, though not limited to, small and less dominant languages since they tend to be more vulnerable to external and internal threats that affect speakers' attitudes towards their language and cause them to abandon their language for more dominant languages (Brenzinger & Graaf 2006, Lewis et al

2013). According to Blench (2007) one of the sources of language endangerment in West Africa is language shift as a result of the presence of a dominant culture among other factors. In particular, borderland areas have been noted to be prone to language endangerment as a result of their heterogeneous nature (Cornell 1998) partly as a result of minority language communities that were created by boundaries often cutting across homogenous cultural areas. Africa has about 103 such boundaries with a substantial number of ethnic groups that have been so partitioned. Nigeria has several of such partitioned culture areas dotting the boundaries that it shares with Bénin, Chad, Niger, and Cameroun (Asiwaju 1984, 256) as well as those created by borders within the nation state. One of the effects as Oyetade (2007, 169) observes, is that minority languages in Nigeria are losing vitality as a result of the assimilating influence of regional languages like ‘Hausa in the North, Yorùbá in the west, Pidgin, and to a limited extent Igbo in the east, as well as Efik in the southeast’.

This study investigates the role that social factors play in regulating the outcomes of bilingualism in contact situations involving small languages that characterise Africa’s and indeed Nigeria’s international and interstate borders which have not been sufficiently addressed by previous studies. While the effect of exogenous languages like English has been widely documented, the impact of regional languages is yet to be fully investigated. Gun and Òkọ are examples of minority languages that are geographically located in borderland areas and whose speakers are bilingual in their language and Yorùbá, a dominant regional language. By illustrating the role of bilingualism and its interaction with other factors, the findings of this study contribute to ongoing discourse about the role that non-linguistic factors play in language maintenance among small language groups, and highlight the maintenance strategies being employed by the speakers.

2. Language endangerment, bilingualism and the role of social factors

Previous studies have demonstrated that language endangerment where bilingualism plays a role is matter of degree of vitality that is determined by speakers’ use of their language, functions, and attitudes (e.g. Brenzinger & Graaf 2006, Lewis et al 2013). Landweer (1991) observes the long-term effects of language use patterns of immigrants to a speech community other than their own as one of the ways by which ‘core of fluent speakers’ is either reinforced or weakened. In this view, a continuum of language maintenance or endangerment is created that ranges from language shift to extinction and everything else in between. In West Africa language shift is noted to be a common source of endangerment (Brenzinger, 2007). Language endangerment, in most cases, presumes language contact where speakers of smaller less dominant languages that are assimilated into the language of the dominant group community have been in contact over long periods of time. Thus, an assessment of language endangerment by way of indicators becomes crucial in view of the rate at which languages are losing speakers. Several indicators including population size, speakers’ migration patterns, language use and functions, domains of use, language transmission, and other non-linguistic factors such as attitudes are used to assess the degree of endangerment of in a speech community (Fishman 1972, Giles and Johnson 1981, Landweer 1991, Lewis et al 2013). There is a general consensus about intergenerational language transmission and

attitudes as key factors in determining the safety of a language. However, these factors also ‘interact within a society in dynamic ways that are not entirely predictable but which do follow recognizable patterns and trends’ (Lewis et al 2013).

Bilingualism is often viewed as a major outcome of language contact that facilitates language endangerment and poses a threat to language maintenance. Depending on a number of factors, bilingualism in situations involving contact between linguistic minority groups and a dominant host group can endanger the minority language. For example, many immigrant groups in the United States have lost their ancestral languages and have shifted to English. In other cases, stable bilingualism, the outcome of contact situations, is characterised by maintenance of both the minority language and dominant language of the host community in a diglossic relationship (Fishman 1972). The different outcomes of bilingual situations are an indication that there are a range of linguistic and non-linguistic factors interacting with language situations to favour either language endangerment in terms of language shift/loss or language maintenance. In effect, bilingualism, ‘is not, in itself, a sufficient condition for language shift or death’ (Lewis et al 2013). Fishman (1989) provides a framework for examining bilingualism in terms of patterns of use across domains and in various role relationships. The allocation of functions to different languages within the speech community illustrates bilingualism at the societal level, whether stable or transitional. For example, the relationship between Spanish and Guarani in Paraguay whereby speakers are bilingual but Spanish performs H variety functions while Guarani performs L variety functions is an example of a speech community in which bilingualism is widespread and is stable. Abdulaziz (1972) and Johnson (1986) report on a triglossic relationship between Swahili, English, and the several vernacular languages in Tanzania and between Larteh, Twi, and English in Larteh, a town in Ghana respectively.

Non-linguistic factors such as historical relationship, length of contact, and ethnic identity, though not often taken into consideration, also play a role in bilingual contact situations to determine the direction of a speech community towards either maintenance of or shift from its indigenous language. Winford (2003) cites the case of speakers of Marathi, Kannada and Hindi-Urdu in India, whose long history of interaction has facilitated intra-community multilingualism and resulted in high degrees of structural convergence. In his study of bilingualism and ethnic identity in an inter-state borderland area, the Saare/Tsaragi community of Kwara state in Nigeria, Oyetade (1996) observes bilingualism in operation despite a history of a long relationship between the two groups that is characterised by subtle hostility arising from boundary issues and ethnic distinctiveness. The Nupe are a minority group in terms of population and status in relation to the Yorùbá. However, although bilingualism is reported to be higher among the Nupe than their Yorùbá counterparts, Oyetade observes that bilingualism is widespread and stable. Thus, the chances of cultural assimilation are minimal. In another example, an investigation of identity relations in the Idiroko/Igolo border community located along the Nigerian-Bénin international boundary, revealed widespread multilingualism that is motivated by the socio-economic environment and education among other factors (Omoniyi, 2004). However, the patterns of multilingualism involving indigenous languages on both sides of the boundary support the claim of the indigenes that they are one community, and not two, in spite of the border. These studies

demonstrate the role that non-linguistic factors in bilingual contact situations in border communities play in determining the language endangerment and maintenance.

In this study, I argue that social factors interacting with bilingualism, which may result in language endangerment or language maintenance, can be determined by assessing language use within the communities. This study is premised on the assumption that the demographic and sociolinguistic characteristics of Ọkọ and Gungbe predispose them to the potential threat of being assimilated into the culture of the dominant group beginning with language shift via bilingualism. The study examines the role of bilingualism and its interaction with other factors that have contributed to their maintenance. These factors include the speaker population size, domains of use, language transmission, speakers' attitudes towards their language, and non-linguistic factors (Ethnologue, Lewis et al 2013). The following three areas are highlighted: 1) Bilingualism at societal and individual levels; 2) Language use across a range of domains with focus on the home domain; 3) Language attitudes in terms of ethnic and cultural identity. In the sections that follow, an overview of the linguistic, sociocultural and historical background of the Gungbe and Ọkọ speaking communities is presented followed by the methodology adopted for the study and the findings.

2.1. The Language situation in Gungbe and Ọkọ speaking communities

Gungbe and Ọkọ are small (or minority) languages spoken within contact situations in borderland locations of Nigeria, West Africa. Although they belong to different geographical regions and language families, Gungbe and Ọkọ speakers have a long history of contact with speakers of other languages especially the Yorùbá language, a major language and lingua franca of southwest Nigeria.

The Gun² people, commonly referred to as *Egun* by non-natives, are a sub-set of a larger group called the Aja and they are spread over a large area across the West African coast in 4 countries, Nigeria, Bénin, Togo and Ghana (Asiwaju 1979). In Nigeria, they are concentrated in parts of Lagos and Ogun States, southwest Nigeria. In Lagos state, the Gun people are located in Badagry, one of their major settlements, and a border town that is contiguous with Porto Novo in the Republic of Bénin. The communities, which were once a single community, have been split into two by the establishment of the international boundary between Nigerian and the Republic of Bénin. The Gun people in Badagry are bounded to North by Yorùbá speaking communities in Ogun state, to the East by Yorùbá speaking communities in Lagos state, to the West by an international boundary and contiguous Gungbe speaking communities in Porto Novo, Republic; and to the south by the Atlantic Ocean. Gungbe has an estimated total number of 579,000 speakers, about half (259,000) of which are in Nigeria (Lewis et al 2013). Gungbe is classified as belonging to the left branch of the Kwa language family and as a member of a cluster of dialects that form a dialect chain variously referred to in literature as Ewe, Aja or Gbe (Capo 1990, Lewis et al 2013).

The language has benefited from linguistic research mostly by virtue of its membership in the larger Aja group³. As a minority language that is spoken by less than 5% of Lagos State's population, Gungbe has the unique status of being the only Kwa language in Nigeria. Yorùbá,

which is one of the official recognised national languages is the dominant host language spoken in Badagry while English is Nigeria's official language. It functions as a lingua franca and a vehicular language for speakers of other Gbe varieties in Porto Novo, Bénin Republic⁴.

Gungbe is a spoken and written language with different standard orthographies for Nigeria and Benin⁵. Ethnologue (Lewis 2013) puts literacy rates among the Gun at 1% - 5%, although the present study's survey results indicate higher literacy rates (45%). Written materials in Gungbe include primers and religious texts. There are also some radio and television programmes, music and films produced in Gungbe in Nigeria and Bénin.

Ọ̀kọ is the name of the language, while the speakers are identified by the name of their geographical location, *Ogori*. The language is classified as belonging to the fourth sub-branch of the west Benue Congo language family (cf. Lewis et al 2013)⁶. It is spoken in two border towns, Ogori and Magongo that are only three kilometres apart in the Ogori-Magongo Local Government Area (LGA) of Kogi State, in North-central Nigeria. Ogori town 'marks the boundary between Kogi and Edo states' in Nigeria (cf. Eyika 2003 cited in Olagboye 2007, 3). It shares a boundary with the Ebirá language community to the North; with Edoid language communities to the south and south-east (Atoyebi 2010); and to the southwest by Yorùbá speaking states of Kwara, Ondo and Ekiti. Ọ̀kọ is spoken in the twin communities of Ogori and Magongo by an estimated total population of 32,730. Adebija (2003:288) observed that Ọ̀kọ is unique in that it 'shares very little with the languages of its immediately surrounding neighbours'. Ọ̀kọ is essentially a spoken language with little or written materials. However, in terms of literacy, the survey results show that a fair number of respondents (44%) are literate in Ọ̀kọ. There is also evidence of limited linguistic research in Ọ̀kọ that includes the first comprehensive grammatical description of Ọ̀kọ (Atoyebi 2010)⁷. Apart from Adebija (1994, 2003), and Atoyebi (2010) who provide overviews of Ọ̀kọ's sociolinguistic profile from a participant-observer perspective, the survey results that constitute the data for the present study, is perhaps the first comprehensive sociolinguistic survey of Ọ̀kọ.

The problem that the paper addresses is the potential threat that the geographical and demographic features of Gungbe and Ọ̀kọ portend for their continued maintenance. The population of Gungbe and Ọ̀kọ speakers is comparatively smaller in relation to that of the dominant regional language, Yorùbá. The acquisition of English through formal education poses an additional source of threat. Politically, there is also the tendency for border town communities to be neglected by their national governments by virtue of their peripheral locations at the fringes of state or national territories far away from the centre. The study examines the role that these social factors play in the maintenance of Gungbe and Ọ̀kọ in the face of their continued co-existence with a dominant regional language.

2.2. Oral Traditions, Migrations and Contact with Yorùbá, a dominant regional language.

Based on oral tradition accounts, the Gun and the Ogori share in common, a historical migrant status and contact with Yoruba speaking groups. Traditional accounts trace the origin of Gun language to Dahomey (present-day Bénin). Te-Agbalin, a prince from Adja-Tado in Allada, who is believed to have established present-day Porto Novo (Hogbonu), is also believed to be the first to speak Gungbe (called Aladagbe) together with the influence of the languages of other immigrants and people to give rise to Gungbe. However, there are differing accounts: the tradition held by a section of the Gun people in Badagry, Nigeria is that their ancestors migrated from Ile-Ife, a town known as the origin of the Yorùbá race while the Gun people in Porto Novo, Republic of Bénin trace their origin to Adja-Tado in Allada, present-day Republic of Bénin. Despite the divergent views regarding their origin, there is a general consensus among the Gun people on both sides of the border regarding the origin of the language.

Historical accounts state that the Gun people are an immigrant group who experienced multiple waves of migrations of different groups from various points in the Republic of Bénin at different times and to different locations in Nigeria. From the period of contact (18th and 19th centuries) with the Yorùbá people occasioned by these migrations, the latter have continued to be a major influence and major characters in the sociohistory of the Gun people, and indeed the larger Aja culture group. The migrations also led to the emergence of Badagry as a mixed community and strategic border town between Bénin Republic and Nigeria where the Gun people of both countries meet to strengthen their historical and cultural ties through regular linguistic, cultural, diplomatic and economic interactions across the border (Dioka & Oyeweso 1994). Badagry town and its Gun inhabitants are unique in its geographical distance away from the rest of Yorùbá land as well as their close contact with the Aja people of Dahomey than with other Yorùbá towns (Avognon 1994). Even though they have been residing on Yorùbá territory, the Gun people in Badagry have maintained a separate identity through the practice of ancestral traditions such as chieftaincy titles and the Zangbeto festival for which their language, Gungbe, functions as the primary medium of communication.

Oral traditions about the origin of Ọkọ speakers centre on waves of migration from Ile-Ife, Bénin, Oyo, and Akoko Gbangiri. The Ile-Ife view is the most popular among a section of the Ogori people⁸. Although the closest present-day Yorùbá community is about 200 kilometres away from the Ogori, the two language groups have had a long history of contact, especially through the advent of Christianity and education⁹. The influence of the Yorùbá on the Ogori people is attributed to the activities of the early missionaries who were mostly Yorùbá speaking and also educationists (Adegbija 2003, Atoyebi 2010). The first church that was established about one hundred years ago in 1913 was under the auspices of the Yorùbá mission of the Church Missionary Society (CMS). Similarly, the church established a mission school in Ogori as early as 1916 (Olagboye 2007). However, the Ogori people have continued maintain their identity through observance of various traditional festivals and ceremonies to mark rites of passage (Olagboye 2002, Atoyebi 2010), for which Ọkọ is the language of interaction.

3. The Study

Gungbe is spoken in the contiguous international border towns of Badagry in Lagos state, Nigeria, and Porto Novo in Bénin Republic while Ọkọ is spoken in the twin interstate border towns of Ogori-Magongo. The two towns constituted the survey areas for this study. The map in figure 1 shows their geographical locations:

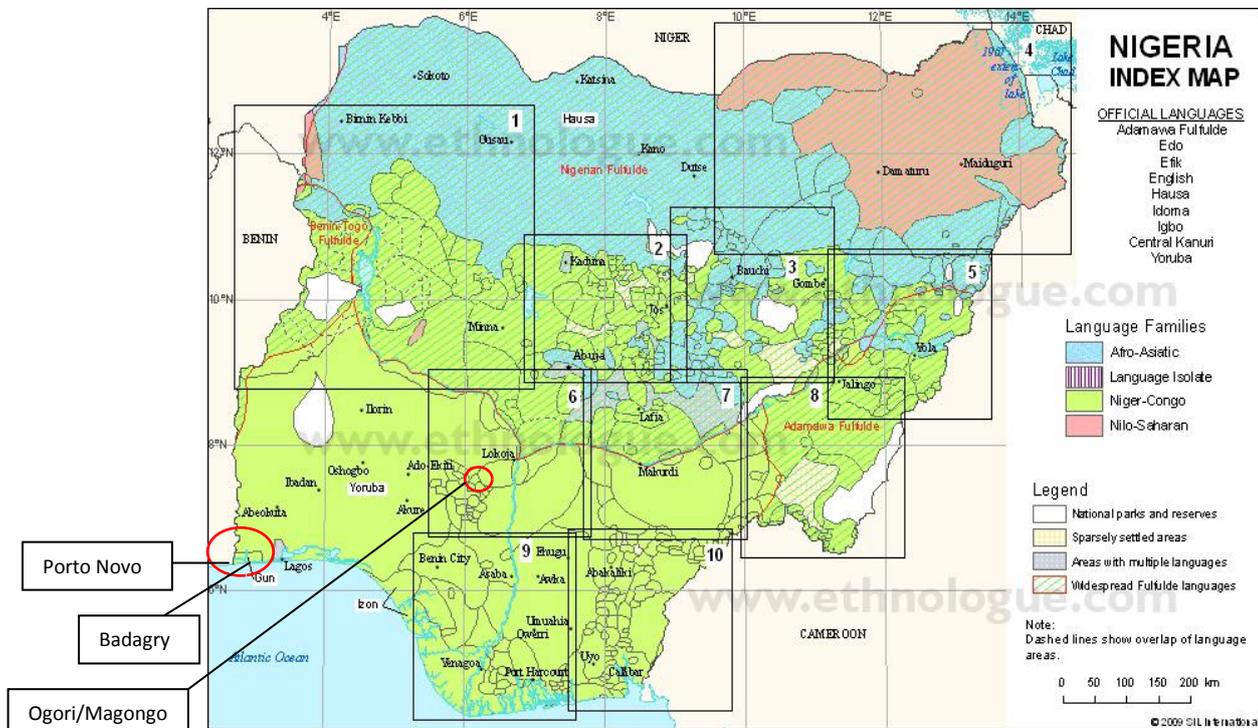


Figure 1: Language map of Nigeria (with Gun and Ọkọ speaking areas highlighted)
 (Source: www.ethnologue.com)

3.1. Methodology

Data used for this study is part of a larger study for which a sociolinguistic survey of Gungbe was conducted. Both quantitative and qualitative methods were utilised in the survey. A 76-item survey instrument, comprising seven sections was designed, pilot tested, and administered on a total of 500 respondents, 250 in Badagry and 250 in Porto Novo. However, only data results for Badagry has been utilised in this study. The survey was replicated and administered on 75 respondents in Ogori. The respondents were drawn from the eight quarters making up Badagry town and six wards making up Ogori town. The survey sections covered respondents’ demographic profile, language use in various contexts and with different interlocutors, literacy, kinship relations, intergenerational transmission, orthography, and language development.

The sampling procedure was purposive in terms of age and ethnic origin. The questionnaire was administered within Badagry and Ogori towns respectively to persons from 18 years to 60 years of age and of Gun and Ogori ethnic origin respectively. Responses were obtained using a five- point rating scale of ‘very often’, ‘often’ not often’ and ‘not at all’. For

reporting purposes, the first two responses were aggregated. An assessment of the extent of bilingualism and maintenance efforts was based on respondents' self-reports. Validation of the self reports was incorporated into the survey design by way of asking similar questions in more than one way, and by conducting a pilot test of the instrument. The questionnaire was also supplemented by interviews with community leaders and education officials. The interview schedules comprised question items covering language use, language policies and recommendations for literacy development. To determine the degree of bilingualism at community and individual levels, respondents were asked to indicate what other languages they spoke and how often they used these languages in various contexts. For language use, respondents were asked to indicate the language they used most often in interacting with different people in different domains. Specific attention was given to the frequency and patterns of use in the home domain with family members. To determine attitudes towards their language, respondents were asked questions pertaining to ethnic and cultural identity, and language development.

3.2. Respondents' Demographic Profile

In Badagry, 71% (177) of respondents are male and 29% (73) are female while for Ọkọ 67% (50) of respondents are male and 33% (25) are female. Respondents were within the age range of 18 to 60 years with about 98% (244) in Badagry and 95% (71) in Ọkọ having basic primary education. In terms of occupation, respondents in Badagry are mostly self-employed with the most common vocations being fishing, farming, and commerce. In Ọkọ, 41% (31) are employed, 27% (20) are self employed and 20% (15) are students. Most are civil servants and teachers while others are artisans and traders.

A significant characteristic of the sample at both locations is the low percentage of interethnic marriages. Of the number of respondents who are married among Badagry respondents, (135), and Ọkọ respondents (55) only 24.5% and 12% respectively are in interethnic marriages. As a socio-cultural factor, marriage patterns among migrant populations play a role in reinforcing or weakening language use.

4. Language maintenance among Gungbe and Ọkọ speakers

In this section, language use across major domains namely home, social events, market, work, traditional events, church, and school is investigated using Fishman's (1991, 45) framework. The framework provides dimensions for characterising the sociocultural contexts in which language use is examined for evaluating language shift or maintenance. In his view, *domains of language use* is a broad conceptualisation of these contexts in which language is used and they are organised further into a narrow conceptualisation of *role-relations* e.g. such as parent, child, sibling, spouse within the home domain. Fishman argues that one can determine the dominance of one language over another by evaluating the frequency of use of languages in speakers' linguistic repertoire.

4.1 Societal and Individual bilingualism

Bilingualism is generally characterised by language use and functions in a community with speakers' attitudes regulating the outcomes. The societal allocation of functions determines the pattern of societal bilingualism in a community which is necessary in view of the implications for language maintenance. The majority of the respondents are bilingual in Gungbe and one or more of Yorùbá, English, or Pidgin in Badagry, and in Òkọ and one or more of Yorùbá and English in Ogori. Most respondents in Badagry (96%) and Ogori (95%) indicate Gungbe and Òkọ respectively as their mother tongues. The communities of their childhood where Gungbe and Òkọ are spoken as a primary language constitute the domain of acquisition for a greater percentage of these respondents in Badagry and Ogori. In terms of other languages spoken, Yorùbá has the most significant influence. More than half of the respondents in Badagry (52%) claim that they learned to speak Yorùbá where they lived while 41% learned to speak Yorùbá where they were born. In Ogori (33%) learned to speak Yorùbá where they live and 32% where they were born. In order to determine community and individual linguistic repertoire, respondents were asked about frequency of language use in various contexts and relationships. Table 1 shows the frequency in the use of the different languages in at least one context. There was evidence of the use of other languages but the languages listed are the major ones spoken in the community.

Table 1 Community Linguistic Repertoire

Badagry		Ogori	
Language	Total (N= 250) %	Language	Total (N=75) %
Gungbe	90	Òkọ	100
Yorùbá	98	Yorùbá	87
English	69	English	95
French	4	Ebira	41
		Edoid	20

Respondents were also asked how often they used each of the languages across domains and in different role relationships. A summary of their responses which indicates the degree of bilingualism is shown in Table 2 below:

Table 2 Individual linguistic repertoire

Language(s) Spoken	Badagry (%)	Language(s) Spoken	Ogori (%)
Do not speak Gun at all	10	Do not speak Ọkọ at all	0
Gungbe only	0.8	Ọkọ only	1.3
Gungbe and Yorùbá	88	Ọkọ and Yorùbá	87
Gungbe and English	63	Ọkọ and English	95
Gungbe, Yorùbá and English	63	Ọkọ, Yorùbá and English	83

Tables 1 and 2 show that Gungbe, Yorùbá, and English are the most frequently used languages in Badagry while Ọkọ, Yorùbá, and English are the most frequently used languages in Ogori. Gungbe and Ọkọ are actively in use as almost all the respondents use them. While Yorùbá (98%) is the most frequently used language in Badagry following Gungbe, English (95%) is the most frequently used language in Ogori following Ọkọ. The significantly high percentages in the frequency of use of the languages listed in Table 1 are an indication of widespread bilingualism and multilingualism in both communities. Individual bilingualism is also prevalent in both communities as table 2 shows that most respondents are bilingual in Gungbe, and one or more of any of the other predominantly spoken languages and in Ọkọ. In addition, a significant percentage of respondents, 63% in Badagry and 83% in Ogori speak all three most dominant languages, Gungbe, Yorùbá and English and Ọkọ, Yorùbá and English respectively.

4.2 *Functional distribution of Gungbe and Ọkọ speakers*

The distribution of languages in the repertoire of Gungbe and Ọkọ speakers in other domains was examined to determine the patterns of use according to the functions they are used to fulfill. Gungbe functions as the language of the home as well as a vernacular of its immediate community by virtue of their predominant use in other domains such as work (62%), social (74%) and market (50%). Yorùbá, which functions as a lingua franca and as a language of wider communication, is frequently used at work (87%); church (91%); and at traditional events (42%). It overlaps with Gungbe in domains such as the home domain fulfilling in-group functions as well as in traditional events. English functions as the language of non-cultural formal contexts such as school (63%) and church (63%). However, all three languages are observed to feature prominently in the religious domain.

In Ogori, Ọkọ is also the language of the home as well as a vernacular of its immediate community in view of its dominance in other domains such as social (69%) and traditional events (84%) and the market (80%). Yorùbá which functions as a lingua franca and language of wider communication is used at work (27%), church (29%), market (15%), and with friends (45%). English is dominant in school (50%) and work (71%) domains. However, all

three languages in the community’s repertoire dominate the religious domain, even though English is more frequently used. The patterns of functional distribution observed above are characteristic of a triglossic relationship in which languages in a community’s linguistic repertoire perform broad complementary functions (cf. Johnson 1986). Bilingualism in both linguistic situations can be assessed as stable.

4.3 Language use in the home domain

The home domain is seen generally as the source of language vitality particularly in terms of language transmission from one generation to the other (Fishman 1991, 1997, Lewis et al 2013). Patterns of language use in the home are therefore significant for evaluating the effects of bilingualism on the mother tongue as well as the status of transmission from parent to child. The use of Gungbe and Òkọ was examined to determine the effect of bilingualism on their vitality status in terms of frequency of use across domains and in role relations in the home domain. Respondents’ responses to how often they use Gungbe and Òkọ in various domains are illustrated in figure 2:

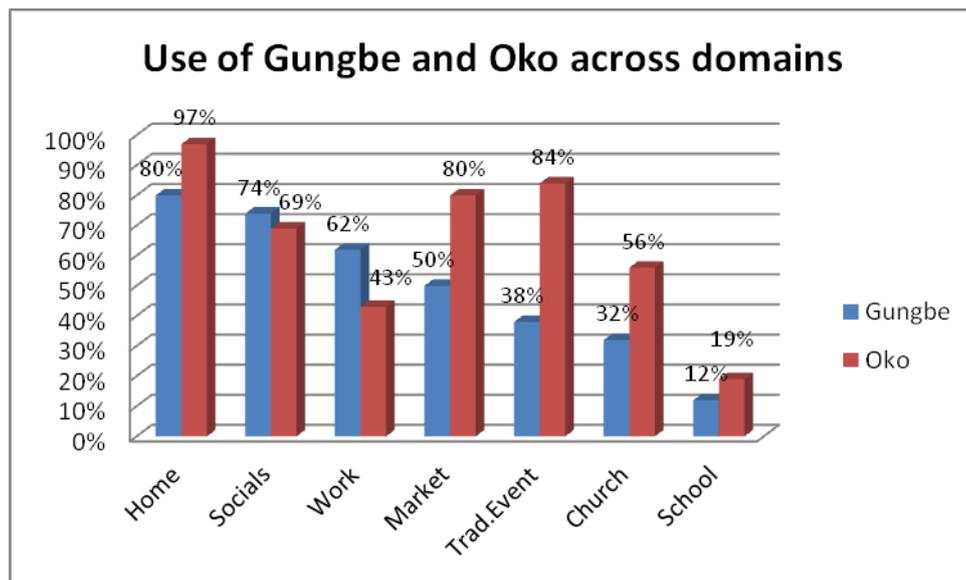


Figure 2: Use of Gungbe and Òkọ across domains

Figure 2 shows that the use of Gungbe (80%) and Òkọ (97%) are highest in the home domain. For Gungbe, this is followed by its use at social events (74%) and work (62%) while for Òkọ, it is followed by traditional events (84%) and (market).

Respondents’ patterns of language use in role-relations with their parents, siblings, spouses, and children are presented in figure 3 and figure 4.

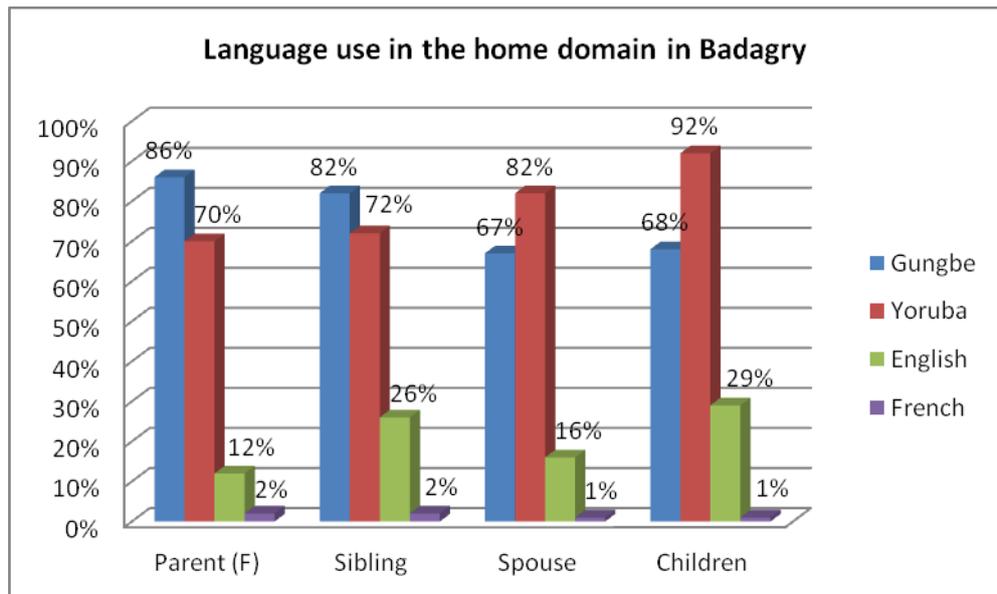


Figure 3: Language use in the home domain in Badagry

In Badagry, Gungbe and Yorùbá are used with comparative degrees of frequency⁶. Figure 3 shows that comparatively, a greater percentage of respondents use Gungbe often with their parents (86%) than with their children (68%). Conversely, a greater percentage of respondents use Yorùbá more often with their children (92%) than with their parents (70%). Similarly, a greater percentage of respondents use English more often with their children (29%) than with their parents (12%). In terms of bilingualism, the results suggest that a greater number of respondents' children are bilingual in Yorùbá and English compared to their grandparents. The consequent effect is the encroachment of these languages into the home domain that is usually reserved for the mother tongue.

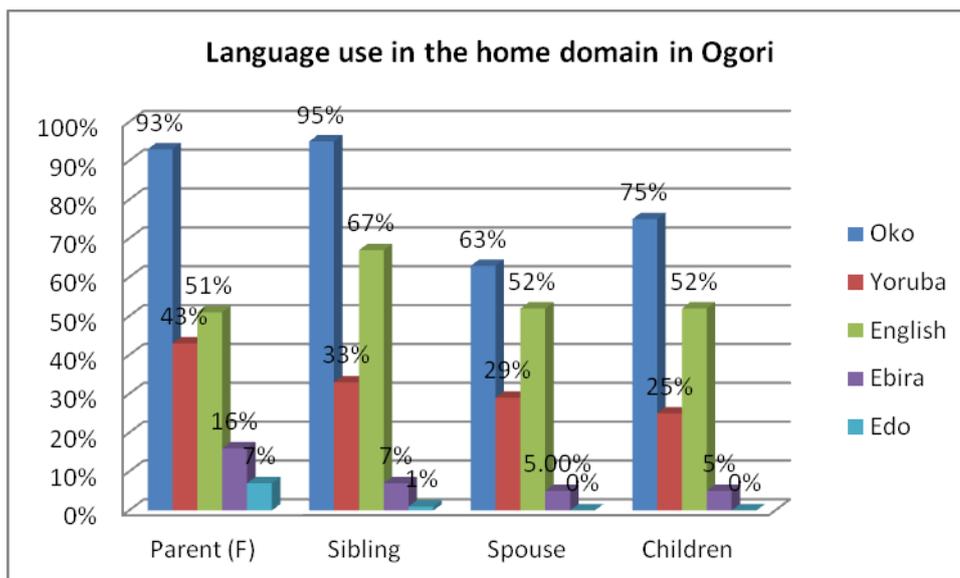


Figure 4: Language use in the home domain in Ogori

In Ogori, frequency of the use Ọkọ in the home domain is high. Figure 4 shows that 93% of respondents use Ọkọ often with their parents, 95% with their siblings, 63% with their spouses, and 75% with their children. Comparatively, the frequency of respondents' use of Ọkọ is higher with their parents than with their children. Of the other languages used, English is more frequently used than Yorùbá, while the use of Epira and Edo languages are low. In contrast with Gungbe, a greater percentage of respondents use Yorùbá more often with their parents (48%) than with their children (25%) while respondents use English more often with their siblings (67%) than with other family members. These results suggest that the use of Ọkọ is quite active in the home. In terms of bilingualism, the data shows that a greater proportion of respondents' parents are bilingual in Yorùbá and English compared with respondents' children who, although bilingual in Yorùbá and English, show preference for English over Yorùbá.

With regards to language transmission, Fishman (1991) underscores the importance of speakers transmitting their language to their children as a 'crucial element in the process of its maintenance'. In his view, attitudes such as speakers giving up their language, for a dominant and more prestigious language in terms of economic or educational benefits, and not passing it on to their children, even though they may be favourably disposed to it, can have a negative effect on the future of the language. Language transmission is critical for a language's vitality and speakers' attitudes are essential for its viability. The data shows that of 134 respondents in Badagry who have children, 85% have said they speak Gungbe to their children, while 69% said their children learned Gungbe at home. In Ogori, of 54 respondents who have children, 93% said their children speak Ọkọ and 90% said their children learn Ọkọ at home. The findings confirm the home as the centre of language transmission and the results are indicative of active transmission at the two locations. Transmission in terms of frequency of use by respondents with their children is very active at both locations; however the frequency of use between respondents and their children is less than between respondents and their parents.

5. Ethnic identity and Language Attitudes

Language is closely linked with culture, and it indexes ethnic identity and speakers' attitudes towards a language. Haruna (nd, 3) notes that, 'in general, all minority language speakers would like to preserve not only their linguistic but also their cultural and ethnic identity'. However, various sociocultural, sociopolitical, and socioeconomic factors often cause dominant languages to assimilate less dominant languages. Language attitudes play an important role in determining the direction of a language that has been affected by bilingualism, towards language shift or maintenance (Bradley & Bradley 2002). An evaluation of speakers' attitudes towards their language therefore contributes to determining the effects of bilingualism.

In terms of ethnic identity, the Gun people in Badagry demonstrate strong cultural affinity to their language. Despite a long history of co-existence with Yorùbá, the Gun people still maintain a relatively distinct cultural identity from their dominant host group. For example, Gun chieftaincy titles and traditional festivals, reminiscent of their ancestral homeland are

still maintained in Badagry. At the individual level, one of the indicators of attitudes towards ethnic identity and which is indexed by language is respondents' disposition to maintain contact with their ancestral homeland. A significant percentage of the respondents indicated that they have relatives across the border and they still maintain family ties with relatives. About 157 respondents (63%) in Badagry claim that they have family relations across the border that live in Porto Novo, and of that number, 94 respondents (43%) visited their relatives once in the past year. These links, which serve as a motivation to maintain the use of Gungbe to be able to communicate with relatives in Bénin Republic, are indicative of positive attitudes towards Gungbe. On the other hand, the Gun people are often perceived as belonging to the Yorùbá ethnolinguistic group, but a greater percentage (60%) indicated indifference to this perception (cf. Onadipe-Shalom 2012). Even then, indifference does not imply a positive disposition. In Ogori, efforts are being made to promote and maintain several cultural events. About 65% of respondents indicated regular participation at cultural festivals. As with the Gun, the Ogori are often regarded as belonging to the Yorùbá ethnic group. About 43% of the respondents agreed that they are often regarded as belonging to the dominant language group while 39% indicated dissatisfaction with this misconception about their ethnic identity. About 81% of respondents insisted that there are benefits to speaking Òkọ and rated the cultural benefits the highest.

The Gun and Ogori people also share similarities of Yorùbá influence in their naming practices. Many Gun and Ogori indigenes bear Yorùbá first or last names. Among the Ogori, Yorùbá last names are prevalent while Yorùbá first names are more common among the Gun. The data shows that only about 32% of respondents have either an Ogori first or last name. However, the data also indicates an improvement among respondents' children as a greater percentage of them (68%) have Ogori names. This change in naming practices towards greater use of Ogori names is indicative of a greater awareness in asserting ethnic identity via language.

The attitudes of respondents towards their languages were further assessed through their comments on what the community, government, church, and individuals can do to promote their use. The responses as shown in Table 3 suggest that respondents are positively disposed towards their language and its development.

Table 3 Open ended comments

Agency	Respondents' Comments	Badagry %	Ogori %
Government	Incorporate the language into school curriculum	50	70
Community	Sensitise the people on the importance of maintaining the language	48	29
	Organise activities e.g. festivals	15	35
	Use the language to promote cultural values	---	16

Church	Conduct church services in the language	40	69
Individual	Continue to speak the language	45	45

At both locations, the highest frequencies were for actions that illustrate a positive disposition towards promoting Gungbe and Ọ̀kọ. Gungbe respondents advocated for i) incorporating Gungbe into the school curriculum (50%); ii) sensitising the community (48%); iii) continuing to speak Gungbe (45%); and iv) conducting church services in Gungbe (40%). Ọ̀kọ speakers advocated for i) the inclusion of Ọ̀kọ in the school curriculum (70%); ii) conducting services in Ọ̀kọ (69%); iii) continued use of Ọ̀kọ (45%); iv) sensitising on the importance of speaking Ọ̀kọ (29%); v) festivals (25%); and vi) promoting cultural values (16%). The similarity observed in the results is an indication of an overall desire of speakers to see their language develop more functions that will make them more viable.

With regard to literacy development, about 45% of respondents claimed they read materials in Gungbe often, about 38% read well in Gungbe. Respondents were asked to read a text to validate their claims. The most often read material is the Bible (58%). For Ọ̀kọ, there is very minimal literacy development. Although about 32% claim they can read in Ọ̀kọ, the results showed very little reading is going on mostly because there are little or no literary materials available to support literacy development. A greater majority of respondents that claim they read in Gungbe and Ọ̀kọ, were taught by their parents. The transmission of reading skills is an indication of positive attitudes towards the languages. As a result, although a significant percentage of respondents can read and write in their language, there are little or no materials available.

6. Discussion

Gungbe and Ọ̀kọ share a number of geographical and demographic characteristics in common: 1) They are small languages by virtue of their relatively small population; 2) they are also minority languages in relation to larger dominant languages like Yorùbá and Epira that surround them; and 3) they located in borderlands which make them more susceptible to language contact. These features predispose them to potential threats of language endangerment. The aim of this study was to examine the degree of bilingualism and other factors that interact with the linguistic situation to favour language maintenance or otherwise. The findings in this study have implications for language maintenance among the Gungbe and Ọ̀kọ speakers.

First, contrary to earlier observations (e.g. Adegbija 2003, Parrinder 1947) that the proximity of larger ethnic groups has encouraged interethnic marriages between Ọ̀kọ speakers and their neighbours as well as reports of high incidences of interethnic marriages among the Gungbe speakers, the data in this study shows that incidences of interethnic marriages in the geographical locations where the languages are spoken used are quite low. Landweer (1991) observes that a language can reinforce or weaken its core of fluent speakers depending on the language use characteristics of those who migrate to a speech community as a result of factors including marriage. Consequently, low occurrence of interethnic marriages

is an indication of a maintenance strategy employed by Gungbe and Ọkọ speakers, rather than a threat. On the other hand, the migration of young people to urban settings does facilitate interethnic marriage patterns and constitute a source of external threat.

Second, widespread and stable bilingualism at the societal and individual levels characterise the linguistic situation with a functional distribution of language. The patterns observed illustrate a triglossic relationship by which the languages in the communities' linguistic repertoire perform broad functions for their speakers. In such language contact situations, Gungbe and Ọkọ, the dominated language serve to express identity for their speakers, foster family ties, maintain social relationships and preserve historical links while the dominant languages (e.g. Yorùbá) serve as the language of wider communication. Majority of the respondents were found to be bilingual and in some cases multilingual. Although Yorùbá is prominent in the linguistic repertoire of Gungbe and Ọkọ communities, English appears to have greater prominence than Yorùbá in the Ọkọ community. This finding may not be unconnected with the long history of education in the Ọkọ communities. It also illustrates Fishman's (1972) description of multilingual speech communities that are characterised by both diglossia/triglossia and bilingualism/multilingualism. Such a linguistic situation facilitates stable bilingualism and consequently language maintenance. Brenzinger's (1991 cited in Cornell 2002) observation regarding language death in Africa, that when it occurs involves more of a shift to regional languages rather than to colonial languages, is substantiated only for Gungbe.

Third, the use of Gungbe and Ọkọ is highest in the home domain and it demonstrates that language transmission of Gungbe and Ọkọ in terms of frequency of use by respondents with children very active. However, the lower percentage in the frequency of use by respondent with children compared to respondents' use with parents is an indication of a need to further strengthen maintenance efforts. High degrees of the use of Yorùbá in the home domain alongside Gungbe were observed, and respondents use Yorùbá more often with their children than with their parents. These patterns of language use suggest that more respondents' children bilingual in Yorùbá and English compared with their grandparents. The consequent effect of Yorùbá's encroachment into the home domain is therefore not surprising. At the same time, transmission between respondent and children in terms of frequency of use which was observed to be very active mitigates the effect of bilingualism in the home domain. In the light of the data on language use in the home domain, Yorùbá is more of a threat than English among Gungbe speakers, while English is more of a threat to Ọkọ than Yorùbá, contrary to previous studies (e.g. Adegbija 2003). However, in view of high language transmission in the home, a critical indicator of a language's vitality status, and therefore of language maintenance, Gungbe and Ọkọ are relatively safe from endangerment.

Fourth, several socio-cultural and historical factors are interacting with the linguistic situation in dynamic ways to contribute to Gungbe and Ọkọ's maintenance. Historically, the Gun and Ọkọ people have had a long history with larger language groups like the Yorùbá and Ebirá language groups. The relationship, though not equal by virtue of population size and minority status, could be seen as cordial and non-conflicting. The varying degrees of societal and individual bilingualism observed in their linguistic situations are indicative of Gungbe and Ọkọ speakers' long history of contact and non-conflict relationship with the Yorùbá.

Both the Gungbe and Ọkọ speakers maintain several of their cultural practices and they also demonstrate a strong sense of affinity to their culture and identity which they index by their language. The contiguous nature of Gungbe's location in Badagry across the border with Gungbe in Porto Novo also constitutes an important component in its maintenance. For Gungbe speakers, maintenance of kinship ties with their ancestral homeland is an additional motivation for language maintenance and it empowers the immigrant language group to withstand assimilation by the dominant languages and culture. Among Ọkọ speakers, the shift in the naming practices from Yorùbá names to Ọkọ names could be viewed as a maintenance strategy for the preservation of culture and language. The findings of the study confirm Adegbija's (2003) observations of the use of giving children Ogori names as a strategy to promote the language and culture.

7. Conclusion

This paper examined bilingualism as an outcome of the co-existence of minority and dominant regional languages, and its role in interaction with social factors to determine the fate of small languages. The results of a sociolinguistic survey provided quantitative data on the effects of bilingualism on the maintenance of Gungbe and Ọkọ, two small languages that co-exist with Yorùbá, a dominant regional language. Language transmission, low rates of interethnic marriages, ethnic and cultural identity, and positive attitudes are some of the factors that currently contribute to language maintenance among Gungbe and Ọkọ speakers.

However, groups with a long history of contact and stable bilingualism could be vulnerable if maintenance efforts are not strengthened and additional strategies vigorously pursued, particularly in the areas of language development, economic, and institutional support as identified in previous studies (e.g. Giles 1977). Also, for language maintenance strategies to be successful, they must come from the speakers themselves and not prescribed by other people (cf. Bradley and Bradley 2002). Indeed, respondents' comments regarding how to promote the use of their languages showed that they have positive attitudes towards their language, and that institutional support such as incorporating the language into the school curriculum will enhance their viability. Winford (2003) notes that long term stability can translate into rapid shift if given the right circumstances. Consequently, current maintenance efforts and additional strategies need to be explored in order to maintain the stable bilingualism observed in the Gungbe and Ọkọ contact situations. The findings of the study show that language development should be the area of focus for maintenance efforts. The results for literacy development which show that a significant percentage of respondents are literate in their indigenous languages, also indicate that more written materials need to be produced in Gungbe⁷ and Ọkọ⁸.

The fact that not only exogenous languages like English, but also dominant regional varieties are a potential threat to small languages within nation states is significant. While these dominant languages tend to receive more attention from governments (cf. Elugbe 2008), speakers of small languages, by implication, often need to do more to ensure the continued existence of their languages. A language also stands a better chance of maintaining

a healthy vitality status if it is actively in use in media, for literacy, school subject, and as medium of instruction.

Acknowledgements

A sociolinguistic survey of the Gun people in Badagry, Nigeria and Porto Novo, Benin Republic was conducted in 2010 with funding support from the West African Research Council (WARC) and the Bible Society of Nigeria (BSN). A similar survey of the Oko people was carried out in Ogori-Magongo LGA, Kogi State Nigeria in 2013. I am grateful to the funding agencies, the research team- Drs. Celestin Kiki and Michael Kunnuji, Samson Shado, research assistants and their supervisors for their contributions.

Notes

1. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 19th International Congress of Linguists (ICL), Geneva Switzerland.
2. The term *Egun* connotes certain ethnic prejudices. Gun-gbe was proposed as a cover term for the mutually intelligible cluster of dialects (cf. Egbokhare et al 2001). It has also been adopted for use by the directorate of Literacy, Ministry of Culture and Communication (*Ministère de la Culture et des Communications, Direction de l'Alphabétisation*) in Bénin Republic. In this study, *Gun* refers to the ethnolinguistic group while *Gungbe* refers to the language.
3. Gungbe has received some attention from linguists, mostly by virtue of its membership of the Aja (also referred to as Gbe) language group (e.g. Capo 1997, Soremekun 1987, Kluge 2002). Sociolinguistic research in Gungbe comprises journal articles (e.g. Avognon 1994, Adeniran 2007, 2009), masters' and doctoral theses (e.g. Onadipe-Shalom 2012 on Gungbe in Badagry, Adeniran 2012 on Gungbe in Porto-Novo), and a comparative sociolinguistic survey on Gungbe in Badagry and Porto Novo (Ofulue 2012).
4. In Bénin Republic, Gungbe is a dominant language, being the fourth largest (320,000) in terms of number of speakers, and is spoken predominantly in Porto Novo, the country's capital city where its speakers constitute about 37% of the city's population. Other languages spoken in Porto Novo include Yorùbá, French, and Fon (Adeniran 2012).
5. Gungbe has three orthographies in use in Bénin Republic and Nigeria. Two translations of the Bible are available- a translation in a Yorùbá - based orthography is in use in Nigeria, while another translation in the 'old' Béninoise orthography is in use in the Republic of Bénin. The 'old' orthography was used for the 1923 translation of the Bible while the 'new' orthography was introduced in Bénin in 1975. There are ongoing efforts to harmonise Gungbe's orthographies. Primers in the 'new' orthography are in use in the non-formal education sector.

6. Lewis et al (2013) documents three dialects for Ọkọ namely, Ọkọ, Ọsáyẹ̀n, and Eni. However, some studies recognise only Ọkọ and Ọsáyẹ̀n as the dialects and that they are mutually intelligible while Eni is not regarded as a dialect of Ọkọ (cf. Adegbija 1993, Atoyebi 2012).
7. Other studies on structural aspects of Ọkọ include Chumbow (1982a, 1982b).
8. Other traditions of origin include the Edo tradition which holds that the Ogori people, the Eni clan in particular, migrated from the Benin kingdom. A second tradition of origin claims that they migrated from Oyo in the 18th century, and a third tradition based on some cultural similarities, claims that the Ogori people migrated from Akoko- Gbangiri, a border community in present day Ondo state, South-west Nigeria.
9. The Ogori place a high premium on education and it is reflected in the continued promotion of the traditional age-grade system that comprises about 10 different age grades- the celebration of which culminates in a festival for each age grade. The most popular of the festivals is the *Ovia-Osese* that celebrates the coming of age of maidens (Olagboye 2002, Atoyebi 2010). Regarding formal education, the Ogori people could boast of having twelve professors at one time.
10. This is however not the case for Gungbe in Porto Novo.
11. The survey showed higher literacy rates for Gungbe than those reported in literature (e.g. Ethnologue Lewis 2013).
12. A recent publication of a comprehensive grammatical description of Ọkọ should help stimulate language development efforts. Self help at the community level is also ongoing for example, an association called *League of Professors*, is committed to the promotion of language and cultural identity.

References

- Abdulaziz, M. H. 1972. Triglossia and Swahili-English Bilingualism in Tanzania. *Language in Society* 1, 197-213.
- Adegbija, E. E. 1993. The graphization of small-group language: A case study of Oko. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 102, 153-173.
- Adegbija, E. 2001 Saving Threatened Languages in Africa: A Case study of Oko In Joshua A. Fishman (ed.) *Can Threatened Languages be Saved? Reversing Language Shift Revisited: A 21st Century Perspective* (pp. 284-308). Clevedon, Avon: Multilingual Matters.
- Adeniran, W. 2007. Preliminary observations on language use and needs in border regions: the Nigeria-Bénin experience. In R.T. Akinleye (ed.) *Academic Disciplines and Border Studies* (pp. 123-142). Lagos: Centre for African Regional Integration and Border Studies.
- Adeniran, W. 2009. Multilingualism and Language Use in Porto-Novo. In F. McLaughlin. (ed.) *The Languages of Urban Africa* (pp. 131-151). London: Continuum.
- Adeniran, A. O. 2012. *An Investigation of Language Use and Attitude in the Urban Community of Porto-Novo, Benin Republic*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Ibadan, Ibadan.
- Asiwaju, A. I. 1979. The Aja speaking people of Nigeria: A note on their origins, settlement and cultural adaptation up to 1945. *Africa* (49)1, 15-28.
- Asiwaju, A. I. 1984. *Partitioned Africans: Ethnic Relations across Africa's International Boundaries 1884-1984*. Lagos: University of Lagos Press.
- Atoyebi, J. D. 2010. *A Reference Grammar of Oko*. Köln: Rudiger Köppe Verlag
- Avognon, J. K. 1994. The Degree of Bilingualism of the Ogu speakers of Badagry-Implications. In *Badagry: A study in History, Culture and Traditions of an Ancient City* (pp. 314-323). Ibadan: Rex Charles Publication.
- Bradley, D. and M. Bradley (eds.) 2002. *Language Endangerment and Language Maintenance*. London: Routledge Curzon: Taylor & Francis Group
- Brenzinger, M. and T. Graaf. 2006. Language Documentation and Maintenance. In *Encyclopedia of Life Support Systems* (EOLSS 6.20B.10.3), UNESCO. Retrieved from <http://www.eolss.net/>.
- Blench, R. 2007. Endangered languages of West Africa. In M. Brenzinger, M. (ed.) *Language Diversity Endangered* (pp. 140-162). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Campbell, R. & D. Christian. (eds.) (2003). Directions in Research: Intergenerational Transmission of Heritage Languages. *Heritage language Journal*, Retrieved from http://www.international.ucla.edu/cms/files/russ_and_donna.pdf

- Capo, H.B.C. 1990. Towards a viable orthography for Egungbe. *African Languages and Cultures*, (3) 2, 109-125.
- Cornell, B. 1998. Moribund Languages of the Nigeria-Cameroon Borderland. In Brenzinger (ed.) *Endangered Languages in Africa* (pp. 207-225) Köln: Rudiger Köppe.
- Crystal, D. 2000. *Language Death*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dioka, L.C and S. Oyeweso 1994. Inter-Group relations in Frontier State: The Case of Badagry. In *Badagry: A study in History, Culture and Traditions of an Ancient City* (pp. 128 – 153). Ibadan: Rex Charles Publication.
- Elugbe, Ben O. (2008). Cross border and major languages of Africa: their potential for inter-regional cooperation. In R.T. Akinyele (ed.) *Borderlands and African Integration*, Centre for African Regional Integration and Border Studies (CARIBS) (105-115) Lagos: Panaf Publishing.
- Fishman, J. A. 1972. *Language in sociocultural change: essays by Joshua A. Fishman*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Fishman, J. A. 1989. *Language and ethnicity in minority sociolinguistic perspective*. Clevedon, Avon: Multilingual Matters.
- Fishman, J. A. 1991. *Reversing Language Shift*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters,
- Fishman, J. A. 2001. *Can Threatened Languages be Saved? Reversing Language Shift Revisited: A 21st Century Perspective*. Clevedon, Avon: Multilingual Matters.
- Giles, H and Johnson, P. 1981. The role of language in ethnic group relations. In J.C. Turner & H. Gules (eds.), *Intergroup Behavior* (pp.199-243). Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Haruna, A. (n.d.). *Language shift in northern Nigeria: The precarious situation of the minority languages of the region*, a paper read at the 6th World Congress of African Linguistics, University of Cologne, Germany, August 17th -21st, 2009.
- Johnson, B. C. (1986). Diglossia in Africa. In Bh. Krishnamurthu (ed.) *South Asian Languages: Structural Convergence and Diglossia* (pp. 337-49). Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Lewis, M. Paul (ed.) (2013). *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Sixteenth edition. Dallas, Tex.: SIL International. Online version: <http://www.ethnologue.com/>.
- Olagboye, A. A. 2002. *Saint Peter's School and Ogori in History*. Ibadan: Daily Graphics Publications.
- Olagboye, A. A. 2007. *Education in Ogori: past, present and future*. Ondo: Kemiso Educational Consultants.
- Omoniyi, T. 2004. *The Sociolinguistics of Borderlands: Two Nations, One Community* NJ: Africa World Press.

- Onadipe-Shalom, T. A. 2012. *The Socio-Linguistic Context Of Egun (Ogu) Language Maintenance And Shift In Badagry Town, Lagos State*. An unpublished Masters' Thesis, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria.
- Oyetade, S.O. 2007. Language Endangerment and Language preservation: Perspectives on Akoko Languages of the Southwest. *Small Languages and Small Language Communities* 55. *International Journal of Sociology of Language* 184: 169-184.
- Oyetade, S. O. 1996. Bilingualism and Ethnic Identity in a Nupe-Yoruba Town in Nigeria. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 17(5): 375-384.
- Parrinder, E.G. 1947. The Yorùbá -speaking peoples in Dahomey, *Africa* 17 (2), 122-128.
- UNESCO (2003). *Language Vitality and Endangerment*. UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage Unit's Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages, Presented at UNESCO Programme 'Safeguarding of Endangered Languages'. Paris-Fontenoy, March 10-12 2003.
- Winford, Donald 2003. *An Introduction to Contact Linguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers