LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY IN ORU REFUGEE CAMP, OGUN STATE, NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

Refugees, in Oru camp, who chose integration instead of repatriation, are confronted with socio-cultural challenges which constrain them to adopt the language of their host community. Most of the previous studies on refugees investigated their socio-political and cultural concerns, with inadequate attention to their sociolinguistic challenges. Consequently, this research investigated the manifestation of identities in language use, attitudes, stereotypes and codeswitching/borrowing among Liberian and Sierra Leonean refugees in Oru Camp, Ogun State. This is with a view to evaluating the identity preferred by the refugees.

This study adopted the ethnolinguistic identity theory and the mentalist theory of language attitudes. A questionnaire was administered to 240 respondents, comprising 15 teenagers (13-19yrs), 15 young adults (20-39yrs) and 10 full adults (40-60yrs), purposively drawn from each of the six ethnic groups investigated: Krahn, Bassa, Kpelle (Liberia); Mende, Temne, Limba (Sierra Leone). Thirty-six respondents comprising two teenagers, two young adults and six full adults, drawn from each ethnic group were subjected to unstructured interviews. Through participant observation, the respondents' spontaneous interactions were recorded on audio-tape and field notes. Qualitative data were subjected to ethnolinguistic analysis; quantitative data were analysed using percentages and Chi-square.

Borrowings were social (terms for prostitutes, hard drugs and police) and cultural (terms for foods, trado-medicine and monarchy) as the observed respondents borrowed lexemes from Yoruba and their indigenous languages. Codeswitchings included metaphorical and emblematic types and were occasioned by greetings, quotations and proverbs. Stereotypes were negative as Liberians labelled Sierra Leoneans 'violent people' while Sierra Leoneans labelled Liberians *Okafrieowey* (wayward). All respondents resisted being labelled *omo refugee* by Nigerians because it is discriminatory and preferred respectable identities like "sir" and "madam". The reasons for minimal use of indigenous languages were the prestige of English and accommodation, while the minimal use of Yoruba was mainly due to negative attitude of host community. In terms of language attitude, an average of 72.2% of teenagers and 100% of young adults valued their indigenous languages without speaking them; 100% of full adults valued their indigenous languages but seldom used them; 80.0% of young adults and 88.8% of full adults undervalued Yoruba and did not speak it. In respect of language use at home, an average of 100% of young adults and 88.7% of full adults used English/pidgin/krio in parent-child interaction while 8.3% of full adults used English/indigenous languages. With regard to neighbourhood, 100% of young adults and teenagers, and 70.0% of full adults used English/pidgin/krio in intra-ethnic interaction while 30.0% of full adults used indigenous languages/pidgin/krio. With reference to school, 100% of teenagers used English in classroom and English/ Yoruba during break time. The significant value of x^2= 12.61; df =2, p< 0.05; (home) and, x^2= 15.86; df= 2, p<0.05 (neighbourhood) suggests that age influenced language use rather than ethnicity.

Oru refugees manifest multiple linguistic identities but prefer a modern identity represented by English more than an ethnic/Yoruba identity. Refugees in Oru camp, who opted for integration, need to identify more with Yoruba for purposes of inclusion and the benefits of diversity.

Key words: Oru refugees, Ethnolinguistics, Linguistic identity, Language use, Language attitudes.

Word count: 499

CERTIFICATION

I certify that this work was carried out by Mr. Nwagbo, Osita Gerald under my supervision in the Department of Linguistics and African Languages, University of Ibadan. It has not been presented to any previous application for a higher degree. All quotations are indicated and the sources of information are specifically acknowledged by means of references.

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DEDICATION

To the One who made me,
and who is still making me.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1   Background to the Study

The concern of this study is to investigate the place of language in the construction of multifarious identities among the Liberian and Sierra Leonean refugees in Oru refugee camp, Ogun State. By way of definition, article 1A of the United Nations 1951 refugee convention, also known as the Geneva Convention, technically defines a refugee as:

> a person who has well founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, (and) is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country, or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it (UNHCR, 2010).

By this definition, it is evident that refugees are a special breed of immigrants. Unwillingness to return to one's heritage country as a result of fear of persecution, for one reason or the other, is at the root of the refugee distinction. Whereas the average immigrant who voluntarily leaves his country of origin for job opportunities in another country is always willing to return to his native country, the refugee is not, on account of fear, until the crisis situation at home is normalised.   Kunz's (1981) idea of 'Push' and 'Pull' stresses that whereas the average immigrant is pulled or attracted to a new land by opportunities, the refugee is pushed out of his heritage country as a result of violence, discrimination, economic hardship, political conflict, etc. Thus refugees are a group of involuntary immigrants who have been forced to leave their countries and move into other countries which may not be their choice (Berry 1997). It follows that, the immigrant has a preferred destination but the refugee has no choice and any destination will do. Tribe (2002) states that unlike immigrants who choose to relocate to another country and have sufficient time to plan their movement, refugees are forced to flee their country, out of fear and without any plan of where they are going. They are usually victims of war and human rights abuse and have probably lost their possessions and loved ones through traumatic experiences.

Furthermore, refugees are moved enmasse but immigrants do not move enmasse. The mass movement of refugees is what evidently and so crudely characterises refugees. Although internally displaced persons suffer the same fate, the difference is in their destination. Whereas internally displaced persons flee to another area within the same country, refugees flee to another country, not their own.

The subjects of this study aptly fit into this definition as their flight across international borders is occasioned by fear of persecution in their countries of origin. It is acknowledged that refugees are confronted with numerous challenges, ranging from food, healthcare, shelter, resettlement, etc. However, this study is specifically on the language and identity question in the life of refugees. Although language is not explicitly mentioned in the definition above, its vacancy does not preclude language from the framework as race (or ethnic group), religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, all have a lot in common with language (Fishman 1989).

The reason for opting to study the language proposition, among all other inconveniences encountered by refugees is because language is central in the lives of individuals as a veritable means of identification and solidarity within and across cultures (Kim, 2001; Berry, 2008). This is especially so as the refugees in this study have emerged from a hostile situation where survival partly depended on the language or identity one expressed (Ed-zar-zar, 2002). Of course, this is not a submission that inter-ethnic hostilities are provoked by linguistic disparities; instead, it is other socio-political paroxysms which dislocate the equilibrium of society (Fishman 1968; Romaine 2003). However, irrespective of the remoteness of language factors from the socio-political antecedents which precipitate some of these cataclysmic conditions, one of the consequences is that the citizens of the affected countries, like the ones in this study, are often conscious of the primacy of ethnolinguistic identity in their daily lives; that is, their own language and culture in contrast to the language and culture of others.

The issue of language in relation to ethnic identity is shrouded in controversy. Different scholars hold different views concerning the link between language and ethnicity.

Bamgbose (1991) suggests four plausible positions in this matter, each recognizing the existence of other factors in addition to language. The first position suggests that language is the most powerful factor which determines ethnicity. The second position submits 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. The third position states that language is merely one of the cultural elements or symbols which determine ethnicity and not the only one. The fourth position suggests that the relationship between language and ethnicity varies depending on the state of the group involved.

My position in this polemics is that language is symmetrical with ethnicity given the dictate of Bamgbose's first position, that is, language is the most potent and dynamic instrument of ethnic identity. Fishman (1989:26) highlights the connection between language and ethnicity along the lines of paternity by stating that;

> It is precisely because language is so often taken as a biological inheritance that its association with ethnic paternity is both frequent and powerful. It is acquired with the mother's milk… It is saturated with the tears and joys of the ancestors. It is loved with all one's being. How could it be otherwise, particularly if the ultimate power used (the) language in creating the ancestors and, indeed, in creating the world itself.

By this postulation Fishman underscores his bias for language as the prime symbol of ethnic identity, though he did not lose sight of other symbols like food, dress, shelter, artifacts, work, patterns of worship, etc. Demirezen (2006: 2) upholds Fishman's view by stating that the relationship between language and ethnic identity is 'bi-directional' and Spolsky (1999) too, who cites the example of the children of Israel who maintained their ethnic identity during the period of slavery in Egypt by not abandoning their language (also Liebland 1999). Kramsch (1998: 69) posits that 'for many cultures language is one of its main elements, as it is used for passing on culture, especially in cases where language is only spoken and not written by its people; thus it comes to mark people's cultural membership(s)'. Giles et al. (1977 cited in Appel and Muysken 1987: 11) note that

> Language is not only an instrument for the communication of messages. With its language a group distinguishes itself. The cultural norms and values of a group are transmitted by its language. Group feelings are emphasized by using the group's own language, and members of the out-group are excluded from its internal transactions.

It is on the strength of this position that Giles and Coupland (1991) suggest that some nations like the Catalonians consider themselves as half a nation without their language. The depth of this ethnic attachment through language is elaborated by Johnson (2009: 177) who states that

> For the majority of Hispanics, the Spanish language runs deeply into cultural and personal identities. Anzaldua's (1987) eloquent phrasing of this principle captures the language-identity fusion: "Ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity-I am my language (p. 59). To relinquish Spanish either literarily or symbolically … is to relinquish a significant and powerful dimension of personal and social identity.

Appel and Muysken (1987) see this connection between language and identity as unassailable (see also Crystal 2000). One of the reasons for unassailability is that language serves as a means of segregating, in a cultural sense, one group from others, so that members of one group see themselves as 'insiders' while others are 'outsiders'. This distinction, according to Gibson's (2004) observation is evident among minority or immigrant groups within a dominant culture, where bilingual language use is often analysed as having two parts, the 'we' versus 'they' code, or the 'high' versus 'low' language (Valdes 2000). In this distinction the 'we' code represents in-group speech which connotes intimacy and is largely confined to the home for reasons of low prestige. But the 'they' code is associated with status and used by the more powerful group. This assertion is consistent with Korth (2005: 27) who opines that 'individuals may feel that they belong to group X, because they feel that they share the same system of symbols and meanings and thus share an us-feeling. This view is compatible with Adams and Tulasiewicz's (1998: 15) distinction between instrumental and symbolic language. Instrumental language is the language which is actually exploited in the process of communication whereas symbolic language is defined as a private language which is not used for the purpose of interaction, but which, because of its composition, can endow an individual or group with a distinctiveness of their own which is particularly difficult to

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lose (also Berry and Laponce, 1994; Herbert 1992). Both instrumental and symbolic languages are potent premises which help to create a sense of belonging to an ethnic group (insiders) and not belonging to other ethnic groups (outsiders).

On the whole, it is evident that the association between language and ethnic identity is not peripheral. This is largely because language plays a dual role with respect to ethnic delineation. It is the major part of the symbols which mark a people's culture and also it is the means used to express all the disparate nuances of the culture.

Having stated the premises of the study, the next section will deal with the problem about which this study is concerned.

1.2   Statement of the Problem

Refugees are typically moved out of their country of origin into another coutry due to conflict situations, disasters or fear of persecution. In another country, they are usually quartered in a camp and expected to remain there until conditions normalise in their country of origin. They are also offered an opportunity to integrate into their host country through a process which grants them certain legal, economic and social rights. The main purpose of these rights is to enhance their lives and give them a sense of belonging.

However, refugees who live among a different ethnolinguistic group often find themselves in a cultural dilemma. According to Albrecht (2001) life as a refugee is problematic as it adversely affects one's sense of identity. Apart from material challenges, language barriers also frequently pose a difficulty as refugees struggle with issues of identity and belonging in a completely different ethnolinguistic environment (UNHCR 2008). They are usually presented with a bouquet of linguistic alternatives which persuade them to re-negotiate their identities. The question is, should they retain their heritage linguistic identity or should they adjust and identify with their host's culture. Whichever option they adopt has benefits and challenges; if they choose to maintain their indigenous languages they benefit from perpetuating their language and culture through transmission to subsequent generations, and also a maintenance of ethnic

identity, but they might lose face with the host community. On the other hand, if they opt to acculturate by adopting the language of their hosts, they enjoy some instrumental benefits, depending on the utilitarian values of the host's language, but risk losing their ethnic culture depending on the degree and pattern of acculturation.

In their empirical work, Maldonado, Krushner, Barr and Korz (2009) exemplify the case of Mexican and El Salvadorian migrant students in the United States whose struggle between two different identities is characterized by the fear of abandoning their heritage identity and the fear of rejection by their American friends.

The challenge of identity is compounded with the concept of the stranger and stereotypes. Dai (2009) posits that when people from different cultures meet, they usually treat each other as strangers.   The idea of strangeness means that the stranger is different. Gudykunst and Kim (2003) point out that sojourners, immigrants and tourists are often seen as strangers when they enter a host culture and the relationship that follows is often characterized by suspicion, fear and anxiety. Ibad (2009) states that a relationship with immigrants is usually marked by categorizations or stereotypes, which are over-generalised second hand beliefs which provide notional premises from which others are evaluated (see also Dai 2009; Ward, 2008). Gibson (2004) suggests that language is a means of presenting our own notion of who we are and also a way for others to project unto us their own suppositions of the way we must be. There is often conflict between the minority sojourner and the dominant host community as a result of wrong perception which often leads to the creation of boundaries, and this situation is worse in the case of refugees who are often seen as strangers and intruders.

Consequently, refugees are compelled to make either of two choices: repartration or settlement.   Repartration means going back to the country of origin irrespective of whether hostilities have ceased or not, and resettlement means being sent to another country of their choice. Previous studies have not adequately investigated the disparate means of identity manifestation among refugees. Many studies have focused primarily on refugees' socio-political challenges and paid little or no attention to issues of language. The present study seeks to find out how West African refugees in Oru Camp (who opted

for integration) have coped with linguistic identity projection and acculturation with respect to their own ethnic image and the image of the host community.

The next section will give us a picture of the setting of the study.

1.3   The Setting

Oru is a rural area in south western Ogun State within a geographical area which includes Ijebu Ode, Ago-Iwoye and Ijebu Igbo. The area is tropical in nature with two distinct seasons; the rainy season (April-October) and dry season (November-March).   The inhabitants are the Ijebu who speak a dialect of the Yoruba language. Apart from the Ijebu, there are pockets of other ethnic groups like Igbo, Hausa, etc. who live there for economic reasons. Majority of the people engage in agriculture and their products include maize, cowpea, cocoyam, yam, sugarcane, plantain and banana. They also engage in the production of palm oil, citrus, coffee, cocoa, timber, as well as livestock.   Its mangrove forest coupled with the serene environment must have been the compelling reason why the United Nations and their Nigerian partners cited the refugee camp in the area. Refugees fleeing from scenes of horror and wanton destruction really needed some quiet, peace and a breadth of fresh air which Oru offered.

1.4   The Refugee Camp

The camp was established in 1990 by the Federal Government of Nigeria to accommodate African refugees fleeing their homelands as a result of war (Awoniyi, 2006).   The Oru camp is operated by the Nigerian Commission for Refugees in conjunction with the Nigerian Red Cross Society and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNCHR). As a matter of fact the camp was originally opened to receive Liberian refugees fleeing the first civil war which started on December 25, 1989 and ended in 1996. At that time, the Oru Camp was predominantly occupied by Liberian refugees. Thereafter, refugees from other countries joined the Liberians in the camp. Some of these countries are Sierra Leone, Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan and Rwanda. Altogether, the population of the camp then stood at about seven thousand (7,000) refugees, (Awoniyi, 2006). Out of that number, the Liberians constituted the highest in population, followed by the Sierra Leoneans and the Congolese.

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In 1998, owing to the false impression created that the Liberian civil war was over, predicated on the result of the July 19, 1997 Liberian general elections which ushered in Charles Taylor (Ellis 2001), most of the Liberian refugees were repatriated. However, they were forced back to the camp once again because of renewed fighting in Liberia. Eventually the Liberian civil war ended in 2003 with the intervention of ECOWAS and the United States.

On the other hand, the Sierra Leone civil war started in March 23 1991 (on the heels of the first Liberian civil war) when the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) headed by Foday Sankoh launched an invasion in Eastern Sierra Leone, from Liberia (Jalloh, 2001). According to Koroma (2004), due to the brutality demonstrated by the RUF, it did not take time before residents started fleeing to other countries as refugees. On the whole, over two million people were displaced and some of them sought refuge in other countries, including Nigeria. The civil war officially ended on 18th January 2002 after 11 years, due mainly to the intervention of Britain.

Following the return of relative peace to Liberia, Sierra Leone and other war-torn countries, there were suggestions and calls for the refugees to go back home both from their home countries, the host community and the partners running the Oru Camp. The refugees were offered three options to choose from with respect to their situation. These options are called the UN durable solutions for refugees and they comprise voluntary repatriation, local integration and resettlement to a third country. A majority of the refugees opted for repatriation while a minority chose local integration. The voluntary repatriation exercise started in June 2006 and ended in June 2007, which signaled the closure of the camp. (Awoniyi, 2006) The Congolese refugees were later moved to a camp in Ijebu-Ode, Ogun State. Presently, in spite of the fact that the camp had been formally closed, a good number of Liberian and Sierra Leonean refugees (numbering well over a thousand five hundred) still remain in the camp. Most of them are those who opted for integration but are dissatisfied and confused with the process. Others are those who have lost loved ones and belongings and therefore do not have a home to return to.

1.5   The United Nations Durable Solutions

The United Nations (UN) durable solutions comprise three solutions available to refugees in terms of assistance and support from the UN. They are voluntary repatriation, local integration and resettlement to a third country (UNHCR 2000).

Voluntary repatriation is an option where the UN collaborates with the host country and the refugees' country of origin to facilitate the return of the refugees to their homeland for the purpose of reintegration. Local integration is an option where the refugees are afforded the right to integrate into their host community so as to live in peace and dignity. This option involves three processes: the legal, economic and social processes. The legal process involves the granting of rights and entitlements to the refugees by the host community with respect to the 1951 Refugee Convention. Some of these rights include seeking employment, engaging in income generating ventures, owning and disposing of properties, freedom of movement, access to public services like education, acquisition of permanent residence and citizenship. The economic process includes the improvement in well being and the attainment of an appreciable degree of self reliance by refugees. The social process includes the power and freedom to live among the host community without fear of discrimination, intimidation or exploitation by the people, or the authorities.

Resettlement to a third country is an option which is negotiated in situations where it is impossible for a refugee to remain in the host country or go back home. In this situation, the refugees are transferred to a third country which has agreed to admit them. This option also includes the granting of legal, social and economic rights similar to the local integration pattern.

As good and attractive as these durable solutions seem, especially the local integration package, they are not easy to implement. All the refugees left behind in Oru camp had opted for local integration but are disappointed that the integration package is not being implemented. Consequently, they find themselves in a predicament; they are not fully

enjoying the dividends of local integration and, for economic and other reasons, they find it difficult to return to their country of origin.

Attention is now shifted to the language situation in the countries involved in the study. This will provide a background into the linguistic repertoire of the respondents.

1.6   The Language Situation in Liberia

Liberia is a country originally dominated by settlers or freed African slaves from the United States who are popularly called Americo-Liberians by other Liberian people (Ngovo 1998). The country originated from the establishment of settlements in the 1820s by the American colonisation society for the repatriation of freed African-American slaves to Africa (Baker 1997). Like the rest of Africa, Liberia is multilingual.

Ngovo (1998) and Baker (1997) suggest, from a political perspective, the recognition of 16 indigenous African languages and English as the languages spoken in the country before the coup in 1980. However, anthropologists actually identified 28 languages based on tribe but grouped as 16 separate languages or clusters of closely related languages. The languages are Bassa, Kpelle, Krahn, Maninka, Loma, Mann, Grebo, Liberian English, Bandi, Dan, Dewoin, Gbii, Glaro-Twabo, Glio-Oubi, Gola, Kisi, Klao, Tepo, Kuwaa, Konyanka, Manya, Sapo, Krumen, Tajuashon, Mandingo, Vai, N'ko etc. The indigenous languages are used on radio, for local administration, in domestic settings and in other informal contexts like the home, market, and for intra-ethnic interactions.

Breitborde (1988), Ngovo (1998) and Hans-Georg (2001), all agree that Liberia is one of few Anglophone countries in Africa where English has native speakers. English is the official language and so it is the language of government, Western education and mass communication. The status of English is mainly the direct consequence of the settlers' bias in establishing and imposing English on the indigenous population (Ngovo 1998). Approximately, up to 20% of the people are able to speak English (Wolf 2001). The stock who speak English as a native language are the so-called Americo-Liberians who are descendants of the American black expatriates who constituted the smallest ethnic

group in Liberia (Breitborde 1988). Due to the country's history and political ties to the United States, the Standard Liberian English (SLE) is modeled on American English especially in its spoken rather than the written form, and not on British English like other Anglophone countries in West Africa. Liberian English enjoys special status largely because Liberia was neither colonised by the British nor by any other colonising entity. Certain phonetic features which mark out Liberian English from other Englishes are identified in the literature. Following Ngovo (1992) and Simo Bobda (2000, 2003) the features documented to be Liberian include some features of American English, for example:

- realization of the TRAP vowel as /ε/ e.g. /f (ε)n/ (fan), /d(ε)d/(dad), /f(ε) mily/ (family)
- realization of the LOT vowel as /a/e.g. /lat/ (lot), /gad/ (God);
- realization of the schwa with post-tonic final syllable (er, el) as /o/ e.g. /moth(o)r/ (mother), /villag(o)r/ (villager);
- occasional monophthongization of /au/ to /o/ e.g. /h(o)se/ (house)
- the particular pronunciation of "America" as /ameriko/ "Africa" as /afriko/, "people" as /pipo/ and 'cassava' as /kasavo/;
- deletion of final consonants (the single most important diagnostic feature) e.g. /schoo/ (school), /lea'/ (leave), /sou'/ (soup), /frien'/ (friend).
- Deletion of /t/ between /n/ and a following vowel, e.g. /coun'y/ (county).
- The weakening of /t/ to /r/ in intervocalic position, e.g. /be (r) er/ (better), /compu(r) er/ (computer), /nine (r) y/ (ninety).

Breitborde (1988) notes two socio-cultural factors responsible for the prestige of English in Liberia. One, English is part of the set of customs associated with civilization and modernity. Two, English is prestigious due to a social structure in which the most powerful group and elite, i.e. the Americo-Liberians, were native English speakers. Initially, only the minority Americo-Liberians spoke only English but over time some indigenous Liberians arose who spoke only English too. Those in this category are the children of educated Liberians who did not expose their children to their ethnic languages due to the socio-economic benefits they stood to gain from speaking English. As a result, Liberians developed their own varieties of English (Ngovo 1998). Some of them are vernacular Liberian English, non-native vernacular Liberian English, Liberian Pidgin English, Kru Pidgin English, etc., (Wolf, 2001). However, it may not be realistic to

regard these varieties as distinct forms (Hancock 1974) since each exerts more or less influence on the other.

1.7 The Language Situation in Sierra Leone

Like other countries in West Africa Sierra Leone is a multilingual nation. Her language experience is similar to Liberia's with whom it shares the experience of inhabiting settlers, i.e. freed slaves from Europe. The linguistic landscape is diverse as there are as many as 16 languages or more (Sengova 1987). These languages are Bulom/Shabro, Fula, Kisi, Kono, Koranko, Krim, Krio, Kru, Limba, Loko, Maninka/Mandingo, Mandinka, Mende, Susu, Temne, Vai/Gailines, Yalunka.

Sengova (1987) classifies the languages above according to their regional distribution. He identifies four regions on the basis of which the national languages were chosen. The regions are Northern region, Southern region, Eastern region and Western region. The Northern region comprises Fula, Koranko, Limba, Loko, Maninka, Susu, Temne, Yalunka. The Southern region comprises Bulon/Shabro, Krim, Mende and Vai. The Eastern region comprises Kisi, Kono and Mende. The Western area comprises Krio, Kru and Bassa. The national languages are Temne and Limba from the North, Mende from the South and East, and Krio from the Western area. These national languages are used in the mass media, and in literacy and formal education. They were selected due to their status as the major means of communication in the regions where they are used. In other words, they are the lingua Francae in their regions. However, among these languages, Krio is considered a national lingua franca owing to its wide use throughout the country.

Fyle (1994) details that Krio society developed out of a colonial situation where groups of captured slaves from Europe were landed in the colony of Sierra Leone since the late 18th century. The landing involved two categories of slaves. The first category comprises the settlers comprising the black, poor, freed domestic slaves from England; the Nova Scotians, former black American slaves who had obtained their freedom by fighting on the British side during the American war of independence, and the Morons who were ex-slaves in Jamaica. The second category comprises the liberated Africans

who had been recaptured by the British navy to enforce the anti-slave laws, and brought to Freetown. The need to communicate among this mixed group of settlers and re-captives led to the development of a language system which constitutes mostly English derived words and syntax based almost entirely on African languages. Further developments and modifications in the language led to what is presently termed the Krio language.

Krio is native to the Sierra Leonean Krio people or Krios who number about 100,000 presently but is probably the most widely spoken of all Sierra Leonean languages (Sengova 1987). Fyle (1994: 47) states that Krio has assumed recognition as 'the main vehicle of communication' in Sierra Leone, and used in the market place and in political speeches in making policy statements by heads of states. In the education sector, Krio is used to introduce pupils to English; thus, Krio is the window through which students gain entrance into modern education. It is also used in entertainment and enlightenment programmes.

English is the official language in Sierra Leone and is used in formal contexts like education, government, administration, judiciary, mass media, international communication, etc. The features documented for Sierra Leone English (cf. Igboanusi 2006, Simo Bobda 2003) include:

- realisation of the NURSE vowel as (o) when represented orthographically as 'ir' e.g. /fost/ (first);
- realisation of the SQUARE vowel as (ia) e.g. /∂ia/ (there)
- realisation of the NEAR vowel as (ia) e.g. /hia/ (hear);
- deletion or insertion of /h/ in word- initial position e.g. /heat/ (eat), /as/ (has).
- The use of Krio-influenced structures marked by the use of 'me' rather than 'I' in the subject position e.g. "Me cook very well" (I cook very well).

Apart from English, French occupies a place in the school system being taught as a school subject. Arabic is used in Islamic schools like Ahmadiya and Muslim Congress denominational schools.

1.8 The Language Situation in Nigeria

Nigeria, like her sister Anglophone countries in Africa, is a multilingual nation, but assumes a special status as the country has far more languages than any other African country. The reason is mainly because Nigeria is the most populous African country with so many different ethnic groups. Adegbija (2004) identifies well over 450 languages which he categorises into three major types namely: the indigenous or endoglossic languages, the foreign or exoglossic languages, and pidgin varieties of languages.

The major exoglossic language is English. The others are French, Arabic, Russian, German, Italian, etc. Despite the fact that English is spoken by a minority, about 31% of the population according to Igboanusi (2008), it is the official language of the country and therefore the language of education, the mass media, government and diplomacy or international relations. Adegbija (2004) suggests that the dominance of English is not in doubt. The knowledge of English is an essential prerequisite for effective participation in the day-to-day running of Nigerian government (Oyetade, 1992). In terms of importance, French is next to English as an exoglossic language but it is used by very few Nigerians especially in official circles, like the airports, international conferences, the French Embassy. French is also taught as a subject in some secondary schools and universities (Adegbija 2005). It is also Nigeria's second official language. The third major exoglossic language is Arabic. The use of Arabic is largely restricted functionally to the Islamic religion. Arabic also doubles as the first language for many in parts of Borno State where the variety is known as Shuwa Arabic.

The endoglossic languages are all the native languages spoken in the country. Among them Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba are recognized as major owing to the population of their speakers. In addition, they enjoy official status with English as 'they function in a naturally graded hierarchical structure at the national, state/regional, and local government levels as linguœ francœ or link languages, as unofficial, quasi-official languages, and as languages of informal interaction' (Adegbija 2004: 185). In the past when Nigeria had three regions, Northern, Eastern and Western, the three major languages were used as linguœ francœ in the regions; Hausa in the North, Igbo in the

East and Yoruba in the West (Igboanusi and Peter, 2005). However, with the abrogation of regional segmentation and the creation of states, the minority languages within the regions have received a boost in status. However, despite the 'emergence of new political structures' (Egbokhare 2003:29) the three linguœ francœ are still the major languages in the country.

The minority languages comprise the rest of the indigenous languages spoken in Nigeria (Igboanusi, 2008). In terms of numerical importance, Adegbija (2004) categorises minority languages into three groups: those which have more than one million speakers like Fulfulde, Efik, Kanuri, Tiv, Ijo, Edo, Nupe, Igala, Idoma, Ebira, Ibibio; those which have about 100,000 speakers and the rest with less than 100,000 speakers. Generally, the minority languages which are dominant in some states and local government levels function as unofficial official languages while the non-dominant ones are retricted to informal settings.

One of the languages that complete the tripod of Nigerian linguistic experience is Nigerian pidgin. Nigerian Pidgin (NP) developed as a trade language as a result of contact between the coastal people of the Niger Delta and Portuguese traders and later British slave traders and missionaries (Adegbija 2005). Presently, Nigerian pidgin has creolised and therefore has become a native or first language of a large number of people in the Niger Delta region (Elugbe and Omamor 1991). NP is commonly used in the mass media for news presentation, advertisements and drama and also in mass mobilization.

The next section will present a brief introductory background on the major ethnic groups in the two national groups. Some background knowledge of the refugees would help us to understand the geo-historical situation from which the people were uprooted the groups are arranged according to their population in the camp.

1.9   The Liberian Ethnic Groups

Three ethnic groups inthe camp were selected for this study among the other ethnic groups from Liberia. They are, Krahn, Bassa and Kpelle. The reason for selecting these

three ethnic groups among others is population. These three ethnic groups constitute the highest in number among the other groups. Incidentally, these selected groups also represent the groups with the highest population in their countries. The population of the other groups are too negligible for generalisation.

1.9.1   The Krahn

The Krahn are one of the ethnic groups in Liberia who also speak the Krahn language. Originally, they are from North Africa but several migratory experiences brought them to Liberia and Cote D'Ivoire where they are living presently (USCR, 2000). The USCR further reports that the Krahn mainly occupy a part of Liberia known as the Grand Gedeh county, and Nimba county; this is why the people are often called the Grand Gedeans. Also many Krahn are found in the capital city, Monrovia. The chief reason for the presence of Krahn in Monrovia is mainly political. When the Krahn leader Samuel Doe assumed power through a military coup in 1980, many Krahn saw it as an opportunity to enhance their status and so moved to Monrovia from the rural areas. However, after the death of Samuel Doe in 1990 and the onset of civil war, the Krahn became targets of attack and so fled mainly to Cote D'Ivoire as refugees, and later some moved to Nigeria, after the intervention of ECOMOG (Ed Zar-zar Bargblor, 2002). Krahn belongs to the Kru language family and has two varieties, Eastern and Western Krahn. Western Krahn is spoken in parts of Cote D'Ivoire and Liberia, while Eastern Krahn is spoken natively only in Liberia (Ethnologue, 1996).

1.9.2   The Bassa

Bassa is one of the largest ethnic groups in Liberia. Lewis (2009), reports that Bassa belongs to two groups of languages in Liberia whose ancestry could be traced to Mozambique in pre-dynastic times. From Mozambique they migrated to Ethiopia and from Ethiopia to Egypt where they assumed power. Incidentally, when they fell from power, they were forced to retreat toward Central Africa. Much later, due to conflicts, the massive Bassa entity disintegrated into different groups. The split sent some groups to different parts of Africa like Congo where they are called Bassa-la-Mpasu; Togo where they are called Bassa'r; Senegal, Sierra Leone and Guinea where they are called

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Bassa-ri; Nigeria where they are called Bassa-Nge, Cameroun where they are simply called Bassa and Liberia where the majority split into multiple separate ethnic groups like Dei, Bassa, Kru, Grebo, Krahn. The Liberia group led by Hana-mbak (Hanebo) son of Wenang are called Bassa Manidyu, which means "the tribe that dries up rivers when they cross".

1.9.3   The Kpelle

The Kpelle are the largest ethnic group in Liberia. According to Erchak (1977), they are arguably the most rural and conservative people out of the major ethnic groups, and number over 300,000 which represents about 20 percent of the total population of Liberia. The language, which is also Kpelle, is monosyllabic and tonal and belongs to the Niger-Congo language family. They migrated from the Savanna area of the Western Sudan as a result of internal conflicts among the Sudanese states in the 16th century and settled in Liberia. Most Kpelle inhabit the Bong County and the adjacent areas in central Liberia.

1.10   The Sierra Leone Ethnic Groups

Three ethnic groups were selected for the study among the Sierra Leone ethnic groups. They are Mende, Temne and Limba.

1.10.1 The Mende

The Mende are one of the largest ethnic groups in Sierra Leone, representing 30 per cent of Sierra Leone total population, (Banks, 1997). The Mende dominate the Southern and Eastern provinces of Sierra Leone. Some of the major cities inhabiting a large number of Mende are Bo, Kerrema, Kailahun and Moyamba. The Mende are of two categories: the Halemo, who are members of the hale, (a secret society) and the Kpowa, who are the non-initiates. The Mende language is one of the major languages in Sierra Leone spoken by the Mende and other ethnic groups as a regional Lingua Franca in Southern Sierra Leone. Three different sub-groups of the Mende are identified: the Kpa-Mende who live in the coastal region; the Sewa Mende, who live in the central forest region, and the Ko-Mende (kolo) who also settled in the forest region, north of the Sewa (UNHCR, 2011).

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According to Banks (1997), the popular Kamajor are a civilian militia composed of local hunters of the Mende ethnic group formed at the beginning of the civil war which started in 1991 to fight the Revolutionary United Front (RUF), over the control of mineral resources.

1.10.2 The Temne

The Temne are actually the largest ethnic group in Sierra Leone, constituting about 35 percent of the entire population (Banks, 1997). They are found mainly in the Northern Province and the Western Area of Sierra Leone and also the capital, Freetown. The Temne speak Temne language, which belongs to the West Atlantic sub-family of the Niger-Congo language family. In the North, Temne and Krio function as the major trade languages where they are also spoken by other Sierra Leonean ethnic groups as a regional Lingua Franca. About 40 per cent of the Sierra Leone population speak Temne. The English word cola (in coca-cola) is said to be derived from the Temne word 'an-kola' 'kola nut'. The Temne are most easily identified because of their unique language and customs. Due to the almost incessant conflicts and competition along ethnic lines, the Temne have a heightened sense of ethnic solidarity.

1.10.3 The Limba

The Limba are the third largest group in Sierra Leone representing about 9 percent of the population. According to Lewis (2009), they live mostly in the northern region and thousands of them also live in the capital city, Freetown, and the Western Area. The Limba are said to be the real indigenous people in Sierra Leone who speak various dialects of their language, Limba. They believe that they have always lived in Sierra Leone in the Wara Wara Mountains and were probably the first rulers of the country. Some historians believe that the Limba are descendants of a once powerful tribe which came from Fouta Djalon in Guinea, in the 12th century. The Limba take pride in their unique language which differs from other languages spoken in Sierra Leone.

1.11 Aims of the Study

The study aims to

1. examine the dynamics of linguistic identity across various domains;

2. highlight the various means adopted by the refugees to maintain their ethnolinguistic identity;

3. examine the attitudes of refugees towards their ethnic languages, English, Pidgin and the language of the host community;

4. estimate the strategies of acculturation in relation to interethnic and group relationship;

5. evaluate the veritable means through which multiple linguistic identities are manifested in verbal communication; and

6. highlight the conflict between ethnolinguistic identities and issues of stereotypes and prejudices among the groups;

1.12 Significance of the Study

This study is crucial because it represents a major attempt at a research on the languages of refugees within a dominant ethnolinguistic entity. Findings from the study will richly benefit social workers and researchers in peace and conflict studies in terms of exploring the means to intergroup bonding and understanding. Additionally, this study will assist language policy makers and planners in determining the place of refugees' and minority languages with a view to their development. Furthermore, this study will enhance the work of international relations experts and the diplomatic corps in terms of underlining the need for cross-national cooperation and assistance in the West African sub-region, with particular focus on the refugee problem which has become endemic over the years.

1.13 Scope of the Study

This is a sociolinguistic undertaking concerned with the description of the part language plays in the construction of identities among Liberian and Sierra Leonean refugees in Oru Camp. This study is in the main, limited to the language and identity connection among refugees and does not account for other socio-cultural and political factors which complicate the life of refugees.

Additionally, despite the fact that both Liberian and Sierra Leonean refugees consist of numerous ethnic groups, only three ethnic groups from each group will be used in the analysis for this study. This is to suggest that all the Liberian and Sierra Leonean ethnic groups identified in the camp are not represented in the data and analysis.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEWAND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1   Introduction

In this chapter, we shall review previous and recent empirical studies based on construction of identity in various refugee contexts including Oru refugee camp. Additionally some works related to some topics or aspects of this study will be reviewed. The second part of this chapter will present the theoretical framework(s).

2.2   Review of Empirical Studies

Some empirical studies have been carried out on the sociolinguistic situation of refugees around the world. For instance, Young (1996) examines the connection between acculturation and psychological adjustment among Somali refugees in Canada. Through the medium of questionnaires, information was elicited from 94 Somali women in Canada. Results show that on a group level, the preferred mode of acculturation is integration. Based on the variables of age, residence history and mental health, acculturation orientation of these women were appraised. The younger women and those who had lived the longest in Canada identified more as Canadians and perceived more discrimination against themselves and against Somalis in general. Additionally, those who desired to participate in the Canadian society expressed more integrative tendencies. However, young women who distinguished themselves from the group due to vulnerability to depression, tended to be less integrative. On the whole, the endorsement of the mode of acculturation by integration implies a rejection of other modes such as assimilation, separation and maginalisation.

Griffith (2002) investigates group-level social identity and aims at exploring concepts of diaspora and the emergence of new identities among Kurdish and Somali refugees in London. Unlike the previous study above, Griffith adopts a qualitative approach based on the strength of small group interviews with a total of 33 Somalis and 45 Kurds in London, in addition to individual interviews and participant observation. The comparative analysis reveals that the focus on a political project was a prominent feature of Kurdish community which is absent in the Somali community.

Kronner (2003) investigates the processes of identity construction among Somali refugees in Egypt and Palestinian refugees in the Gaza strip. The empirical study aims at exploring how various factors contribute to the construction of group and personal identities. A mixed method of participant observation, biographical narratives and guided interviews were employed to elicit information from respondents. The result shows that the identity of the Somali refugees in Egypt was shaped by internal and external factors. The Arabic identity claimed by Somalis is not recognized by the Egyptians; rather the Egyptians saw the Somalis as Africans, which the Somalis reject. The fact that the Somalis were perceived by their host community in a different way than they saw themselves obstructs social integration with the Egyptians. Simultaneously, it boosts the national identity held by Somalis. However, within the Somali community there were various identities like the ethic/clan identity. Identity therefore, can only be understood as situational or contextual.

Pigott and Kalbach (2005) examine the effect of language spoken most often at home and outside the home on the emergence of a Canadian identity among immigrant groups in Canada and native born Canadians. They find that respondents who reported single ethnic origins are more ethnically-connected than those who reported multiple ethnic origins. Additionally, those respondents who reported speaking English or French frequently in the home are more likely to identify as Canadian for they were less ethnically connected, compared to their infrequent English/French fellows who mainly spoke a heritage language and therefore more ethnically- connected. The result of their study reveals that the impact of speaking English or French in the home substantially increases the likelihood of identifying as Canadian.

Mejaizmit (2007), like Pigott and Kalbach (2005) examines the four acculturation models identified by Berry (2001) and their impact on group identity and language use. Specifically, he aims at analyzing, exploring and describing the relationship that potentially exists between the development of the Hispanic identity and the use of the Spanish language among the second generation of Hispanic youth in Brisbane, Australia.

He finds that respondents who were highly acculturated tended to favour assimilation, while those who were not so acculturated tended to favour separation or integration. Also some of the participants in the study who did not speak the Spanish language and lived away from their parents' country of origin, considered the Spanish language as part of their identity and held a more favourable attitude towards the maintenance of the Spanish language than a shift away from it. The findings also reveal that both groups who tended towards integration and separation felt more strongly about maintaining their mother tongues than their actual language proficiency or use of it would suggest. This finding supports Berry's (1992) assertion that an individual's positive attitude towards language maintenance does not always indicate that he or she knows or uses the language.

Korac (2009) examines various means by which refugees from the former Yugoslavia have constructed their lives in the cities of Amsterdam and Rome. The study is predicated on qualitative methodology with data collected from a series of interviews conducted with Yugoslav refugees between 1999 and 2001. He finds that in the Netherlands, the state sponsored integration by providing housing, language training, social welfare and easy access to citizenship and in return the refugees were expected to learn Dutch and adapt to the socio-cultural norms of the Dutch society. On the other hand, in Italy refugee integration was not a state affair but was conducted on an ad-hoc basis. Surprisingly, the refugees in Italy were found to be more integrated into the Italian society, than the refugees in Amsterdam. The reason is that the refugees in Italy enjoyed closer ties with their hosts than those in Amsterdam who did not experience much proximity with the Dutch. In addition, the refugees in both countries constructed trans-national identities and relationships by not identifying as Italian, Dutch, Croatian or Yugoslav but as global citizens. Thus Korac provides a compelling view into the lives of refugees and the ways through which they reconstructed their identities in an alien culture.

Meludu and Emerole (2009) investigate the problem faced by refugees in Oru camp with a focus on the potential livelihood activities of the refugees. Using structured

questionnaire, they elicited information from 119 respondents. They find that the refugees' problem included lack of education, lack of healthcare, discrimination from the indigenes and inadequate food supply. They also find that the refugees encountered difficulty integrating into the system due to language barrier, lack of information about jobs and lack of basic educational qualification. They recommend that the refugees should be empowered to settle among the local people in order to support their family and contribute to the development of the host community.

McLellan (2009) examines three generations of Cambodian refugees in Ontario, who fled their country after the overthrow of the communist Khmer Rouge Party by the Vietnamese communists. He uses 10 years of ethnographic fieldwork, including extensive interviews, to highlight the acculturation difficulties faced by adult survivors of the Khmer Rouge, their children and older youth who accompanied them and the children born and raised in Ontario, Canada. The result shows that lack of requisite resettlement services, illiteracy, post-traumatic stress, single parenthood and unemployment have made it difficult for Cambodian refugees to rebuild their lives. However, the third generation, that is, the Canadian-born children of Cambodian refugees achieved educational and professional mobility, in addition to adorning a Canadian and transnational identities, more than the adults and older youth.

Cheah et al. (2010) test theories 7 – 12 of Kim's (2000) integrative theory of communication and cross-cultural adaptation. The aim is to ascertain the relationship between the host culture and the ethnic Bosnian refugees in the United States with respect to interpersonal relationship, attitudes, discrimination, ethno-cultural identity and group cohesion. Like Young's (1996) method, data was collected from 67 Bosnian refugees living in St. Lewis, Missouri, through a self-reported questionnaire. The analysis reveals that personal experience with discrimination was positively related to competence in the host language and media use. Additionally, the attitude of Americans towards Bosnians and perceived group cohesion were positively related to the refugees' socio-cultural adaptation to US culture. Moreover, external motivation to learn about the US culture was also found to be related to the refugees' US cultural and ethnic identity tendencies.

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Kametani (2010) examines the Burmese refugees' integration process in many aspects of living in Finland, taking into consideration their expectations, living conditions, social services, education, personal connections and networks. Based on the qualitative method, information was obtained via face-to-face interviews with respondents. The result of the study shows that the Burmese refugees were interested in maintaining their ethnic identity by preserving their language and culture in Finnish society, as well as transmitting their language and culture to their own children. The integration process and cultural adaptation were aided by the acquisition of Finish language, employment and good relationship with Finns. On the whole, the Burmese refugees adapted to the culture of Finland without relinquishing their own ethnic culture and identity.

Valenta (2010) focuses on Iraqi, Bosnian and Croatian refugees' social integration in Norway and examines how refugees' ethnic and social choices develop and change over time. Like the two previous studies, Valenta uses a qualitative methodology and accordingly sources his data through unstructured, narrative interviews with 40 refugees who settled in Norway in the late 1990s. The results show that bridging and bonding with the host community was accentuated by the acquisition of greater proficiency in the hosts language and culture and increased participation in the social arenas of the host community by way of work, schooling and leisure. As a consequence, refugees who were satisfied with their current situation and anticipated a long stay were more likely to integrate in Norway, while those who felt rejected or marginalized were less likely to integrate and more likely to plan repatriation to their home country. The result of the study validates the findings of Young (1996) and Cheah et al. (2010), especially in terms of the link between residence history and integration.

Anurag (2011) examines the identity construction of over 10,000 Burmese refugees in New Delhi, India. Being a qualitative study he interviewed diverse respondents and finds that the Burmese refugees were without identity as a result of their unpalatable living condition. He also finds that it was difficult for the refugees to send their children to government schools because they (children) did not speak Hindi, the official local language. It was also difficult to go to hospital because they could not speak Hindi and

the free government hospitals did not take them seriously if they went without a language translator. Additionally the local Hindi population were prejudiced against the refugees. As a result, integration into the Indian society was constrained. The situation is worsened by the Burmese refugees who did not hide their disgust of their host community and admitted making no attempt whatsoever to identify with the locals. This attitude represents a case of double-sided prejudice.

Montaruli et al (2011) examine how national and regional identities co-exist and how they combine into meaningful prototypic profiles which help account for the situation of intergroup relations and language revitalization in the bilingual autonomous communities of Spain. They find six prototypical identities which are as follows: Strong Spanish only identifiers, Strong Autonomous only identifiers, Pro-Spanish identifiers, Pro-Autonomous identifiers, Strong dual Identifiers, Moderate dual Identifiers. These six prototypes have implications for intergroup relationships between in-groups and out-groups. Strong Dual Identifiers were identified as citizens most likely to contribute to a stable form of linguistic and cultural pluralism. Individuals who endorsed the Spanish Only and Autonomous Only prototypes were more likely to engage in problematic intergroup relations since they represent the classic cleavage between the 'us/they' distinction and so are capable of discriminatory behaviour. Equally Pro-Spanish and Moderate Dual Identifiers were the individuals seen to be most likely to promote intercultural relations and mutual inter ethnic acceptance and solidarity. Montaruli et al's (2011) study is especially vital because they did not limit their investigation to the description and analysis of various identities in their sample, like the previous studies, but they related their study to relationships between individuals and groups. It is instructive to note that identities or perceptions affect interpersonal or intergroup relationship in two major ways: how we see outsiders and others, and how others see themselves and us. These two perceptions can better, enliven or injure an individual's relationship with other people or groups.

Babalola, et al (2012) examine the information needs of refugees in Oru camp and find that the refugees were not provided with information materials. They recommend the

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provision of a public library with internet access, a school library, a computer training centre, enlightenment programmes on health and adult literacy and skill acquisition programmes. They cite the case of Cambodian refugees in Myamar and Thailand refugee camps where the Shanti Volunteer Association (SVA) provided information services as stimulation for the refugees for the purpose of preserving and promoting the culture and the Karen language of the refugees which was endangered. The volunteers translated picture books to the refugees' local language. Additionally, the volunteers also published folk tales and stories in the refugees' (Karen) language. This helped to solve the problems of getting books that teach the culture and language of the refugees (Karen).

Senesie (2013) examines the relationship between the host community and refugees in Oru refugee camp, Ogun State Nigeria, where Liberia and Sierra Leone refugees were camped. He aims at investigating if the type of relationship that existed between them could be characterized as peaceful or not. He used observation and focus group, as well as structured questionnaires and elicited information from 125 refugees in the camp. He finds that there was relative peace between the host community and the refugees as a result of similarities in culture and tradition between Nigeria and the refugees, including the use of languages like pidgin and English. However, he also finds that the refugees were denied participation in community social functions as a result of differences in culture and traditional background. The community saw the refugees as lazy occupants of their land with little benefit in terms of promoting economic activities in the community.

It is needful to say that these previous studies served as examples in certain ways for the present study. For instance they helped in the adoption of the quantitative and qualitative methodologies which broadened and strengthened the work; they also provided in-depth insights into the dynamics of the subject matter, and proved very useful in the formulation of questions for the questionnaire. However, the present study departs from the previous ones in three ways.

First, the present study is restricted to the construction of identity among refugees who have chosen the option of integration instead of all refugees irrespective of their wish to

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be repatriated, integrated or resettled to a third country. Second, the present study involves countries situated in the same geo-political region and who share certain linguistic features in common. In addition, the sample in the present study involves a complex amalgam of two distinct nationalities (Liberians and Sierra Leoneans) each consisting of several ethnic groups. Thus, unlike the previous studies which involved at most two ethnic groups, we are dealing here with a more linguistically complex situation. This broader and more inclusive study has a tendency to be more demanding in terms of making generalizations. Third, the present study extends the frontiers of identity formation by incorporating dynamics and strategies of identity construction in spontaneous conversations.

However, it is needful to aver that the studies based on refugees in Oru camp were inadequate in terms of identity and language. Senesie (2013) made reference to the fact that the use of a common language like pidgin facilitated relationship between host and guests; Babalola et al. (2012) recommended a replication of the situation in Thailand and Myamar refugee camps where books were translated in the refugees languages; Meludu and Emelole (2009) noted the difficulty encountered by the refugees in Oru camp to integrate into their host community due to language barrier among other problems. These studies accommodated language in their analysis but they did not specifically focus on language and identity. Hence, the present study undertakes to do a detailed investigation of the primacy of language in the projection of various identities.

2.3 Review of Related Studies

Besides the literature reviewed above, other works or subjects related to this study are reviewed. They are multilingualism, ideology, diversity, facework, acculturation, code alternation and stereotypes.

2.3.1 Identity and Multilingualism

Multilingualism is a term used to refer to a situation where two or more languages are used (Romaine 2003; Gunesch 2003; Miller, 1984; Oyetade 1992). Generally speaking, multilingualism or bilingualism (as the case may be) is a product of language contact

situations.   Such contacts are made through residence in a bilingual society, intermarriage, travels and trade, religious conversion, etc. (Olaoye 1998). Barron-Hauwaert (2003:129) states that

> The practice of "alternate use of two or more languages by the same individual" proposed by Weinrich (1953) and Mackey (1968) is a more realistic viewpoint. This takes into account the fact that a bilingual uses language in the appropriate domain or situation. One language may be used exclusively at school and another at home, for example.

Using language in the appropriate domain is suggestive of the fact that the choice of which language to use is "always 'controlled by social rules' because of the 'social distinctions' which languages symbolise (Hudson 2001: 52). This distinction implies that language has different functions in the society; some are applied in formal or official contexts while others are applied in informal contexts. Whereas formal contexts are contiguous with the out-group or outside world, informal contexts are contiguous with the in-group or inside world. It, therefore, means that the choice of one language instead of another is related to identifying with either the out-group or in-group; in other words, language choice is tied to the projection of image or identity. Romaine (2003: 517) states that:

> Although language choice is not arbitrary, not all speech communities are organised in the same way. Through the selection of one language over another or one variety of the same language over another speakers display what may be called "acts of identity", choosing the groups with whom they wish to identify.

In his typology of bilinguals Olaoye (1998: 117) explains that a bicultural coordinate bilingual uses a second language for reasons of integration and when he changes to another language sees himself as changing his personality or becoming 'a different person'.

Haugen (1982; 282, cited in Korth, 2005) posits that language choice is "often a significant indication of the group with which one wishes to identify". Korth stresses this tendency among bilinguals to identify with both groups whose languages they speak and by so doing emphasise their mixed identity through the use of a mixed code or code-switching. Along the minority-majority spectrum, Korth states that it is often minority

language groups who are constrained by socio-cultural factors to adopt and identify with the dominant language group, whereas the dominant language groups feel very adequate and do not feel the need to expand their linguistic identity.

Some of the benefits of multilingualism in relation to identity include facilitation of inter-ethnic interaction. Lamy (1979 cited in Thondhlana 2005) argues that bilingualism facilitates interaction and that such bilinguals can be mistaken for in-group members. Furthermore, being seen as a member of the other group affects the identity of the speaker. Other benefits include enhancing the understanding of out-groups, removing ethnocentrisms, making an individual more cosmopolitan in outlook, etc. (Olaoye 1998).

Multilingualism is important in this study because the identities projected by respondents have something to do with their linguistic repertoire.

2.3.2 Identity and Ideology

Ideology is crucial, as a societal phenomenon, in the construction of identities. Ideologies are established sets of beliefs, values, attitudes and assumptions shared by members of a given social group (Fairclough 1995, Bloor and Bloor 2007). They are established because the value systems are so etched in the given community's psyche, that they are transmitted from generation to generation. Wardhaugh (1996: 327) claims that men and women are social beings who have, over time, 'learned to behave in certain ways' and that language behaviour is learned behaviour. Consequently, as individuals grow up they become aware of the social group(s) to which they belong and the groups they do not belong. They also become aware of the salient and unique features of their own group, such as language, dress, tales, games, food, etc. which make them different from other groups. Generally people become aware of their Self and the Other, and then begin to associate more with their own in-group than out-group members, and also build up some degree of pride in their own group from which they perceive other groups.

Bloor and Bloor (2007) agree by stipulating that individuals absorb the established values and beliefs of their own social group and follow the practices they have learnt over time, more or less unconsciously with regards to different matters. One of the outcomes of this belief system is prejudices which are powerful assumptions concerning the identity

of the Self in contrast with the 'Other'; hence the Self is cheered while the Other is jeered in the social space. Consequently, we are dealing with a belief system which underlines differences between people. Bloor and Bloor (2007: 128) submit that

> Fundamental to prejudice is the simple dichotomy of Us and Them, the Self and the Other. Prejudice of this kind can exist at all sorts of levels, using an enormous range of criteria in order to distinguish the Other from the Self: social class, skin colour, language, nationality, dialect, indigene, gender, sexual preference, place of birth, ancestral origins, social customs. People generally think that the ways in which their social group does things are natural and that alien practices are aberrant.

Such 'thinking' or notions are generally based on skewed perceptions of the Other and the result is the creation of stereotypes which represent mainly imaginary labels used to obscure or delete the Others' real image and identity. However, as several writers have testified, these perceptions are not constant but variable and evolving. It has been assumed that the change in perception comes about through contact with other societies. However, it seems that contact is merely the first link in a chain of relationships between earstwhile different people or strangers which leads to a re-evaluation, reappraisal and reconstruction of the Self and the Other.

 In this study, the belief system of respondents will be explored to highlight the bases of their identity projection.

2.3.3   Identity, Globalisation and Diversity

Romaine (2003) identifies two contrasting patterns which delineate an individual's identity: Internationalisation (globalisation) and diversity. He posits that

> These two processes represent a struggle between increasing internationalisation, cultural and linguistic homogenisation (coca colonization, as it has sometimes referred to) vs diversification. There is a clash of values inherent in the struggle between the global and local, between uniformity and diversity. The language of McWorld is English; not to use it is to risk ostracization from the benefits of the global economy. It is for this reason that many developing countries opted to use the language of their former colonizers rather than try to develop their own language(s)... Such policies lead to cultural poverty where linguistic diversity is lost. When large portions of the population are denied forms of self-expression, the nation's political

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and social foundations are weakened. A nation that incorporates cultural and linguistic diversity is also richer than one which denies their existence (p. 530).

Globalisation and diversity in this context represent two shades of identity. In one extreme is globalisation which stands for identity with a particular international language and culture due to the benefits derivable from it. On the other extreme is diversity which typifies the recognition and incorporation of other cultures and languages irrespective of their value and status. We are therefore dealing with uniformity against multiformity. Both contrastive notions are encapsulated in what Gunesch (2003) terms cosmopolitanism which he defines as feeling at home in the world. Generally the cosmopolitan identity transcends ethnic cleavages to embrace other identities. However, the degree of affiliation with the Other and with the Self is what makes the difference between the global and the diverse. The idea of globalisation is rooted in the desire of the individual to become one with the global community through language or other agencies through which such identities are constructed; hence the global person defines himself not by his local culture and group membership but by universal standards. Nussbaum (1996: 4 cited in Gunesch 2003) explains that

> ... a model of cosmopolitan identity as 'world citizenship' is based on the Greek Stoics after Diogenes". He (Diogenes) meant by this ... that he refused to be defined by his local origins and local group memberships... he insisted on defining himself in terms of more universal aspirations and concerns.

This position suggests that the global cosmopolitan is more inclined to the universal (Other) group and pays less allegiance and loyalty to his local Self. In terms of language, such individuals tend to use more of an international language than their ethnic tongues to project their global identity (Brennan 1997 cited in Gunesch 2003). On the other hand, the diversified cosmopolitan is one who identifies with both worlds; the global and the native and localizing himself within a complicated alliance which defines various aspects of his being. Gunesch (2003: 220) defines this cultural identity as:

> Straddling certain cultural aspects of 'the global' and 'the local' within the individual in terms of thinking and identity perception. "Straddling" in this sense means combining both aspects by having one foot on each side, the global and the local, and finding a balance in which the global is decisive without necessarily dominating all the time.

Gunesch further explains that both the global and the local constitute the idea of the world culture which he used to explain diversity instead of uniformity. He thus pictures a world where the cosmopolitan is at home with his own cultural peculiarities and at the same time recognises and appreciates other people who are different. It is evident therefore, that cosmopolitanism involves identity with the other, with respect to loyalty to a particular universal symbol (globalisation) and loyalty to different symbols of both universal and local status (diversity).

In this study, respondents' identity projection will be used to mark their disposition in terms of globalisation or diversity.

2.3.4   Identity and Face

Face is actually a term coined by the sociolinguist Goffman (1967 quoted in Carson 2005: 35) which describes the processes people go through when choosing how to talk to others. Face is all about image or Self-perception, as well as Other-perception. Carson (2005:40) upholds this view by relating language choices to our self-perception as well as the image of other participants in a conversation,

> In other words, using one language instead of another is about how we view ourselves, and how we are viewed by others. Self-perception and the perception of the Other is implicit in the language choice of each interlocutor involved.

As a matter of fact, Goffman defined identity as the way others identify us, and how we identify ourselves (Goffman 1963, in Gibson 2004). Gibson (2004) explains that the speaker can assay to influence the way others see them, but, ultimately, the speaker's identity is formed by the hearer and this identity may be entirely different from the speaker's desired identity. This situation poses a conflict which is exacerbated if the hearer is in a position of power and is capable of imposing a certain image on the speaker.

O'Driscol (in Carson 2005) identifies three faces: polite face, cosmopolitan face and ethnolinguistic face. Polite face is related to a consideration of others; a cosmopolitan

face is related to the marking of an international image and ethnolinguistic face is related to a sense of belonging to a particular ethnic community. A fourth face which I would like to add is the metropolitan face, which is related to a sense of belonging to an urban area instead of a rural community. In terms of language, a polite face is shown when an individual uses an inclusive code; a cosmopolitan face is shown when an individual uses an international language like English; an ethnolinguistic face is shown when an individual uses an ethnic language and a metropolitan face is shown when an individual uses a language of wider community like pidgin which is used mainly in urban centres.

In this study, face work is important because of the need to ascertain the different faces projected by respondents.

2.3.5 Identity and Acculturation

Gibson (2004: 19) defines acculturation as 'the process of cultural change and adaptation that occurs when individuals from different cultures come into contact with each other. Just like language contact, culture contact (which chiefly includes language) leaves its mark on each culture, in that the cultures involved mutually influence each other, though in varying degrees (Berry 2001). In most cases, the dominant cultures which belong to the majority or powerful group exert more influence on the subordinate cultures which belong to the minority groups. Simply put, acculturation involves identifying with a different culture in one way or another, and for one reason or another. Hence, it has been argued in the literature that acculturation and ethnic identity have reciprocal relationship (Gibson 2001).

In terms of dynamics, Phinney (1989) notes that acculturation is a process of adaptation along two vital dimensions: First, the adoption of ideals, values and behaviours of the receiving culture and second, the retention of values, ideals and beliefs from the immigrant person's country of origin. A similar sentiment is echoed by Berry (2001) who posits that there are two central issues involved in acculturation: the degree to which individuals have contact outside their group and the degree to which individuals want to give up or maintain their cultural attributes. On the basis of the above postulations, Berry (2001) outlines four acculturation strategies:

1. *Integration Strategy/Biculturalism*: An integrated person reflects the desire to retain important characteristics associated with his or her cultural group, while at the same time being willing to adopt aspects of the dominant culture. This strategy is theorized as being the most balanced of all the strategies.

2. *Assimilation Strategy*: An assimilated person rejects his or her ethnic values or ethnic identity or avoids any contact with members of his or her own group for the purpose of adopting rapidly the culture of the host country and being accepted by it.

3. *Separation Strategy*. A separation strategy is followed when a person rejects the dominant group culture, with the objective of preserving only his or her own heritage culture and being most of the time in contact with members of his or her ethnic group.

4. *Marginalization Strategy*. A marginalization strategy is adopted when a person rejects both the dominant culture and his/her own heritage culture, and avoids any contact with members of either group.

These four strategies represent a holistic platform for the consideration of immigrants and refugees' acculturation patterns. It is evident that all sojourners in an alien community adopt one of these strategies in terms of their socio-cultural relationship with their hosts.

The issue of acculturation is important in this work because we are interested in ascertaining to what degree the respondents have identified with their host community culture in relation to their own.

2.3.6: Identity and Code Alternation

Code alternation is the act of shifting from one code to another code and is exemplified in code switching, code mixing, and borrowings. These are linguistic devices employed by bilinguals, to express themselves in different codes given different situations (Holmes 2008; Grosgen 1982). Korth (2005) stresses the tendency among bilinguals to identify with the groups whose languages they speak and in this way highlight a mixed or heterogeneous identity. The languages involved in this code switches represent the identities actually preferred by the respondents. The use of multiple languages in conversation   has implications for divergence and convergence. The very act of

switching from one code to another indicates either converging to or identifying with a group or diverging from or distancing oneself away from a group. Gibson (2004) states that code switching could be exclusionary and inclusionary. It is exclusionary when it is employed to distance other persons (outsiders) who do not belong to the same culture. It is inclusionary when it helps to accommodate other persons who do not belong to the same culture.

Code mixing is a kind of code alternation which involves the mixing of two or more languages, which is quite different from the previous instance of code switching. In this case, two or more languages are used within the same utterance or sentence. The switch is not triggered by a change in topic or situation. In this case, the two speakers balance the two or more languages against each other as a kind of linguistic amalgam; a few words from one language, then a few words from the other language, and back to the first one (Hudson, 2001; Prasad, 2008). This is what is termed 'metaphorical code-switching' in the literature (Holmes 2008:42, Wardhaugh 2006:104, Scotton 1993:52) or code mixing (Guerini 2005, Hudson 2001). The mixing of codes is especially for rhetoric reasons.

Unlike code switching and code mixing which involve a shift from one language to the other, borrowing is a system whereby an item from one language is borrowed to become part of the other language (Hudson 2001). Hudson further states that the speaker may not have any considerable level of fluency in the borrowed language 'The same can be true, to a more limited extent, of languages that we do not use regularly and which we may hardly know at all' (Hudson 2008:55). Borrowing therefore represents a common and secondary means of manifesting other identities. Codeswitching remains the primary linguistic means of negotiating other identities because the speaker must have a considerable level of knowledge and fluency in the languages involved. In borrowing, as Hudson (2001) states above, this is not so, for the borrower needs to know little or nothing about the other language. Hudson highlights two reasons for borrowing; one, to pretend just for a moment to be a native speaker in the borrowed language; two, unavailability of a word in a speaker's language. A third reason for borrowing is that a

speaker may have an equivalent word in his own language but he nevertheless uses an item from another language because it is more fitting or more aptly captures a situation.

2.3.7: Identity and Stereotype

Gibson (2004) posits that language is a dual means of projecting our own identity and a means for others to project onto us their own perceptions of the way we are. This is to aver that stereotypes are actually imposed identities, which are mainly negative. However, the imposition is not the exclusive preserve of the majority group; minority groups are also wont to impose identities on fellow minority groups as well as on majority groups. Stereotypes are ethnic or national labels used by groups to identify other groups (Hudson 2001; Bloor & Bloor 2007). Thus to say of a member of another language group 'that he or she will always exhibit a certain characteristic behaviour is to offer a stereotype' (Wardhaugh 1996). Such labels are mainly negative, all encompassing and borne out of prejudice, as stated by Bloor and Bloor (2007:128)

> One outcome of prejudice is the creation of stereotypes. Certain
> qualities, real or imaginary, are taken as typical of the target
> category, and there is an underlying assumption that all members of
> the category conform to this stereotype.

This is an indication of the fact that stereotypes are hyperbolic constructs meant to emphasise a salient social behaviour. It is hyperbolic because it tends to unnecessarily exaggerate a trait by the process of inclusion. Thus, a character trait exhibited by one or few individuals is used to classify the entire group, sometimes without exception. Such character traits, or what Hayakawa (1972:7) calls 'abstractions' are mainly negative constructs and includes aspects of physical characteristics, styles of behaviour, morality and other criteria like social class, skin colour, language, nationality, dialect, religion, gender, sexual preference, place of birth, ancestral origin, social customs (Fairclough 1995:87; Bloor and Bloor 2007). Hayakawa (1972:68) identifies a dual system of analyzing labels which he terms 'informative and affective connotations'. The informative connotation is a statement of the fact while the affective connotation is a judgement on the fact. These assumptions lead their holders to behave in the same way.

Some of these behaviours are feelings of cultural superiority whose effect is to look down or devalue other cultures.

The review of literature has thrown up a number of issues with respect to language and identity among refugees: issues like attitudes, acculturation patterns, ethnic categorisation evident in insiders and outsiders, etc. the next section will focus on the theoretical framework.

2.4   Theoretical Framework

There are two theories adopted for this study both of which are contingent on social psychology of language. They are the Ethnolinguistic Identity Theory (EIT) and the Mentalist Theory of language attitudes.

2.4.1   Ethnolinguistic Identity Theory (ELIT)

Ethnolinguistic identity theory is a social psychological approach proposed by Giles and Johnson in 1981 as an extension of Social Identity Theory (SIT), (Oakes 2001). This is a suggestion that ELIT shares the same fundamental principles of belongingness with SIT which are: social categorization, social identity, social comparison and psychological distinctiveness all for the purpose of enhancing individuals' self-esteem (Kam 2010). Both ELIT and SIT are conditioned on the notion of the 'other' as opposed to the 'self'. Oakes' (2001) position that it is hard to speak of ethnicity without reference to other ethnic 'Others' is corroborated by Evans (1996) who posits that the creation of a sense of self is a dynamic and fluid activity where segmentation of 'Self' and 'Other' i.e. inclusion and exclusion represent a contest between groups and institutions within society. Giles and Johnson (1987) hold that as people grow up they also learn to group themselves and other people into social categories which usually use language as a marker for ethnic distinctiveness. Korth (2005) stresses that social categorization often employs language as a marker for ethnic distinctiveness. Additionally she stresses the demand of ELIT that individuals may feel a sense of belonging to a group because they feel that they share the same system of symbols and meanings (language) which implies an Us-feeling; and also

the fact that those who identify themselves with a particular group are more likely to use the language of that group.

Masaki et al (2010) posit that ELIT is one of the theories which provide explanation for the conceptual link between an individual's language use and cultural adaptation, including ethnic identity. This indicates that as far as ELIT is concerned, language represents a core or primary aspect of an individual's social group identity and to an extent worldview (Giles and Johnson 1987). Contingent with this position, an individual's view of his or her heritage culture against the other cultures is found to correlate with language preference, knowledge and actual use (Phinney et al 2001). Clement and Noels (1992) maintain that when an individual is offered an option he/she will identify with that group which would most likely provide the greatest positive social identity. They suggest that identity with other groups largely depends on whether the individual belongs to a majority or minority group. There is often a tendency for members of the minority group to identify with the powerful majority group's culture and language and in so doing relinquish their own culture (assimilation). On the contrary, members of the majority group tend to acquire additional identity without relinquishing their own (integration). This is why Giles and Johnson (1981) remark that the social psychological approach to language and inter-ethnic behaviours grants us a basis to predict who in an ethnic group uses a particular language strategy. According to this theory, when ethnic group identity becomes vital for individuals, they may attempt to make themselves distinct via language (Liebkind, 1999). Thus having a distinct language or dialect is often considered relevant for complete and permissible membership of an ethnic group.

However, as an extension of SIT, ELIT incorporates three additional factors which, according to Oakes (2001: 37) are claimed to determine "the salience of ethno-linguistic identity": perceived permeability of boundaries, multiple group memberships and ethnolinguistic vitality.

Firstly, the perceived permeability of boundaries deals with the strength or otherwise of intergroup limits or bonds. Therefore, boundaries perceived as soft facilitate social

mobility while boundaries perceived as hard obstruct social mobility and lead to pronounced ethnolinguistic identities on both divides. If the boundary is soft, individuals will relate well with members of other ethnolinguistic groups while relationship is strained if the boundary is hard. In other words, in hard boundaries, outsiders are shut out, but in soft boundaries outsiders are admitted or accommodated (Oakes 2001; Saville-troika, 2003). This explains Allard and Landry's (1994) suggestion that ethnolinguistic identity is viewed as the most deep-rooted vista of cognitive-affective disposition which is affected by the strength and quality of contacts with ethnolinguistic groups.

Secondly, ELIT introduces multiple group membership which states that the number of social groups to which an individual belongs reveals his/her strength of ethnolinguistic identity (Oakes 2001). Such groups could be professional, age, social class, culture, etc. What this entails is that an individual who belongs to few social groups would normally have a strong ethnolinguistic identity while an individual who belongs to many social groups would have a weakened ethnolinguistic identity. This is so because association with several social groups whose membership cut across different ethnic groups will naturally moderate the degree of one's identity `with his ethnolinguistic group.

Thirdly, ELIT proposes the idea of ethnolinguistic vitality which is what makes a group likely to behave as a distinct entity in intergroup relations (Giles, et al 1977). Vitality of a language means that it is used and transmitted from generation to generation. Evans (1996) points out that Hispanic immigrant parents who believe in the strong vitality of the Mexican ethnic culture tend to transmit their cultural beliefs and Spanish language to their children. This is indicative of the fact that a structural tie exists between Mexican heritage youths' ethnic identity and their language knowledge. Landweer (1991) presents a list of indicators of ethnolinguistic vitality of a speech community as follows:

1. Relative position on the urban-rural continuum. In this respect, ethnolinguistic groups that are remote from urban communities or congregation of other language speakers would thrive more than groups located within urban centres.
2. Domains of language use. In this aspect, loss of domains (e.g. home, cultural events, social events) in which the language is used undermines ethnolinguistic vitality.
3. Frequency and type of code switching. In this case Landweer argues that frequent unbounded individual code switching undermines ethnolinguistic vitality.

4. Population and group dynamics. In this respect a higher number of speakers contributes to ethnolinguistic vitality while an insignificant number hinders vitality.
5. Distribution of speakers within social networks. In this instance, multiple relations among members of a clan reinforces language use.
6. Social outlook regarding and within the speech community. In this respect, the measure of a language community's social outlook both internally and externally is important for ethnolinguistic vitality. In other words the perception a group has of itself, and the perception outsiders have of that group can either support or undermine the value associated with the language and use.
7. Language prestige. In this case a language that has gathered prestige overtime, through use as a Lingua Franca or national language, stands a chance to thrive more than a language whose use is restricted to few domains.
8. Economic ties to the language. In this case, a strong economic base which supports the use of the language contributes towards ethnolinguistic vitality. In other words, if the language is economically beneficial, i.e., if it can grant access to material wealth and social prestige through employment and other opportunities.

The three factors highlighted above are the additions which has made ELIT somewhat different from SIT. However, the fact that ELIT has gone beyond the original constructs in SIT does not mean that it is free of defects. In the next section, some of the criticisms of ELIT will be considered.

2.4.1.1 Criticisms

There are two criticisms of ELIT in the literature to be discussed here. The first is inability of ELIT to handle large-scale groups. ELIT considers large-scale groups as homogenous, when in fact such groups comprise smaller sub-groups. This is why Breakwell (1996) posits that there is no such thing as national identity in an absolute sense since every nation has several national identities within it, especially on an individual level. However, Oakes (2001) defends the theory by claiming that ELIT merely prefers to focus on those situations where individuals act as a group due to its bias for intergroup relations. He therefore states that ELIT can be used to examine intra-group differences due to the emergence of subgroups.

The second criticism of ELIT is that it has a bias for monocultural-assimilationist tendency, and lacks the capacity to handle biculturalism and integration. ELIT assumes that individuals belonging to a minority group usually identify with the majority culture

at the expense of their own heritage culture (assimilation), but this is not so (Oakes 2001). Berry's (1980) model of acculturation demonstrates that an individual belonging to a minority group can adopt cultural elements belonging to the majority without discarding his own. This false position of ELIT is what Husband and Saifullah Ichan (1982) term mono-cultural-assimilationist bias. The fact remains that assimilation is just one of the acculturation models in the literature (Berry 1980). Other models of acculturation include integration where the bilingual retains two identities equally or unequally, without upholding one identity to the detriment of the other. Liebkind (1996) maintains that it is possible for a minority group to share cultural characteristics with the majority without compromising their own identity.

Due to some of these deficiencies ELIT have been revised to incorporate essential linguistic elements for a more holistic analysis (Oaks 2001).

2.4.2   Revised Ethnolinguistic Identity Theory

The modifications made to the theoretical framework (ELIT) are the following: the introduction of the concept of convergence and divergence, a deeper understanding of the notion of linguistic and non-linguistic boundaries and the idea of different arenas.

Convergence and divergence originated in Accommodation Theory propounded by Giles (1974). Convergence is a method whereby individuals adapt to the communication patterns of each other during interaction (Giles and Coupland 1991). In this instance, individuals from minority groups adopt patterns of the dominant group speech for the purpose of social approval (Hudson 2000). On the other hand, divergence is a communicative devise used to emphasise the language of the minority group for the purpose of marking differences between the in-group and the dominant out-group. It follows that whereas convergence enhances solidarity with the out-group, divergence accentuates difference with the out-group. This relationship does not necessarily imply total assimilation as in the original formulation of ELIT but recognises intermediate states of acculturation where both dominant and minority identities are retained (Oakes 2000).

Linguistic and non-linguistic boundaries are extensions of earlier hard and soft boundaries postulated by ELIT. However both concepts are tied to social mobility. Four

categories are recognised: hard linguistic boundary and hard non-linguistic boundary; soft linguistic boundary and soft non-linguistic boundary. Hard linguistic boundary means having a distinctive language while hard non-linguistic boundary means having a distinctive culture. Soft linguistic boundary means adopting another language other than one's own and soft non-linguistic boundary means the adoption of other cultural features. Due to the presence of non-linguistic factors in the delineating of boundaries, therefore the loss of language may not necessarily suggest the loss of identity but may actually serve as a catalyst to ethnic consciousness (Liebkind 1996; Ross 1979).

Different arenas for the construction of identity refer to the formation of multiple hierarchical arenas which are used to construct identities. As a result, different arenas are recognised and they include: Ethnic, National, Continental and Global. These arenas are constructed based on the notion of dominant and minority or subordinate groups. Ethnolinguistic identity theory (ELIT) will help the present study in the following ways: it will help to delineate the types of boundaries which exist between the groups and their implications for inter-group relations; it will help to highlight the pattern of identity construction with respect to arenas and domains; it will also help to account for issues of convergence and divergence in terms of manifestation of identity in discourse. However, there are some data that obviously cannot be accommodated within the ELIT framework. Therefore, the Mentalist Theory of language attitude is incorporated to complement Ethnolinguistic Identity Theory in order to account for such data.

2.5   The Mentalist Theory (Language Attitudes)

Anderson (1975 cited in Korth 2005: 23) states that the idea of attitude is generally one used in Social Psychology but defines language attitudes, as 'thinking, feeling and reacting with regard to people, objects, social groups or events.

Baker (1992) stresses the necessity of situating language attitudes research within attitude theory in general. The idea of attitude is one of the basic concepts of the social and behavioural sciences and a large body of psychological, social and sociolinguistic literature is devoted to its analysis. The concept of attitude has been defined by a vast variety of researchers, most of them reflecting their theoretical or research interest. Petty

and Cacioppo (1981: 6) state that attitude "should be used to refer to a general and enduring positive or negative feeling about some person, object, or issue". Eagly and Chaiken (2005: 745) see attitude as "a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favour or disfavour.

These definitions opine that attitude is rooted in the individual's psyche and is a tool used in the evaluation of phenomenon. Consequently Bohner (2001: 240) states that '[a]t the *individual level,* attitudes influence perception, theory and behaviour', and [a]t the *intergroup level,* attitudes towards one's own group and other groups are the core of intergroup cooperation and conflict'. What this entails is that "attitudes determine for each individual what he will see and hear, what he will think and what he will do" (Allport 1935: 806, cited in Kircher 2009: 49).

The two major theoretical frameworks for language attitude research are Mentalism and Behaviourism. According to the behaviourist theory, attitudes are located in people's responses to various stimuli and consist of the observation and generalisation of overt behaviour. However, a significant drawback of the behaviourist approach is that behaviour is not consistent across contexts. According to Ajzen (1988: 45) '[e]very particular instance of human action is ... determined by a unique set of factors. Any change in circumstance, be it ever so slight, might produce a different reaction'. This is to suggest that an individual's behaviour in a particular setting depends on other factors like time, context and not just on attitude. Therefore, the fact that one behaves in a particular way in one context does not mean that the person will behave like that a second time. Hence, the lack of a one-to-one correspondence between attitude and behaviour makes single instances of behaviour unreliable indicators of attitude.

The second theory of attitude is the mentalist approach which is adopted in this study. The mentalist approach holds that language cannot be observed directly since it is mental. On the basis of the mentalist approach Ajzen (1988: 4) defines attitude as 'a disposition to respond favourably or unfavourably to an object, person, institution or event', while Allport (1935: 810) had earlier described it as 'a mental and neural state of readiness,

organised through experience, exerting a direct or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related'. These definitions suggest that attitudes do not determine behaviour but influence it; in other words attitude is not behaviour but a precondition of behaviour (Gardner 1982). The definitions also stress that attitudes are psychological constructs, rooted in the individual's mind but expressed via behaviour or action, which could be positive or negative, favourable or unfavourable (Sarnof 1970; Gaw 2011). Thus, in the context of language attitudes, a positive feeling towards a language or variety translates into a positive behaviour towards the language and the reverse is the case too. However, there are exceptions to this rule, for it does not always follow that positive beliefs lead to positive behaviours. This disposition is not fixed, for there are often inconsistencies between professed attitude and ensuing action. Carson (2005: 32) underscores the point that 'we can believe one thing, yet maintain a totally contradictory attitude'.

However, due to the salient features of behaviourism, the two approaches have been integrated into a framework with three different types of components in attitudes: cognitive, affective and conative components. The cognitive component concerns individual's belief system, knowledge and perception about the attitude object. The affective component concerns the emotional reactions and feelings about the attitude object; and the conative component concerns behavioural intentions and actual behaviour (i.e. readiness for action) about the attitude object (Bohner 2001). These three components are represented hierarchically in the schemata below
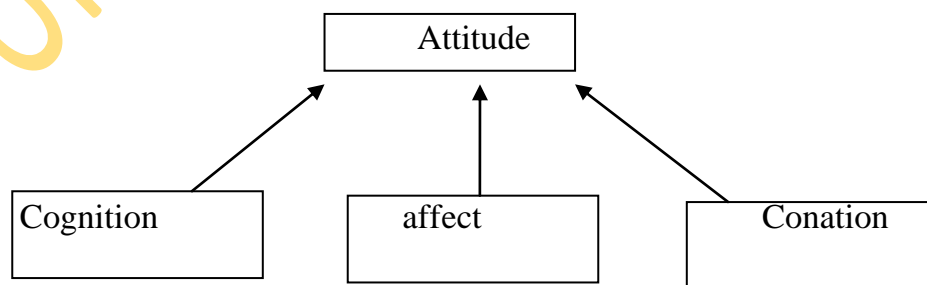
Fig 1.: The hierarchy of attitude and components adapted from Baker (1992)

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Following from this concept of attitude, language attitudes therefore is used to refer to any cognitive, affective or conative principles of evaluation towards different languages and the speakers. Precisely, language attitudes are the evaluation people make about their own language or the language of others.

An important aspect of language attitude phenomenon is that language attitudes just like attitudes themselves are not static but are subject to change, over time (Hamers and Blanc 2000). The trajectory of change may be from favourable to unfavourable or vice versa. There are various factors that can alter people's attitude to a language: age, gender, education, culture, etc. Children may change their attitude towards a language when they become teenagers, and teenagers often change their attitude towards a language when they become adults. Some of these changes are induced by social interaction and environmental experience. Attitudes towards a language might be affected by the socio-cultural behaviours of the males and females. The educational context is a significant factor which can alter people's attitudes towards language. Other factors that may affect language attitudes are language background, ability and the cultural background of the people in a society (Hamers and Blanc 2000). These different attitudes are conditioned by language prestige and the prevailing social circumstances including identity (Gaw 2010). Thus Fishman ((1989) often uses the term, language attitude, to reveal the role of languages in creating ethnic identity while Gaw (2010) focuses on language attitude as building blocks in forming linguistic identity.

Fasold (1984), states that attitudes towards a language are often a reflection of attitudes towards the speakers of the language. Language is therefore taken as a symbol for intergroup relationship; a means of revealing the attitude of the Self towards the Other, or in-groups versus out-groups (Stroud and Wingstedt 1989, cited in Oakes 2001). It follows then that if people do not like a particular ethnic group, such a dislike would be extended to their language or variety, thereby discouraging linguistic identity with the target ethnic group. The reverse also holds where a favourable reception of an ethnic group correlates with a favourable disposition towards their language. As a result, it is held that peoples' interest or non-interest in identifying with a language depends largely

on their attitude towards the speakers of the language. Carson's (2005) research among alumni students of the College of Europe in Brugges, Belgium upholds this position and suggests that this view is the product of stereotypes which is reflected in the pronounced views respondents hold about other ethnolinguistic groups they have encountered. Preston (2010) suggests that there is sufficient proof in sociolinguistics which shows that evaluative reactions (attitudes) towards linguistic stimuli are determined to a large degree by the association of linguistic features and social groups and by the stereotypes attached to social groups.

The language-ethnic group relationship is vital when considering motives in the study of language attitudes. Two basic motives propagated by Gardner and Lambert (1972) are known as integrative and instrumental motives. They hold that the integrative motive is evident where an individual wishes to identify with the target community by way of learning their language in order to, perhaps, become a member of the group. On the contrary, the instrumental motive obtains in a situation where an individual linguistically identifies with the dominant culture for reasons of work, success and social mobility. This suggests that, for whatever reasons, languages serve as a means of identification with a dominant culture.

The study of language attitudes is very important in this work, for it puts us in good stead to analyze the feelings of the refugees about the various languages at their disposition in relation to issues of identity.

2.5.1 Criticisms

Language attitudes have been criticized because of the difficulty in measuring attitudes. The difficulty arises from the lack of symmetry between cognition, affect and action. It may be easy to measure outward action but difficult to measure beliefs embedded in the human psyche (cognition). Feelings (affect) are also hard to measure because an individual may have positive feelings for a language yet in practice produce a negative disposition. Oakes (2001) provides an example of second language acquisition where a mother may motivate her child to learn French (behaviour) for instrumental reasons (cognition), yet she hates the language (affect). This experience explains the difficulty in

measuring people's innermost feelings. In the measurement of language attitude three major techniques are employed.

The next chapter will focus on the methodology adopted in this study.

CHAPTER THREE
METHODOLOGY

3.1   Introduction

The methodology adopted in this study is a mixed method incorporating the quantitative and qualitative methods, both of which are employed in the fields of social science and anthropology (Korth 2005).

3.2   Quantitative Method

The quantitative methodology is used widely across disciplines such as psychology, economics, sociology, etc. The quantitative approach is the empirical investigation of social phenomena by means of statistical instruments, whose central aim is to gather sufficient data on which to make generalisations. As a result, the method employs questionnaires and structured questions limited to 'what' and 'how many'. This is a suggestion that the results are not based on the subjective opinion of individuals but on the aggregation of their responses.

However, Rasinger (2008: 10) posits that the notion that quantitative data refers to a large amount of data is only "partially true". This is because the tools of quantitative data basically require a decently sized data and not necessarily data that is too many. He states that the main characteristic of quantitative data is that it consists of information which is quantifiable. This is to say that quantitative data can be reduced to numbers, figures and graphs and capable of being processed by means of statistical procedures which require a fairly considerable amount of data to function properly. As a result, small amount of data are problematic because they can lead to insignificant, inconclusive or flawed results in the course of statistical analysis (Rasinger, 2008).

A basic feature of the quantitative approach is that it is deductive. The idea of deduction is that hypotheses or research questions are developed based on already known theory which are then proved or disproved in the course of empirical investigation.

The reason for the adoption of this approach is because the study is concerned largely with a description of the linguistic position of respondents which demands the collection and analysis of numerical data.

3.3   Qualitative Method

Qualitative research, also termed 'ethno methodology' is often carried out in fields whose concern is human behaviour (Strauss & Corbin 1991) and aims at gathering an in-depth appreciation of human behaviour and the reasons which produce such acts.   It examines and tries to answer questions about the 'hows' and 'whys' of subject matter which accounts for using a limited number of respondents in the research.   It also aims at gaining understanding of people's attitudes, behaviours, value systems, concerns, motivations, objectives, culture or lifestyle.   Qualitative research makes use of different approaches in gathering data and some of them are: participant observation, non-participant observation, field notes, reflexive journals, structured interviews, unstructured interviews, semi-structured interviews, and analysis of documents and materials (Marshal, C. and Rossman, G. 1998).   Two of these methods are adopted in this study and they are participant observation and unstructured interviews.

According to Rasinger (2008), qualitative data consists of texts, patterns and qualities. Unlike quantitative research, qualitative research is inductive, which is to say that the theory is derived from research results.   According to Rasinger (2008) qualitative analysis is often used in preliminary studies to evaluate the research area, but this should not be taken as a limitation.   Actually, qualitative analysis is a valid and credible approach on its own.   A number of sociolinguistic researches have been carried out utilising entirely the qualitative paradigm.   Guerini (2001) who studied language alternation strategies among Ghanaian immigrants in Italy, and Korth (2003) who studied language attitudes towards Kyrgyz and Russian are two of a number of in-depth, rich, comprehensive researches using this approach.   The position here is that qualitative data is not secondary to the quantitative data; rather it is a different kind of research entirely which is sufficient in the conduct of certain sociolinguistic research, especially where numerics is not particularly an issue.

The reason for the adoption of this methodology is because this study partly focuses on individuals' subjective experiences. Trying to find out why respondents behave in certain ways and how they interpret or express certain phenomenon demands an unstructured and broad approach which is the hallmark of the qualitative research.

3.4   The Mixed Method

Simply put, the mixed method is the practice of merging the two approaches in a research. Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004: 17) define the mixed method paradigm as 'the class of research where the researcher mixes or combines quantitative and qualitative elements". However, Bryman (2007) posits that the major issue to be treated is the degree of combination of the two methods. Tashakkori and Creswell (2007: 4) present different ways through which the two approaches could be combined:

- two types of research questions (with qualitative and quantitative approaches)
- two types of sampling procedures (e.g. probability and purposive)
- two types of data collection procedures (e.g. focus groups and surveys)
- two types of data (e.g. numerical and textual)
- two types of data analysis (statistical and thematic), and
- two types of conclusions (emic and etic representations, 'objective' and 'subjective', etc.)

In the present study, some of the combinations above will be employed. For instance, two different types of research questions will be used coupled with participatory and preplanned manner of developing the research questions. Additionally, two types of data collection procedures (questionnaires and interviews) and two types of data (numerical and non-numerical) are required.

There are several benefits of combining the two methods; (quantitative and qualitative methods). Greene, et al (1989), state that combining the two paradigms is beneficial for constructing comprehensive accounts and providing answers to a wider range of research questions. Tashakkori and Teddlie (2009) suggest that mixed methods provide ways of answering research questions which could not be answered in any other way. Holmes,

(2008: 5) reasons that combined methodologies can shed light on 'different layers of meaning'.

The use of mixed qualitative and quantitative methods in this study is very useful because through the process of description and explanation of linguistic experiences, results are somewhat proved and validated.

It is based on these methods that a number of vital questions are raised which represent the challenge of the research. They are shown below.

3.5 Research Questions

1. To what degree is the identity negotiation in different domains a reflection of the distinction between insiders and outsiders?
2. What are the variegated measures adopted by the groups to boost ethnolinguistic vitality?
3. In relation to the languages at their disposal, what degree of correspondence exists between the feelings of respondents and their actual linguistic behaviour?
4. What are the implications of linguistic identity prototypes for intergroup and interethnic relations?
5. What practical means or strategies do the groups employ to negotiate and project heterogenous images and identities?
6. What are the effects of cross ethnic/group categorizations among the groups in the camp?

3.6 Sampling Method

The collection of data for this study was facilitated through the selection of respondents based on the purposive sampling technique. This method was employed because of the limited number of the population. Additionally, the study is not inclusive of all the groups in the camp, but restricted to specific groups for reasons of simplicity in analysis. Therefore, in distributing the questionnaire and conducting interviews, members of these specific groups were targeted. The respondents were divided into specific sub-groups namely: nationality, ethnic-group and age. As a result, the sample had equal number of

participants from the different ethnic groups, and age groups. The balance in the number of participants from different groups will help in making strong conclusions.

3.7   Research Instrument

Several research instruments were employed to collect information for this study in compliance with the two methodologies stated above. These techniques include questionnaires, interviews and participant observation.

3.7.1   Questionnaires

Through the questionnaire, information was elicited from respondents concerning different aspects of the study. The different aspects of the questionnaire are demographic information, which provides information about the population of respondents based on various variables like ethnic group, marital status, gender, etc.; language information, which provides information about the various languages used by respondents; language use in different domains, which provides information on the different languages respondents used in different settings; and language attitudes which provides information on the feelings of respondents concerning languages at their disposal.

The questionnaire was written in English because the language is common to all the respondents who come from countries where English is the official language. Also most, if not all the refugees sampled can read and understand English. Nevertheless, some facilitators, who are refugees themselves, were engaged in distributing the questionnaires. These facilitators were not only educated but experienced, having worked with researchers in the past. Before the distribution, the facilitators were educated on various aspects of the questionnaire to enable them render assistance to the respondents in the field. The advantage of using refugees to distribute questionnaires to their fellows is that it makes the task easier by ensuring camaraderie and removing what the researcher terms the 'stranger effect'. The stranger effect is the feeling of respondents when approached by a researcher they have never met. This feeling is characterized by apprehension and scepticism on the part of respondents.

There are two types of questions asked in the questionnaire. The first type is the multiple choice question where respondents are given options or answers to choose out of several. These options are based on the assumption that they represent respondent's answers to the questions. The second type is open-ended questions. This type of question requires the respondents to fill in their answers. This type of question may not help in making generalizations, but they help to provide respondents' real opinions.

Out of the 120 questionnaires sent to Sierra Leonean respondents 120 were completed and returned; in the same vein, 120 questionnaires were completed and returned by Liberian respondents. This return rate was successful but not surprising, given that the respondents were easy to reach, coupled with the fact that they were domiciled within a camp.

3.7.2 Interviews

The interview is the second method employed in data collection in this research. The type of interview used is face-to-face, unstructured interviews, somewhat akin to Korth's (2005) language biographies which is a narrative interview form used to give a cohesive account of a person's life in relation to language. We chose the unstructured interview because its loose and open-ended nature gives respondents freedom to express their personal opinions. This means that data obtained by this method are usually more valid and reliable. Thus the oral interview data gives insights into the way individuals interpret their experiences and their social world (Korth 2005). These interviews were all recorded. A total of 36 respondents representing different age and ethnic groups were interviewed.

Out of the 36 respondents, 18 interviewees were Liberians drawn from the three age groups (13-19, 20-39, 40-60) and the three ethnic groups (Krahn, Bassa, Kpelle). On the other hand, 18 interviewees were Sierra Leoneans equally drawn from the three age groups (13-19, 20-39, 40-60) and the three ethnic groups (Mende, Temne, Limba). The interviewees included men and women from the six ethnic groups used in the study.

The interviews were conducted mainly in the homes of the respondents in the refugee camp. This proved very useful in terms of obstructing external noises or keeping them to a minimum. The informal settings also helped the respondents to talk about their feelings confidently. Some of the key questions asked in the interview include, but not limited to the following:

- Among other symbols of ethnic identity, is language seen as major or minor?
- Why do you use English in intra-ethnic interaction?
- Why do you not identify with your language at home?

Due to the fact that these questions are technical, they were broken down to the level of each respondent. Some of the respondents who were educated did not have much problem understanding the questions and responding correctly. But to others who were not well educated, pidgin was used to clarify the questions and they also responded accurately to the questions.

3.7.3   Participant Observation

Participant observation originated from cultural anthropology and is based on the notion that one has to participate in the world in order to understand it (Korth 2005). Participant observation, according to Krulfeld (1998) proves to be highly essential for refugee research due to the fact that refugees often do not trust researchers who usually come from stable dominant groups. However, the fact that refugees are reachable, due to their peculiar circumstances, offer researchers the opportunity to relate with them in everyday life and by so doing build up trust which is necessary to obtain reliable data. In the course of this research, the researcher became very familiar and involved with some of the residents in Oru camp, with respect to their socio-economic condition. This is after numerous trips to the camp within three years during which the researcher became acquainted with some of the residents, courtesy of the leaders of both national groups.

Notably it was easier to witness natural conversations during observation than when armed with a tape recorder. The respondents were usually conscious and wary at the sight of a tape-recorder, but the times the researcher sat with them in their homes or verandas without the tape recorder, they were much more relaxed and so it was easy to

observe natural interactions among the respondents. The factors that were observed were mainly aspects of identity projection in interactions exemplified in code switching and borrowing. The observation of these linguistic norms entails total concentration and alertness; some of the observations were collected as field notes, while some were secretly recorded. However, in keeping with the ethics of research, the respondents willingly gave their oral permission to use the recorded information in the research. The next section will focus on the problems encountered while using the three methods above.

3.8   Methodological problems

In this study three different means were used in collecting data; however the three tools had their drawbacks. In the first place, questionnaires are good means of collecting information but sometimes what respondents claim in the questionnaires do not actually reflect actual use of language (Guerini 2006).   For instance in the questionnaire some of the Liberian respondents reported that they used English at home, but on close observation it was obvious that they actually used as much pidgin as English. The reason for this could be the desperation to be seen as educated and modern, especially given the status of English in Liberia. Furthermore, some of the writings represented in some of the questionnaire items suggested duplication. It seems that some of the respondents filled more than one questionnaire. However, the number was very few and so not significant enough to make a difference in the result and analysis.

A major constraint encountered in the course of interviews is that most of the participants were uncomfortable at the sight of an audio-tape recorder; they actually feared that the tape could have a secret device for taking pictures which they out-rightly opposed. As a result, some of them, especially the teenagers (age group 1) were not willing to offer information, and where they obliged, provided only adumbrated responses. Due to this challenge, some aspects of the investigation did not reflect the responses of all the age groups involved in the study. In addition, the recording of interviews and other conversations were marred by background noises. Irrespective of the locale of interview, be it in the home of a respondent or outside, background noises interfered with the

recording so that during the playback several comments were obscured. This necessitated the use of ellipsis in such places, during translation.

In the course of participant observation, reflected in my field notes, the researcher encountered the use of several indigenous Liberian and Sierra Leonean languages, which required translation. Some respondents who were versed in their indigenous languages helped in the translation. However, some of the respondents who used their indigenous languages claimed that they could not translate their languages. So, in such cases, the researcher depended virtually on the sounds they produced during articulation to write down what in his opinion, may not wholly represent the exact translation. These methodological problems represent setbacks in the study.

3.9   Variables

The variables to be studied in this study are ethnicity and age. Ethnicity is an important variable in social research because it often provides distinctions along linguistic and cultural dimensions which serve to create differences in behaviour. Three ethnic groups are identified for each national group (Liberia: Krahn, Bassa, Kpelle; Sierra Leone: Mende, Temne, Limba) and these are studied with respect to their ethnolinguistic patterns.

In the same vein, age represents a vital variable in a social research of this nature due to disparities in perception among age groups. As a result of social conditions and experience, different age groups have different perceptions about phenomenon. Age differences therefore can serve to mark a distinction in value judgement and behaviour.

3.10   Data Analysis

Two types of analysis are employed in this study based on the methodologies used, and the data collected. They are the qualitative and quantitative data analyses. The qualitative data will be analysed by means of sociolinguistic tools of observer impression. Observer impression is an analytical approach whereby an expert examines the data and subjects it to interpretation by forming an impression. Thereafter the expert, who is the researcher, reports his impression in a structured and sometimes quantitative form. The

advantage of this analytical tool is that it is bereft of complications, and so its simplicity helps the appreciation of the results.

The quantitative data are analysed with the aid of percentages and the Chi Square Test of Independence. The Chi Square Test is a non parametric statistical technique used to determine whether there is a significance difference between the expected frequencies and observed frequencies or outcome (Dovak, 2006). It is also used to test significant differences between two or more actual samples (Rodriquez, 2006). Generally the statistical method makes use of frequency counts instead of means and variances (McGibbon, 2006). The reason for the use of Chi Square for analysis is that the sample here consists of respondents distributed across categories (age and ethnicity) and we want to determine if that distribution has a significant or non-significant effect on the projection of varying identities.

3.11   Validation

Various means are employed to establish credibility or dependability in a research work. Some of them are interviewer corroboration, member check, peer debriefing, prolonged engagement, negative case analysis, statistical reliability test, etc. For this study two means will be used to validate data and results: member check and statistical reliability test.

Member check or respondent validation is an approach adopted by researchers to ensure the accuracy, and reliability of collected data. This technique involves a systematic feedback of the results to the respondents for the purpose of checking the authenticity of the findings. The comments of the respondents serve to endorse the work or not, and this is mainly of much importance in qualitative studies (Byrne, 2001).   Some of the advantages of member check are as follows, as reported by Cohen (2006): It gives participants opportunity to correct errors and challenge what is seen as wrong interpretations; it prevents false information from being presented as realistic research.

Although there are several setbacks of this technique like time consumption and the fact that members may forget what they earlier said, etc, it is the view of the researcher that the advantages far outweigh the setbacks. Member check is adopted in this study mainly

due to the availability of respondents for the purpose of feedbacks and corrections. Giving respondents an opportunity to review their responses is viewed as a sincere means of validating findings.

The second technique used is the statistical reliability test employed to measure the accuracy or otherwise of data. The method adopted to measure the reliability of data presented in this study is Cronbach's Alpha, which is a coefficient instrument used to measure the internal consistency of collected data (Ritter, 2010).

The next section will focus on the respondents' demographic information.

3.12   Demographic Information

A total of 240 respondents were used in this study; 120 respondents from the Liberia group and 120 respondents from the Sierra Leone group respectively. The equity in number is for the purpose of making strong and credible conclusions. This number is representative of the population of the selected ethnic groups, among the two nationalities in Oru camp. The demographic information is broken into various categories like ethnic group, age, sex, marital status, and occupation, and they are presented below.

Table 1   Analysis of Socio-Demographic Variables of Respondents

Country	Variable	Characteristics	Frequency	%	Mean	Total
Liberia	Gender	Male	57	47.5		
		Female	63	52.5		120
	Age	(13-19) Years	45	37.5		
		(20-39) Years	45	37.5		
		(40-60) Years	30	25.0	29.0 years	120
	Marital Status	Single	55	45.8		
		Married	65	54.2		120
	Occupation	Trading	22	18.3		
		Working	53	44.2		
		Schooling	45	37.5		120
	Tribe	Krahn	40	33.3		
		Bassa	40	33.3		
		Kpelle	40	33.3		120
Sierra Leone	Gender	Male	54	45.0		
		Female	66	55.0		120
	Age	(13-19) Years	45	37.5		
		(20-39) Years	45	37.5		
		(40-60) Years	30	25.0	29.0 years	120
	Marital Status	Single	48	40.0		
		Married	72	60.0		120
	Occupation	Trading	19	15.0		
		Working	56	46.7		
		Schooling	45	38.3		120
	Tribe	Mende	40	33.3		
		Temne	40	33.3		
		Limba	40	33.3		120

3.12.1 Ethnic Groups

Various ethnic groups within Liberia and Sierra Leone constitute the population of Oru camp. The ethnic groups identified in this study are 14 for Liberia and 11 for Sierra Leone. These ethnic groups are as follows: the Liberian group comprise Krahn, Bassa, Kpelle, Loma, Krumen, Kissi, Sarpo, Belle, Gola, vai, Gio, Mandingo, Groso, Gbandi. The Sierra Leone group comprise Mende, Temne, Limba, Susu, Krio, Fula, Kono, Shabro, Kru, Mandingo, Bassa. However, out of the whole ethnic collectivities, three ethnic groups were selected from each national group for reasons of numerical strength

and simplicity of analysis. The ethnic groups are as follows: Krahn, Bassa and Kpelle for Liberia and Mende, Temne and Limba for Sierra Leone.

3.12.2 Age

The 240 respondents were grouped into three age brackets as follows: 13 – 19, 20 – 39 and 40 – 60. These age brackets represent the spectrum of teenage, young adults and full adults.

3.12.3 Sex

The sampled population were grouped into two with respect to sex, i.e. male and female. Although there is no match or balance between the male and female respondents, the disparity in number is not significant. The sex distribution is fair enough to identify male-female differences in terms of linguistic identity and behaviour.

3.12.4 Marital Status

The respondents were divided into two categories in terms of marital status. The categories are, married and single. The married ones include those who were living with partners while the singles are those who have never been married. The importance of this grouping is that marriage is a vital variable with regards to the intergenerational transmission of languages.

3.12.5 Occupation

The respondents were categorized according to their occupations. The occupations identified were schooling, trading and working. The importance of this variable is that language use in the place of work plays a key role in the construction of identities.

3.13   Language Information

The languages identified in Oru camp are grouped into two in relation to nationality. Although there are various indigenous languages representing their ethnic groups, the sample is limited to the three ethnolinguistic groups selected for the study. They are the following: the Liberian group comprise Krahn, Bassa and Kpelle while the Sierra Leone group comprise Mende, Temne and Limba. Other languages identified are English, French, Arabic, Pidgin and Yoruba. However, for the sake of analysis only nine groups

of languages will be used. They are the three indigenous languages for each national group in addition to English, Pidgin and Yoruba. This information is represented in the table below;

Table 2   **Language Information**

Country	Characteristics	Language	Frequency	%	Cumulative %
Liberia	1st Language	Krahn	40	33.3	33.3
		Bassa	40	33.3	66.7
		Kpele	40	33.3	100.0
	2nd language	English	120	100.0	100.0
	Other Languages	Pidgin	120	100.0	100.0
		Yoruba	45	37.5	37.5
		Arabic	2	1.7	1.7
Country	Characteristics	Language	Frequency	%	Cumulative %
Sierra Leone	1st Language	Mende	40	33.3	33.3
		Temne	40	33.3	66.7
		Limba	40	33.3	100.0
	2nd language	English	120	100.0	100.0
	Other languages	krio	120	100.0	100.0
		Yoruba	45	37.5	37.5
		Arabic	3	2.5	2.5
		French	3	2.5	2.5

3.13.1 First and Second Language of respondents

All the respondents claimed more than one language, which suggest that they were all bilinguals of sorts. Expectedly, all the respondents also claimed an indigenous language as their first language. The table above shows that all the respondents (100%) for both groups claimed an indigenous language as their first language. It is obvious that the respondents associated their languages with their ethnicity. This is not surprising because in Africa the names of most, if not all ethnic groups coincide with their languages. In other words, the ethnic group is the language and the language is the ethnic group. On the other hand, majority of the respondents claimed English as their second language. This is expected because as the official language in both Liberia and Sierra Leone, English is seen as a prestigious language with limitless instrumental possibilities.

Other languages claimed by respondents are mainly pidgin and Yoruba. All the respondents claimed pidgin as one of the languages in their repertoire; this claim is understandable as pidgin runs through the length and breadth of Anglo-phone West Africa, hence West Africa Pidgin English (WAPE). Apart from pidgin a significant minority in both data claimed Yoruba as one of their languages. This claim is understandable also since Yoruba is the language of the host community. An insignificant minority claimed Arabic and French as one of their languages. However, due to the insignificant number of respondents who reported using Arabic and French, the two languages will not be accommodated in the analysis.

3.14   Reliability Test

The test of reliability is predicated on all the facets of the investigation which include the following: language background, domains, language attitudes, code alternation and stereotypes. This information is represented in the table below

Table 3   Reliability Analysis of Instrument

Instrument	N of Items	Scale Statistics		Reliability Coefficient
		Mean	SD	Cronbach's Alpha
Language Background	5	4.30	1.439	0.736
Identity Projection at Home	4	10.18	1.307	0.753
Identity Projection in the Work place	3	8.61	1.869	0.816
Identity Projection in the Neighborhood	3	7.36	2.662	0.820
Identity Projection in School	3	4.67	2.342	0.711
Language Attitudes	13	25.78	2.207	0.710
Pooled Data	31	57.03	6.874	0.756

The pooled data test of reliability of 31-item in the instrument using Cronbach's Alpha is obtained as 0.756 (75.6%) with mean scale statistics of 57.03and standard deviation (SD) of 6.874. The result suggested that the instrument of evaluation (questionnaire) is highly reliable judging from the fact that 75.6% > 70%, which further implied that there is an internal consistency of the items in the instrument (questionnaire) used for data collection.

In the next chapter, attention will be focused on the construction of identities in various domains in the camp.

CHAPTER FOUR
THE CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITIES
IN DIFFERENT DOMAINS IN THE CAMP

4.1   Introduction

In this chapter, the construction of linguistic identities by the respondents in different domains will be considered. This will be followed by an examination of the language attitudes of respondents towards the languages at their disposal. These considerations will help this work in two ways: First, it will highlight respondents' view of an identity marker which reveals the way they actually perceived themselves and wanted to be seen by others. Second, it will help to ascertain or predict the pattern of relationship that possibly exists among the groups.

4.2   Identity and Domains

In this section, respondents' actual use of language in different domains will be examined for the purpose of revealing their identity patterns. The languages used by respondents in different domains will guide us in underlining how they really saw themselves and wanted to be seen by others and also in validating their claimed identities. Four domains were selected in this study: home, neighbourhood, work and education. These domains represent situations where respondents expressed their linguistic identities.

4.2.1   Home Domain

In the home domain, respondents reported the languages they used at home in different role relationships. This domain represents the inner or intimate setting. Information was elicited from parents represented by the young adults and full adults, and children represented by the teenagers. The investigation was targeted at the language(s) used between husbands and wives, parents and children, and brothers and sisters. This information sourced through the questionnaire is represented in the tables below.

The Construction Linguistic Identity in the Home

Table 4a – Age

Country	Age group	Language(s)	Husband – Wife		Parent-Child		Brother-Sister	
			Fre	%	Fre	%	Fre	%
Liberia	(13 – 19)	English	-	-	-	-	37	82.2
		English /pidgin	-	-	-	-	3	6.7
		English/Yoruba	-	-	-	-	5	11.1
		English/Ethnic	-	-	-	-	-	
		Total	-	-	-	-	45	100.0
	(20-39)	English	10	22.2	30	66.7	-	-
		English /pidgin	25	55.6	5	11.1	-	-
		English/Yoruba	-	-	-	-	-	-
		English/Ethnic	-	-	-	-	-	-
		Missing	10	22.2	10	22.2	-	-
		Total	45	100.0	45	100.0		
	(40-60)	English	3	10.0	24	80	-	-
		English /pidgin	25	83.3	4	13.3	-	-
		English/Yoruba	-	-	-	-	-	-
		English/Ethnic	2	6.7	2	6.7	-	-
		Total	30	100.0	30	100	-	-
Sierra Leone	(13-19)	English	-	-	-	-	20	44.4
		English /Krio	-	-	-	-	18	40.0
		English/Yoruba	-	-	-	-	7	15.6
		English/Ethnic	-	-	-	-	-	-
		Total	-	-	-	-	45	100.0
	(20-39)	English	4	8.9	35	77.8	-	-
		English /Krio	38	84.4	7	15.5	-	-
		English/Yoruba	-	-	-	-	-	-
		English/Ethnic	-	-	-	-	-	-
		Missing	3	6.7	3	6.7		
		Total	45	100.0	45	100.0	-	-
	(40-60)	English	2	6.7	21	70.0	-	-
		English /Krio	23	76.7	6	20.0		
		English/Yoruba	-	-	-	-	-	-
		English/Ethnic	5	16.7	3	10.0	-	-
		Total	30	100.0	30	100.0	-	-

Chi-square test summary: Liberia (value 10.409, 2, <0.005) Sierra Leone (value 6.538, 2 <0.038)

Table 4b- Ethnicity

Country	Ethnic group	Language(s)	Husband – Wife		Parent-Child		Brother-Sister	
			Fre	%	Fre	%	Fre	%
Liberia	Krahn	English	4	10.0	16	40.0	12	30.0
		English /pidgin	18	45.0	3	7.5	1	2.5
		English/Yoruba	-	-	-	-	2	5.0
		English/Ethnic	1	2.5	1	2.5	-	-
		Missing	17	42.5	20	50.0	25	62.5
		Total	40	100	40	100.0	40	100.0
	Bassa	English	4	10.0	21	52.5	12	30.0
		English /pidgin	18	45.0	3	7.5	1	2.5
		English/Yoruba	-	-	-	-	1	25
		English/Ethnic	-	-	-	-	-	-
		Missing	18	45.0	16	40.0	26	65.0
		Total	40	100	40	100.0	40	100.0
	Kpelle	English	5	12.5	17	42.5	13	32.5
		English /pidgin	14	35.0	3	7.5	1	2.5
		English/Yoruba	-	-	-	-	2	5.0
		English/Ethnic	1	2.5	1	2.5	-	-
		Missing	20	50.0	19	47.5	24	60.0
		Total	40	100	40	100.0	40	100.0
Sierra Leone	Mende	English	5	5.0	20	50.0	7	17.5
		English /Krio	22	55.0	4	10.0	6	15.0
		English/Yoruba	-	-	-	-	3	7.5
		English/Ethnic	1	2.5	1	2.5	-	-
		Missing	15	37.5	15	37.5	24	60.0
		Total	40	100	40	100.0	40	100.0
	Temne	English	2	5.0	18	45.0	6	15.0
		English /Krio	19	47.5	5	12.5	5	12.5
		English/Yoruba	-	-	-	-	2	5.0
		English/Ethnic	2	5.0	1	2.5	-	-
		Missing	17	42.5	16	40.0	27	67.5
		Total	40	100	40	100.0	40	100.0
	Limba	English	2	5.0	18	45.0	7	17.5
		English /Krio	20	50.0	4	10.0	7	17.5
		English/Yoruba	-	-	-	-	2	5.0
		English/Ethnic	2	5.0	1	2.5	-	-
		Missing	16	40.0	17	42.5	24	60.0
		Total	40	100	40	100.0	40	100.0

Chi-square test summary: Liberia (value 1.039, 2> 0.595) Sierra Leone (value 1.010,2 >0.604)

Tables 7a and 7b above show a marked case of linguistic identity in the home domain with respect to age. The data in table 7a indicates that the parents (husbands and wives) were drawn from the young adults (age group 20-39) and full adults (age group 40- 60) while the siblings (brothers & sisters) were drawn from the teenagers (age group 13-19). The results show that English is markedly dominant across role relations. In the Liberia data a significant majority of the young adults (55.6%) and full adults (83.3%) used mainly English /Pidgin in husband-wife interaction respectively and mainly English only (66.7%; 80%) in parents to children interaction respectively. Also in brother-sister discourse a significant majority of the teenagers used mainly English only (82.2%). In the Sierra Leone data, a similar result obtains; a significant majority of the young adults (84.4%); and full adults (76.6%) used mainly English/Krio in spousal interaction respectively while a majority used English only (young adults, 77.8%; full adults 70%) in parent-children interaction respectively. In sibling interaction, a significant majority of teenagers (44.4%) used English only or English/Krio (40.0%). This is obviously due to the status of Krio in Sierra Leone society.

A second marked result is the use of a combination of English and Yoruba by the teenage group only. In the data 11.1% and 15.6% of Liberia and Sierra Leone teenagers reported using partly Yoruba in interaction with siblings at home. This is a suggestion that some of the children had acquired Yoruba. The fact that they limited conversation to themselves (siblings) in Yoruba means that their parents did not speak nor understand Yoruba. This finding is very vital because it suggests that, through the teenagers, Yoruba had entered the homes of the refugees in the camp. This result is in alliance with previous works (Rees 1960; Hoff, 1968) which posit that the children are those who use the host's language and often serve as interpreters to their parents. This finding is not surprising because the children must have acquired proficiency in Yoruba through association and interaction with their Yoruba friends in the neighbourhood and in school outside the camp. This would be analysed in detail later.

A third marked result is that an insignificant minority among the full adult group (Liberia 6.7%: Sierra Leone 16.7%) reported using their indigenous languages in interaction between spouses, while another insignificant minority (Liberia, 6.7%; Sierra Leone,

10.0%) reported using their ethnic languages in interaction with children. Incidentally, no respondent among the young adult group reported using their indigenous languages in interaction with children.

In terms of ethnicity, (table 7b) there is actually no discrepancy in the language employed in interactions across role relations. All the ethnic groups used English minimally in Husband-wife interaction, and used English maximally in parent-child interactions. Also, among all the ethnic groups English/Yoruba featured only in brother-sister interactions. Additionally, among all the ethnic groups, English/ethnic did not feature in brother-sister interactions.

Based on the significance value of $\chi^2 = 10.409$; df = 2; P< 0.005 for Liberia, and $\chi^2 = 6.538$; df = 2; P< 0.038 for Sierra Leone it is evident that age is a significant factor with respect to linguistic identity projection in the home domain. In terms of ethnicity, the significance value of $\chi^2 = 1.039$; df = 2; P> 0.595 for Liberia and $\chi^2 = 1.010$; df = 2; P> 0.604 for Sierra Leone shows that ethnicity is not a significant factor with respect to the projection of identity in this domain.

The implication of this result is that a significant majority of respondents did not linguistically identify with their ethnic groups at home. The attempt to find out the reasons behind this paradox through oral interviews yielded the following results:

> My wife speak Loma but I am Krahn, though I speak small Bande … So because of different language we use English only to talk, and we also use English to talk to our children… Sometimes, sometime, like our elder daughter my wife speak her dialect to her sometimes. She really understand what she said sometime. They discuss, yes my wife do that but I don't find myself doing that. But when my younger brother came from Liberia and my mother in-law they speak dialect to the children and I liked it. (Kennedy – Krahn).

> Me and my husband, we use English and pidgin; my husband is Kpelle but I am Mandingo, that is why we use English, otherwise we can' understan ourself. Also we discuss with our children in English… I try to spea dialect to them sometime, they understand small but they don't spea it. They say it is hard but I try, and I catch them with folktales ... We tell folktales in English but when we tell the story there are some names of things like animals or people we cannot say in English, especially the song. So we say these ones in our dialect, and the children know them and they can even tell the stories and sing the song in our dialect (Ledlum – Kpelle).

The reason is we are not from the same tribe, that is why we speak English. My husband is Bassa while I am Kissi, and we also spea to our children in English… He really want our children to speak dialect, but he don't try, but I try, like if I want to send them (children) anywhere, I use dialect and they hear small small and they speak small small… the way I speak it they cannot speak it like dat because all of them, they were all born here, in the camp, so I try small … (Mummy Favour – Bassa).

My native language is Temne but my husband is Ibo. He was Ecomog soldier and we met in Sierra Leone when they came to fight the rebels, so we speak English in our family, all of us and children. But my new husband is Limba and we also speak English. .. Even though me and my husband come from different tribe, I try to use my dialect to talk to our children sometime... I speak Temne to them sometime, if they don't understand I explain it in Krio or English. (Saffiatu – Temne)

No, we no speak our dialect. My wife is from Kru, me I am Mende, so we speak Krio and English all the time and our children too. .. It is Junior's mother that speak dialect to him sometime whether he understand or not. I think he understand small small but he can't speak it. (Lebbie – Mende)

We speak English and Krio for house, both us and our small children … We are from different tribe and speak different dialect. I am Limba but my woman is from Loko, she can't understand me and I can't understand her… My children don't speak Limba but my wife try to call the names of things in Limba so that they will hear. Name of things like tree, house, bucket and even our local children games, they know it though they use English for the game but some names of things are in our dialect. (Tenneh – Limba)

We come from different tribe, me and my wife, that is the one I marry for camp here. Because of that we use English and Krio to talk and also we talk to our children in English. But my wife sometime put small dialect to talk to the children because she is closer to them, and also when our people come from sierra Leone, they try to speak dialect with them (Sule - Limba)

I am Bassa, but my woman is Krahn, so we speak English or pidgin all the time but we talk to our children in English … That is what I am saying; if I were to marry a second time, I would not make mistake to marry from a different tribe … because I love to speak my native tongue in the house, and especially for my children to speak it. But y'see they try to speak Krahn small because they are always with their mother. They can't speak my dialect because I am not always with them due to the work I do for sawmill (Sachoe – Bassa)

Since I start to born my children, y'know in Liberia we speak English everywhere. My husband speak different language; me I speak different language, their father speak only English to them but for me I don't speak only English to them, sometime I use my dialect … Kpelle; like if I want to send them to go bring water, or cloth for me, or cook food, I do it in my

language. If they ask me anything in English I answer them in my dialect. (Oritz Kuta - Kpelle).

Although we come from the same place, but we speak English. Me and my husband we are from Kpelle, but we speak English and also pidgin and we speak English with our children. English is just part of us. (Sensie- Kpelle)

In my house everybody spea English … Yes my wife is Krahn, I am also Krahn but we use English all the time to talk and also to talk with our children because we are used to English. Many many people in Liberia speak English. (Mummy J- Krahn)

Krio don master us, may be that is why. Me and my wife are from the same place, that is Mende, but we speak Krio and English and that is what we speak with our children. (Baro- Mende)

My wife is from Temne like me but you see in Salone everybody like to speak Krio and English and so we follow. We can speak Temne but somehow English and Krio is what we use. (Mike -Temne)

These interview extracts show two reasons why respondents did not linguistically identify with their ethnic groups in the home domain. The first reason is the fact of exogamous marriages in the camp. Marriages between men and women from different ethnic groups tend to result in the use of a neutral language in interactions. This finding partly tallies with Myers-Scotton's (1993: 39 – 43) observation that

> most urban Africans speak their mother tongues with family members
> except where their marriage is inter-ethnic or they are highly educated:
> a situation which is hinged on the fact that the multi-ethnic nature of
> cities plus a sensitivity to ethnic rivalries only find resolution in neutral
> linguistic choices.

The first nine interviewees reported that they used English and pidgin with their spouses because of their mixed ethnic background. The second reason behind non identification with the indigenous tongues at home seems to be the status or prestige of English. This is especially so where the spouses come from the same ethnic group (endogamous marriage) as is represented in the last four extracts of interviews above. Although the last four interviewees claimed the reason why they used English and pidgin with their family members is because of custom or habit, it is apparent that the remote factor is the position or status of English and pidgin in both countries. According to Breitborde (1988) the status of the elitist Americo-Liberian is tied to their proficiency in English; as a result many indigenous Liberians desired to rise like them by using English in their daily lives.

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This is not different from the situation in Sierra Leone where English is deemed prestigious as an official language and Krio rules as a language of wider communication Fyle (1994). What is apparent in this investigation is that whereas mixed marriages provided an excuse for the employment of a neutral language in the home domain, habit or custom did not. It is obvious that these four interviewees preferred the projection of a cosmopolitan image over an ethnolinguistic image.

The second reason is the status of English. English was mainly used in interaction between parents (spouses) and children among these ethnic groups in the home domain. A significant majority among the young and full adults in both data reported using English only in interacting with the children. The reasons for this marked use of language are reflected in the extract of oral interviews, provided by the teenage group below

> My language is Kpelle, but I can't speak it because my parents don't teach me yet. I speak only English with my parents and my daddy say he want me to speak English like white people so that I will live a better life. (Gertrude–Kpelle)

> My native language is Krahn but I can't speak it because my mother and father speak English to us because of school, especially my father. But my mother did not take us to our grand mother or our big sister who can speak Krahn very well. (Christiana – Krahn)

> My vernacular is Bassa but I can't speak it. I speak mainly English. I can't speak Bassa because I did not stay in Liberia a long time. I did not have opportunity to stay with my grand mother who can speak Bassa very well. My father say he want for us to learn and speak English because English can help us to get job anywhere in the world (Adamah –Bassa).

> My language is Mende but I can't speak it because my mother don't speak it to me…My daddy speak only English to us, because of our school... he want us to get good result in school; that is why I speak general language which is English and broken. (Kanneh– Mende).

> I speak English but my father's language is Limba and my mother's language is Mandingo. I can't speak any of them because my parents don't speak their language. They speak only English to us.They say it will help us in future. (Sally-Limba).

> I live with my father here, my mother, I don't know my mother. My father's language is Temne but he don't speak Temne to me, but

> English and Krio. He say that if I do well in English it will help me to
> get job when I grow up. (Amanda– Temne).

These extracts reveal that a particular reason for the use of English in this role relation is parental wishes anchored on the utilitarian advantages of using English. The six interviewees who belong to the teenage group testified that their parents in the camp spoke only English to them for reasons of education and social mobility. In sub-Saharan Africa, it is assumed by many that 'European languages are the best for education' (Adegbija 1994) and for that reason, parents usually start early to speak English to their children. This fact is corroborated by Myles-Scotton (1993: 121)

> Further, some speak this language (English et al) at least part of the
> time at home, for the instrumental reason that it gives their children
> some practice in the medium which is crucial to their educational
> advancement.

The implication of this result is that a majority of the parents (spouses) in the study were not transmitting their indigenous languages to the next generation and by extension the children involved found it difficult to linguistically identify with their ethnic groups. Romaine (2003: 528) notes that 'the inability of minorities to maintain the home as an intact domain for the use of their language has often been decisive for language shift'. It is pertinent to state here that to an extent, language shift is a prelude to identity shift. A shift from one language to another may not fully reflect a shift from one culture to another, but it shows that a critical aspect of the culture has suffered isolation or that the culture has lost its prime means of expression. The more the children used English the less they identified with their ethnic groups through language.

A fall-out from this investigation is the strategies adopted by the refugees to maintain their indigenous linguistic identity. Although English was mainly used across role relations there were minimal reports indicating the use of indigenous languges in the home domain. The first strategy is an attempt to speak the indigenous language to the children. Although a significant majority used English in parent-child interaction, an insignificant minority used the ethnic tongues. However, the data revealed that women or mothers were more interested in ethnolinguistic vitality or maintaining their indigenous languages (and hence their ethnic identity) than the fathers. Some of the

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parents in the penultimate extracts of interviews reported the measures taken by mothers to see that their children spoke their native languages.

The male interviewees (Kennedy, Lebbie, Tenneh, Sachoe, Sule) admitted that it is their wives who made attempts to transmit their indigenous languages to their children while they (husbands) did not. Also the female interviewees (Ledlum, Mummy Favour, Saffiatu, Oritz Kuta) claimed that they were the ones who made attempts to transmit their indigenous languages to their children while their husbands did not. It seems that the role played by mothers in this respect is ideologically based; it is believed that women worked mainly at home and so are closer to the children while the fathers are away working, as expressed by some of the male interviewees (Sachoe, Sule). It seems that while some of the women were more interested in their children's ethnic identity, the fathers were more interested in their global identity which can guarantee their success in the future. By not making as much effort as the mothers to maintain the indigenous languages, the fathers displayed an instrumental-based behaviour towards their children's identity projection. Generally, the bias for English by the parents especially the fathers represents a desire for their children to project a cosmopolitan image and so advance in life. This preference for English also suggests that the need for social mobility far outweighs ethnolinguistic considerations.

The second strategy is the occasional entrance of guests from the home land to the camp. The data shows that there is contact between the refugees and their homeland through visits which is one of the important indicators of ethnolinguistic vitality. Such visits (by relatives of the refugees) from Liberia and Sierra Leone offered an opportunity to use the indigenous languages to some degree. The interviewee, Kennedy (above) expressed that it was when his younger brother and mother in-law visited that attempts were made to speak their native languages to the children. Also another respondent, Sule, reported that it was when 'our people' visited that they tried to talk to his children in their dialect. Such reports suggest that there is contact with their homeland and such visits have implications for language vitality and identity. Holmes (2008: 64) testifies that 'a regular stream of new migrants or even visitors will keep the need for using the indigenous language alive. In the course of this research in Oru camp, a lot of visitors from Liberia

and Sierra Leone were encountered. Such visitors did not come for permanent residence, but stayed briefly and went back to their countries. However, despite the brevity of their visits, their presence, to an extent, affected the language choice in the home domain in favour of the indigenous languages.

The third strategy is the use of cultural resources to boost ethnolinguistic identity. The data reveal that some of the respondents reported using cultural-cum entertainment resources as a means of boosting ethnolinguistic vitality. Such means adopted by parents to maintain their languages and identity included the use of folktales and folk games as reported by Ledlum and Tenneh. The use of folktales and folk games in Oru camp by the refugees has implications for language and identity maintenance. These cultural means helped to indirectly expose the children to their heritage cultures and languages. As the interviewees testified, although the folktales were narrated in English and pidgin, there are certain aspects of the stories which must be expressed in the indigenous languages. Some of these aspects are the names of characters (human and animal), and places (physical and spiritual), in this stories and especially the songs and choruses which accompanied the folktales. Some of the parents interviewed, especially mothers, claimed that they often told their children folktales. It was observed that the children not only knew these folk tales and the songs that accompanied them but they (children) actually told the stories in English and sang the accompanying songs in their indigenous languages. The children also knew the native names of the characters and objects in the folktales. The important fact here is that folktales offered the children an opportunity to use their indigenous languages to a little degree and also exposed them to their culture.

Folk games also offered another opportunity for the children to use their indigenous languages in Oru camp as testified by Tenneh. Some of the folk games made use of ethnic terminologies which do not have equivalence in English. Some of the games encountered in the course of the research are the following:

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Gbo – a table game played by two people

Kula – a native game of hide and seek

Jankiri jankiri – A similar game of hide and seek.   Liberia

Wachirike – a thug of war

Tamwamee – A game of choosing friends.

Akra – A native competitive game played, especially by little girls.

Gbe – a game which employs seven stones to aim at a distant object.   Sierra Leone

Gbokrot – A game of hide and seek.

All the ethnic groups had their different folk games which their children played in the camp during the evenings and at night. Some of them are similar while others are different. What is important to note is that these folk games made use of ethnic linguistic materials and since the games are strictly for children, they (children) had no option than to get acquainted with the various native terms used in the games. Through this means, the children, to an extent, used their indigenous languages although they were not proficient in them.

In conclusion, it is evident that identity projection in this nuclear domain is not predicated on context but on the needs of the participants. The next investigation of identity and language use is the neighbourhood domain.

4.2.2   The Neighbourhood Domain

In this domain, respondents reported the languages they used in different role relationships in the camp. This domain also represents the in-group. The object of inquiry here is how respondents saw themselves and how they wanted to be seen within the context of the neighbourhood. The neighbourhood includes meeting points like shops, wells, sports centre, meeting halls, restaurants, television viewing centre, etc all situated in the camp. The role relations are ethnic neighbours' national neighbours and international neighbours. The respondents were asked to indicate the language(s) they

used in different role relations. This information sourced through the questionnaire is represented in the tables below.

The Construction of Linguistic Identity in the Neighbourhood

Table 5a Age

Country	Age group	Language(s)	Role Relations					
			Ethnic Neighbours		Nat. Neighbours		Int. Neighbours	
Liberia	(13 – 19)		Fre	%	Fre	%	Fre	%
		English	38	84.4	40	88.9	45	100.0
		Pidgin	7	15.6	5	11.1	-	-
		Pidgin/Ethnic	-	-	-	-	-	-
		Total	45	100.0	45	100.0	45	100.0
	(20 – 39)							
		English	7	15.6	6	13.3	35	77.8
		Pidgin	38	84.4	39	86.7	10	22.2
		Pidgin/Ethnic	-	-	-	-	-	-
		Total	45	100.0	45	100.0	45	100.0
	(40-60)							
		English	3	10.0	3	10.0	25	83.3
		Pidgin	19	63.3	27	90.0	5	16.7
		Pidgin/Ethnic	8	26.7	-	-	-	-
		Total	30	100.0	30	100.0	30	100.0
Sierra Leone	(13-19)							
		English	35	77.8	35	77.8	45	100.0
		Krio	10	22.2	10	22.2	-	-
		Krio /Ethnic	-	-	-	-	-	-
		Total	45	100.0	45	100.0	45	100.0
	(20 – 39)							
		English	2	4.4	2	4.4	30	66.7
		Krio	43	95.6	43	95.6	15	33.3
		Krio/Ethnic	-	-	-	-	-	-
		Total	45	100.0	45	100.0	45	100.0
	(40 – 60)							
		English	2	6.7	2	6.7	20	66.7
		Krio	18	60.0	28	93.3	10	33.3
		Krio/Ethnic	10	33.3	-	-	-	-
		Total	30	100.0	30	100.0	30	100.0

Chi- square test summary: Liberia (value 18.314, 4 <0.001) Sierra Leone (value 16.967, 4 <0.002)

Table 5b Ethnicity

			Role Relations					
Country	Ethnic group	Language(s)	Ethnic Neighbours		Nat. Neighbours		Int. Neighbours	
Liberia	Krahn		Fre	%	Fre	%	Fre	%
		English	15	37.5	18	45.0	32	80.0
		Pidgin	23	57.5	22	55.0	8	20.0
		Pidgin/Ethnic	2	5.0	-	-	-	-
		Total	40	100.0	40	100.0	40	100.0
	Bassa	English	16	40.0	15	37.5	37	92.5
		Pidgin	21	52.5	25	62.5	3	7.5
		Pidgin/Ethnic	3	7.5	-	-	-	-
		Total	40	100.0	40	100.0	40	100.0
	Kpelle	English	17	42.5	16	40.0	36	90.0
		Pidgin	20	50.0	24	60.0	4	10.0
		Pidgin/Ethnic	3	7.5	-	-	-	-
		Total	40	100.0	40	100.0	40	100.0
Sierra Leone	Mende	English	13	32.5	13	32.5	31	77.5
		Krio	24	60.0	27	67.5	9	22.5
		Krio/Ethnic	3	7.5	-	-	-	-
		Total	40	100.0	40	100.0	40	100.0
Temne		English	10	25.0	15	37.5	30	75.0
		Krio	26	65.0	25	62.5	10	25.0
		Krio/Ethnic	4	10.0	-	-	-	-
		Total	40	100.0	40	100.0	40	100.0
Limba		English	16	40.0	11	27.5	34	85.0
		Krio	21	52.5	29	72.5	6	15.0
		Krio/Ethnic	3	7.5	-	-	-	-
		Total	40	100.0	40	100.0	40	100.0

Chi-square test summary: Liberia (value 2.092, 4 > 0.719) Sierra Leone (value 2.231, 4 > 0.693)

Tables 8a and 8b above show a discrepancy in the projection of linguistic identity in the neighbourhood domain across age group but not ethnicity. In table 8a, a significant majority of teenagers used mainly English in interaction across role relations, while the young adults and full adults used mainly pidgins. In the Liberia data, 84.4%, 88.9% and 100% of teenagers used English in interacting with ethnic, national and international neighbours respectively, while in the Sierra Leone data, 77.8%, 77.8%, 100% used English in such interactions.

The young adults and full adults in both data used mainly pidgin except in interaction with international neighbours where they used mainly English. The reason for the use of English in interaction with international neighbours seems to be the awareness of respondents about the peculiarities of their pidgins which may not be well understood across national borders. However, a significant minority among the full adult group used their ethnic languages in interaction with ethnic neighbours. In the Liberia data, 26.7% used their ethnic languages and in the Sierra Leone data 33.3% did so.

In terms of ethnicity (table 8b) a significant majority among all the ethnic groups reported using their pidgins, than English and ethnic languages, in interactions across role relations. Therefore, whereas age is significant in terms of identity projection in the neighbourhood, ethnicity is not significant. Therefore based on the significance value of $\chi^2 = 18.314$; df = 4; P< 0.001 for Liberia and $\chi^2 = 16.967$; df = 4; P< 0.002 for Sierra Leone it is apparent that age is a significant factor with regards to the projection of linguistic identity in the niugbourhood. In terms of ethnicity, the significance value of $\chi^2 = 2.092$; df = 4; P> 0.719 for Liberia and $\chi^2 = 2.231$; df = 4; P> 0.693 for Sierra Leone signifies that ethnicity is not a significant factor with respect to the construction of linguistic identity in the neighbourhood.

A marked result in this investigation is that it is only a minority among the full adult group that reported the use of their indigenous languages in interaction with ethnic neighbours. None among the teenage and young adult groups reported the use of their

indigenous languages and the factor responsible for this is non-proficiency in their ethnic tongues as testified by some of the teenagers in the last section.

The implication of this result is that for the full adult group there is sufficient level of ethnolinguistic consciousness to boost ethnocentrism or a 'we' and 'they' disposition which has the capacity to create hard linguistic boundaries and adversely affect interpersonal and intergroup relationships in the camp. This result also shows that the full adult group is more ethnically connected than the teenage and young adult groups. The implication of strong ethnic connection is the tendency to limit solidarity and camaraderie within the ethnic group which fosters closed relationships. On the other hand, a weak ethnic connection demonstrated by the teenage and young adult groups creates room for inter-ethnic solidarity which fosters open relationships. Additionally, an awareness and consciousness of one's own social group is essential for the creation of a strong social identity (Giles et al 1977) which is instrumental in a favourable disposition to in-groups and discrimination against out-groups. Thus, such a high ethnic awareness and consciousness reported by the full adult group can inspire a psychological distinctiveness which has the capacity to create and maintain positive ethnic identity.

However, it is expected that, at least, a good percentage of the full adult group who seem to be proficient in the languages should be able to linguistically identify with their ethnic groups during interaction with ethnic neighbours to show ethnic solidarity, but the reports show that this is not so. Consequently, the respondents were asked why they used English in intra-ethnic interactions. The inquiry through oral interview yielded the following results:

> When we Krahn are together, we speak English sometimes because we do not want to cheat the other person … the other person will start feeling bad because he think we are cheating him, we are speaking against him. So most of the time we speak English (Papei – Krahn).

> We speak English with ethnic relations because we can't speak our dialect Bassa very well. Because we grow up where other tribes are, so we speak English most of the time. We grow up in Monrovia the capital city, if you grow up in the village definitely you will speak your dialect but we grow up in the city (Malee - Bassa)

In this camp, we mix up too much; people from many tribes, so we speak English with our native person because it is general language or our pidgin. If I speak Kpelle with my native person other people there will not like it. They will think we are gossiping them (Oritz Kuta – Kpelle)

I am Mende ... I am not too used to my native Mende and that is because I try to avoid anything sentiment ...So I always speak so that people will not say that I am secretive or too tribal (Lebbie - Mende)

We speak Temne if we want to say something secret, like gossip, we use Temne when we want to gossip so that other people will not hear what we are saying. But generally we speak Krio and English because of other people so that they will not think we are talking bad about them (Amanda– Temne)

I am Limba but when I meet my Limba person we speak Krio or English. We speak Krio because I am a Freetown person, not village boy, I grew up in Freetown where other tribe are and we speak Krio, everybody (Santike - Limba)

These interview extracts show that there are two reasons why the respondents used mainly pidgin and English during interaction with their ethnic relations in the neighborhood. One reason is inclusivity or convergence that is, a consideration for the feeling of other people for the purpose of projecting a polite face. The first four interviewees admitted that they used English in intra-ethnic interactions because they did not want to exclude other people from other ethnic groups who might be present, all for the purpose of avoiding suspicion. As a result, they converged horizontally in order to accommodate other listeners who are from other ethnic groups, for the sake of politeness.

The other reason is simply a preference for English for reasons of status and not non-proficiency in their ethnic tongues. The last interviewee actually articulated what seems to be the remote reason for non-identity with their ethnic groups through language. He posited that he was a 'Freetown person, not a village boy'. His expression smacks of conceit and suggestive of the fact that he perceived himself and desired to be seen as a modern cosmopolitan person in the camp. It is possible that he and his ilk associated English and partly pidgin with modernity and civilization while they associated their ethnic languages with backwardness hence; 'Freetown' symbolized modernity and 'village' stood for antiquity.

On the whole, the result of this investigation shows that a majority of the respondents were interested in projecting a polite face and a cosmopolitan face instead of an ethnolinguistic face in the camp. They preferred projecting a modern image, that is, they saw themselves and wanted to be seen as modern people.

In terms of interaction with national neighbours, a significant majority among the young adults and adults in both data used their pidgins, but in terms of interaction with international neighbours a significant majority among all the age groups in both data used English, which represents the unmarked code in this context.

In conclusion, it is evident that the choice of code in this domain represents marked and unmarked cases. The use of English and pidgin among ethnic neighbours represents a marked case of identity which exemplifies divergence. On the other hand, the use of pidgin and English among national and international neighbours respectively represents an unmarked case of identity which exemplifies convergence.

The next section will examine how identity is formed in the workplaces.

4.2.3 The Work Domain

In the work domain respondents reported the languages they used at work in different role relationships. This domain represents the outer group because of refugees' interaction with the host community outside the camp. There are two role relationships and they are interaction with colleagues, and food vendors in the work place. Respondents were asked to indicate the language(s) they used in these role relations. This information elicited through the questionnaire is represented in the tables below.

The construction of Linguistic Identity in the Work Place

Table 6a Age

Country	Age group	Language(s)	Role Relations			
			Colleagues		Food Vendors	
Liberia	(13-19		Fre	%	Fre	%
		English	-	-	-	-
		Pidgin	-	-	-	-
		Pidgin/Yoruba	-	-	-	-
		Total	-	-	-	-
	(20-39)	English	20	44.4	10	22.2
		Pidgin	25	55.6	35	77.8
		Pidgin/Yoruba	-	-	-	-
		Total	45	100	45	100
	(40-60)	English	12	40.0	6	20.0
		Pidgin	18	60.0	20	66.7
		Pidgin/Yoruba	-	-	4	13.3
		Total	30	100	30	100
Sierra Leone	(13 – 19)	English	-	-	-	-
		Pidgin	-	-	-	-
		Pidgin /Yoruba	-	-	-	-
		Total	-	-	-	-
	(20-39)	English	10	22.2	3	6.7
		Pidgin	35	77.8	37	82.2
		Pidgin /Yoruba	-	-	5	11.1
		Total	45	100	45	100
	(40-60)	English	8	26.7	1	3.3
		Pidgin	18	60.0	22	73.3
		Pidgin/Yoruba	4	13.3	7	23.4
		Total	30	100	30	100

Chi-square test summary: Liberia (value 16.496, 2< 0.000) Sierra Leone (value 22.410, 2 <0.000)

Table 6b Ethnicity

Country	Ethnic group	Language(s)	Role Relations			
			Colleagues		Food Vendors	
Liberia	Krahn		Fre	%	Fre	%
		English	10	25	5	12.5
		Pidgin	15	37.5	18	45.0
		Pidgin/Yoruba	-	-	2	5.0
		Missing	15	37.5	15	37.5
		Total	40	100.0	40	100.0
	Bassa					
		English	8	20.0	4	10.0
		Pidgin	11	42.5	20	50.0
		Pidgin/Yoruba	-	-	1	2.5
		Missing	15	37.5	15	37.5
		Total	40	100.0	40	100.0
	Kpelle					
		English	12	30	7	17.5
		Pidgin	13	32.5	17	42.5
		Pidgin/Yoruba	-	-	1	2.5
		Missing	15	37.5	15	37.5
		Total	40	100.0	40	100.0
Sierra Leone	Mende					
		English	6	15.0	1	2.5
		Pidgin	18	45.0	21	52.5
		Pidgin /Yoruba	1	2.5	3	7.5
		Missing	15	37.5	15	37.5
		Total	40	100.0	40	100.0
	Temne					
		English	3	7.5	1	2.5
		Pidgin	20	50.0	18	45.0
		Pidgin /Yoruba	2	5.0	6	15.0
		Missing	15	37.5	15	37.5
		Total	40	100.0	40	100.0
	Limba					
		English	6	15.0	2	5.0
		Pidgin	17	42.5	20	50.0
		Pidgin/Yoruba	2	5.0	3	7.5
		Missing	15	37.5	15	37.5
		Total	40	100.0	40	100.0

Chi-Square test summary: Liberia (value 0.162, 2 > 0.922) Sierra Leone (value 0.548, 2 > 0.760)

Tables 9a and 9b above show a slight discrepancy in identity projection in the work place in relation to age and ethnic groups. It should be noted that the teenage group were not represented in this investigation. This is because they all reported in the questionnaire that they were schooling. In table 9a, a significant majority among the young adults, and full adults in both data used mainly pidgin, than English, in interaction with colleagues and food vendors. A factor responsible for the dominance of pidgin seems to be the informal nature of the jobs. These workplaces, as testified by the respondents during interviews are mainly sawmills and building construction sites which made use of blue-collar labourers. As a result, the use of pidgin which cuts across West Africa correlates with the adoption of a metropolitan face. However, an insignificant minority used Yoruba. In the Liberia data 13.3% of the full adult group used pidgin/Yoruba in interaction with food vendors while no respondent among the young adult group reported the use of Pidgin/Yoruba across the two role relations. On the other hand, in the Sierra Leone data, an insignificant minority (11.1%) of young adults used Pidgin/Yoruba in interaction with food vendors only while 13.3% and 23.4% of the full adults used Pidgin/Yoruba in interaction with colleagues and food vendors respectively. This result shows that the full adult group where more favourably disposed to Yoruba in the work place than the young adults.

In terms of ethnicity (table 9b) all the ethnic groups used mainly pidgin in interaction than English. However, more Sierra Leonean ethnic groups used pidgin/Yoruba than the Liberian ethnic groups. Whereas no Liberian respondent reported using Pidgin/Yoruba in interactions with colleagues, few Sierra Leonean respondents (2.5% of Mende, 5.0% of Limba) reported using Pidgin/Yoruba in such interactions. However, these differences are statistically too insignificant to effect a change.

A significance value of $\chi2 = 16.496$; df = 2; P< 0.000 for Liberia and $\chi2 = 22.410$; df = 2; P< 0.000 for Sierra Leone is an indication that age is a significant factor in the projection of identity in the work domain. In terms of ethnicity, the significance value of $\chi2 = 0.162$; df = 2; P> 0.922 for Liberia and $\chi2 = 0.548$; df = 2; P> 0.760 for Sierra

Leone are obvious indications that ethnicity is not a significant factor in the construction of global identity.

The reason for the higher use of Yoruba by Sierra Leone respondents seems to be the historical-cum-linguistic relationship shared between Sierra Leone and Yoruba. Fyle (1994) reports that the Krio society and language developed due to the urgent need for communication among a multi-lingual group of ex-slaves in Sierra Leone in the 18th century. However, out of all the African languages of the recaptives, the language that contributed more to the emergence of Krio was Yoruba. Fyle (1994: 46) reports that,

> After English the next largest block of vocabulary in Krio came from Yoruba, as apparently the largest group of 'recaptives came from that ethnic group ...recent research has shown that the name Krio ...is the real name of the people, deriving from the Yoruba word akiriyo 'a people who walk about from place to place', as the Krio were wont to do.

Other works support Fyle's position. Elugbe and Omamor (1991: 19) while trying to substantiate Welmer's (1973) claims that Krio was exported to Nigeria state that:

> The influence of Yoruba on NP may be traced to the influence of Krio on NP. Since Krio is known to contain a large Yoruba element ... Krio appears to be a good explanation for Yoruba influence in NP.

On the basis of these observations it could be safely submitted that the Sierra Leoneans used Yoruba more than Liberians due to their historical familiarity with Yoruba. However, the use of a combination of pidgin and Yoruba in this context does not actually represent any appreciable level of proficiency in Yoruba, but a pedestrian knowledge of buying and selling terminologies and expressions. Miller (1984: 7) states that

> In these contexts, it is quite feasible for some ethnic minority persons to exist without ever actually using the majority language. Their only contact may be through the electronic media,, street signs and advertisements. Others may have a limited spoken command sufficient to order goods from a wholesaler, deal with majority community customers, make enquiries at local and national administrative departments and similar well-defined transactions.

The motivation for the minimal use of Yoruba by a minority of respondents seems to be mainly economic. The refugees in the data could have converged to Yoruba for social approval, inspired by the need to obtain a good bargain and favour from food vendors and colleagues respectively. The derivation of economic benefits of this nature is part of the utilitarian reasons for adopting the majority language. Overall, the reason for the limited use of Yoruba by a majority of respondents is that most of the refugees were not proficient in their hosts' language. The implication of this is that they were not really interested in fully integrating into their host community.

The next section will focus on the formation of identity in the education domain.

4.2.4 The Education Domain

In the education domain, respondents (among the teenage group) reported the languages they used in school in different role relationships. This domain also represents the outer group because of the refugees' interaction with the host community outside the camp. This information was elicited from the teenage group only because the other age groups (young adults and full adults) reported that they were workers.. Most of the students attended secondary schools outside the camp. There are three role relationships and they are: interactions with teacher in class, classmates in class and classmates during break. The respondents were asked to indicate the language(s) they used in these role relations. This information sourced through the questionnaire is represented in the tables below.

The Construction of Linguistic Identity in school

Table 7a Age

			Role Relations					
			Teacher in class		Classmate in class		Classmate on break	
Country age group		Language(s)	Fre	%	Fre	%	Fre	%
Liberia	(13-19)							
		English	45	100.0	45	100.0	-	-
		English/Yoruba	-	-	-	-	45	100.0
		Total	45	100.0	45	100.0	45	100.0
	(20-39)							
		English	-	-	-	-	-	-
		English/Yoruba	-	-	-	-	-	-
		Total	-	-	-	-	-	-
	(40-60)							
		English	-	-	-	-	-	-
		English/Yoruba	-	-	-	-	-	-
		Total	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sierra Leone	(13-19)							
		English	45	100.0	45	100.0	-	-
		English/Yoruba	-	-	-	-	45	100.0
		Total	45	100.0	45	100.0	45	100.0
	(20-39)							
		English	-	-	-	-	-	-
		English/Yoruba	-	-	-	-	-	-
		Total	-	-	-	-	-	-
	(40-60)							
		English	-	-	-	-	-	-
		English/Yoruba	-	-	-	-	-	-
		Total	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 7b Ethnicity

Role Relations

Country	Ethnic group	Language(s)	Teacher in class		Classmate in class		Classmate on break	
			Fre	%	Fre	%	Fre	%
Liberia	Krahn							
		English	15	37.5	15	37.5	-	-
		English/Yoruba	-	-	-	-	15	37.5
		Missing	25	62.5	25	62.5	25	62.5
		Total	40	100.0	40	100.0	40	100.0
	Bassa							
		English	15	37.5	15	37.5	-	-
		English/Yoruba	-	-	-	-	15	37.5
		Missing	25	62.5	25	62.5	25	62.5
		Total	40	100.0	40	100.0	40	100.0
	Kpelle							
		English	15	37.5	15	37.5	-	-
		English/Yoruba	-	-	-	-	15	37.5
		Missing	25	62.5	25	62.5	25	62.5
		Total	40	100.0	40	100.0	40	100.0
Sierra Leone	Mende							
		English	15	37.5	15	37.5	-	-
		English/Yoruba	-	-	-	-	15	37.5
		Missing	25	62.5	25	62.5	25	62.5
		Total	40	100.0	40	100.0	40	100.0
	Temne							
		English	15	37.5	15	37.5	-	-
		English/Yoruba	-	-	-	-	15	37.5
		Missing	25	62.5	25	62.5	25	62.5
		Total	40	100.0	40	100.0	40	100.0
	Limba							
		English	15	37.5	15	37.5	-	-
		English/Yoruba	-	-	-	-	15	37.5
		Missing	25	62.5	25	62.5	25	62.5
		Total	40	100.0	40	100.0	40	100.0

Tables 10a and 10b above show no significance in terms of age and ethnicity. The use of English is dominant in the school setting. Irrespective of ethnic group, all the students (100%) reported that they used English in interactions with their teachers in the classrooms and with their classmates in the classrooms. This result is understandable and

unmarked because the school is a formal setting and so demands the use of a formal language which is English. However, interactions among schoolmates during break time, i.e. outside the classroom show that English is used as well as Yoruba. In both data, all the students (100%) reported the use of a mixture of Yoruba and English during break time. The results show that both age and ethnicity are constant with respect to the projection of linguistic identity in the education domain. The implication of this result is that the children have acculturated by adopting the language of their host community. This result supports McLellan's (2009) findings in Canada, where the Canadian born children of Cambodian refugees adorned Canadian identity (through education) more than the mature young adults and adults. However, the acculturation orientation is not assimilation, but integration as they also have facility in one of their heritage languages, pidgin, as reported by the parents in section. On inquiry, the parents reported that their children learnt Yoruba from two sources: school and neighbourhood. This information is reflected in the extracts of oral interviews below.

> My children, some speak Yoruba because they were born here, school here and mix up with Yoruba children, so they speak Yoruba. Like my big daughter, she speak Yoruba very well, and they learn it in school too. (Kennedy – Krahn)

> They teach them Yoruba in school and so dey learn it and speak it with other Yoruba children. (Mummy Favour – Bassa).

> They (my children) can speak Yoruba very well because of the school they are going, their friends they meet in school, they speak Yoruba and they learn it as a subject. (Cooper – Kpelle).

> My little children do not speak Yoruba except the big ones in school. 14 years old. They mingle with Yoruba children, in fact they do Yoruba in school (Lebbie - Mende)

> My son try well well because he is in JS three in Rita-Mary (school). In Rita-Mary they learn and speak Yoruba very well. In fact, Yoruba and English is their language… if he don't speak Yoruba he can't communicate with them. (Victoria – Temne).

> Some of them (my children) who school here speak Yoruba very well, and I am happy, very happy. (Sule – Limba).

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The practice of learning Yoruba as a school subject is in keeping with the National Policy in Education in Nigeria. The National Policy in Education (2004) stipulates that the medium of instruction at the pre-primary and junior primary levels should be the child's L_1 or the Language of the Immediate Community (LIC). On transition to English-medium instruction, the mother tongue or the language of the immediate community continues to be studied. At the Junior Secondary School, there are three languages which the children must study, namely the L_1, the English language and any of the three major languages as L_2. At the Senior Secondary School the child must study two languages – an indigenous language and English. Although this policy is not being implemented to the letter, a semblance of the policy is in operation, especially, in public schools in major language speaking states where the L_I is taught in the primary and secondary school levels (Igboanusi, 2008). Ogun state (where Oru refugee camp is situated) is one of the states where a major national language (Yoruba) is used. Therefore, part of the national policy in education is implemented here with respect to the teaching of Yoruba as a subject in the primary and secondary schools.

The consequence of this situation is that, as good as the policy sounds, it precludes the languages of immigrants and refugees; so the children of sojourners have to study another indigenous language other than their own L_I and in so doing their L_I is abandoned. It is apparent that the refugees are denied their linguistic human rights to access to their indigenous languages in education. Evidently this is a violation of the international statutes which support a recognition and promotion of minority languages.

Some of these rights are the following.

> Article 4.3 of the United Nations convention on the Rights of the child (1989).

> States should take appropriate measures so that, wherever possible, persons belonging to minorities have adequate opportunities to learn their mother tongue or to have instruction in their mother tongue. (cited in Maja 2000)

A sub provision of this article states that

> Every state should guarantee basic linguistic human rights to all children in the education system, in day-care, schools and institutions of higher education, regardless of whether these children belong to

linguistic majorities or minorities, and regardless of whether the minority children represent indigenous minorities, traditional minorities, immigrated minorities or refugee minorities. (cited in Maja 2008)

UNESCO Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights

One of the basic considerations of this declaration is that a language group is 'any group of persons sharing the same language which is established in the territorial space of another language community but which does not possess historical antecedents equivalent to those of that community. Examples of such groups are immigrants, refugees, deported persons and members of diaspora. (UNESCO)

Article 28 UNESCO Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights

All language communities are entitled to an education which will enable their members to acquire a thorough knowledge of their cultural heritage (history, geography, literature and other manifestations of their own culture) as well as the most extensive possible knowledge of any other culture they may wish to know. (UNESCO)

On the strength of these provisions, it is apparent that the children of refugees in Oru camp have a right to education in their mother tongue but regrettably this right is denied. This denial is what Skutnabb-Kangas (1994) terms linguistic genocide. Skutnabb-Kangas states that in the convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide, linguistic genocide is defined as

Prohibiting the use of the language of the group on daily intercourse or in schools…prohibition of a language can be both direct and indirect. For example, if the minority language is not used as a main medium of education, the use of language is indirectly prohibited in daily intercourse in schools and therefore it is a question of linguistic genocide.

This type of education which denies a child access to his/her language is what Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) also termed subtractive language education, in the sense that it subtracts from a child's linguistic repertoire instead of adding to it. This is also what Nicholas (2011) terms submersion education because it submerges indigenous children in both an alien language and culture and expects them to sink or swim. The obvious consequence is that the children are denied a golden opportunity to identify with their ethnic groups linguistically which would serve as a means of accessing their culture eventually. The article 28 of UNESCO Universal Declaration of Linguistic rights cited above is

suggestive of the fact that language provides a leeway to the acquisition of culture (Nicholas 2011).

The importance of initial education in one's mother tongue cannot be over emphasized, especially with respect to the construction of ethnic identity. Viv Edwards (1984), Adegbija (1994) emphasise that such a facility promotes self esteem in the individual pupil; facilitates the learning of additional language later; promotes cohesion and solidarity within minority communities; helps to maintain traditional relationships and attitudes between the generations and sexes and contributes to social control. All this benefits show that initial education in one's mother tongue serves the interest of the child, the child's parents and the general society.

The analysis of language use in different domains has shown that English is dominant across domains, except the work setting. This dominance is what Fairclough (1995: 92) terms 'hegemony'. The widespread use of English in the camp undermined, emasculated and devalued the refugees' native languages and by extension their ethnic identity. Therefore, in terms of linguistic vitality, English enjoyed the highest vitality due to its prestige and stance as a marker of modernization, western education and globalization. English is followed by pidgin and then the ethnic languages in that order. By this position, the respondents revealed the tendency towards uniformity instead of diversity. This tendency marks them out as global cosmopolitans (Gunesch 2003).

In conclusion, it is evident that the projection of identities in various domains has little to do with context but with the needs of the participants. The respondents were more interested in their social circumstances than the linguistic demands of particular domains.

The next section will focus on identity and language attitudes.

4.3   Identity and Language Attitudes

In this section, language attitudes among the ethnic groups in Oru Camp are investigated. The major aim of this investigation is to ascertain the relationship between language attitude and linguistic practice. As a result, the analysis is a correlation of respondents' feelings about their languages and their actual use of those languages. The identified

languages on which respondents attitudes will be gauged are those languages which respondents have encountered. They are the following: respondents' indigenous languages, pidgin languages, Yoruba and English. This investigation is central in ascertaining the language(s) actually preferred by respondents so as to know if there is a (mis) match between professed belief and actual behaviour.

4.3.1 Attitude Towards Refugees' Indigenous Languages

The questions about attitudes are designed primarily to know the importance and value which respondents attached to their languages. On the basis of the cognitive component, the respondents' thoughts and beliefs were gauged regarding the value they placed on their languages. An incomplete statement was presented 'I believe my indigenous language is ____ ", and four options were given which are: 'very important', 'important', 'less important' and 'not important'. This is followed by an enquiry into the proficiency level of respondents regarding their indigenous languages. The evaluation of their level of proficiency is measured on a five-point scale comprising 'very poor', 'poor', 'fair', 'good', and 'very good'. These investigations are vital because it helps to rate respondents' feelings about their indigenous languages and useful in terms of making predictions about the trajectory of their identity. It also helps to know if there is a match between their professed attitude and ensuing behaviour. The information elicited through the questionnaire is represented in the tables below.

Cross-tabulation of attitude towards indigenous languages versus proficiency in the indigenous language

Table 8a Age group

I believe my indigenous language is __

Country	Age		Rate your proficiency in speaking your indigenous language					
			V.poor	Poor	Fair	Good	very Good	Total
Liberia (13 – 19 yrs)		Less Imp.	14	-	-	-	-	14
		Important	25	-	-	-	-	25
		Very Imp.	6	-	-	-	-	6
			45	-	-	-	-	45(100)
	(20 – 39)	Important	19	5	0	0	-	24
		Very Imp.	13	7	0	1	-	21
			32	12	0	1	-	45 (100)
	(40 – 60)	Very Imp.	-	-	1	10	19	30
			-	-	1	10	19	30 (100)
	Total	Less Imp.	14	0	0	0	0	14
		Important	44	5	0	0	0	49
		Very Imp.	19	7	1	11	19	57
			77	12	1	11	19	120(100)
Sierra Leone (13 – 19)		Less Imp.	11	-	-	-	-	11
		Important	27	-	-	-	-	27
		Very Imp.	7	-	-	-	-	7
			45	-	-	-	-	45 (100)
	(20 – 39)	Important	21	2	0	-	-	23
		Very Imp.	18	4	0	-	-	22
			39	6	0	-	-	45 (100)
	(40 – 60)	Very Imp.	-	-	2	12	16	30
			-	-	2	12	16	30 (100)
	Total	Less Imp.	11	0	0	0	0	11
		Important	48	2	0	0	0	50
		Very Imp.	25	4	0	12	16	59
			84	6	2	12	16	120 (100)

Chi-Square tests summary: Liberia (value 56.751, 8< 0.000) Sierra Leone (value 48.776, 8< 0.000)

Table 8b Ethnic group

Country	Ethnic group		Rate your proficiency in speaking your indigenous language					
			v.poor	Poor	fair	Good	very Good	Total
Liberia	Krahn	Less Imp.	3	0	0	0	0	3
		Important	18	1	0	0	0	19
		Very Imp.	3	3	2	5	5	18
			24	4	2	5	5	40 (100)
	Bassa	Less Imp.	6	0	0	0	0	6
		Important	9	4	1	0	0	14
		Very Imp.	6	2	2	3	7	20
			21	6	3	3	7	40 (100)
	Kpelle	Less Imp.	5	0	0	0	0	5
		Important	13	0	3	0	0	16
		Very Imp.	5	2	2	3	7	19
			23	2	5	3	7	40 (100)
Total		Less Imp.	14	0	0	0	0	14
		Important	40	5	4	0	0	49
		Very Imp.	14	7	6	11	19	57
			68	12	10	11	19	120 (100)
Sierra _ Leone	Mende	Less Imp.	4	0	0	0	0	4
		Important	17	2	2	0	0	21
		Very Imp.	3	1	2	1	8	15
			24	3	4	1	8	40 (100)
	Temne	Less Imp.	2	0	0	0	0	2
		Important	16	0	1	0	1	18
		Very Imp.	7	1	3	2	7	20
			25	1	4	2	8	40 (100)
	Limba	Less Imp.	5	0	0	0	0	5
		Important	12	0	0	0	0	12
		Very Imp.	8	2	3	9	1	23
			25	2	3	9	1	40 (100)
Total		Less Imp.	11	0	0	0	1	12
		Important	45	2	3	0	0	50
		Very Imp.	18	4	8	12	16	58
			74	6	11	12	17	120 (100)

Chi-Square tests summary: Liberia (value 56.751, 8< 0.000) Sierra Leone (value 48.776, 8< 0.000)

Tables 11a and 11b above show, on the one hand, that a significant majority of the respondents expressed positive attitudes towards their indigenous languages. However, there is an obvious disparity between positive attitude towards respondents' indigenous languages and the actual use of such languages across age and ethnic groups. Although a significant majority among the age and ethnic groups reported that their indigenous languages are 'important' or 'very important', (high evaluation) a minority reported that their ethnic languages are 'less important' (low evaluation). Table 11a shows that, in the Liberia data, 14 teenagers (31.1%) reported a neutral or semi-positive attitude (less important) while the majority 25 (55.6%), 6 (13.3%) reported positive attitude ('important' and 'very important') respectively. However, 100% of the teenagers reported 'very poor' proficiency in their indigenous languages. A significant majority of the young adults, 24 (53.3%) reported positive attitude but a significant majority 23 (51.1) reported a 'very poor' proficiency in their languages. The exception is the full adult group who reported a positive attitude and a corresponding high proficiency in their ethnic languages. A similar result obtains in the Sierra Leone data where positive attitude expressed by the majority among the teenagers and young adults is upset by a 'very poor' proficiency. The exception is found in the case of the full adult group where there is a balance between positive evaluation and high proficiency in their ethnic languages. It is interesting that no respondent reported that their language is 'not important'.

In terms of ethnicity, a significant majority among the Liberian and Sierra Leonean ethnic groups reported that their indigenous languages were 'important' and 'very important' (106 respondents (88.4%) for Liberia, and 108 respondents (90.0%) for Sierra Leone). On the other hand, an insignificant minority reported that their indigenous languages were 'less important' (14 respondents (11.7%) for Liberia and 12 respondents (10.0%) for Sierra Leone). However, among the respondents who reported a high evaluation of their indigenous languages, a minority reported an appreciable level of proficiency in those languages (30 respondents (25.0%) for Liberia, and 29 respondents (24.1%) for Sierra Leone.

Based on the significance value of χ^2 = 56.751; df = 8 P< 0.000 (Liberia) and χ^2 = 48.776; df = 8; P< 0.000 (Sierra Leone) it is apparent that age is significant in relation to respondents attitude towards their ethnic languages. In terms of ethnicity the same significant value of χ^2 = 56.751; df = 8 P< 0.000 (Liberia) and χ^2 = 48.776; df = 8; P< 0.000 (Sierra Leone) shows that ethnicity is also a significant factor with respect to attitude towards ethnic language.

The implication of positive attitude towards ethnic languages is the projection of ethnic identity and psychological distinctiveness. Positive attitude is a further testimony to the fact that the respondents were conscious of their ethnolinguistic background which marked their distinction from other ethnic groups. Incidentally, the three age groups reacted differently in terms of translating their psychological beliefs into reality. Whereas the full adult group behaved according to their belief, the teenage and young adult group did not.

This result shows a strong connection or symmetry between expressed attitude and action among the full adult group. Symmetry between professed positive attitude and action among the adult group implies a strong sense of belonging and attachment to their ethnic groups. It is an overt way of declaring that they perceived themselves as ethnic people and desired to be perceived as such. On the other hand, the mismatch or asymmetrical disposition between positive attitude and language behaviour among the teenage and young adult groups, is what Holmes (2005) terms covert prestige to show that although a code may be deemed prestigious, it is not openly used. This result supports Carson's (2005: 32) position that 'we can believe one thing, yet maintain a totally contradictory behaviour' which suggests that a mental disposition does not necessarily provoke behaviour. The fact remains that attitude affects language shift and ethnolinguistic vitality (Gardner, 1985) yet identifying with a language and having positive attitudes towards it cannot guarantee the maintenance of that language (Romaine 2003). This finding corroborates Mejaizmit's (2007) finding, that Hispanic Youth in Brisbane, Australia, who tended towards integration, expressed positive attitude towards Spanish although they did not speak it. This result also confirms Benny's (1992) assertion that an

individual's positive attitude towards a language is not an indication that he uses the language. Moreover, the implication of asymmetry between professed positive attitude and action evidenced in a 'very poor' and 'poor' ethnolinguistic practice among the teenage and young adult group is a subtle aversion towards their heritage languages and also indicative of a weak sense of belonging to their ethnic groups (Adams and Tulasiewicz, 1988; Benny and Laponce, 1994). Thus, the younger age groups attached only a symbolic value to their indigenous languages. This is a covert and subtle way of declaring that they did not see themselves as ethnic persons and did not desire to be seen as such.

However, the fact that there is little or no correspondence between attitude and action in the present situation does not preclude the possibility of the respondents behaving in future according to their belief, because attitude is mutable, (Gaw, 2009).

Consequent upon this investigation is the inquiry concerning the awareness of the respondents about the status of their indigenous languages. Among other symbols of ethnic identity (food, dress etc) did they consider language as a major symbol, minor symbol or equal to the other markers of ethnic identity. The oral interview yielded the following results:

> I believe that a Krahn should speak Krahn. If you can't speak your dialect in one way or another you are cut off from your people (Kennedy – Krahn)

> It is Bassa dialect that make us different from other people. Culture also try but not like language, like the food we eat, pambotto and others, other people also cook it but dialect, no, only Bassa people speak Bassa (Mummy Favour – Bassa)

> It is dialect because your dialect other people can't speak it. Other people speak their own dialect … like my dialect Kpelle, it is only my people who speak it. Other people can dress like you, or cook your food but they can't speak your dialect. Even if you learn Kpelle when you speak it we will know … because if you are not Kpelle person, you cannot speak Kpelle like us. (Ledlum - Kpelle)

> Dialect is the way you know where somebody come from. Like me I be Mende man, if I speak my dialect you will say this is a Mende man. If you speak Ibo I will say this is Ibo man (Lebbie – Mende)

> My dialect is very important because that is what unite all Temne people. Some of our culture also unite us like our masquerade but it

> is not like language. If you can't speak Temne it will be hard for people to know you as Temne person (Saffiatu – Temne)

> Dialect is the reason why I be Limba person. I grow up to speak Limba and I see every person who speak Limba as my brother because if we speak the same language then we are one. Nobody play with his dialect. If you insult my dialect you insult me and I will feel bad, because you don't like my people. (Tenneh – Limba)

These interview results show that a sense of belonging to an ethnic group is achieved mainly by identifying with the language of the group due to the intrinsic value of language. The first interviewee (Kennedy) did not see any difference between Krahn as an ethnic group and Krahn as an ethnic tongue, hence he strongly believed and attested that a Krahn is obligated to speak the language otherwise he is not a Krahn. The second interviewee (Mummy Favour) testified that Bassa language is a major marker of ethnic difference than other aspects of culture like food; the third interviewee (Ledlum) posited that what makes the Kpelle ethnic group unique is primarily their language, (than their food and dress patterns) because others cannot speak Kpelle like the Kpelle people. The fourth interviewee (Lebbie) suggested that language is the window to the knowledge of an individual's roots, while the fifth (Saffiattu) and sixth (Tenneh) observed that language is the prime symbol of unity. All the respondents above seemed to suggest that language is like a tribal mark or tattoo which marked them out from others.

What this result translates to, is that among other basic cultural elements, a sense of belonging to an ethnic group has a lot more to do with the language of the group. In other words, language represents the prime means of constructing ethnic identity among other factors. Also a sense of belonging or identifying with an ethnic group creates the idea of sameness (in-group) and otherness (out-group) which has potentials for the kind of psychological distinctiveness capable of engendering discrimination. The respondents' report indicates that the young adult and full adult groups were aware of their cultural root in terms of language. Their sole choice of language suggests a higher awareness of the association between language and culture. Such a level of cultural awareness is central in accounting for intergroup relationships in the camp.

A salient outcome of this interview, which has been attested to by previous research, is that language brings about differences among groups by creating 'we' and 'they' or in-group and out-group, or insiders and outsiders (Valdes, 2000; Korth, 2005). In the interviews above, the interviewees used terms like 'your people', 'us' 'we' and 'others', 'my people', 'my dialect'. These pronominal elements are vital markers of ethnic distinctiveness and identity. However, this result shows that although language is the prime factor in the construction of ethnic identity, it is not indispensable. In the absence of language other identity markers like 'food', 'dress' and 'masquerade' were identified by respondents to mark ethnic belonging.

The next section will examine the attitude of respondents towards Yoruba.

4.3.2   Attitude towards Yoruba

The focus of investigation in this section is respondents' attitude towards Yoruba, the language of the host community. The respondents were presented with an incomplete statement "I believe Yoruba is___" and four options were provided which are: 'very important', 'important', 'less important' and 'not important'. This is followed by an inquiry into the proficiency level of respondents concerning the language of the host community. The evaluation of their proficiency level is measured on a five point scale comprising 'very poor', 'poor', 'fair', 'good', 'very good'. These investigations are important because it helps to know to what degree (if any) the refugees have identified with their host community and also the kind of relationship that possibly exists between hosts and guests. It also helps to know if there is a correspondence between professed attitude towards Yoruba and action. This information elicited through the questionnaire is represented in the tables below:

Cross tabulation of attitude towards Yoruba versus proficiency in Yoruba
Table 9a Age group

I believe Yoruba is ___

Country	Age		Rate your proficiency in speaking Yoruba					
			v.poor	Poor	fair	Good	very Good	Total
Liberia (10 – 19 yrs)		Important	-	-	1	2	26	29
		Very Imp.	-	-	0	6	10	16
			-	-	1	8	36	45(100)
	(20 – 39)	Not Important	22	1	-	-	-	23
		Less Imp.	16	2	-	-	-	18
		Important	3	0	-	-	-	3
		Very Imp.	1	0	-	-	-	1
			42	3	-	-	-	45 (100)
	(40 – 60)	Not Imp.	13	-	-	-	-	13
		Less Imp.	9	-	-	-	-	9
		Important	8	-	-	-	-	8
			30	-	-	-	-	30 (100)
		Not Imp.	35	1	0	0	0	36
		Less Imp.	25	2	0	0	0	27
		Important	11	0	1	2	26	40
		Very Imp.	1	0	0	6	10	17
	Total		72	3	1	8	36	120 (100)
Sierra Leone (10 – 19)		Important	-	-	-	1	27	28
		Very Imp.	-	-	-	4	13	17
			-	-	-	5	40	45 (100)
	(20 – 39)	Not Important	19	-	0	-	-	19
		Less Imp.	9	3	0	-	-	12
		Important	10	4	0	-	-	14
			38	7	0	-	-	45 (100)
	(40 – 60)	Not Important	12	3	-	-	-	15
		Less Imp.	4	0	1	-	-	5
		Important	4	4	2	-	-	10
			20	7	3	-	-	30 (100)
		Not Important	31	3	0	0	0	34
		Less Imp.	13	3	1	0	0	17
		Important	14	8	2	1	27	52
		Very Imp.	0	0	0	4	13	17
	Total		58	14	3	5	40	120 (100)

Chi-Square test summary: Liberia (value 96.676, 12< 0.000) Sierra Leone (value 80.561, 12 <0.000)

Table 9b   **Ethnicity**

Country	Ethnic group		Rate your proficiency in speaking Yoruba					
			v.poor	Poor	fair	Good	very Good	Total
Liberia	Krahn	Not Imp.	12	0	-	0	0	12
		Less Imp.	5	2	-	0	0	7
		Important	6	0	-	0	10	16
		Very Imp.	0	0	-	2	3	5
			23	2	-	2	13	40 (100)
	Bassa	Not Imp.	12	-	-	0	0	12
		Less Imp.	10	-	-	0	0	10
		Important	2	-	-	0	8	10
		Very Imp.	1	-	-	3	4	8
			25	-	-	3	12	40(100)
	Kpelle	Not Imp.	11	1	0	0	0	12
		Less Imp.	10	0	0	0	0	10
		Important	3	0	1	2	8	14
		Very Imp.	0	0	0	1	3	4
			24	1	1	3	11	40(100)
		Not Imp.	35	1	0	0	0	36
		Less Imp.	25	2	0	0	0	27
		Important	11	0	1	2	26	40
		Very Imp.	1	0	0	6	10	17
	Total		72	3	1	8	36	120 (100)
Sierra - Leone	Mende	Not Imp.	14	0	0	0	0	14
		Less Imp.	5	0	0	0	0	5
		Important	2	3	1	1	8	15
		Very Imp.	0	0	0	1	5	6
			21	3	1	2	13	40 (100)
	Temne	Not Imp.	8	2	0	-	0	10
		Less Imp.	6	0	0	-	0	6
		Important	4	4	1	-	9	18
		Very Imp.	0	0	0	-	6	6
			18	6	1	-	15	40 (100)
	Limba	Not Imp.	10	0	0	0	0	10
		Less Imp.	6	0	0	0	0	6
		Important	3	5	1	0	10	19
		Very Imp.	0	0	0	3	2	5
			19	5	1	3	12	40 (100)
		Not Imp.	32	2	0	0	0	34
		Less Imp.	17	0	0	0	0	17
		Important	9	12	3	1	27	52
		Very Imp.	0	0	0	4	13	17
	Total		58	14	3	5	40	120 (100)

Chi-Square test summary: Liberia (value 96.676, 12< 0.000) Sierra Leone (value 80.561, 12 <0.000)

Tables 12a and 12b above show a mixed expression of attitude towards Yoruba. In terms of age, the teenage group expressed a positive attitude towards Yoruba and matched it with corresponding action while the young adult and full adult groups expressed negative attitudes towards Yoruba and equalised it with corresponding inaction. Table 12a shows that in the Liberia data, a significant majority among the teenage group reported that Yoruba is 'important' 29 (64.4%) and 'very important' 16 (35.6%) and a significant majority reported a high proficiency in Yoruba 36 (97.8%). A significant majority of the young adults and full adults reported that Yoruba is 'not important' and 'less important' and also reported a zero proficiency in Yoruba. In the Sierra Leone data a similar result obtains; a significant majority among the teenage group reported that Yoruba is 'important' 28 (62.2%) and 'very important' 17 (37.8%) with a corresponding high proficiency 40 (100%). On the contrary, a significant majority among the young adults and full adult groups reported that Yoruba is 'not important' and 'less important' and also reported a 'very poor' and 'poor' proficiency in Yoruba.

In terms of ethnicity, a majority of respondents from the Liberian ethnic group reported that Yoruba is 'not important' 36 (30.0%) and 'less important' 27 (22.5%). The respondents also matched their attitude with a corresponding inaction expressed by proficiency levels of 'very poor' 60 (50.0%) and 'poor' 3 (2.5%). Contrariwise, a good number of respondents, 40 (33.3%) and 17 (14.2%) reported that Yoruba is 'important' and 'very important respectively. Out of this number, however, 8 (6.7%) and 36 (30.0%) respondents reported a proficiency level of 'good' and 'very good' respectively. In the Sierra Leone data, a fail number of respondents, 34 (28.0%) and 17 (14.2%) reported that Yoruba is 'not important' and 'less important' respectively. Correspondingly, the respondents matched their attitude with inaction expressed by a proficiency level of 'very poor' 49 (40.8%) and 'poor' 2 (1.7%). Additionally, an appreciable number of respondents, 52 (43.3%) and 17 (14.2%) reported that Yoruba is 'important' and 'very important' respectively. However, out of this number, 5 (4.2%) and 40 (33.3%) respondents reported a proficiency level of 'good' and 'very good' respectively.

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The significance value of $\chi^2 = 96.676$; df = 12; P< 0.000 (Liberia) and $\chi^2 = 80.561$; df = 12; P< 0.000 (Sierra Leone) signify that age and ethnicity are significant factors in terms of attitude towards Yoruba.

Positive attitude towards Yoruba expressed and applied by the teenage group is an affirmation of linguistic adaptation to the host culture, while negative attitude towards Yoruba expressed and applied by a significant majority from the young adult and full adult groups is a negation of linguistic adaptation to the host culture. The implication of this result is that whereas the teenage group linguistically identified with the host culture, the young adult and full adult groups did not identify with the host culture. The implication of the symmetry between professed positive disposition and action among the teenage group represents an overt sense of belonging to Yoruba culture. It is a testimony that they saw themselves as Yoruba and desired to be seen as Yoruba. By this attitude and expression they increased the scope of their group membership. This finding confirms the position of Lamy (1979 cited in Thondhlana, 2005) who argued that bilingualism enhances inter-ethnic communication and that such bilinguals can be mistaken for in-group members, which has significant effect on their identity. The teenagers' facility in Yoruba suggests that they enjoyed unhindered interaction with the host community and the possibility of perceiving themselves as Yoruba is high. On the other hand, the symmetry between professed negative disposition and inaction among the young adult and full adult respondents represents an overt sense of detachment from Yoruba culture. This aloofness is suggestive of the fact that they did not see themselves as Yoruba and did not want to be seen as Yoruba. This finding runs counter to the position of Masaki, et al (2010) who reported the tendency among minority groups to linguistically and culturally identify with the dominant majority group.

It is understandable that the teenage group identified linguistically with Yoruba due to the demands of education, but it is not understandable that the young adult and adult groups did not. Inquiry was made through oral interviews to unravel the reason(s) for the marked behaviour and the result is as follows:

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> …they no like us, that is why I no speak their language. They insult us because we are not their people (Mummy favour)

> …I would have loved to learn Yoruba but you see, we all understand English… if they didn't speak English then I will force myself and learn Yoruba because of communication (Kennedy).

> …I don't think I'm interested, this thing is not easy Osy, how can I learn their language. I no tell you what they did to my daughter; their boys raped my daughter and I reported to police, but the police did not do anything. (Saffiatu)

> …It is good to speak Yoruba because of integration but the integration is not working. All the things they promised us they have not done it… How can you give a family 75 thousand naira, not one person, a whole family, even the 75 thousand we have not seen it (Lebbie).

> …Most of us here don't speak Yoruba because of the way they take us. If you see the way they look at us… as if we are not human being like them (Sule)

> … It is good to learn Yoruba because we are staying in their land and the integration matter, but the way they take us is not good (Popei).

The interviewees above, from the young adult and full adult groups stated why they did not speak Yoruba, and their reasons ranged from the hosts (hostile) attitude towards them (Mummy favour, Saffiatu, Sule, Popei), the presence of English (Kennedy) and the challenges of integration (Lebbie). This finding corroborates the position of Fasold (1984), Holmes (2008) and Edwards (1982) that attitudes towards a language are often a reflection of attitudes towards the speakers of the language. Most of the interviewees above believed that it is not necessary to identify with a group that did not treat them humanely. This result also confirms Valenta's (2010) finding in Norway, where refugees who felt rejected or marginalised are less likely to integrate, especially with regards to the acquisition of the host's language. The implication of this finding is that the relationship between hosts and guests was strained. This finding is a negation of the conclusion of Meludu and Emerole (2009) who stated that one of the reasons why Oru refugees encountered difficulty integrating into their host community was language barrier. The position of the present study is that it is the attitude of the host community which discouraged the full adults from learning Yoruba.   The second interviewee (Kennedy) felt that since English served his communication needs, there is no need to learn Yoruba.

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This is to suggest that Yoruba is minimally functional, i.e., it is not really very useful due to the presence of English. The fourth interviewee (Lebbie) explained that economic considerations proved an obstacle to linguistic adaptation to their host community. His position implies that they were too uncomfortable to consider learning Yoruba. This is to say that the right condition can create the right attitude or effect a change in attitude and behaviour.

The next section examines attitudes towards pidgins.

4.3.3   Attitude towards Pidgin

In this section, respondents' attitude to pidgin, a language of wider communication will be examined. Pidgin runs across the West African sub region and has national coloration, enough to distinguish one from another. Liberians speak Liberian pidgin or Kreyol while Sierra Leoneans speak Krio. The respondents were presented with an incomplete statement "I believe, my pidgin is __" and four options were given which are: 'very important', 'important', 'less important' and 'not important'. This is followed by an inquiry into the proficiency level of respondents regarding their pidgins. The evaluation of their level of proficiency is measured on a five point scale comprising 'very poor', 'poor', 'fair', 'good', and 'very good'. This investigation is important because it helps to verify what value respondents attached to their languages of wider communication, and why they would desire to identify with it. It also helps to evaluate whether there is a correspondence between professed attitude and behaviour. This information elicited through the questionnaire is represented in the tables below

Cross-tabulation of attitude towards pidgin versus proficiency in pidgin

Table 10a   Age

I believe my pidgin is ____

Country	Age group		Fair	Good	Very good	Total
					Proficiency	
Liberia	(13-19) Years	Not Important	4	5	1	10
		Less Important	4	13	3	20
		Important	5	7	2	14
		Very Important	1	0	0	1
			14	24	6	45(100)
	(20-39) Years	Less Important		0	3	3
		Important		1	27	28
		Very Important		0	14	14
				1	44	45(100)
	(40-60) Years	Less Important			4	4
		Important			26	26
					30	30 (100)
		Not Important	4	5	1	10
		Less Important	4	13	10	27
		Important	5	8	55	68
		Very Important	1	0	14	15
	Total		14	26	80	120(100)
Sierra-Leone	(13-19) Years	Less Important	5	13	1	19
		Important	13	7	6	26
			18	20	7	45 (100)
	(20-39) Years	Important			31	31
		Very Important			14	14
					45	45 (100)
	(40-60) Years	Important			20	20
		Very Important			10	10
					30	30 (100)
		Less Important	5	13	1	19
		Important	13	7	57	77
		Very Important	0	0	24	24
	Total		18	20	82	120 (100)

Chi-square test summary: Liberia (value 37.744, 6 <0.000) Sierra Leone (value 57.538, 4 <0.000)

Table 10b Ethnicity

Country	Ethnic Group		Rate your proficiency in speaking Pidgin			
				Fair	Good	very Good	Total
Liberia	Krahn	Not Imp.	0	3	1	4
		Less Imp.	1	4	1	6
		Important	0	5	10	15
		Very Imp.	1	0	14	15
			2	12	26	40 (100)
	Bassa	Not Imp.	2	0	0	2
		Less Imp.	2	5	3	10
		Important	3	2	23	28
		Very Imp.	3	2	23	28
			7	7	26	40 (100)
	Kpelle	Not Imp.	2	2	0	4
		Less Imp.	1	3	6	10
		Important	2	2	22	26
			5	7	28	40 (100)
		Not Imp.	4	5	1	10
		Less Imp.	4	12	10	26
		Important	5	8	55	68
		Very Imp.	1	0	14	15
	Total		14	25	80	120 (100)
Sierra _ Leone	Mende	Less Imp.	3	3	1	7
		Important	1	3	22	26
		Very Imp.	0	0	7	7
			4	6	30	40 (100)
	Temne	Less Imp.	1	3	0	4
		Important	6	3	18	27
		Very Imp.	0	0	9	9
			7	6	27	40 (100)
	Limba	Less Imp.	1	7	0	8
		Important	6	1	17	24
		Very Imp.	0	0	8	8
			7	8	25	40 (100)
		Less Imp.	5	13	1	19
		Important	13	7	57	77
		Very Imp.	0	0	24	24
	Total		18	20	82	120 (100)

Chi-square test summary: Liberia (value 37.744, 6 <0.000) Sierra Leone (value 57.538, 4 <0.000)

Table 13a and 13b above show a mixed attitude towards pidgin evident in a discrepancy between feelings and behaviour. A majority of the respondents highly evaluated pidgin and underscored their feeling with a good proficiency; however, although some of the respondents representing a minority negatively evaluated pidgin, they reported a high proficiency in pidgin. Table 13a shows that in the Liberia data, a minority of the

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teenagers10 (22.2%) reported that pidgin is 'not important' while a minority of the young adult 3 (6.7%) and adult group, 4(8.9%) reported that pidgin is 'less important', although they all reported 'fair', 'good' and 'very good' proficiency in pidgin. In the Sierra Leone data, only the teenage group 19 (42.2%) reported that Krio is 'less important' despite the fact of their 'good' proficiency in Krio. It is interesting that in both data no respondent reported a minimal proficiency level ('very poor' or 'poor'). This is an indication that the respondents were fluent in their pidgins.

In terms of ethnicity, a minority among the Liberian ethnic groups reported that pidgin is 'not important' 10 (8.3%) and 'less important' 26 (21.7%). Notwithstanding, out of this number, 17 (14.1%) and 11 (9.1%) respondents reported proficiency levels of 'good' and 'very good', and none reported 'very poor' or 'poor' proficiency level. On the other hand, a significant majority reported that pidgin is 'important' and 'very important' and correspondingly reported proficiency levels of 'good' and 'very good'. In the Sierra Leone data, a minority of respondents 19 (15.8%) among the ethnic groups reported that Krio is 'less important' although they reported proficiency levels of 'good' and 'very good' and none reported proficiency levels of 'very poor' or 'poor'. On the other hand, a significant majority reported that pidgin is 'important' and 'very important', and equally reported proficiency levels of 'good' and 'very good'.

The analysis, based on the significance value χ^2 = 37.744; df = 6; P< 0.000 for Liberia and χ^2 = 57.538; df = 4; P< 0.000 for Sierra Leone show that both age and ethnicity are significant factors, influencing attitude of respondents to pidgin.

It seems that the status and prestige of Krio in Sierra Leone where it is a national lingua franca (Sengova 2010) is the prime reason why the respondents, especially young adult and full adult groups, who had experienced life back home, regarded it more positively. Also, the status and prestige of English in Liberia where it is seen as a mark of modernity and elite power seem to be the reason why very few Liberian respondents regarded their pidgin as 'very important'. The implication of this result is that Sierra Leonean respondents were more positively disposed to Krio than Liberians to their pidgin.

The implication of symmetry between professed positive belief and action among the young adult and full adult groups and a minority from the teenage group is a strong sense of belonging and attachment to distinct countries. In other words, they perceived themselves as Liberians and Sierra Leoneans and desired to be perceived as such. Such a perception underlines their social categorisation and psychological distinctiveness. On the other hand, the asymmetry between professed negative belief and positive action among the minority from the teenage group represents a weak sense of belonging to their home countries. This situation is the reverse of covert prestige which could be termed covert aversion. This is an indication that their use of pidgin obscured their real psychological dislike towards the language. The implication of this position is that this particular group of respondents did not actually entertain a desire to see or be seen as belonging to their home countries.

A follow-up to this investigation is the inquiry concerning the awareness of the respondents about the uniqueness of their pidgin. This inquiry is important because of the implications of the distinction with national identity. The oral interview yielded the following results:

> We Liberians have our own way of speaking; I don't mean dialect but English or pidgin which we call Kreyol. All we Liberians from different tribes understand it but other people do not, even you,(referring to researcher) when we speak our pidgin you think we are speaking our dialect (Kennedy – Krahn).

> Our pidgin is different from Krio and Nigerian pidgin, like the other day when Nepa bring light I say 'le na co', and you ask me what I said and I say 'light don come'. So all we Liberian people understand it (Mummy Favour – Bassa)

> Our own English and pidgin is different from your own and we Liberians speak it in different way; like my Yoruba friend use to complain when I speak. They say it is our tone; but that is the Liberian way of speaking (Ledlum – Kpelle)

> Krio is the language many Sierra Leonean person speak. You may come from Mende, Fula, Kru, but all of us speak Krio and we don't joke with it. It is our national language in Salone (Lebbie – Mende).

> Everybody know Salone for Krio. Me be Temne person but I speak Krio and we all like it and that is why we speak it here in camp.

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Every Salone person know Krio, and we use it to know Salone people (Saffiatu – Temne).

Limba is my dialect but when I meet our people from other tribe, we speak Krio, Krio is the language that unite all Sierra Leoneans. In fact that is what other people take to know us. It resemble your pidgin here small, but it is different (Tenneh – Limba).

This interview extracts reveal that pidgin is chosen as the marker of nationality, as expressed by the six interviewees representing mainly age groups 3 from all the ethnic languages. The first three interviewees (Kennedy, Mummy favour, Ledlum) all testified that their Liberian Pidgin or Kreyol is unique and difficult for non-Liberians to comprehend while the interviewees 4 – 6 (Lebbie, Saffiatu, Tenneh) all testified that Krio is a language which bound all Sierra Leonean people. Kreyol and Krio are both Linguœ Francœ and languages of wider communication in both Liberia and Sierra Leone. The strength of these creolized pidgins is evident in their widespread use. As reported by the respondents above, these pidgin varieties are unique.

Although all Anglo-Phone West African countries use pidgin, there are marked differences in each variety and these differences are not minimal but sufficient to distance non nationals. The knowledge that their pidgins are unique and that other national groups do not fully understand it means that they deliberately used it to signal their difference as national groups. Therefore when Liberians spoke their brand of pidgin they expressed a desire to be seen as Liberians, different from other national groups. In the same vein, when the Sierra Leoneans spoke Krio they expressed a desire to be seen as Sierra Leoneans. These unique languages gave the speakers a sense of belonging to a country. In other words, their unique pidgins provided them a sense of psychological distinctiveness from other countries. Just like the ethnic case, the implication of this national identity marker is that the respondents from each national group were aware that they are not the same with other national groups. In this case, all ethnic groups within Liberia or Sierra Leone are insiders while members of other national groups are outsiders.

The fact that these respondents comprise the young adult and full adult groups suggests that the more mature age groups were aware of the linguistic element which unites all the ethnic groups in their countries, in addition to its distinction from other varieties across

West Africa. The implication of this result is that the refugees were aware and concerned about their nationality, despite the number of years they have spent in the camp, away from their countries. It is evident that the war situation which uprooted and forced them out of their homelands did not adversely affect their consciousness of their nationality. A consciousness of group identity couched in language can boost intra-group affinity and intergroup disparity. A sufficient level of national consciousness among the two national groups is bound to create divides of 'we' and 'they' between national groups. In this regard, those belonging to one national group perceived themselves as one, though ethnically divided, while they perceived the other national groups as outsiders. Therefore, a high notion of belonging to a national group can adversely affect intergroup relationships in the camp.

4.3.4   Attitude towards English

In this section, respondents' attitude towards English, an international language, will be verified. English enjoys official status in Liberia, Sierra Leone and the host country Nigeria. The respondents were presented with an incomplete statement "I believe English is ___" and four options were provided as follows: very important, important, less important and not important. This is followed by an inquiry into the proficiency level of respondents regarding English. The evaluation of their proficiency level in English is measured with a five point scale comprising 'very poor', 'poor', 'fair', 'good', and 'very good'. These inquiries are important because it reveals the value or otherwise which respondents attached to a language which respects no borders. The inquiry also helps to gauge if there is a match between a professed attitude and eventual action. The information gathered through the questionnaire is represented in the tables below.

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Cross-tabulation of attitude towards English versus proficiency in English
  Table 11a   Age

I believe English is ___

Country	Age Group			Rate your proficiency in speaking English			
				Fair	Good	Very good	Total
Liberia	(10-19) Years	How important is English?	Very Important			45	45
						45	45(100)
	(20-39) Years		Very Important		13	32	45
					13	32	45(100)
	(40-60) Years		Very Important	2	12	16	30
				2	12	16	30(100)
			Very Important	2	25	93	120
		Total		2	25	93	120(100)
Sierra-Leone	(10-19) Years		Very Important			45	45
						45	45(100)
	(20-39) Years		Very Important	11	24	10	45
				11	24	10	45(100)
	(40-60) Years		Very Important	12	13	5	30
				12	13	5	30 (100)
			Very Important	23	37	60	120
		Total		23	37	60	120(100)

Table 11b Ethnicity

Count

Country	Ethnic Group			Rate your proficiency in speaking English			Total
				Fair	Good	Very good	
Liberia	Krahn	How important is English?	Very Important		8	32	40
					8	32	40(100)
	Bassa		Very Important		8	32	40
					8	32	40(100)
	Kpelle		Very Important	2	9	29	40
				2	9	29	40(100)
			Very Important	2	25	93	120
		Total		2	25	93	120(100)
Sierra-Leone	Mende		Very Important	3	12	25	40
				3	12	25	40(100)
	Temne		Very Important	6	14	20	40
				6	14	20	40(100)
	Limba		Very Important	14	11	15	40
				14	11	15	40(100)
			Very Important	23	37	60	120
		Total		23	37	60	120(100)

Table 14a and 14b above show vividly that, irrespective of ethnic and age groups, all the respondents (100%) considered English as 'very important' (high evaluation) and also reported a high proficiency in English. This result indicates that both age and ethnicity are constant with respect to attitude towards English. All the respondents reported either 'good' or 'fair' proficiency in English and none reported 'poor' or 'very poor' proficiency in English. It is questionable that none among the respondents reported a 'poor' proficiency in English. The explanation for this attitude could be the tendency and desire among the respondents to project a cosmopolitan face and identity. The reason for this tendency is the benefits accruable from a facility in a language with global prestige.

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The symmetry between professed positive disposition and action among all the age groups is indicative of a strong sense of belonging to the international community. This aggregate linguistic identity suggests that the respondents saw themselves, and desired to be seen as modern, cultured individuals, that an international language (English) represents, and not as ethnic, pastoral persons, which gives them a native and uncultured representation. The implication of this result is that though the respondents are divided along ethnic and national lines they were united along international lines. In other words, they had bound and unbound identities. Their ethnic and national identities represent bound or exclusive identities while the international identity represents unbound or inclusive identity.

A follow up to this investigation is the inquiry concerning the awareness of respondents about the status and prestige of English. This inquiry is important on account of the implications of this status with global identity. The oral interview yielded the following results:

> English is our international language. Everybody in Liberia like to speak English and also here in the camp. When the Congolese were here, they used to speak French but they were moved to Ijebu Ode. But now it is only English and all of us speak it, both Liberia and Sierra Leone people. It helps us to understand one another, and we also understand what is happening in the world. (Kennedy – Krahn)

> English is my second language, in Liberia everybody try to speak English because it can help you to get job anywhere, and you can talk to white people. If you can't speak English you are lost in the world; you will not know what is happening. Look at us here, refugees. If we don't know English the UN people will not respect us and Nigeria people will see us as fools, and uneducated. (Mummy Favour- Bassa)

> English is the world language and it make you look like a modern man and not a bush person. It is the language of Britain and America who are ruling the world. So it is a power language. In Liberia, it is the language those Ameriko-Liberian use and they use it to intimidate other people. But today all of us speak English. (Ledlum – Kpelle)

> English is our second language and it is spoken all over the world. So we speak English because it help us to talk to every person in the world. Like here for camp, we have many tribes and dialect and we don't understand ourselves but with English we understand ourselves. Moreover, if I travel anywhere in the world people will understand me (Lebbie – Mende)

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> Ah, without English you can't go anywhere in the world you can't use internet, you can' meet people from other countries. Everybody speak English so that we can move forward. (Saffiatu – Temne)

> We Salone people speak Krio, but we also speak English … English is international language … if you don't speak it you look like somebody who don't know anything … But if you speak it people respect you. (Tenneh – Limba)

As the respondents testified English is the international language used in the camp and it is through this means that they desired to be seen as international citizens, and they also saw themselves as global persons. The respondents reported that English granted them access to the world (Saffiatu and Lebbie); aided in communication and understanding across cultures (Kennedy and Lebbie); gave them a modern and respectable identity (Ledlum, Tenneh and Mummy Favour); granted them social mobility and advancement (Mummy Favour and Saffiatu). This is to signify that the choice of English as a marker of global identity is as a result of its prestige and instrumental capacity. The reports of the respondents show that they were highly concerned about their global identity, which is tied to the benefits emanating from such an identity.

A global consciousness relates to respondents' awareness of belonging to the global community. It seems that, due to the modern appeal for globalization, all the respondents preferred to see themselves and be seen by others as modern people. An implication of this high global consciousness is that respondents are capable of getting along with other people who spoke English in the camp irrespective of ethnic and national affiliations. As a consequence, it could be inferred that a high global consciousness is capable of bridging ethnic and national divides between different people.

On the whole, it is apparent that the respondents were categorized into different social groups such as their ethnic, national and global groups (social categorization). These groupings underlined the fact of multiple group membership. All the respondents reported, albeit to varying degrees, identification with ethnic, national, and global groups. The implication of multiple identities is that identities, in a way, affect other identities positively or negatively. A high level of national consciousness can moderate ethnic affiliations, while a high level of global identities can temper with both ethnic and

national attachments. As a result, the degree of socio-cultural impediments in intergroup and interethnic relationship is expected to be minimal.

Additionally, the ethnolinguistic boundaries here were not hardened by a distinctive linguistic construction, rather we are presented with soft linguistic boundaries. This soft ethnolinguistic boundary is mainly because, all the ethnic groups generally endorsed a global construction and consciousness via language – English, which is mainly a second language to them. Thus, English, to a great extent, provided a linguistic window through which outsiders (out-groups) are admitted into the confines of in-groups. English represents the point of convergence or contact for all the different groups and this is the point which triggers moderation and lessens a high sense of ethnic identity and psychological distinctiveness. Therefore, in terms of perceived permeability of boundaries, the soft boundaries represented here can facilitate social mobility in intergroup relations.

The picture presented by the examination of language attitude will help in ascertaining the strength of various identities reported by the respondents. This is the subject of the next section.

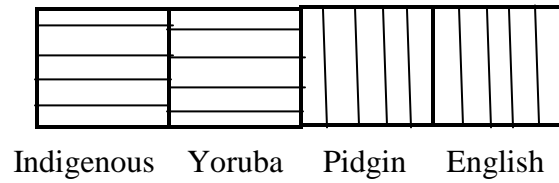## 4.4   Linguistic Identity Prototypes

In this section the various linguistic identities reported by respondents are weighed or measured, given the expressed language attitudes. This measurement will be used to evaluate and possibly compare the degree and strength of different identities reported by different age groups within each ethnic group. The linguistic prototypes observed in the sample given the three age groups comprise of the following: Strong Yoruba Identity, Weak Dual Identity and Strong Ethnic Identity

1. Strong Yoruba Identifiers   (Strong Yoruba Identity, Weak ethnic Identity
                                  Strong pidgin Identity, Strong English Identity)
2. Weak Ethnic Identifiers   (Weak ethnic identity, weak Yoruba identity
                                   Strong pidgin identity, strong English identity)
3. Strong Ethnic Identifiers   (Strong ethnic identity, weak Yoruba identity,
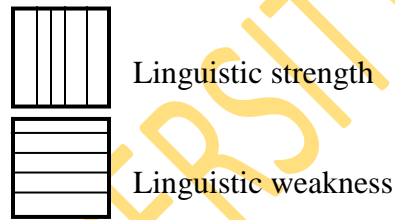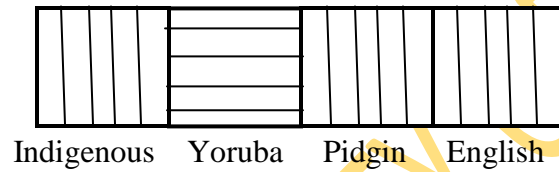   Strong pidgin identity, strong English identity)

These prototypes are represented in the diagram below

Strong Yoruba identifiers (integration)

Indigenous   Yoruba   Pidgin   English
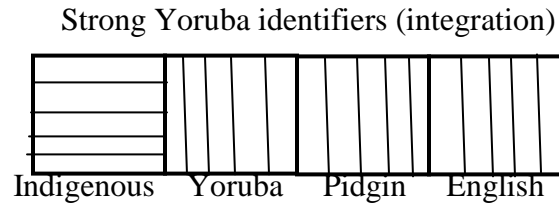
Weak ethnic identifiers (marginalisation)

Indigenous   Yoruba   Pidgin   English

Strong ethnic identifiers (separation)

Indigenous   Yoruba   Pidgin   English

 Linguistic strength

 Linguistic weakness

Fig 2   Linguistic Identity Prototypes in Oru Refugee Camp

The vertical lines represent fields of linguistic strength; the horizontal lines represent fields of linguistic weakness. These prototypes are analysed below

4.4.1   Strong Yoruba Identity

Strong Yoruba identity is manifested by the teenage group. This group seems to be linguistically assimilated in that they are proficient in Yoruba, the host's language, at the expense of their indigenous languages. However, given the fact that they had a strong pidgin identity, it could be said that their linguistic acculturation pattern is integration. They had adopted the language of their hosts while retaining a native language (pidgin)

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though not their indigenous tongues. It bears repeating that although Liberian pidgin (Kreyol) and Krio are both parts of West African Pidgin Englishes (WAPE) there are certain lexico-phonosthatic differences which mark their speakers out as belonging to Liberia and Sierra Leone. In addition, this group also assumed a strong English identity which is a code shared with the host community. In essence we are dealing with a group who have adapted to their hosts' culture while retaining some of their heritage culture.

This identity prototype has implications for in-group and out-group relationship. The group endorsing this prototype are those who are likely to exhibit an egalitarian attitude, and promote inter-cultural relationship and mutual inter-ethnic acceptance. Since they did not shed their unique pidgins which they all subscribed to, their relationship with their in-group should not be problematic; and since they had incorporated Yoruba, their relationship with out-group (host community) could be cordial. They would most likely serve as a bridge across ethnic and national divides and therefore would practically endorse the virtue of diversity. This result confirms Hoff's (1968) and Rees' (1960) findings, which suggest that the children are quick at acquiring the new culture and so socialize the elders by acting as links or interpreters. The tendency is for members of this group to enjoy a robust and hitch-free interaction and social relationship with their host community. This is in keeping with the experience or pattern whereby dominant groups expect minority groups to adopt their language and not the other way round (Korth 2008).

4.4.2 Weak Ethnic Identity

A weak ethnic identity is manifested by the young adult group. A weak ethnic identity and a weak Yoruba identity suggest that members of this age group did not identify either with their ethnic group or hosts' culture. As a result, their linguistic acculturation pattern could be termed marginalization. However, they had a strong pidgin and English identity. A strong pidgin identity marked them out as belonging to their national groups, Liberia and Sierra Leone while a strong English identity marked them as global citizens. Generally, given their prototypic linguistic tendency, they could be said to have a neutral or anonymous identity. Anonymous in the sense that adopting a world language and

culture like English, which respects no boundaries and shedding both their own indigenous language and that of the host community, makes it very difficult to categorise them, in a cultural sense. However, the retention of their national pidgins partially fills the vacuum left by the indigenous languages, and serves as a de facto tool for social categorisation. As a result, their acculturation pattern could be termed quasi-marginalization. It is partial because their pidgin proficiency means that they were not completely estranged from their heritage culture.

The implication of this prototype for in-group and out-group relationship is that the young adults who endorsed it would definitely have an identity and relationship problem both within the camp and outside it. This group would most likely perceive themselves as modern and civilized individuals while seeing others with ethnolinguistic roots as uncultured and uncivilized. On the other hand, those with ethnolinguistic roots may tend to see them as strangers, at least. Thus, the relationship between this prototypic group and their in-group, out-group or hosts is expected to be tensed or strained as their kin may see them as cultural traitors and their use of language perceived as insulting (Giles et al 1991). Individuals belonging to this group may not contribute to intra-ethnic or inter-ethnic harmony or understanding, but given their global face, they are most likely to promote international solidarity.

4.4.3 Strong Ethnic Identity

Strong ethnic identity is expressed by the full adult group. This group had a strong ethnic, pidgin and English identities but a weak Yoruba identity. Their linguistic acculturation pattern could be termed separation. They retained their heritage language but did not adopt the language of their hosts. Added to their ethnic language is their national language, pidgin. So we are dealing with a group who had more in common with their ethnic origin than their host's culture. The implication of this prototype is that members of this group are most likely to be ethnocentric with a tendency towards a problematic intergroup relationship. Their relationship with other national groups is expected to be marked with a 'we' and 'they' categorization and consequently

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characterised with discriminations and prejudice. However, they are most likely to enjoy very close and strong affinity with 'in-group' members.

Evidently, the investigation of language attitudes has revealed the trajectory of identities and relationship patterns among the groups in Oru camp. The teenagers' linguistic bias and inclination towards the host culture is a natural incident of place of birth, socio-cultural association and early exposure to languages in a formal setting. Since their parents failed to expose them to their ethnic languages, the social environment played the role and filled the vacuum with Yoruba. The young adults' detachment from both the hosts and their indigenous languages, and a propensity towards English and pidgin is reflective of their ages' quest for adventure and upward mobility. It is possible that they saw ethnic identification and orientation as setbacks and distractions to their pursuit and dreams. The full adults' predilection towards their heritage culture is symptomatic of prolonged years of experience in their home countries where they had attained a considerable level of rootedness to their ethnic cultures and languages. Such cultural experiences are difficult to delete from the consciousness and not easily replaced by another cultural experience. It is, therefore, easy for the repositories of communal values to become the custodians of the language and culture even in a strange land. However, it should be noted that attitudes are transient and mutable, and so is identity, i.e. they are capable of changing over time, from negative to positive or vice-versa for various reasons. Certain instrumental or integration factors may effect a change in their attitude and they would be compelled to evaluate Yoruba highly, both in mind and behaviour.

In conclusion, it is apparent that a significant majority of the refugees embraced globalization instead of diversity. Through English, which they all highly evaluated, they signalled their global cosmopolitan identity, as citizens of the world. However, the inability of the young adult and full adult groups to linguistically adapt to the host culture by adopting Yoruba is a negation of the ethos of diversity. Diversity is anchored on the recognition of the appreciation of difference; the recognition of the 'Self' and the 'Other'; the 'Self' representing an individual's cultural being, mainly expressed through language

and the 'Other' representing the cultural nuances of other people facilitated via language. As a result, the young adult and full adult groups are considered global cosmopolitans and not diverse cosmopolitans, (Romaine 2003; Gunesch 2003).

In the next chapter, attention will be focused on various means through which the respondents manifested disparate identities in camp.

CHAPTER FIVE

MANIFESTATIONS OF IDENTITY IN THE CAMP

5.1   Introduction

In this chapter, attention is focused on how respondents manifested various identities in the camp in the course of interaction. Interaction, in this module is limited to verbal exchanges between or among participants. Franceschini (1998 cited in Guerini 2005) defines interaction as a hyperonym designating all the verbal activities normally carried out by human beings; one of these activities is conversation, that is to say, face-to-face interaction taking place at the simultaneous (physical) presence of all the participants. Taylor (1994) posits that it is not just language but also discourse which is important in the formation and shaping of identity, which arises out of interaction. The purpose of interaction, among other things, is to give and receive information and also to project a face or image; to show other participants who you are and how you want to be seen.

This chapter precisely focuses on two means through which identities were manifested in the sample in the course of conservation between or among participants. These two strategies are code alternation (code switching and borrowing) and stereotypes. Code alternation is examined in this study as a linguistic device through which identity is constructed. Through the system of code alternation speakers identify with a culture or cultures and by this means construct their own identities, and/or other identities.

5.2   Manifestation of identity through code switching

Code switching is one of the means through which the respondents manifested different identities in the camp. Data for the analysis represents natural interactions between participants and where obtained mainly through observation.

5.3   Code Switching Samples

In the course of the research, a number of code switching occurrences were encountered. These experiences were of different kinds and cut across ethnic and age group. However, the age groups involved are mainly young adult and full adult group. This is because, in the course of data collection, it was not easy to elicit information from the teenage group

because they were usually very conscious of themselves at the entrance of the researcher. As a result, in most cases, they limited conversation to a whisper. The trajectory of the switches varied from pidgin to English or vice-versa and from pidgin to indigenous languages etc. In addition, the code switching examples were motivated by varying factors. The data were collected by means of participant observation and interviews. The data and analysis are presented below

5.3.1 Greetings-based switch

The manifestation of different identities is often triggered by factors such as greetings, in the course of a conversation. This kind of code switching occurs where there is an obvious change in the situation like 'the arrival of a new person' (Holmes 2008:35). This is an instance of participant related code switching. Some of their occurrences are in situations where a participant needs to greet a new entrant. Some of the occurrences are represented in the data below

Example 1   An introduction of the researcher (RES) to a Temne Woman (TW) in the camp by Mr. Lebbie (LB), the chairman of the Sierra Leone group.

1.   LB: Madam dis man na researcher and he need your assistance.
(madam, this man is a researcher and he needs your assistance)
2.   TW: Which kin assistance?
(what kind of assistance?)
3.   LB: He wan know the language you speak.
(He wants to know the languages you speak)
4.   RES: Yes, I actually want to know the various languages you speak in different situations.
5.   TW: Okay, no problem
(another Temne woman (TW1) stops by)
6.   TW: Topia?
(How are you)
7.   TW1:   Mpiare seke.
(*Good afternoon*)

Example 2:   (Chat between the researcher (RES) and Mummy Favour (MF) a Bassa woman)

1.   RES: How Favour madam?
(How is Favour madam?)
2.   MF: Favour fine – o
(Favour is very fine).
3.   RES: She don grow well well
(she has really grown up)
4.   MF: No be small, I thank God
(it is not a small thing, I thank God)

(A Bassa woman (BW) enters)
5.   BW: Be muien, be gwree
             (Good morning, good afternoon)
6.   MF: E na yii?
             (You don come?)

In examples 1 and 2, the switches are from pidgin to indigenous languages, Temne and Bassa. This shift represents a transition from a metropolitan identity to an ethnic identity. In the two examples above, the switch from pidgin to Temne and Bassa respectively are instances of divergence, for the purpose of greetings or phatic communion, but its remote cause is to express ethnic identity and solidarity.   However, the switch to an indigenous language is not mandatory for this kind of phatic based switches. It is a matter of choice among the participants. Guerini (2005:171) proposes that 'though in many cases phatic expressions are actually uttered in the language of interaction, bilingual speakers may choose to give up the code employed up to that point of the conversation and mark them through the introduction of a different language, thus giving rise to a code switching occurrence'. It should be noted that TW and MF suspended their interactions with the researcher due to the entrance of their ethnic relations. This suspension underscores the strength of ethnic bonding and solidarity.   This suspension is a subtle exercise of power by TW and MF in that they initiated the suspension, without the consent of the other participants, and especially the fact that they suspended the talk without the courtesy of an excuse. The divergence to the ethnic languages in the greetings by the women is unmarked and had the effect of distancing LB and RES.   The implication of this distancing is the drawing of a line between 'we' and 'they', and to some degree the 'distancers' openly highlighted their psychological distinctiveness. In this instance, TW and MF diverged from a metropolitan face (pidgin) to an ethnolinguistic face (indigenous languages).

Additionally, the two examples above show that TW and MF have, somewhat, adapted to Nigerian pidgin (NP) expressions. In example 1 TW accepted the researcher's request by using the popular Nigerian expression 'no problem'. In example 2, MF welcomed the researcher's appreciation of her child's development by using Nigerian pidgin expression 'no be small' … The use of these Nigerian pidgin expressions were not accidental. TW and MF used them to include and accommodate the researcher thus registering a polite

face and showing solidarity with Nigeria. The two cases therefore, are instances of upward convergence motivated by the need to gain approval or be appreciated.

5.3.2 Announcement-Based Switch

The manifestation of different identities is sometimes triggered by the need to give information to others in the course of an on going conversation between participants. This kind of participant related code switching is that which involves a reference or announcement to an individual or group for the sake of conveying information due to a sudden change in a situation. The instance is represented below

Example 3   (A chat between the researcher (RES) and Mrs. Ledlum (LM) a Kpelle woman in a block in the camp)

1.   RES: Madam, wetin de happen, this place no dey busy like before.
             (madam, what is happening? This place is no longer very busy)
2.   LM: Some people have lef for anoda sa
             (some people have moved to another side).
3.   RES: Ok even Charles my friend don move to another side of the camp?
             (alright, even my friend Charles has moved to another side of the camp)
4.   LM: Yes
             (suddenly the electric bulb above lights up)
5.   LM: (to camp mates): He-e-e! le na co! le na co!
6.   RES: Wetin you tell dem?
             (what did you tell them?)
7.   LM: I say light don come; na so we talk for our pidgin
             (I said light has come, that is how we say it in our pidgin)
8.   RES: Ok

In the example above, the switch is from Nigerian pidgin to Liberian pidgin, and the purpose is to convey information to other Liberians in the block. The unmarked code for the transmission of this news is Liberian pidgin. LM switched to Liberian pidgin to signal group membership, identity and solidarity with her national kin in the camp. Here, LM suspended talk with RES in order to address her national kin in their brand of pidgin which the researcher did not understand. This is a case of divergence for socio-cultural expediency. By so doing LM drew a line between 'we' Liberians and 'RES' Nigerians, and underlined her psychological distinctiveness. Furthermore, in this example, there is a struggle between convergence and divergence at the onset of negotiation. The researcher tried to converge to LM by speaking Nigeria pidgin, while LM reacted by diverging to the researcher by speaking English. LM's divergence is an act of resistance. Apart from using a formal code which aptly represents the formality of the researcher's work, LM

probably wanted to show the researcher that she was educated and modern, hence the projection of a cosmopolitan image. It was not until LM used Liberian pidgin (Kreyol) to address her kin that she felt free to use NP to respond to the researcher's last question. In this instance, there is a shift from a cosmopolitan face to a metropolitan face.

5.3.3 Emphasis-based switch

The manifestation of different identities is sometimes triggered by the need to emphasize a point in the course of a conversation. This case of code-switching is the switch to an indigenous language in order to strengthen one's position. This is employed when a conversation in one code failed to achieve the desired result, so the speaker switches to another code to emphasise his /her position. This variety of codeswitching is represented below

Example 4: (Interaction between Mr. Charles (CH) a Mende man and a Mende woman (MW) who sells bean cakes (akara).
1. MW: Chairman, me wan gi yu akara
   (Chairman, I want to give you akara)
2. CH: No worry, mi no fit kari
   (Don't worry, I can't carry it)
3. MW: Udat yu de shakara for?
   (Who are you showing off for?)
4. CH: No be shakara
   (I am not showing off)
5. MW: (aloud) Boi hoi mbe!
   (Hold this thing!)
   MW pushes the nylon bag containing akara into CH's hands and he takes it reluctantly.

The above example involves a switch from Krio to Mende which represents a shift from national to ethnic identity. MW expressed an intention to offer *akara* to CH but he turned down the offer. MW felt he was feeling shy due probably to the presence of the researcher, and then switched to Mende to force CH to accept her offer. MW used the switch to intensify her intension and to break down the defence of CH by arousing ethnic feelings and consciousness. This is also an instance of divergence for cultural needs. By switching to Mende MW excluded or distanced the researcher by marking their psychological distinctiveness and strengthened the ethnic bond shared with CH. Thus, in this context MW showed the power of the indigenous language (Mende) over their national language (Krio). What this suggests is that the first language of interaction

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(Krio) seemed too weak to achieve the result, hence a switch to a stronger code (Mende). However, it should be noted that the emphasis in this example did not represent the exact repetition of an earlier comment. Rather we are dealing with a subtle or partial repetition in an indigenous language of that which had been said earlier in another language. In other words we are dealing with 'semantic equivalence' (Guerini 2006:167) between the two codes. It should also be noted that the switch to Mende involved a change in sonority. There was an observable rise in the speaker's voice. This is in keeping with Guerini's (2006:169) supposition that 'as a rule, repetitions tend to be marked by a rising, exclamative intonation, especially if they are meant to influence the addressee's behaviour by reiterating an order or a request that he hesitates to fulfil'. In this instance, there is shift from a metropolitan face to an ethnolinguistic face.

5.3.4 Quotation-based switch

The manifestation of different identities is sometimes occasioned by the need to make reference to an earlier utterance by another speaker in order to validate, authenticate or underline a point in the course of a conversation. An example of this codeswitching pattern observed in the sample involved the quoting of a remark or utterance made by someone else in a previous conversation. While narrating a particular experience, a respondent or speaker might quote another person's speech directly and in the process switch to the same code which the other person used which is different from the code used in the present narration. This variety of codeswitching is represented below;

```
Example 5      interview with Mummy J(MJ) from Krahn
1.     MJ:     The moment they know you are a refugee,
2.             they count you to be nothing, you are jus
3.             useless… okay my mother was sweeping one day,
4.             one Yoruba man usually come to supply drink here
5.             and saw my mother sweeping and say 'ah-ah, you this
6.             woman you no see me? you dis refugee'... (what, did you not see me woman!
               You refugee!) so that is what I am saying,
7.             they see us as nothing.
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The example above involves a switch from English to Nigerian pidgin (NP). MJ directly quoted the NP based question posed to her mother by the Yoruba salesman for the purpose of authenticating her report. In switching to Nigerian pidgin, MJ tried to reproduce the derogatory tone of the Yoruba salesman. In the process, MJ suspended the

language of interaction (English), resorted to Nigerian pidgin in the quote and later resumed the interaction in English. The suspension of English before the quotation in NP is important because it helps to highlight the quote and the insulting content which MJ wanted the researcher to note. By quoting the Yoruba salesman MJ imitated the actual voice and tone of the salesman. In so doing, MJ indexed her level of identity with the Yoruba speech style. Although she was not proficient in Yoruba, she has had sufficient contact and knowledge of Yoruba speech pattern that she could reproduce it, and thereby displayed her level of identity with Yoruba. This is an instance of upward convergence by MJ. Although the expression was in Nigerian pidgin, the delivery was perfectly Yoruba. Evidently, both the switch to NP and the change of tone helped to amplify the quote. Guerini (2005:175) observes that 'this kind of conversational device is especially frequent in narrative sequences, where code switching is commonly resorted to in order to mark portions of quoted speech thereby isolating from the surrounding utterances and accentuating the different voices emerging and alternating within the narration itself'. The accentuation of the salesman's voice in MJ's narrative account is what MJ used to isolate the quote from the rest of the narrative. A quotation of this nature serves a referential function. In this instance, there is a shift from a cosmopolitan face to a metropolitan face.

5.3.5 Proverbs-based switch

The manifestation of other identities is sometimes effected by the need to support or strengthen a position in the course of a conversation. Like quotations above, proverbs are reasons for a switch from one code to another, and also serve a referential function. However, proverbs are culture specific. In a conversation, a participant may switch to a proverb in his native language for one reason or the other as the following examples, taken in the camp show.

Example 6   Interaction between the researcher (RES) and Mariama (MA) a Limba woman

1.   RES: what are your plans, are you going
2.   back to Sierra Leone?
3.   MA: I don't know, we are tired of moving here and there … and this integration
4.   is not working; my people say 'woko bocha kan see a ma gra'

5.	RES:	Is that a Limba proverb?
6.	MA:	No, it is krio
7.	RES:	Oh!
8.	MA:	It means, one who walk up and
9.		down may not see his mother's grave.
10.	RES:	Alright

Example 7		Interaction between the researcher (RES) and Mrs. Sensie (SS) a Kpelle woman after a recorded interview.
1.	RES:	May be they (Yoruba) don't know you
2.		don't like to be called omo refugee
3.	SS:	They know, they say it to make us feel ba (bad),
4.		to show us we are not importan. In Kpelle we say
5.		'nenii kpo ?la ka nieyi faa baa, kee no a gboo ?la
6.		ima komo keni nenii nyea, ka fo nanlai paa'. It
7.		means the woman who gave her dog out to be killed
8.		but sees the dog licking her child's stoo changes her
9.		mind about killing the dog.
10.	RES:	Ok, that means even dogs do some good works.
11.	SS:	Yes, it means that everybody is important, in one way or the other.

In the two examples above, there is a switch from English to Krio and Kpelle. The purpose of switching to Krio and Kpelle to say the proverbs is evidently to make the truth more explicit and undisputable. If they had translated the proverbs in the language of interaction (English) probably English would have tempered the strength of expression and it would not be as effective as they wanted. Saying the proverbs in their indigenous tongue (Kpelle) and national tongue (Krio) by MA and SS made the expressions effective. This is a case of divergence motivated by communicative and cultural expediencies. Apart from the referential function which these switches served in the interactions, the switches also signalled national and ethnic identity. MA used the proverb to signal identity with Krio (national identity) while SS used the proverb to signal identity with Limba (ethnic identity). This is apparent in the tags which preceded the switches: 'My people say' and 'in Kpelle we say'. These tags helped to establish a 'we' and 'they' disposition between the participants in the interaction, that is, the Limba and Kpelle respondents as different from the researcher and other people who did not belong to their ethnic groups.   Additionally, the language of interaction up to the point of the quotes in both examples was English which MA and SS used to signal and project a modern image and also marked the formality of the situation. In this instance the identity shift is from a cosmopolitan face to a metropolitan and ethnolinguistic faces respectively.

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5.3.6 Formality-based switch

The manifestation of other identities is sometimes provoked by the need to use a formal code in the course of a conversation in an informal code. A speaker may switch from an informal to a formal code to reflect a transition from an informal to a formal situation or relationship. This is represented in the data below which is an extract of interview with a respondent.

Example 8:   Interaction preceding an interview with Victoria
              (VA) a Mende school girl. Charles (CH)
              introduced VA to the researcher (RES) before the interaction.

1.	CH:	Mariama come talk with wi padi
		(Mariama come and talk with our friend)
2.	VA:	aba wo?
		(about what)
3.	CH:	The dialect you speak.
4.	VA:	Ha! ustem?
		(when?)
5.	CH:	naw naw (immediately)
6.	VA:	Me jus coma na skul me hungry
		(I am just coming back from school, and I am hungry)
7.	CH:	No worry, e no take time and e na buy you something
		(Don't worry, it will not take time and he will buy you something)
8.	VA:	(to researcher): okay let us start sir,
9.	RES:	Thank you Mariama, could you tell us about yourself and the languages you
10.		speak.
11.	CH:	My name is Victoria from Sierra Leone. We are eight in the family and
12.		speak English with my family,… my native language is Mende, I speak it just a little because my parents are not from the same place…

The example above represents a switch from Krio to English. In example 8, CH tried to woo VA to grant an interview to the researcher and this conversation between CH and VA was carried on in Krio. But when VA agreed, she spoke to the researcher in English. VA spoke with her national relation (CH) in Krio which is unmarked but diverged to English to interact with a non-ethnic relation, the researcher. This switch was especially done because interviews are formal engagements which require a formal code. Holmes (2008:36) states that 'a switch may also reflect a change in status relation between people or the formality of their interaction'. The demands of such switches are that more formal interactions which also involve status differences are sometimes expressed in a higher code or variety. This is what Scotton (1993:147) termed 'code switching as a deferential strategy'. Scotton posits that such a strategy is employed to index deference to a superior

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person by accommodating oneself to an addressee's code. The respondent VA switched or diverged to a code which marked the status of the researcher and in so doing signalled respect, and a cosmopolitan face. Evidently VA switched to English to show RES that she was educated, and in so doing projected a modern image.

Apart from indexing the formality of the situation, this switch is also status marked. This is especially so since the switches took place in the midst of other people. The switch to English was for the purpose of signalling a global identity and in so doing impressing the researcher that she belonged to the educated class who speak English, despite their position as refugees. In other words, the switch to English is also for the purpose of signalling higher status in order to attract respect and avoid being looked at with contempt. This example is an instance of upward convergence for reasons of social approval.

5.3.7   Emotion-based switch

The manifestation of other identities is sometimes caused by a change in the mood of a speaker in the course of a conversation. Emotions such as anger can trigger a switch from one code to another and the purpose is to widen distance between the speaker and his addressee. An example was found in the camp and is represented below:

Example 10:   Mr. Lebbie's (LB) introduction of the researcher to Mr. John (Jo) who was playing a draft game with a friend
1.   JO: Kushe
               (Greeting)
2.   LB: Kushe, wi padi wan tok wit yu smol
               (greeting, our friend wants to talk with you briefly).
3.   JO: Ok, a de com
               (ok I am coming)
               John continues playing with his friend
4.   LB: Wetin mek yu de do lak dis?
               (why are you behaving like this?)
5.   JO: Me say a de com
               (I *say I am coming)*
               John continues playing with his friend, ostensibly ignoring LB and RES.
6.   LB: If you don't want to talk, tell us and let us go! (to RES) let us go!

In the example above, the code switching is from Krio to English. The language of interaction, in this example, is Krio which LB and JO used to signal their national identity. However, JO was reluctant to grant an interview to the researcher despite the

appeal by LB who is the chairman of the Sierra Leone group. LB took JO's reluctance as a snub and slight to his person and authority and therefore switched to English to address JO. This switch is an instance of divergence for reasons of showing authority and power. By switching to English LB expressed both anger and authority at JO. This is a marked code switching example, and is in tandem with Scotton's (1993:132) position that 'one of the most common uses of marked CS is to express authority; along with anger or annoyance, it can be argued of course, that those who have the luxury of expressing anger are often those who have authority'. The effect of such a switch is either to increase distance, or to decrease it. In the example above, LB's switch to English was done to register his annoyance and in so doing he increased the distance between him and JO. The divergence helped to cancel and neutralise whatever national identity LB had established at the onset and to tell JO that he has failed to act in a way that showed they shared the same national belongingness. Therefore, the switch to English is an instance of divergence used to signal strangeness and difference.

5.4   Emblematic codeswitching

A variety of code switching through which respondents manifested other identities is termed emblematic or tag switching. In some utterances a speaker switches to another language or variety albeit momentarily but does not continue the speech or talk in the switched language. Such switches are found either in the beginning or the end of a sentence. This is why Holmes (2008:36) labelled it emblematic or tag switching. It is a tag because they are fringe and marginal occurrences and do not constitute the main part of the sentences. This variety is mainly used by bilinguals who have a peripheral or less than passing knowledge of the tagged language. Instances of emblematic switching found in the sample are the following. *Ejo* (please), *abi* (as you said), *seb*i (so), *oya* (come on), *nko* (what about). Generally, these tag switches represent aspects of the Yoruba language with which the refugees expressed their transient identity with Yoruba. These examples obtained via participant observation are represented below:

Example 11:   Interaction between Mummy Favour (MF) and a young Liberian
                girl. (LG)
1.   MF: Ha yu de?

		(How are you?)
2.	LG:	A de
		(I am fine.)
3.	MF:	Jo (please) a wan sen yu na mama Ebie shop.
		Please I want to send you to mama Ebie's shop
4.	LG:	Ok.

Example 12: An exchange between Mr. Lebbie (LB) and a Liberian woman (LW) cooking in the varandah of a block.

1.	LB:	Mi a go eat – o, that food go sweet well well
		(I will eat, that food will be very sweet)
2.	LW:	Abi -o, a de we na yu
		(yes – o, I am waiting for you)

Example 13   Interaction between a Sierra Leonean buyer (SB) and a Liberian vegetables vendor (VV)

1.	SB:	How much for okro?
		(How much is okro?)
2.	VV:	Okro, two, ten naira
		(Okro, I sell two for ten naira)
3.	SB:	Maggi nko?
		(what about maggi?)
4.	VV:	Two, 10 naira
		(I sell two for ten naira)

Example 14   Extract of an interaction between Mrs. Sensie (SS) a Liberian woman and her son Karina (KA)

1.	SS:	You have assignment?
2.	KA:	yes
3.	SS:	In what?
4.	KA:	In Basic drill
5.	SS:	Basic dri, do you know e?
6.	KA:	(nods)
7.	SS:	Oya *(come on)* come and carry your bag insa (inside)

Example 15   Interaction between a Liberian boy (BO) and a baby (BA)

1.	BO:	Sebi, your name na Marvellous.
		(so, your name is Marvellous)
	BA:	(giggles)
	BO:	Sebi your name na marvelous.
		(So, your name is Marvellous).

The tags, *jo, abi, oya* and *sebi* occurred at the beginning of the expressions while the tag *nko* occurred at the end of the sentence. In example 11, the initial tag *Jo* was used as a plea by MF. In example 12, the tag *abi* was used by LW to support or confirm the opinion expressed by LB. In example 13, the end tag *nko* was used by SB to signal an

enquiry to VV. In example 14, the tag *oya* was used by SS to quicken or hasten KA into action. In example 15, the tag *sebi* was used by BO to confirm a prior knowledge about BA. These switches are mainly for rhetoric purposes; their employment in the conversations above facilitated talk. By using these tags in everyday speech the refugees, to a little extent and momentarily, showed solidarity with the Yoruba language and culture. The examples of tag switchings are unique cases of divergence because these tags did not occur due to the presence of a member of the group that owns the language for the sake of social approval; rather it is in their absence. This is what Holmes (2008) terms referee design. Holmes states that

> Speakers may also deliberately diverge both from their own usual speech style and from that of their addressee(s) towards the style of a third party for special effect. This has been labelled referee design. The third party is 'referred' to although they are not present (p.244)

It is important to note that the momentary incorporation of these tags suggests that the users may not be conscious of their articulation. This is more so since the tags are embedded in their national pidgins (examples 11 and 12), NP (examples 13 and 15) and English (example 14), and so obscured. The obscurity of these tags symbolises the remoteness and distance which existed between the refugees (young adults and adults) and the Yoruba language.

5.5   Manifestation of Identities through Code mixing

Code mixing is a similar form of code alternation through which identities were manifested in the camp. The data represented below were sourced from recorded conversations involving people from the same ethnic group.

Example 16.   Extract from a conversation between Juma (JM) and Lebbie (LB) both Mende from Sierra Leone.

1.   LB: Na everyday dis grumble, you just de grumble, e no easy for we.
            (why are you always grumbling, it is not easy for anybody)
2.   JM: Chairman, how we no go grumble… Den don abandon we ti bia muma we get
3.   plenty pickin dem de ngaa lo nyama gbo gbe gbi moyaa meva na only small
4.   eba and garri wo mia mo ya mu me maha
            (chairman why should we not grumble, they abandoned us, they abandoned us,
            we have plenty children with us; we don't have anything to eat except a little eba
            and garri for just one day)
5.   LB: wetin una cook today?

(*What did you cook today?*)

6.   JM: Mister chairman we no cook natin, na le muongo mume njo la mi nya gi he
7.   gbe nya gue gbe, nya hi gbe gwe
            (*Mister chairman we did not cook anything, the only thing we have to eat is potato leaf, look at me sitting here, look at my feet, I am sick*)

8.   LB: Bi koo lo, everywhere na de worl e no de easy. The fact here is that if you see
9.   garri you manage it.
            (*You know things are not easy all over the world. The fact here is that if you see garri you manage it*).

10.   JM: Bi koo lo ge federal government dia ye tia take care mo but right now nungaa
11.   gbe abandonga because nya me I de hear news say dis camp den don hand am
12.   over to the Moslem people dem.
            (*You know that the federal government has promised to take care of us but right now everybody has abandoned us because I heard that this camp has been handed over to the Moslem people*).

13.   LB: In the first place, person no go live here forever, and irrespective of the fact
14.   that we de here, ma ya agira kemu ya mama mu ye tahu back to our home,
15.   that is the important thing…
            (*In the first place, no body will live here forever, and irrespective of the fact that we are here, we have to be thinking and making plans to go back home. That is the important thing*).

16.   JM: Ngowoo, gba yo jaun
            (*By the grace of God*).

Example 17.   Extract of interaction between Mohammed (MO) and Saffiatu (SF) about the war in Sierra Leone. (Both Temnes)

1.   MO: Dis war make me tiede go backward
            (*the (Liberian) war made me go backward till today*)

2.   SF: Me sef, a suffer na de war, gbin ka kuru; o ma easy.
            (*Even me, I suffered in the war in a very terrible way; it's not easy*).

3.   MO: De time wey de Ecomog dem take over, a be de cam na Freeton for buy
4.   market… Den a been dey buy fuel for sale; me neng titi la a market do
5.   Guinea. From Guinea, nti kone do kiamp. Dat time de (rebel) don de cam na
6.   village, na de we meet de rebel dem wey den take all de markit na we hand.
            (*when Ecomog took over I used to go to Freetown on business. Then I used to do fuel business; I used to go to markets in Guinea to sell. From Guinea I traveled back to my village. That time the rebels were in our village, and it was there we met them and they took all our products*)

7.   SF: Mi na gbe tonuton, na dat day den (rebels) kill me broda wey de burn am
8.   inside hose dat January 6.
            (*Even me that particular day. It was that day the rebels killed my brother by setting him ablaze inside the house on January 6*).

The examples above involve a mixing of different languages in the interaction. In example 16, three codes are involved: Mende, Krio and English. Mende is the language of the Mende which mark their ethnolinguistic identity as a distinct cultural group. By using Mende, the participants expressed high ethnic solidarity and shared identity; in so

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doing other people who are not members of the Mende community, like the researcher, were excluded and distanced in the talk. By using Krio in the discourse, the participants signalled their national and metropolitan identities as gregarious city people. The use of English in this interaction symbolized social distance and status. English, here is a mark of education and so in this context it is marked. This is in agreement with Scotton's (1993:132) markedness principle.

> …speakers engage in what is here called marked CS to indicate…superior educational status to assertions of ethnic identity. All these, however, can be subsumed under one general effect: to negotiate a change in the expected social distance holding between participants, either increasing or decreasing it'.

It is important to note that LB is educated while JM is not educated. By switching mainly to English, LB diverged from JM and demonstrated a marked superior educational status, all which increased the social distance between him and JM. By momentarily switching to the indigenous and national languages, LB converged downward towards JM and narrowed the social distance between him and JM. Through this accommodation LB projected a polite face, which is used as an inclusive devise in conversation, and an ethnolinguistic face which is employed to signal identity with an ethnic kin. The effect of this accommodation is a flow in the conversation between the two unequal participants. If LB spoke only English he might be regarded as being disloyal and disrespectful to the other Mende participant. If he spoke only Mende or Krio, he might be afraid of losing face before his uneducated participant. So he involved the three identities for the benefit of his addressee and his own status and self esteem. In example 17, two codes are used: Temne and Krio. MO and SF vacillated between Krio and Temne to signal two contrastive identities, national (Krio) and ethnic (Temne) and in so doing they facilitated their interaction and projected both a metropolitan and ethnolinguistic face.

On the whole, the effect of this rapid switchings, from one language to another is that it helped the speakers to 'signal different identities at once' (Trudgill, 1974:123) and in the process lubricated their talk. Such dual or multiple identities (Collier and Thomas, 1988; Cupach and Imahori, 1993) are negotiated for the purpose of signalling different faces to different individuals (Carson, 2005) which implies that the respondents belonged to multiple spheres and groups.

The analyses of code switching and code mixing above show that the two language devices fulfilled pragmatic functions in multilingual interactions; more importantly, the two devices helped to assign hyphenated and multiple identities to the refugees.

Following this is an analysis of a similar language device employed by the refugees to project varying identities.

5.6   Manifestation of identities through Borrowing

Borrowing is another strategy through which identities are manifested in the course of conversation. An analysis will be made of the data on borrowing found in the sample.

5.6.1   Borrowing samples

There are several borrowing samples observed in the course of the research. These borrowings comprise loan words from Yoruba, the indigenous languages of the refugees, and English. The data were collected through participant observation and interviews. The borrowings consist of two types: cultural and social.

5.6.1.1 Cultural Borrowings from Yoruba

The Borrowing of cultural words from Yoruba is a strategy employed by the respondents to manifest identity with the host community in the course of a conversation. In the sample, the discourses of both Liberians and Sierra Leoneans involved loan words from Yoruba, the host community language. The borrowings mainly involved nominals, comprising of lexical items which refer to foods, medicine and other cultural items. Some of the loans are the following: *Kote, sawa* (frozen fishes imported from Europe); *panla* (roasted local fish); *eba* (a staple meal made from cassava); *akara* (a snack made from beans or bean cake); *agbo* (a local cure-all medicine); *juju* (a charm); *baba* (an elderly man); O*ba* (Yoruba monarch); *babalawo*, (medicine man). The occurrences of these borrowings are shown in the data below. The borrowed words are in italics.

Example 18.   Bargaining between a Sierra Leonean fish vendor (FV) and a Liberian buyer (LB)

1.   LB: How much for fish?
           (How much is your fish?)
2.   FV: Dis one 50 naira, dis one 50 naira

(This one is 50 naira and this one is 50 naira)

3.　LB:　*Kote* de, you no ge *kote?*
　　　　(where is kote? Don't you have kote?)
4.　FV　　I get *kote*
　　　　(I have kote)
5.　LB:　*Kote* na how much?
　　　　(How much is kote?)
6.　FV:　I get *kote* and *panla*
　　　　(I have kote and panla)
7.　Lb:　*Kote* na how much?
　　　　(How much is kote?)
8.　FV:　*Kote* 130
　　　　(Kote is 130 naira)

Example 19　　Bargaining between a fish seller Juma (JU) and a Mende man (MM)

1.　MM:　Gimme ma own *sawa*
　　　　(Give me my own sawa)
2.　JU:　You know sey *sawa* na 70 naira now
　　　　(Hope you know that sawa is 70 naira now)
3.　MM:　70 wetin?
　　　　(70 what?)

Example 20　　Extract from a conversation between Juma (JM) and Lebbie (LB) both Mende

1.　JM:　Den don abandon we ti bia muma, we get plenty pikin dem de ngaa lo nyama
2.　　　　gbo gbe gbi moya meva na only small *eba* and *garri* wo ma mo ya mu me
3.　　　　maha.
　　　　(they abandoned mi, they abandoned us, we have many children with us; we don't have anything to eat except a little eba and garri for just one day).

Example 21:　　Interaction between Mr. Charles (CA) and a Mende woman (MW) selling akara.
1.　MW:　Charme me wan gi yu akara
　　　　(Chairman, i want to give you akara)
2.　CH:　no worry, mi no fit carry
　　　　(Don't worry, I can't carry)

Example 22:　　Interaction between the researcher (RES) and Dubah (DB) Bassa, who was drinking a local concoction at the time.
1.　RES:　What are you drinking?
2.　DB:　*Agbo*, you know *agbo*?
　　　　(Agbo, don't you know agbo?)
3.　RES:　Yeah
4.　DB:　One Yoruba woman de bring am for camp.
　　　　(One Yoruba woman brings it to the camp)

Example 23:　　A story told the researcher by Mrs. Sensie (SS) Kpelle, about her friends Igbo husband.

1.　SS:　The man de do well until his elder broda die. He travel home for de
2.　　　　burial in Awka for Anambra. His wife get bad dream and she warn the man

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| 3. | | no to go but he went. After the burial he come back with sickness. |

(The man was healthy until his elder brother died. He travelled home for the burial in Awka Anambra State. His wife had a bad dream and warned him not to travel but he refused. After the burial he came back sick).

| 4. | RES: | Wetin happen? |

(What happened?)

| 5. | SS: | *Juju*, den char (charm) him with *juju* |
| 6. | | Den carry him from hospito to hospito until he die. |

(Juju, they charmed him with juju. They carried him from hoispital to hospital until he died).

Example 24:   Interaction between Mummy Favour (MF) and a Yoruba Muslim man (MM)

| 1. | MM: | Mummy Favour long time, come make we see |

(Mummy Favour, is a long time, come let us see).

| 2. | MF: | Wait first *baba*, you do sallah bo you no come give us anything as before. |

(wait baba, we celebrated sallah but you did not come to give us gift like before)

Example 25: Extract of Interview with Sa popei (SP) Kpelle

1.	SP:	This ting happened at the time I took up a job with one other company. We
2.		went to see the *Oba*, with the manager. By the time we reach there, they just
3.		fell down and began to prostrate… but I did not, so the *Oba* asked the manager
4.		why I did not prostrate and the manager explained to him that I am a Liberian,
5		and *Oba* say 'so what! is he not in Nigeria?'

Example 25:   Conversation between Sally (SA) Limba and Hawa (HA) Mende, while watching a Nigerian home video showing a pastor consulting a native doctor.

| 1. | SA: | Den own power, den no get am from God, den get juju from *babalawo* jus to |
| 2. | | deceive people. |

(Their own power is not from God; they use juju from babalawo just to deceive people)

| 3. | HA: | See, na ogogoro den de drink and den say den be pastor. |

(Look, they are drinking ogogoro, and they say they are pastors).

In example 18 both LB and FV used the Yoruba lexemes, 'kote' and 'panla'. By using both nominals they showed mutual understanding of the difference between the two kinds of local fishes. In example 19 both buyer and seller also demonstrated their knowledge of the fish 'sawa'. In example 20 JM used 'eba' and 'garri' to show that she knew the difference between the two local items. The same understanding of local or traditional Yoruba items were expressed in examples 21, 22, and 23 where the respondents used 'akara', 'agbo' and juju' in their utterances respectively.   The use of these lexemes showed the refugees' understanding of food, medicine and the surrealistic in the Yoruba culture. In example 24, MF addressed the Yoruba Moslem man as 'baba' to show an

understanding of Yoruba address forms. The use of 'baba' shows politeness and respect because the Moslem leader is older than MF. In example 25, SP narrated his experience in the Oba palace. By using the term 'Oba' SP showed his understanding of Yoruba culture and especially the term used in addressing the monarch. In the last example, SA used 'babalawo' to show her understanding of Yoruba spiritualism. The examples of borrowings here represent instances of upward convergence by the respondents for reasons of social approval.

These examples represent what Bloomfield (1996:444 cited in Guerini 2006:219) termed 'cultural borrowings'. By cultural borrowings Bloomfield meant those lexemes which enter a linguistic system for the purpose of filling the gaps formulated by the introduction of new referents, which are extraneous to the traditional culture of the community which speaks it. Guerini (2006), states that such borrowings occur without the presence of articles because they are employed in the form of generic nouns. This observation captures the form of the nominals seen in the examples above, except example 25 where SP used an article 'the' to precede the norminal *Oba*..

5.6.1.2 Social Borrowing from Yoruba

The Borrowing of social words from Yoruba is a similar strategy adopted by the respondents to manifest identity with the host community in the course of a conversation. Aside from these cultural borrowings, the data also features other kinds of loan words involving nominals. These borrowings, by their nature, could be termed social borrowings because they involved referents to individuals' social relationships, positions and transactions. Some of the borrowings observed in the data are *oga* (master), *fissi* (extra benefit after buying a product), *igbo* (Marijuana) *olopa* (police) *oyibo* (white man), *ogogoro* (local hot drink) *ashawo* (prostitute). The occurrences of these loan words are shown in the data below. The borrowed words are in italics.

Examples 26:   Interactions between Sule (SU) a Sierra Leonean and a Yoruba bread supplier
                (BS)
1.   SU: O you don come *oga* mi
              (Have you come, my master?)
2.   BS: Yes – o, you de wait for me?
              (Yes, were you waiting for me?)
3.   SU: Since morning

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Example 27: An extract of a narration to the researcher (RES) by Mr. Lebbie (LB) about the fate of three Liberians who raped a Yoruba woman at the camp gate.

1. LB: You no know dat Yoruba woman wey stay for gate de cook, wash cloth?
          (Don't you know that Yoruba woman who stays at the gate washing and cooking)
2. RES: Ok but you say de woman no well.
          (Alright, but you told me the woman is not well)
3. LB: Yes, dat is why people feel bad. Can you imagine, three men raping dat
4.   woman
          (Yes, that is why people are not happy. Can you imagine three men raping that woman).
5. RES: Oh no
6. LB: I sorry for dem, since *olopa* come and arrest dem, we never see den. Den go
7.   suffer.
          (I am sorry for them, since the police arrested them we have not seen them. They will suffer)

Example 28:   Interaction between the researcher (RES) and Popei (PO) Kpelle as they walked beside a block in the camp?

1. RES: Which place is this?
          (where is this place?)
2. PO   (Chuckles) This block dey bad. They call am Babylon.
          (This block is very bad. They call it Babylon)
3. RES: why?
4. PO: De do all kind of things here, they smoke *igbo* den sell... bad boys. You no
5.   smell *igbo?*.
          (they do all kinds of things here; they smoke igbo, they sell...bad boys, can't you smell igbo?)
6. RES: Yeah.

Example 29: Interaction between a Yoruba palm wine seller (PS) and a Sierra Leone buyer (SB)

1. PS: How much own you want?
          (How much palm wine do you want?)
2. SB: Jus one cup… but you go gimme *fissi* – o
          (only one cup, but you will give me extra)
3. PS: No problem
          (it is alright)

Example 30:   Interaction between prince (PC) a Sierra Leonean young man and the Researcher (RES)

1. PC: I hear say den kidnap some school children for Aba.
          (I heared that they kidnapped some school children in Aba)
2. RES: Yes, na last week.
          (Yes, that was last week)
3. PC: I think say na only *Oyibo* den de kidnap.
          (I thought they kidnap only white people).

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4.   RES: No, dey don turn am to business
              (No they have turned it to business)

Example 31:   Conversation between Sally (SA) from and Hawa (HA) from Mende while
               watching a Nigerian home video showing a pastor consulting a native doctor.

1.   FA: Den own power, den no get am from God, den get juju from babalawo jus to
2.   deceive people.
              *(Their own power is not from God. They use juju from witch doctor to deceive
              people)*
3.   HA: See, na *ogogoro* den de drink and den say den be pastor.
              (Look they are drinking alchohol and they say they are pastors)

Example 32: Interaction between the researcher (RES) and Saffiatu (SU)

1.   SU: You no hear wetin den do dat mad woman for gate?
              (Did you not hear what they did to that mad woman at the gate?)
2.   RES: Yes, chairman tell me.
              (Yes, chairman told me)
3.   SU: Can you imagine, three young men run dat old woman, hey God… anyway 4.
              e no surprise me, den de smoke de drink ogogoro, de tif…
              *(can yu imagine three young men raped that old woman, God! Anyway I am not
              surprise, they take hot drinks and they are thieves).*
5.   RES: But why woman wey dey craze?
              (But why a mad woman?)
6.   SU: Me I no know, may be den don taya to sleep with *ashawo* dem or den no get
7.   money for meet *ashawo* again…
              *(I don't know, may be they are tired of sleeping with prostitutes, or they have run
              out of money to visit prostitutes)*

The use of the loan word 'oga' in example 26 signalled solidarity with the addressee, for
reasons of ego boosting and distance. SU referred to the bread dealer as 'oga mi' (my
master) and in so doing projected a polite face which made the referent feel important,
especially in relation to a refugee. Also by opting for the term 'oga mi' SU suggested that
it is a master-servant relationship and on that ground, the word distanced both men from
each other. The use of 'olopa' in example 27 is not for lack of an equivalent word in
English. Of course the equivalent word in English is 'police' but LB used 'olopa'
probably to show the researcher (with whom he was conversing) that he is familiar with
the Yoruba term. The same can be said of example 28, where PO used *igbo* instead of
marijuana or other terms.   Similarly in example 29, SB borrowed 'fissi' to signal
solidarity and show off his knowledge of Yoruba to a Yoruba palm wine seller; it seems
that apart from advertising his knowledge, his chief intention is to win some favour from
the palm wine dealer. By expressing solidarity with the palm wine dealer SB projected

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an ethnolinguistic face in order to win himself some favour. In example 30 PC used the term 'oyibo' which is a Yoruba word for 'white people'. Definitely PC used the term to show the researcher with whom he was interacting, that, at least, he knew some aspects of the Yoruba language. This also seems to be the reason for the use of 'ogogoro' in example 31, and 'ashawo' in example 32. The respondents knew the right English lexemes to use but preferred the local terms because they thought they were more fitting.

These borrowings from Yoruba, irrespective of the purpose or intention served to show that the refugees represented here, who are among the young and full adults have, to a very little extent, adapted to the linguistic situation in their host community. Also these borrowings are cases of upward convergence to Yoruba for reasons of social approval. Although they reported non-proficiency in Yoruba, as a result of negative attitude, they, nevertheless employed some Yoruba terms in interaction, just to pretend for a moment that they are Yoruba (Hudson 2008).

Attention will now be paid to instances of borrowings from the immigrants' indigenous languages.

5.6.2   Socio-cultural borrowings from the refugees' languages

The borrowing of socio-cultural words from the refugees' indigenous languages represents a strategy to show solidarity with their indigenous cultures in the course of conversation. In the course of answering questions via interviews, but mainly through natural conversations with the researcher, the refugees made several nostalgic citations to their home land in Sierra Leone and Liberia. Such citations were replete with lexical items from their indigenous languages which represent the link between the refugees and their home land. This position is further clarified by Holmes (2008; 42) who states that:

> When speaking a second language, for instance, people will often use
> a term from their mother tongue or first language because they didn't
> know the appropriate word in their second language. These switches
> are triggered by lack of vocabulary.

The borrowings generally were motivated by a comparison of systems or objects in Nigeria with the same or similar systems or objects in the refugees' homeland. Attention

will now be paid to the instances of such borrowings expressed by the respondents in each group.

5.6.2.1 Borrowings from Liberian languages

The borrowings represented in the data are mainly from Krahn and Bassa languages. All the examples were cultural borrowings containing words for food. Some of such words are *Pam botto; Gwreni* (banga soup); *Bui Va* (cassava leaf); *Siro Va* (potato leaf); *Dumbo* (cassava meal); *Gengba* (cassava meal); *Sokro We* (cassava leaf); *Sino We* (potato leaf); *Dre Kurun* (bean soup); *Bai kurun* (pepper soup); K*etere soup* (garden egg soup). The occurrences of these borrowings are shown in the examples below. The borrowed words are in italics.

Example 39:   Conversation between M K (MK) Krahn and the researcher (RES). MK was cooking in a makeshift kitchen.

1.	RES:	Wetin you de cook madam?
		(What are you cooking madam?)
2.	MK:	Banga soup
3.	RES:	Banga soup? So you dey eat our food now
		(So you people eat our kind of soup?)
4.	Mk:	We de cook am for Liberia. We call am *Pam botto*
		(we prepare it in Liberia, we call it Pam botto)
5.	RES:	Is that so, I think say na only Delta people de eat am
		(Is that so, I used to think it is only Delta people who eat it)
6.	Mk:	No- o.

Example 40:   Conversation between Ledlum (LM) Kpelle and Alberta (AB) Kru and the researcher (RES) about their welfare in the camp.

1.	LM:	Aah, we miss plenty thing… like *Bui V*a and *Siro Va*... Bui Va na cassava
2.		leaf and *Siro Va* na potato leaf.
		(*Yes we miss many things... like Bui Va and Siro Va... Bui Va is cassava leaf and Siro Va is potato leaf).*
3.	RES:	You eat the leaf?
		(Do you eat the leaves?)
4.	LM:	Yes, e good for blood
		(Yes it is good for blood)
5.	AB:	We call am *Sokro W*e and *Sino We*. E de give blood. The way you people
6.		drink ugu water from the leaf na the way we drink *Sino We* for blood.
		*(we call it Sokro W*e and *Sino We. It gives blood. The way your people drink ugu juiceis the way we drink Sino We)*

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7.	LM:	De one I miss well well na *Dumbo* and *Gemgba*
		(The ones I really miss are Dumbo and Gemgba)
8.	AB:	We de call am kume
		(We call it Kume)
9.	LM:	*Gemgba* dey like pounded yam but e strong while *Dumbo* is sof.
		(Gemgba is like pounded yam but it is strong while Dumbo is soft)
10.	RES:	Is it like fufu?
11.	LM:	Yes but e better pass akpu. It is like yam and e no get no bad odour like
12.		akpu wey if you eat am all your hand go de smell akpu.
		(Yes but it is better than fufu. It is like yam without bad odour like akpu that makes your hand smell after eating).
13.	AB:	Hey, if you tes our pepper soup, *Bai kurun*, e differen from your
14.		own wey no get pepper. De kind of spices we put is differen. If you are sick
15.		it will make you swea for de fever to release you.
		(if you taste our pepper soup, Bai kurun it is different from your own, which has no pepper. We use different spices; if you are sick it makes you to sweat and the fever is gone)

Example 41:   A conversation with Mummy Favour (MF) involving a description of traditional Bassa cuisine.

1.	MF:	You de call e banga, but we call e *Gwreni* or *Pan botto*. But our own sweet pass
2.		For our own we get some leaf to bring out the scen, so we no use
3.		onions. We put sea foo, like we put cra, big big cra and crayfish, not these
4.		small small petepete fish you use, but we use big fish, fresh fish and bush
5.		meat. We also put periwinkle and anoda fish we call *Tobor* and other
6.		seasoning to bring out the scent. If we cook it here, if you are da side you will
7.		smell the scen.
		(*you call it Banga, but we call it Gwreni or Pan botto. But our own is sweeter. In our own we have special leaves which produce scents, so we don't use onions. We use sea food like crabs, big crabs and crayfish, unlike the common fishes you use, but we use fresh fishes and bush meat. We also use periwinkles and another fish called tobor and other seasonings for the sake of their scent. After cooking it, you will smell the scent even if you are over there)*

Example 42:   A conversation with Mama Ben (MB) Krahn, involving a comparison of fruits.

1.	MB:	Your own garden egg big and sweet but our own small and bitter, very
2.		bitter. You eat your own like da but we cook our own for sou. We call e
3.		*ketere sou*. Wen you eat am yu go big; if you be woman yu go get big botto
4.		and big bre like Mummy Gideon here.
		(Your garden egg is big and sweet, but our own is small and bitter. You eat your own like that but we use our own to cook soup. We call it ketere soup. When you eat it, you will put on weight; if you are a woman you will develop big buttock and big breast like Mummy Gideon here).

In example 39 MK used 'Pam botto' to demonstrate that in Liberia, they had an equivalent food like 'banga' which is common in the Delta areas of Nigeria. The implication of the equivalence is cultural symmetry and equality. In other words, both

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refugees and their hosts have something in common culturally. A consequence of this cultural symmetry is a feeling of confidence on the part of the refugees. Since they shared the same food, to an extent they are one, so no one should look down on another. In example 40, LM made reference to *Bui Va* (cassava leaf) and *Siro Va* (potato leaf) and highlighted their nutritional potency. Additionally, AB compared *Sokro* We (cassava leaf) and *Sino We* (potato leaf) with '*Ugu*' (pumpkin leaf) juice which is popular among the Igbo of Nigeria and concluded that both varieties served the same purpose, and so underlined the same cultural symmetry and equality. Furthermore, LM compared '*Gemgba*' (yam meal) with '*akpu*' (cassava meal) which is popular among the Igbo, and outrightly stated that '*Gemgba*' is better than '*akpu*' especially because it had no bad odour like '*akpu*' thus signalling their cultural superiority in that respect. A knowledge of the use of *Ugu* and *akpụ* among the Igbo indexes the respondents' understanding of the cultural differences which exists between Yoruba and Igbo. This is a suggestion that beyond Yoruba, some of the refugees had also encountered and identified with Igbo though to a minimal degree. In addition AB compared the pepper soup cooked in Nigeria with their own variety called *'Bai kurun'* and concluded that theirs is better due to the quality of spices and pepper they used. In example 41, MF compared the Banga soup used in Nigeria with their Liberian variety called Gwreni or *Pam botto* and concluded that Gwreni is far sweeter than the Nigerian variety because of the spices and fishes they used to prepare it. In the same vein, in example 42 MB compared the garden egg used in Nigeria with the garden egg used in Liberia, and explained that while Nigerians eat theirs because it is sweet , Liberians of the Krahn stock used their own to cook a particular soup called '*ketere soup'*. She stated the qualities of '*ketere soup'* which is capable of making one robust, especially the back side of women. In making this comparison LM subtly suggested that Liberians had better use of garden egg fruit than Nigerians.

The implication of these comparisons is that, at least, in terms of food, the Liberians of the Bassa and Krahn stock enjoyed better food than Nigerians. A remote consequence of this comparison is a tendency to feel somewhat superior to the Nigerian in matters relating to cuisine. Generally, by these comparisons they seemed to look down on the Nigerian culture and magnified their own. This attitude of comparing the refugees'

heritage culture with the culture of the host community is an instance of social comparison. As a matter of fact, they were convinced, without any concrete measure of proof, that their cultural systems are superior to that of their hosts.   This is an ethnocentric behaviour, borne out of cultural conceit and subjectivism, which endorsed their psychological distinctiveness. The use of the pronouns 'we', 'our', and 'you', 'your' announced their consciousness about their own ethnic groups, the positive values related to their ethnic group membership and the difference which exists between their culture and Nigerian culture. In this way they enhanced their self-esteem as a people.

The next investigation will focus on borrowings from Sierra Leonean indigenous languages.

5.6.2.2 Borrowings from Sierra Leonean languages

The borrowings represented in the data are from Mende, Temne and Limba. Like in the Liberian example, all the examples are cultural borrowings containing words for local drinks, animals and food. Some of such words are *Towowawa* (bean soup); *Gawui* (bush yam), *Bolongi* (garden egg sauce); *Glogboi and Masankie* (palm oil); *Omole, Kenju and Gbofue* (local hot drinks); *Halenyawu* (charm), *Malomboo* (local fruit), Bawalelei and Kondibawa (local soaps).   The occurrences of these borrowings are shown in the examples below. The borrowed words are in italics.

Example 43: A conversation with Mamee (MM) Mende, about their native products.

1.   RES: You get the kind red oil we get here?
            (do you have our kind of red oil?)
2.   MM: Yes now, see, Nigerian oil no good like our own; de worse is de Yoruba oil
3.   wey de smell. We get two type. *Glogboi* and *Masankie*. *Glogboi* na the bush
4.   type, e de red but e no get flesh. *Masankie* na the agric type wey get flesh but
5.   e no red like *Glogboi.* Both of dem no de smell at all at all. We only use
6.   Nigerian oil for make *Bawalelei* or *Kondibawa.*
            (of course yes, Nigerian palm oil is not as good as our own. The worst is the Yoruba oil which stinks. We have two varieties: Glogboi and Masankie. GLogboi is the bush type which is red in colour but without much flesh. Masankie is the agric variety which has a lot of flesh but deficient in red colour. None of them smells. We can only Nigerian oil to make Bawalelei or Kondibawa)
7.   RES: Wetin be that?
            (What is that?)
8.   MM: Bawalelei na wi black soap. *Kondibawa* na wi kontri soap.
            (Bawalelei is our black soap. Kondibawa is our country soap)

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Example 44: A conversation involving the researcher (RES), Prince (PC) Mende, and Samson (SS) Gbandi, about social life in Sierra Leone.

1. PC: Ya own na ogogoro but our own na *Omole*. *Omole* strong well well, if you no
2.   dilute am take am like dat, your own don finish kpatakpata. E be like Sapele
3.   water, if you put matches e go catch faya.
         (Your own is ogogoro but our own is omole. Omole is very strong, if you fail to
         dilute it and drink it like that you are finished completely. It is like Sapele water,
         if you strike a match, it will go up in flame).
4. RES: Yu don go Delta before?
         (have you been to Delta before?)
5. PC: Yes, I go for Warri, I stay dere four years.
         (Yes, I have been to Warri and I spent four years there)
6. SS: We dey call am *Kenju*. Dis one be like fuel, e de burn ouse (house), *kenju*. If
7.   you put am ere (here) now, go put faya for dat side, e go catch faya. A say e don
8.   burn many ouse for Salone.
         (we call it Kenju. This one is like fuel, it can burn a house. If you keep it and
         light a match over there it will catch the flame. I say it has burnt many houses in
         Sierra Leone).
9. PC: Anoda one na *Gbofue*, but e no strong like *Omole*.
         (Another one is Gbofue, but it is not strong like Omole).

Example 45: A conversation with Hawa Sally (SA) Limba while watching a Nigerian home
             video over a scene involving a witch doctor.

1. SA: Hm, na waa, everything na juju, juju
         (Hm, it is terrible, everything is juju, juju).
2. RES: Your people no de do juju?
         (Don't you people do juju?)
3. HA: Den de do-o, everywhere for Africa na juju. Wi de call am *Halenyawu* for
4.   wi place, both man and uman. All dem de do am na wicked people.
         (They do it all over Africa, we call it Halenyanwu in our people in our place,
         both men and women. All those involved are wicked people)

Example 46: Conversation with Saffiatu (SU) Temne, over a local fruit.

1. RES: So you people dey eat dis fruit
         (So you also eat this fruit?)
2. SU: Wetin?
         (What?)
3. RES: Agbalumo
4. SU: Yes, we eat agbalumo. E dey for our place, we de call am *malomboo*.
         (Yes, we eat agbalumo, it is in our place and we call it malomboo).
5. RES: Na de same thing with dis one?
         (Is it the same with this one?)
6. SU: Na de sen tin, but some *malomboo* de big well well, pass dis one here.
         (It is the same thing, although some malomboo are very big, bigger than the ones
         here).

Example 47: A conversation with Massaquolei (MQ) Mende and Fatumata (FT) about styles of cooking.

1. MQ: A no like de way yu people cook here. Like beans, yu jus boil and put oil and
2.   pepper. Our own is *Towowawa*, big big beans. We put am na soup with
3.   cassava leaf and potato green and *sakpa* or *satui*.
         (I don't like the way you people cook here. For example, beans, you merely boil it and add oil and pepper. Our own variety is Towowawa and they are very big beans. We add it to soup along side cassava leaves and potato green and sakpa or satui)
4. RES: Wetin be *sakpa*?
         (What is sakpa?)
5. MQ: Na soup, e be like zobo, but wi get de white one and de red one. E good and
6.   e get more protein dan de beans here.
         (it is soup, it is like zobo, but we have the white and red variety. It is very tasty and has more protein than your own variety).
7. FT: Not only beans, even garden egg. Den eat am like dat, but wi cook *bolongi*.
8.   Inside, e dey dry but their own inside get water. Wi cook *bolongi* like soup and
9.   eat am with ... rice.
         (it is not only beans, even garden egg. They eat it like that but we cook bolongi. It is dry on the inside but their own is watery on the inside. We cook bolongi like food and eat it with rice).

In example 43, MM displayed undiluted passion for the palm oil used in Sierra Leone *(Glogboi and Masankie)* and out rightly condemned the palm oil used in Nigeria, especially the Yoruba variety because of the bad odour. She recommended that Nigerian palm oil is only fit for making their black soap. In making this comparison MM assumed pride and the superiority of their cultural products over the Nigerian varieties. The implication of this comparison is that the Sierra Leonean respondents were proud of their culture and to some extent looked with condescension on Nigerian culture. In example 44, PC compared their hot drink '*Omole*' with '*Sapele water*' while SS compared it with '*Kenju*'. In the comparison, while PC stated that '*Omole*' and '*Sapele water*' had equal potency, SS suggested that '*Kenju*' is the strongest of the lot. The implication of this comparison is that in matters of hot drinks, Sierra Leoneans have what Nigerians have, if not better. In example 45 and 46, HA cited '*Halenyawu*' as their own equivalent of 'juju' in Nigeria, while SU made reference to '*malomboo*' as the Temne equivalent of Yoruba's '*agbalumo*". In example 47 MQ out rightly condemned the way Nigerians cooked beans and stated that the Mende not only have a superior variety in terms of size

and nutritional value, but also have a better way of preparing it, in that they used '*sakpa*' (white sauce) and '*satui'* (red sauce)

The examples above reflect the emotional attachment the refugees had towards their own culture expressed in language. The borrowings here are typical cases of divergence from Yoruba for reasons of cultural expediency. The cultural borrowings also indexed the distinction between the host community and the refugees' native home. The 'our', 'we' and 'your' expressions used in the comparisons of foods served to suggest the consciousness of the refugees that they are aliens; that they did not belong to the host community and that they were still conscious of their ethnic identity. These social comparisons, in no little way, registered their psychological distinctiveness as a people belonging to a different and unique social group and through this means they enhanced their self-esteem. That this consciousness still lingered after two decades spent in the camp is a testimony of their oneness with their culture and indigenous languages.

On the whole, these social comparisons represent impulsive and illogical conclusions, borne out of cultural egotism, which were desperately constructed by the refugees for the purpose of enhancing their dignity and self-esteem. The notion of cultural equality or superiority also indexed the attempt made by the refugees to (re)construct their identity, against the background of the identity imposed on them by the host community as we shall see in a later section.

Having seen borrowings from the native African languages, attention is now shifted to borrowings from foreign languages.

5.6.3 Borrowings from English

Borrowing from English, a neutral language is a strategy employed by the refugees to identify with an international language and culture in the course of a conversation. The experience of borrowings from English implies that the refugees had to use their indigenous languages or the pidgin variety in discourse. Incidentally, the refugees who are proficient in their native languages did not always use it during interactions,

especially in the presence of the researcher. The consequence of this is that very limited data was collected to account for the experience of borrowing from English.   The occurrences are shown in the examples below which was obtained by participants' observation.

Example 38: Interaction between Lebbie (LB) and Juma (JM)

JM: Bi koo lo ge feda goomenti dia ye tia take care mo but right now nungaa, gbe abandonga because nya me de hear news say this camp den don hand am over to the moslem people dem.
        (You know that the federal government has promised to take care of us but right now everybody has abandoned us because I heard that this camp has been handed over to the Moslem community).
JM: Okay for example, na fedal goomenti, nde loo je pe mia le gi hu gema mua we kan pijun. How den wan do de other people wey Unu no know?
        (Alright for example, the federal government said this thing I want to say that some people are here who are not registered. So, how would they account for other people unknown to the U.N?)
LB: Unu tan u Kpe Ngovo
        (U.N knows everybody)

From the example above, we can isolate the verb 'abandonga' and the nouns 'feda goomenti' and 'UNU'. The examples above represent what is termed nonce borrowing in the literature. Poplack (1988:97, cited in Scotton 1993:129) used the term to designate 'singly occurring English lexemes showing both morphological and syntactic integration into another language'.   The keyword is integration or adaptation to the pattern of a recipient language. But Scotton (1993:130) terms it 'single morpheme/lexeme switches'. What is reflected in the examples above is an attempt to phonetically adapt the English verb root 'abandon,' the noun 'federal government' and the abbreviation 'U.N.' to the structure of Mende syllable which seems to end with vowel sounds. So the tendency is to pronounce the English words as if they are Mende words, hence we have 'abandonga' 'Feda Goomenti' 'U.Nu'. It seems that Mende syllable structure, like many other African languages, have no VC OR CVC structure. In addition, there seems to be no consonant clusters like VCCV.   This explains the omission of the consonant clusters in 'government' which JM pronounced as 'goomenti'. It is doubtful if there are equivalent words for 'federal Government' and 'United Nations' in Mende, hence their adaptation. But the same cannot be said of the verb 'abandon' which may likely have equivalence in Mende.   The mendenisation (abandonga) however seems to be momentary since the

speaker JM is not educated, and also not very proficient in English. The momentary adaptation was probably aimed at boosting her image and status especially in the presence of LB and the researcher who are far more educated than her. Thus the borrowings represent an attempt to identify with English and project a modern and cosmopolitan image.

The analysis of code switchings and borrowings above has thrown up some features of Liberian English and Sierra Leone English including the use of Krio. In the Liberian data, the commonest aspect of Liberian English observed in the data is the deletion of final consonants in a word, and also the peculiar pronunciation of 'al' as 'o'. The Sierra Leone data is replete with Krio features and Krio influenced structures. By retaining the salient features of their English and pidgin the refugees demonstrated their linguistic distinctiveness and identity.

In the last two sections, it has been shown how refugees in Oru camp expressed different identities and cultural distinctions through interaction. Now attention is turned to the other means through which groups are categorised which is reflected in interaction.

5.7   Manifestation of identities through Stereotypes

The second means through which identities were manifested in the camp is stereotypes. In this chapter, attention is paid to the languages or words with which stereotypes are expressed, and the possible implications on the society.

The next section focuses on the specific words with which groups are categorized. The investigation here involves international labels.

5.7.1   Stereotype samples

International stereotypes are concerned only with the way national groups perceive each other. Needless to say, in Oru camp are members of two nationalities: Liberians and Sierra Leoneans, both living in another nation, Nigeria. The analysis will look at how these national groups perceived and labelled themselves. Information was elicited from some of the respondents through oral interview and the question sought to know what words each group used to refer to other groups. Although information was not sought

from Yoruba, the refugees provided a credible consensus on the label given to them by the Yoruba group. The result of this investigation is seen in the schema below.
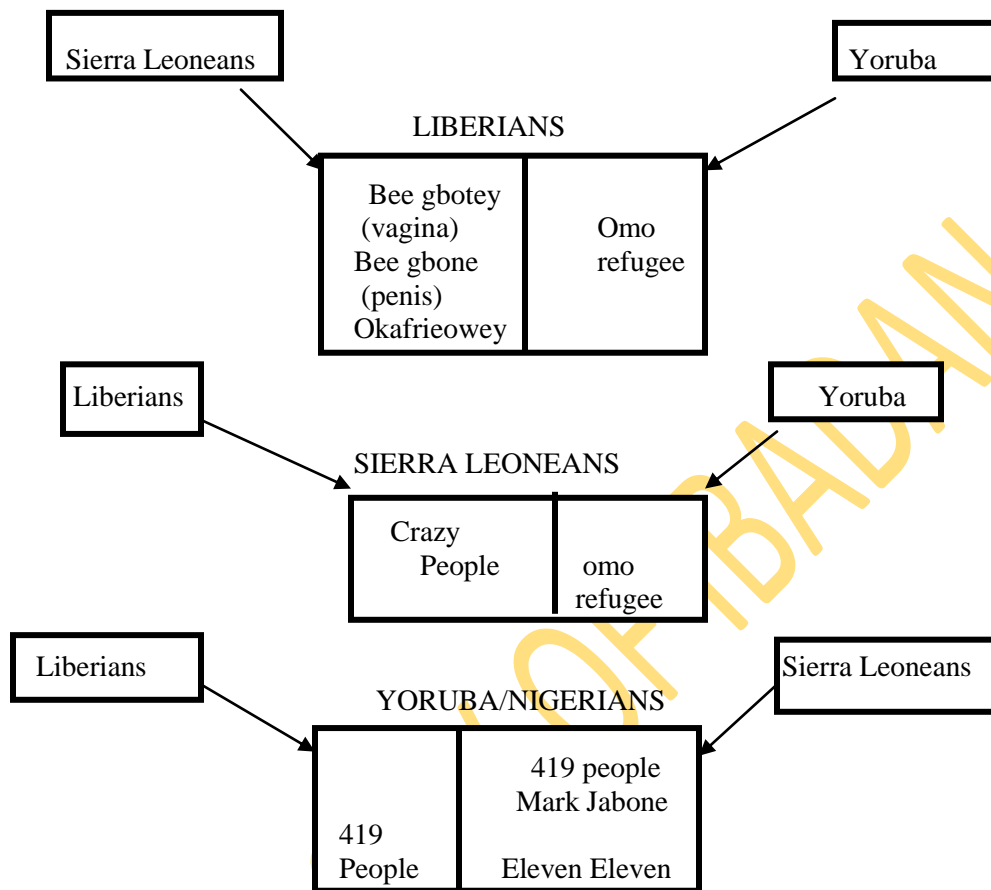

Fig. 3   **Schema representing international stereotypes in Oru refugee camp**

The schema above shows that all the nationalities involved in this study have derogatory labels with which they referred to other nationalities. The blocks by the sides represent the groups involved. The blocks in the middle represent the targeted nationalities and the way they are seen by other national groups. The labels in the boxes represent the report of a majority of respondents. This crisis-cross of labelling suggests that both entities painted each other in negative and unwanted colours or wrongly identified each other. The implication of this result is the creation of 'us' and 'them' among the refugees in the camp. This is to suggest that in dealings with the other national group, the members of each national group abandoned their ethnic divides and saw themselves as one in-group while the other national group is the out-group. The creation of boundaries (linguistic or

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social) has the effect of constraining relationship between the two groups. The awareness that the other national group has obvious negative tendencies is capable of making each group to distance themselves from the other group. Apart from constraining relationship, this state of affairs can also provoke discord or violence. However, the creation of 'us' and 'them' has the positive effect of tightening intra-national solidarity.

Secondly, in terms of stereotypes involving the refugees with their host community, the respondents reported being aware of negative labels given to them by Nigerians, and also negative labels given to Yoruba/Nigerians by the refugees. This is a signal that both refugees and their host community negatively identified each other. The implication of the exchange of perception is the creation of 'us' and 'them'; In this case the refugees (Liberians and Sierra Leoneans) saw themselves as one (us) and saw their host community as different (other). This is to suggest that in dealings or interaction with their host community, the refugees abandoned their ethnic and national differences and saw themselves as one in-group. On the other hand, the host community saw themselves as one in-group and perceived the refugees as an out-group. This is an indication that the relationship between the host community and the refugees could be strained.

5.7.2   Stereotype of Liberians

The Sierra Leonean refugee had a negative perception of Liberian refugees in Oru camp, and therefore labelled them negatively. The Sierra Leoneans labelled Liberians, their fellow refugees '*Okafrieowey*' (wayward people). Furthermore, they also labelled them using some obscene words like '*bee gbotey'* (vagina) and '*bee gbone'* (penis). It is apparent that both labels have dual connotations; '*bee gbotey'* and '*bee gbone'* mean simultaneously 'private parts' (informative connotation) and 'immorality' or 'weakness' (affective connotation). In this case, what is used to distinguish 'Other' and 'Us' is morality. The implication of this label is that as far as morality is concerned Liberians were identified as 'sinners' while Sierra Leoneans are 'saints', and therefore morally superior, or more powerful. This result is validated by the opinion of some Sierra Leoneans as shown in the interview extracts below.

Extract of interviews with Sierra Leoneans about the character of Liberians

> ...Some (Liberians) are good and some are not. And those that are not you have the ones that can drink, they smoke ... but many of them behave arrogantly... they chase women, their women follow men everywhere and drink... Saffiatu (Temne, Sierra Leone)

> ...They (Liberians) like drinking, high life, the men like drinking, the women like drinking. They like high life, bar life, smoking Indian hemp, drugs ... their women like going to Lagos to follow men; Their men carry ashawo, they live dirty life. Our people (Sierra Leoneans) also do that, but not too much like them. .. Lebbie (Mende, Sierra Leone)

> ...Liberian people they don't like quarrelling, fighting, fighting, they joke with you, but they like drinking and their women too ... they can drink and smoke and also chase woman... Tenneh (Limba, Sierra Leone)

The information contained in the extracts of interviews above show the way that Liberians were perceived by Sierra Leoneans, in terms of character. These interviewees attested that Liberians were immoral and hedonistic. They were categorised as drunks, smokers, or drug addicts, womanisers, prostitutes. The first interviewee (Saffiatu) testified that 'some Liberians are good' while "some are not". However, she did not proceed to emphasise on their good qualities. Rather, she focused and paid more attention to their negative traits which includes drinking, smoking and immorality involving males and females. It is important that Saffiatu made exception in her categorisation of Liberians in the camp. Her view that all Liberians in the camp were not bad represents a fair and balanced perception of other groups which is beneficial for inter group relations.

The second interviewee (Lebbie) upholds the view of Saffiatu that Liberians in the camp (men and women) liked drinking, smoking and engaged in immoral conducts. However, he moderated his position by testifying that some of his people (Sierra Leoneans) exhibited such vile tendencies too. Despite the fact that he included some Sierra Leoneans as immoral, he made a distinction between the two groups with respect to the degree of involvement in such immoral lifestyle. His position is that Sierra Leoneans were partially involved in immorality while Liberians in the camp were totally involved. Secondly, he testified that only a fraction of Sierra Leoneans were involved in this

lifestyle while all Liberians, without exception were involved. Lebbie's view represents an unfair and skewed perception of other groups which is inimical for inter group relations.

The judgment of the third interviewee (Tenneh) is somewhat different from that of the first two. Although he subscribes to their estimation that all Liberians in the camp liked drinking, smoking and illicit sex, he attested that Liberians without exception were peaceful and jovial. The problem with Tenneh's view is that it is overtly inclusive. It is doubtful that all Liberians in the camp, without exception, were immoral and at the same time peaceful and jovial. The character traits pointed out may be salient without being the feature of the entire group. On the whole, the negative perception of Liberian refugees represents an imposed identity which is one of the least relevant abstractions or features of Liberians. This choice is deliberately made at the expense of other abstractions which are positive.

5.7.3   Stereotypes of Sierra Leoneans

Liberian refugees in the camp also had a wrong perception of Sierra Leonean refugees and therefore labelled them negatively. The Liberians labelled Sierra Leoneans 'crazy people'. The label suggests that the Sierra Leoneans are not people of peace. Simultaneously, 'crazy people' means those who are mentally challenged (informative connotation), and people who are violent (affective connotation). In this example, the distinguishing factor between 'Other' and 'Us' is mannerism. By categorizing Sierra Leoneans as violent people the Liberians seemed to see themselves as peace makers or non-violent people. This feeling also represents a show of moral power by the Liberians over the Sierra Leoneans. This result is validated by the opinion of Liberians as shown in the interview extracts below.

Extract of interviews with Liberians about the character of Sierra Leoneans

> ...I know them (Sierra Leoneans) as people that are very harsh, people that are aggressive in talking ... People that are confusionsits, they make confusion, they cause trouble most often, that is why I

don't like doing things with them or arguing with them; they can wound you... Yassa (Kpelle, Liberia)

... They (Sierra Leoneans) are kind of rough, talk to you roughly and they love quarrelling ... if you people have small argument wey you no expect to be palaver something, now now now they will begin to make a lot of palaver and ready to fight you and in fighting you it is a wicked one because they usually use bottle to wound you. That is why for this camp I stay my own to avoid troubo. So na the only difference between us. Although some Liberians also do have that character too but its not like them; their own is almost like their lifestyle... Malee (Bassa, Liberia)

... For Sierra Leoneans we have lived together for some time now. I know them to be ... they are not friendly at all. Like when they bring something to the camp to distribute among us, they will definitely feel we are not part of them and they won't give us anything, they are very, for us, they are very aggressive, but not all of them sha... Robert (Krahn, Liberia)

... Sierra Leoneans? They are rough, they like fighting, abusing, the way they approach things is rough.... Like what happened here yesterday when our boys went and raped one lunatic ... So, the Sierra Leonean chairman took the case up, right, that's fine. But you know normally we (Liberians) came to discuss and, at least, we would want him to give way while we have our own discussion, but he just come in and monopolise the whole discussion, and begin to blame them and say how he went to police and such things... Popei (Krahn, Liberia)

The information contained in the extracts of interview above show the perception of Liberians of Sierra Leoneans in the camp. The Liberian interviewees all reported that Sierra Leoneans were trouble makers. The first interviewee (Yassah) categorised the entire Sierra Leoneans in the camp, without exception, as trouble makers and those capable of inflicting physical injuries during a fight or misunderstanding. Stating that all Sierra Leoneans in the camp exhibited the same aggressive nature represents a biased perception of other groups which is harmful for intergroup relations. He also described them as those that are aggressive both in speech and action. Depicting them as those that are 'aggressive in talking' has implications for cross-cultural communication. It signals that the two groups had problems communicating with each other. Those who are aggressive in speech have the tendency to dominate conversation at the expense of the other participant(s). If the Sierra Leoneans were aggressive in speech, the dominated Liberians would not contribute much in an exchange and so conversation is hindered. It

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is for this reason that Yassah 'did not like doing things with them or arguing with them'. What we can deduce from this judgment is that Liberians like Yassah restricted conversation mainly to their own group. This is to say that communication between the two groups suffered a lot of hitches and impediments. A scenario of this nature is capable of engendering and promoting the psychology of difference and breeding discord.

The second interviewee (Malee) re-echoed the sentiments of Yassah. She testified that Sierra Leoneans in the camp 'talk to you roughly and love quarrelling' in the course of a conversation. The use of the word 'love' is very powerful, for it signifies that the Sierra Leoneans in the camp actually enjoyed violence. As a result of their (Sierra Leoneans) belligerent tendency, Malee, like Yassah also preferred to withdraw from interacting with them for the sake of peace. Again, withdrawing from conversation or not contributing to an exchange means that conversation norms are violated (Bloor and Bloor, 2008). Dominating a conversation, (that is, not allowing other participants to contribute), and not contributing sufficiently, (that is, granting the other participant ample room to talk) which is akin to monologue are both violations of the norms of interaction. However, Malee moderated her perception of Sierra Leoneans by testifying that this aggressive character trait is not peculiar to Sierra Leoneans. Although, she testified that 'some Liberians also do have that character' she made a difference between the violence perpetrated by the two groups and concluded that for Sierra Leonean, violence is their stock in trade, their identity. By stating that 'some' Liberians were violent, she meant that all Sierra Leoneans without exception were violent.

The position of the third interviewee (Robert) is in tandem with the view of the first and second interviewees in terms of the perception of Sierra Leoneans but he deviates from the position with respect to the number involved. His perception of Sierra Leonean is that they were aggressive and unfriendly. He went on to substantiate this point by making reference to periods in the past when 'they' (Government or United Nations agencies, non governmental organizations (NGOs), churches, philanthropic individuals etc.) would bring relief materials to the camp; the Sierra Leoneans excluded them

(Liberians) because they are of different nationalities. However, Robert testified that all Sierra Leoneans in the camp did not exhibit that aggressive character. His position represents a balanced and dispassionate perception of other groups which is needful for intergroup relationship.

The fourth interviewee (Popei) unflinchingly corroborated the view of the first three interviewees by stating, without a doubt, that Sierra Leoneans in the camp were violent in their approach to issues and situations. He buttressed his point by referring to an incident in the past when the Sierra Leonean Chairman interfered, and dominated discussion in a matter the Liberians wanted to settle on their own terms. The intrusion of the chairman is an act of interruption which is one of the features of participants who are dominant in a conversation. However, Popei's view of all Sierra Leoneans as 'rough' represents a biased perception of other groups which is harmful for intergroup relationship. Overall, this label represents an imposed identity which exemplifies the least relevant abstraction or feature of Sierra Leoneans; this choice is made at the expense of more positive abstractions or features.

5.7.4 Stereotype of Refugees

The refugees (Liberians and Sierra Leoneans) were aware of the fact that the host community perceived them negatively and also labelled them negatively. The Yoruba and probably other Nigerians labelled Liberians and Sierra Leoneans 'omo refugee'. The phrase is like a badge of contempt. The probable aim of the label is to remind the Liberians and Sierra Leoneans that they are not indigenes of the land; that they did not belong. The differentiating factor here between 'Us' and 'Them' is nationality. It is apparent that the label 'omo refugee' has both informative and affective connotations. Refugee means simultaneously 'person forced to flee his country due to war' (informative connotation) and also 'parasite' (affective connotation). The negative label represents the least relevant abstraction of refugees which is chosen at the expense of other positive abstractions or features. By referring to Liberians as 'omo refugee' Yoruba and other Nigerians exercised power over them, by imposing on them an identity which they did not desire. However, by the referent 'omo refugee' the Yoruba subtly reminded

the refugees that they (Yoruba) are the proud owners of the land. Hobsbawn (1996) posits that individuals believe that they belong to this community because they can define the others (outsiders) who do not belong and who can never belong. As a result other groups or outsiders who come in for any reason legally or illegally are seen as intruders and therefore not really welcome. Consequent upon this, the intruders are given labels purposely to put them in their place. This anti-sojourner feeling is propelled by cultural pride and superiority, or what is generally termed ethnocentrism.

Ward (2008) opines that because we learn to be members of our own culture, a phenomenon called ethnocentrism may result. This fact is corroborated by Berry (2008) who stresses that ethnocentrism is the belief that our own culture is superior to all other cultures; so ethnocentric people tend to value their own identity above everything else and judge others through the vista of their own culture (also Ibad 2009). This intrusive disposition constitutes a barrier to intergroup relationship. The implication of this constant reminder is discrimination and inequality. The Liberians resented the label because it is disrespectful, contemptible, and diametrically opposed to their desired identity. The resentments are shown in the extracts of interviews below.

> ... The common one is refugee. 'You this refugee, You this refugee'. Sometime you seem to be angry but you have no choice, they're just saying the right thing. They know that this is not your place, you are just a by-passer, especially sometimes you see Yoruba children coming to quarrel with an elderly person and the person say 'ah, ah , if I am in my country would you have the guts to talk to me, if not the war'. So they (Yoruba) feel these people (refugee) are not at our level, they are below us… it is like we and they… sometime in a bus they (Yoruba) will tell you,' ah ah you refugee...?' (Kennedy – Krahn)

> ...It is very embarrassing. They call us omo refugee, that is children of refugee ... immediately they know you are a refugee some don't want to communicate with you... (Mummy Favour - Bassa)

> ...In every setting there are unruly people. Some could be very unruly, but they are the younger ones. Like once, a lady, a programme was going on at the recreation hall, back there. And this lady (Yoruba) came and she sat on the way and I politely told her madam, please excuse, let me pass because, like I was coming downstairs,... she spoke Yoruba to me, I don't understand Yoruba- o but the way she expressed it I just knew that it was negative, very

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negative. Then she said 'refugee!' and she hissed. And I got annoyed... (Ledlum - Kpelle)

...Yes, words like omo refugee. We see these names as discriminatory. Over the years that is why the refugees don't want to stay around, we are being stigmatized… why call me omo refugee, why can't you call me 'sir'. It affects every aspect of life. Those who ride okada, once they (Yoruba) know you are refugee, even if you are friends, that friendship dies down; the refugee has become like stigma for most Nigerians... (Lebbie – Mende)

...The basic one is omo refugee, everything you do is omo refugee, even the students in school, in their classroom, it is almost like a stigma. They (Yoruba) know it from your accent and they call you refugee. They (Yoruba) feel that everybody here is nobody, forgetting that some of us here have gone to school... (Saffiatu - Temne)

...I don't know why they call us omo refugee, omo refugee. We know we are refugee but must you call us that. Is it a good name to call someone? Why can't they say omo Sierra Leone, omo Liberia. They don't know when they say that they remind us of the war which we don't want to remember. It is not good... (Tenneh - Limba)

...The only part, that sometime when you do something, refugee? Refugee? Ah! Refugee? It is condescending, refugees. It means we are sub-human a suffering somebody. Somebody who is a beggar, who know nothing, y'know ... they feel that we are encroaching on their land; that federal government is taking their money and giving to us... (Saa Popei - Kpelle)

...They (Yoruba) call us omo refugee, omo refugee. It means we are nothing, nobody, useless, like animals. The moment they know you are refugee, they count you to be nothing, you are just useless ... an empty vessel, ... omo refugee! They make you to know that you are unimportant you are nothing, because you are walking dead ... (Malee - Bassa)

...The common one is omo refugee, omo refugee, I don't like it because it has a sign of discrimination. I find myself as asylum seeker and the status is refugee but I feel humiliated when they (Yoruba) use that... (Sule - Limba)

...When they call you omo refugee they take you to be eh fowl,... They ask you, 'are you a refugee?' I say 'I am a refugee'. When they know you are refugee they look down from your head to your toe, they local you, you yourself you feel ashamed of yourself... (Alder - Mama Ada - Liberia).

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These results show that the refugees resented the refugee identity because it did not make them feel at home; rather it made them feel inferior to their hosts and are a constant reminder that they did not belong. The refugees found the identity insulting, derogatory, contemptible and therefore, unacceptable. The first interviewee (Kennedy) testified that they were angry but helpless at being labelled refugees. He reasoned that the Yoruba treated them with condescension and conceit because they (Yoruba) knew that they (refugees) were aliens and so did not belong. The second interviewee (mummy Favour) attested that the Yoruba used the label 'omo refugee' to reduce them to a low status which is embarrassing. As a result of the limitation, the Yoruba distanced themselves from the refugees. The effect of this situation is that the refugees and their host community did not enjoy a robust communication. The importance of communication between refugees and their hosts cannot be over stated especially with regards to issues of integration. A robust inter group communication is one of the stimulants to integration while a strained communication is an impediment to integration.

The third interviewee (Ledlum) reported feeling slighted and annoyed at being labelled a refugee by a younger Yoruba lady. She recounted an incident in the camp when the young Yoruba lady questioned the right of a refugee to ask her to leave the way. Although this incident is an isolated one, it reveals the strain which characterised the relationship between the refugees and their hosts. The fourth interviewee, (Lebbie) stressed that the label 'omo refugee' is a stigma and so discriminating. He states categorically that this is why the refugees did not want to integrate. He re-echoed the view of Mummy favour that immediately a Yoruba noticed that an erstwhile 'friend' is actually a refugee the relationship ceased. Lebbie preferred being referred to as a 'Sir' which is more honourable and fits his status instead of a refugee.

The fifth interview (Saffiatu) like Lebbie states that being labelled a refugee is a stigma. She reasoned that the Yoruba associated the refugee status with insignificance. She actually resented the label because some of them were educated and so did not deserve the humiliating label. The sixth interviewee (Tenneh) saw the label 'omo refugee' as psychologically traumatic because it reminded them of the war which dislocated them

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from their roots. He reasoned that the label is negative and preferred other referents like *omo* Liberian or *omo* Sierra Leonean. The seventh interview (Saa Popei) is of the opinion that the label refugees made them feel less than human or beggars at the mercy of the elements. He also reasoned that the hosts felt that they were intruders and parasites. Saa Popei's report is in consonance with the finding of Senesie (2013) who finds that the Oru community saw the refugees as lazy occupants of their land, who made little or no contribution towards the economy of the local community. The eight interviewee (Malee) aligned her view with Saffiatu about the association of the label 'refugee' with insignificance, while the last two interviewees (Sule and Alder) felt humiliated with the label.

In summary, the refugees were not happy with the label 'omo refugee' due to its negative implications and so out rightly rejected it. By rejecting the 'omo refugee' identity the refugees signalled a desire to be properly identified because they are fellow human beings. Some of them advanced reasons for contesting the label. Saffiatu argued that some of them are educated; Tenneh posited that there are better and more appropriate names like 'Omo Liberia', 'Omo Sierra Leone'; Lebbie saw himself as a gentleman and so prefers to be addressed as a 'sir'; and Alder is convinced that they were not 'local' people but modern cosmopolitans. McDonald (1993) suggests that those who are misrepresented are powerless to challenge or contest the image or identity given them. In this context, the refugees, albeit powerless challenged the negative identity imposed on them by the Yoruba and other Nigerians. This contestation represents a rejection and reconstruction of their stained identity for the reasons stated above.

It is obvious that this label is one of the reasons why some of them did not want to integrate, as expressed by Lebbie above. The Liberian and Sierra Leonean refugees saw the term 'omo refugee' as an affront to their image, for it bears the mark of stigmatisation as stated by Saffiatu above. Several studies (Portes and Rumbaut 2006; Valenta, 2009) have maintained that refugees experience stigmatisation in everyday life which sometimes lead to withdrawal from relationships with their host community. As a result, such refugees tend to dream about returning to their countries (Al-Rasheed 1994;

Eastmond 2006). This is the sentiment expressed by Lebbie above. It is a confirmation that the refugees' attitude towards Yoruba language is a natural reaction to the attitude of Yoruba towards them. This finding confirms the result of Kroner's (2003) investigation among Somali refugees in Egypt, where wrong perception of Somali by the Egyptian hosts prevented the Somali refugees from integrating into Egyptian social life and culture. In Kronner's work, the Egyptians perceived Somali refugees as Africans instead of fellow Arabs which is the identity desired by the Somali. In the present study, the host community perceived their guests as 'refugees' instead of fellow black Africans or international neighbours, which is the identity actually desired by the refugees.

5.7.5 Stereotype of Yoruba/Nigerians

The refugees, on their own had a negative perception of Yoruba/Nigerians and correspondingly labelled them negatively. Between the Liberians and the Sierra Leoneans in the camp according to the schema, there is a consensus concerning the label of Yoruba. The Yoruba and other Nigerians are labelled '419 people'. 419 is actually one of the sections in the Nigerian criminal code dealing with fraud but overtime it has become a pseudonym for fraud and other related crimes. The term is commonly used in Nigeria by Nigerians to refer to fraud and fraudsters. It seems that the refugees encountered the word in Nigeria and thereafter used it to label Nigerians of whom Yoruba are a part. In this example, the factor responsible for distinction between the host community 'them' and the refugees 'us' is criminality; this label signals dual connotations. The label '419' means two things: 'a criminal code' (informative connotation) and 'fraudster' (affective connotation). In this respect, the code 419 is negativised by emphasising its affective connotation. The negative label, of course, represents the least relevant abstraction of Yoruba and is preferred at the expense of other positive abstractions. By categorising Yoruba (Nigerians) as criminals, the refugees saw themselves as honest people, and therefore morally superior. An implication of this label is that the refugees would tend to be very wary and suspicious of Nigerians especially during interaction with strangers.

Apart from the label '419' the Sierra Leoneans had other labels used to characterize Yoruba and other Nigerians. They are 'Mark Jabone' and 'Eleven eleven'. On inquiry a Temne respondent explained:

> Mark Jabone started during the 90s, I think 97 when ECOMOG overthrew the rebels in Salone. If we want to describe the Nigerian soldiers we describe them as Mark Jabone because ... we saw some of them with tribal marks, and we don't know the meaning of the marks, so we say these people are Mark Jabone. It is their tribal mark we use to differentiate them from the Guinea soldiers, Senegalese and Ghanaians soldiers, who don't have tribal marks. So the mark Jabone is the tribal mark they put to the jaw... We don't say jaw bone in krio but Jabone, that is, the tribal mark on the jaw bone. So when we see Nigerians we call them Mark Jabone ... that is, people who have tribal mark on their jaw bone. 'Eleven eleven' is the same thing. It is the mark they put on two side of the face. It is two straight line dis side, two straight line dat side. If you look it very well the lines look like eleven. So if we don't want to say Mark Jabone we say eleven eleven.

From this extract, the factor used in distinguishing Nigerians from Sierra Leoneans is physical features. The Yoruba wore tribal marks but Sierra Leoneans did not. Evidently, there is a difference between the tribal mark worn by Yoruba and the tribal mark worn by Hausa and Fulani but that seems not to be the concern of Sierra Leoneans. As far as they are concerned tribal marks are tribal marks. Whichever way, there are two implications of this stereotype. One, the Sierra Leonean refugees have succeeded in retaining and carrying over their stereotype of Nigerians from their home country to their host community, irrespective of the fact that not all Yoruba, in contemporary times, wear tribal marks. Two, the labels '*Mark Jabone*' and '*eleven eleven*' have a derogatory tone. Although the respondents were not precise, they seemed to suggest that those who wear tribal marks belong to a lower, primitive culture. By using the labels 'Mark Jabone' and 'eleven eleven' the Sierra Leoneans somewhat looked down on the Yoruba culture and felt that they (refugees) belonged to a more civilized culture. '*Mark Jabone*' and '*eleven eleven*' mean Yoruba tribal mark (informative connotation) and uncivilized person (affective connotation).

This result confirms Anurag's (2011) findings in India where Burmese refugees resisted the prejudice shown to them by the local community by also being prejudicial, which represents a case of double-sided prejudice. In the present study, the Liberian and Sierra

Leonean refugees retaliated against Yoruba and Nigerians by also imposing a negative identity on their hosts. The host community labelled them 'omo refugee' and the refugees labelled their hosts '419'. This is also a case of double-sided prejudice.

This finding shows to what extent the refugees have categorised themselves into national groups. Such social categorisations tend to enhance and promote their identity as Liberians and Sierra Leoneans hence their psychological uniqueness as different groups. By imposing an identity on another national group, they underlined their own national identity. To a great extent, the imposition of identity involves social comparison, for each national group exempted themselves from the undesirable identity with which others are labelled. For instance, Liberians labelled Sierra Leoneans trouble makers which invariably means that they (Liberians) were peace lovers; Sierra Leoneans labelled Liberians immoral person which suggest that Sierra Leoneans are saints. In the same vein, the Yoruba labelled the Liberians and Sierra Leoneans 'omo refugee' while the Liberian and Sierra Leonean refugees labelled the Yoruba '419', 'Mark Jabone' and 'eleven eleven'.

These negative identities have adverse effects on the groups involved. Firstly, it created a sense of group consciousness and solidarity which gingers members of each group to promote their own and demote others' affairs. Secondly, it encouraged groups to withdraw (divergence) from relationships with other groups. Liberian 'peace lovers' would not want to relate with Sierra Leonean 'trouble makers' while Sierra Leonean 'saints' would not want to associate with Liberian 'hedonists'. Also Yoruba 'landlords' would not want to mingle with 'poor, parasitic refugees', while 'honest' Liberians and Sierra Leoneans would naturally dread acquaintance with Nigerian 'fraudsters'.

When labels are imposed it suggests that individuals are aware of differences or salient features between groups. These features, real or imagined, are then used to mark group identity instead of the real group identity. In most cases the marked identity obscures the real identity in the social arena. Equally apparent is the idea of social comparison exemplified in socio-linguistic parameters which shows a heightened notion of psychological distinctiveness as ethnic groups. By this comparison each group perceived

itself in a proper, respectable way and perceived the other group in a contemptible manner.

McDonald (2000: 209) states that 'like any stereotype, its legitimacy is less important than the fact that most people believe it to be true. Beyond the facts of legitimacy, this biased perception of the 'other' is not formed in abstraction; rather it is inextricably tied to the perception of the self. The perceiver recognises attributes in himself and group which are not evident in the perceived. McDonald (1993: 231) aptly confirms that

> Just as in matters of gender and ethnicity (where the biologistic understandings of sex difference and race have been displaced), so, too, in understandings of imagery more generally it has become commonplace to assert that our understandings of what people are 'really' like are inevitable constructs forged in particular social and historical contexts; and that constructs of 'others' or of 'them' are conceptually, and morally and politically, intertwined with constructs of self and 'us'

Within this context of perception, the 'other' is seen as wrong while the 'self' is seen as right. The purpose of this contemptible perception is simply to put the other ethnic group or nationality down. Hayakawa, (1972) states that there are thousands of abstractions which may be applied to a particular individual, like parent, teacher, church member, gentleman etc. but the prejudiced person chooses the least relevant abstraction to identify the individual. By choosing the least relevant abstraction the prejudiced person neglects other higher and more relevant abstractions for the sole purpose of bringing down the other person or group, and putting oneself or one's group up. This 'down' and 'up' positioning reflected in 'they' and 'us' subtly or covertly aims at the exercise of power among ethnic groups and nationalities. Bloor and Bloor (2007:121) attest that:

> There are people who consider their own 'race' as superior to others and more mature; these others can be perceived as childlike and hence patronized, or as rebellious and threatening and hence deserving of punishment.... Racist expressions like 'just down from the trees' are based on the fantasy of an evolutionary scale in which

the Racist is at the most advanced evolutionary stage and other ethnic
and racial groupings are at a more primitive stage of development.

Although some of these notions of superiority are mainly based on feelings and not facts (Hudson 2001), they constitute instances of the exercise of power over others. Thus we are dealing with an identity imposed on other groups by members of different ethnic or national groups.

It is obvious that stereotypes are verbal means used by groups to oppress and suppress other groups. The effect of these labels is a gross reduction of the worth or value of groups with words whose implication is the erection of walls of discrimination and a sense of inequality between ethnic and national groups. While referring to the 19[th] century America when the descendants of the earlier English colonists represented Irish immigrants as apes in jokes and cartoons, and the Nazi applied the same analogy to Jews in the 1930s, Bloor and Bloor (2007:122) posit that 'when you metaphorically take away peoples' humanity, you prepare the ground for victimization that is more material. Thus, stereotypes are a precursor to such cruelties like inequality, slavery, concentration camps, genocide, ethnic cleansing etc.

In conclusion, it has been shown that the refugees manifested multiple linguistic identities in the camp, in the process of interaction. These identities were indexed through the strategies of code-swicthing, borrowing and steriotypes.The identities ranged from ethnic, national to international or cosmopolitan.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1   Introduction

In this chapter, the results of the study are summarised in relation to the seven research questions outlined in chapter two. By so doing, it shall be seen whether the research questions were adequately answered or not. Additionally recommendations are made before the study is concluded.

First, in this study, the identified domains where identities were negotiated and expressed were home, neighbourhood, work and education. In the home domain, which represents in-group setting, it is expected that the respondents (parents and children) should use their ethnic languages and thus project their ethnolinguistic identity but this is not so. Rather than identifying linguistically with their ethnic groups, the groups identified mainly with English and thus projected a global image. As a result, their ethnic languages and identity were not transmitted to the next generation. The reasons adduced for this marked linguistic phenomenon were exogamous marriages and the prestige or status of English as a language with instrumental capacities.

In the neighbourhood domain it was revealed that a majority of respondents did not use their ethnic languages in intra-ethnic conversation mainly for reasons of inclusivity or convergence, that is, the desire to accommodate other people who are ethnic outsiders. In the work domain, the refugees projected mainly metropolitan identity through the use of pidgin. By using mainly pidgin and not Yoruba in this context, the refugees in this category (the young adult and adult groups) failed to identify with the out-groups linguistically. In the education domain, the students, who comprised mainly teenage respondents, projected a mixed global and ethnic image. In the classroom they interacted in English (a formal code) with teachers and classmates, but during break, they interacted with schoolmates in both English and Yoruba.

In conclusion, it could be said that identity negotiations in the home and neighbourhood domains with respect to intra-ethnic interactions did not reflect the categorisation of these informal places as a setting for insiders, while the identity negotiation in the work and school domains partially reflected the categorisation of these semi-formal and formal places as settings for outsiders. This is to postulate that linguistic identity is not frozen but mutable. Actually it is not wholly the context but the participants' needs which decided the trajectory of identities. Therefore, we can posit that to a good degree, the identity negotiation in different domains did not wholly reflect the distinction between insiders and outsiders.

Second, across ethnic and age groups the respondents used their languages minimally, and thus it could be endorsed that their language behaviour undermined ethnolinguistic vitality. They failed to take advantage of their numbers, the rural location of the camp and the nuclear domains, to use their ethnic languages, all due to their preference to project cosmopolitan faces and identities. Apart from the effort of few mothers in both groups, ethnolinguistic vitality was promoted through extralinguistic means like folkgames and folktales. These culturally-based entertainment resources provided an avenue through which some elements of their languages were used and passed to the next generation. On the whole, the study finds very little justifiable evidence of deliberate acts by the respondents to actually maintain their ethnic languages through use. However, their national languages (pidgin) were used in most domains exemplified in this study. All the ethnic and age groups reported the use of their pidgins which is an evidence of inter-generational transfer.

Third, significant symmetries and asymmetries were found between expressed language belief or feeling and actual behaviour. This is especially so with respect to the refugees' ethnic languages and the language of the host community. The refugees' ethnic languages were positively evaluated by all the age and ethnic groups; however, only the adult groups expressed a significant proficiency and use of their ethnic languages, which represents overt prestige and ethnolinguistic face. On the other hand, the teenage and young adult groups were not proficient and did not use their ethnic languages contrary to their positive disposition, which is an instance of covert prestige. In terms of the

language of the host community, the teenage groups positively evaluated Yoruba and also reported a significant proficiency in the use of the language which represents overt prestige and ethnolinguistic face. Contrariwise, the youth and adults representing young adult and adult groups were negatively disposed to Yoruba and correspondingly reported non-use of the language. In terms of pidgin, only few respondents among the children were negatively disposed to it but they reported a good proficiency and use of pidgin which represents covert prestige. All the age groups positively endorsed English which they all claimed to speak in varying degrees which testifies to their desire to project a cosmopolitan identity.

Fourth, three linguistic identity prototypes were identified in the study and they are strong Yoruba Identity, Weak dual Identity and strong ethnic identity. Strong Yoruba identity is expressed by the teenage group who have acquired the Yoruba language, through mainly education, at the expense of their own heritage language, though proficient in their national pidgin which marked their acculturation pattern as integration. Being integrated, means that they projected a bicultural identity: Yoruba and Liberian/Sierra Leonean identities. The group manifesting this prototype are those most likely to contribute towards inter-ethnic and group cohesion and understanding and may serve as a link between members of their heritage culture and the host community.

Weak dual identity is expressed by age group 2 who have acquired neither the Yoruba language nor their own heritage language, but are only proficient in English and pidgin. Thus their acculturation orientation is termed partial marginalisation, since they were not completely severed from their heritage culture. Being culturally marginalised they projected a neutral or anonymous identity and would most likely promote international solidarity.

Strong ethnic identity is expressed by age group 3 who have retained their ethnic languages without incorporating their host's language. So their acculturation orientation is termed separation. Being culturally separated, they projected an ethnolinguistic identity, which suggests that they would most likely be ethnocentric; they are also expected to exhibit acts of discrimination and prejudice in relations between their in-group and out-groups.

Fifth, most, if not all the respondents in this study were at least bilinguals projecting multiple linguistic identities. The linguistic repertoire of the refugees consisted of the following languages: ethnic, pidgins, English and Yoruba. This is not to suggest that they had an equitable proficiency in the languages at their disposal; through these languages the refugees projected several faces like ethnic, metropolitan, global and modern faces. The discourse strategies employed to project these faces are codeswitchings, codemixings and borrowings.

In this study, several codeswitching occurrences were identified and they are motivated by factors like phatic communion, emphasis, quotation, proverbs, formality, emotions. Other codeswitchings encountered involved emblematic switchings which mainly consisted of momentary switches to another language. These switches were used as inclusive or exclusive identity markers and trajectory of the switches were mainly from pidgin to English or vice-versa or from English/pidgin to the refugees' ethnic languages.

The borrowings identified in the data involved mainly nominals or lexemes referring to some concrete social and cultural items. The borrowings were from Yoruba, the refugees' ethnic languages and English. These borrowings were occasioned by either a lack of an equivalent word in the language of interaction or in the case of the availability of an equivalent word, the need to use a more fitting lexeme. These (codeswitching, codemixing and borrowing) represent linguistic devices used by the refugees to signal multiple linguistic identities. Through this means they showed to some degree that they belonged to other groups, even on a temporary basis other than their heritage groups.

Sixth, cross group categorisation involved the perception of a group by another group and vice versa. These intersect or criss-cross of identification suggests that no group is immune from others' perception. The labels or stereotypes which are the product of prejudices were extensively utilised in the categorisation of the Self and the Other. International stereotypes concern the perception of Liberian refugees by Sierra Leonean refugees and vice versa, and the perception of both Liberian and Sierra Leonean refugees of and by their host community/country. The consequence of the faulty judgements or

categorisations is apprehensions, contempt, conceit, etc. all which support the creation of boundaries between groups which ultimately harbour potentials for discrimination and conflicts of different sorts.

6.2   Recommendations

This analysis has shown that apparently the refugees' languages in Oru camp are in a comatose state and this situation portends danger for the future of the languages in Oru camp. The minimal use of these languages points to a bleak future if no concrete steps are taken to reverse the trend. As a way out, this study recommends an immersion programme for both children and adults who are not proficient in their native languages. The aim of this programme is to enrich the people's skills in their native languages without a threat to the languages they already know (Romaine 2003) and in the process make up for the years of neglect. This programme would involve bringing in volunteer teachers, from the refugees' countries and especially from the camp, to coach the affected persons and so grant them their linguistic human rights. Although, such a programme will involve much expense, it is a venture worth taking, given the importance attached to linguistic human rights. However, such a program may be limited to the languages that are standardised.

With respect to ethnolinguistic vitality, premised on the resolve to halt language shift, this study recommends that the parents (fathers and mothers) in Oru camp take explicit steps towards the actual use of their languages, especially in intimate domains like the home. If the fathers support the mothers in this task, the joint venture would yield more positive results, in terms of the transmission of heritage languages and identity reconstruction.

As far as the relationship between the host community and the refugees are concerned, this study recommends a town hall meeting patterned after Smith (2006) and Lyon (1988) which would involve both the hosts and the immigrants. The purpose of this meeting is dual: to acquaint refugees about the culture of the hosts, and to acquaint the host community of the ordeals and experiences of the refugees so that both parties would have a better understanding of each other. This programme would serve to showcase the

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abilities and skills of the refugees which are resources from which the host community can benefit. Secondly, the refugees should be encouraged and sponsored to celebrate their cultural festivals in the camp in the presence of their hosts. This forum would serve to display the beauty and richness of the culture of the refugees which would demonstrate the fact that they are fellow Africans with a distinct culture to preserve. Such a display might also throw up aspects of the refugees' culture which are similar to their hosts' culture and thus contribute in narrowing the distance between hosts and guests. Generally, such cultural extravaganzas may help to earn the refugees the respect of their hosts, and ultimately minimize or erase the prejudice that is shown towards the refugees. On the other hand, the refugees should be mobilised to shed ethnocentrisms and identify with the host culture and find ways to contribute towards the development of their host community. Such a mutual exchange will not only help in bridging the gap between hosts and guests, thus endorsing diversity and inclusion, it will also enrich and strengthen the cultures involved.

6.3   Conclusion

In conclusion, this study has shown that there is symmetry between language and ethnic, national and global identities. The three age and ethnic groups used in this study returned that language is the most important factor in the construction of the identities above. Ethnic identity is related with their ethnic languages, national identity is related with the peculiar accentual features of their West African pidgins; and global identity is marked with the use of English. However, whereas there is a correspondence between positive attitude towards English and to some extent pidgin, and actual usage, there is a mismatch between positive attitudes towards indigenous languages and actual use among the younger age groups, which suggests that ethnic identity through language is mainly symbolically negotiated. However, this fact does not mean that the younger generation would not change their behaviour in future to align with their beliefs, since attitude is variable.

Ethnic identity construction served to show the degree of bonding with their heritage culture despite several years spent outside their mother land. Although a majority did not use their ethnic languages in interaction, they were conscious of their ethnic groups and

the languages used to express their culture. This tie is exemplified in the refugees' feelings of pride in their culture as against Nigerian culture, while comparing certain systems and practices in the course of interaction. No doubt they left their mother land but they carried their cultural baggage along. The ethnic consciousness exhibited by the refugees is sufficient to instil a feeling of nostalgia for their home and also capable of engendering repatriation. National identity construction served to endorse the extent of bonding with the refugees' national groups. The connection to their national groups is highlighted in the retention of the sound patterns of their English and pidgin. Despite the years spent and the contact made with Nigerians, they managed to retain their unique patterns of English and pidgins. Such unique patterns helped to register and entrench their psychological distinctiveness as groups who belonged to different states. However, it is instructive to note that such an ethnic and national bonding and the retention of salient features of their languages is made possible by their status as refugees who lived within the confines of a camp. Unlike other immigrants who live among a dominant group and so easily acculturated for various reasons, refugees who live together in a camp, away from the dominant culture, find it easier to maintain their ethnic culture instead of acculturating.

In terms of the global identity, the implication of the language option is the creation of one large in-group (comprising of all the ethnic and national groups) who speak English. However, it is the global identity constructed through English which mainly served to soften hard and rigid boundaries between ethnic and national groups. English is viewed positively by all the respondents for its limitless instrumental possibilities, and was also marked as a badge of modernity. However, it was seen to pose a real threat and challenge to the ethnic languages especially in the nuclear domains. On the whole, a global identity is an avenue through which the respondents can emerge into a world of diversity and inclusion. This is a world where difference and strangeness are appreciated, and people from different races, cultures and languages are acknowledged and respected because their uniqueness have a place and a vital contribution to make in the evolution of the world.

6.4   Further Research

The present study is far from exhausting all the elements of language and identity issues even in a refugee setting, which suggests that there is plenty room for further studies. There are about three areas which deserve attention.

One, the present study has concentrated on West African refugees hosted by a West African country. These three countries, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Nigeria have certain social and linguistic elements in common. But there are other refugees in Nigeria like the Congolese who are situated in a camp in Ijebu Ode, Ogun State. These Congolese refugees are from East Africa and speak mainly French apart from their ethnic languages. An empirical study devoted to these refugees who come from a different African region and have little in common with the host country is important to see how the refugees construct and maintain their identity in a really strange territory.

Two, the present study has focused mainly on two variables: ethnicity and age. Variables like residence history, education and occupation are important objects of research to know how the number of years spent in the camp, academic level and type of work impact on identity construction and retention among refugees.

Three, the result of the present study is based on the responses of a limited population: 240 respondents (120 each from Liberia and Sierra Leone). A study which involves a larger population is essential, especially, for the purpose of making stronger generalisations.

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APPENDIX	iii	LIST OF INTERVIEWEES	
Country	**Respondent**	**Ethnic group**	**Age group**
Liberia	Sam	Krahn	13 – 19
	Christiana	Krahn	13 – 19
	Robert	Krahn	20 – 39
	Mummy J	Krahn	20 – 39
	Kennedy	Krahn	40 – 60
	Sa Popei	Krahn	40 – 60
	Adamah	Bassa	13 – 19
	Favour	Bassa	13 – 19
	Mummy favour	Bassa	20 – 39
	Malee	Bassa	20 – 39
	Dubah	Bassa	40 – 60
	Sachoe	Bassa	40 – 60
	Gertrude	Kpelle	13 – 19
	Jenny	Kpelle	13 – 19
	Yassah	Kpelle	20 – 39
	Sensie	Kpelle	20 – 39
	Oritz Kuta	Kpelle	40 – 60
	Ledlum	Kpelle	40 – 60
Sierra Leone	Peter	Mende	13 – 19
	Kanneh	Mende	13 – 19
	Juma	Mende	20 – 39
	Charles	Mende	20 – 39
	Baro	Mende	40 – 60
	Lebbie	Mende	40 – 60
	T.J	Temne	13 – 19
	Amanda	Temne	13 – 19
	Saffiatu	Temne	20 – 39
	Mike	Temne	20 – 39
	Ben	Temne	40 - 60
	Victoria	Temne	40 – 60
	Mariama	Limba	13 – 19
	Sally	Limba	13 – 19
	Senrrie	Limba	20 – 39
	Santike	Limba	20 – 39
	Tenneh	Limba	40 – 60
	Sule	Limba	40 - 60

APPENDIX IV

INTERVIEW WITH KENNEDY

INT: How do you identify yourself as a Krahn?

Kennedy: It is our language, Krahn, y'know the language is very importan becau of where we come from, everybody spea differen language. So, I believe tha a Krah shoul spea Krah. If you can' spea your diale, in one way or another you are cu off from your peopo. It is not good for somebody no to spea his language even if you spea other language like English you mus try and spea your diale.

Int: What about your identity as a Liberian, how do you mark it?

Kennedy: Yes, as a Liberian, when I pass somebody on the stree, nobody will know me as a Liberian, it is no written on the face. Here, we are all black peopo, y'know and we all look alike, like brothers. But here in Oru when I tal peopo notice that I am Liberian refugee; y'see, we Liberians have our own way of speaking, I don' mean diale but English or pidgin which we call Kreyol. All we Liberian from differen tribes understan it but other peopo do not, even you (researcher) when we speak our pidgin you thin we are speaking our diale (laughter). So we use our pidgin and English to show that we are from Liberia.

Int: What about global image, how do you construct it?

Kennedy: English, English, English is spoken everywhere in the world, both British English and American English; y'know in Liberia the Americo- Liberian use English to try and intimidate everybody, but the res of the peopo say no and today everybody spea English to show that we also belon to the worl. English is our international language. Everybody in Liberia like to speak English and also here in the cam. When the Congolese were here, they use to spea French but they were moved to Ijebu Ode. But now it is only English and all of us spea it, both Liberia and Sierra Leone peopo. It helps us to understan one another, and we also understan what is happening in the world.

Int: What about French?

Kennedy: French is also international language but English is bigger, like in my church here, we used to have eigh (8) nationals her, eigh, Liberians, Sierra Leoneans, Congolese, Sudanese, Rwanda, Ivorian, eigh nationals, and we use English bu those from Franco phone use French, but over time they adjus to spea small small English. We use to intepete (sermon) into French until they star to understan and spea English and we stoppe interpretation.

Int: Do you still have Francophone   ?

Kennedy: Yes, we have them from DRC Congo, Rwanda, they're still aroun, bu becau of the local integration process by U.N some of them live in Ijebu Ode, they come once in a while to visi their friens here.

Int: At home which languages do you use?

Kennedy:	At home we use mainly English and also pidgin because of where we come from. My wife spea Loma, but I am Krah, though I spea small Bande… so because of differen language we use English only to tal, and we also use English to tal to our children, but sometime like our elder daughter, my wife spea her diale to her sometimes. She really understan what she said sometime. They discuss small, yes my wife do that but I don' fin mysel doing that. But when my younger brother came from Liberia and my mother in-law they spea diale to the children and I like it.
Int:	So you speak English only to them?
Kennedy:	Yes, English but I discover that it's no good for us. It's not the bes for us. Yes, with what I see in Nigeria, I wan my children to spea my language, but I don' know how… I'm just hoping that one day they will mingle with my peopo and be able to spea Krah.
Int:	what about Yoruba?
Kennedy:	I would like to spea it but I don' ye, but my children spea Yoruba. My children, some spea Yoruba because they were born here, school here and mix up with Yoruba children, so they spea Yoruba, like my big daughter, she spea Yoruba very well, and they learn it in school too… Y'see the thing there is that, I believe that we are African no matter what, we should be able to identify and know where we are from because language has a way of glueing peopo together. If you come to my place and spea my language, I feel that you are part of me. Yes, the identity, I feel that I belong to a grou, so that's how I feel… take for instance the whole East Africa, the common language you hear is Swahili, yes you go to Kenya, Swahili, Uganda, Malawi, Swahili, they have a common language.
Int:	Let's talk about negative identity, has Yoruba and Nigerians given you an identity you don' like?
Kennedy:	Yes they have given us here a bad identity, y'see to live together, there is always confli. The common one is refugee, omo refugee, you this refugee, you this refugee, sometimes you seem to be angry but you have no choice, they're just saying the righ thing. They know that this is no your place, you are just a by-passer, especially you see Yoruba children coming to quarrel with an elderly person and the person say 'ah, ah, if I am in my country would you have the guts to tal to me, if not the war'. So they (Yoruba) feel this peopo (refugees) are not at our level, they are below us… it is like we and they… sometimes in a bus they will tell you, 'ah-ah you refugee? One day I was coming down from Lagos, las Saturday, before Lagos-Ibadan Express way, coming down to Sagamu, this driver was driving recklessly; he was on 120 and was conversing wi another driver on 120, he pass the guy, the guy pass him, and they laugh; and I said to him 'you are not carrying pepper, not even animals, we have children a home, brothers and sisters, don' drive like tha! The next thing he said was 'refugee', shut up!" so I said okay, I will repor you to the police and they will deal wi you… Bu later he called me and say sorry… so we have little little problem like tha.

APPENDIX V

INTERVIEW WITH LEBBIE

Int: You are Mende, so how do people know you as Mende?

Lebbie: People know me as Mende man because of where I come from and the language
we speak. Dialect is the way you know where somebody come from. Like me I
be Mende man, if I speak my dialect you will say this is a Mende man. If you
speak Ibo I will say this is Ibo man. You don't write tribe on people's face until
they talk. That is what they use to catch people during the war in Sierra Leone,
and even in Liberia. When the rebels want to know whether you come from their
own tribe they speak their language to you; if you don't reply and speak that
language, you are in trouble, they can kill you or cut off your hand. So dialect is
very powerful.

Int: What about Sierra Leone identity, how do people know you as Sierra Leone
person?

Lebbi: How do people know me as Sierra Leone (Laugh) I can say it is our pidgin which
is our national language and we call it krio. Krio is the language which many
Sierra Leone people speak. You may come from Mende, Fula, Kru, Temne, but
all of us speak Krio and we don't joke with it. It is our national language in
Salone. The people who get the language are called the Krio people and they are
not many, very small in number, but somehow everybody fall in love with krio.
That is the pidgin we speak everywhere, and they use it for radio to make
announcement, and even during election politician, you know just to make
people to vote for them, they will speak Krio. They know that is the language of
the people so they speak to the people in the language they understand.

Int: Which of the languages do you speak at home with your wife and children?

Lebbie: In my family we come from different places, so we speak mainly English and
Krio.

Int: You don't speak your dialect?

Lebbie: No, we no speak our dialect. My wife is from Kru, me I am Mende, so we speak
krio and English all the time and our children too. It is not that I can't speak
Mende or that my wife can't speak Kru but because we don't understand each
other, therefore we speak English. It is junior's mother that speak dialect to him
sometimes, whether he understand or not. I think he understand small small but
he can't speak it. He speak only English and Krio.

Int: Are you happy that he speaks only English and not Mende?

Lebbie (laughs):   No I am not happy, I want him to be able to speak Mende, but English is
very important, that is why I want him to go to a good school for his future of
course. In Sierra Leone our official language is English, and it will help him to
pursue things like, if he want to be a lawyer or Engineer. That is why every one
of us want our children to do well in English. Even in the camp here we don't
speak our dialect much.

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Int:	Why?
Lebbie:	Well, I am Mende but I am not too used to my native dialect and that is because I try to avoid anything sentiment, because we mix up too much here, so many people from different tribe. So I always speak English so that people will not say that I am secretive or too tribal. When you speak your dialect every time they will start to suspect you.
Int:	What about Yoruba?
Lebbie:	It has not been an easy one, I have not been able to learn anything, but it is important but before no one of us see it is important because we are not privileged to live with them. We live on our own, we do things on our own, we go to the market, we can still communicate with our common pidgin or English. That is why a lot of us don't speak Yoruba. Only now because, since the issue of local integration is being forced on us, we see it as very important now and the only way you can find your way in this country. But some of my children speak Yoruba. Yes, okay, my little children do not speak Yoruba except the big ones in school, 14 years old, they mingle with Yoruba children, in fact they do Yoruba in school as a subject, and I like it. It is good for them, it help them to understand their friends.
Int:	Do Nigerians identify you in a bad way you don't like?
Lebbie:	Yes, yes (laughs) they do it and it is common here and we don't like it, yes, words like omo refugee, we see these names as discriminatory. Over the years that is why the refugees don't want to stay around, we are being stigmatized. It is not good at all because we are all human being. Why call me omo refugee, why can't you call me 'sir' y'see it affects every aspect of life. Those who ride okada, once they (Yoruba) know you are refugee, even if you are friends, that friendship dies down, the refugee has become like stigma for most Nigerians and they use it to show us that we are not important to them. May be they think that because most of us here are poor and dependent on UN and Nigeria so they think we are not important. It is not good, because we are fellow Africans…. And look at it Nigeria is big brother, Nigeria is indeed a very big brother within the sub region and even the whole of Africa. But unfortunately, there is this issue of local integration, the way we perceive it initially we thought that it was going to be a big brother thing but unfortunately it is not. They are withdrawing interest in the local integration. But we still appreciate the support of Nigeria in bringing peace to Sierra Leone and Liberia. If not for Ecomog, Oh! If not for Ecomog that help us, by now most of us would have died. We will never forget Nigeria.

Appendix vi

QUESTIONNAIRE

We are conducting a survey with the aim of studying identity projections through language in Oru refugee camp, and we need your assistance. Please answer the proposed questions below: if any of the questions do not apply to you or your situation, please proceed to the next question. All responses will be treated confidentially. Thank you for taking the aims to fill in this questionnaire.

Instructions:
1.   In the boxes provided you are required to tick the answer of your choice.

2.   On the lines provided _____ you are required to fill in your answer.

Section A: personal information.

1.   Gender: Male ☐   Female ☐

2.   Age: 10 – 19 ☐   20 – 39 ☐   40 – 60 ☐

3.   Marital status: Single ☐   Married ☐

4.   Occupation: Trading ☐   Working ☐   Schooling ☐

Section B: Language background

1.   What is your first language? _____

2.   What is your second language? _____

3.   Do you speak your first language?   Yes ☐   No ☐

4.   Do you speak your second language?   Yes ☐   No ☐

5.   Which other language(s) do you speak? _____

Section C: Identity projection at Home

1.   Which language(s) do you use to talk with your spouse? _____

2.   Which language(s) do you use to talk with your children? _____

3.   Which language(s) do you use to talk with your brother/sister? _____

Section E: Identity projection in the Neighbourhood

1.   Which language(s) do you use to talk with ethnic neighbours? _____

2.   Which language(s) do you use to talk with national neighbours? _____

3.   Which language(s) do you use to talk with international neighbours? _____

Section D: Identity Projection in the work place

1. Which language(s) do you use to talk with your colleagues?_____
2. Which language(s) do you use to talk with food vendors?_____

Section E: Identity Projection in the School

1. Which language(s) do you use to talk with your teacher in class? _____
2. Which language(s) do you use to talk with your classmates in class?_____
3. Which language(s) do you use to talk with your classmates during break?_____

Section II: Language Attitudes

1. I believe my indigenous language is _____

   Very important ☐   important ☐   less important ☐   not important ☐

2. Rate your proficiency in speaking your indigenous language

   Very poor ☐   poor ☐   fair ☐   good ☐   very good ☐

3. I believe Yoruba is _____

   Very important ☐   important ☐   less important ☐   not important ☐

4. Rate your proficiency in Yoruba

   Very poor ☐   poor ☐   fair ☐   good ☐   very good ☐

5. I believe pidgin is _____

   Very important ☐   important ☐   less important ☐   not important ☐

6. Rate your proficiency in pidgin

   Very poor ☐   poor ☐   fair ☐   good ☐   very good ☐

7. I believe English is _____

   Very important ☐   important ☐   less important ☐   not important ☐

8. Rate your proficiency in English

   Very poor ☐   poor ☐   fair ☐   good ☐   very good ☐