

Children's Songs in Nawfija Community, Southeastern Nigeria: A sociolinguistic perspective

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OKKCHI001

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COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

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Abstract

This thesis studies the Indigenous children's songs of the Nawfija community, in the Southeastern part of Nigeria. The language of communication in the community is the Nawfija variety of Igbo. The research was conducted from a sociolinguistic perspective, shaped by the participants' ideas and perceptions, thereby allowing their voices to be heard. Adopting a qualitative paradigm, the study employed interviews and observations for data collection. 20 participants were interviewed, and observations were carried out in five households. The study draws on language socialization and language ideologies as its theoretical frameworks.

The study shows, firstly, that Indigenous songs serve as an important language socialization tool in the Nawfija community. Secondly, it shows that the songs have declined in their use over time. The decline can be linked to the histories of colonialism, a western education model, globalization, and religion. At the same time, new practices have emerged. For example, cell phones, toys, DVDs, and CDs are now often used in child care. In addition, localized English songs, afro-beats, reggae, and hip-hop, are used when looking after children. The research discusses three ideologies surrounding these Indigenous songs, two of which, (i) and (ii), may have contributed to their decline. The ideologies are (i) English equates to intelligence and success, (ii) English is the language of geographical mobility, and (iii) Igbo/Nawfija variety is a language of identity.

The study concludes by arguing that, as a result of ideologies (i) and (ii), if these Indigenous children's songs were revitalized, possibly, not all community members would be committed to maintaining them. Therefore, for the revitalization to be successful, people need to appreciate the importance, beauty, and value of their languages and cultural practices (see ideology (iii)). Likewise, the Nigerian academic system should be shaped to reflect their uniqueness and promote their language and its practices, by adopting the local variety as the primary language of education. This will help to strengthen people's knowledge of their history, language, linguistic practices, culture, knowledge, present realities, and future challenges.

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Dedication

Chidiogo Ifeoma Onyebuchi - September 18th, 1993 – July 15th, 2022

Victor Odii - 1996 – November 2020

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(Ebiem, 2020)..... 13

Interviews' linguistic data glossing

English is in normal font

Igbo is in italics

Transcription conventions

[.] short pauses

[...] long pauses

--- interrupted speech

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This research seeks to study the Indigenous children's songs of the Nawfija community in South-eastern, Nigeria. It combines work on language socialization and language ideologies while also documenting these songs. Nettle and Romaine (2000) have argued that the pressure of globalization or neo-colonialism is driving many speech communities to shift to languages, cultures, and often ideologies and beliefs other than those Indigenous to them. This situation can lead to changes in linguistic and cultural practices (Iwaketok, 2009).

One of the academic responses to these processes has been the development of the field of documentary linguistics (Himmelmann, 1998, 2006). Documentary linguists seek to document such 'vanishing voices' (Nettle and Romaine, 2000). However, many early studies were geared toward lexico-grammatical documentation and fall short of capturing the social and cultural dimensions (Himmelmann, 2006; Childs, Good and Mitchell, 2014). For example, only a few research are available on the socio-cultural contexts of children's songs in the Igbo culture such as Ebeogu (1991), Iwaketok (2009), Agu and Okpara (2019), and Ojukwu and Ibekwe (2020). Moreover, to my knowledge, no work has been done on the Nawfija community's children's songs. Cultural practices are vital aspects of Nigerian communities and children's songs are a salient cultural practice (Agu and Okpara, 2019). They bear in them different themes, reflecting, amongst other things, the community's lifestyle and culture (Ebeogu, 1991; Ogede, 1997; Iwaketok, 2009).

Some Nigerian scholars have argued that some cultural practices of the Igbo community, including children's songs, are 'endangered' (Ebeogu, 1991; Ogede, 1997; Iwaketok, 2009). Therefore, they have called for urgent documentation of Indigenous children's songs in Nigeria, especially, and Africa, more generally. Consider Iwaketok's (2009: 156–157) comment on lullabies,

Linguistic insight has been into the relevance of the genre, thereby drawing attention to the need for continued documentation and analysis of Nigerian lullabic songs, especially as they are becoming rapidly eroded or replaced by more 'attractive' alternatives.

A problem is that studies focused on documentation often fail to understand the factors responsible for these shifts. This includes the underlying ideologies that may promote a decline of these cultural and linguistic practices. Likewise, these studies sometimes do not fully assess how speech community members feel about using and revitalizing their language and/or its linguistic practices (Crawhall 2004; Blench and McGill, 2012; Agyeman 2016). Therefore, this study presents an ‘ideological clarification’; that is an assessment that helps researchers and policymakers to understand whether the community has ideologies and attitudes that will promote the maintenance of the language practice if a documentation and revitalization project were to be carried out (Fishman, 1991; Dauenhauer, 1998).

In sum, this research explores whether Indigenous children’s songs of the Igbo community in Nawfija are endangered, as argued by some scholars, and what could be done about it. Moreover, I seek to understand the cultural role of children’s songs in Nawfija. The focus is on how the songs socialize children into the language and culture. Lastly, I discuss the ideologies that may have contributed to the current state of the songs.

1.2 Research questions

This study’s broad research question can be phrased as follows: How do members of the Nawfija community talk about their Indigenous children’s songs? In addition, the following sub-questions will be addressed:

- (1) Are children’s songs an established oral genre in the Nawfija community?
- (2) How are children socialized into the Nawfija culture and language variety using the Indigenous Nawfija children’s songs?
- (3) Are children’s songs an endangered aspect of the Igbo culture, using the Nawfija community as a case study?
 - a. Is there a decline in the use of these Indigenous children’s songs?
 - b. If there is a decline in Indigenous children’s songs, what are the reasons for this?
- (4) What language ideologies surround these songs?
 - b. What are the social variables that contribute to these existing ideologies?
- (5) Is there a need for the revitalization of these songs?
 - b. If yes, what are the ideological clarifications for revitalization?

Smith (1999) has written extensively on the notion of research that concerns Indigenous people as being linked to European imperialism and colonialism. She suggests a decolonial research method that allows participants' input to shape the research. This is a departure from previous research methods (what she refers to as 'western research') which were often designed to extract knowledge only (Smith, 1999: 42). Thus, in the present study, the interview questions were developed with a decolonial ethos in mind, thereby putting the participants at the center.

1.3 Area of study

The Nawfija community is a part of the larger Igbo community. It is situated in the southern-eastern part of Nigeria in the Orumba south local government council of Anambra state. In the context of Nigerian society and this study, a 'community' is understood to be a group of people living in a particular area, who share the same language or language variety. Four villages make up the Nawfija community, with an estimated population of 100,000 native speakers. This includes the Ugwu na Uhualla, Oḩukabija, Owayi na Ezeiyi and the Uḩuoma na Uḩuezeogbu villages. The data collection for this thesis was carried out in the Oḩukabija village. Furthermore, based on the information gathered from the participants and my observations during fieldwork, the Nawfija community is predominantly Christian.

The language of communication in Nawfija is Igbo (specifically the Nawfija variety of Igbo), English, and the Nigerian Pidgin. Igbo is one of Nigeria's three major languages. The others are Hausa and Yoruba (Ugorji, 2014).¹ Igbo is spoken in the south-eastern states of Nigeria and is classified as part of the New Benue-Congo Phylum (Bendor, 1989; Blench, 2012). The south-eastern states include Anambra, Imo, Abia, Enugu, and Ebonyi. The Igbo-speaking population is also unevenly distributed in Delta, Cross River, and Rivers States as depicted in figure 1.1 below (Onumajuru, 2016).

¹ I am aware of the politics of prefixes in language names. However, in this thesis, I will be using English conventions. That is, I will use 'Igbo language' when referring to the language, 'the Igbos' or 'the Igbo people' when referring to its people and the 'Igbo community, land etc.' when referring to its geographical location.

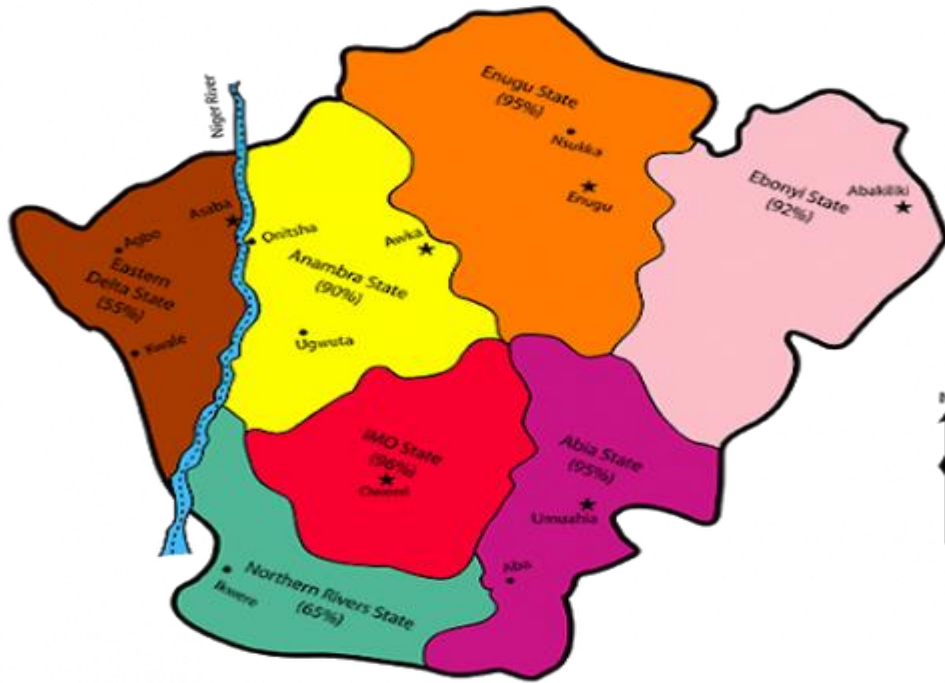


Figure 1: The States of Igboland with their capitals and the percentage of Igbo speakers. (Ebiem, 2020)

The Igbo language comprises different varieties including a standard form (Ikekeonwu, 1987; Manfredi, 1991; Nwaozuzu, 2008). The standard variety is also referred to as the ‘educated variety’ because it is used in media, commerce, and education including publications (Ugorji, 2014). Oweleke (2020) notes that standard Igbo’s lexicon is enriched through borrowing from various regional varieties (also see Ikekeonwu 2005, and Oweleke 2020). According to Ikekeonwu (2005) and Oweleke (2020), the standard Igbo variety combines the morpho-syntax of the Central variety with the sound system of the General Onitsha variety. The Central variety, also known as the Owerri (Owerri) variety, is spoken in Owerri, Imo state, and the Umuahia regions in Abia state (Onumajuru, 2016). The General Onitsha variety is predominantly spoken in Onitsha, Anambra state. Oweleke (2020) states that most Igbo speakers assume that the standard and the central variety are synonymous. This explains the interchangeable use of both terms by my participants. Participants further indicated that the Nawfija variety of Igbo and the standard variety of Igbo are similar but with minor phonological and morphological differences². Furthermore, they also indicated that although Indigenous children’s songs can be found in other Igbo communities, the Nawfija community performs them using their variety. They are called *egwu umuadzi* ‘children’s songs’ in Nawfija, as opposed to the standard

² There are no published academic papers on the Nawfija community, thus the information above is based on the interviews and my observations.

Igbo term, *egwu ụmụaka*. The Nawfija residents are industrious, and versatile in different works of life. Their means of livelihood include farming (staple, arable and pastoral), civil services, trading at their local or neighbouring village markets, teaching, artistic performance, palm wine tapping, bricklaying, and welding.

1.4 Research motivation

My interest in this research stems from my passion for Indigenous languages and their practices, especially endangered languages. This interest goes way back to my teenage years when I read an article about the death of some languages and the possible anticipated deaths of many more in the coming years, including my native language, Igbo. This argument is articulated, for example, by Crystal (2008) who argues that a language dies somewhere in the world, on an average of every two weeks. This fueled my passion for studying linguistics. Also, during my National Youth Service in Nigeria, I participated in the lexico-grammatical documentation of the Gera Language of Bauchi State under the Kay Williamson Educational Foundation and Calvary Ministries (CAPRO).

The Igbo language is counted as among the languages threatened and losing its linguistic practices (Emeka-Nwobia, 2020). Thus, I wanted to play a role in its maintenance and, possibly, the revitalization of some of its traditional genres and practices. However, the Igbo language as earlier discussed includes many varieties. I decided to work with the Nawfija variety of Igbo because it is located in my state of origin, Anambra. Moreover, I have not found any published linguistic study on this variety, and participants said that it has lost many of its linguistic practices. Reminding myself of this motivation was helpful throughout the process of my data collection and analysis. It helped me respond to participants' questions about the research, why I was interested in it, and their community. Hence, I made them understand that aside from being for academic purposes, I was committed to Indigenous languages and wanted to document them through my research. Also, I wanted Indigenous speakers to understand, through my academic study, that our Indigenous languages are good enough. We are enough as a people. However, I also had to carefully work through my analysis to not allow my passion to affect the interpretation of my data. This entailed ensuring that the data interpretation was based on what participants said and not on what I may want.

1.5 Chapter organization

The thesis consists of seven chapters and is organized as follows: This chapter (Chapter 1) introduces the study, the research questions, and the area. In addition, the motivation behind the study is given, as well as summaries of all chapters. Chapter 2 contains the literature review, and discusses publications consulted for this study. These frameworks include theories on language socialization and language ideologies. The chapter also discusses existing work on children's songs, focusing on Nigeria and Ghana. Chapter 3 discusses the data collection methods adopted for the study: interviews and observation. This approach allowed participants' opinions to shape the research and to obtain rich qualitative data. The chapter also gives detailed information on the participants and the practicalities of conducting research during the Covid-19 pandemic. Chapter 4 addresses how the Indigenous children's songs aid in socializing children into the Nawfija community (Sub-questions 1 and 2). Chapter 5 investigates the question of a decline in the use of Indigenous children's songs and discusses possible reasons for such a decline (Sub-question 3). Chapter 6 discusses three ideologies surrounding the songs' loss and revitalization. The chapter also includes a discussion of the concept of ideological clarification. It seeks to assess whether the community will be committed to maintaining and using the songs should a revitalization project be carried out (Sub-questions 4 and 5). Chapter 7 summarizes the research findings, discusses the study's limitations, and outlines possible areas for future research.

1.6 Conclusion

In summary, this chapter introduced the research project by providing a brief overview of existing research and locating the study within this work. The current chapter also presents the central questions that I will explore with regard to the Nawfija Indigenous children's songs: socialization, the state of the songs, ideologies, and revitalization. Furthermore, I clarified that the research takes a qualitative approach. This approach is important in understanding the contexts of the situation surrounding the children's songs. This chapter also discussed the community where the research was conducted and reflected on the motivation for the project.

Chapter 2: Literature review

2.0 Introduction

This chapter contains three major sections and presents a discussion of the literature that is relevant to this research. The chapter outlines the theoretical framework of this study based on Ochs and Schieffelin's (1984, 1986, 2008, 2012) conceptualization of language socialization, as well as Guardado's contributions to the topic (2019). Theoretically, I also draw on work about language ideologies as conceptualized by scholars in the broad field of linguistic anthropology (Silverstein, 1979, 1998; Woolard and Schieffelin, 1994; Woolard, 1998, 2020; Kroskrity, 2004, 2010; Childs, Good and Mitchell, 2014; Piller, 2015; Guardado, 2019).

In Section 2.1, I discuss language socialization as “the process by which people are socialized both to use the language of their community and to become members of that community” (Guardado, 2019: 34). Section 2.2 discusses the concept of language ideologies, focusing on the work of Kroskrity (2004, 2010). He describes language ideologies as beliefs, opinions, and feelings regarding language structure and linguistic practices. Language ideologies are grounded in the interests of individuals and/or groups and reflect social identities (such as gender, age, class, etc.). I review the five levels of the organization of language ideologies that were proposed by Kroskrity (2004, 2010). Of these five levels, three levels are relevant to my data analysis and are discussed in detail. In addition, I explore the importance of language ideological clarifications (Fishman, 1991, 2001; Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, 1998) as a necessary step in works on revitalization (Section 2.2.1). Finally, Section 2.3, presents an overview of existing studies on children’s songs in Nigeria (Ebeogu, 1991; Ogede, 1997; Iworetok, 2009) and Ghana (Abarry, 1989).

In my discussion, I use “linguistic practices” to refer to socio-cultural aspects of language like songs, proverbs, folktales, and riddles. It is necessary to explain what we mean by “language”, especially in the context of this study. According to Himmelmann (2006: 2), the concept of language includes a diversity of “registers and varieties (social and local varieties)”, as well as evidence that allows one to approach language as a cognitive faculty. It also encompasses social practices as well as cultural practices. He writes as follows:

[L]anguage documentation should strive to include as many and as varied records as practically feasible, covering all aspects of the set of interrelated phenomena

commonly called a language. [This] would cover all registers and varieties, social or local; it would contain evidence for language as a social practice as well as a cognitive faculty; it would include specimens of spoken and written language; and so on.

2.1 Language socialization

Schieffelin and Ochs (1986: 163) suggest that the concept of language socialization includes two aspects: (i) “socialization through the use of language” and (ii) “socialization to use language” (see also Guardado, 2019: 34). Ochs and Schieffelin (1984) note that language socialization processes start from the moment a person has their first social contact, which often occurs during verbal and non-verbal communications between a mother and child. These interactions can take different forms, one of which is through children’s songs, the topic of this study. Also, these interactions have embedded in them socially structured and cultural systems of meaning to reflect specific community norms. Schieffelin and Ochs (1986: 164) state that:

[T]he verbal interactions between infants and mothers observed by developmental psychologists can be interpreted as cultural phenomena, embedded in systems of ideas, knowledge, and the social order of the particular group into which the infant is being socialized.

Guardado (2019:48) further points out that “through the process of language socialization”, a child’s identity is formed. Likewise, for the child to become competent members of their society, they must acquire the language ideologies valued in the group. Guardado (2019:48) notes that:

[B]ecoming a competent and recognized member of a community entails a very complex process. In heritage language socialization (and no doubt also in other multilingual language socialization settings), this means acquiring or at least to some pragmatic extent subscribing to the language ideologies that are valued in the group.

Furthermore, Guardado (2019: 35) writes that “language and culture are intrinsically connected, [and as a result], the process of language and culture learning (enculturation) are one and the same and happen simultaneously”. Language socialization usually deals

with the socialization process into a first language and its culture. It is contrasted to second language socialization which focuses on the socialization process into a second language and culture. Research on the socialization process in bilingual, and multilingual settings was previously grouped under the umbrella of second language socialization. However, from the 2000s, these research areas gradually grew to carve their place within the field of language socialization studies (Duff, 2012; Guardado, 2019). It is also necessary to note that the process of language socialization is interactive, and both the child and the adult are active participants. As Schieffelin and Ochs (1986: 165) put it, “the child or the novice (in the case of older individuals) is not a passive recipient of sociocultural knowledge but rather an active contributor to the meaning and outcome of interactions with other members of a social group”. This will be explored in Chapter 4, showing how Nawfija children are active participants in their socialization process. Language socialization occurs in multiple contexts such as in monolingual or multilingual families (Garrett and Baquedano-López, 2002; Duff and Hornberger, 2008; Pahl, 2008; Fogle and King, 2017); in workplaces involving adults (Bell, 2003; McAll, 2003; Roy, 2003); in schools (Cole and Zuengler, 2003; Harklau, 2003; Lotherington, 2003); and in communities (Guardado, 2008; Guardado and Becker, 2013). Ochs and Schieffelin (2012) have argued that socialization processes are not universal, as different communities employ different strategies such as, for example, proverbs (Oduyoye, 1979; Jacobs-Huey, 2003) and folktales (Miller and Mehler, 1994; Kyratzis, 2005). Some studies on socialization pay attention to children’s songs, such as, for example, Muwati, Tembo and Mutasa’s (2016) work. They study Shona children’s songs in Zimbabwe. They argue that these songs are essential for raising Shona children, as they provide functional and valuable instructions to Indigenous life, unlike the English songs that promote European hegemony. Likewise, Putrajip, Astuti, and Fitrianto (2019) demonstrate how Javanese *dolanan* (game) songs are valued as a means of education and character-building for Javanese children in Indonesia (also see Custodero and Johnson-Green, 2003; Doja, 2014; Sierra, 2017; and Coberly, 2020). This study aims to build on previous scholarship by discussing the process of language socialization through children’s songs in families whose native language is the Nawfija variety of Igbo.

2.2 Language ideologies

Theorization of language ideology as an area of inquiry has been developed by many scholarly works (Silverstein, 1979, 1998; Woolard and Schieffelin, 1994; Woolard, 1998,

2020; Irvine and Gal, 2000; Kroskrity, 2004, 2010; Childs, Good and Mitchell, 2014; Piller, 2015; Guardado, 2019). The framework of language ideology adopted for this study was conceptualized by Kroskrity (2004, 2010). According to Kroskrity (2004: 498), language ideologies are the “beliefs, or feelings, about languages as used in their social worlds”. He further notes that such ideologies often result from the political-economic as well as social and cultural interests of speakers (Kroskrity, 2010). Also, as Woolard (1998:6) discussed, “ideologies of language do not relate only to language, [but they also express the] ties of language to identity, aesthetics, ethics, and epistemology”. Therefore, they shape not only the structure and use of language but further stretch to speak about notions of individuals and social groups likewise social practices such as religious rituals, child socialization and gender issues. She further states that language ideologies are “representations whether explicit or implicit, that construe the intersection of language and human beings in the world” (Woolard, 1998: 3).

Rumsey (1990: 346) defined language ideologies as the “shared bodies of common-sense notions about the nature of language in the world”. However, this definition was criticized by Kroskrity (2004, 2010) as not being inclusive of the ideological variations that can arise among a group of people due to differences in social variations such as class, age, educational qualification, and gender (also see Piller 2015). Kroskrity argues that the definition by Rumsey, though straightforward, supports an excessively homogeneous perspective of language ideologies. He emphasizes that the discourse of language ideologies ought to “provide an alternative for exploring variation in ideas, ideals, and communicative practices” (Kroskrity, 2004: 496). An example of a gender-based language ideology can be found in the objections by many feminists to the generic use of “he” (to refer to both male and female) as being a discriminatory practice. As a result, a change in the grammar of the English language has been noted (Silverstein, 1985).

Furthermore, Kroskrity (2004, 2010) writes that language ideologies are not limited to the perceptions that stem from the ruling classes and that all social groups hold – sometimes conflicting – language ideologies, which guide their choices in engaging with communicative activities and constructing linguistic evaluations. Likewise, McGroarty (2010) writes that language ideologies exist in all languages and among all language users, not just minoritized or endangered languages. Hence, beliefs about language and linguistic practice are generally “multiple, context-bound, and [construed from the speaker’s] sociocultural experiences” (Kroskrity 2010: 192). Such ideologies could include the

sentiments and beliefs of speakers about “the superiority or inferiority of specific languages” (Kroskrity, 2004: 497). For example, how and what language should be acquired, beliefs about language contact, and multilingualism which could be positive or negative. He discusses as examples, the sociolinguistic practice of the Arizona Tewa (a Pueblo Indian community in the United States) who avoid borrowings and loanwords from other languages. This contrasts with the proud acknowledgement of bilingualism by the Puerto Rican New Yorkers (Kroskrity, 2004).

In this thesis, the concept of language ideologies is analyzed as individuals’ perceptions of how a language and its practices operate and should operate, within a given society. The perspective of this study, therefore, aligns also with Curdt-Christiansen’s (2016: 695) conceptualization of language ideologies as “language users’ evaluative perceptions and conceptions of language and language practices, based on their beliefs and assumptions about the social utility, power, and value of a language in a given society” (also see Curdt-Christiansen, 2009). She discusses, for instance, the English language, which she argues has gained both political and economic power due to globalization. This is evidenced in its use in international cooperations, in academia, and in its role in enabling upward mobility for individual countries. Likewise, as defined by Piller (2015: 4), and of relevance to this study, language ideologies can be described as “beliefs, feelings, and conceptions about language that are socially shared [by language speakers] and relate to language and society”. Piller posits that language ideologies provide a basis for language use, thereby serving social ends. Piller also draws on Kroskrity’s idea (2004, 2010) that language ideologies are “interested, multiple and contested” (ibid).

As noted in the chapter introduction, the work by Kroskrity has been important to my thinking and three out of the five levels of organization outlined by Kroskrity (2004, 2010) are relevant for the data analysis in this study. The five levels that shape language ideologies can be summarized as follows: “[i] group or individual interests, [ii] [the] multiplicity of ideologies, [iii] awareness of speakers, [iv] [the] mediating functions of ideologies, and [v] [the] role of language ideology in identity construction” (Kroskrity, 2004: 501). The three levels relevant to my data analysis in Chapter 6 are levels one, two, and five.

Level 1, “*group or individual interests*”, emphasizes that language ideologies often reflect beliefs, thoughts, and feelings, about language and discourse which are based on an individual’s interest or the interests of the cultural community to which they belong (Kroskrity, 2004: 501). According to Kroskrity (2004: 501), the perceptions, and beliefs

an individual has about what is desirable or even accepted, “about language and discourse are [embedded] in [their] social experience and [are] often tied to political-economic interests”. Hence, they seek to promote, legitimize and protect those interests. Piller (2015) exemplifies this using the concept of the “standard language ideology”. She argues that, for example, Standard American English is the variety that is legitimized for writing in education, courts, and media. Thus, it is projected as intellectually and morally superior to other varieties. This ideology associates the standard variety with the dominant classes, thereby, making “it seem fair and equitable—both to those who benefit from it and to those who are disadvantaged by it— that speakers of that variety should occupy privileged positions in society, while non-speakers should be excluded from such positions” (Piller, 2015: 4, also see Lippi-Green 2012). Woolard and Schieffelin (1994: 58) state that the theory of language ideologies brings to mind the idea “that cultural conceptions are partial, contestable, and interest-laden”, and that they often reflect, and reinforce socio-political hierarchies.

Level 2 states that “*language ideologies are profitably conceived as multiple*” (Kroskrity, 2004: 503). Kroskrity argues that speakers’ perceptions, thoughts, and feelings towards a language are not universal but vary based on the plurality of social divisions within a sociocultural group/community. Social divisions such as gender, age, class, clan, educational qualifications, religion, and cultural stance can bring about multiple ideologies among members of the same community. Kroskrity (2004: 503) further argues that “language ideologies are grounded in social experience which is never uniformly distributed throughout polities of any scale”. For example, Hill’s (1998) research on Mexicano linguistic ideologies shows that a multiplicity of ideologies existed among speakers. The “successful” class of Mexicano men voiced the view that contemporary Mexicano shows a lack of respect. Previously, respect was marked using Nahuatl polite and honorific forms. The successful Mexicano men lament the loss of these linguistic forms. In contrast, Mexicano women are more likely to be conflicted about this change in language use. They have seen their circumstances change for the better over the same time, making some of them less enthusiastic in supporting the return of these linguistic forms (which, to them, are associated with past injustices).

Level 5 can be summarized as follows: “*language ideologies are productively used in the creation and representation of various social and cultural identities (e.g. nationality, ethnicity)*” (Kroskrity, 2004: 509). The earlier example of the Arizona Tewa community also applies here. As discussed by Kroskrity (2010: 203), their local language

ideology of purism discourages code-mixing but promotes the maintenance of distinctive languages. This results in distinct linguistic and cultural identities: “Tewa, Hopi, ‘American’”. Another instance of identity creation through language ideologies can be found in Schieffelin's (2000, 2007) studies of the Christian literacy programs for the Kaluli in Papua New Guinea. These literacy programs, according to Schieffelin (2000: 296), “(re)presented and (re)constituted social identities”. For instance, the texts used the derogatory term “ka:na:ka”, which depicted the Kaluli people and practices as “uncivilized and backward” (p.308). This influenced the Kaluli to “(re)formulate, (re)present, and (re)construct [their own identity] in a cultural and moral order” different from the pejorative representation by outsiders (p.309). Kroskrity (2004, 2010) notes that often identities of different kinds such as ethnicity, gender, indigeneity, and nationality are defined and/or resisted through language.

2.2.1 Ideological clarification

A brief discussion of the concept of ‘ideological clarification’ is important as it guides the analysis of the multiple ideologies held by the Nawfija community and the possibility of the successful revitalization of the songs. This is discussed further in Chapter 6. The very first step one needs to undertake before the commencement of a language revitalization program is referred to as “[p]rior ideological clarification” by Fishman (1991), or as “assessment” by Grenoble and Whaley (2006). According to Kroskrity (2004), the notion of ‘ideological clarification’ was developed by Fishman (1991), and further expanded by Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1998). It addresses the need to resolve contradicting ideologies in speech communities where the heritage or local language is severely threatened, but still, the responses of the community towards its preservation are divided. Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1998) write that such contradictions can reflect a significant discrepancy between verbally expressed interests (i.e. promoting language and cultural preservation) and unspoken deep emotions that support language abandonment.

Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1998: 63) define language ideological clarification as “an open, honest assessment of the state of the language and how people really feel about using and preserving it”. They write that failure to understand and clarify people’s ideologies – their feelings about the continuous usage and preservation of their language and linguistic practices could be detrimental to revitalization. They further state that there may exist disparities between the beliefs of an individual(s), and the larger community. Sometimes this disparity expresses itself in an overt desire to revitalize their language,

even though deep-rooted fears and negative biases also exist. These negative biases could be resulting from their colonial experiences, which affect their attitudes towards the language, thereby pointing to language abandonment. In addition, they posit that it is not uncommon to find a speech community expressing the belief that a revitalization project is a good idea, yet they may not show the required commitment to actualize it. Kroskrity (2015:143) defines the concept of language ideological clarification as follows:

The process of identifying issues of language ideological contestation, including both beliefs and feelings that are indigenous to that community and those introduced by outsiders (such as linguists and government officials), that can impact—either positively or negatively community efforts to successfully engage in language maintenance and renewal.

This definition reinforces the idea that a multiplicity of ideologies can exist in a community, some of which can promote language maintenance, language shift, or abandonment.

Curdt-Christiansen (2016) discussed conflicting language ideologies and contradictory language practices in her work on Singaporean multilingual families. She observed that in these families there exist conflicting ideologies among the family members regarding the language the child should speak. These different ideologies are based on their different concerns for the child's economic survival, identity, and education in a highly competitive society. The findings show that although Mandarin, Malay, Tamil, and English are recognized as official languages in Singapore, a shift can be seen toward English due to the ideologies that parents hold (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016). She, therefore, argues that intergenerational transmission of minoritized languages is not easy or problem-free. This is because although parents may be speakers of these languages and may have positive attitudes towards their languages, the underlying ideologies of language can affect the linguistic and sociocultural outcomes. Consequently, she argues that language shift is inevitable in a society where the preference is not for the Indigenous and/or minoritized languages but for the language of wider communication and/or globalization. This aligns with Kroskrity and Field's (2009) research on the San Juan Paiute community, which showed that the community's ideological preferences promoted a shift from their language (Southern Paiute) and associated linguistic practices to English (see also Kroskrity, 2015).

In conceptualizing language revitalization, Grenoble (2013) writes that language revitalization activities can support languages currently undergoing language shift. Grenoble (2013) emphasizes that language revitalization in some contexts goes beyond teaching the language; rather, the cause of the language shift should be identified to know which language revitalization activities one should focus on. For instance, in some contexts, the shift may be caused by a dominating language of wider communication in education or government (ibid). Likewise, as discussed by Nevins (2004 for Arizona), Kroskrity and Field (2009 for Indigenous communities), and Kroskrity (2010) a shift in a language practice may also result from the ideologies held by members of that speech community. Hence, it is essential to conduct an ideological clarification before the commencement of a revitalization project.

Childs, Good, and Mitchell (2014) note the importance of revitalizing sociolinguistic and cultural practices, not just the language's structural aspects. They argue that these sociolinguistic and cultural practices are more fragile than the lexico-grammatical codes and disappear first due to the pressure of globalization and the impacts of colonialism. They urge linguists to remember that while a single speaker can remember codes, these sociolinguistic practices demand the presence of an active speech community. Therefore, revitalization projects of sociolinguistic contexts should not be neglected (also see Campbell and Muntzel, 1989; Harrison, 2005). In this study, I look in detail at the sociolinguistic and cultural practices of children's songs in the Nawfija community.

2.3 Review of related studies on children's songs

This section discusses previous studies on children's songs in Nigeria (Ebeogu, 1991; Ogede, 1997; Iwokedok, 2009) and Ghana (Abarry, 1989). Although most of these studies focus on the genre of lullabies, my study discusses children's songs beyond the genre of lullabies.

Ebeogu's (1991) study focuses on lullabies drawn from two Igbo communities. He uses Brakeley's (1950) conceptualization of lullabies as a category of song that mothers use when they try to put a child to sleep. Slow rocking rhythmic patterns characterize these songs. Ebeogu argues that lullabies can be overt or covert. He describes the overt lullabies as those whose semantic content makes their genre easily identifiable. In contrast, covert lullabies are songs whose semantic content is more hidden, and sometimes it is the melody rather than the words that identify a song as a lullaby. In the Igbo culture's

most popular lullabies, titles are overtly descriptive. Examples include: *egwu igugu nwa* ‘song for pacifying a restless child’ or *egwu okuku nwa* ‘song for babysitting’ (Brakeley, 1950: 2). Moreover, Ebeogu (1991) argues that lullabies are culturally grounded and allow researchers to better understand a community’s cultural worldview. Ebeogu also informs students of folklore that the lullaby is an oral genre that requires a unique context of luring a child to sleep and/or when soothing a crying child. Thus, data might be difficult to obtain in natural contexts –as a result, it is often staged. Ebeogu further states that the singer often determines the theme or message of the lullaby, for example, by adding or removing some of the lyrics. He argues that a child can easily replicate the intonation contours of the words and phonemic clusters that are heard in a lullaby.

Another study on Nigerian children’s songs is by Ogede (1997) who looks at songs sung in play contexts by Igede children, in Benue State. In support of Ebeogu’s (1991) argument that lullabies are culturally enriched, Ogede (1997) states that a baby’s first exposure to their culture is often through the lullaby. Moreover, he emphasizes that Igede lullabies reveal the community’s love for children. Thus, lullabies are key cultural means of expressing love for the Igede community. In his study, he states that Igede children respond very positively to hearing lullabies and, through lullabies, they learn about their community’s culture. And as the children grow up, they incorporate the singing of the lullaby in situations other than those that solely require putting a child to sleep.

Iwokedok (2009) discusses lullabies in several communities in Nigeria including Ibibioland, Edo state, Kagoro, and Koro in Kaduna state, Nasarawa, Foron in Plateau State, Imo, and the Cross River States. African lullabies are described by Iwokedok (2009) as a genre that tells stories about the African experience and as a medium of sociocultural discussion. It is thus also a therapeutic and expressive practice that is passed down from one generation to the next. She begins her article by stressing the need for a comprehensive description of African lullabies and notes that so far only a few studies are available. Dividing her data into two groups, she examines the lullaby’s social context and importance. Group one, ‘songs by mothers’, reflects the significance and role of an African mother. In contrast, group two, ‘songs by babysitters’, reflects the maltreatment of babysitters (also see Ebeogu 1991). Like other scholars, Iwokedok (2009) notes that societal morals are conveyed through lullabies. However, she writes that more studies are needed on African lullabies, arguing that they are at risk of being endangered (Iwokedok, 2009: 156–157):

Linguistic insight has been into the relevance of the genre, thereby drawing attention to the need for continued documentation and analysis of Nigerian lullabic songs, especially as they are becoming rapidly eroded or replaced by more 'attractive' alternatives.

Abarry's (1989) work on children's play songs analyzes their impact on the development of African children socially, morally, and emotionally, using the Ga community of Ghana as a case study. The Ga children's play songs are mostly composed by adults and older children to benefit younger children. These songs aid in expressing the singer's emotional attachment to the infant and socialize the child into the culture. Abarry (1989) concludes by stating that these play songs are no longer sung and performed as before, although they are rich in value. He proposes more studies on African oral literature, which according to him, is steadily slipping away.

Building on these studies, my study analyzes the role of Indigenous songs in the socialization of Nawfija children. It also discusses the song's current state and outlines the underlying ideologies surrounding these songs.

2.4 Conclusion

The area of language socialization and ideologies is a broad field and this chapter focused on literature relevant to the study. While some of the literature reviewed here does not directly relate to Africa, it is contextualized in view of the topic. In the process, I identified the gap in the literature that this study contributes to. I discussed works on language socialization and language ideologies. I approached language socialization as the process of cultural socialization through language, and as the linguistic process that allows a child to acquire language. Both processes, taken together, enable a child to become a competent member of a community. Following this I discussed work on language ideologies, focusing on Kroskrity's levels of ideological organizations, which are relevant to the discussion of the ideologies available in my data. Further, I explored the concept of language ideological clarification as a relevant step any researcher should take before the commencement of a language revitalization project. This is because, in the absence of ideologies and attitudes that will promote language use and maintenance, a language, and its practices may still decline in use, even after a revitalization project is carried out.

Previous studies on children's songs in the Nigerian and Ghanaian contexts identified gaps to be covered. And although there exist some studies on children's songs in Igbo communities, this chapter shows that there exists – as yet – no study on the

Indigenous children's songs of the Nawfija community. The chapters that follow aim to contribute to this knowledge gap. By exploring how children's songs aid in socializing children into the language variety and culture of the Nawfija community, I contribute to a better understanding of this particular community. Likewise, describing the ideologies and experiences of the Nawfija community members toward their children's songs, allows me to conduct an ideological clarification as an essential step before a revitalization project is considered.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the data collection methods, the research ethics (including Covid-19 protocols), challenges, analysis, and my positionality. The research site was Ohukabia, Nawfija, Anambra State, Nigeria, and 20 interviews were conducted. Smith (1999: 1) argues that the notion of ‘research’ is “inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism”, spurring out bitter memories of past exploitation of the knowledge of Indigenous people for personal/professional benefits. To avoid objectifying my participants, I sought to create room for the participants’ opinions and views to shape the research. I did this by following a qualitative method using semi-structured interviews.

Qualitative research through interviews and observations allows for discussions between the researcher and the participants (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Moreso, it aids in exploring individuals’ experiences and perspectives about a particular social phenomenon. Thereby enabling the researcher to understand how and why certain practices are followed in particular social and historical contexts (Atkinson, Coffey, and Delamont, 2001; Polkinghorne, 2005 cited in Mohajan, 2018).

3.1 Data collection tools

3.1.1 Observations

According to Gitlin and Russell (1994: 185), conducting research dialogically gives people who may not have been allowed to speak, question, and state what they want, a voice. Thus, this qualitative method enables the participants to contribute to shaping the research. In addition to interviews, I observed the participants’ sociolinguistic practices. These observations were carried out in the compounds³ of these participants with full permission and Covid-19 protocols in place.

From the information I gathered during my research, it seems that many in the Nawfija community believe that childcare is the responsibility of women and siblings. As a result, my observations were mainly of women caring for their children. They were often assisted by the older children (male/female) in the family. I observed five participants (see Table 3.1) in their compounds on five different days for about 40-60 mins each.

³ In Nigeria, the term refers to the outdoor open space of a house.

Participant	Age
1. Miss Eileen	23 years old
2. Mr. Victor	33 years old
3. Mrs. Grace	40 years old
4. Mrs. Favour	28 years old
5. Mrs. Love	34 years old

Table 3.1: The observed participants and ages.

Initially, the observations were somewhat awkward as those in the compound were aware of my presence, and my note-taking. I mitigated this by initiating conversations and adopting the role of a visitor. As Spradley (2016: 54) clarifies: “The observer comes to a social situation with two purposes: (1) to engage in activities appropriate to the situation and (2) to observe the activities, people, and physical aspects of the situation”.

3.1.2 Interviews

During the interview sessions, I presented myself to my participants as a student eager to understand and learn about their experiences, perspectives, ideologies, and stories regarding Indigenous children’s songs. As Rapley (2001: 318) states, “the interview offers a site to view how people locally produce talk-about-a-topic-*in-interviews*”. It also gave room for the research to be shaped and formed by their inputs, giving them the sense of being the teacher (see also Spradley, 2016: 4). For me, this became a way of decolonizing research and changing the narrative of some researchers who exploit the knowledge of Indigenous people for academic gains with limited consideration of the participants’ input.

Before the interview, I would ask my participant their preferred language for the discussions. They could choose between English and Igbo, as I am proficient in both. However, all my participants code-mixed Igbo, English, and Nigerian Pidgin. Codemixing of English, Igbo, and Nigerian Pidgin is common in the eastern part of Nigeria where I come from. I switched languages at their lead to ensure the atmosphere was as informal as possible. I started by exchanging pleasantries such as asking about the welfare of the family and community and talking about my school experiences. The discussion gradually tilted to what I study in school, my research, and my interest in Indigenous linguistic practices, especially that of the Igbo. These discussions helped create a

friendly environment, interested my participants in the research, and stretched their discussions to other Igbo linguistic practices that could be researched. The interviews were semi-structured as the questions were a guide to keep me on track with the research topic. Also, I allowed further discussions outside of my interview questions and asked follow-up questions based on participants' responses and narratives about their experiences. Consequently, I agree with Denzin and Lincoln (2004: 353), who argued that interviews are perceived to be "the favourite methodological tool of the qualitative researcher", as they reveal the socio-cultural world of the community (Levon, 2013). The guiding interview questions used for the research were written to conform to cultural politeness norms and strategies. The Igbo culture is marked by respect and the use of endearing words when speaking to people of different ages. Hence, titles were used as a mark of respect to all participants, and married females were referred to as 'Mrs' as is culturally appropriate in Nawfija (see Appendices A-D for the interview questions). Table 3.2. summarizes the interview data.

Participant	Length
1. Miss Elizabeth	26:13
2. Mrs. Blessing	10:35
3. Mrs. Grace	20:32
4. Mrs. Hope	27:34
5. Mrs. Peace	26:36
6. Mrs. Joyce	14:55
7. Mrs. Faith	24:19
8. Mrs. Love	14:07
9. Mrs. Miracle	15:25
10. Mrs. Favour	25:15
11. Mrs. Jane	12:16
12. Mrs. Sonia	28:02
13. Mr. Victor	25:31
14. Mr. Samuel	15:56
15. Mr. Joseph	33:31
16. Miss Eileen	18:55
17. Miss Nora	15:10
18. Miss Sylvia	21:36
19. Mr. Daniel	24:22
20. Mr. Dave	17:02

Table 3.2: The name of the participants and length of each interview.

3.2 Sampling

To gain access to the Nawfija community, I used the friend-of-a-friend method, where the researcher is introduced to the participants by a mutual friend (Milroy, 1987; Milroy and Gordon, 2003; Levon, 2013). Mr. Sunday Ifeanyi Okoli introduced me and my research to the community members and the community's *Igwe* 'King'. Mr. Sunday also helped identify participants based on my selection criteria. In addition, participants introduced me to their friends and relatives who met the criteria. This gradual method of approaching participants through social networks is called snowball sampling (Goodman, 1961).

3.3 Participant selection criteria

To be a participant, the individual had to be a member of the Nawfija community and

live in Ohukabia (see chapter 1, section 1.3). More women were interviewed than men because, in the Nawfija community, the women are mostly responsible for children's well-being and they connected me mostly to other women. In total, I interviewed 15 women and, 5 men as shown in Table 3.3. The study was limited to participants between the ages of 18 to 40 years due to the high risk of Covid-19 to those aged 50 and above.

	Name	Age	Sex	Education Level	Occupation	Children
1.	Miss Elizabeth	30	F	National Diploma Degree	Student	Yes
2.	Mrs. Blessing	35	F	Secondary School Leaver	Farmer	Yes
3.	Mrs. Grace	28	F	Secondary School Leaver	Entrepreneur	Yes
4.	Mrs. Hope	40	F	Bachelor of Arts Degree	Civil Servant	Yes
5.	Mrs. Peace	38	F	Secondary School Leaver	Farmer	Yes
6.	Mrs. Joyce	40	F	Secondary School Leaver	Farmer	Yes
7.	Mrs. Faith	37	F	Secondary School Leaver	Trader	Yes
8.	Mrs. Love	34	F	Bachelor of Science	Trader	Yes
9.	Mrs. Miracle	40	F	Sandwich and NCE Diploma	Civil Servant	Yes
10.	Mrs. Favour	40	F	Secondary School Leaver	Trader	Yes
11.	Miss Jane	32	F	Bachelor of Arts Degree	Civil Servant	Yes
12.	Mrs. Sonia	40	F	Bachelor of Arts Degree	Civil Servant	Yes
13.	Mr. Victor	33	M	Masters Student	Teacher	None
14.	Mr. Samuel	40	M	Secondary School Leaver	Farmer	Yes
15.	Mr. Joseph	35	M	Secondary School Leaver	Musician/Trader	Yes
16.	Miss Eileen	23	F	Undergraduate	Student	None
17.	Miss Nora	20	F	Undergraduate	Student	None
18.	Miss Sylvia	19	F	Secondary School Leaver	Student	None
19.	Mr. Daniel	22	M	Undergraduate	Student	None
20.	Mr. Dave	24	M	Undergraduate	Student	None

Table 3.3: A summary of participants' backgrounds. Pseudonyms were used for participant anonymity.

3.4 Ethical procedures: Clearance, Consent, and Confidentiality

My research proposal was approved by the Department of African Studies and Linguistics in the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Cape Town (UCT). The approved Covid-19 protocols, as issued by UCT for face-to-face research, were used

during the data collection.

Before each interview, I explained in detail what the research entailed before the participants signed the consent forms. I introduced myself to the King (HRH Igwe Clifford C. Okeke), who approved me to conduct research in the area. I requested the King's consent to respect his position as the community's ruler (the consent form signed by the King is included in Appendices I and J). As the community ruler, he is responsible for settling serious disputes such as land disputes, providing the community's basic infrastructural needs, and acting as a spokesperson between the people and the government of the state.

I also informed the participants that they had the right to ask that the already recorded sessions of their interviews be deleted at any point in the research and that they could withdraw at any point. Likewise, I explained that the research posed no psychological harm or threat to the community, as I had no intention of indulging in topics outside my research. Also, I explicitly reminded them of the risk of Covid-19, which entailed that they must obey all health protocols to keep safe. The consent forms were translated into Igbo to assist participants who prefer Igbo. The consent form included detailed information on the research and all that I intended to do with the data (see Appendices E and F). Furthermore, the participants were assured that their privacy and confidentiality would be respected.

3.5 Practicalities

3.5.1 Data collection procedures and equipment

Following UCT protocols for in-person data collection in 2020/2021, I obtained formal permission to collect such data from the Faculty of Humanities. This permission also required me to test for Covid-19 before data collection and to quarantine for 14 days upon my arrival in Nigeria from South Africa. Before I arrived in Nawfija, I contacted Mr. Sunday and potential participants telephonically to discuss the research and to brief them about the importance of hygiene and the necessity of taking all precautionary measures to prevent the spread of the virus. I also asked participants questions on the telephone to assess their risk of a Covid infection (see Appendices G-H and K-L).

Per UCT's Covid-19 protocols, I would check the participant's temperature before the start of the interview using an infrared thermometer. The interview sessions were restricted to one participant per session in an open-spaced compound with a

gazebo covering, spacious enough to allow a social distance of at least 2 meters. Also, during the observations, I maintained this social distance, and everyone wore face masks. Likewise, I provided each participant with a facemask, a face shield, and a small bottle of hand sanitizer. The interview space and all items were adequately disinfected before and after every interview session. At the compound's entrance, I placed a hand sanitizer stand, water dispenser, liquid soap, and a waste bin. I purchased these items through the Mastercard Foundation research allowance funding. During the interviews, an audio recorder was used to record each interview session. Each participant was fitted with a lapel microphone to improve the audio quality. Fieldnotes were taken in a notebook during the observations. Each interview lasted for less than an hour and was structured as an informal conversation to make the participants feel comfortable (Mesthrie et al. 2009: 90). At the end of each day's recording, the audio recordings were copied to my Laptop as a backup.

3.5.2 Challenges

The Covid-19 pandemic affected the research directly. Initially, I had hoped to interview older community members (above 60 years), as I assumed they would be more knowledgeable about traditional practices, including Igbo children's songs. However, because of the constraint of Covid-19 and the health risk for older people, I could not interview elderly participants.

In preparation for a case of emergency during the data collection period, I had an agreement with the Orumba General Hospital. I was assured of their ambulance's availability and given an emergency contact if the need arose. Fortunately, the data collection was successful, without any medical issues. However, all these preventive measures made us more aware of this virus. Every sneeze and clearing of the throat was greeted with a suspicious look of "could that be Covid?" and this sometimes stifled the air. Finally, wearing face masks during the interview sessions affected the quality of the recordings. Sometimes participants gasped for air, especially when singing, thereby producing muffled speech, pauses, and sometimes having to repeat their speech. Consequently, some participants may have intentionally spoken less because of breathing difficulty. Thus, my interview sessions were not as long as expected for qualitative research. Hence my shortest interview session was about ten minutes, and the longest was thirty-three minutes.

3.6 Positionality

Another consideration in carrying out any research is the researcher's positionality. This concerns the researcher's preconceived values and ideologies, which may affect and/or contribute to the research, including the interactions and/or relationships with the participants.

Levon (2013) and Spradley (2016) write that a researcher who has both the status of an 'outsider' and 'insider' at the same time might be in an advantaged position. This was my position as I carried out the research. As an insider, I am perceived as an 'Igbo' (since I am from the Igbo ethnic group), and as an 'outsider', I am seen as someone who is not from the Nawfija community. Because of this outsider status, I assured them that I did not pose a threat to their secrets and taboos as I am not aware of them and would not ask any questions about them. On the other hand, my status as an 'insider' helped improve the free flow of our conversations. In addition, I had to carry out an introspection on myself, a critical reflection of 'why I am interested in this particular research', 'why I have chosen the Igbo language and the Nawfija community', and 'who I am'. The answers to these questions helped me explain to them my interest in Igbo language practices, improved our discussions, and guided me in writing (see Chapter 1).

3.7 Steps towards data analysis

The recorded interview sessions were transcribed orthographically in Igbo and translated into English. After the transcription of a session, I would replay each session's recording to double-check that I accurately transcribed what the participant said, as my transcriptions were to be used for the data analysis. I employed a thematic analysis method. This entailed going through my transcription to identify and interpret similar key themes from different participants and discussing each theme individually (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Clarke and Braun, 2016; Nowell et al., 2017). This was best suited for my analysis because it is an appropriate "method to use when seeking to understand a set of experiences, thoughts, or behaviours across a data set" of any population size (Kiger and Varpio, 2020: 847).

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the methodological framework adopted in this study. This includes techniques and practicalities for qualitative data collection in a pandemic. 20 participants aged between 18 and 40 years were interviewed. In addition, I carried out some observations to understand how the beliefs and narratives articulated in the interviews resonated with everyday practices. Participants' consent was obtained in writing before the interviews began. Conducting my research during the pandemic was quite challenging, with many PPE materials in place and protocols observed to ensure the safety of all. Hence, the use of face masks affected the quality of my recordings. To ensure participants were relaxed during the interview sessions, I tried to make the interview informal by allowing for code-mixing between Igbo, English, and Nigerian Pidgin. The data were analyzed using a thematic analysis method. The findings of the research will be discussed in the following chapters.

Chapter 4: Nawfija Indigenous children's songs and their role in children's socialization

4.0 Introduction

This chapter outlines the different genres of Indigenous children's songs in the Nawfija community and their role in language socialization. It draws on the theoretical framework of language socialization (discussed in Chapter 2). The chapter contains three main sections. Section 4.1 identifies and illustrates the five distinct categories (genres) of Nawfija Indigenous children's songs based on their functions. Furthermore, the section discusses how these songs socialize children into the Nawfija community and aid their physiological development. Section 4.2 explores the role of paralinguistic features in the songs explicitly focusing on how the songs interact with bodily actions. Finally, section 4.3 discusses the category of people who are believed to have created these songs.

As discussed in Chapter 2, language socialization is “the process by which people are socialized both to use the language of their community and to become members of that community” (Guardado, 2019: 34). This perspective toward language socialization is adopted in this study and informs the discussion in this chapter. In addition, Schieffelin and Ochs (1986) note that language socialization begins at home from the first point of social contact in the life of every human. For Nawfija children whose cultural practices include the use of songs from birth, their socialization could be said to have begun from birth. Similarly, Emeka (2002) and Ekwueme (2004) posit that in the Igbo culture, songs accompany a person from birth, starting with birth celebration songs. These songs are an integral part of the Igbo culture and educational system (Emeka, 2002; Ekwueme, 2004; Okunade, 2011; Agu and Okpara, 2019).

4.1 Genres or categories of children's songs

The Nawfija community does not distinguish different genres within what they call ‘children's songs’. However, based on my data analysis and literature review, I identified six different genres or categories of children's songs. This categorization is based on the various functions of the songs, and the themes or messages the songs communicate. The categories include:

Category 1 are lullabies, which are songs used to pacify children. The participants commented that the lullabies' rhythmic patterns and slow rocking quieten children to

sleep. They are performed by adults for children from as early as birth up to approximately age 5.

Category 2 are moral songs that typically convey messages about how to behave morally within Nawfija society. Adults typically perform them for children between the ages of 3 and 10. Unlike lullabies, children also participate in these songs as they are required to chant the choruses of these songs.

Category 3 are songs that reflect socio-political issues, such as the world's economic state or the history of colonialism. They are performed by adults for children between the ages of 5 to 10.

Category 4 are game songs, which engage the child in a cultural act through their playful performances. They are performed by adults with children between the ages of 3 to 10 until they have mastered the games of the songs and can perform them alone.

Category 5 are songs that encourage standing and walking. They are aimed at the child's physical development. They are performed by adults and older children between the ages of 5 to 10 for toddlers who are expected to have started walking.

Category 6 are praise songs. Alas, none of the participants remembered any songs in this category, but they spoke about this type of song. The discussion surrounding this sixth category is analyzed in the next section (4.2).

In the remainder of this section, I will discuss categories 1-5 and illustrate them with examples. It is important to note that the songs discussed in this thesis are 'children's songs' in the sense that they are songs sung *for* children and, in some instances, as specified above, *with* children. For a discussion of songs performed only *by* children, see Hopkin (1984).

4.1.1 Lullabies

These songs form part of the socialization process of Nawfija children by communicating culturally relevant knowledge and also exposing the child to the local language variety. This section will focus on two versions of the same song.

The song sample in extract 4.1 is titled *Ònye mụrụ nwa na-ebe akwa?* 'Who gave birth to the crying child?'. Mrs. Joyce performed it during the interview. These are the lyrics that she performed:

<i>Ònye mụrụ nwa na-ebe akwa?</i>	Who gave birth to the crying child?
<i>Egbe mụrụ nwa na-ebe akwa</i>	The hawk gave birth to the crying child
<i>Weta ụzịza, weta ose</i>	Bring black pepper, bring (red/yellow) pepper
<i>Weta amara ngịrịngā ofe</i>	Bring the ingredients for soup
<i>Ka ụmụ nnụnụ rachaa ya</i>	So that the bird's children will lick it
<i>Okpofufu kpọ gbue ya</i>	And choke because of the heat
<i>Egbe ndoo, egbe ndoo</i>	Hawk sorry, hawk sorry
<i>Nwa enwe ị ma n'elu, na eso m gi</i>	Monkey's child, if you jump up, I am following you
<i>Nwa enwe ị ma n'ala, na eso m gi</i>	Monkey's child, if you jump down, I am following you
<i>Nwa enwe ị maba na be Onye ọcha</i>	Monkey's child, if you jump into a white man's house
<i>Onye ọcha e were egbe gbagbuo gi</i>	The white man will use his gun to shoot you dead

4.1: *Ònye mụrụ nwa na-ebe akwa?* 'Who gave birth to the crying child? (Mrs. Joyce)

The song begins by asking about the mother of the crying child and further states that perhaps the child was birthed by a hawk. Another participant, Miss Elizabeth, also sang the same song and explained that the song is vital in educating the child about the Nawfija food culture. This is achieved through the wordings of the song which lists the ingredients – *ụzịza* 'black pepper' and *ose*, 'red or yellow pepper' – used in the preparation of soups in Nawfija. The song also aims to assure the child that they will always be cared for because the singer (the caregiver) will follow them wherever they go. In the last two lines, there is a reference to the Igbos' colonial experiences and how these indirectly form the child's sense of self as black as opposed to *ònye ọcha*, a 'white person'. Reflecting on the community's history can be seen as part of socialization, "a process that helps form the child's emerging sense of self" (Guardado, 2019: 34). For example, the lines *nwa enwe ị maba na be ònye ọcha, ònye ọcha e were egbe gbagbuo gi* 'Monkey's child, if you jump into a white man's house; the white man will use his gun to shoot you dead' recalls the violence of colonialism. African people were seen and referred to as *nwa enwe* 'monkeys' by the colonists. Hence, the adult singers warn the child about the consequence of strolling into a white man's house – even though the house was situated in their community. Thus, beyond its lulling function, the song tells the child about the history and violence of colonialism and local survival strategies (see Agu and Okpara 2019). As Guardado (2019:34) puts it, it is through the socialization process that "the child learns to think and act appropriately — in harmony with the norms of the group".

A second version of the song (4.2) was performed by Mrs. Favour (see full text in Appendix N.1.1.). This version has different lyrics in the second stanza:

<i>Nwa enwe nye m oyo, nye m mgbirimgba</i>	Monkey's child give me a rattle, give me a bell
<i>Ka m kpado nwa n'aka</i>	Let me hold my child in my hand
<i>Mgbe o ga-ebe obelege</i>	So that when s/he cries, s/he will stop
<i>Nwa enwe doo, nwa enwe doo</i>	Monkey's child please, monkey's child please

4.2: Second version of *Ònye mụrụ nwa na-ebe akwa?* 'Who gave birth to the crying child? (Mrs. Favour)

This version has the same basic theme and the same rhythm as 4.1. In this version, instead of singing about the violence of colonialism, Mrs. Favour articulates a message of comfort to the child. This soothing carries the message that a mother will go to any extent to pacify her crying child by looking for different musical instruments to soothe the child. Therefore, how a singer chooses to shape the content of a song is essential in a socialization process, as it can result in the child's socialization into an idea different from what other children in the same community may hold.

Language socialization also includes "the process through which children are taught to use language – and thus acquire language" (Guardado, 2011: 3): "Thus, children learn the language variety and the distinctive ways of speaking of their linguistic community" (Guardado 2019: 34). This is emphasized in the interview with Miss Elizabeth. She explains that the Nawfija children are socialized into learning the language variety through the songs that are performed to them. For example, through the song, *Ònye mụrụ nwa na-ebe akwa?* 'Who gave birth to the crying child? they learn the names of beings present in the Nawfija community. For example, *egbe* 'hawk', *enwe* 'monkey', and *onye ocha* 'white person'. Also, the version in 4.2 names the musical instruments, *oyo* 'rattle', *mgbirimgba* 'bell', and other common everyday words that help improve the child's Igbo lexicon. Learning the language variety through the wordings of the songs applies to all songs discussed in this chapter.

The other lullabies that participants performed can be found in Appendix N. These also communicate social norms and improve the child's vocabulary. For instance, the idea that laughter is much better than crying, no matter the saddening situation they may be in (Appendix N.1.2.). Another song (Appendix N.1.3.) teaches the child the common practice of adults bringing gifts to their children at the end of the day's work. The last

song (Appendix N.1.4.) teaches the child about traditional activities and livelihoods in the Nawfija community. These include siblings looking after younger siblings and fetching firewood.

4.1.2 Moral songs

The songs in this category are typically sung by parents, grandmothers, or elderly community members to children between the ages of 3 and 10. They are performed to imbibe a specific character or teach the child a particular lesson. Thus, making the songs a vital cultural component for the members of the Nawfija community. This aligns with the assertion by Igbo folklore scholars about the functions of traditional songs (Emeka 2002, Okunade 2011, Nwokenna and Anike 2012, and Agu and Okpara 2019).

Songs in this category were remembered by only two participants, Mrs. Favour and Mr. Joseph. Mrs. Favour’s vast knowledge of these Indigenous songs comes from her training as the community’s *oti mkpu*, ‘a traditional orator and performer’. An individual who holds this title performs songs for different occasions such as festivals (for example, the New Yam festival), funerals, kingship coronations, and child naming ceremonies. Mr. Joseph indicated that he learnt some Indigenous songs because he lived with his grandmother, and she had taught him some songs. Emeka (2002: 206) notes that traditional songs “put the greatest emphasis on character formation to acculturate the young into values, behaviour, attitudes, speech, action, and traditions that are considered necessary for the making of a person in a given environment”. The song in 4.3 was performed by Mr. Joseph and aims to socialize the child into the virtue of humility. It emphasizes to the child that to succeed in life, one must stay humble, as pride often leads to a downfall. In addition, the song in 4.3 also improves the children’s language knowledge as they learn the names of things they interact with in their everyday lives.

<i>Ònye na-eme na nwa akpa m?</i>	Who is doing something in my little bag?
<i>kpin̄n̄om</i>	<i>kpin̄n̄om</i> ⁴
<i>oke na-eme na nwa akpa m,</i>	rat is doing something in my little bag
<i>kpin̄n̄om</i>	<i>kpin̄n̄om</i>
<i>oke koo nko, oku ahụcha ya,</i>	if the rat brags, fire will roast it,
<i>kpin̄n̄om</i>	<i>kpin̄n̄om</i>

⁴ Most of the choruses of these songs are onomatopoeic words. They have no English equivalent nor meaning.

<i>ọkọ koo nko, mmiri amanyuo ya</i>	if the fire brags, water will quench it
<i>kpinnom</i>	kpinnom
<i>mmiri koo nko, ehi anuchaa ya</i>	if the water brags, the cow will drink it
<i>kpinnom</i>	kpinnom
<i>ehi koo nko, a tukpuo ya n'obu</i>	if the cow brags, it will be locked in a store
<i>kpinnom</i>	kpinnom
<i>obu koo nko, a nyujuo ya na nshị</i>	if the store brags, it will be filled with faeces
<i>kpinnom</i>	kpinnom
<i>nshị koo nko, ọkọkọ a tūrīa ya,</i>	if the faeces brags, the chicken will eat it
<i>kpinnom</i>	kpinnom
<i>ọkọkọ koo nko, égbé e vuru ya</i>	if the chicken brags, the hawk will carry it
<i>kpinnom</i>	kpinnom
<i>égbé koo nko, égbè a gbagbuo ya</i>	if the hawk brags, the gun will kill it
<i>kpinnom</i>	kpinnom
<i>égbè koo nko, uzu etijie ya</i>	if the gun brags, the smith will break it
<i>kpinnom</i>	kpinnom
<i>uzu koo nko, onwụ e were ya</i>	if the smith brags, death will take him
<i>kpinnom</i>	kpinnom
<i>onwụ koo nko, Chukwu e were ya</i>	if death brags, God will take it
<i>kpinnom</i>	kpinnom
<i>Chukwu koo nko, ọ nweghị ihe ga-eme ya</i>	If God brags, nothing will happen to him
<i>kpinnom ñom ñom ñom,</i>	kpinnom ñom ñom ñom,
<i>kpinnom</i>	kpinnom

4.3 *Ọnye na-eme na nwa akpa m?* 'Who is doing something in my little bag?' (Mr. Joseph)

Another moral song in this category is titled *Udara m chaa* 'My cherry, please ripen' (Appendix N.2.1.). It tells a story about a child without a mother whose stepmother maltreats her. According to the narrative, the stepmother buys the cherry fruit but does not give any to the motherless child. The child, out of hunger, sings to the cherry tree growing beside her mother's grave, pleading for it to ripen so she can feed on it. This song emphasizes the importance of hospitality, selflessness, and willingness to share. The song ends with a reflection on how people act selfishly, seeking only their gains. This is intended to teach the child what to expect from people as they grow up. Mrs. Favour stated in the interview that the singer would always advise the child not to behave like the stepmother in the song.

The last song, *Utete nne m* ‘Utete my mother’s child’ (see Appendix N.2.2), through its storyline, socializes the child into an acceptable behaviour of obedience, which is valued in the Nawfija community. In the story, two siblings are given cooking instructions by their parents, however, they do not heed the instructions. The children’s disobedience brings grave consequences as evil spirits take them hostage. Mrs. Favour emphasized that in the Nawfija community, children’s obedience to their parents and elders is a non-negotiable virtue that must be taught. Thus, through this song, a child is informed that there are consequences for being disobedient.

4.1.3 Socio-political songs

Bryant (2018) discusses children’s songs from the Chinese communist party that aim to teach children about the cultural value of the community. He writes that some of those songs also communicate political ideologies and the themes of cultural revolution. Similarly, in the context of Nawfija, some songs performed for children are used as a medium by adults to express their displeasure about politics. In the process, they socialize the children into the realities of the world they live in. Consider, for instance, the first version of *Ònye mụrụ nwa na-ebe akwa?* ‘Who gave birth to the crying child?’ (in 4.1). Though a lullaby, it also speaks to the socio-political context by articulating the violence of colonialism experienced by African communities in the past. In addition, members of the Nawfija community lament contemporary issues. For example, the failed political system, inflation in prices, suffering, and hunger experienced in their current world through the current Nigerian leadership. Consider example 4.4 below. The song does not directly articulate a socio-political critique but expresses a general weariness of an unfavourable situation. Mr. Dave’s comments during the interview contextualize the song as a lament about the socio-political situation of their world. Usually, adults perform this song with a tonal effect of sadness and nostalgia for the world they lived in decades ago.

<i>A sị na mụ nwere nku dika ndurị igwe</i>	If only I had feathers like the birds of heaven
<i>m ga-eji ya na-efeghari</i>	I will use it to fly all around
<i>m ga-eji ya fekuru Chukwu</i>	I will use it to fly to God
<i>m ga-agwa ya etu uwa dī</i>	I will tell him how the world is
<i>Uwa emebigo!</i>	The world has spoilt!
<i>Uwa nkea, uwa nkea, uwa nkea</i>	This world, this world, this world
<i>Uwa emebigo!</i>	The world has spoilt!

4.4 *Uwa emebigo!* ‘The world has spoilt!’ (Mr. Dave)

Mr. Dave elaborates on the community’s current socio-economic situation. He notes that during his parents’ time (in the late 1980s), there was high purchasing power, but this is no longer the case due to inefficient leadership (on Nigeria’s politics, see Forrest, 2019). It is important to note that socio-political songs have a long tradition in many African countries. For example, in Nigeria, Fela Kuti’s songs are well-known for their political commentary (Kuti, 2008; Bodunrin, 2019a,b,c). Oliver Mtukudzi Field (Sibanda, 2004) and Albert Nyathi Field (Moyo, 2008) sang about national issues in Zimbabwe. Also, in the South African context, scholars such as Gray (2004) and Louw (2017) discuss songs that reflect the socio-political and economic state of the country, such as those sung by Brenda Fassie and Mariam Makeba.

4.1.4 Game songs

Songs in this category are used to keep children occupied and entertained. Miss Elizabeth and Mrs. Favour performed some songs in this category. They include *Ònye na ko ede?* ‘Who is cultivating cocoyam?’ (4.5) as well as *Okereke Okereke*⁵ and *Kpakpankolo kpankolo*⁶ (Appendix N.4.1). Miss Elizabeth comments that these songs, aside from being entertaining, socialize children into cultural skills needed to participate as a member of the Nawfija community. For instance, the song in 4.5 socializes children into the core economic activity of farming. The song playfully demonstrates to the child how *ede* ‘cocoyam’ farming is done. Miss Elizabeth claims that children learn the art of farming as they imitate the singer in the rhythmic demonstration of an up-and-down movement of tilling the soil using an imaginary hoe. This supports Schieffelin and Ochs’ (1986: 165)

⁵ Okereke is a name.

⁶ This is an onomatopoeic word and has no English equivalent.

argument about a learner not being a passive participant but rather an ‘active contributor’ in the socialization process.

<i>Ònye na kọ ede?</i>	Who is cultivating cocoyam?
<i>Ede mara mma okukọ</i>	Cocoyam is good for cultivation
<i>Ngozi na kọ ede</i>	Ngozi is cultivating cocoyam
<i>Ede mara mma okukọ</i>	Cocoyam is good for cultivation

4.5 *Ònye na kọ ede?* ‘Who is cultivating cocoyam?’ (Miss Elizabeth)

The choruses of these songs are another example of active participation in the socialization process. As children echo the choruses, not only do they learn the local language variety, but they also re-emphasize the culture-embedded themes of the songs to themselves. In *Ònye na kọ ede?*, the children repeat the chorus – *ede mara mma okukọ* ‘cocoyam is good for cultivating’ – after every call-line by the singer. Usually, the singer goes in rounds to include the names of all the children participating in the game in these call-lines, and they respond with the chorus.

The *Okereke Okereke* song in 4.6 socializes children into the act of casting lots. To carry out the game in the song, each person needs to take off one of their shoes and sit in a circle. After that, as the song is sung, the shoes are passed from one person to the next in the circle until the song ends. Whoever has a pair of shoes at the end of the song is whom the lot falls on and they will be obliged to obey whatever instruction the team gives.

<i>Okereke Okereke</i>	Okereke Okereke
<i>Dududu yaya</i>	Dududu yaya
<i>Okorafo Okorafo</i>	Okorafo Okorafo
<i>Dududu yaya</i>	Dududu yaya
<i>Kwenu ‘o ga na-aga’</i>	Echo ‘it will keep going’
<i>O ga na-aga njem</i>	It will keep going on the journey
<i>O ga na-aga</i>	It will keep going
<i>O ga na-aga njem!</i>	It will keep going on the journey!

4.6 *Okereke Okereke* (Mrs. Favour)

The casting of lots was common in Nawfija among older people in the past. It was part of the cultural practice for decision-making when decisions could not be reached. Thus through songs like this, children are engaged playfully in a cultural act that the adults

foresee they will participate in when they are older. Therefore, in this song, we see another way in which the children actively contribute to their socializing process (Rogoff et al., 2003; Ochs and Schieffelin, 2012).

4.1.5 Standing/walking songs

Category 5 songs encourage standing/walking. They have been analyzed as songs that play a role in the physiological development of children (rather than cultural socialization). Songs in this category are performed for the child during their first year. Sunday-Kanu (2014) writes that every stage of life of an African child is celebrated with music, from infancy to when the child starts standing and practicing baby steps. This is also true of the Nawfija community, as memorable songs are performed to encourage children to stand and walk. These songs include deliberate demonstrations of claps, running in a circle, and dances by the performer.⁷ It is believed that the performance keeps the child standing for long minutes as they focus on the praises and demonstrations of the singer. Three versions of the song in 4.7 were collected during the fieldwork, each sung with a different rhythm, but all following the same theme (Appendix N.5.1. and N.5.2.). Mrs. Blessing performed this version:

<i>Kwuru kwuru kpakpadei kpadei</i>	Stand stand kpakpadei kpadei
<i>Kwuru kwuru kpakpadei kpadei</i>	Stand stand kpakpadei kpadei
<i>O kwuru o, o kwuru</i>	He/she is standing o, he/she is standing o
<i>O kwuru o, o kwuru</i>	He/she is standing o, he/she is standing o

4.7 *O kwuru* ‘He/she is standing’ (Mrs. Blessing)

The next song (in 4.8) is by Mrs. Faith, who indicated she learned the piece from her grandmother. She states that the song encourages a child to walk. Like the previous one, the song is accompanied by claps while running in a circle.

⁷ The performances (gestures, claps, special dance moves etc.) that are associated with this song and other songs in this research, are not captured in the transcription. This is one of the limitations of this research. Future research would benefit from video-recording, in addition to audio.

<i>Kùbaranu nwa ngwere aka erente</i>	Keep clapping for the hatchling erente
<i>Kùbaranu nwa ngwere aka erente</i>	Keep clapping for the hatchling erente
<i>Nwa ngwere ejeghi ije na o gbara osò erente</i>	The hatchling did not walk; it ran erente
<i>Nwa ngwere agbaghi osò na ofere efe erente</i>	The hatchling did not run; it flew erente
<i>Piii, erente</i>	Piii, erente
<i>Piii ahhhh, erente</i>	Piii ahhhh erente
<i>Ah eeee, erente</i>	Ah eeee, erente

4.8 *Nwa ngwere* ‘The hatchling’ (Mrs Faith)

The participants who sang ‘standing/walking’ songs all believe that these songs are essential for the physiological development of every child in the Nawfija community. In support of the belief of these participants, academic studies (Meltzoff, 1995; Carpenter, Akhtar, and Tomasello, 1998; Csibra and Gergely, 2005; Gergely and Csibra, 2006; Hopper, 2010) have argued that children are more likely to mimic actions that are intentionally performed for them. The participants further stated that from their experiences, children that had these songs performed for them would stand/walk faster than other children. This is because the target of the demonstrations is to get the children to understand that they also can stand, walk and run without leaning on others for support (Ajewole, 2011).

4.2 Non-verbal performances and socialization

Scholars have written that children often imitate the actions of adults (Meltzoff, 1988; Barr, Dowden, and Hayne, 1996; Brand, Baldwin, and Ashburn, 2002; Rohlfing et al., 2006; Hopper, 2010). For instance, Williamson and Brand (2014: 119), in their study with 2-year-old infants in the USA, concluded that infant-directed actions improve children’s imitations and enhance “toddlers’ observational learning”. In the same vein, I argue in this section that the singers perform a range of non-verbal actions to encourage the children to imitate these actions beyond the immediate context of the song, that is, to apply them in real-life situations. An example is the song in 4.1, ‘Who is cultivating the Cocoyam?’.

When performing the song, the adult demonstrates some of the actions integral to farming, and the children imitate the movement — likewise, the casting of lots skill in the *Okereke Okereke* song in 4.6. The children learn from these playful acts and acquire the necessary skills; a skill that they can now use in other contexts. This emphasizes that socialization strategies include non-verbal ones.

Likewise, it is essential to note that the dances and dramatization associated with these children's songs emphasize their themes and socialize children into culturally appropriate behaviours. For instance, the children's praise songs could have been explored as the sixth category, but all participants said they had forgotten them. They are said to be performed by adults for children between the ages of 3 and 10. The participants stated that children's praise songs are usually accompanied by dancing, and showing off the good deeds of the child. The adult singer emphasizes their pride in the deed or the child's accomplishment. Participants indicated in the interviews that children later imitate these culturally appropriate actions when they find themselves in a similar context. Hence, as Finnegan (2012) argued regarding oral literature, words are not left alone to speak themselves – they are accompanied by rhythm and other paralinguistic features. Also, Okpewho (1992: 47) writes that these paralinguistic features in songs not only make the song a thoroughly attractive event but are further “aimed at giving vivid emphasis to actions expressed [...] and may indeed suggest those actions without any need for words”.

Moreso, the gestures and demonstrations associated with the songs are part of what validates their acceptance and suitability as a genre (category) of children's songs for their particular contexts. In addition, it is what gives voice to the words of the songs. For instance, lullabies are categorized and suitable as lullabies because of their wordings and how they are performed, e.g., the child rocking. Game songs are categorized as such because of the peculiar (exciting) demonstrations associated with them. This is buttressed by Merleau-Ponty (1962, cited in Lawy, 2017: 198), who argues that it is not just about what is said that is important, but also the gestures involved are what make the speech more “hearable”, “understandable”, and “accepted”. Lawy (2017: 210–211) also writes of “the fact that voice is not only in speech, and [...] a person can be ‘silent’ yet can simultaneously speak loudly”.

4.3 Who created these Indigenous children's songs?

Having discussed the different genres of Indigenous children's songs and their role in the Nawfija community, in this section, I briefly discuss participants' opinions on the origin

of these songs. Existing studies describe Igbo children’s songs (see Chapter 2). In terms of their origin, Agu and Okpara (2019) state that the Igbo folksongs, including children’s songs, have been part of the cultural fabric for several hundreds of years. In my interviews, I inquired about the origin of these songs in Nawfija. The participants stated that women are the primary creators of these songs and continue to be the teachers. However, some participants added that men also contribute to the songs, although they are not as fully involved as women. This aligns with Okafor’s (2005: 74) argument of “women [being] the first teachers of music”. Some participants stated that these songs were passed on from generation to generation. Miss Elizabeth, for example, states that the songs are referred to as *egwu ọkpọtọrọkpo*, ‘ancient songs’, and that no one can precisely say when their existence began. The following is an extract from the interview with Miss Elizabeth:

- | | | |
|------------------------|---|---|
| <i>Miss Elizabeth:</i> | <i>Ihe a dika egwu ọkpọtọrọkpo,
e nwe m ike ịkọ, e nwe m ike
ịkọwa mgbe ọ bịara</i> | These are like ancient songs, I cannot say, I cannot explain when they came |
| <i>Chinazam</i> | - - - <i>e tu o si we bia?</i> | --- how they came about? |
| <i>Miss Elizabeth:</i> | <i>Yes, e tonite m na anụ dị egwu.</i> | Yes, I grew up hearing the songs. |

4.9 Interview with Miss Elizabeth

Also, Mr. Dave noted in his interview that Indigenous songs were not created by the current generation of parents who, he said, are not interested in composing such songs. He stated that rather than creating traditional songs, the focus is now on playing hip-hop and afrobeat songs. The current situation will be explored in more detail in the next chapter.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter identifies six categories of children’s songs from my data. Five of these were discussed in detail, they were (1) lullabies, (2) moral songs, (3) songs that reflect socio-political situations, (4) game songs, and (5) songs that encourage standing/walking. The songs in categories 1-4 were found to play a direct role in the cultural and linguistic socialization of Nawfija children. Those in category five are directed toward a child’s

physiological development. The praise songs for children were not performed by participants but were mentioned in the interview. Overall, the participants emphasized that the Nawfija children's songs have rich themes; each song is created to convey a particular message to the child. Therefore, songs are a socializing tool for the community. The thematic richness of the Nawfija songs has been argued to be the case with most Igbo songs. In terms of their origin, participants indicated that women primarily created these songs; however, men also contributed.

Thus, this study supports previous studies stating that socialization is aided by cultural practices such as songs. In the socialization process involving children's songs, the children are active contributors once they are old enough. They participate actively by chanting the song's choruses and by performing non-verbal actions accompanying each song. Finally, this chapter also argued that the paralinguistic (non-verbal) features of the children's songs serve to emphasize the song's themes and messages. Socialization also happens through non-verbal communicative practices.

Chapter 5: The current state of the Nawfija Indigenous children's songs

5.0. Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the role Indigenous children's songs play in socializing the Nawfija children. In this chapter, I will explore the current state of these Indigenous children's songs. The central question is whether these songs are still present and known in the community or not. I will draw on scholars who have argued that the Igbo Language and associated cultural practices are 'endangered' in Nigeria. These authors argue that notwithstanding Igbo's status as a primary language in south-eastern Nigeria, the situation nevertheless shows aspects of endangerment. While endangerment is a strong term, my work did find that the Indigenous songs are falling out of use and that the younger participants did not know them. In this chapter, I will analyze the reasons for the decline of these songs. These include the effects of colonization, globalization, and Christianity. Additionally, I will discuss the aspects of cultural maintenance and the creativity of new Nawfija children's songs. In Chapter 6, I will focus on the underlying ideologies and discuss the possibility of revitalization.

5.1. The current state of the Indigenous children's songs

Igbo is one of the three major languages of Nigeria and is spoken by about 20 million people. Moreover, it is used in education and commerce in Nigeria (Azuonye, 2003). However, scholars such as Azuonye (2003), Igboanusi (2006), Iwokedok (2009), Anumudu and Chikodi (2018), and Onyemelukwe (2019) argue that the language and its practices are endangered. Notably, Azuonye (2003) argues that despite its demographic strength and use in high-status domains, it is endangered due to socio-psychological, political, and historical factors. These include, especially, the presence of a colonial mentality – a mindset that assigns higher value to the English language and its practices. Azuonye (2003: 41) notes that “neither official nor majority status can shield a language from endangerment or death if that language exists in an environment in which native speaker competence and generational transmission of the codes of the language have been decisively undermined”. Following this line of argument, he concludes that the Igbo language can be described as endangered, alongside its cultural practices (also see Okpara, 2015; Nwamara, 2017; Nnam and Nmadu, 2019). Azuonye (2003:44) further identifies twelve indicators to support his claim:

“(1) reduced speaker competence; (2) rapidly decreasing child competence; (3) repressive language policies in colonial boarding schools; (4) intense code-switching and code-mixing coupled with an unbridled language shift; (5) assimilation into new languages such as pidgins and creoles; (6) the depletion of the population of monolingual elderly speakers; (7) the marginalization of deep dialects by the standardization movement; (8) linguistic politics and language fragmentation; (9) the foisting of toxic metalinguistic instruments on the language; (10) the rapid loss of the idioms of the language; (11) the disappearance of rhetorical forms such as proverbs which have over the generations been the mainstay of the language’s communication and aesthetic logistics; and (12) the loss of major and minor genres of oral literature in the language”.

In this chapter, following Azuonye’s (2003) argument, I seek to explore the current state of the Nawfija Indigenous children’s songs based on the participants’ responses and my observations. I want to assess whether the broad assertion that traditional Igbo language practices are disappearing also applies to Nawija children’s songs. First, I will summarize participants’ responses regarding the use of these songs, thus, clarifying the present state of the songs. Four out of five participants aged 18-25 stated that they do not know how to sing the Indigenous children’s songs and that they do not use them for childcare. The fifth participant, Mr. Dave also affirmed that he does not use the songs for childcare. He, however, remembered one of the songs after I prompted his memory. Similar responses were given by nine out of the 15 participants aged 26-40, who stated that they do not use the songs for childcare. Four out of the other six participants (aged 26-40) who performed the songs as cited in Chapter 4, also stated they do not use them in childcare even though they could remember a few of them when prompted. The remaining two older participants stated that although they had observed a decline in the Indigenous children’s songs in the community, they still sang the songs for the children in their care. However, during the observations, only Mrs. Favour sang the Indigenous songs among these two older participants. Whereas Mrs. Grace performed self-composed Igbo songs. By exploring the participants’ responses on the state of their Indigenous songs, I will outline the reasons for the decline of these songs in the following sections.

5.2. Reasons for the decline

5.2.1. Colonization

In our interview, Miss Elizabeth spoke of the aftermath of colonization as she reflected on the educational system in Nawfija. She said the educational curriculum was patterned to reflect the Anglophone/European educational system. For example, the popular Montessori schools, where many parents strive to enroll their children, provide only English-medium education — in the process, giving little or no room for the education system to be Africanized. That is, there is limited opportunity for “a renewed focus on Africa, to reclaim what has been taken from Africa” (Louw, 2009: 62). This non-Africanized system does not include Indigenous language practices.

- Chinazam:* *This shift na emezi gbasara egwu ndi a, in your opinion what are the reasons?* This shift that is happening now regarding these songs, in your opinion, what are the reasons?
- Miss Elizabeth:* *M' ma asi gi no the effects of colonization. I ma, after ka e colonizi anyi, although ha anago kwa, anyi ka nwechekwa ufodu effects of that colonization ka dikwa around.* I will say it is the effects of colonization. You know, after we were colonized, although they have gone, we still have some of the effects of that colonization that is still around.
- Ihe m ji shi wu no ya wu, our schools only teach in English kita, especially ndi private schools. Onye owula na akporo nwa ya ga tinye na private, and private a, soso oyibo ka a na asu ebe ahu. Montessori schools, ha na a copyzi ndi ocha, ma o ne ha zikwu asu kwa even the English sef. O nwe zi onye chororo Igbo. Igbo wuzi ihe nariri a nari. These Igbo poems anaghi akuzi ziri ya umuadzi.* I said so because our schools only teach in English now, especially these private schools. Everyone now enrolls their children in private schools, and in these private, only English is spoken there. In Montessori schools, they now copy the whites, even the way they speak their English. Nobody wants Igbo. Igbo is now something that is gone. They do not teach these Igbo poems to children anymore.

5.1. Extract from the interview with Miss Elizabeth.

In Nigeria, the National Policy on Education (NPE) mandates that in pre-primary and the first three years of primary education, children should be taught in the language of their immediate environment (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2013). This would mean, Igbo for children in Nawfija. However, despite this policy, English has remained the language of

instruction (LOI) at all education levels in Nigeria – a country with over 500 Indigenous languages (Adegbija, 2004a; Fakeye and Ogunsiji, 2009; Blench, 2012; Trudell, 2018). As a result, codeswitching between English and local languages is common, particularly in government schools (see Trudell, 2018). Trudell (2018) attributes the dominance of English as the LOI to the lack of extensive teaching materials produced in local languages. Currently, most materials produced in the regional language are limited to learning materials for the local language subject.

Mr. Victor agrees with Miss Elizabeth about the colonial education model in Nawfija. He provides an example of an Igbo student who passes the *West African Senior School Certificate Examination* (WASSCE), including English. However, that student cannot write in Igbo because little to no emphasis is placed on learning it. Thus, while the western style of education (including English-medium education), which is ubiquitous across Africa, might have its advantages, the effects on cultural practices across Africa should not be overlooked (Ndille and Phil 2018). The sentiment that the participants share about the effects of colonialism on their education in a post-colonial era resonates with Fanon (1952). He argues that the colonizers were not only interested in physical colonization but also in mental control. Thus, even though colonization is over in theory, Africans still strive to imitate the Western education model. Fela Kuti, one of Nigeria's most acclaimed musicians, noted the following in an interview about Nigeria, "everything has to be English, we were not allowed to speak our country's language in school. *They called our own languages 'vernacular', so English was the real language*" (emphasis mine, Kuti, 2008). Sentiments such as these are shared by Miss Elizabeth, who adds that English hegemony in schools is a common phenomenon across Africa (see Ramoupi, 2012, 2014; Ramoupi and Ndille, 2016 studies in the South African context and Mart, 2011 study in Tanzania). Moreso, the practice of punishing children for speaking their Indigenous language at school dates back to the colonial era (Ngugi, 1986).

5.2.2. Globalization

Some participants also emphasized the effects of globalization on language. In the social sciences, globalization is understood as a social process that is "characterized by the existence of global economic, political, cultural, [linguistic] and environmental interconnections and flows that make many of the currently existing borders and boundaries [including language borders] irrelevant" (Steger, 2013: 7). This means that due to the world's interconnectedness, trends happening in one part of the globe can be

found all over. Blommaert's (2010) work on globalization analyzes the localization of global practices, including language.

Mr. Daniel notes that the changes in the community are reflected in the language practices. He asserts that the world is modernized, and thus, one should not expect language practices to remain static since culture is not a fixed object. This speaks to the fluidity and dynamism of language and culture in the global age (Ebongue and Hurst, 2017). Mr. Daniel also attributes the decline of the songs to the migration of community members from the village to the cities or abroad in search of greener pastures. Migration is linked to mobility, and recent decades have seen high levels of migration by Nigerians to both the global south and the global north (see Chapter 6 for discussions on geographical mobility).

5.2.2.1. Technology as a disruption to cultural transmission

In this section, I will show that the cultural transmission of Nawfija Indigenous children's songs is often disrupted by the diversity of media technologies and genres. These include cartoon shows, movies, games, social media networks, and dramatized songs. Individuals who have smartphones have access to both offline and online content for children. While the data from the interviews showed that not every member of the Nawfija community has access to the internet, they can still access media through free television channels, CDs or DVDs, and subscription-based services such as Gotv and Dstv. Hjarvard (2017: 75) argues that the media is an essential vehicle of globalization and, indeed, a vehicle for "Anglo-Saxon culture, [contributing] to the Anglicization of global culture". Consider the statements by Mr. Dave on the effects of globalization on language.

<i>Chinazam:</i>	<i>So, kee o ne egwu ndi a si were na-anazi?</i>	So, how is it that these songs are now declining?
<i>Mr. Dave:</i>	<i>O television. Maka i watchia television sef, mainly ife a ka akuzi bu English. Like the "twinkle, twinkle little star" a na-aguzi now. So, o mezie umuadzị ana chọ ka ha na mụta nke oyibo a kariya nke Igbo. So, m ga si na o globalization, also because of ihe phone a kịta. I watchia phone a na apị-apị kịta, o nwero ebe eji Igbo apị ya. O soso English.</i>	It is television. Because if you watch the television even, what is taught through it is mainly English. Like the “twinkle, twinkle little star” sung now. So, it made children more eager to learn English songs more than those of the Igbo. So, I will say it is globalization, also because of the issue of phones now. If you watch this phone we operate now, there is no section operated with Igbo. It is only in English.

5.2. Extract from the interview with Mr. Dave.

Mr. Dave’s emphasis on the dominance of English in technology echoes Hjarvard's (2017) argument. The scholar argues that technology actively contributes “to cementing the paramountcy of English over other languages” and, likewise, the dominance of Anglo-Saxon culture (Hjarvard, 2017:75). Consider this example: approximately 63.2% of all websites are created in English (W3Techs, 2021). Moreover, some of the participants noted that English television programs (including Nigerian Pidgin) had replaced the time, role, and importance of local language practices in the community (see Jowitt, 1991; Adesanoye, 1987; Adegbija, 2004b; Adamo, 2007 for Englishes in Nigeria). This is not limited to Nigeria but also to other African countries. For example, Nhlekisana (2007) reports that Western media are also influencing the Setswana songs of Botswana. Also, consider extract 5.3 from the interview with Miss Eileen.

<i>Chinazam</i>	<i>Egwu umuazi Nawifja a, ndi mmadu a ka na agu ya?</i>	These Nawifja children’s songs, do people still sing them?
<i>Miss Eileen</i>	<i>A dighi agu nyekwa zie, because onye o bula na-akpanyezi nwa ya phone. I bia i tinyere ya cartoon. O jiri ya na aka o na baa. I ma go nu, ndi mmadu adiro a like zi i stress onwe ha.</i>	They do not sing them, because everyone now gives their child a phone. If you come, you will put on a cartoon for the child. While holding it in their hands, they will sleep off. You know, people do not like to stress themselves.

5.3. Extract from the interview with Miss Eileen.

During the fieldwork, I also observed Miss Eileen’s interactions with her 18-month-old niece. I spent half an hour with them in her parents’ residence, where her sisters and niece also live. The child had been fed and put on the ground to play with a battery-powered toy car and seemed satisfied. After twenty minutes, while I was talking to Miss Eileen, the child began to cry. Miss Eileen remarked that it was time for the child’s nap. She picked up the child and paced for some minutes, mouthing *ndo, ndo, ndo* ‘sorry, sorry, sorry’ to comfort the toddler. However, the child’s wails kept increasing. Miss Eileen then called out to her younger sister to bring her phone, which had an offline collection of children’s songs. She sat with the crying child on her lap and played a video, which started with the music ‘Baby shark doo doo doo doo’. Her niece’s wails mellowed down as she was handed the phone, and in less than a minute, she had stopped crying and focused on the dramatized song. Miss Eileen, at this point, remembered what she had told me during our interview sessions two days back, so she commented further:

<p><i>Miss Eileen:</i> A gwara m gi nọ phone ka a na e use zi eme ka ụmụadzi mechionu, especially ndị ogbo anyi. O bere oge kitanuwa, ifu na o ga arahụ ura. O nwezi ònye na etinye uche na ụmụ ihe ochie a.</p>	<p>I told you that phones are now used to make children keep quiet, especially by my age group. Very soon now, you will see that she will sleep. No one really puts their interest in these old practices.</p>
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5.4. Extract from the interview with Miss Eileen.

True to her words, a few more minutes passed as the child dozed off with the phone still in her hands. Mrs. Love also used a phone to distract her three-year-old child from disturbing her during her house chores. The child watched *Tom and Jerry*, a children’s cartoon, while the older children climbed one of the trees in their compound. The child only stood up once to ask for water whilst still keeping his gaze on the phone screen. After a while, the scream of ‘up Nepa’ was heard, announcing the restoration of electricity. The older children ran into the living room to see a Nigerian movie. Mrs. Love carried the three-year-old into the living room to join them. I could hear the movie from where I sat in the compound, and the actors spoke Nigerian English and Pidgin English. The rest of my visit was spent discussing an entirely different topic with the mother while the children stayed indoors engrossed in the movie.

Throughout my stay in Mr. Victor’s compound, he cared for his youngest sibling (aged four). He spoke Nigerian Pidgin with a mix of Igbo to the child. At other times, he gave him his phone with the *Temple Run* game to play. When I asked him if that is how a typical day goes, he said it was. On other days, if they had electricity, he would sometimes bring DVDs of children’s cartoons to play for the child. In our discussion, he said there had not been any point where he would sing Nawfija children’s songs for the child. For him, it does not come to mind because they are rarely used in the community, and when sung, it is more common that a female would be the singer.

These observations suggest that the use of technology (toys and phone games) and mass media (home movies, cartoons, and dramatized children’s songs) are common in childcare in Nigeria (Okafor and Malizu, 2013; Omotosho, Oyero, and Salawu, 2015; Gbenga, 2018; Oyero et al., 2020). This is also a common practice in other countries, such as Ghana (Osei-Hwere, 2008), Kenya (Evusa, 2008), South Africa (Boateng, 2008), and the global north. Studies in the US, for example, Radesky et al. (2016: 397) write that “it is known that parents of infants and toddlers [...] disproportionately use television and videos as calming tools”. Thus, the media has come to serve as “electronic babysitters”, which are replacing the role of traditional children’s songs (Plowman, McPake and Stephen, 2010: 63). Some researchers have argued that using technology has negatively affected children’s development (Plowman, et al, 2010: 63). Contrastingly, Gee (2003), Shaffer et al. (2005) and Shamir et al., (2019) have argued that video games can enhance learning. Despite such possible learning benefits, the use of global technologies and media contributes, in my view, to the decline of traditional practices (and the associated benefits for cultural socialization, as discussed in Chapter 4). For this, I draw on Gbenga's (2018) study in Nigeria that discusses how the media contributes to the decline of indigenous cultural values. In addition, the mother/caretaker-child bonding could likewise be lost, as emphasized by Mrs. Favour in 5.5 below.

<i>Mrs. Favour</i>	<i>I mana phone a ana enye umuadzị udunu, na emezi ka mmekọrịta dị n’etiti nne na nwa na-ebenete.</i>	You know these phones that they give to children now result in the gradual loss of the bonding between a mother and child.
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5.5. Extract from the interview with Mrs. Favour.

Therefore, the impact of these *screen-based babysitters* (as I refer to them) on cultural practices should not be overlooked (also see Iwoketok 2009: 157).

5.2.2.2. *The rise of English songs and their localization*

The research data also shows evidence of the use of alternate songs. For example, localized English children's songs, afrobeat, and reggae music are popular in the community. In the group of younger participants who said they do not sing these Indigenous children's songs is Mr. Daniel. He could remember only one of the Indigenous children's songs in the interview. He further stated that he doubts his mother sang any of the Nawfija children's songs to him in his childhood. The song that he recalled is the most popular children's song in Nawfija, used to soothe a crying baby (see Chapter 4, Section 4.1.1. extract 4.1). Of this song, he could only remember the first two lines. Mr. Daniel further notes in 5.6 below that not only are these songs no longer being learnt, but community members also seem uninterested in them. This applies, especially, to the youths and children whose interests are in hip-hop, reggae, and afrobeat.

Chinazam: *Ha juo gi, youths di kwa ka mu na gi, If you are asked, youths like you and I,
ya na umuazi, ha ma otu e si agu likewise children, do they know how to
egwu a? sing these songs?*

Mr. Daniel: *Hmmm, a di m sure na ndi youth our Hmmm, I am not sure that the youths of
age kita mazi. our age now know.*

Like Ohukabia now, the people brought up here, maybe they will know the song if they lived with their grandparents. But, I am not even sure because we, the youths, our minds are no longer based on that aspect. Everyone is interested in hip-hop, reggae, and the rest.

5.6. *Extract from the interview with Mr. Daniel.*

In contemporary Nigeria, the predominant musical genre is 'afrobeat', usually composed in different varieties of English (including Nigerian Pidgin) and sometimes with few lines in some of Nigeria's languages. Young participants stated that these afrobeat songs are one of the major causes of the decline in Igbo folksongs. The participants' perspectives thus echo the arguments made by Okafor (2005) and Nwamara (2017), who write about English songs replacing Igbo songs. Furthermore, locally contextualized English

children’s songs are alternatives used to replace these Indigenous children’s songs. 5.7 is an example of such songs sung by the participants in Nawfija.⁸

“Twinkle Twinkle, little star	“Pawpaw is a kind of food
How I wonder what you are	Sweet like orange
Up above, the world so high	Yellow like Fanta
Like a diamond in the sky	Everyone likes Pawpaw
Twinkle Twinkle, little star	Pawpaw!”
How I wonder what you are!”	

5.7. Localized English children’s songs

Although sung in English, the pawpaw song has been localized to suit the living realities of its singers. This can be seen by how they composed a song with locally common items of food: ‘pawpaw, orange, and Fanta’. Likewise, the song’s rhythm is structured similar to afrobeats. Therefore, although some of the participants sing English songs, some of these songs are localized to reflect their lived realities and musical preferences. Hence, while evidence from my data speaks to the possible decline of the Indigenous Nawfija children’s songs, there is also evidence of new practices influenced by globalization. This includes the use of technology in child care, English songs, and localized English songs.

5.2.3. Christianity

Many inhabitants of Nawfija are Christians. Two participants, namely, Mrs. Sonia and Mr. Victor, attributed the decline of Indigenous songs to Christian religious influences. They stated that some community members become overly devout to the extent that they are convinced that some cultural and language practices, like these songs, are ‘sinful’ and thus, go against their beliefs. Hence, they no longer sing or tell the stories attached to some of them, nor do they want their children to know the songs. Children are often encouraged to join their parents in their religious practices.

Mr. Victor: *Ọ nwe some, especially ndị a born again* There are some, especially those
bara ime. Some of them na futa ya ka serious about being born again. Some
akukọ gbe ochie, that such na megide iwu of them see it as stories from the past,

⁸ This chapter does not include all the English songs as performed by the participants. This is because they are not the focus of the chapter. It is important to note that the way the participants sang these English songs may not be in the original form it was created, as reflected in the “Pawpaw song”, represented in 5.7.

<p><i>ha. Like there are some stories my grandma na akorọ anyị. But some people ga asị gị na ihe a bụ njo, na ọ omenala, and na ha anaghị eme omenala.</i></p> <p>But there is nothing bad in these children's songs.</p>	<p>that such goes against their belief. Like there are some stories my grandma told us. But some people will tell you that these things are sins, that it is a traditional practice, and that they do not practice tradition.</p>
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5.8. Extract from the interview with Mr. Victor

The response by Mr. Victor above is in line with Okeke et al., (2017: 4), who described some Igbo Christians as social revolutionaries, writing thusly: “they plunged into the condemnation and eradication of traditional religion. Traditional music, song [s], drama, and dance were totally denounced as bad and immoral”. Mr. Victor also stated that the Christian religion seeks to minimize Igbo usage in Nawfija. Okoye and Onwuegbuchunam (2011: 547) also write of this situation:

The reality is that the hegemonic influence of English has relegated Igbo to the background, especially in the practice of [the] Christian Faith. In most churches [...], the medium of transmitting messages is English, whereas the largest percentage of the congregation are speakers of Igbo. (See also Pennycook and Makoni 2005)

The acceptance of English as the language of Christianity was achieved through the conversion of learners of English to Christianity. These English classrooms were perceived as “a gold mine rich with mission opportunity” during the colonial era (Pennycook and Makoni, 2005: 142). This method was also used for Igbo communities in Nigeria (Ifemesia, 1972; Okeke et al., 2017). Christian Outreach International⁹ describes the process as follows, “by recognizing the escalating demand for knowledge of the English language [...] as your students come to trust you as their English instructor, the door is open for sharing your faith and the Gospel” (cited in Pennycook and Makoni, 2005: 142). This method of mission work is also documented in Woodward (1993), Tennant (2002), and Yeoman (2002). Pennycook and Makoni (2005: 137) describe this approach as unethical and argue that it raises “profound moral and political questions about what is

⁹ Christian Outreach International is a global missionary organization with full and part-time missionary staff spread globally.

going on in English classrooms around the world” (also see Snow, 2001; Widdowson, 2001; Edge, 2003). Thus, one can argue that religion has played a role in the loss of Nawfija’s linguistic practices through the domination of English in the church services and the mindset associated with what counts as sin. Likewise, one can assume that religion can play an essential role in maintaining the Indigenous language and its practices if church activities were to use the community’s Indigenous language(s) rather than a dominant language like English. For instance, in Kamwangamalu's (2006) study, religion played a vital role in maintaining South African Indigenous languages. Unlike in Nigeria, Christian church services in South Africa tend to be mostly in Indigenous languages.

5.3. Moments of maintenance and creativity

My research data further showed moments of maintaining these Indigenous children’s songs and creating new Nawfija children’s songs. The maintenance could be seen during my observation of Mrs. Favour. She was trying to lure a child to sleep upon my arrival. She had fastened the child to her back and was pacing back and forth, singing some of the Nawfija children’s songs documented in Chapter 4 to calm the crying child. On noticing me, she pointed to a chair for me to sit and, with her finger, signaled for silence. She continued with the song for another few minutes and then went in to get a mat. She rolled it out and laid the already sleeping boy on it. She then lay down beside him, tapping his back while still singing to ensure the child was deep asleep. For the rest of the hour, the child was still sleeping. This suggests that although there has been a decline in the use of Indigenous songs, some older people still draw on them.

I also observed Mrs. Grace. She stated that she was unsure if other people sang these songs anymore during her interview. However, she claimed she sings Indigenous songs to her children because her mother-in-law had lived with her, and she learnt the songs from her. When I visited her at her compound, I heard her singing a song in the Igbo language for her two-year-old daughter. She explained that most of the songs she sings for her children were songs she had composed herself. The extract in 5.9 is from the song she sang for her daughter, who was playing in the sand in the compound.

<i>Mrs. Grace:</i>	<i>Ọlị bekee e kwena dirti mesa gi</i>	Beautiful Ọlị, do not allow dirt to rub off on you
	<i>Dirti mesa gi</i>	
	<i>Gị were ncha sachapụ ya</i>	If dirt rubs off on you
	<i>Ònye ji ego ga-alụ gi</i>	You will use soap to wash it off
		A wealthy person will marry you

5.9. Extract from the interview with Mrs. Grace.

Mrs. Grace says she sings the above song whenever her children play with sand or mud, to teach them about cleanliness. Thus, these impromptu Igbo songs are also embedded in socialization.

5.4. Conclusion

The data in this chapter shows that there is a possibility of a decline in the traditional Nawfija Indigenous children's songs. Looking at the interview data, the majority (18 of 20) of the interviewed participants stated that the Nawfija children's songs are no longer in use, and they do not use it for the child(ren) in their care. This is different from remembering the songs because although some could remember some of them when I prompted their memory, they said they do not use them. The decline was also evident during the observations, of which only a few members sang the Indigenous songs.

In exploring the reasons for this decline, this chapter outlined the effects of colonization, globalization, and Christianity. The results of colonization are evident in the language of use in Nawfija schools, and the academic curriculum model adopted, all of which promote the English language and its practices. The effects of globalization are observed in the presence of technology in childcare and localized English songs. Technology contributes to the replacement of Indigenous songs with what I refer to as 'screen-based babysitters' such as televisions and phones. There are numerous scholarly arguments supporting and opposing the use of technology in childcare. My data only analyzes technology as contributing to the decline of Nawfija Indigenous children's songs. Though performed in English, the English songs have been contextualized to suit the living realities of their singers and audiences. For example, the use of afrobeat rhythms in children's songs, or the use of new lyrics. Furthermore, some participants also attribute the decline to the extreme religious beliefs some community members hold as to what counts as 'sin'; that is, cultural practices that go against their Christian faith. In addition, the decline is also attributed to the dominant use of English in their church services.

Finally, the research data also showed moments of maintenance of Indigenous songs. This is evident, for example, in the practices Mrs. Favour engaged in at home. In addition, there is evidence for the creation of new Nawfija children's songs, as evident in the practices of Mrs. Grace.

Chapter 6: Ideologies of loss and revitalization

6.0 Introduction

Chapter 2, section 2.2, drawing on the literature, argued that an ideology could reflect people's experiences, and/or an individual's or cultural/community's interests. Hence their usage of a specific language (and/or its practices) may seek to promote or protect such interest(s) and/or reflect their experiences (Kroskrity, 2004). Silverstein (1979: 193) defines language ideologies as "any sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use". These beliefs could include ideas about the status/prestige of a language(s) over others, the appropriateness – or inappropriateness – of some languages or linguistic varieties in specific contexts, and what language(s) children should be taught (Kroskrity, 2004: 496). This chapter builds on this by discussing the ideologies of loss and revitalization of Nawfija's Indigenous children's songs. These ideologies are (i) English equates to intelligence and success, (ii) English is the language of geographical mobility, and (iii) Igbo/Nawfija variety is a language of identity. I will draw on the theory of language ideologies as conceptualized by Kroskrity (2004, 2010), focusing on the first, third, and fifth levels of organization. Furthermore, I draw on the idea of ideological clarification as discussed by Fishman (1991) (expanded by Grenoble and Whaley, 2006, and Grenoble, 2013). As explained in Chapter 2, ideological clarification refers to "an open, honest assessment of the state of the language and how people really feel about using and preserving it" (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, 1998: 68). I will use this concept to gain a deeper understanding of participants' responses to the idea of revitalizing Indigenous Nawfija songs. My interest here is in understanding if the community would commit to the maintenance of their Indigenous children's songs if a revitalization project is proposed.

6.0.1. The participants

In the discussion in this chapter, I consider the backgrounds of my participants as shown in Table 6.1 (adapted from Chapter 3). The social variables of age, motherhood, and educational level were considered in order to ascertain if they might affect the ideologies participants hold.

	Name	Age	Sex	Education Level	Occupation	Children
1.	Ms. Elizabeth	30	F	National Diploma Degree	Student	Yes
2.	Mrs. Blessing	35	F	Secondary School Leaver	Farmer	Yes
3.	Mrs. Grace	28	F	Secondary School Leaver	Entrepreneur	Yes
4.	Mrs. Hope	40	F	Bachelor of Arts Degree	Civil Servant	Yes
5.	Mrs. Peace	38	F	Secondary School Leaver	Farmer	Yes
6.	Mrs. Joyce	40	F	Secondary School Leaver	Farmer	Yes
7.	Mrs. Faith	37	F	Secondary School Leaver	Trader	Yes
8.	Mrs. Love	34	F	Bachelor of Science	Trader	Yes
9.	Mrs. Miracle	40	F	Sandwich and NCE Diploma	Civil Servant	Yes
10.	Mrs. Favour	40	F	Secondary School Leaver	Trader	Yes
11.	Miss Jane	32	F	Bachelor of Arts Degree	Civil Servant	Yes
12.	Mrs. Sonia	40	F	Bachelor of Arts Degree	Civil Servant	Yes
13.	Mr. Victor	33	M	Masters Student	Teacher	No
14.	Mr. Samuel	40	M	Secondary School Leaver	Farmer	Yes
15.	Mr. Joseph	35	M	Secondary School Leaver	Musician/Trader	Yes
16.	Miss Eileen	23	F	Undergraduate degree	Student	No
17.	Miss Nora	20	F	Undergraduate degree	Student	No
18.	Miss Sylvia	19	F	Secondary School Leaver	Student	No
19.	Mr. Daniel	22	M	Undergraduate degree	Student	No
20.	Mr. Dave	24	M	Undergraduate degree	Student	No

Table 6.1: A summary of participants' backgrounds.

6.1 Ideologies surrounding the loss and revitalization of Indigenous children's songs

This section contains a discussion of three ideologies found in the data. Two of these may have contributed to the decline of the songs discussed in the previous chapter. These ideologies are not uniform, and their multiplicity points to Kroskrity's (2004) argument that language ideologies vary across different social strata. The social variables considered in this study are age, motherhood, and educational level. These variables possibly shape the ideologies in the Nawfija community.

6.1.1. English equates to intelligence and success

From the interview data, some Nawfija community members have a negative attitude toward using their Indigenous children's songs. This is possibly due to an ideology that equates the knowledge and use of English with intelligence and success. According to

Miss Elizabeth, when one sings Indigenous Nawfija songs or speaks Igbo, one is often perceived and treated as ‘uneducated’, ‘unsophisticated’, and as someone with less propensity to succeed in life. This ideology was often noted by older participants (aged 30-40 years), based on their experiences in the community. For example, in 6.1 Miss Elizabeth describes her experience of encountering this ideology.

<p><i>Miss Elizabeth: Most people na- falluzi back to English songs because onye na- agụ these our songs, a na- ewezi those people as uneducated or unsophisticated people na Nawfija. So ọ mesịa most people ana-aguzi the English ones, ka ndị mmadụ futa ha ka ndị ma ihe.</i></p>	<p>Most people are falling back to English songs because anyone still singing these our songs, they regard them as uneducated or unsophisticated people in Nawfija. So this has caused that most people now sing the English ones so that people will see them as intelligent.</p>
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6.1. Extract from the interview with Miss Elizabeth.

In addition, Miss Elizabeth drew comparisons with the Yoruba speakers whom she argues are proud of their language and culture. As such, they use their native names wherever they go, unlike the Igbo speakers who prefer English (including English names). According to Ahmed and Daniels (2019: 107), the English language holds prestige amongst Igbo speakers and as a result, this has brought about the symbolic ban of Igbo at home by parents, including asking visitors not to speak it to the children. They write:

The Igbo families of today try to be more English [...], and so we find out that children of such homes, though born and bred in Igbo land, cannot speak the Igbo Language at home or even in schools [as most Igbo parents living in Nigeria have] placed a law against the speaking of the language in their home.

Mrs. Faith also narrates her experience of being laughed at in a commercial transport on her way back from her daughter’s school in the neighbouring Igbo community for speaking her Igbo variety with her daughter. She argues that this kind of treatment, meted out by Igbos to their fellow Igbos is why many of the community members would prefer the use of English songs and other English-based practices so that they could be seen as esteemed members of the community.

- Mrs. Faith:* *Igbo anyị amaghị eme, okazi onye obụla na supri supri. Eje m ma asụ! M' puzie na- asụ Igbo, a na- achị m ochi.* Our Igbos do not know how to act; it is now common for everyone to speak like the whites. I will keep speaking it! If I go out and speak Igbo, they will laugh at me.
- Chinazam:* *---a na- achị gi ochi?* --- they will be laughing at you?
- Mrs. Faith:* *Eheee na, e nwere ubochi anyi gara ebe school nwa m nwaanyi, anyi ana asuta be anyi, asuta Nawfija, ha na- aju m, kee asusu m na-asu. M' si ha 'asusu be anyi', ochi ha 'kwi kwi kwi'.* Yes, there was a day we went to the area where my daughter's school is, we were speaking our variety, speaking Nawfija, they were asking me, what language I was speaking. I told them 'our community's variety', their laughter 'kwi kwi kwi' (mimicking the laughter).
- Chinazam:* *so, kee ihe ndi mmadu na- ewe onye na- asu Igbo ma obu suo obodo ya?* So how do people take people that speak Igbo or their community's variety?
- Mrs. Faith:* *Ha na- feel na onye ahụ amaghị ife ma obu o maghọ ebe anọ. O ihe a ka ndi obodo ozọ jiri kara anyi mma, like ndi Hausa bja ebe a, ha ga- amu obodo anyi, muo ya ofuma, ma na- asukwa nke ha.* They feel that the person is not intelligent or does not know what is trending. That is why other communities are better than us like if the Hausas come here, they will learn our community's variety, learn it well, and still be speaking their own.

6.2. Extract from the interview with Mrs. Faith

Mrs. Faith's experiences are not unique and are widely discussed by scholars such as Okoye and Onwuegbuchunam (2011: 547) who note that:

[o]ur attitude towards our language [Igbo] is the major factor to its under-utilization. It is almost anathema hearing one speaking Igbo in any of our tertiary institutions, the few students who opted for such courses as linguistics Igbo are disregarded by colleagues, they regard the students of Igbo language as unintelligent and inferior to other students, [...] even their parents look down on them as lazy and un-brilliant students.

Experiences such as Mrs. Faith's (see also Appendix P.6.2) have been likened to "social violence against the Igbo Language" and the marginalization of the language and cultural practices by the Igbos themselves (Ani 2012: 110; see also Adeworan and Agba, 2012; Anyaegbuna, 2012). Similar attitudes toward English and Indigenous languages have also

been reported in other former British colonies, such as South Africa (see De Klerk, 2002; Mugane, 2005, and Msila 2011).

Another participant, Mr. Victor, also speaks about his experiences. In his account, he said that there is also the interest to be perceived by the whites as intelligent. However, Mr. Victor argues that being educated is not meant to bring about the loss of their culture and language practices, emphasizing that the whites they imitate are only practising their culture. Fela Kuti also speaks about this colonial ideology in Nigeria and, through his music, clamours for an ideological-political revolution in post-colonial Africa. He argued that Africans must affirm their identity, blackness, and culture anywhere for Africa to progress (Bodunrin, 2019c). The lyrics of his 1976 song “Upside Down” reflect his stance on this ideology, where he criticizes the African man for striving to be white, thereby not upholding his ethnic and national heritage with pride (Bodunrin, 2019b):

*“English man get English name
American man get American name
German man get German name
[...]
I’m beginning to vex up for this land
[...]
People no dey bear African name
People no dey think African style
People no know Africa great”*

Similarly, in the song titled “Colonial Mentality” released in 1977 (17 years after Nigeria’s independence), Fela sings that although colonialism has formally ended, Africans remain mentally colonized (Bodunrin, 2019a). These reflections by Fela echo Fanon, who argued that in the soul of every colonized person, “an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality” (Fanon, 1952: 9). For example, participants report that some people in Nawfija seek to reconstruct a different Igbo identity, referred to as *Engligbo* a ‘white Igbo’. Thus, when older participants speak about the drop in the use of the children’s songs, it might be based on the individual’s interest to be regarded as intelligent and an attempt to reconstruct a different Igbo identity. That is, one that can be likened to an *onye ocha* ‘white person’ because of the privileges that come with it. This seems to show an identity construction that is rooted in race and class: some Nawfija members believe that whites are more intelligent because they speak English; others believe that Igbos who become fluent in English practices are like the whites and,

therefore, of a higher class than others. Therefore, the ideology of equating English to success and intelligence seems to reconstruct a different Igbo identity in Nawfija for those who ascribe to it. At the same time, others construct their identities as being different and ‘authentic’ because they do not ascribe to the ideology. From the data, it seems possible that the existence of this ideology in the community may have contributed to the decline in the use of the songs.

6.1.2. English as the language of geographical mobility

Another belief shaped by the experiences of Nawfija community members is the prestige of English as the language of geographical mobility. This ideology may have devalued the Indigenous linguistic practices and ascribed higher prestige to the English practices because of the benefits associated with migration (for further reading on language and migration, see Stevens, Jin, and Song, 2006; Capstick, 2011; Canagarajah, 2017; Giampapa and Canagarajah, 2020). This ideology stems from a shared interest in migrating to English-speaking countries in the global north; that is, countries usually more developed and believed to provide a better life for inhabitants. This ideology is particularly popular among participants between the ages of 18 and 29. For example, in the interviews with Miss Eileen and Mr. Dave. In examples 6.3 and 6.4, Miss Eileen and Mr. Dave emphasize the importance of being competent in English.

<i>Miss Eileen:</i>	<i>O ya- aka mma igukwanu nke Igbo; igukwanu nke oyibo karja. Nke oyibo ahụ bu o ga- abụ o puo obodo oyibo ka o nyere ya aka. I mana onye obula na- agba mbọ ka o puo, ma mu onwe m.</i>	It will be better if you sing the Igbo ones; you sing more of the English ones. The English songs are so that when the child leaves for the white man’s land, it will help him/her. You know everyone is putting in the effort to leave, including myself.
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6.3. Extract from the interview with Miss Eileen.

<i>Chinazam:</i>	<i>I prefer ka a na akuziru umuazi so egwu English ko bu i prefer ka a gu nke ndi obodo Igbo Nawfija?</i>	Do you prefer that they keep teaching children only these English songs, or do you prefer that they sing these Nawfija Indigenous ones?
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Mr. Dave: *A chọrọ m ka ọ buru 50-50. Equality. A kuzie Igbo, a kuzie oyigbo.* I want it to be 50-50. Equality. Igbo should be taught, English should be taught.

Because i nee, uwa a no n'ime ya keta buzi modern age. O nwezi ike, i jee obodo oyibo, o buru igbo ka i ga asu bara ha na. So, a bia na-ala Igbo, i soro Igbo, I kowa ya ofuma. I bia kwanu outside, i soro English. Because before i ga punwu Nigeria a, i need i ma how to speak English to an extent. O ihe m ji cho ka ana e si otu a na ekuzi ya. Because if you look, the world we are in now is the modern age. For instance, if you travel to the white man's land, it's not Igbo that you will be speaking for them. So if you come to Igbo land, speak Igbo, speak it well. If you also go outside, speak English. Because before you can leave this Nigeria, you need to know how to speak English to an extent. That's why I want it to be taught that way.

6.4. Extract from the interview with Mr. Dave

Based on Miss Eileen and Mr. Dave's interviews, it is clear that English is seen as the language of mobility, especially outside of Nigeria, which many look forward to leaving someday (Adhikari et al., 2021; Nwosu et al., 2022). Therefore, they opine that Igbo songs should not be the focus in Nawfija; instead, both English and Igbo songs should be taught equally. This desire to migrate is also noted by Mr. Victor in example 6.5.

Mr. Victor *Onye obuna choro ifu obodo oyibo, and na i furu obodo oyibo bukwanu na i mutara some of their cultures, that their language and other things na Nigeria, so you can go out. O ya mere i ga- afu nwatakiri, parents ya mutara, they will start speaking English to the child without even introducing the child to their native language.* Everyone wants to see the white man's country, and for you to see it, you must learn some of their cultures, language, and other things in Nigeria, so you can go out. So that is why you can see a child, the parents will start speaking English to the child without even introducing the child to their native language.

6.5. Extract from the interview with Mr. Victor

Furthermore, the younger participants in this study also stated that they know English proficiency tests are required for overseas study. These experiences in their everyday living realities contributed to the shaping of this ideology, and consequentially, the existence of this ideology might have contributed to the decline in the use of their Indigenous children's songs.

6.1.3. Igbo/Nawfija variety as a language of identity.

As discussed, Kroskrity (2004) argues that language ideologies are not limited to the perceptions that stem from the ruling class but are diverse. Thus, different people will hold different ideologies, which guide their choices in engaging with communicative activities and constructing linguistic evaluations (see also McGroarty, 2010). The ideology discussed in this section contrasts those discussed in sub-sections 6.1.1. and 6.1.2. It is supported mainly by older participants in this study (aged 30-40 years). In the interviews, some participants explained that the Indigenous children's songs are central to their heritage, tradition, and identities as *Ndi Igbo* 'Igbo people'. Hence, Mrs. Favour states that priority should be given to Nawfija's practices. She argues that the white people whom some community members seek to imitate do not bother to learn Igbo language practices. She expresses her disapproval of schools that punish students for speaking Igbo and those that only permit Igbo speaking once a week within the school premises. Similarly, Emenyonu (2020: 174) laments that "in secondary institutions, if students speak Igbo language during school hours, they are punished —given some manual labour to do. But, they are free to speak English, which is a foreign language" (see also Okoye and Onwuegbuchunam, 2011; Ogbonna, 2016; Sanusi, 2018). In example 6.6, Mrs. Favour stresses that the continuous encouragement and use of English language practices will make the Igbos lose their identity, heritage, and invariably their ancestral homes (Appendix P.6.3). She links language to place and identity (see Maffi, 2005; Lin and Chen, 2010). In his book *Decolonizing the Mind*, Ngugi (1986: 16) argues that "Language carries culture, and culture carries particularly through orature and literature, the entire body of values by which we perceive ourselves and our place in the world". Thus, Mrs. Favour explains:

Mrs. Favour: *Ọ wugodu na anyị gana agụ nke ndị oyibo; yes, ọ dị mma, mana ekwesịkwa ị dị na- agụ nke anyị. Ọ nwe ike e mee ya ihe dika 70/30. Fa echezọzie na Igbo a bụ nke anyị, anyị tufuezi nke anyị, that means anyị a buruzia ndị na-enwero be.* Even if we will be singing the whites' own; yes, it is good, but we are also meant to be singing ours. It can be done like 70/30. They forget that this Igbo is our own, if we throw away what belongs to us, that means we are people without a place.

Chinazam: *Ọ eziokwu* That's true

Mrs. Favour: *--- andị ị makwana nke oyibo a anyị na-agụkwa bukwa their culture. Ọ dika nnọọ, anyị e buru culture onye* --- and you know that these English ones we sing are their culture. It is just like, we carried the culture of another and

<p><i>ozo bubata na be anyi, dosazie nke anyi. You cannot serve two masters at a time, so ofu ka i ya- ewe. So abhazi na- asopresizi nke anyi.</i></p>	<p>brought it into our house, then dropped ours. You cannot serve two masters at a time, you have to choose one. So it then suppressed our own.</p>
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6.6. Extract from the interview with Mrs. Favour

Mrs. Favour states that although English is essential, it should not override the use of Igbo and its practices. Unlike the younger participants who suggested a 50-50 split between the languages, she recommends a 70-30 split between Igbo and English. In agreement, Mrs. Blessing emphasizes that the loss of Indigenous children’s songs is just one example of the disappearance of linguistic and cultural practices in Nawfija. Like Mrs. Favour, she argues that these Indigenous songs help the children trace their origin; compared to the English children’s songs that do not reflect who they are or their lifestyle (see Chapter 4). In example 6.7, Mrs. Miracle further emphasizes the importance of the Nawfija songs. As a mother, she believes that the songs help children learn their local variety of Igbo, thereby giving them an identity in the world.

<p><i>Mrs. Miracle: Nwata nwere ike buru na o na- eghu eghu, ahụ ya, so onu asusu o suru, i ga- e ji ya mata onye obodo ebe o wu. So o ihe umu ihe a ji adu mma. Asusu Igbo amaka and abụ a ana atoka, ma nwe meaning karja nke oyibo.</i></p>	<p>A child may be sneaking around, but when he/she is seen, just the language variety they speak, you can use it to know the community of their origin. So that is why these practices are good. The Igbo language is beautiful, and these songs are very interesting and more meaningful than the English ones.</p>
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6.7. Extract from the interview with Mrs. Miracle

This ideology links to Kroskrity’s (2004) fifth level of organization, which discusses how thoughts, feelings, and perspectives about a language create and indicate national, cultural, or ethnic identities. Hence, for the older participants, there exists a strong tie between the Indigenous children’s songs and their identity as Igbos in the Nawfija community. Consequently, the loss of these songs is seen as a loss of an aspect of their identity as they frown on the conscious attempts by others to deconstruct/reconstruct their Igbo identity through the adoption of English-based language practices.

The social variables of age, educational qualification, and motherhood as shown in Table 6.1 seem to affect the ideologies in existence in Nawfija. Ideology (1) is reported mostly by participants above 30 years and is attributed by them to younger community members. Ideology (2) is articulated by younger participants (18-29), whose level of

education is mostly up to the tertiary institution level. And finally, ideology (3) is voiced, especially, by participants aged 30-40 years, with varying levels of education ranging from secondary to tertiary education. Also, the female participants who articulated ideology three, are all mothers. Hence, these social variables (age, motherhood, and educational levels) may shape the ideologies: younger and highly educated participants show aspirations of migration (and thus a desire for English); older participants, especially those with children, value Igbo culture (irrespective of educational level).

6.2. Ideological clarifications on the revitalization of the Indigenous children's songs

It is essential to note that despite somewhat different attitudes towards English and Igbo, all participants indicated in their interviews that they want the Indigenous children's songs to be revitalized. Fishman (1991) has argued that – before the commencement of a language revitalization program – the researcher must carry out an essential step, called “prior ideological clarification” or ideological “assessment” (Grenoble and Whaley, 2006, cited in Grenoble, 2013). The idea of carrying out this primary step is to carefully document speakers' attitudes and beliefs about the language and its practices. The clarification between what they say, what they believe, and what they do is vital in determining whether the language practice can be revitalized or maintained as the case may be (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, 1998).

For example, Mr. Dave in 6.4 argued that English is needed for geographical and upward mobility. Yet, he also states that he would like the Indigenous children's songs to be taught. In 6.8, he stated that neither he nor his friends knew any Indigenous songs. Amongst the reasons he gave for this was his lack of interest in the songs and other traditional Igbo practices.

Mr Dave: *K̄ita ọ nwee zị onye na e nwe efe na ife ụmụ ihe igbo a. Nobody has interest in these kinds of things, ma mu onwe m.* Now no one has time for these Igbo things. Nobody has an interest in these kinds of things, including myself.

6.8. Extract from the interview with Mr. Dave

Hence, Mr. Dave expresses a somewhat conflicting ideology where what he believes, and expresses, contradicts his opinion about the possible revitalization of the songs. He wants them to be revitalized, but he also admits that he has no interest in them. Similarly, Mr.

Daniel (6.8) agrees that it would be good for the songs to be revitalized but claims he may not make an effort to know them.

Chinazam: Okay, would you want these Nawfija children's songs to be in use like before?

Mr. Daniel: Yes, well, it will be good for the children. But I don't know now, even me, my mind is not there, I won't lie to you. I'm not interested, even most of our youths now.

6.8. Extract from the interview with Mr. Daniel

Miss Eileen also agrees that it would be good to revitalize the songs because they could serve as an option to distract or keep the child busy when her phone is not available. Similar to Mr. Dave and Mr. Daniel, the motivation is not based on her intrinsic interest in the songs.

In contrast, Mrs. Favour, who expressed disapproval of pro-English ideologies, advocates strongly for the revitalization of the songs and the preservation of other Nawfija language practices. She is among the few in the community who still remember these songs and sings them (see Chapter 5, Section 5.3). She performed the greatest number of songs during the interviews. In her case, the desire for revitalization matches her actions and knowledge. Miss. Elizabeth also stresses the need to revitalize the songs, arguing that they are important as children learn a lot by listening to them. She based her argument on the narration of her own childhood experiences; that is, of listening to Indigenous tales and stories by moonlight.¹⁰ This practice, according to her narrative, is absent today. Mr. Victor also expressed disapproval of the ideology that the Nawfija language practices are of lesser value than English language practices. Mrs. Faith argued against the ideologies of English equating intelligence but also admits that she sings English songs for her children (as well as a few Igbo songs she had composed herself). Nevertheless, she sees the revitalization of the songs as essential. She believes it will benefit the children who will someday become parents and help preserve the Nawfija Igbo variety. Amongst her reasons for the need to revitalize the songs is the belief that the songs promote a mother-

¹⁰ Previously in most Igbo communities, elderly relatives and parents gather children in the family's compound when the moon is out to tell them historic stories and songs. The essence was always to teach about ethics and to encourage children to adopt the right lifestyle. The stories and songs also provided entertainment.

child bond/friendship which, she argues, presently lacks in the community. However, she maintains that English is essential in a globalized world and should also be focused on.

Another participant who speaks against the pro-English ideologies of some community members is Mrs. Peace. She stresses an urgent need for a revitalization program, as older community members who know these songs and other Nawfija language practices are dying or becoming forgetful. For reasons of space, it is not possible to discuss all participants. However, the views discussed here broadly represent those who participated in this study.

In sum, the six younger participants (18 to 29 years) express an appreciation of English but would want the Nawfija children's songs to be revitalized – even though some of them do not show much interest in them. Thus, in this group, we see a disjunction for some, about what is desirable at a community level and what individuals would want for themselves, or practice in their everyday lives. 14 of 14 participants aged between 30-40 challenge the dominance of English explicitly. However, English plays a role in their lives, as all participants code-switched during the interviews. They wish to promote Indigenous children's songs and the Igbo language in the community. Also, most of the songs documented in Chapter 4 were remembered by participants in this group. Hence, their ideologies match their attitude regarding the songs. However, six of the 14 participants in this age group argued that English songs are useful and needed in the community. Nonetheless, they were against the existence of the ideology that the English language and its practices equate to a higher level of intelligence than Nawfija Igbo language practices.

This discussion aligns with Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer's (1998) argument that a disparity can exist within a community: between some members' expressed desire to revitalize their language and an unconscious or deep-rooted bias about their language – which may be a result of their colonial experiences – affecting their attitudes and ideologies. This may be the case in parts of the Nawfija community, where all the participants agree that the songs need to be revitalized; yet, some participants also express a lack of interest in re-learning the songs themselves. This discrepancy may lead to the eventual abandonment of Indigenous songs by some of the community members. Thus, the presence of ideologies (1) and (2) may derail a possible revitalization project. Therefore, it is, just as Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1998) argued, not uncommon to find a speech community expressing that a revitalization project is a good idea but is, at the same time, not committed to maintaining the language and its practices. This also supports Kroskrity's (2010: 205-206) argument that language ideologies could contribute to a

language/its practices' attrition, and/or death, and/or affect the activities of its revitalization.

6.3. Suggestions made by participants on steps to take toward revitalization

To revitalize the Indigenous songs, Mrs. Favour suggests that the schools could teach Indigenous songs during Igbo classes and promote, not punish, students when they sing or speak Igbo. Furthermore, she suggests that the songs be promoted via the media. According to her, since the world is now globalized and access to media technology is prevalent even in her community, Igbo programs should be performed on the screen for children to view and learn. She says this will also help refresh the memories of the elderly. Mr. Victor likewise attributes the reasons for the disappearance of the songs to the lack of teaching resources in the Igbo language, especially in the Nawfija variety. He argues that it is easier to find CDs, DVDs, and storybooks for children in English than in Igbo. He maintains that the production of the Nawfija songs on CDs will reintroduce its use in the community. This further suggests that technologically mediated forms of oral transmission may have replaced old forms. In addition, Miss Elizabeth, suggests that a collection of the songs should be produced as a book and distributed to schools. Mrs. Faith also suggests that it is important to create awareness about the importance of the songs; for example, for socialization.

6.4. Summary

In this chapter, three different ideologies have been identified to exist in the Nawfija community. The data shows that ideologies are multiple and based on the experiences of these participants. These ideologies have possibly been shaped by age, the experience of motherhood, and educational qualifications. Ideology (1) was reported mostly by older participants, based on their everyday experiences in the community. Ideology (2) was reported primarily by participants aged 18-29, mostly undergraduate students. And finally, ideology (3) reflects the beliefs of older participants. Their level of education ranges from secondary education to tertiary education and the majority have a child(ren).

Ideology 1 is argued to be popular in the Nawfija community. Some of the older participants argue that some community members believe English practices to be more valuable than their Igbo practices, and they equate speaking English to intelligence in a person and the tendency to succeed in life. Ideology (2) bears a resemblance to (1). Some younger participants argue that English is the language for geographical mobility.

Likewise, they express the desire to migrate to English-speaking countries. Therefore, they strive for competence in English. This explains the value they place on English language practices. One might hypothesize that the existence of ideologies (1) and (2) may have contributed to the gradual disappearance of Indigenous children's songs. Ideology (3) is supported strongly by the older participants who argue that these Igbo practices are part of their heritage and identity as Nawfija community. Hence, they advocate for the revitalization of these songs and suggest possible revitalization steps to be taken. Importantly, all interviewed participants responded positively to the idea that the songs could be revitalized. However, as I have argued, not all the ideologies and attitudes represented in the data would assist with the maintenance of these songs and other Indigenous language practices.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.0 Introduction

This study examined the Indigenous children's songs of the Nawfija community in the southern-eastern part of Nigeria. The study drew its theoretical frameworks from the concepts of language socialization and language ideology. The focus of the study was on the role the songs play in society and the community's ideologies about the songs. The study adopted a qualitative approach, using semi-structured interviews and observations to collect data. Furthermore, a thematic analysis method was adopted for the analysis of the data. Thus, interrelated questions were developed to guide the research. For example, I asked participants questions about the existence of children's songs in the Nawfija community as an established genre and about their role in language socialization. In addition, this study explored whether these songs are declining in use. Open-ended questions were asked about the ideologies that people hold about Igbo and Igbo songs. I also explored the need for revitalization. In total, twenty participants residing in Nawfija, who are speakers of the local variety, were interviewed. The following sections discuss the research findings in line with the research questions (outlined in Chapter 1). I also discuss my position regarding Nawfija's educational structure which was a factor that affected my interpretation of the data. I close with a section on the study's limitations and recommendations for further research.

7.1 Summary and discussion of findings

This study's broad research question was: How do members of the Nawfija community talk about their Indigenous children's songs?

The following sub-questions guided the research further:

- (1) Are children's songs an established oral genre in the Nawfija community?
- (2) How are children socialized into the Nawfija culture and language variety using the Indigenous Nawfija children's songs?
- (3) Are children's songs an endangered aspect of the Igbo culture, using the Nawfija community as a case study?
 - c. Is there a decline in the use of these Indigenous children's songs?
 - d. If there is a decline in Indigenous children's songs, what are the reasons for this?
- (4) What language ideologies surround these songs?

c. What are the social variables that contribute to these existing ideologies?

(5) Is there a need for the revitalization of these songs?

c. If yes, what are the ideological clarifications for revitalization?

7.1.1.1 Nawfija children's songs, a socialization tool

The discussion in Chapter 4 addresses questions (1) and (2). Firstly, question (1) sought to determine if children's songs are an established oral genre in the Nawfija community. Secondly, question (2) asked whether they serve as a socializing tool into the Nawfija language variety and culture.

My research shows that children's songs are an established oral genre: six categories of Nawfija Indigenous children's songs were identified. They include 1) lullabies, (2) moral songs, (3) songs that reflect socio-political situations, (4) game songs, (5) songs that encourage standing/walking, and (6) children's praise songs.

The research further shows that Nawfija Indigenous children's songs are of great importance in the community. The songs are used to socialize the child into acquiring the local language variety, as well as acceptable norms, morals, beliefs, and culture. This helps to mould the child as a competent member of the Nawfija community. In Chapter 4, I posit that this socialization process is possible through the themes embedded in these songs. Each category of the Nawfija Indigenous children's songs is structured so that the themes pass messages about the community's acceptable behavioural patterns or beliefs. Secondly, I argue that the children are socialized into the language variety through the wordings of the songs, which intentionally use Nawfija words, such as terminologies for beings or objects. Finally, the children are active agents in the socialization process: they participate in the song through imitation and by singing along to the choruses.

7.1.1.2 The current status of Nawfija children's songs

Chapter 5 considers the endangered nature of Igbo and its practices. Hence, the chapter discusses the current state of the Nawfija children's songs in line with the research question (3). The findings in the chapter point to a possible decline in the use of these songs. From the interviews, it seems that the younger participants in the study had little knowledge of the songs, and most of the older participants admitted to having forgotten the songs. An exception is Mrs. Favour who remembered most songs and attributes the remembrance to her role as the community's traditional orator.

The overarching effects of colonization have been noted as one of the factors responsible for the decline in the use of these Indigenous children's songs. For example, some participants pointed out that schools are based on colonial models and ideologies which devalue their Indigenous language and practices. In addition, this study finds that the use of phone and TV technology, or what I refer to as 'screen-based babysitters', has also contributed to a decline in the use of Nawfija Indigenous children's songs. This finding supports other scholarly works that indicate the presence of technology in childcare in Nigeria, and the loss of Indigenous language practices. It is important to note that the pattern is not one of moving straight from Indigenous songs to English songs. Some English songs have been localized to fit into the Nigerian context. For example, the participants mentioned that they would use afrobeat rhythms in children's songs, and others gave examples of new, localized lyrics. Thus, while western songs may have replaced many Nawfija Indigenous songs, there is evidence of hybrid songs that use English and Nigerian languages/rhythms to reflect the Nigerian context. However, some participants state that these new songs are not as meaningful as their Indigenous songs. Some participants also attribute the decline to the effects of the Christian religion. They point out that overly religious community members see Indigenous practices as a 'sin', and that church activities are mostly in English. However, I argued in Chapter 5, the Christian religion could also serve as a means of promoting Indigenous languages if church activities were to be performed in the community's language.

7.1.3 Ideologies of loss and revitalization

In my analysis of the data, I identified three ideologies that may have shaped language attitudes and, therefore, may affect the revitalization of these songs. These ideologies include: (1) English equates to intelligence and success, (2) English is the language of geographical mobility, and (3) Igbo/Nawfija variety is a language of identity. The first ideology devalues the Nawfija language variety, arguing that the English language and its practices are of more value. The participants who speak about this ideology stated that some community members believe that one's knowledge of English equates to a great intelligence not found in a monolingual Nawfija speaker. Further, these community members argue that it is believed that a speaker with a good knowledge of English has a greater chance of success than the monolingual Nawfija speaker. Participants report these attitudes based on their personal experiences, reflecting on how they have been perceived by others as 'unsophisticated', 'unintelligent' when speaking Igbo/Nawfija variety, and as

a person with less tendency to be successful. Community members who hold this ideology do not encourage the acquisition of the Nawfija language nor the use of its linguistic practices among their children. This may have contributed to the decline in the use of the songs.

The second ideology bears a semblance to the first and was articulated by the younger participants. It is the belief that English is the language of geographical mobility. It stems from the desire of migrating to English-speaking countries. To migrate to these countries, one must be competent in English. This proficiency is proven through passing English-based tests such as the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) for overseas studies.

Finally, according to the third ideology, Indigenous songs and other language practices constitute their identity as members of the Nawfija community and the Igbo ethnicity. This ideology is supported strongly by older participants (aged 30 to 40), who are all parents. This supports Kroskirty's (2010) and McGroarty's (2010) argument that multiple ideologies can exist in the same speech community. Participants who hold this ideology tie their identity to their language and linguistic practices. They acknowledge the existence of the first two ideologies but disapprove of a belief in the superiority of English. They also frown at schools that punish students for speaking Igbo. Therefore, for these participants, a loss of these Indigenous children's songs is a loss of a part of their identity as Nawfija members.

These ideologies may have been shaped by the experience of motherhood, as well as by social variables such as age and level of education. It seems that the older participants, who had varying degrees of education and all of whom are parents, frown more on the dominance of English practices and the deconstruction of their identities. The younger community members, who are all university graduates, may be more receptive to the dominance of English.

7.1.3.1 A need for a revitalization project?

This study also engaged in an ideological clarification assessment to establish if a revitalization project should be carried out or not. It is noticeable that all twenty participants want the Indigenous children's songs to be revitalized. However, the existence of ideologies (1) and (2) suggest that such a revitalization might not be successful. For instance, the younger participants said they wish to revitalize the songs; yet, they also state they are not interested in learning, using, or teaching them to children.

Thus, there appears to be a disparity between what is desirable at a community level and what individuals would want for themselves. Ideologies (1) and (2) seem to be popular in the community, especially among younger people. This means that if people believe that the English practices are of more value than their Nawfija practices, then the maintenance of these Indigenous songs after their revitalization is uncertain.

As a result of these discrepancies, if a revitalization of these Indigenous children's songs is carried out, there is a possibility that not all Nawfija community members will put in the required commitment needed to maintain them. As an Indigenous language advocate, I opine that Indigenous language advocates must first educate communities like the Nawfija on the importance and beauty of their Indigenous languages and cultural practices. This will reinform their ideologies and attitudes towards their languages before a revitalization project is carried out. This is because, until most speech community members possess positive ideologies and attitudes, we may keep experiencing a decline in our language and cultural practices.

7.2 My position on Nawfija's education model

One of the contributing factors to the decline discussed in Chapter 5 is the education model of Nawfija schools which promotes English practices. Therefore, I opine that to maintain these songs and other Indigenous community practices, the primary language of education should be the local language, not the former colonial language. Likewise, attempts to mimic Western countries' accents, and teaching patterns should be eradicated. Previous researches on the role of language in education have shown that using the European language is counter-productive in Africa (Wolff, 2006; Plonski, Asratie, and Bradi, 2013). Therefore, Nawfija's education system, and generally Africa's education systems, should reflect individual countries' unique and well-thought-out frameworks, strategies, and academic resources. This does not entail a 'cancel culture' for European and western scholars' contributions to education; rather, a mental liberation and decolonization of Africans' minds from perceiving ourselves as inferior. As Makgoba (1997: 199) puts it, "it is not about excluding Europeans and their cultures, but about affirming the African culture and its identity". This line of argument is likewise reflected in scholarly papers by Ngugi (1986), Louw (2009), Msila (2014), Mwinzi (2016), as well as Ramoupi and Ndille (2016). These scholars support Afrocentricity, Indigenization, and the localization of knowledge. The Africanization of knowledge in Nawfija should go beyond the curriculum planning to extend to individuals' understanding of its necessity. In so doing, eradicate

punishing students who opt to speak their Indigenous language within schools. Until our knowledge has been fully decolonized to understand that we are adequate as Africans, the Africanization of the education system will be a struggle. Additionally, in integrating Indigenous into the education structure, the loss of Africa's culture, values, tenets, and linguistic practices will be curbed to an extent. Likewise, this educational pattern will effectively produce community members who are not alienated from their history, language, culture, present realities, and challenges. These members will proffer solutions for their community while gleaning knowledge from other countries –since scholarships generated from other countries will not be completely removed.

7.3 Limitations and recommendations

The research population of this study was quite limited, therefore the result cannot be generalized to the Nawfija community as a whole. As a result, it is important to study a larger community group. This could include a larger sample with more men, more younger as well as older (40+) community members. Also, a non-Covid data collection will enrich the discussion through its better audio and perhaps video recordings.

Additionally, this study could not cover all other contexts where a language socialization process could occur in the Nigerian context such as in multilingual families where the parents have different native languages. It will be interesting to study the process of language socialization in such families by focusing on different linguistic practices such as children's stories, and proverbs. Thus, which language(s), culture(s), and ideology(ies) are children, who are born into multilingual families, socialized in? Also, this research did not cover how children are socialized into gender-appropriate behaviours in Nawfija. It would be interesting to understand the socialization of children into different gender roles in the Igbo culture.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview questions (for men and women aged 26 to 40 years)

1. Good morning, Aunty/Brother. What is your name?
2. How are you doing today and the family also?
3. How old are you?
4. Are you from Nawfija by birth or by marriage?
5. Are your parents from Nawfija?
6. Do you have children?
7. Do you know how to sing the Nawfija children's songs?
8. Did your parents sing Nawfija children's songs to you as a child?
9. Would you please sing me the Nawfija children's songs used for different occasions? (As much as they can remember).
 - a. Nawfija children's songs sang to put a child to sleep
 - b. Nawfija children's songs sang to stop a child from crying
 - c. Nawfija children's songs sang to encourage a child to stand or walk
 - d. Nawfija children's songs sang to make a child laugh
 - e. Nawfija children's songs sang to praise a child
 - f. Any other songs you can remember?
10. What kind of situations are these Nawfija children's songs sung?
11. What language(s) are used for these children's songs?
12. In your view, what are the messages/themes (i.e. semantic content) embedded in the Nawfija children's songs?
13. What songs were sung to you when you were younger?
14. Do people still sing those songs (mentioned by the participants in Q.13) now?
15. What are the reasons for the drop in the use of Nawfija children's songs? (If the answer to Q.14 is a 'No').
16. Are there specific cultural aspects of the Nawfija community embedded in the Nawfija songs? If yes, what are they?
17. Do you remember creating these songs as a child? Who creates these songs?
18. What children's songs are now being sung to children?
19. What category of people sing these Nawfija songs; only women, children, or men alone?
20. Can you sing any of these present children's songs?

21. Do you prefer these other children's songs to be sung to children in your community?
22. If yes, what is/are the reason(s) for your choice?
23. If no, what is/are the reason(s) for your choice?
24. What do you think about your indigenous children's songs? (Either positive or negative conceptions).
25. Would you love the Nawfija children's songs to be in use again (revitalized)?
26. If a shift occurred to other songs different from the Nawfija songs, do you think colonization, globalization, and/or religion played any role in making this shift happen?

Appendix B: Draft interview questions (for participants aged 18 to 25)

1. Hello dear, Good morning, how are you?
2. How old are you?
3. Are your parents from the Nawfija community?
4. Do you take care of a child, or have you previously taken care of a child?
5. What children's songs do you sing/have you sung to the child(ren)?
6. Are these songs mentioned in Q5, Nawfija songs?
7. If no, why do you sing these other songs and not Nawfija children's songs?
8. Did your parents sing Nawfija children's songs to you as a child?
9. Do you know any of the Nawfija children's songs?
10. Can you sing them?
11. What language(s) are used for these Nawfija children's songs?
12. In your view, what are the messages/ themes (i.e. semantic content) embedded in the Nawfija children's songs?
13. What songs were sung to you when you were younger?
14. Do people still sing those songs (mentioned by the participants in Q.13) now?
15. What are the reasons for the drop in the use of Nawfija children's songs? (If the answer to Q.14 is a 'No').
16. Do you prefer the use of these other children's songs to the Nawfija songs?
17. What do you think about your indigenous children's songs? (Either positive or negative conceptions).
18. If there is a shift that occurred to other songs different from the Nawfija songs, do you think that colonization, globalization, and/or religion played any role in making this shift happen?

Appendix C: Igbo translation for the interview questions

Odide ntụkwasi CH: Ajujụọṅṅ (maka ndị agbara nwaanyi/nne na ụmụ nwoke)

1. Ụtutu oma, anti/nwanne m nwoke. Gini bu aha gi?
2. Kedu ka i mere nakwa ezinaulo gi?
3. Afọ ole ka i di?
4. I bu onye Nawfija site n'omumu ka o bu site n'alumdi?
5. Nne na nna gi, ha bu ndi Nawfija?
6. I nwere umuaka?
7. I maara etu esi agu abu nwa ndi Nawfija?
8. Nne na nna gi abula gi abu nwa ndia oge i di na nwata?
9. Biko, i nwereike i guru m abu nwa ndi Nawfija nke uzọ di icheiche? (ole obula I nwereikeicheta)
 - a. Abu nke iji me ka nwa rahụ ura na Nawfija
 - b. Abu nke iji me ka nwakwusi ibe akwa na Nawfija
 - c. Abu nke iji gbaa nwa ume ikwu otọ ma obu jee ije na Nawfija
 - d. Abu nke iji me ka nwa chia ochi na Nawfija
 - e. Abu nke iji too nwa na Nawfija
 - f. Abu ndi ozọ I nwere ike icheta
10. N'onodu di anaa ka ana-agu egwu umuaka Nawfija ndia?
11. Kedu asusu nke ejiworo n'egwu umuaka Nawfija ndia?
12. N'uche nke gi, gini bu ihe mmuta/ihe nkuzi/isiokwu (ya bu, ihe mputara) nke di n'egwu umuaka nke Nawfija?
13. Kedu egwu ndi a guuru gi oge i di na nwata?
14. Unu aka na- abu abu ndia (dika onye nsonye siri kputa n'ajuju nke iri na ato) ugbua?
15. Gini kpatara abu nwa nke ndi Nawfija jiri nwuo kpam kpam? (ma o buru na aziza nke ajuju iri na anọ bu Mba)
16. E nwere mpaghara omenala nke Nawfija di n'abu nwa ndia? o buru Ee, gini ka ha bu?
17. I nwere ike icheta icheputa egwu ndia dika nwata? Kedu onye cheputara egwu ndia?
18. Kedu abu nwa nke ana aburu umuaka ugbua ?
19. Gini ogbara ndi na-abu abu nke Nawfija ndia; naani umu nwaanyi, ka obu umuaka ka obu naani umu nwoke ka obu mmadu niile?
20. I ga-abunwu abu nwa obula nke ogbara ohuru ndia?

21. O masiri gi ka abu nwa nke ndi ozo buru ihe aga na-aburu umuaka n'obodo gi?
22. O buru Ee , gini bu nkwardo gi nyere nhoputa gi?
23. O buru mba, gini bu nkwardo gi nyere nhoputa gi?
24. Gini ka I chere banyere abu umuaka nke obodo gi? (Nke ziri ezi ma obu nke ezighi ezi)
25. O ga-amasi gi ka egwu nwa nke obodo Nawfija putakwa ihe ozo?
26. O buru na e nwere nnochi site n'abu umuaka nke Nawfija wee banye n'abu ndi ozo, I chere na idoro n'agha, mmepe ma obu okpukpe chi nyeere aka ime ka nnochi a puta ihe?

Appendix D: Igbo translation for the interview questions for youths

Odide ntụkwasi D: Ajujụọny (Umuntorobia)

1. Ekelee m gi, ututu oma , kedu ka i mere?
2. Afọ ole ka i di?
3. Nne na nna gi, a bucha ndi Nawfija?
4. I na-eledo nwa anya ma obu i ledowo nwa anya mgbe gara aga?
5. kedu udi egwu nwa i na-aguru ma obu iguururi nwa/umuaka ahụ?
6. Abu ndia nke akpọtara n'ajuju nke iri ato na otu, ha bu nke Nawfija?
7. O buru mba, ginị mere I jiri agu egwu ndi ozọ ndia ma hapu egwu umuaka nke Nawfija?
8. Nne na nna gi, aguru gi egwu umuaka nke Nawfija oge idi na nwata?
9. I maara abu nwa Nawfija obula?
10. I nwere ike igu ha?
11. Kedu asusu nke ejiworo n'egwu umuaka Nawfija ndia?
12. N'uche nke gi, ginị bu ihe mmuta/ihe nkuzi/isiokwu (ya bu, ihe mputura) nke di n'egwu umuaka nke Nawfija?
13. Kedu egwu ndi a guru gi oge i di na nwata?
14. Ndi mmadu a ka na-agu egwu ndi ahụ (akpọtara site n'aka onye nsonye n'ajuju nke iri na ato) ugbua?
15. Ginị kpatara abu nwa nke ndi Nawfija jiri nwuo kpam kpam? (ma o buru na aziza nke ajuju iri na ano bu Mba)
16. O masiri gi ka ana- abu nwa nke ndi ozọ ndia ma hapu abu umuaka nka Nawfija?
17. Ginị ka I chere banyere abu umuaka nke obodo gi? (Nke ziri ezi ma obu nke ezihi ezi)
18. O buru na e nwere nnochi site n'abu umuaka nke Nawfija wee banye n'abu ndi ozọ, I chere na idoro n'agha, mmepe ma obu okpukpe chi nyeere aka ime ka nnochi a puta ihe?

University of Cape Town



Linguistics Section:

**School of African & Gender Studies,
Anthropology, and Linguistics**

CONSENT FORM FOR RESEARCH ON HUMAN SUBJECTS

1. Title of the research project:

Children's songs in Nawfija Community; South-Eastern Nigeria: A
Sociolinguistic Perspective

2. Names of the principal researcher(s):

Chinazam Faith Okeke

3. Department or research group address:

School for African & Gender Studies: Anthropology & Linguistics, AC Jordan
Building, University Avenue, UCT Upper Campus, Rondebosch

4. Contact details:

☎: 0720938066

💻: okkchi001@myuct.ac.za

5. Name of participant:

6. Nature of the research:

This research aims to collect the children's songs sung in the Nawfija variety, explore the themes embedded in these songs, discuss the state of the songs and likewise discuss the ideologies surrounding these local songs. In addition, observe a few participants.

7. Participant's involvement:

What is required from the participant: Speaking out their perceptions towards their indigenous children's songs, reasons for shifts to other children's songs (if occurred) and singing these local children songs.

Risks: The research poses no risk to the participants.

Benefits: There is no direct benefit to the participants. However, the thesis will, upon completion, be digitally available.

Costs to participants: None.

Payment: As a way of compensation for the time spent, the participants will be given a nonalcoholic drink and meat pie, for refreshments.

CONSENT

Written consent

- a. I agree to participate in this research project.
- b. I have read the consent form and the information it contains and had the opportunity to ask questions about them.
- c. I agree to my responses being used for education and research on the condition that my privacy is respected, subject to the following:
 - I understand that my personal details will be used in aggregate form only so that I will not be personally identifiable.
- d. I understand that I am under no obligation to take part in this project.
- e. I understand that I have the right to withdraw from this project at any stage.

Signature of participant_____

Signature of participant's guardian: _____

(Required if the participant is under 18)

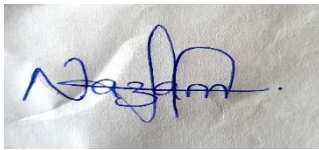
Name of participant's guardian: _____

(Required if the participant is under 18)

Signature of person who sought consent: _____

Name of the person who sought consent: Chinazam Faith Okeke

Names and signature(s) of the principal researcher(s)



Signature

Signature

Chinazam Faith Okeke

Name

Name

Date: 10/01/2021

Spoken consent

In the event that the participant is unable to fill out a written consent form, an affirmative answer to each of the following questions must be obtained on tape from the participant.

- f. Do you agree to participate in this research project?
- g. Have you read the consent form, or have its contents been explained to you?
- h. Have you had the opportunity to answer questions about the research project and the consent form?
- i. Do you agree to your responses being used for research on the condition that your privacy is respected?
- j. Do you understand that your personal details will be used in aggregate form only so that

you cannot be identified?

- k. Do you understand that you are under no obligation to participate in this project?
- l. Do you understand that you can withdraw from the project at any time?

Appendix F: Consent form (Igbo translation)

Odide ntụkwasi F: Akwụkwọ ndebanye nkwenye (Ntughari Igbo)

Mahadum Nke Cape Town



Mpaghara Lingwistiks:

**Ụlọakwụkwọ nke Afirika na Agụmagụ
Okike, Antropoloji na Lingwistiks**

**AKWỤKWỌ NDEBANYE NKWENYE MAKA NCHỌCHA NYÉRÉ ISIOKWU
MMADỤ**

1. Isiokwu nke ọrụ nchọcha a:

Abụ nwa n'Obodo Nawfija; Ọwụwa Anyanwụ nke Naijiria: N'Uche nke
Lingwistiks Ọhà

2. Aha onye(ndi) isi nchọcha:

Chinazam Faith Okeke

3. Ngalaba ma ọbụ ìgwè ebe nkweta nke nchọcha:

Ụlọakwụkwọ nke Afirika na Agụmagụ Mburu: Antropoloji na Lingwistiks, Ụlọ
AC Jordan, Àwàrà Mahadum, Kampus Elu UCT, Rondebosch

4. Ndezu kọntakti:

☎: 0720938066

💻: okkchi001@myuct.ac.za

5. Aha onye nsonye

6. Uđidi nchocha a:

Nchocha a bu nke gbadoro ukwu n'ichoputa, iwekota abu nke ana- aburu umuaka n'obodo Nawfija, choputa ebumnobi/isiokwu di n'abu ndia ma kowaa echiche nke ndi nsonye nyere abu ndia.

7. Ntinye nke onye nsonye:

Ihe ana atụ anya n'aka onye nsonye: ikwuputa ihe ha chere banyere abu nwa nke obodo ha, ihe kpatara mgbanwe nye uzọ ogbara oheru (ma oheru na o di) na igu abu nwa nke odinaala ndia.

Ihe ize ndu: Ihe nchocha a enweghi ihe ize ndu obula nyere ndi nsonye.

Uru: E nweghi uru kwomkwem nyere ndi nsonye. Etu o di, ihe nchocha a bu nke ga-adi na ogbara dijital ma emesia ya.

Ihe mmefu: E nweghi

Ikwu ugwo: dika itiaknobi/ihe onyinye maka oge a tufuru, ndi nsonye ga-enweta mmanya adighi aba n'anya na ihe ntaghari onu nke eji anu mee maka itu ndu mmanu.

Nkwenye

Nkwenye ederede

- Ekwenyere m n'isonye na nchocha nke isiokwu a
- Aguola m ibe akwukwo nkwenye a na ozi di na ya ma nwekwaa ohere iju ajuju banyere ha
- Ekwenyere m ka aziza buru nke aga eji n'agumakwukwo na nchocha na ndabe na ozi banyere m bu nke aga akwanyere ugwu, nyere ihe ndia:
 - Aghotara m na ozi banyere m bu nke aga eji naani n'ibe akwukwo nruputa mkpokota ka ahapu i choputa m
- Aghotara m na anoghi m na mmanye isonye n'oru nchocha a
- Aghotara m na m ga-ewepu onwe m site n'oru nchocha a n'ogogo obula

Mbinyeaka nke onye nsonye _____

Mbinyeaka nke onye nlekota onye nsonye: _____

(nke a chorọ ma o buru na onye nsonye erubeghi afo iri na asato)

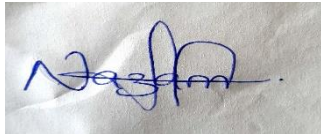
Aha onye nlekota onye nsonye: _____

(nke a choro ma o buru na onye nsonye erubeghi afo iri na asato)

Mbinyeaka nke onye choro nsonye: _____

Aha nke onye choro nsonye: Chinazam Faith Okeke

Aha na mbinyeaka nke onyeisi nchocha _____



Mbinyeaka

Mbinyeaka

Chinazam Faith Okeke

Aha

Aha

Akara ubochi: 10/01/2021

Nkwenye:

- f. I kwenyere n'isonye na nchocha nke isiokwu a?
- g. Emeela ka ndirina nke nkwenye a doo gi anya?
- h. I nweela ohere zaa ajuju maka ihe nchocha na akwukwo ndebanye nkwenye?
- i. I kwenyere ka aziza gi buru nke aga eji n'agumakwukwo na nchocha a, na ndabe na ozi banyere gi bu nke aga akwanyereugwu?
- j. I ghotara na ozi banyere gi bu nke enwere ike itinye na nchocha a, bu nke aga eji naani n'ibe akwukwo nruputa mkpokota ka ahapu i choputa gi?
- k. I ghotara na i noghi na mmanyenye isonye n'orunchocha a?
- l. I ghotara na i ga-ewepu onwe gi site n'orunchocha a n'ogogo obula?

Appendix G: Phone consent script for a physical interview

[Please note that the text for this script is adapted from the consent script used by Nchang 2014:150]

Good day, My name is Chinazam Faith Okeke. I am researching for my Master's thesis about the local children's songs of the Nawfija community, in Anambra State, Nigeria. I am a student at the University of Cape Town, South Africa, and I would like to request your consent to conduct and record a physical interview with you in Nawfija, and use the information you give me for my research. It is totally up to you whether or not to take part in this study. You still have the option to decline this interview at any moment and request that any data already captured be deleted, even if you consented earlier. Nobody else will learn your identity while the research is being conducted. You may get a copy of the interview transcripts by contacting me. I promise to protect your right to privacy.

I will read out the purpose and nature of this research to you:

Nature of the research: This research aims to collect the children's songs sung in the Nawfija variety, explore the themes embedded in these songs, discuss the state of the songs and likewise discuss the ideologies surrounding these local songs. In addition, observe a few participants.

What is required from the participant: Sharing their perceptions towards the Indigenous children's songs, reasons for shifts to other children's songs (if occurred), and, if willing, singing these local children's songs.

Risks: The research poses no risk to the participant.

Benefits: There is no direct benefit to the participants. However, the thesis will, upon completion, be digitally available.

Costs to participants: None

Payment: By way of compensation for the time spent, the participants will be given a nonalcoholic drink and meat pie for refreshments.

Would you, therefore, be willing to answer some questions to determine your eligibility for this study? (If yes, I will proceed to the following questions? But if not, I will thank them for the time and end the call)

1. Are you between the age of 18- 35?
2. Are you from Nawfija by birth or by marriage?
3. Are you willing to be interviewed physically in your community?

4. Are you willing to abide by the covid preventive measures that will be put in place? (If the answer to the above questions is a “No”, I would inform them that they are not eligible for the study. But if it is a ‘Yes’, then I discuss the date convenient for them to be interviewed in their community.)

Should you agree to assist in this research, please kindly respond to the following statement of consent.

Consent Agreement:

- a. Do you agree to participate in this research project?
- b. Have the contents of the consent been explained to you?
- c. Have you had the opportunity to answer questions about the research project and the consent form?
- d. Do you agree to your responses being used for research on the condition that your privacy is respected?
- e. Do you understand that your personal details will only be used in aggregate form so that you cannot be identified?
- f. Do you understand that you are under no obligation to participate in this project?
- g. Do you understand that you can withdraw from the project at any time?

Thank you for your time. If you have any questions concerning this research, you can contact me at +2348137806275, or +27720938066, or email me at okkchi001@myuct.ac.za. Also, I can send a copy of this consent form if you wish to have it.

Appendix H: Phone consent script for a physical interview (Igbo translation)

Odide ntụkwasi H: Ederede maka nkwenye site n'ekwentị maka ajujuonụ ihu na ihu
Ubochi oma, aha m bu Chinazam Faith Okeke. Ana m eme nchocha banyere ederede Maastasi
m, banyere egwu odinala umuaka n'obodo Nawfija, na Steeti Anambara nke Naijiria. Abu m
nwa akwukwo nke Madadam Cape Town di na Ndida Afirika, ma choo ka m rikota ikike n'aka
gi gbaa gi ajujuonụ nke ihu na ihu n'obodo gi bu Nawfija ma werekwa ozi ahụ m ga-enweta
n'aka gi dika ihe nchocha m. Nsonye gi na ihe nchocha bu nnoo nke I kwenyere site n'onwe
gi. I puru inye m ohere a; I nwekwara ikike iwezuga onwe gi site na nchocha a oge obula ma
kwukwaa ka akachapu ozi obula nke ewerela n'igwe. Agaghị eme ka ihe obula banyere gi buru
nke a ga-ekesa ebe obula nye onye ozo. ibe ndeputa nke ajujuonụ a bu nke aga eme ka I nweta
ma i choo ya. Ekwere m nkwa na ime onwe gi ka m ga-asopuru.

Aga m aguputa ebumnobi na udidi nke nchocha a nye gi:

Udidi nchocha a: Nchocha a bu nke gbadoro ukwu n'ichoputa, iwekota abu nke ana- aburu
umuaka n'obodo Nawfija, choputa ebumnobi/isiokwu di n'abu ndia ma kowaa echiche nke
ndi nsonye nyere abu ndia.

Ihe ana atụ anya n'aka onye nsonye: ikwuputa ihe ha chere banyere abu nwa nke obodo ha,
ihe kpatara mgbanwe nye uzo ogbara ohuru (ma oburu na o di) na igu abu nwa nke odinaala
ndia.

Ihe ize ndu: Ihe nchocha a enweghi ihe ize ndu obula nyere ndi nsonye.

Uru: E nweghi uru kwomkwem nyere ndi nsonye. Etu o di, ihe nchocha a bu nke ga-adi na
ogbara dijital ma emesia ya.

Ihe mmefu: E nweghi

Ikwu ugwo: dika itiaknobi/ihe onyinye maka oge a tufuru, ndi nsonye ga-enweta mmanya
adighi aba n'anya na ihe ntaghari onu nke eji anu mee maka itu ndu mmanu.

i ga-ekwenye iza otutu ajuju iji mara ma I tozuru etozu maka nchocha a? (o buru Ee, m gaa
n'ihu n'ajuju ndia. mana o buru mba, m ga-ekele ha maka oge ha ma kwusi oku ahụ)

1. I gbara site n'afọ iri na asato rue n'afọ iri ato na ise?
2. I bu onye Nawfija site n'omumu ka obu n'olulu?
3. O ga-amasi gi iza ajujuonụ nke ihu na ihu n'obodo gi?

(O buru na aziza nke ajuju ndia di n'elu bu 'Mba', aga m agwa ha na ha etozughị maka nchocha
a mana o buru 'Ee', aga m achoputa ubochi diiri ha mma maka ajujuonụ n'obodo ha)

Ị ga-ekwenye inyeaka n'ihe nchọcha a, biko zaghachi okwu nkwenye ndịa

Nkwenye:

- a. I kwenyere n'isonye na nchọcha nke isiokwu a?
- b. Emeela ka ndịrịna nke nkwenye a doo gi anya?
- c. I nweela ohere zaa ajujụ maka ihe nchọcha na akwụkwọ ndebanye nkwenye?
- d. I kwenyere ka azịza gi buru nke aga eji n'agumakwukwo na nchọcha a, na ndabe na ozi banyere gi bu nke aga akwanyereugwu?
- e. I ghọtara na ozi banyere gi bu nke enwere ike itinye na nchọcha a, bu nke aga eji naanị n'ibe akwukwo nruputa mkpokota ka ahapu i choputa gi?
- f. I ghọtara na i noghi na mmanye isonye n'orunchocha a?
- g. I ghọtara na i ga-ewepu onwe gi site n'orunchocha a n'ogogo obula?

Daalu maka oge gi, o buru na I nwere ajujụ obula banyere nchọcha a, i ga-enweta m site na +2348137806275, +27720938066, na akara owa ozi: okkchi001@myuct.ac.za. A ga m ezitere gi akwukwo ndebanye nkwenye a ma o buru na i choro inweta ya.

Appendix I: Consent to interview members of the Nawfija community (To be signed by the King of the Nawfija community)

Letter of Consent:

Good day, Igwe. My name is Chinazam Faith Okeke. I am researching for my Master’s thesis about the local children’s songs of the Nawfija community, in Anambra State, Nigeria. I am a student at the University of Cape Town, South Africa, and would like to request your permission to interview members of your community. This will include a total of twenty participants between the ages of 18-40. The precautionary measures for Covid-19 will all be put in place, including the use of masks and face shields during the interview, the social distancing meters of 6-8 feet adhered to, provision of a washing stand, foot-pedal sanitizing stand, and proper sanitization of equipment to be used. Should you grant me this permission, they still have the option to decline this interview at any moment and request that any data already captured be deleted, even if they had consented earlier. I pledge that the privacy of the members of the community will be respected. Should you agree to consent to the carrying out of this research in your community, Nawfija, Anambra State, Nigeria, please kindly sign the following statement of consent.

Statement of Consent:

The researcher, Ms. CHINAZAM FAITH OKEKE, has clearly outlined what she requires from me. I understand that participants can withdraw my consent for the continuation of this study in my community. I hereby give my permission for **the members of the Nawfija community in Anambra State, Nigeria, to be interviewed.**

Signed.....

Date..... Place.....

Oral Consent by the King:

Should you agree for this research to take place in your community, please kindly respond to the following statement of consent.

Consent Agreement:

- a. Do you agree that your community members should participate in this research project?
- b. Have the contents of the consent been explained to you?
- c. Have you had the opportunity to ask questions about the research project and the consent form?

- d. Do you agree to your responses being used for this research?
- e. Do you understand that you are under no obligation to participate in this project?
- f. Do you understand that you can withdraw from the project at any time?

Appendix J: Consent to interview members of the Nawfija community (To be signed by the King of Nawfija community (Igbo translation))

Odide ntụkwasi J: Nkwenye maka ajujuonụ nye ndị obodo Nawfija (Nke Igwe obodo Nawfija ga-ebinye aka)

Leta Nkwenye:

Igwe, ubochi oma, aha m bu Chinazam Faith Okeke. Ana m eme nchocha banyere ederede Maastasi m, banyere egwu odinala umuaka n'obodo Nawfija, na Steeti Anambara nke Naijiria. Abu m nwa akwukwo nke Madadam Cape Town di na Ndida Afirika, ma choo ka m riota ikike n'aka gi gbaa ndi obodo gi ajujuonu. Nke a ga-agunye mmadu iri abuo site n'afu iri na asato rue afu iri ano. Ihe nzere niile nke nje Covid-19 bu nke aga etinye n'oru, tinyere iji akwa nkpuhi ihu na mgbochi ihu n'oge ajujuonu, inye ohere mita isii rue asato, iweta nkwo aka nke eji ukwu azo, nguzo nhicha nke eji ukwu azo, na ihicha nke oma ngwongwo niile aga eji ru ru a. I puru inye m ohere a; I nwekwara ikike iwezuga onwe gi site na nchocha a oge obula ma kwukwaa ka akachapu ozi obula nke ewerela n'igwe. Ekwere m nkwa na ime onwe nke ndi obodo gi ka m ga-asopuru. I ga-ekwenye ka e mee nchocha a n'obodo gi bu Nawfija n'ime Steeti Anambara nke Naijiria biko binyeaka na nkwaputa nkwenye ndia;

Nkwuputa Nkwenye:

Onye nchocha a Nwada CHINAZAM FAITH OKEKE akowarala m nke oma ihe o choo n'aka m. Aghotara m na m nwere ikike iwezuga nkwenye m maka iganihu nke nchocha a n'obodo m. Ya mere, enye m ohere **ka ndi obodo m bu Nawfija n'ime Steeti Anambara nke Naijiria buru ndi aga agba ajujuonu.**

Mbinyeaka.....

Akara ubochi..... Obodo.....

Nkwenye okwukwu nke Igwe

I ga-ekwenye ka e mee ihe nchocha a n'obodo gi, biko zaghachi okwu nkwenye ndia

Nkwenye:

- a. I kwenyere ka ndi obodo gi sonye na nchocha nke isiokwu a?
- b. Emeela ka ndirina nke nkwenye a doo gi anya?
- c. I nweela ohere zaa ajuju maka ihe nchocha na akwukwo ndebanye nkwenye?
- d. I kwenyere ka aziza gi buru nke aga eji n'agumakwukwo na nchocha a, na ndabe na ozi banyere gi bu nke aga akwanyeregwu?
- e. I ghotara na i noghi na mmanyere isonye n'orunchocha a?
- f. I ghotara na i ga-ewepu onwe gi site n'orunchocha a n'ogogo obula?

Appendix K: Covid-19 checklist

Symptoms	Response (Yes/No)
Do you have a fever?	
Do you have a cough?	
Do you experience shortness of breath?	
Do you have a loss of sense of smell?	
Do you have a loss of sense of taste?	
In the past two weeks, have you been told that you have Covid-19?	
Are you awaiting a Covid-19 result?	
Have you been in contact with someone who has Covid-19 in the past two weeks?	

Source: https://coronavirus.westerncape.gov.za/files/atoms/files/COVID-19_symptom-screening-checklist.pdf (Government, 2020)

Appendix L: Covid-19 checklist (Igbo translation)

Odide ntụkwasi L: Ndepụta nlele covid-19

Ngosiputa	Azịza (Ee/Mba)
Ị nwere ahụ ọkụ?	
Ị nwere ụkwara?	
Ị na-enwe nkebi n'iku ume?	
Ọ bụ na ị naghịzi anụta ísì?	
Ọ dị gị ka ị naghịzi anụta uto?	
N'ime izuuka abụọ gara aga, a gwala gị na I nwere nje Covid-19?	
Ị na-atụ anya mputara nnyocha nke Covid-19?	
Gị na onye nwere nje covid-19 emekọla kamgbe izuuka abụọ gara aga?	

Ebe nweta: https://coronavirus.westerncape.gov.za/files/atoms/files/COVID-19_symptom-screening-checklist.pdf (Gọmentị, 2020)

Appendix M: Research assistant ethics consent

Name: Sunday Ifeanyi Okoli

Affiliate University: Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka, Nigeria

Tel: +2348137806275

Email: sundayifeanyiokoli@gmail.com

Consent:

I, Sunday Ifeanyi Okoli, a Masters' student in the Department of Linguistics at Nnamdi Azikiwe University, hereby consent to abide by the ethical rules of the University of Cape Town while assisting Chinazam Faith Okeke in identifying participants for her data collection in my community, Nawfija.

Some of the participants I will be speaking to will be done telephonically, as I already have their contact details as a community member who lives in Nawfija. Whereas for those I need to meet physically, I affirm that this will be done with all precautionary measures in place. This will include my wearing of face masks and face shield throughout the meeting, sanitizing my hands properly, and ensuring I maintain a social distance of 1.5 meters apart.

Moreso, I would clearly explain to the participants that they are not obliged in any way to consent to be interviewed, it is entirely voluntary, and no one will be mandated. Likewise, I will explain to them that they have a right to withdraw from the interview at any point or stage of the interview, and they have a right to request that the already recorded sessions of their interviews be deleted without bringing any harm to them. I will also explain that there are no benefits, as Chinazam Okeke has mentioned to me. Rather, they will be provided with refreshments of a nonalcoholic drink and a meat pie for their time. And also, explain to the participants that the interview brings no form of risk (physical and psychological) to them or the community. Likewise, inform them that their details will not be disclosed to anyone, and the information they have given will be used in an aggregate form, i.e. in a discussion format in the thesis.

Finally, I affirm that I will carry out the process of identifying female participants with all the right behaviour. This entails my use of appropriate words and respect for everyone.

Signature

Date: 04/12/2020



Appendix N: The Nawfija Indigenous children's songs

This appendix includes Nawfija children's songs that were not included in Chapter 4. These are songs that the participants remembered and were able to perform. There were also songs participants remembered, but were not able to perform – either because they had forgotten, or because of the stress of the interview situation.

Category 1: Lullabies

N.1.1. *Ònye mere nwa na-ebe akwa* 'Who caused the child to cry' as performed by Mrs. Favour

<i>Ònye mere nwa na-ebe akwa,</i>	Who caused the child to cry
<i>Egbe mere nwa na-ebe akwa</i>	The Hawk caused the child to cry
<i>kpata uzịza, kpata ose,</i>	Pluck black pepper, pluck pepper
<i>Weta amara ngerere ofe</i>	Bring yam flour and ingredients for soup
<i>Ka ụmụ nnụnụ a rachaa ya</i>	So that the bird's children will lick it
<i>Ka ọkpọtụtu kpogbue ya</i>	And choke because of the heat
<i>egbe ndoo egbe ndoo</i>	Hawk sorry, Hawk sorry
<i>nwa enwe ị ma n'elu, na eso m</i>	
<i>gi,</i>	Monkey's child, if you jump up, I
<i>nwa enwe ị ma n'ala, na eso m</i>	am following you
<i>gi,</i>	Monkey's child, if you jump
<i>nwa enwe nye m ọyọ, nye m</i>	down, I am following you
<i>mgbirimgba</i>	Monkey's child, if you jump up, I am following you
<i>Ka m kpado nwa n'aka</i>	Monkey's child give me rattle, give me a bell
<i>mgbe ọ ga-ebe obelege</i>	Let me hold my child in my hand So that when he/she cries, he/she
<i>nwa enwe doo, nwa enwe doo</i>	will stop Monkey's child please, monkey's child, please

N.1.2. *Taata mechie ọny, ebezina akwa* ‘Baby, close your mouth, stop crying’, as performed by Mrs. Grace

<i>Taata mechie ọny, ebezina akwa</i>	Baby, close your mouth, stop crying
<i>akwa adiṛọ mma n’obube</i>	crying is not good for crying
<i>ọchị kacha mma n’ọchịchị</i>	laughter is better for laughing
<i>chịwara m chịwara m</i>	laugh for me, laugh for me
<i>nwa ntịntị</i>	a little

N.1.3. *Ralụ ụra ka nne gị nata* ‘Sleep so that your mother will return’, as performed by Mrs. Joyce

<i>Ralụ ụra ka nne gị nata</i>	Sleep so that your mother will return
<i>gotere gị ihe okụkụ nwa</i>	and buy you children’s goodies
<i>nwoke sị na nri amaka</i>	a man said that food is good
<i>nwaanyị sị na nri ajọka</i>	a woman says that food is bad
<i>nwoke tụturu tufue</i>	a man throws away
<i>nwaanyị agbaga tụtuta</i>	a woman runs and picks it up
<i>meere m ihe okụkụ nwa</i>	prepare for me the children’s goodies
<i>ihe okụkụ, anawa m be nne m ooo!</i>	children’s goodies, I am going to my mother’s house ooo!

N.1.4. *Nwa na-eku nwa* ‘The child that carries a baby’, as performed by Mrs. Favour

<i>Nwa na-eku nwa,</i>	The child that carries a baby,
<i>awanza</i>	awanza
<i>nwa na-eku nwa,</i>	The child that carries a baby,
<i>awanza</i>	awanza
<i>kute Ụkọ nwa,</i>	Carry baby Ụkọ,

<i>awanza</i>	awanza
<i>Ụkọ nwa nọ n'ụra,</i>	Baby Ụkọ is sleeping,
<i>awanza</i>	awanza
<i>ị na-echu iyi, chuwe iyi,</i>	If you are going to the stream, go to the stream,
<i>awanza</i>	awanza
<i>Ụkọ nwa nọ n'ụra,</i>	Baby Ụkọ is sleeping,
<i>awanza</i>	awanza
<i>ị na-eje nkụ, jewe nkụ,</i>	If you are going to fetch firewood, go and fetch it,
<i>awanza</i>	awanza
<i>Ụkọ nwa nọ n'ụra,</i>	Baby Ụkọ is sleeping,
<i>awanza</i>	awanza
<i>Nwa na-eku nwa,</i>	The child that carries a baby,
<i>Awanza</i>	Awanza

Category 2: Moral Songs

N.2.1. *Ụdara m chaa* 'My cherry, please ripen', as performed by Mrs. Favour

<i>Ụdara m chaa</i>	My cherry, please ripen
<i>Nda</i>	Nda
<i>Cha cha cha</i>	ripen, ripen, ripen
<i>Nda</i>	Nda
<i>Nwunye nna m o</i>	my father's wife o
<i>Nda</i>	Nda
<i>Zutara ụdara racha,</i>	bought cherry and licked it all
<i>Nda</i>	Nda
<i>Kpachapụ nwa enweghị nne</i>	and cast away the child without a mother
<i>Nda</i>	Nda
<i>Kpachapụ nwa enweghị nna</i>	and cast away the child without a father
<i>Nda</i>	Nda

Elu ụwa bu oriri

This world is full of merriment

Whoever comes here will seek

Onye pụta ọ rachaa

his/her enjoyment

N.2.2. *Utete nne m Utete nne m o* ‘Utete my mother’s child’, as performed by Mrs. Favour

2.2	Mrs. Favour:	<i>Utete nne m Utete nne m o</i>	Utete my mother’s child, Utete my mother’s child
		<i>doorima ndo</i>	doorima ndo
		<i>Utete nne m Utete nne m o</i>	Utete my mother’s child, Utete my mother’s child
		<i>doorima ndo</i>	doorima ndo
		<i>na nne na-enye anyị ji na mba</i>	that mother gives us yam in tubers
		<i>doorima ndo</i>	doorima ndo
		<i>na nna na-enye anyị ji na mba</i>	that father gives us yam in tubers
		<i>doorima ndo</i>	doorima ndo
		<i>ọ sị anyị ekwena anwụrụ ọkụ</i>	she instructed us not to allow the
		<i>pu,</i>	smoke out
		<i>doorima ndo</i>	doorima ndo
		<i>ọ sị anyị esune ọdụ gbowam,</i>	she instructed us not to pound with
			the mortar
		<i>doorima ndo</i>	doorima ndo
		<i>na Utete ekwena anwụrụ ọkụ</i>	that Utete should not allow the
		<i>pu,</i>	smoke out
		<i>doorima ndo</i>	doorima ndo
		<i>amaugo buru ọmarute</i>	an evil spirit came and carried
			ọmarute
		<i>doorima ndo</i>	doorima ndo
		<i>nwanne amarozikwa nwanne</i>	sibling does not know his/her
		<i>ya,</i>	sibling again
		<i>doorima ndo</i>	doorima ndo
		<i>nwanna amarozikwa nwanne</i>	relations do not know their sibling
		<i>ya</i>	again
		<i>doorima ndo</i>	doorima ndo

Category 3: Socio-political song

Only one of these songs was performed by participants and it is cited in full in Chapter 4.

Category 4: Game songs

N.4.1. *Kpakpankolo kpankolo*, as performed by Miss Elizabeth

<i>Kpakpankolo kpankolo,</i>	Kpakpankolo kpankolo,
<i>kpakpankolo kpankolo</i>	kpakpankolo kpankolo
<i>Udu m o!,</i>	My music pot o!,
<i>Ogene!,</i>	Metal gong!,
<i>Ònye o mara,</i>	The person it falls upon,
<i>susu yaayaayaa,</i>	susu yaayaayaa,
<i>susu yaa</i>	susu yaa

N.4.2. *O wuhụ ma nwa, ònye je- enye m?* ‘If not my child, who would have given me?’, as performed by Mrs. Blessing

<i>O wuhụ ma nwa, ònye je-</i>	If not my child, who would have
<i>enye m?</i>	given me?
<i>Ukwu jooji, ònye je-enye m?</i>	Wrapper, who would have given
	me?
<i>Ichafu isi, ònye je-enye m?</i>	Headgear, who would have given
	me?
<i>Blouse di mma, ònye je-enye</i>	A beautiful blouse, who would
<i>m?</i>	have given me?
<i>Akpukpu ukwu, ònye je-enye</i>	Shoes, who would have given me?
<i>m?</i>	If not my child, who would have
<i>O wuhụ ma nwa, ònye je-</i>	given me?
<i>enye m?</i>	

Category 5: Standing/ Walking Songs

N.5.1. *O kwurụ nte nte* ‘He/she is standing’, as performed by Miss Eileen.

<i>Ọ kwurụ nte nte</i>	He/she is standing nte nte
<i>Ọ kwurụ nte nte</i>	He/she is standing nte nte
<i>Kwurụ kwurụ nte nte</i>	Standing standing nte nte
<i>Kwurụ kwurụ nte nte</i>	Standing standing nte nte

N.5.2. *Ọ kwurụ, ọ kwurụ* ‘He/she is standing’, as performed by Mrs. Favour

<i>Ọ kwurụ, ọ kwurụ</i>	He/she is standing He/she is standing
<i>Ọ kwurụ ka m na-enene</i>	He/she is standing so that I can watch
<i>Ọ kwurụ ka m na-enene</i>	He/she is standing so that I can watch
<i>Ọ kwurụ, ọ kwurụ,</i>	He/she is standing, He/she is standing
<i>Ọ kwurụ ka m na-enene</i>	He/she is standing so that I can watch

Appendix O: Extracts for Chapter 5

O.5.1. From the interview with Mr Daniel's

Chinazam: *Ajụ kwanụ gi, ginị mere ejizirọ agụ those songs. You know, ụdị a ndị nne na nna anyị guru [.] kee reason mena a dighị aguzi ya etu esi agụ ya before?* If you are asked, what is the reason that caused the drop in the use of these songs. You know, the type our ancestral parents sang [.] what is the reason that caused the drop in use compared to how it was used before?

Mr Daniel: There are so many reasons. One is that the world is already modified. You can't expect the cultural things our forefathers did to be the same with the ones we will be doing now. Because the songs, as in, how will I say it, the song awuro ihe nọ anọ (is not something that is static). It's not like building. O wuru nọo ihe di ka building (if it is something like a building), like this example now, this house now, this is the first zinc house in the whole of Nawfija, this is the first zinc house. So as people are passing now, as far as this house is still standing, they will keep on...

Chinazam: - - - *onye gata, a pointia ya* ---if anyone passes, they will point at it

Mr Daniel: Yes, they will keep on remembering it. Because their parents have told them about it.

But e tua egwu ahụ di kịta (the way those songs are now) [sighs] it's not something like this now. You understand?

Then most people now they are no more based in village. Everybody is based in city or abroad and [.] nobody will have that time to come and start learning the songs or [...] check it now? Everybody is on technology now; everybody is trying to do new new things, discover more. So they don't have time for that, they don't think it is important...Some of them, they travel here now, the next time you see them is after 10years. They don't care about the village things. Everybody is getting modernized, having new mentality of so many things. The world is getting modernized. They will use television and keep the child busy not singing local songs or play cartoon for them, other things, [.] buy them toys and other stuff, they don't have time to come and start singing for them. So, that's it.

O.5.2: From the interview with Miss Elizabeth

- Miss Elizabeth:* *Eeeh, o ndụ ọcha weteche ihe nile a [...] ị ma noo ndị ọcha wetalu anyị school, ma television.* Yes, the whites brought all of these [...] you know the whites brought us school and the television.
- Mana this television, nke ye di too much, ụmụadzi machazi station ya nile, ndị na eme cartoons, and ebe ahụ ka ha si amụtacha these English songs. Parents too, onwe zi ònye na enwe efe ị kuziri ụmụadzi egwu ndi a, [...] family e nwee Gotv now, ị mara na e nwee ihe na eme.* But this television, its own is too much, children now know all the stations in it, the ones that display cartoons, and it is also from there that they learn these English songs. Parents too, no one now has the time to teach children these songs, [...] any family that does not have Gotv now, then you know that something is wrong.

Appendix P: Ideologies of loss and revitalization

Extracts for Chapter 6 (Ideologies)

P.6.1. From the interview with Miss Elizabeth

- Miss Elizabeth:* *Most people na falluzi back to English songs because ònye na agu these our songs, that's eh, a na enwezi those people as uneducated or unsophisticated people na Nawfija, [...] so o mesĩa most people ana-aguzi the English ones, ka ndi mmadu futa ha ka ndi ma ihe.* Most people are falling back to English songs because anyone still singing these our songs, that's eh, they regard those people as uneducated or unsophisticated people in Nawfija, [...] so this has caused that most people now sing the English ones so that people will see them as intelligent.
- Miss Elizabeth:* *That is why so ihe i ga na anu is all these "baby shark doo doo doo doo, baby shark".* That is why all you will hear now is all these "baby shark doo doo doo doo, baby shark"
- Chinaazam:* *hmmm, okay...* hmmm, okay...
- Miss Elizabeth:* *---Eee, so onye obuna believu na once you go to school, you must be sophisticated, [...] so ònye obula chozi i fallu back at English, ha believu na i magha asu oyibo, i gagho school. So o na affecti kwu di egwu [...] o na affect ihe niile, ufodu umuazi amachazi asu Igbo, in short, in Igbo anyi a kita o nwezi ònye na asu Igbo ofuma, before i suo Igbo ten, oyibo 20 ga aba na ime ya, onwe ònye na asu Igbo like that again. So o ihe di na ya. Ndi Yoruba ne iwuru, Yoruba noro godu obodo oyibo, a muo ha ebe* --- yes, so everyone believes that once you go to school, you must be sophisticated, [...] so so everyone wants to fall back at English, they believe that if you don't know how to speak English, then you didn't go to school. Yes, so it is also affecting these songs, [...] it is affecting everything, most children don't even know how to speak Igbo, in short, in our Igbo land now, no one speaks Igbo very well, before one speaks 10 Igbo, 20 English will enter into the sentence, no one speaks Igbo like that again. So that's what it is all about now. The Yorubas you see now, even if the Yorubas are

ee, ha je na asu asusu ha ofuma ofuma, ha jee na aza agha ha, mana ndi Igbo anyi nu, ha crossu ha na onitsha, chefuzie ye. Ma m na onwe m, kee afa m, ijuo m afa m, m ga e bu uzo gwa gi nke oyibo, nke igbo a wuruzie nke ikpeazu, mana Yoruba, oyegodu aza agha oyibo, o ye eshi ike before i hu onye Yoruba na aza ya, mana onye Igbo a muru ma agu ya agha oyibo, o di ya ka onwe ihe na egwu na aha ya.

So o nya nwa wu the thing, and ihe bu the main reason na a cause ihe a bu one anyi si e treati onwe anyi [...] i mara asu oyibo, eme ihe oyigbo, nobody will regard you na obodo anyi a bu Nawfija, ma obodo igbo ndi ozu kwa. Ndi Igbo anyi, ha kacha evu ihe na ishi, ha vu ihe oyibo nua na ishi too much.

Chinazam: So, i experience go this kind of treatment?

Miss Elizabeth: Ofuma na, o ya mere nne na nna obula choro ka umu ha hapu ihe obula gbasara Igbo including this egwu anyi na ekwu okwu ya kita, ka ha wee ga iru.

in the white man's land, if they give birth to them here, they will still be speaking their language well enough, they will still be answering their names, but our Igbo people, once they cross Onitsha, forget it. Even I myself, what is my name, if you ask me my name, I will first tell you the English name, the Igbo name will then be the last, but Yorubas, even if they will answer the English name, it will be difficult before you see any Yoruba that will answer it, but any Igbo person that is not given an English name, he/she will feel like that there is something missing in his/her name. So that is it, and what is the main reason that causes all these is the way we treat ourselves [...] if you don't know how to speak English, do English things, nobody will regard you in this our village Nawfija, even in other Igbo villages. Our people, do things to the extreme; they are overstressing these English things too much.

So, have you experienced this kind of treatment?

Very well, that is why every parent wants their children to leave anything concerning Igbo, including these our local songs we are talking about now, so that the children will succeed.

P.6.2. From the interview with Mrs. Favour

- Mrs. Favour:* *Kita wuzi ihe ndi oyibo kporo 'modern age', o computer age ka a nọ na ya kita, and ha kitanuwa ha puta zi kwuo, o di zie ka i gu ba zi kwuo ya koo aru ka i na eme, ha na ewezi ya ka i na eme aru. So umu ife a, bia mezie o slidizia back, o di zie ka adighi emezi ya. Onye gu bazie ya, o di zie ka onye a, ha na enezi ya anya ka onye nzuzu sef. Dika maybe, onye ahụ a maro akwukwo* Now is what the whites call 'modern age', we are currently in the computer age, and now, they act like when you sing these our old songs you are committing a crime, they take it like you are committing a crime. So these kinds of things made it slide back in use, it is now looking like it is no longer done. When one is singing it, it will then look like the person is, they will be looking at the person like a foolish person. Like maybe, the person is unintelligent
- Chinazam:* *Hmmm* Hmmm
- Mrs. Favour:* *eeeh umu ihe a gasi, o so na ihe doghachiri ya azu. And e feelu mu na ndi obodo anyi nwere this mind na, na nke anyi di inferior, nke ha, nke ndi oyibo di superior* eeeh all these things are part of why the songs are dropped in use. And I feel that our people in this community have this mind that, that ours is inferior, theirs, the white people own is superior
- Chinazam:* *kowaa tu ihe i mean?* explain what you mean?
- Mrs. Favour:* *Obu ibu, obu ibu na ana anyi a, mgbe ufodu sef, ufodu na eche na fa suọ oyibo, mebe ihe ndi oyibo e wee faa ka ndi gurụ akwukwo, ha futawa ha ka ndi ocha. Mana o buro ya, o nwe ife ndi be anyi adighi a wota; oyibo wu asusu, uche di icha icha na ihe a na eme. Ufodu na ama akwukwo, ufodu a da ama akwukwo, mana oyibo wu, o ne a asusu Igbo di kwa ka o di, mana ndi* It is a lot, it is a lot in this our land, sometimes even, some think that when they speak English, and start doing the white people's things, they will take them like very learned people, they will see them as white people. But it is not it, there is something that our people don't understand; English is a language, knowledge differs in different aspects. Some have the ability to be intelligent easily, some cannot be intelligent easily,

be anyị esiro o ne a ghotā ya, fa na ewe ya na ị sūwa kwa hana oyibo, na iburugo o kacha mara, ònye ocha...

but English is, just the way Igbo language is, is the way it is, but our people don't understand it that way, they see it that once you start speaking English, that you are now all-knowing, a white person

Chinazam: ---hmmm, so that mentality so kwa a cause ndị na....

---hmmm, so that mentality is part of the reason people...

Mrs. Favour: ---osọ na causuu, yea, o so. O nwe ufodu ebe ị ga aga, ndị Igbo ibe gi, ị me ka ị sūọ Igbo, fa e nene gi anyaaa onye amali ife, onye amali ife sef

--- it is part of the cause, yea, it is. There are some places that you will go to, your fellow Igbos, if you try to speak Igbo, they will be looking at you as one without common sense, one without common sense

Chinazam: So anyị so kwa eme onwe anyị? ...

So we are part of the problem we have?

Mrs. Favour: ---anyị so cha eme onwe anyị

--- indeed, we are part of the problem we have

P.6.3.

Mrs. Favour: Ndị oyibo a, fa a na- agụkwa nke anyị? O ya bu ajuju anyị ga- aju onwe anyị. Egwu ndị a sokwa na omenana anyị, mgbe omenana anyị niile nachara, keduzi ihe ga- abụ njirimara anyị as ndị Igbo? So anyị nwa kwesi ihe gbasara language anyị, anyị ejide ya aka ofuma, jide asusu anyị aka ofuma. O wugodu na

These whites, do they also sing our own? That is the question we need to ask ourselves. These songs are part of our culture, when all our cultural practices die off, what will now be our characteristics as Igbos? So we are supposed to hold onto anything regarding our language well and hold onto our language

anyị gana agụ nke ndị oyibo; yes, o dī mma, mana ekwesikwa i dī na- agụ nke anyị. O nwe ike e mee ya ihe dīka 70/30.

Mgbe ufoḍu, o nwe school i ga-agacha, asị gi nọ sọ Wednesday ka eji asụ Igbo. O dirọ mma. E nwe ike e mee ya; Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, a sụọ Igbo, then Thursday and Friday a sụọ oyibo. Mana i jeruo i fu ka ana apia umuadzi, na- enye ha punishment maka ha sụrụ Igbo na school. Fa echezozie na Igbo a bu nke anyi, anyi tufuezi nke anyi, that means anyi a buruzia ndi na-enwero be.

well enough. Even if we will be singing the whites' own; yes, it is good, but we are also meant to be singing ours. It can be done like 70/30.

Sometimes, there are schools you will go to, and they will tell you that it is only on Wednesday that Igbo is to be spoken. It is not right. It can be done; Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, they speak Igbo, then Thursday and Friday, they speak English. But when you get there, you see where they are flogging children and punishing them because they spoke Igbo in the school. Then they forget that this Igbo is our own, if we throw away what belongs to us, that means we are people without a place.

Chinazam: O eziokwu

That's true

Mrs. Favour: ---andị i makwana nke oyibo a anyi na-agukwa bukwa their culture. O dika nnoo, anyi e buru culture onye ozọ bubata na be anyi, dosazie nke anyi [...], you cannot serve two masters at a time, so ofu ka i ya- ewe. So abiazi na- asopresizi nke anyi.

--- and you know that these English ones we sing are their culture. It is just like, we carried the culture of another and brought it into our house, then dropped our own [...]. You cannot serve two masters at a time, you have to choose one. So it then suppressed our own.

P6.4. Ideological clarification section

Miss Ọ bụrụ kwanu na phone adịrọ nso, ị Assuming a phone is not available,
Eileen: ma mma ihe ị ga eme, eh heh, so ọ ka you won't know what else to do, yes,
mma na ewechite ya azu. so it will be better that they are brought
back (revitalized).