ATTITUDES TOWARD ANGLO-NIGERIAN PIDGIN IN URBAN, SOUTHERN NIGERIA: THE GENERATIONAL VARIABLE

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Abstract. A questionnaire − and interview − based survey of attitudes toward Anglo-Nigerian Pidgin (ANP) (or 'Nigerian Pidgin English') was undertaken on a stratified random sample of 1,200 respondents in six urban centres in southern Nigeria, in relation to perceptions of its language status, its possible use as a subject and medium of instruction, and its possible adoption as an official language in the future, given its ever-increasing sociolinguistic vitality and preponderance.
An analysis of the generational variable of the survey findings indicate that, contrary to expectations, the middle age generation (40-49 years) were consistently the most favourable in their attitudes toward ANP, with regard to: 1) teaching ANP as a subject; 2) using ANP as a medium of instruction in schools; and, 3) adopting ANP as Nigeria's official language, whereas the young generation (15-19 years) - currently considered ANP's main users and vectors - were the least favourable. The paper discusses and attempts to explain this apparent paradox.

"The standard view of language attitudes in creole continua is that the standard variety is good, and the non-standard varieties (including the 'Creole') are bad." (Rickford 1985: 145)

INTRODUCTION

Although the study of pidgins and creoles, as language contact phenomena, has become both more extensive and intensive in the past four decades or so, and led to more academic recognition and respectability for them, attitudes toward these language varieties, especially, in terms of proposing more formal functions for them, have remained largely negative. As Rickford (1985: 145) notes, "the study of pidgin and creole languages has increased by leaps and bounds, but the systematic study of language attitudes where such languages are spoken has generally been neglected". In his view, such attitude surveys will benefit society, in terms of language planning, synchronic and diachronic variational studies, and second language acquisition (i.e., levels of competence attained).

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Furthermore, in spite of the plethora of studies on language attitudes to date, relatively very few have focussed on pidgins and creoles, the most notable being: Hall Jr. (1955); Stewart (1962); Samarin (1966); Wurm (1977); Rickford (1985); and Rickford and Traugott (1985).

Bamgbose (2000) also makes allusion to the apparently neglected role and (relative) dearth of language attitude studies in Africa; exceptions to this rule being: Bentahila (1983); Schmied (1985); Dada (1985); Rubagumya (1986); Saah (1986); Sure (1991); Adegbija (1994); Mann's survey reports (1993b; 1997a; 1998a; 2000a; 2000b; 2001a; 2001b; 2004); Malieque (1998); the work of the Languages in Contact and Conflict in Africa (LICCA) Project of the University of Duisburg, Germany (Birgit Smieja, personal communication), and more recently, Ihemere (2006) and Igboanusi (2008).

The object of this survey − Anglo-Nigerian Pidgin (ANP) (variously called 'Nigerian Pidgin English', 'Pidgin English', 'Nigerian Pidgin' or simply 'Pidgin') − is an endogenous, Atlantic pidgin, which is said to have evolved from contacts between the diverse tribal peoples on the coastlines of part of the-then 'slave coast' (parts of present-day coastal Nigeria[1]), and, principally, Portuguese sailors (15th century) and British traders, missionaries and colonial officials (especially from the 18th century) (see Hancock, 1969: 9).

Agheyisi (1971: 29−30) points out how growing, modern-day urbanization has fuelled the evolution of this contact variety in Nigeria:

> In Nigeria, the use of Pidgin English is generally an urban rather than rural phenomenon…The urban settings…are generally characterized by multiethnicity, and therefore, multilingualism, as a result of their being the centers of trade and industry, skilled and unskilled government and corporation jobs, education, etc. People migrate to them from both the immediate rural surroundings as well as other parts of the country. As a result, there is often much need for a lingua franca to make possible the various kinds of social interaction, and generally to facilitate communication between members of the various ethnic and linguistic groups.

Faraclas (1996: 1) stresses the significance of this language, which he calls "this increasingly important language, which may soon become the most widely spoken language in all of Africa".

[1]Nigeria can most appropriately be regarded as a multinational, part-exoglossic state (Kloss, 1968), and should be ranked under Group C category of Fishman's (1968) classification of language planning models, i.e., a state made up of diverse nations in the process of forging a neonationality through the emphasis of politico-operational integration. Her indigenous languages fall broadly under the Niger-Congo family in the south, and the Tchado-Semitic and Sudanic language families in the north (Greenberg, 1963). English has been the official language since independence from the British in 1960, while Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo − languages of the three main ethnic groups in the country − have national language status.

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This paper reports on the findings of a survey[2] on the sociopsychological orbit of ANP, with specific reference to the age group/generational variable. The survey entailed a stratified, random sampling of ten socio-occupational target groups (public market traders; the Military; the Police; civil servants; private sector workers; secondary schools - pupils and teachers; universities - students and lecturers; the mass media; legal practitioners; and, religious organizations) in six urban centres in southern Nigeria (Calabar, Port-Harcourt, Warri, Benin, Lagos and Ibadan), using a questionnaire and interviewing; in total, there were 1,200 respondents sampled. The first five centres were regarded as experimental centres, while Ibadan, given its relatively more homogeneous language ecology, was used as a control (or comparative) centre.

The findings of the survey have led the author to posit three hypotheses (and to confirm one more), which could serve as pillars of an eventual theory of language attitudes. In terms of sample size, geographic breadth and ethnico-social depth, this survey is probably the largest ever conducted, not only on a pidgin, but on any language, as far as this author is aware. This paper will attempt to highlight the generational dimension of the findings of the survey.

ATTITUDE SURVEYS ON ANP

In the context of this paper, the operational definition of the psychological construct called *attitude* will be: "a disposition to respond favorably or unfavorably to an object, person, institution, or event" (Ajzen, 1988: 4). In other words, an attitude is posited as being what we 'feel' about an attitude object (affective), what we know about the attitude object (cognitive), and how these two components predispose us to behaving toward the attitude object (behavioural) (Rosenberg, 1956). Consequently, a *language attitude* will be simply, but relevantly, regarded as "any affective, cognitive or behavioural index of evaluative reactions toward different language varieties or their speakers" (Ryan, Giles and Sebastian, 1982: 7).

This section reviews the findings of two significant and relatively recent data-driven attitude surveys on ANP: Ihemere (2006) and Igboanusi (2008). The ANP attitudes survey reports of Mann (1997a; 1998a; 2000a; 2000b; 2001a) are also re-visited later on in the course of this paper.

Ihemere's (2006) survey on the apparent competition between Ikwerre (a local ethnic language) and ANP in Port Harcourt employed both direct (questionnaire and interviewing) and indirect (matched guise technique) methods of enquiry on a sample size of 76 Ikwerre residents of Port Harcourt. The sample was equally stratified for sex, and spread over three generations (grandparents, parents and youngsters). One of the principal interests of the survey was to obtain

[2] The main part of the survey was undertaken between 1993 and 2001. Findings gleaned from Igboanusi (2008) would suggest that the main attitudinal patterns recorded then have not changed dramatically.

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some real evidence on a suspicion of a generational language shift (from Ikwerre to ANP). The main findings of his survey can be summarized, thus: 1) the younger generation are more proficient in ANP; 2) there was a positive correlation between level of formal education and ANP proficiency and preference, i.e., those who attended school were more proficient in ANP, and indicated a preference for it; 3) Ikwerre was the preferred language of use for the older generations, while ANP was indicated as the preferred language of the younger generation; 4) "the process of language shift is underway in Port Harcourt from Ikwerre dominant to NPE dominant bilingual language choice patterns and…it is led by younger speakers" (p. 202); 5) "the younger speakers of both sexes judged the guise positively on all ten traits" (p. 204) (i.e., 'attended school'; 'modern'; ambitious'; 'hardworking'; 'honest'; 'friendly'; 'beautiful'; 'tall'; 'generous'; 'confident'), while *all* the respondents judged the Ikwerre guise to be: 'honest', 'friendly' and 'generous'. His conclusion is that: "It would appear that in Port Harcourt a bilingual is viewed more favourably when he/she speaks NPE than when they speak Ikwerre. Members of this community, it would seem, rate speakers of NPE highly with regard to level of education attained, modernity and general sophistication" (p. 205). This clearly represents a paradigm shift, if we were to remember how this paper was prefaced! I should, however, mention here that Port Harcourt recorded the most consistently favourable scores for ANP of all the six urban centres in southern Nigeria in Mann's (2001) survey: 1) ANP as subject (32.5%); ANP as medium of instruction (36.5%); and, 3) ANP as possible official language of Nigeria (40%).

In a more recent, strictly questionnaire-based survey on members of the tertiary educational setting in Benin (experimental centre) and Ibadan (control centre), Igboanusi (2008) investigates attitudinal dispositions of his respondents toward the possibility of empowering ANP (i.e., giving it a recognized, formal status and higher functions, e.g., in education). His sample was made up of students (n=120) and lecturers (n=80) of the universities of Benin and Ibadan (N= 200), more or less equally stratified for sex (males: 55%; females: 45%). His principal findings, especially in relation to the possible use of ANP in an educational setting (in especial regard to the Niger Delta region where it is said to have native speakers) and giving it official status are the following: 1) 25.5% of the respondents either strongly agreed or agreed that ANP should be taught as a subject in schools; 2) 28% strongly disagreed or disagreed that ANP should not be spoken in the university campus – a possible extrapolation is that they could entertain the idea of it being used as a medium of instruction; 3) 28% believe the government should accord ANP official recognition. Other interesting aspects of his findings are that: 4) 86% of the respondents were of the view that the more frequently one spoke ANP, the worse one's proficiency in English became; 5) whereas, 52.5% of the respondents strongly disagreed or disagreed with the suggestion that ANP "should be left for the non-literate or semi-literate Nigerians"; and 6) a huge majority (87%) of the respondents concurred with the statement that ANP "is probably the language with the highest population of users in Nigeria". Unfortunately, Igboanusi does not provide the ethnic composition of his sample,

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which would help in better appreciating these findings; nor does he actually engage in any variables analyses. It is equally curious that he elected to present his findings in per centages, although he claims to have employed a 4-point Likert scale in the questionnaire.

THE SURVEY

As indicated earlier, the principal aims of the survey were to investigate: a) attitudes toward ANP (as a language, possible subject/medium of instruction, and possible future option as official language in Nigeria); b) the bases of, and reasons behind, these attitudes; and, c) the respondents' ANP contact details with, and general knowledge of, ANP.

The interest in this survey arose from the author's observation of ANP's ever-growing sociolinguistic vitality in urban centres and among the youth without a commensurate attenuation of the social prejudices and low prestige, with which it is marked. The survey was undertaken with the premise that the respondents' probable reactions to this marked variety of language would be principally socio-moral and prejudicial, rather than reasoned and pragmatic.

Survey Methods and Procedures

Elicitation of data was undertaken principally by questionnaire; (tape-recorded) oral interviews served as a secondary method. In effect, the survey was carried out primarily by using the direct method of opinion/attitude measurement. Indeed, the author's sociocultural familiarity with the context also served a qualitative, interpretative function (i.e., participant-observation).

The 2-page questionnaire employed was divided into four sections (A, B, C and D), which sought information on the respondents' demographic details, linguistic repertoires and domain usages, contact details with and general knowledge of ANP, and attitudes toward ANP, respectively. The reasons given by the respondents for their choices on the key question of whether or not ANP could be adopted as a future Nigerian official language (i.e., item 6, section D) were categorized and ranked.

The questionnaires were administered with the assistance of two research assistants (one of each sex) per centre, reflecting the principal, local, ethnic composition, and inducted in field methods in linguistics; they were mainly postgraduate students from the departments of linguistics of the relevant local universities.

Given that oral evidence was intended mainly as support for the anticipated findings of the questionnaires, not all target groups were interviewed. The specific groups targeted for interviewing were: market traders; university students and lecturers - two groups considered reasonably well-differentiated by educational

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background and age (in the case of the students); members of the mass media; and, the legal profession.

Respondents' Profiles (N = 1,200)

What is presented in this section is the aggregate profile of the total sample used for the survey. In many respects, it reflects demographic, linguistic, and ANP contact/awareness patterns already observed in the individual target group profiles.

Demographic and Linguistic Profiles

More than a quarter of the total sample were Yoruba (28.7%); 14.3% were Igbo; 12.4%, Edo; and, 7.2%, Efik. Nearly a half (48.3%) of the respondents were in the 20-29 years age range; more than a third were between the ages of 30-39 years (33.8%); and, 10% were between 40-49 years. 85.2% were Christian; 11.5%, Muslim; and, 3.3%, of other religious persuasions. 83.3% of them claimed to come from heterolingual communities, while 16.7% said they lived in 'monolingual' communities.

Overall, the language range of the total sample was one language (0.25%) to eleven languages (0.08%); almost half the number of respondents were trilingual (43.6%); about a third were quadrilingual (31.3%); and, 13.5% were quintolingual. Based on a majority, representative sample of the principal eleven ethnic groups - which comprised 91% of the total sample, English was reported to be the first language of comfortably more than half of the respondents (58.2%), as well as their second language (30.3%); 99% of this sample said they could speak English. ANP was ranked highest as their third (43.6%), fourth (20.5%), fifth (7.2%), sixth (1%), seventh (0.09%), and eighth (0.09%) language; 88.8% of the respondents claimed they could speak it at all. As was the case with the individual target groups, Yoruba was the ethnic language spoken by the majority of the sample (48.4%) − almost half their total number.

ANP Contact, Competence and Awareness Profiles

More than a third of the respondents (35.5%) came across ANP between the ages of 10-19 years; followed by a similar number (34.9%), in very early childhood (0-5 years); about 1 in 5 of them (21.4%), between 6-9 years; and, just under a tenth (8.3%), at or beyond 20 years of age.

More than a quarter of the respondents claimed to have picked it up at home (25.6%) and at school (25.5%), respectively, followed by Bendel (14.8%) and Lagos (10.8%). More than half (56.7%) said their peers were their first sources of contact with ANP, followed by the family (26.4%) - more than 1 in 4, and, the community (16.9%).

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73.4% of all the respondents said they could speak ANP well, while 59.5% said they were capable of recognizing incorrect ANP. Almost half of them (48.3%) thought 'Bendelites'[3] were the best speakers of ANP, followed by Igbos (18.3%), public traders (5.4%), and, Riverans[4] (4.6%); almost 1 in 10 of them (8.3%) had no clue. Again, Bendel was picked as the most likely place/source of origin of ANP by about 1 in 4 of the respondents (23%), followed by Igboland (12%), language contacts (6.3%), and then, the Portuguese (4.8%); more than a quarter of the total number of respondents (26.5%) had no clue on this matter.

SURVEY FINDINGS: PRESENTATION AND ANALYSES

The findings on the age group/generational variable - which is the principal concern of this paper - are presented and discussed against the backdrop of the overall findings of the survey.

Findings (N=1,200)

ANP language status

3 in 4 (75.2%) of the total number of respondents in this regional survey of Nigeria perceived ANP as a language; 4 in 10 (42.2%) felt it is a 'normal' language; and, about 7 in 10 (69.8%) thought it is a variety of English[5]. This may

[3] Indigenes of former Bendel State in the mid-west of Nigeria, which was more recently subdivided into Edo and Delta States.

[4] Indigenes of (former) Rivers State in south-central Nigeria, which was more recently subdivided into (new) Rivers State and Bayelsa State.

[5] Items C8 (a), (b) and (c) (in the questionnaire) were used as exploratory questions. The whole point of these items was not to ascertain technical definitions of what a language, 'normal' language or variety of English is, but rather to find out, for example, how many of the respondents would qualify ANP as a 'normal' language, whatever their understanding of a 'normal' language was, after indicating that it is a language (item C8 (a) in the questionnnaire). Whatever the (varied) reasons for their responses for these first three items were, these were not requested by the questionnaire; reasons were only elicited for item C8 (f) - the ultimate formal function ANP could be proposed for, with implications for the other, preceding items. In effect, response scores for items C8 (a), (b) and (c) (in the questionnaire) could be said to have, eventually, served a mutually-filtering purpose. For example, on the average, about a third (32.97%) of those who perceived ANP as a language did not regard it as a 'normal' language. Also, on the whole, the findings showed that most of those, who indicated ANP as a language, perceived it to be a variety of English. So, where the number of those, who perceived ANP as a variety of English (8 (c)), was *lower* than the number, who perceived it as a language (8 (a)), one could surmise that the difference represented those, who perceived ANP as a language in its own right. Where the figures for both 8 (a) and 8 (c) were *equal* (e.g., for the Military and the Legal Profession), we can safely assume that all those, who indicated ANP as a language, perceived it as a variety of English. Finally, where the response scores were *higher* for 8 (c) than for 8 (a), we could also assume that the difference represented those respondents, who perceived ANP strictly as a variety of English (and not a language in its own right).

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suggest that most of those respondents who regard ANP as a language also believe that it is a variety of English.

ANP as subject of instruction

Just over 1 in 5 (22.2%) of the respondents would accept that ANP be taught as a school subject.

ANP as medium of instruction

About 1 in 4 (28.1%) would approve of using ANP as a medium of instruction in schools in Nigeria.

ANP as official language of Nigeria

Over 1 in 3 (33.5%) of the total number of respondents surveyed would be prepared to have ANP adopted as official language of Nigeria. This is a relatively high figure, given the special circumstances of this pidgin in Nigeria, in terms of its lack of official recognition or promotion or even in terms of its continued social perception as 'a language of illiterates'.

Table 1

Attitudinal dispositions toward ANP: Overall findings (N = 1,200) (Mann 2001)

	(in %)
1. ANP is a language:	75.2
2. ANP is a 'normal' language:	42.2
3. ANP is a variety of English:	69.8
4. ANP should be taught in schools:	22.2
5. ANP should be used to teach in schools:	28.1
6. ANP should be adopted as the official *lingua franca*:	33.5
6.1. *Reasons advanced in favour of ANP*:	
a. ANP is an efficient language, easy to learn, and accessible to the majority of Nigerians:	28.1
b. ANP facilitates interethnic communication:	2.7
c. ANP is ethnically neutral:	2.7
Total:	**33.5**
6.2. *Reasons advanced against ANP:*	
d. ANP will adversely affect learning of English (especially in children), and lead to failure in exams:	33.5
e. ANP is not standardized:	10
f. ANP is not understood by everyone:	5.2
g. ANP is not a world language:	7.8
h. Nigerians possess their own indigenous languages:	3.6
i. ANP is a source of shame/does not 'sound sweet':	6.1
j. ANP is a 'no man's language':	0.3
Total:	**66.5**

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Reasons in favour of ANP:

More than 1 in 4 (28.1%) of the respondents attributed their positive attitudes toward ANP to the fact that it is easy to learn and accessible to the majority of Nigerians; in other words, to its **sociocommunicational function**. This was the second most important reason overall for attitudinal dispositions expressed toward ANP.

2.7% of the respondents selected its function as an interethnic *lingua franca* and its ethnic neutrality, each and respectively, as the directive reasons for their positive disposition toward ANP.

Reasons against ANP:

About 1 in 3 (33.5%) of the total number of respondents were of the view that adopting ANP as official language should not be encouraged because it would hinder English language acquisition, and, eventually, adversely affect the academic performances of students in the educational curriculum. This reason was the most important reason for attitudes toward ANP, and was equal, on its own, to the total of the positive reasons put forward above for its promotion.

The next most important reason advanced against ANP was one related to the concern expressed immediately above: its lack of standardization (1 in 10 or 10%), followed by the fact that it is not understood by everyone (7.8%). Sociomoral/phono-aesthetic considerations (i.e., ANP is a source of shame/does not 'sound sweet') only accounted for 6.1% of the respondents overall. (This would appear to reject the hypothesis with which the author engaged in the survey.)

Table 2 shows that when these reasons are regrouped under macro categories, there is little to separate **sociocommunicational** and **educational** considerations as factors determining the attitudinal dispositions of the respondents sampled, although the former macro category was slightly higher (43.8% to 43.5%, respectively). In other words, for this sample of 1,200 respondents surveyed in the six urban centres (in southern Nigeria), sociocommunicational concerns were just as important as educational ones in determining their attitudinal dispositions toward it. Their third major preoccupation was then sociomoral/phono-aesthetic - the perception that ANP is a source of shame/does not 'sound sweet[6]. The least important consideration of these respondents was politico-ethnic: the view that ANP is ethnically neutral (2.7%).

[6] The tendency was for those respondents, who advanced this reason, to do so in a double-barrelled form, almost as if using its (negatively-perceived) linguistico-aesthetic feature to logicize the reason why they were of the view that ANP is a source of (social) shame. This was called the 'sociomoral' reason, given that it was the most sociomorally-prejudicial of all the reasons.

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Table 2

Macro categories of attitudinal dispositions toward ANP:
Overall findings (N = 1,200) (Mann 2001)

1. *Communicational reasons advanced*:	**(in %)**
1.1. Sociocommunicational/Functional-integrative:	
a. ANP is easy to learn and accessible to the majority of Nigerians:	28.1
1.2. Interethnic communication:	
b. ANP aids interethnic communication:	2.7
f. ANP is not understood by everyone:	5.2
	⇒7.9
1.3. World communication:	
g. ANP is not a world language:	7.8
Total:	**43.8**
2. *Educational reasons:*	
2.1. Instructional:	
d. ANP will impede learning of English and lead to exam failure:	33.5
2.2. Standardization:	
e. ANP is not standardized:	10
Total:	**43.5**
3. *Ethnic identity/authenticity reasons*:	
3.1. Identity:	
j. ANP is a 'no man's language':	0.3
3.2. Authenticity:	
h. ANP is not an indigenous language:	3.6
Total:	**3.9**
4. *Politico-ethnic reasons*:	
c. ANP is ethnically neutral:	**2.7**
5. *Sociomoral/Phono-aesthetic reasons*:	
i. ANP is a source of shame/does not 'sound sweet':	**6.1**

The aggregate profile of the most favourable respondent to ANP overall would be: a 40-49 year old, quadrilingual, Ijo male market trader in Port-Harcourt, who came across ANP in very early childhood (0-5 years), at home, and who is competent in it.

On the other hand, the aggregate profile of the least attitudinally favourable respondent to ANP would be: a 15-19 year old, trilingual, Yoruba female Military personnel in Ibadan, who came across ANP at, or after, the age of 20 years, in the larger community, and is not competent in it.

The interview findings confirmed the trends of responses and attitudinal dispositions gleaned from the questionnaires.

Broadly speaking, there appear to be four main attitudinal orientations: 1) those strongly against ANP (for reasons of social and international prestige), and

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do not see any redeeming qualities it may present; 2) those, who cited pragmatic reasons (e.g., the education of the children; window on the world), as reasons why English should be preferred to ANP, but were still open to discuss possible, higher functions for ANP, on condition it was eventually standardized, graphized and promoted by Government; 3) those in favour of ANP, on account of its ease of communication, *lingua franca* function, growing vitality and politico-ethnic neutrality, but still conditional on the reasons cited in 3 above; and, finally, 4) those in favour of ANP, with no conditions attached.

Variables Analysis

Of the eight variables tested for (including: age range; ethnic origin; linguality [i.e., number of languages spoken]; occupation), only the following four - gender; age of contact; source of contact; and (declared) ANP competence - were found to evince any statistical significance in the variances between their subgroups on some of the more crucial items of elicitation (i.e., items 4-6). These overall findings have led the author to posit the following four hypotheses (summarized and paraphrased below), in view of a language attitudes theory:

1) The Age of Contact Hypothesis: someone, who had regular, daily contacts with a language in very early childhood would tend to show more favourable attitudes toward it, even if it is non-standard and of low social prestige;
2) The Source of Contact Hypothesis: someone, who had regular, daily contacts with a language in family/at home would tend to show more favourable attitudes toward it, even if it is non-standard and of low social prestige;
3) The Language Competence Hypothesis: someone, who is competent in a language, would tend to show more favourable attitudes toward it, even if it is non-standard and of low social prestige; and, finally,
4) The Gender Attitudes Variable Hypothesis: males would tend to have more favourable attitudes than females toward a language (variety) that is non-standard and of low social prestige.

The Generational Variable

Clearly, from the data in Table 3, one can see that respondents in their 30s and 40s were the most favourably disposed toward ANP, the former registering the highest per centage of agreement on the question of ANP's language status (87.9%).

Those in the 40-49 years subgroup were, by some margin, the most positive group toward ANP: 1 in 4 would like ANP to be taught as a school subject; 1 in 3 would approve of it being used to teach in schools; and, about 2 in 5 would entertain the idea of it being adopted as official language of Nigeria.

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The least favourable age range subgroups are those in their teens and twenties. The variances between the figures for the 40–49 year olds and the 15–19 year olds were, however, only statistically significant for item 6 ($p<0.05$, $x^2 = 4.68$, $df = 1$).

Table 3

Attitudinal dispositions toward ANP: Overall data (generational variable; in %; N=1,200) (Mann, 2001)

(99.2% of N) →	**15-19yrs** (n=70)	**20-29yrs** (n=580)	**30-39yrs** (n=405)	**40-49yrs** (n=120)	**50-59yrs** (n=19)
1. ANP is a language:	70	73.3	87.9	71.7	84.2
2. ANP is a 'normal' language:	32.9	38.8	47.7	44.2	42.1
3. ANP is a variety of English:	42.9	67.1	74.6	78.3	68.4
4. ANP should be taught in schools:	18.6	20.7	23.7	27.5	21.1
5. ANP should be used to teach in schools:	25.7	25.7	29.6	34.2	26.3
6. ANP should be adopted as official language:	25.7	30.7	36.5	42.5	26.3
Reasons in favour of ANP:					
a. ANP is easy to learn and accessible to the majority of Nigerians:	22.9	25.9	29.6	37.5	26.3
b. ANP aids interethnic communication:	1.4	2.9	3	2.5	-
c. ANP is ethnically neutral:	1.4	1.9	3.9	2.5	-
Reasons against ANP:					
d. ANP will impede learning of English and lead to exam failure:	40	34.5	31.6	30	47.4
e. ANP is not standardized:	12.9	10.3	10.6	5.8	5.3
f. ANP is not understood by everyone:	7.1	6.6	3.7	4.2	-
g. ANP is not a world language:	8.6	7.6	6.9	10	5.2
h. ANP is not an indigenous language:	2.8	3.6	4	2.5	-
i. ANP does not 'sound sweet' and is a source of shame:	2.9	6.4	6.2	5	15.8
j. ANP is a 'no man's language':	-	0.3	0.5	-	-

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Reason (a), as with other groups, was by far the main positive consideration for their opinions. Positive comments made by the respondents in favour of ANP were, for example: "…other countries of the world have their own official language. I think government should approve the speaking of ANP and it should be taught in school and make it (sic.) a compulsory subject right away" (17-year old male, Ibibio pupil in Calabar); "Atimes (sic.) it will be the last resort in making pupils understand" (45-year old male, Igbo teacher in Port-Harcourt); "…everybody speaks it, even the university undergraduates, secondary school pupils and others like traders, drivers, etc." (30-year old female, Ibibio market trader in Calabar); "It is the only language that is spoken by the generality of the citizenry" (41-year old male, Itsekiri legal practitioner in Benin).

Reasons against ANP

Among the substantive subgroups, probably paradoxically – since they are known to use ANP more than most other generational groups, the respondents in their teens were the most concerned about ANP's possible, adverse effects on their (English language) educational development (40%); their second major preoccupation was that it is not standardized (12.9%). The age group most anxious that ANP does not 'sound sweet' and is a source of shame were those in their twenties (6.4%).

Probably understandably, negative comments were far more forthcoming from pupils: "Lacks originality. It has never been written down as printed matter. It is full of slangs and abuse words. It is not a language. It lacks the qualities of language" (17-year old female, Ibibio pupil in Calabar); "People that (sic.) speak the language are regarded as illiterates" (16-year old male, Abua pupil in Port-Harcourt); "My daddy says its wrong English" (12-year old male, Igbo pupil in Port-Harcourt).

Synthesis and Discussion

While the 40-49 years age range subgroup were, overall, the most favourable toward ANP, a closer analysis of its composition raises the possibility that its results may have been skewed by the greater number of male respondents in this subgroup (65%), while that of the teenage subgroup was more equally composed of both genders. (It was suggested earlier that this survey confirmed a general attitudinal trend that male respondents tend to be more favourable [than females] toward non-standard and low social prestige language varieties.)

In addition, it was noted that there was statistical significance in the variances for the scores between the most favourable generational subgroup (40–49 years) and the least favourable (15–19 years) solely on the question of item 6, i.e, whether or not ANP should be considered as a possible, future candidate for official language status in Nigeria.

From a horizontal perspective, there is a noticeable, gradual and regular increase in approval levels (toward ANP), especially for items 4-6, from the 15–19 years subgroup (to the left) through to the 40–49 years subgroup (to the right),

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beyond which the levels of approval appear to decrease sharply again toward approval ratings similar to those of the teenage subgroup, although the sample size for the 50–59 years subgroup cannot be considered substantive. In addition, it could be expected that this generation would demonstrate a more conservative disposition to the language under review.

It is understandable that those, who have not yet had the benefit of an education, nor the rewards it could bring, are more anxious to promote English for their immediate needs (Homans' [1961] Social Exchange Theory), since it is both a world language, and a current, recognized language of instruction in Nigeria. Baker's (1988) review on attitude studies on Welsh suggests a similar phenomenon for a similarly-teenage group, i.e., "that between 10 and 15 years, attitude to Welsh becomes less favourable" (Baker, 1992: 41). However, contrary to the gradual and regular increase with age above (at least, up until the age of 49 years), the Welsh studies he cites also noted that "attitude declines with age" (Baker: ibidem).

CONCLUSION

While this survey suggests that teenagers were less favourable toward ANP than other generational subgroups sampled, that their levels of approval were actually below the overall averages for all items of elicitation on attitudes toward ANP (i.e., items 1-6), and that their (understandable) primary concern was educational, this author makes bold to surmise that this is only a phase in their attitudinal development, at least for those of them, who may, eventually, achieve higher education. In other words, that these teenagers' attitudinal dispositions toward ANP (or other stigmatized varieties of language, for that matter) will become more flexible and nuanced during their passage through university, where matters of *identity* and *solidarity* (on a national and politico-ideological scale) will take the fore in their lives, and/or through sheer sociopsychological maturation.

The reasons for this prediction are twofold: 1) many will be having to engage in greater interethnic interaction in such a setting than before, and will, of necessity, have to employ the *lingua franca* of most Nigerian university students today, i.e., ANP (see Mann, 1993); and, 2) the ethos of university education demands, to a large extent, that they question the prescriptivism forced on them in the earlier years of their education.

Also, as was noted with the Army and Police respondents, who registered the least favourable levels of approval toward ANP, in spite of being the socio-occupational target groups most often associated with it - an apprehension of *double jeopardy* - it is not unknown in the literature (see Kachru, 1988) that those, who use a non-standard and non-prestigious variety of language, could be in denial about this, and end up being its most vigorous critics.

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Nonetheless, there is little evidence that ANP's sociolinguistic vitality will not continue to grow, especially in urban settings, and among the youth, and that, eventually, it will not gain in sociopsychological acceptability. Ihemere's (2006) survey findings on the Ikwerre in Port Harcourt that members of the Ikwerre community now associate ANP speakers with a high level of education, modernity and sophistication may be seen as constituting some evidence in this welcome direction.

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