

## GRAMMATICALITY AND CODE-SWITCHING IN THE IGBO LANGUAGE: CODE-SWITCHING IN IGBO-ENGLISH, IGBO-GERMAN AND IGBO-ENGLISH-GERMAN

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### Abstract

Language defines humans because of our essential social connectedness, properly captured by Martin Heidegger (1967) in the idea of “Being-with-others” (Mitsein) in his famous book “Sein und Zeit” (translated in English as “Being and Time”). Human beings are also capable of acquiring many languages. The more the cultures they interact with, the more languages they are likely to learn and also achieve competence and fluency in. Language users who are bilingual or multilingual tend to switch codes, especially in their informal speeches and writings. Many scholars have studied and written on code-switching or code-mixing as a linguistic or sociolinguistic phenomenon. The approach of these scholars, in contradistinction from ours, is the classification of code-mixed elements as words, phrases, and sentences (intra- and extra-sentential code-switching). Our approach is to examine the grammaticality of the English and German elements in the code-mixed sentences. Our research has revealed that Igbo code-switchers often use grammatically incorrect English or German sentences in their code-switching conversations.

**Keywords:** Grammaticality, Code-switching, Igbo language, Igbo-English language, Igbo-German language, Igbo-English-German language, bilingualism, multilingualism, constraints model

### Introduction

A very famous definition of code-switching has been given by Shana Poplack (2001): “Code-switching (CS) refers to the mixing, by bilinguals (or multilinguals), of two or more languages in discourse, often with no change of interlocutor or topic. Such mixing may take place at any level of linguistic structure, but its occurrence within the confines of a single sentence, constituent, or even word, has attracted most linguistic attention.” In other words, it is a mixture of elements of two or more languages in words, phrases or sentences uttered by interlocutors, especially when they share the same cultural or linguistic context. Igbo people are very good at code-switching, which has a background in the English language that came with the colonization of the people.

The word “Igbo” is used in three senses to refer to the territory, the domestic speakers of the language, and the language spoken by them. The Igbo are one of the about 400 ethnic groups in Nigeria, with a distinct language and culture and with a population of about 20 million. The language of the people, also called Igbo, belongs to the *Kwa* subgroup of the Niger-Congo linguistic family. Furthermore, the Igbo land occupies about 15,800 square miles, has a wide variety of physical features and is divided by the River Niger into western and eastern parts of Igbo land. The majority of the Igbo live in the eastern part of the land.

Archaeological discoveries show that the Igbo have been living in Igbo land for at least 4500 years. Both Nsukka poetry-making (4500 years ago) and the Nok culture dating back to 5 BC attest to this. The sensational discoveries of ax-making made at Ugwuele, which are still being analysed, put the date of life in Igbo land as far back to 200,000 to 250,000 years ago (Stone Age Man) However, it is not yet very clear whether the Stone Age man was the direct ancestor of the Igbo. One the most controversial issues in Igbo history is the origin of the Igbo. For some time the Jewish origin of the Igbo was in vogue. The Igbo were said to be one of the lost races of Israel. Oriji is one those who contest this theory. According to him, “archaeological research suggests that the Igbo might have settled in their present location before the epoch of Moses in Jewish history around 2000 BC.” Holding the theory of the origin of the Igbo from the proto-Bantu area of the Niger-Benue confluence as plausible, Oriji argues for traditions which do trace Igbo origins outside their cultural environment. He distinguishes three cultural areas of the dispersion and settlement of the Igbo:

A. Primary Core: Nri-Awka and Amaigo-Orlu Axis

B. The Secondary Core Areas: Oatta-Owerri, Okigwe, Agwu-Udi- Nsukk Escarpment and Agbor Axis

C. The Tertiary Core Areas: Ezinihitte-Mbasise, Obowo, Mbao, Umuahia, Ngwa, Ikwerre-Etche, Ahoada, Arochukwu, Afikpo, Abakiliki, Aguta, Idemili, Nnewi, Onitsha, Aboh, Oguta, Oraifite, and Ozubulu

Many Igbo people would not agree with this classification. Besides, it is still necessary to ask questions about the relationship of the Igbo to other related groups of the same language family: Edo, Yoruba and other Bantu language groups. It is not enough to argue that the Igbo have remained in Igbo land for many years. Relationship with other groups in the Niger-Congo family should be investigated to find out the course of migration and settlement. Finally, for a more accurate research archaeological work on the origin of the Igbo may need to make use of modern DNA analysis method which Jewish scholars have been using recently to map out Jewish cultural and hereditary history.

The origin of the Igbo remains a problem, however plausible the Nri origin (Elisabeth Isichei) or Nri- Awka , Amaigbo-Orlu primary core Axis (Oriji) appears. The Igbo are known for their hard work, business acumen and loyalty to their village or town. Among the Igbo, age is respected but achievement is revered. The Igbo traditional society was made up of peasant farmers who depended mostly on agriculture for its existence. Before the era of colonisation, there was already a well-organised democratic political set-up in Igboland. Issues were discussed and decisions taken at town or village levels whereby everybody had the opportunity to express themselves. According to Elisabeth Isichei, "Igbo political institutions were designed to combine popular participation with weighting for experience. " Although every Igbo person takes part in the political decisions of the village assemble, the authority of elders and titled men is highly respected. Titled men like the Ozo form a strong political institution because among the traditional Igbo title-taking as a sign of wealth and achievement is highly respected. Another political institution which is widespread among the Igbo is the age grade. Secret societies and diviners also exercise strong influence in the decision-making process of each village or town assembly.

The traditional Igbo society was a democratic society. One can then imagine what impact the British colonial administration, with its system of indirect rule and warrant chiefs, had on this democratic society. The impact of colonialism was immense. It destroyed not only the democratic process but also the natural development of literacy. For instance, it was often thought that the Igbo did not have system of writing before colonialism. The discovery of a fairly developed system of writing called Nsibidi has disproved this. Isichei draws attention to the disruption of the development of literacy in the Igbo culture:

Nsibidi took the form of formalised pictograms, like Chinese. Had not the experience of colonial rule deflected the Igbo and their neighbours from their own patterns of development, it seems likely that, as in other societies, a knowledge of literacy would have become more diffused in society as a whole, and that, like Chinese, the script would have acquired more characters, becoming a richer and more flexible vehicle of literary expression.

The interference of colonialism put a stop to a natural development of literacy and brought a completely new form of literacy – the so-called western education. It is western education that ushered in the English language and western literacy. Since then the English language has remained the official language of not only the Igbo but also that of other ethnic groups in Nigeria.

One distinguishing quality of the Igbo is their mobility. The Igbo are virtually everywhere in the world and are known to be good at learning languages. Many Igbo people can speak more than three languages. But what is easily noticeable in their language use is the constant code-switching in their conversations. When Igbo interlocutors have more than one foreign language, one is likely to hear code-switching in all three (or more languages). This paper will be examining these mixtures from the aspect of the grammaticality of the foreign languages in the code-switching by Igbo speakers. Sidney Greenbaum (1996) in Oxford English Grammar makes a good distinction between grammaticality and acceptability . Whereas grammaticality refers to grammatical correctness, acceptability is about appropriateness of use in a context. We will examining these elements in our analysis of the sentences or phrases.

### **Objectives of the Study**

The aims of this study is to:

- (i) Classify code-mixed elements as words, phrases, and sentences
- (ii) Examine the grammaticality of the English and German elements in the code-mixed sentences
- (iii) Find out the degree to which Igbo code-switchers often use grammatically incorrect English or German Sentences in their code-switching conversations.

### **Scope of the Study:**

In this study we will limit our discussions of the foreign language elements to English and German. The study is about the use of elements of these languages in the Igbo language spoken by the Igbo people of Southeast Nigeria.

### **Significance of the Study**

This study, while adding to existing literature and texts, will reveal the grammatical flaws in the elements of foreign languages used by Igbo code-switching interlocutors. It will highlight the challenges in attempts to promote a version of the Igbo language interlaced with code-switching as a new form of language.

### Literature Review

Shana Poplack has done extensive research in language use among bilingual and multilingual speakers and has developed the constraint-based model, in which we have built our theoretical foundation for this work. In her view (2001), “Code-switching (CS) refers to the mixing, by bilinguals (or multilinguals), of two or more languages in discourse, often with no change of interlocutor or topic.”

Chris Barker discusses the various cultural juxtapositions, which also form basis for these linguistic juxtapositions that Poplack mentions. **Barker puts across the following theory of different kinds of cultural juxtaposing:**

- Two distinct cultural traditions are kept separate in time and/or space. We would define ourselves as Asian or British, Mexican or American. This is the domain of nationalism and ethnic absolutism.
- Two separate cultural traditions are juxtaposed in time and space. We would define ourselves as Asian and British, Mexican and American, moving between them as situationally appropriate.
- Cultures are translocal and involve global flows. Hybridization occurs out of recognition of difference and produces something new. We are ‘British Asian’ or ‘Mexican American’.
- Cultural traditions develop in separate locales but develop identifications based on perceived similarity and commonality of tradition and circumstance. For example, an essentialist version of pan-global black or Hispanic nationalism.
- One cultural tradition absorbs or obliterates the order and creates effective similarity. This could involve assimilation (my parents are Asian but I am British) or cultural domination and imperialism (one tradition is wiped out).
  - New forms of identity are forged out of shared concerns along the axis of class, ethnicity, gender, age, etc. This is an anti-essentialist position in which similarity is forged strategically. For example, a strategic alliance in which black and Asian people share a common ant-racist strategy. Equally, strategic identifications and alliances occur on other axes, such as gender, so that a shared feminism might be more significant than ethnic difference.

Poplack concentrates on the linguistic consequences of these juxtapositions in terms of code-switching. She reviews the different CS theories and models before developing her two constraint-models of CS. She sees methodological problems of CS in the difficulty of distinguishing CS from other forms of language mixture such as borrowing and concludes that the “achievement of consensus on an empirically verifiable characterization of the rules for juxtaposing these fragments within the sentence remains an important goal for CS research”. While inspired by the insights of Poplack, these researchers believe, like many critics, that the constraint models have some challenges. These models, for instance, cannot account for ungrammatical elements in the CS of Igbo speakers. This is our point of departure from our theoretical framework based on this model.

Many other scholars involved in CS have also defined code-switching in different ways. Hoffmann (1991: 110) defines “code switching” as the “the alternate use of two [or more – OvD] languages within the same utterance or during the same conversation”. The shortcomings of Hoffman’s work is that it has not dealt with the issue of ungrammatical elements in the juxtapositions of the interlocutors.

Furthermore, Hymes (1976) views CS as “a common term for alternative use of two or more varieties of a language or even speech styles”. Also Maschler (1998) understands CS as “using two languages such that a third, new code, emerges, in which elements from the two languages are incorporated into a structurally definable pattern”. An attempt has also been made to distinguish code-switching (CS) from Code-mixing (MS). Muysken (2000:1) is of the view that code switching is “the rapid succession of several languages in a single speech event”, whereas code-mixing is about “all cases where lexical items and grammatical features from two languages appear in one sentence”. For many scholars, however, these terms can be used interchangeably.

Many Nigerian scholars have also studied CS extensively. Akimade Akande (2013) has studied and written a good paper on code-switching in Nigerian hip-hop lyrics. He points out code-switches in the pidgins used in the songs. According to him, “The paper argues that, because Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE) has the highest number of speakers as compared to other indigenous languages in the country (Faraclas 2004), its speakers are found across the country and its usage given prominence in Nigerian hip-hop, it ought to be treated as a super central language.” Akande fails to make a distinction between borrowings (a type of linguistic mixture) and code-switched items in pidgin, something that Poplack sees as a challenge in CS studies. Furthermore, Ngozi U. Emeka- Nwobja (2014) studies CS in Igbo-English Bilingual Conversations. She categorises the items under inter- and intra- sentential

switches as well as within words. Her work is limited to the English language and does not discuss in the ungrammatical and unacceptable elements in the CS. Similarly, Greg O. Obiamalu & Davidson U. Mbagwu (2008) have studied CS among the Igbo. They try to understand the socio-psychological background of CS among Igbo speakers. Finally, Onumajuru discusses code-mixing among Igbo speakers and points out how it beclouds the message being communicated at the pulpit.

In all these studies by Nigeria scholars, none has studied CS involving other languages. Igbo people are all over world and speak a lot of foreign languages. CS also involves these languages. In this paper we will go beyond the English language to examine the CS involved in the use of German by many Nigerians living in the German-speaking world, especially Austria. Another epistemic gap that this research will fill is examining errors in CS of the Igbo in both the the German language and the English language.

### **Theoretical Framework**

The constraint-model of Shana Poplack is our theoretical foundation. This work is premised on Shana Poplack's (1980) model of code-switching. Poplack, a professor in the Department of Linguistics of the University of Ottawa, is a well-known proponent of the linguistics theory called variation theory. This model of code-switching has continued to attract critics and admirers. The model stresses "two constraints" of Code-switching: free morpheme constraint (impossibility of CS occurring between lexical items and bound morphemes: ie only possible with free morphemes) and equivalence constraint. In the view of Poplack (2001): "The first more general account of the distribution of CS stemmed from the observation that CS is favored at the kinds of syntactic boundaries which occur in both languages. The equivalence constraint of Poplack (1980) states that switched sentences are made up of concatenated fragments of alternating languages, each of which is grammatical in the language of its provenance (see also Muysken 2000). The boundary between adjacent fragments occurs between two constituents that are ordered in the same way in both languages, ensuring the linear coherence of sentence structure without omitting or duplicating lexical content." Poplack also holds the view that the CS is "grammatically constrained". The researchers agree with Poplack on some constraints with regard to free morphemes but disagree on the issue of coherence of sentence structure "without omitting or duplicating lexical content" as can be verified in CS among Igbo people. Our point of departure is to show such duplications and ungrammatical elements in the CS of Igbo speakers.

### **Methodology**

The study will employ the content analysis/tape recording approach of the qualitative research approach methodology, in undertaking a critical analysis of the collected utterances and sentences from Igbo, English and German Languages from Igbo, English and German Speech Communities. Digital Camera, Compact Discs (CD), Digital Audio Compact Discs (DADC), social media and internet downloads will constitute the primary sources of the utterances and sentences under study. The study will be conducted in the major cities of the five states in the southeastern part of Nigeria and in the universities that offer English and German language courses. Such cities as Onitsha in Anambra, Enugu in Enugu, Owerri in Igbo, Aba in Abia and Abakaliki in Ebonyi. The justification for choosing the major cities is because reactions to such an order usually come from these major cities which are more populated with people as well as business activities. Secondary sources of data collection are textbooks, journals, theses, dissertations, magazines, newspaper articles, social media and the internet. Unstructured interviews will be conducted with all the key players in the domestic environment. Focus group discussions will be organised for female domestic servants, placement

The sentences used have been collected from conversations with a lot of Igbo people in Austria and German. Anieke, the Co- researcher, studied in Austria and has been penning down these errors in his conversations with Igbo people in Austria. Also another Igbo man and a friend of Anieke in Austria, Chigozie Nnebedum, sent a lot of sentences which he collected in his conversations with Igbo people. These sentences will be analysed, using the traditional grammar style of sentence analysis.

### **Analysis**

Let us examine whether the equivalence constraint model of Poplack can be verified by our findings. "The equivalence constraint (Poplack 1980) states that switched sentences are made up of concatenated fragments of alternating languages, each of which is grammatical in the language of its provenance (see also Muysken 2000). The boundary between adjacent fragments occurs between two constituents that are ordered in the same way in both languages, ensuring the linear coherence of sentence structure without omitting or duplicating lexical content."

## 1. Igbo-English Code-switching

### Sample 1: Should in case achowa onye ga-alu ya, I'm sorry n' aka adinyi ya.

The phrase "should in case" is often heard in Igbo-English code-switching. In fact, one Igbo popular musical group, Peacock International Band, actually used it in its song (exactly the way it is in sample 1). The translated version of the Igbo element in the sentence will look like this:

Should in case you are looking for someone to marry her, I'm sorry, please count me out.

#### Let us analyse the clause using traditional grammar.

Should in case you are looking for someone to marry: adverbial clause of condition, modifying the main clause. The introductory words of the clause: "should" and "in case" cannot occur in the same grammatical context because they mean the same thing. Their use in the same adverbial clause makes the clause ungrammatical. So we have the first case of a code-switching where the English element of the code-switched sentence is ungrammatical.

### Sample 2: So therefore ekwusigo m.

If we translate the Igbo element in the code-switched sentence, we have this:

So therefore I'm done talking (to you).

The adverbials "so" and "therefore", conjunctive in function, since they link this sentence with preceding sentence (s), cannot occur in the same grammatical context. They mean the same thing here: for that reason; consequently. Here again we have another case of an ungrammatical English element in a code-switched sentence. It is a tautology.

### Sample 3: Kpuputara m ite pot ahu n'iro.

The translation of the Igbo words in the sentence will yield something like this:

Bring the pot pot outside for me.

It is quite interesting that the translation has brought out the repetition which the interlocutor is probably unaware of. The word "pot" is the object of the transitive verb "bring". Repeating it has not added any new meaning to the sentence and therefore a second "pot" is otiose. Such a repetition of the noun "pot" is ungrammatical.

### Sample 4: Diana, onya bia come!

If we translate the whole sentence into meaningful English, we have:

Diana come come quickly!

"Bia" is the Igbo word for "come". This mother is calling her child "Diana" to come but code-switches, resulting in the repetition of what she has already said in Igbo. Consequently, you have the verb "come" repeated in the same grammatical context. This is unacceptable and ungrammatical in English.

### Sample 5: O jere outside work.

Translation: He or she has gone to do some outside work.

"Outside work" is the object of the full infinitive "to do". The correct English expression in this context is "outdoor work". The use of "outside work" is grammatically incorrect. "Outdoor", not "outside", is what collocates with the noun "work" in this context.

### Sample 6: Stop picking number i na-amaro.

Translation: Stop picking number you do not know.

In the Standard British English (SBE) you do not 'pick number'; rather you "take a call". In addition, the word "number" is a count noun and must have a definite or indefinite determiner before it when it is in the singular form. As we can see, the English element in the code-switched sentence is grammatically incorrect. 'Pick a number' in this context does not exist in English.

### Sample 7: Picklu ya ozigbo.

Translation: Pick it immediately.

What this woman wanted to say is: Pick it up immediately. The particle "up" is not equivalent to Igbo "lu". We have "lu" in welu (take); fulu (see), lalu (sleep), etc. Code-mixing in Igbo often drops the particle in English, which not only loses the idiomatic quality of the phrase but also makes it ungrammatical.

### Sample 8: Achoru m i entergodu bike.

Translation: I want to enter bike.

First, you do not enter a bike in English (SBE). You can "get on" a bike. Also the use of an indefinite determiner required before the single noun "bike" is missing, thus making the code-switched sentence grammatically incorrect.



## II. Igbo-German Code-switching

### Sample 9: I am taking my Frühstück in the morgen.

Translation: I am taking my breakfast in the morning.

Frühstück (neutral with “das” as article) is a German word for breakfast, which is a meal taken in the morning. You can then imagine how absurd it sounds to hear someone say: I am taking my breakfast in the morning! Well, breakfast cannot be taken in the afternoon. The repetition of “morning” that is unready implied in “breakfast” underscores the ungrammaticality of the code-switched sentence.

### Sample 10: I am studying and doing Studium in Linz.

Translation: I am studying and doing studies in Linz.

Studium is a German loan word from Latin (neutral noun with article “das”), meaning “studies”. The repetition of studies that is already implied in studying is tautological. This is where the ungrammaticality lies.

### Sample 11: Spar gave us Angebot free with Gutschein.

Translation: Spar gave us offer free with a voucher.

The order of words in German is “freies Angebot” and not “Angebot frei”. So the code-switched sentence should read: Spar gave us freies Angebot with Gutschein: Spar gave us a free offer with a voucher. The wrong ordering of the adjective qualifying the neutral (das) noun “Angebot” makes the sentence ungrammatical.

## III. Igbo-English-German Code-switching

### Sample 12: Bia, Gozie, is he coming again wieder?

Translation: Come, Gozie, is he coming again again.

This interlocutor forgets (or does not even know) that the German adverb “wieder” means “again”. This explains the repetition in English. Its use after “wieder” is otiose and should be buried in the forgotten grave of grammatical nonsense. It is interesting to see a display of multilingualism in this sentence: Igbo, English and German.

### Sample13: Dianyi, are you coming zu essen to eat with uns.

Translation: My friend ( or hello), are you coming to eat to eat with us?

First, what is grammatically correct in German is: Kommst du essen? Kommst du zum Essen? “Kommst du zu essen” is ungrammatical. Another error in the sentence is the repetition of “to eat”, which is unnecessary.

### Sample 14: The speed of the car is zu schnell.

Translation: The speed of the car is too fast.

This is certainly not the way this is expressed. Words like high, astonishing, terrific, breakneck, etc. would have been better adjectival collocations here.

### Sample15: They gave him Geld for Arbeitslosengeld.

Translation: They gave him money for unemployment benefits.

In German “Arbeitslosengeld” means money that is paid by the insurance company to someone who has lost their job. In other words, money is already implied in the word in the German usage. But this user appears to have forgotten it (or does not even know). Repeating what is already implied by a word in the same grammatical context is ungrammatical.

## Findings

The repetition of lexical items in the samples which we have analysed does not appear to confirm the veracity of the equivalence constraint model of Shana Poplack in the interlocution of Igbo speakers.

Nevertheless, Shana Poplack’s free morpheme constraint appears to be verifiable in these sentences collected from Igbo speakers:

1. Sendiaram airtime: send (English)/-(ia)ram(Igbo)
2. Helputum!: help (English)/-(u)tum (Igbo)
3. Sitigodi down.: sit(English)/ (i)- godi (Igbo)
4. Standigodi up.: stand(English)/ (i)- godi (Igbo)
5. Shiftuoro m.: shift (English) / -(u) oro (Igbo)
7. Egivekwana up!: e (Igbo:you)/ give (English)/- kwana (Igbo)
8. Takeie time gi.: take (English)/- ie (Igbo)

9. Chere kam parkia motor m.: park (English)/- ia variant of -ie(Igbo)
10. Startia the gen.: start (English)/- ia (Igbo)
11. After anyi adiscussuo ya.: a (Igbo)/ discuss (English) -(u) o (Igbo: it)
12. I na- adisturb m.: a (Igbo)/ disturb (English)
13. Checkie m in next five minutes.: check (English)/ -e(Igbo)
14. Eclosezualla the shop.: -e (Igbo: anonymous “they”)/ close (English)/ -(zu)alla (Igbo)
15. Achorom Oga watchia match.: watch (English)/ -ia (Igbo)
16. Settleuomu.: settle (English)/ -(ou) mu (Igbo)
17. Gini ka o meanulu?: mean (English)/ -(u)lu (Igbo)
18. Addizia your own.: add (English) -(i) zia (Igbo)
19. O na-monitoru m account m. : monitor (English)/ -(o)ru (Igbo)
20. Tutmuleid!: tut (German)/ -mu(Igbo) -leid (German). The German verb “leidtun” is a separable verb (trennbare Verb). Each element of the verb is like a free morpheme.

In all these cases the free English morphemes accept intrusions of Igbo lexical elements and affixation. Therefore, Poplack’s model is justified by these verified cases.

### Conclusion

The use of Shana Poplack’s model as our theoretical foundation has helped us verify the samples in terms of agreement or disagreement with the models. We have also been able to show that the ungrammatical elements in code-switching among Igbo speakers do not support the claims of the equivalence constraint model. However, the free morpheme constraint model is heavily supported by the samples we presented above. What we have done is to show that any further research or recommendations based on code-switching must take cognisance of the grammaticality of code-switching.

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