Linguistic Practices and Language Ideology in Yoruba Study Abroad

By

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the social process of language study abroad in a multilingual West African setting, paying attention to how language learners mobilize multiple linguistic resources to navigate the superdiverse linguistic landscape and the ideologies that drive their practices. Study abroad is generally believed to be an ideal space for foreign language learning, but this view tends to assume a monolingual target language community. Most study abroad programs, in reality, take place in contexts of multilingualism which present learners with complex social, cultural and linguistic experience in terms of the contents and the manner by which they engage with the people while abroad. Through analysis of ethnographic research conducted during a summer-long Yoruba language study abroad program for U.S. learners of Yoruba in Southwest, Nigeria, I explore the language ideologies at play in various interactional settings and their effects on student learning. My analysis, which draws from Critical Applied Linguistics, demonstrates that study abroad in this context constituted a site for enforcing an idealistic, monolingual linguistic practices on learners; contrary to the linguistic and cultural realities, as well as learners' experience in the region. Through Critical Discourse Analysis of interactive practices by learners in the various domains of interaction, I show how the multilingual practices of learners and of the native speakers with whom the students interacted conflicted with the focus on monolingualism in the program's official ideology. Highlighting the multilingualism of a study abroad site, which is often left out in discourses about language study abroad, I thereby argue that multilingualism is not only the norm but actually inevitable in study abroad sites. Language study abroad programs should develop and promote programs that embrace this reality.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents: My late father, Alhaji (Chief) Shittu Ibatu Sanuth and my mother, Alhaja Ibatu Arinola Sanuth. I owe whatever I have accomplished to both of them.

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Chapter One
Introduction

During my field work with Yoruba-learners in Southwest Nigeria, an event brought to life the kinds of discursive practices and language ideologies that are at play during the study abroad program. As a part of the final assessment of learners' language proficiency, they were required to write a 10-page final paper. Beginning from the sixth week of an eight-week program, each student was scheduled to present the paper orally to an audience of their classmates, instructors, the center staff, and sometimes invited guests such as the presenter's host parents and friends. On the first day of the presentation, three students—Tobik, Paloma, and Ashanti—were scheduled to present their papers. By the time Paloma, the second presenter, was halfway into her presentation, the center director stormed out of the conference room, went to his office, and never came back to listen to the last speaker for that day. When I met him after the presentation, he complained that the students were using "too much of English" in their presentations. He said they were unlike the previous students who by the sixth week had been speaking only in Yoruba and also gave their presentations in Yoruba. He blamed their inability to speak the language monolingually on their attitude toward the language: They did not put enough effort into learning to use the language, he said, and for that reason, he was not happy to listen to the rest of their presentations.

This experience was one among many that revealed the monolingual ideology upon which the Yoruba study abroad program I researched was based. It also reflects divergence in ideological orientation of the study abroad program and the multilingual language learners who employ their multilingual competence in the face of the monolingual policy. The fact that the student utilized her multilingual repertoire to communicate ideas, possibly due to lack of the

needed vocabulary in Yoruba, contravenes the programs expectations about language use, and it was a reason for which the student was sanctioned.

Study abroad, both in research and in the popular imagination, is often linked to an expectation of cultural and linguistic immersion assumed to lead to more learning than the classroom instruction at home. The belief that study abroad participants can gain access to classroom instruction taught by L1 speakers of the language, opportunities to live with families who speak the target language as an L1 and possibility of using the target language in their day-to-day lives usually make people conceive of study abroad sites, a priori, as environment for immersion. Students often expect—and are expected—to improve their linguistic and cultural proficiency. But we know from research findings that many study abroad programs are not always as immersive as they promised; that linguistic proficiency does not happen for all students in all study abroad settings, in part because such settings are not always immersive as promised. For example, SLA scholars, Magnan and Back (2007) report that American students in France spend time talking to each other in English or the locals chose to speak in English with them. In a study abroad setting in a superdiverse multilingual society like Southwest Nigeria, immersing students in a single target language is even less likely. In this dissertation, I explore different ideologies about immersion and practices of multilingualism at play in a study abroad program for U.S. learners of Yoruba. Through ethnographic study of learners' interactions in three contexts of interactions, I show how the study abroad participants in South West Nigeria use multilingual practices in interaction to subvert the focus on monolingualism in the program's "official" ideology.

Purpose of the study

The overall purpose of this study is to understand how Language learners on study abroad navigate language learning in a multilingual South West region of Nigeria. Specifically, I investigate the ideologies about language that figured during a Yoruba language study abroad program and the linguistic practices of the participants that index their multilingual capacities, while they participate in socio-interactional activities at three contexts of interaction that are constituted as part of the study abroad, namely: the study abroad center, homestays, and the conversational table. Unlike other study abroad studies that focus on learners' linguistic outcomes, I examine and delineate study abroad participants' practices as multilingual speakers of Yoruba, i.e. learners whose native language is English, have learned Yoruba to varying proficiencies, and some of them know other languages. With the study, I offer explanation for a better understanding of the divergence in ideological orientation of the study abroad program and the multilingual language learners abroad. I point out the possibilities on how the study abroad learners' linguistic practices can provide insights for not only reevaluating the Yoruba language program but also shaping understanding of study abroad process in Second Language Acquisition (SLA).

Situating the Study

This research is situated within a body of research on the social, cultural, and linguistic implications of study abroad. Although there have been many discussions in SLA and Second Language Pedagogy about the teaching of foreign languages in this era of globalization, such topics are recent in the subfield of study abroad. Study abroad scholar, Celeste Kinginger (2009, 7) notes that, "in the contemporary era of social and economic globalization, study abroad is becoming more difficult to apprehend in its entirety." But it was James Coleman (2013, 26) who

explicitly argues that "we are still so far from capturing the reality of the study abroad phenomenon." He suggests that we begin to rethink the study abroad research paradigm so as to reflect contemporary realities. He notes that contemporary study abroad research should take into account factors such as the heterogeneity of study abroad environment, and the identities of language learners. Coleman maintains that a majority of study abroad scholars, until recently, have omitted the factor of time in their research design. He emphasizes the changing nature of the social and cultural practices in the study abroad communities, over time. He challenges an implicit assumption that earlier forms and outcomes of study abroad remain the same today (Kinginger 2013b). With respect to the heterogeneity of study abroad environments, Coleman also encourages researchers to recognize study abroad as a multi-dimensional phenomenon, and the study abroad site as a multifaceted space that provides learners with varied and multiple linguistic and cultural affordances. On the identities of language learners, Coleman chides researchers for presenting learners as if each has a single identity, nothing that study abroad researchers should see their subjects as more than just language learners, but as "rounded people with complex and fluid identities and relationships which frame the way they live the study abroad experience" (Coleman 2013, 17).

Other scholars have called, more specifically, for an expansion in the approach by which learners' interactions are investigated in a study abroad environment. Campbell and Xu (2004a) suggestes that research should explore how study abroad context impacts learners' interaction with native speakers. Kinginger (2013b, 13) encourages studies that bring "changes in the scope of theory and method, refinement of approaches to social interactive language use." I respond to these calls by applying critical applied linguistics to highlight problems and competing views

(Pennycook 2001) associated with the linguistic practices of Yoruba learners in conjunction with other speakers of the language across multiple discursive encounters in South West Nigeria.

South West Nigeria: Yoruba in the Midst of Multilingualism

The "South West Nigeria" encompasses six independent states across which Yoruba-speaking groups live. But I use the term to refer to a collection of the specific localities within the region that participants in the Yoruba students abroad visited during my fieldwork, where I collected various types of data. They include Ibadan, Iseyin, and Adeyipo village (Oyo State); Ikeja (Lagos); Abeokuta (Ogun State); Erin-Ijesha, Osogbo, and Ile-Ife (Osun State); Ondo and Idanre (Ondo State); and Ikogosi (Ekiti State). I focused on language-in-use involving the participants and various speakers of Yoruba, as well as the authentic language use that constituted semiotic resources surrounding learners in these various domains.

The South West is one of the six geopolitical zones of Nigeria. For political purposes, Nigeria is divided into two sectional blocks: North and South. Each section is further divided into three zones, together forming the six geopolitical zones of the country. The other zones are South East, South South, North East, North West, and North Central. Although the zones are political classifications, each zone is constituted along the line of ethnic, cultural and linguistic commonalities. In other words, the languages spread across the different regions of the country correspond to the spread of the various ethnic groups.

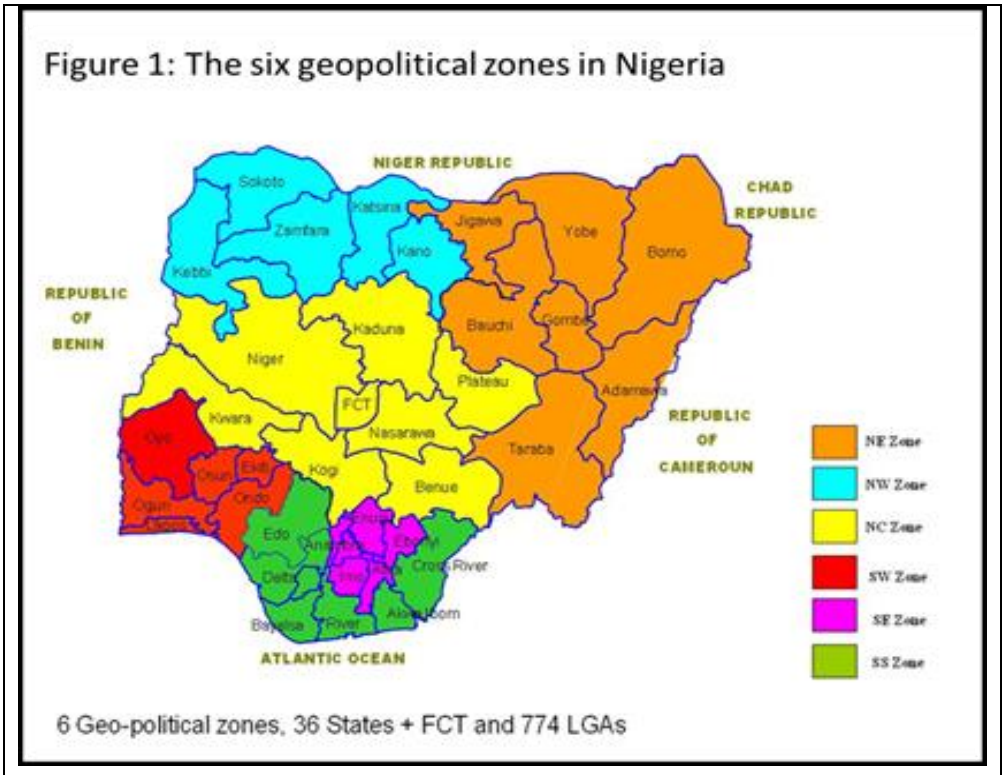

Figure 1: The six geopolitical zones in Nigeria
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The South West is predominantly Yoruba speaking, with a handful of other minority languages spoken as first or second languages (Igboanusi and Peter 2005) As Figure 3 below shows, the South West zone consists of six independent states: Lagos, Ogun, Oyo, Osun, Ondo, and Ekiti. Each state was created to correspond to a group of closely-related dialects of the language. In addition, native speakers of Yoruba can be found in Kwara and Kogi (North Central) as well as Edo and Delta (South East). These are speakers of Yoruba who have been grouped into other regions, where they exist as minority language groups.

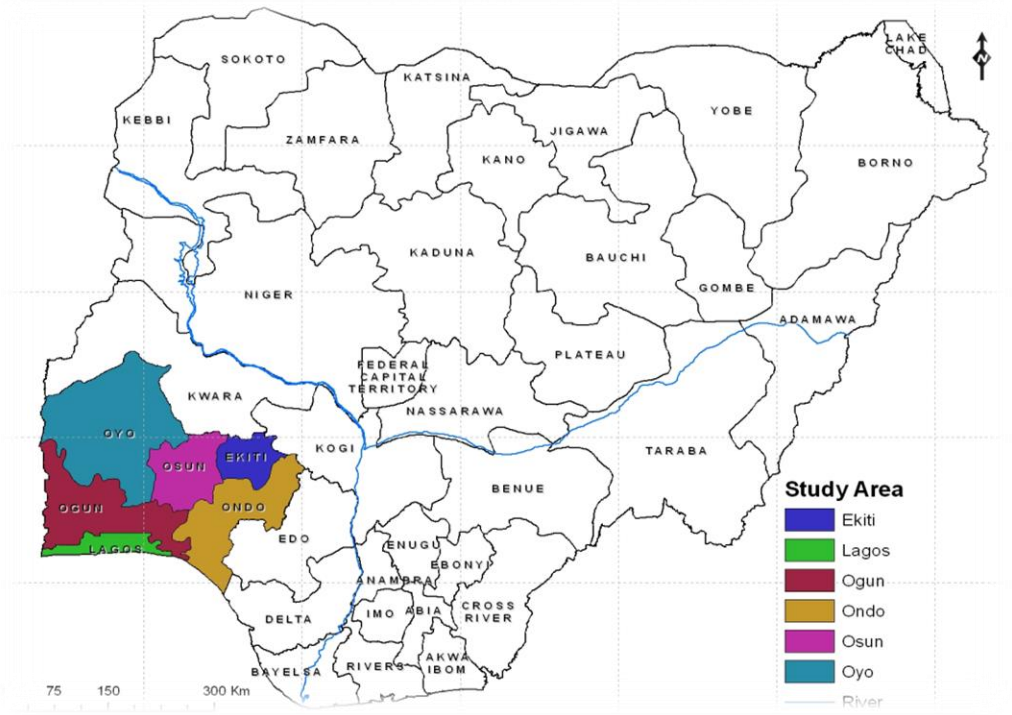

Figure 2: Geographical representation of the six states in South West Nigeria (Faleyimu and Agbeja 2012). Used with permission.

Of the three major Nigerian languages, Yoruba, with approximately 40.9 million speakers in Nigeria (Fadamiro and Adedeji 2016), is the second most widely spoken. It is preceded by Hausa in the North and followed by Igbo in the South East. The overwhelming majority of Yoruba-speakers are located in the South West region, speaking various dialects. In reality, speakers of Yoruba across the different states speak one or more of its numerous varieties but speakers of each dialect usually identify, simultaneously, as speakers of both the dialect and of Yoruba. Some of the major Yoruba dialects, listed by Igboanusi and Peter (2004), include Àwórì, Ọ̀yọ́, Ifẹ̀, Ìjẹ̀ṣà, Èkìtì, Ẹ̀gbá, Ẹ̀gbádò, Ìjẹ̀bú, Ọ̀wọ̀, Òǹdó, Ìkálẹ̀ and Yàgbà. While all dialects of Yoruba are mutually intelligible, they differ from one another to varying degrees. Yet, the conglomeration of these dialects constitutes Yoruba, which has a well-developed standard form that is formally understood, accepted, and taught in schools. The standard version is what the

participants in the study abroad program are learning and are expected to use for various communicative functions.

While Nigeria's official language is English, which enjoys wide usage in the region as the language of politics and education, Yoruba is more extensively used for interpersonal communication. Yoruba is taught as a subject in schools, and it is widely used in the media. Yoruba was "the first Nigerian language in which a newspaper was published. It is also the language most used in the film industry … [It] has a rich literary tradition in both traditional and modern writing" (Igboanusi and Peter 2005, 79–80). In fact, Yoruba thrived so well as the regional lingua franca that it has threatened the languages with fewer speakers, such as the Awori and Eegun languages that were once widely spoken in Lagos (Ogunmodimu 2015).

Given that Yoruba has a strong history of scholarship and enjoys widespread usage for oral communication, it seems likely that the language will continue to enjoy the stability and currency of use that could provide ample linguistic affordances to language learners who are on the ground in southwestern Nigeria. However, there has been a growing concern among Yoruba-speakers about the declining influence of Yoruba in relation to English. This concern, according to Igboanusi and Peter (2005, 87), has to do with the fact that, "the language has not attained the level of development and expansion that were expected of it, given the strong history and social advantages that were associated with the Yoruba people and land." With regards to the cause of the stagnation, these scholars identify the neglect of the language by all governments in the southwestern states since just after independence.

By putting the blame for Yoruba's stagnation on the government, these scholars describe the lack of a top-down, prescriptive form of language, an ideology of purism (Horner and Weber

2012) which, on the pretext of promoting a language, regulates what constitutes "proper" or "good" language. While Igboanusi and Peter may be critiqued for promoting such an ideology, their claim can best be understood when compared to the government's attitude towards foreign languages, especially English and, lately, French. For example, the photograph below from the official 2015 calendar of the Lagos State House of Assembly captures the public recognition event of a young Nigerian girl, Vitoria A. Botoku, "for her exceptional performance with credit passes in English and French languages" by the Lagos State House of Assembly (LAHA).

Figure 3: Victoria Botuku on LAHA Calendar

In the picture is Vitoria and her parents, flanked on the left side by the then Speaker of the House and on the right by a member of the House. The girl, who wears her school uniform, holds the certificate of recognition in her left hand and an envelope in her right, presumably enclosing a monetary gift. This 9-year-old prodigy, still in primary school, no doubt attracted the

attention of these lawmakers and became the face of the official calendar because of her exceptional performance on an exam that was meant for the students in their final year of secondary school. But while one cannot but applaud the recognition of her youthful talent, one cannot do so in isolation from the school subjects at the center of her achievement. I wonder whether she would have been recognized this same way if the subject were Yoruba and not the two non-indigenous languages. Furthermore, there are background stories around Victoria's exam that make me question the value accorded to Yoruba by the State House that recognizes her and the Yoruba society in general. First, the newspaper reported that Victoria registered for a total of six subjects, including Yoruba, but sat for only English and French. Why might the state government celebrate the prodigy for having made credit grades, just above the pass mark, in both English and French, but ignored the fact that she also registered for Yoruba but did not to sit for its exam? I read this case as an example of the often-common irony of Yoruba-speakers who, in glamorizing competence in non-indigenous languages also gloat in their minimal accomplishments in those languages at the detriment of the indigenous dialects.

Instances in which Nigerians privilege English, in particular, over any Nigerian language, are commonplace experiences. Until fairly recently, speaking local languages was also viewed with disdain and met with denigrative comments. For example, Bamgbose (2017, 38), the first professor of linguistics in Nigeria, describes how in the 1970s and 80s Nigerian students were vilified in school whenever they spoke their mother tongue, also called "vernacular." He writes that "the discouragement of the use of mother tongue in schools was widespread practice. Sanctions ranged from payment of a fine, corporal punishment, being asked to go and cut grass on the school field, or other tasks such as writing fifty times the sentence: "I will never speak vernacular again!" I can relate to the experience presented above, as I recall writing countless

times during junior secondary school (the equivalent of middle school in the US) that I would never speak vernacular—Yoruba—in class again.

This kind of institutionalized disrespect for indigenous Nigerian languages took place for so long that it has allowed English to subdue the use of Yoruba in many domains of public life. In *Language Death,* David Crystal (2002, 17) attests to this, writing, "Even Yoruba, with 20 million speakers, has been called 'deprived' because of the way it has come to be dominated by English in higher education." But Yoruba-language development was stalled, not because the number of speakers of the language decreased but because it began to experience a decline in the areas of influence and use, mostly due to the preference for English. Balogun (2013, 78), in a study on the use of Yoruba among high school students in "Yorubaland," provides empirical evidence that reflects the declining trend in the use of Yoruba among young native speakers. Drawing from literature on language endangerment and language maintenance, Balogun concludes that: "Yoruba language with its rich culture of aphorisms, proverbs, folklore, folktale, oral poetry, oral tradition, moonlight stories, songs, panegyric, praise, and others is gradually losing its relevance and emphasis." The findings provide evidence for the perceived decline in the use of Yoruba, which is a major social concern for Yoruba-speakers today.

Beyond Yoruba, the concern about the declining status and the use of Nigerian languages by their speakers has also become a major social topic in the country in general. The Nigerian national media have been vocal in covering topics relating to the widespread declining usage of Nigerian languages. For example, *The Nation,* one of the foremost daily newspapers in Nigeria, had an alarming headline on November 13, 2013: "Help, Nigerian languages are disappearing!" The writer noted that "ominous signs stab Yoruba, Igbo, and many other indigenous languages in

the face as … fewer people are able to achieve fluency in their mother tongues." He goes further to attribute the situation to language endangerment, noting that: "As a matter of fact, the affliction of language endangerment torments all indigenous languages in Nigeria, with most of the languages now oscillating between vulnerable and definitely endangered, or even worse in some cases." Similarly, *Vanguard*, another leading newspaper in the country, ran a headline on September 7, 2013, with the title, "Why Nigerian languages are dying." Dr. Kikelomo Adeniyi, Chief Lecturer in the Department of English, Adeniran Ogunsanya College of Education (AOCOED) was quoted as attributing the steady decline in the use of Nigeria indigenous languages to the overwhelming preference for English by Nigerians. She noted that Lagos is "a Cosmopolitan City, so English is used generally. There is no central local language. The lingua franca is English. The next to it is Pidgin English. But in spite of this, the English spoken today by these children or even youths is rubbish. They cannot speak good English and also cannot speak their mother tongue. They cannot write good English. To compound the situation, everybody loves English."

By indicating that Lagos Yoruba-speakers are not only deficient in their mother tongue but also lacking proficiency in English, this lecturer's comment adds another layer to the discourse on the language situation among Yoruba-speakers. In describing them as incompetent, she echoes the popular sentiment regarding the declining status of Yoruba, overlooking these bilingual speakers' use of multiple linguistic resources, described by Blommaert, Collins, and Slembrouck (2005) as "truncated competence." A similar sentiment was also captured in a news report in another national newspaper, *Premium Times*, on May 15, 2017, entitled, "Nigeria's Indigenous Languages Endangered, May Go into Extinction." The report, based on the keynote address by the Nigeria's current Federal Minister of Information and Culture, Alhaji Lai

Mohammed, quoted him as saying, “There is a remarkable decline in the usage of our indigenous languages by our children and youth; many of them cannot read or write in their mother tongue.” The minister, who has a degree in French, made this comment as a guest speaker at the Annual Round Table on Cultural Orientation, a two-day event that was organized by the Federal Ministry of Information and Culture (FMIC) and the National Institute for Cultural Orientation (NICO). The minister was not reported to offer an official government position regarding this language issue. However, the fact that both FMIC and NICO are two key agencies of the federal government that are meant to “maintain a robust information dissemination mechanism that promotes our tourism potentials and enhances our cultural values” (FMIC Website), and the fact that the minister is the paramount mouthpiece of the president, may be suggestive of the government’s position on the dwindling fortune of the indigenous Nigerian languages. In the absence of a concrete government position or policy plan, however, the minister suggests “the need for parents to ensure that their children are taught their indigenous languages; implementing the teaching and learning of Nigerian indigenous languages as contained in the National Policy on Education as well as supporting and sustaining various platforms, such as the indigenous language newspapers, which promote the use of indigenous languages.” Although the minister was reported to have concluded his speech by tasking the participants at the event to “painstakingly deliberate on these issues and come up with far-reaching recommendations that will guide the government’s policy and action plan,” the kind of suggestions he offered above seem to echo the pervasive plight of a society that desires to protect its indigenous languages but has no concrete plan to achieve this goal.

In sum, the overall linguistic situation in the South West region of Nigeria represents a microcosm of the national language situation. Like the nation, several autonomous but close

linguistic and cultural groups are clustered together in the South West, which is further divided into six states. Adding to this diversity of language use is the Nigerian pidgin English and foreign languages, such as English, French, and Arabic, spoken by a variety of speakers who live in the same region. Thus, as I demonstrate with primary data in Chapters Three and Four, language use in this context is prolific, with speakers—including language learners—combining and transitioning between linguistic codes in which they have varying levels of proficiency.

The problem:

Ideologies of Monolingualism and Standardization in a Multilingual Context

The language learning program is a site where "hegemonic learning processes and the dominant representations of reality that accompany them hold sway" (Jaspers 2005, 279). In spite of the multilingual configuration of the study abroad context, the director's comment I cited above hinted that monolingual discourses, policies and operations, which were "out of step with the plural linguistic practices" (Blackledge and Creese 2010) of the sociocultural realities of the Yoruba-speaking South West Nigeria, constituted the dominant structure of the Yoruba program. This hegemonic ideology of monolingual Yoruba in the study abroad curriculum marks multilingualism as undesirable. The justification for this position is often framed in terms of the expected outcomes for foreign language learning, which are target language proficiency and cultural understanding. On several occasions I observed the director of the language center reminding the students that they had come to Nigeria to learn Yoruba and the culture of its speakers and that, that was what the center has packaged for them through the various components of the language. This constant affirmation of expected outcome indicate the values that are assigned to a monolingual, standard variety of Yoruba that was taught to the language

learners, through the classroom instructions, the host family, and peer-tutor interactions, as if it is isolated from the social and cultural context in which learning takes place. Competence is measured only in the students' ability to speak monolingually in Yoruba, which is based on standard Yoruba, the version that is commonly taught in class.

This pedagogical position in the Yoruba study abroad program exemplifies the modernist orientation to language teaching, the features of which SLA scholar Claire Kramsch (2014, 297) enunciates as: (1) the existence of standardized languages with their stable grammars and dictionaries that ensure 'good' usage of the language by well-educated citizens that foreign language (FL) learners are expected to emulate; (2) the superiority of national languages over regional dialects and patois; (3) clear boundaries between native and foreign languages and among foreign languages so that one can clearly know whether someone is speaking French, German, Chinese, standard Spanish, or regional Spanish; (4) codified norms of 'correct' language usage and 'proper' language use that language learners have to abide by for fear of not being understood or not being accepted by native speakers. Although Kramsch cites commonly-taught and high-enrolment languages in her example, the case is no different in Yoruba teaching. Additionally, the monolingual design of the program has some connections to certain preferences of the program's sponsor, the Fulbright Program, funded by the United States Department of Education. As a part of the grant mandates, the U.S.-based director of the program had in previous years been to Nigeria to conduct workshops for the Center staff and train the language instructors. They were trained on how to use Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) in the target language and how to assess language proficiency using the Interagency Language Roundtable (ILR) scale, which is a monolingual assessment tool. While there was no available record to show that the center was required to adopt the tool—possibly because they do not have

certified testers—it is not far-fetched to imagine that such exposure through the sponsor may have impacted the program's design and ideologies.

During the study abroad program, Yoruba learners were held to the expectations of standardized language teaching and evaluation. Yet interactions in public spaces they entered were mostly conducted multilingually. During the study abroad program, when students interacted with locals in various settings, they encountered the use of multilingual resources even when the students tried to engage locals in Yoruba. For instance, one learner, Brian, described his experience while in Nigeria on his blog after he returned to the US: "My own case was such that I continued to speak Yoruba roughly 60% - 80% of the time, while the natives responded in English 60% - 80%, to varying extents, of course, to the individual. Some natives refused to speak Yoruba with me." Perhaps he went into the program with an expectation that is similar to the image presented by the Yoruba program, where the majority of the local interactants spoke in only Yoruba and conducted their day-to-day activities in monolingual communication. Brian met the sociolinguistic reality in the contemporary South West region of Nigeria, an area which, as I described above and exemplified in Chapters Three, Four And Five, is a context of linguistic superdiversity (J. Blommaert 2010; J. Blommaert and Rampton 2011).

The approach being adopted and promoted in delivering most language study abroad programs not only fails to recognize the multilingualism of both local speakers and language learners but also fails to identify how the pervasive resources of multilingualism can be leveraged to achieve language learning. Through the analysis of the multilingual interactive practices, first of Yoruba-speakers, and then, of interactions involving Yoruba study abroad participants, I show how Yoruba-speakers utilized their multilingual resources in spite of the

monolingual policies, and how some of these linguistic deployments, rather than inhibiting learning, actually constitute it.

Research Agenda and Significance of the Study

Two key arguments, by Kramsch (2014) and Pennycook (1999; 2001) respectively, describe my motivation for this research. First, Kramsch, in her introductory article in the Spring 2014 issue of the *Modern Language Journal*, wrote, "In our late modern era, scholars are concerned that globalization is bringing about deep changes into our ways of thinking, learning, and knowing that educational institutions are not prepared to deal with. Language and language education are at the forefront of those concerns." As a language teacher and researcher, myself a multilingual, who is reflective of the global issues involving language, such as hybridity and superdiversity, in relation to language teaching, I seek to make sense of the discursive practices by learners during study abroad, to gain an understanding of how they construct their multilingual capacities as well unveil the underlying ideologies of their language use. And secondly, I am stirred by Pennycook's (2001, 138) call for critical engagement with issues of contemporary concerns in our discipline. He cautions that, "for those who say we are just language teachers or just applied linguists and should not involve ourselves with such concerns, I say that we are already involved. We cannot bury our heads in the sand as liberal-ostrichist applied linguistics has done in the past. What we need is a better way of thinking about what we do." Together, these statements constitute a call for academic work that engages with postmodern realities and elucidate the complexity that the ever-changing world brings to language instruction.

Prodded by these incisive statements, I explored the negotiation of ideologies of language teaching programs and participants' language use through an ethnographic study of one particular program, a Fulbright-funded study abroad program for U.S. learners of Yoruba in Nigeria in a summer of the early 2010s. I take the study abroad program as a site where ideologies about language come in contact and are exchanged, and that the process of language learning (through usage) indexes the dynamics of power negotiations. While ideologies of monolingualism and standardization held sway in the program, both learners and their local interactants displayed a range of linguistic behaviors that subvert the monolingual ideology. Thus, this study attempts to reveal how the ideologies of monolingualism and language standardization are created and manifested in study abroad discourses and characterize the range of linguistic activities of by language learners under such circumstance. My analysis show that the hegemonic ideology which favors a monolingual construction of language, such as in the Yoruba study abroad program, is no longer adequate for language learning in this present-day, superdiverse contexts for multimodal meaning-making.

By assessing the participant's linguistic activities, my agenda in this study is to generate knowledge from the experiences of Yoruba learners so as to identify conditions that engender language learning in ways that engage the multilingualism of both the learners and the study abroad site. I advocate for a more realistic multilingual pedagogy, a pedagogy which, according to Blackledge and Creese (2010) will "emphasize the overlapping of languages rather than enforcing the separation of languages for learning and teaching." (213).

In pursuing this project, I am influenced by Uju Anya's (2016) work on African American learners of Portuguese in Brazil and Jamie Thomas' (2013) dissertation on identity and experiences in the learning of Swahili. Anya employs a critical applied linguistic to illustrate

how her participants' ethno-racialized, gendered, and social-class identities are socially negotiated in their study abroad classes and community. Thomas employs critical, and descriptive discourse analyses to describe how classroom talk reproduces or resists structures of power and inequality; and show how code choices are indicative of ideologies of standardization and monolingualism. I similarly adopt a critical applied linguistics perspective (Pennycook 2001) in order to investigate the questions relating to inequitable policies and practices and power relations in the contexts of my study. While aiming for social change, this approach, according to Pennycook, raises questions about inequality, difference, disparity, resistance, and compassion.

My goal is not to criticize or find faults in the Yoruba language program but to generate specific knowledge that can ultimately improve the quality of the instruction, programming and delivery of language study abroad in multilingual and superdiverse settings. My analysis focuses on discourse generated by the interactions between learners and specific individuals that were involved in the study abroad program but not targeted at isolating the particular study abroad center where I conducted my ethnographic research, nor its personnel. Moreover, I understand that the situation described here is not unique to the Yoruba study abroad program. The mainstream fields of language Second Language Acquisition (SLA) and Foreign Language Pedagogy (FLP), as Pennycook (2001) critiqued, are still limited to an overlocalized view of social relations, as opposed to one of ecological interconnectedness.

My study centers on learners of a less commonly taught African language. Foreign learners of most African languages study who participate in study abroad do so in a social context where language use and speakers' identities are being organized in line with a colonial heritage. And simultaneously, local speakers tend to oscillate between carrying the burden of emotional connections and cultural identifications with their indigenous "mother tongue" and

their communicative realities. The distinctive patterns of interactions in these contexts, therefore, cannot be adequately explicated without giving attention to the manner in which the context conditions the practices of translingual speakers.

For over a decade now, the Yoruba study abroad in Nigeria has been held every summer. Despite this steady interest in the Yoruba study abroad program, there is a scarcity of academic studies that investigated the learners' L2 learning experience in the abroad context. This study highlights some specificities about how learners negotiate interactions in the multilingual Yoruba society, thus expanding our understanding on the process of language learning in a multilingual and multicultural context.

Research Questions

I investigate the language ideologies at play during a study abroad program for U.S. learners of Yoruba in Nigeria. I analyze recordings of student interaction in three settings, namely: the study abroad center, in home stays, and during programmed field trip, as well as interviews with program staff, home stay families, and other Nigerians who interacted with the students. The main research questions that frame this study are:

1. *What ideologies about language are at play in the Yoruba study abroad program? What linguistic features are valued and disvalued in the Yoruba study abroad program?*

With this question, I explored the study abroad program's underlying ideologies about language. Through analysis of materials relating to the program, including texts from its websites, program-related official documents, and interviews with program staff, I highlight discourses that have indexical link to these ideologies, and also analyze the efforts made by the program to create condition that promote the ideologies.

2. *What discursive practices are enacted by participants across multiple spaces during study abroad?*

This question examines the discursive practice of the study abroad participants in the three contexts of my study, namely the language center, at homestay, and open markets. I investigate what the students do with language in their micro interactions, and show how their language use relates to specific language ideologies.

Outline of Dissertation

This dissertation is divided into seven chapters. Following this introductory chapter, Chapter Two presents the framework and methodology of the study. It contains a review of the literature on study abroad and language and ideology and the discussion of developments in the pedagogy of African languages in the United States. The methodology section describes all activities that relate to fieldwork, including how I selected my participants and how I collected data. It also includes a description of the transcription conventions I used to represent interactional data. My data analysis is contained in chapters three through six, which are presented as individually-themed chapters but connected in the demonstration of the central idea that the Yoruba program constituted a site for enforcing idealistic monolingual linguistic practices on learners. Chapter Three is dedicated to analysis of how the dominant ideologies that pervade the Yoruba language study abroad program are variously reflected and simultaneously contradicted in the program. Chapter Four highlights the multiplicity of semiotic codes among Yoruba-speakers. Through analyses of linguistic signs and movie clips, the chapter argues that the "linguistic landscape" (E. G. Shohamy, Ben Rafael, and Barni 2010) of South West Nigeria potentially offers a variety of semiotic codes as affordances for language learners. Chapter Five centers on interactions

between language learners and interactants that program assigned to them, namely the conversational partners and host parents. It demonstrates and characterizes how these speakers utilized translanguaging in their conversations. Chapter Six analyzes the interactions in open markets involving learners and various Yoruba-speakers who were not officially part of the program. Through the lens of language socialization, the chapter highlights learners' participation in meaning-making events and how speakers' language was policed by the program beyond the learning center. Chapter Seven, the conclusion, elucidates my central argument. It outlines lessons learned from the research, my conclusions, directions for future research, implications for study abroad research, including a pedagogical proposal for study abroad in Nigeria—which may be applicable to other less commonly taught languages as well.

Chapter Two

Literature Review, Research Framework, and Methods

This chapter outlines the research design for this dissertation. The chapter comprises of two main sections: In the first part, I present a review of the literature on language study abroad. The section also presents the description of key topics relating to the study that support –and influence my study, namely: language ideology and the overall theoretical framework for the study. In the second part of the chapter, I detail the research methods I used. This covers the rationale of my research design, as well as the description of how I have implemented them to conduct the research. This section specifies how I collected data and analyzed them, including also the discussion of ethical implications.

Language Teaching in a Multilingual Context

This current research on the nature of language and language teaching in multilingual settings is mostly based on postmodern discourse. It is connected to discussions of bilingualism, diversity, globalization, and superdiversity, as captured in the work of scholars such as Jan Blommaert (2010); Jan Blommaert & Ben Rampton (2011); Adrian Blackledge and Angela Creese (2010); Suresh Canagarajah (2007; 2013); Monica Heller (2007); and Claire Kramsch (2012; 2014). These scholars focus on features of language in the current social configuration characterized by globalization. Linguistic anthropologists Blommaert and Rampton (2011) applies the concept of "superdiversity" (Vertovec 2007; 2010) to describe the condition of language use in a multicultural context. Superdiversity refers to the dynamic cultural and linguistic formations of our current era, which are undergoing unprecedented complex changes mainly due to globalization. Our hitherto fundamental ideas about languages, language speakers,

and communication are no longer sufficient to address new realities in the linguistic landscapes of the contemporary globalized world. Scholars are in agreement that new social formations, characterized by diversity of languages and complexification of speech communities, have serious implications for foreign language scholarship. The *Modern Language Journal* (Spring 2014) dedicated a whole volume to discussion on the teaching of foreign languages in an era of globalization. Claire Kramsch (2014, 296), the guest editor of the volume, while affirming that globalization "has changed the conditions under which foreign languages (FLs) are taught, learned, and used," adds that there has never been a greater tension between what is taught in the classroom and what students will need in the real world once they have left the classroom. In the last few decades, the world has changed to such an extent that language teachers are no longer sure of what they should teach nor for what real world situations they should prepare their students (Kramsch 2014).

The dilemma in FLs at the moment is what should constitute pedagogical content, as well as the search for new paradigms for foreign language teaching. Kramsch (2014) points out the effect that globalization, which continues to reconfigure contemporary society, has on our hitherto understanding of languages. For examples, globalization has problematized the idea of linguistically distinct languages with their own grammar and codes, thereby causing language instructors to rethink the content of instruction.

Linguistic formation in the globalizing world has taken on a new pattern. The previously dominant views about language, including constructs such as form, cognition, and the individual are "redefined as hybrid, fluid, and situated in a more socially embedded, ecologically sensitive, and interactionally open model" (Canagarajah 2007, 923). Therefore, language competence should focus on learners' ability to use negotiation strategies and a repertoire of codes to carry

out their activities to improve their social welfare (Garcia 2007). Blackledge and Creese (2010) also cite instances where the interactions among learners in a complementary school challenged some of the constructs commonly used by language programs, such as "heritage language" and "national language." They also demonstrate how the language practices of learners subvert monolingual ideas about language. Students in their study reenact language in their classes by challenging the linguistic hegemony that constructs ideal language learning as monolingual. It is becoming more and more important to take advantage of the increasingly multilingual composition of language classes and to draw on students' multilingual competence, even if they are learning a single language (Kramsch 2014). Rather than operating with assumption of "homogeneity, stability and boundedness," Blommaert and Rampton (2011, 4) task researchers and FL language practitioners to consider mobility and mixing as the starting assumption. Additionally, SLA scholars Alan Firth and Johannes Wagner (1997) also added that SLA studies should avoid using a monolingual native speaker as a norm for evaluating language learners' competence.

Furthermore, the use of multiple language resources in a language class is becoming a reality that foreign language instructors need to confront. Kramsch (2014, 300) argues that, while it is not out of place for foreign language educators to feel that it is not their mission to encourage their students to codeswitch in their classes, they should keep in mind that globalization has foisted upon us "an era where different degrees of purity and authenticity are expected in different venues of learning and use." Studies on language teaching in multi/pluralingual setting bear the footprint of the fast paced "transformative diversification of diversity" (Vertovec 2007, 1025) which characterizes the current globalizing world. She highlights the need to keep clear of the modernist ideology of homogenous and monolingual

speech community, and the inevitability of multiplicity of language, mixedness and hybridity in the foreign language classes, even though it might still appear odd.

Similar to the discourse in the subfield of foreign language teaching, research foci and approaches to exploring language learning in study abroad contexts have developed over time, from an earlier focus on fluency in a target language to a current focus on the sociocultural experiences of language learners.

Language Study Abroad

Research on language study abroad has grown in influence since it commenced. Following John Carroll (1967), the first widely recognized study to report a connection between the periods spent abroad and language proficiency, researchers on language learning abroad have moved from the need to prove the effectiveness of study abroad with a narrow focus on quantitative linguistic outcomes, to determining the exact components of learning that are improved by study abroad; and then to studying learners' engagement within the social context abroad (Freed 1995; Kinginger 2008; 2009; 2013c). The field also grows from studies that sought to generalize findings to studies that emphasized learner particularity, exploring learning from the socially-situated, subjective experiences of learners (e.g. DeKeyser 2010). Throughout these changes, study abroad has often been linked to an expectation of cultural and linguistic immersion that will lead to more learning, compared to classroom language learning at home.

Language instructors know that such expectations are sometimes not realized. We sometime witness firsthand the attending frustrations on both the sides of the learners and the program administrators, which may sometimes result in cases of animosity between specific

learner and officials of the study abroad program. Research has also shown that such improvement does not always happen for all students in all study abroad settings (Freed 1995; Kinginger 2008) . For instance Freed, Segalowitz, and Dewey (2004), in a study that compared French-learners in three learning contexts—regular domestic classroom, study abroad and intensive domestic immersion programs—found that, there is no direct correlation between the amount of second language (L2) contact and improved fluency. Similarly, Dewey (2008) found that student-host family interactions are not necessarily rich enough in content to result in high speaking proficiency. These findings challenge the benign assumptions that studying abroad automatically boosts a learner's chance of engaging with first language (L1) speakers or increase their interactional capability. Study abroad does not provide a total immersive experience for all learners.

A number of studies offer different explanations for this dichotomy between program expectations and learners' gains during the period abroad. Sally Magnan and Michele Back's (2007) study of French learners' living arrangement abroad reveal that a group of American students who spent a lot of time with one another and spoke to one another in English did not improve their French skills. Eton Churchill (2003) finds that foreign language learners "compete for floor" when they engage in conversation with local L1 speakers who might prefer to converse with learners in their L1. Sharon Wilkinson (1998) cited instances where cultural differences and unfriendly attitudes of host parents prevent the students from having extensive opportunities to interact in the L2. And in another study, Wilkinson (2002) found that French learners become used to classroom-like interactions and unable to engage in more spontaneous interactions with host-families.

The major critique of these studies is that they focused on quantitative measures of language outcomes (Kinginger 2013c). Wilkinson (2002) argues that many studies leave out other affective attributes of learners' experiences abroad, including factors relating to the diversity of host community and individual participants. Researchers discuss the divergences in findings only in term of what was missing or did not go well during study abroad process. Studies rarely investigate scenarios of animosity or relate them to sociopolitical issues in the study abroad process. And as Kinginger (2013) notes, if reports of study abroad studies are not silent about such issues, they only speculate about the potential role of affective or personality variables, such as motivation or extroversion, rather than giving them sustained attention.

Language Ideologies

Linguistic and discursive practices are linkable to language ideologies. Language ideologies, according to linguistic anthropologists Kathryn Woolard and Bambi Schieffelin (1994, 57), are a "set of beliefs about language articulated by users as rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use." Similarly, Woolard and Paul Kroskrity (1998) also describe language ideologies as "beliefs, feelings, and conceptions about language structure and use which often index the political economic interests of individual speakers, ethnic and other groups, and nation states." Both definitions construe language ideologies as a link between linguistic content and social topics. The link, according to Woolard (2010), constitutes a dialectical relation with, and thus significantly influences, social, discursive, and linguistic practices. Language ideologies also describe the ideas and beliefs that a group of people hold about language and underpin identities, attitudes, policies, control and power within a society (Razfar and Rumenapp 2012, 349).

Two particular ideologies have been relevant in the field of education, namely language standardization and monolingualism, usually functioning together (Farr and Song 2011). These ideologies are related to historical incidences in Europe at the end of the 18th century brought about the idea that language makes the nation. The same idea marked the beginning of language standardization, a process in which a certain variety of language becomes elevated as a national language over other languages considered to be subordinate varieties. “Wherever Europeans colonized or otherwise dominated, the ideology was established” (Farr and Song 2011, 652).

Although monolingualism in a standard language continued to hold sway as dominant ideologies in language education in many societies, the idea is increasingly being challenged by current sociolinguistics, where empirical findings have been establishing that multilingualism as common linguistic realities in majority of societies (Blackledge and Creese 2010; J. Blommaert 2010). Beside that language learners are already multilinguals, learners’ language ideologies are also malleable, shifting and susceptible to change over time (De Costa 2011). And finally, studies that have investigated language ideologies have relied on their discursive nature, arguing that, a productive way to investigate language ideologies is through analyzing interactions (De Costa 2011).

Theoretical Framework

This study is situated broadly within Critical Applied Linguistics (CALx; Pennycook, 2001) but it applies a variety of related frameworks to examine the themed analyses in each of the analysis chapters. To varying degrees, in each chapter I use Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Fairclough 2010; Pennycook 2001) as a methodology to explicate the production of

ideologies that create the conditions for inequitable policies in Yoruba study abroad program. The features of CDA have been listed differently) but the underlining principles of CDA remains consistent, in that CDA aims to show how "linguistic-discursive practices" are linked to the "wider socio-political structures of power and domination" (Pennycook 2001, 13). Adrian Blackledge (2006) expanded this description with five theoretical propositions upon which CDA is based: (1) language as social practice; (2) an interconnection between language and power; (3) the notion that language is not powerful on its own, but gains power by the use powerful people make of it; (4) the dialogic nature of discourse; and (5) interdisciplinarity.

Juxtaposing what CDA is and what it is not, Fairclough (2010, 10–11) gave a concise list of features of CDA:

1. It is not just analysis (or more concretely texts); it is part of some form of systematic transdisciplinary analysis of relations between discourse and other elements of social process.
2. It is not just general commentary on discourse; it includes some form of systematic analysis of texts.
3. It is not just descriptive; it is also normative. It addresses social wrongs in their discursive aspects and possible ways of righting or mitigating them.

In all, CDA as a theory begins with the proposition that there is unequal access to linguistic and social resources, and such control over resources are backed by institutional policies; the mission of CDA is to make bare the ideological systems and representations, and to show how they are related to the broader social order; and CDA involves the practices of closely examining language use and textual features to extract the inter-relationship between language and power. My study will draw on CDA from these perspectives.

Also, this study is based on the idea that multilingual space contributes to organizing patterns of speakers' interactions (Blommaert, Collins, and Slembrouck 2005). From this theoretical standpoint, the spatial environment influences the capacity of multilingual speakers to choose and use linguistic resources. The individual becomes incapacitated when the "environment organizes a particular regime of language" and "a lack of competence to communicate adequately is here not seen as a problem of the speaker, but as a problem for the speaker, lodged not in individual forms of deficit or inability but in the connection between individual communicative potential and requirements produced by the environment" (Blommaert, Collins, and Slembrouck 2005, 198). I find this idea appropriate for investigating the interactive capacity of Yoruba-learners. With it, I seek to examine how context shapes the linguistic performance of the learners undergoing language learning in a multilingual setting. Context, in this sense is not a static variable that surrounds talk but rather has mutually reflexive relations to interactions; As linguistic anthropologist Alessandro Duranti and conversation analyst Charles Goodwin (1992) put it, talk shapes context as much as context shapes talk.

In extending the existing literature, in this dissertation I argue for a critical view of the learning process in language study abroad. I investigate a Yoruba study abroad program for U.S. learners in Southwestern Nigeria, using a Critical Applied Linguistics (CALx) approach (Pennycook 2001). According to Pennycook, CALx help us to frame questions of inequality, language and power by problematizing concepts, practices, and ideologies often otherwise taken for granted by both language users and researchers. By using a critical perspective, I focus on the hegemony of monolingualism and standard language, highlighting how it contradicts sociocultural realities and learners' experiences abroad. Following Pennycook (2001, 138) I take study abroad as "a microcosm of the larger social and cultural world, reflecting, reproducing, and

changing that world"; assuming that everything outside the study abroad program, "from community and national language policies to social and cultural contexts of schooling, may have an impact" on what happens in the study abroad process. And drawing on Blackledge and Creese (2010), I argue that learners are social actors who are drawing on their multilingual resources to negotiate meaning in a language program that favors an ideology of monolingualism.

In the next section, I detail the methodology for the entirety of my research, including information about the field work, data collection and data analysis.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research Design

The bulk of my data was collected during eight weeks of summer fieldwork that I conducted across multiple contexts of interaction in South West Nigeria, with eleven student participants in a Fulbright-funded study abroad program for U.S. learners of Yoruba and their interaction with speakers of Yoruba across multiple domains. The forty-four other interactants also constitute participants for my study. I video-recorded the daily interactive practices of participants in order to unravel different ideologies about immersion and practices of multilingualism at play during the study abroad program. I use ethnography to offer accounts of their heterogeneous sociolinguistic activities during their study abroad. According to Jan Blommaert and Dong Jie (2010), ethnography consists of the following principles: First, it "situates language deeply and inextricably in social life." This view equates the study of language to the study of the society, in which the researcher is able to observe the real time, practical use of the language. Second, ethnography should be seen as counter-hegemony. By this, it becomes a "critical enterprise," drawing connection between the micro interactions and macro

global concern and describes the "apparently messy and complex activities that make up social action" (13-14). Third, ethnography is an inductive science, which means that it works from data towards theory, and it does not seek generalizability of findings. With these principles, ethnography is related to CDA, and together are deployed for investigating the sociolinguistic activities of my participants during study abroad, and for unravelling the sociopolitical relations that underlie language use and the practices of multilingualism by the study abroad participants. In addition to observing participants, I also conducted interviews with them and requested weekly self-reported notes from the students about their interactive experiences. I provide detailed description of the various forms of data collection below.

Research Sites

The Yoruba Study Abroad Program

The program in which I conducted research was a Fulbright-funded Group Project Abroad (GPA) for American learners of Yoruba which was situated in the University of Ibadan Nigeria. The Yoruba study abroad program, as far as I know the only organized language study abroad in Nigeria, is an annual eight-week program designed to train participants in Yoruba at the advanced level, based on the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) proficiency rating scale. Although the program is situated at the Yoruba Language Center (YLC), students had opportunities to visit historical sites in other Southwestern Nigerian states where Yoruba is spoken. According to the center director, the program was designed to offer students a comprehensive language and cultural experience. Therefore, the daily classroom instructions were supplemented with in-program supports, each of which was instituted with the

goal of providing learners with opportunities for interpersonal communication and cultural integration. The components include:

> **Conversation Partners**: These were college-level Nigerian students who were employed to converse in Yoruba with the learners. They were L1 speakers of Yoruba, and they met with students every weekday after classes for one hour.
>
> **Home Stay with Host Families**: Students were assigned to live with host families who lived in university staff housing. Their houses are located at different locations on the university campus. The majority of host parents were staff of the university in either academic or administrative capacities.
>
> **Weekly Outdoor Classes**: Every week, students went to designated places, mostly markets, stores and non-governmental establishments, such as a juvenile rehabilitation home.
>
> **Cultural Outings**: Every Saturday, student went on field trips to a Yoruba cultural/historic site.
>
> **Bi-Weekly Invited Guest Lectures**: Every other Friday, a guest speaker, a scholar or a professional on topics related to contemporary Yoruba and Nigerian societies, was invited to present to the students. These invited lectures were delivered in English.

The Yoruba program at the YLC is the only known formal Yoruba study abroad in Nigeria and, in addition to my expertise in Yoruba, I also have some connections to the Yoruba Study abroad program. I was a part of the screening and admission committee for the program a year before my research. I have also been an active member of the American Association of Teachers of Yoruba (AATY), the professional organization that oversees all the professional and pedagogical activities of teachers of Yoruba in the United States. Through AATY, I got to know more about the various initiatives involved with promoting Yoruba teaching and research in the US, including GPA. And it is important to me to work with the other colleagues in the field toward ensuring such initiatives are successful. So, studying the language learning process at the Yoruba GPA serves more than fulfilling my academic curiosity. It has deeper implications connected with my identities as a teacher, researcher, and promoter of Yoruba in the US. The

study abroad program serves as a bridge for connecting Yoruba-learning in the United States with language use in Nigeria, both worlds that I inhabit. I understand that these connections to GPA influences the way I position myself in the study, and I try to be self-reflexive about this positioning in my analysis (Pennycook 2001).

Access to site and participants

Before embarking on the study, I had already established communication with the U.S.-based coordinator of GPA who then introduced me to the director of the Yoruba Language Center in Ibadan. The center director served as a gatekeeper in that his permission helped me to gain access to and develop trust with the various participants involved in the study (Hatch, 2002). Before agreeing to allow me into the Yoruba center, the director requested an official introductory letter from my university and the SLA program coordinator provided it. The letter detailed my research plans and the specific areas in which I needed assistance. Upon receiving the letter, the director granted me permission to conduct research at the center. I arrived in Nigeria a week before the students arrived and met with the director to acquaint him more with my project. I notified him that I was willing to work around their schedules and conduct my study without causing disruptions in the program. The director did not take part in collecting the data with me but his support for the study went a long way in gaining the cooperation of all the participants that were connected in various ways to the language center. He introduced me to the staff of the center, including the instructors, let all the host parents know about my study, notified them that I would be contacting each of them in the weeks ahead, and promised to introduce me to the students when they arrived.

The director also allowed me to join the staff of the center who were assigned to go and receive the students from the airport. When the students arrived at the airport in Lagos, I met up with them and helped them settle into the hotel where they spent the night before heading to Ibadan the next day. At a welcome dinner that night, I introduced myself to the students and told them about my project but did not elicit any response at that point. I allowed them to arrive in Ibadan the next day to learn more about their activities for the entire program before beginning further discussion that eventually led to gaining their consent.

During the eight weeks of the program, I collected data at three different interactional sites: the Yoruba Language Center, homestay, and various settings at programmed outdoor trips.

The Language Center

Most of the study abroad activities took place at the Yoruba Language Center on the University of Ibadan campus. The building has a classroom, a large conference room which is also used as a classroom, a computer room, and library; an office each for the center director, the resident director, the financial specialist, and secretary; and a waiting area which serves as a common room for the whole building.

Language instruction was held weekdays at the center, from 8:30 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. All students were in either of two classes. A class held in the conference room was comprised of seven students who were rated by the center instructor at the beginning of the program as lower level proficiency, ranging between novice to novice high. And the group in the second classroom comprised of four students that were rated to be at a higher proficiency, ranging between intermediate low to advanced low.

Students and conversation partners held most of their interactions at the center, and I therefore generated a large amount of data from students and their conversation partners at the center. I interviewed all students and their conversation partners in the financial specialist's office in the building, and I interviewed the center director in his office.

When instruction was not underway, students often moved to the larger classroom and sat in small groups. During these periods, students either talked among themselves, talked on the phone, slept, or used the computer to check e-mail, do assignments, check social media, or read. They sometimes watched Yoruba movies on TV in the waiting room or read in the computer room. These periods provided opportunities to talk with students in English about their language learning experience and to observe the patterns of interaction among them. I video recorded one day when the majority of students were together in the conference room but made observational notes on other days. I used this time to follow up with students on specific issues that had emerged previously and to ask them to complete and hand in their journals. Also, it was always a good time to collect information about upcoming activities to be embarked on by students.

The conference room used as a classroom for the lower proficiency class

Host Family Residences

The data I collected at the host parents' residences included observation of host parents' interactions with students and interviews with host parents. I visited each household once for an average of forty minutes. I scheduled the dates and time for each visit during the first two weeks. In consultation with the respective student, each host family chose two dates and times that were convenient for them from the fourth to sixth week. From both options, I was able to schedule the visits without any conflicts. The only challenge came when a parent changed the prefixed date at the last minute, and never found a convenient time to reschedule.

The context of interaction varied from one household to another. Visits done on weekends were during the day while the weekday visits were held in the evenings, so as to accommodate the daily schedules of the host parents. Most of the recorded interactions were held in living rooms but one was held in a kitchen. Prior to any recording, I explained my research and my role as a researcher, obtained written consent, and made every effort to prepare them for the recording. I ensured they had become comfortable with my presence and had started a conversation with the student before starting the camera. At each visit, I first recorded natural interactions before conducting interviews with the host parent. The students were not present during any of the interviews with their host parents.

Outdoor Classes

Twice a week, students usually had instructions outside of the classroom, in sessions the program called "outdoor classes." These classes, mostly held in markets and other establishments, were part of the program to give students access to additional native speakers. The markets that students visited included the fruit and food market at Òjé, the cloth market at Gbági, and the cloth market at Alẹ́shilóyẹ́. Other locations they visited included: the University

of Ibadan radio station on campus, a fashion designer shop, a juvenile correctional facility, and an art store within Ibadan.

When the outdoor classes took place in the markets, students were usually divided into three groups, with each group led by an instructor. An instructor went with each group to a specific stall and then introduced the students, explaining the goal of the visit to the sellers. After introductions, students were expected to greet the sellers and start conversations with them. As much as possible, I moved about between groups to record their engagements with native speakers.

In order to capture as much interaction as possible, I usually carried the camera in my hand when recording outdoor interactions. I usually focused the camera on only those who engaged in conversation at a given moment; so recording involved a lot of panning and movement with the camera during conversations. On one occasion, I got help from two instructors who in my absence from their groups recorded a few interactions on their phones, and they captured useful moments of interactions that are valuable to the study. In line with my IRB-approved plan for ensuring the privacy of participant data, I ensured that the recordings were promptly transferred to my computer after the visits and deleted from their phones.

When the classes took place outside the center, students usually went as a large group. At each of the locations, the group was met by an official of the site. He or she exchanged pleasantries with the students before leading them around the facility, explaining to everyone the activities that are done in the establishment. Often, the person conducted the presentation in either English or a mix of English and Yoruba, and only brief conversations occurred between students and the presenters.

Learners' interaction with other speakers of Yoruba during these visits were the data that I generated during the weekly outdoor classes. For each student in my study, I recorded a minimum of one interaction and maximum of eight, with varying length between a minute and up to twenty-one minutes. I obtained oral consent to video record from their interactants before recording but they often declined consent for interviews. And after a few unsuccessful attempts to get interviews done, I decided to omit interviews with them.

Participant Selection

Since the study is about social interaction during study abroad, I studied learners in situated interactions with a number of expert speakers. Thus, the participants for the study include the language students as well the other individuals with whom the students engaged in conversation during study abroad. Local speakers of Yoruba are involved with the learners in various capacities, such as being their host families, instructors, conversation partners, and unspecified speakers whom students communicated with during outdoor learning activities.

Student Participants

The student participants in this study were approached for this study because they were already enrolled in and had arrived for the summer study abroad program in Ibadan. But following Paris (2010:140), the selection took a dialogic process, meaning that "the participants chose to work *with* me in addition to being chosen *by* me." The selection on my part was purposeful, in that these students are the only participants who would allow the opportunity to explore the central phenomenon in the study (Creswell, 2013). Of the twelve students who were accepted into the program in Ibadan, I invited only eleven of them to take part in the study. I did

not invite the twelfth student because he was a heritage speaker of Yoruba with native-like oral proficiency in the language. Of the eleven students that I invited, two of them did not consent to video recording but they agreed to be interviewed and completed journals.

The student participants presented diverse characteristics, in term of their level of education (six graduate and five undergraduate students), field of study (medical, science, business, humanities), prior Yoruba instruction (one to eight semesters), heritage (two were European American students, while one identified as South American, four as African American and five as heritage students); proficiency in the language (novice to advance low), and in their reasons for studying Yoruba abroad (personal interest, heritage, career ambition). The cha

rt below provides an overview of the participants:

	Pseudonym and Gender	**Education**	**Heritage**	**Prior study of Yoruba**	**Entry Level Proficiency**	**Field**
1	Brian (M)	Graduate student	African American	2 semesters	Novice High	Computer Science
2	Jalen (M)	Undergrad	Heritage Learner	Self-tutor 6 weeks	Novice low	Physics
3	Paloma (F)	Graduate student	South America	8 Semesters	Intermediate Mid	Anthropology & African history.
4	Martha (F)	Graduate student	African American	6 Semesters Summer Int.	Intermediate Mid	History & Anthropology
5	Leticia (F)	Graduate student	African American	Self-tutor	Novice	Finance & African Studies
6	Jessey (F)	Undergrad	European American	4 Semesters	Novice-High	International Studies
7	Tobik (F)	Undergrad	Heritage Learner	2 semesters	Nov-Mid	Molecular Science
8	Colleen (F)	Graduate student	European American	1 Semester	Novice	African History

9	Ashanti (F)	Undergrad	Heritage Learner	2 Semesters	Novice Low	Pre-Medicine
[10]	Kevin (M)	Undergrad	Heritage Learner	1 semester	Novice	Public Health–
[11]	Radela (F)	Graduate student	Heritage Learner	2 Semesters	Intermediate Low	Medical Anthropology

Other participants

The other participants were L1 and L2 speakers of Yoruba that engaged in conversation with the students in various capacities. These included conversational partners, host parents, and other people they met during their outdoor activities. Each student had one or more host parents and a conversation partner. There was a total of fourteen host parents and eleven conversation partners, whose participation in this study primarily resulted from having been assigned to one of the study participants. The other speakers who conversed with students during the outdoor classes varied depended on the type of location of the outing and the number recordings that I was able to capture. But I ensured that each student was recorded during interaction with at least one outside expert Yoruba speaker.

All 49 participants that were invited consented to taking part in the study. In this way, too, inclusion of these participants in the study was purposeful, as it included only participants that are in the desired contexts for studying the individual learner's interactional activities.

Data Collection

The data for my study consists of different types, including written texts, video recordings, audio recorded interviews, and photographs. In order to gain a better understanding of how learners conduct interaction with native speakers, I lived on the university of Ibadan campus where the study abroad program was situated, and I spent time every day shadowing the

students. Three types of instruments were used to generate data, including video recording of interactions with native speakers, interviews with participants, and a self-reporting form, labeled "Personal Thoughts Form," which students completed weekly. I collected these three data types so as to get extensive data, which when triangulated, can enable me to explore language practices and ideologies that are linked to the pratcies. I also took some fieldnotes of my observations. I explained to students the logistics for data collection, beginning with consent signing up to scheduling of interviews, during the first week. I used the opportunity to build rapport with the students and created a friendly atmosphere that I hope mitigated any discomfort that my presence as a researcher might have caused them.

Video Recording

I spent most of the research time following the students as a group to the various outings organized for them by the program. During each outing, I observed one or more of the students interact with L1 Yoruba speakers and I recorded all their interactions with a video camera, and on a few instances, with the camera on my cell phone. I also recorded some indoor interaction between conversation partners with a computer webcam. Video recording was done to capture moment by moment language practices. The process of recording also allowed me to make more detailed observations and notes. Through these observations and recordings, I was able to document how learners use multiple language resources to maneuver various interactive contexts and situations.

Interviews

I included interviews in this study in order to hear directly from my participants what they thought about the way they conducted their interactions and what was expected of them by the program in different settings. The interviews were meant to elicit information that could shed more light on students' thoughts about their language use and, where applicable, specific discursive events that I captured during recorded observation. I interviewed all student participants, host parents, conversation partners, and the program director for this study. Over a course of three weeks, I interviewed each student participant once, and later interviewed all of them as a group during the last week of the program. Interviews with each student began in the third week of the program and were completed in the sixth week. Interviews with the conversation partners were conducted in the fourth and fifth week while interviews with all host parents were conducted from the fourth to sixth week. The group interview lasted for 96 minutes while the individual interviews varied in length, from 19 minutes to 56 minutes. I interviewed the program director for 53 minutes after the program had ended and the students had returned to the United States. I was able to conduct follow-up interviews with some of the students. For others, I took additional notes based on my informal interactions with them. All interviews were audio-recorded and securely stored with other data.

Interview Protocol

I conducted all the interviews at designated locations agreed to by the participants. The interviews were semi-structured, thereby allowing me to touch upon spontaneous topics that might come up during recorded interactions as well as explore spontaneous topics that arose during interviews. The interview questions for students were developed to interrogate their views

about their language use at the various domains. The questions began by asking about their language and travel background, reasons for studying Yoruba and studying abroad in Ibadan, their experiences so far studying Yoruba in Ibadan, frequency of Yoruba use, and personal evaluation of their interactive moments with Yoruba speakers.

Similarly, the questions for conversation partners and host parents were designed to elicit information about their experiences with students and their perceptions of learners' language use. The questions for these participants, depending on whether they are host parents or conversation partners, explored topics such as: previous hosting/conversation partner experience with foreign learners, training for the position, motivations for serving in that capacity, frequency of language practice with student, techniques used to encourage learners to communicate, and thoughts about students' efforts to speak Yoruba. A copy of the interview questions is included as an appendix.

Weekly Personal Thoughts (Self-reporting Forms)

I collected "weekly personal thoughts" from each learner through a self-reporting form (Appendix I). It provided opportunity to elicit information regarding individual learner's thoughts about the types and nature of interaction they had at different places during the week, including during their unprogrammed time. A one-page document, it contains open-ended questions that were meant to elicit a description of a specific interactive encounter that students thought to be remarkable or least exciting to them in the week and asked them to provide reasons they considered the encounter remarkable.. The forms were printed in hardcopies and handed to the student every Monday morning, to elicit information about the previous week. Students' always handwrote their responses and mostly turned them in the same day.

Fieldnotes

Although I mostly focused on the video recording of interactions and interview among my participants, I also took some fieldnotes. As Blommaert and Jie advise, I kept notes "not only about what I witnessed in the field, but even more importantly about how I witnessed it" (41). I took notes in a notebook and the word editor on my phone, depending on which was within reach. The fieldnotes served me most for recording my thoughts and observation after casual interactions with my participants, such as the center director, or the native speakers that the students conversed with during the outdoor activities. And I made notes about the specific details in the settings that would help me in describing the scenarios during analysis.

Other Data

Additionally, my data include texts and images and program-related official documents. I took still photographs of signs, text and places that contained written and symbolic messages at the different spaces of interaction. I collected records of pre- and post-program oral proficiency evaluations done for students. I extracted text from the websites of agencies and university that are involved with the Yoruba study abroad, such as Fulbright-Hayes, the University of Florida and the Yoruba Language Center (YLC). And I also procured a few program-related documents, including the learners' evaluation in the first week at the program and the end of the program report written by the YLC instructors and director. I examine the contents of these data for language ideologies.

Together, all these recordings and documents constitute my primary sources from which my data are generated and upon which my analysis will be based. I present an overview of my data in the chart below:

		VIDEO of INTERACTIONS (time)			AUDIO RECORDING (time)		TEXT DATA	OTHER INTERVIEWS	
	Student Participants	**Conversation Partner**	**Host parent**	**Outdoor Interactions**	**Individual interview**	**Group interview**	**Self-reported/ Personal thought Forms**	**Host parent**	**Conv. Partner**
1	Brian	37:12 11:44 33:44 45:44 10:00	41:12	16:07 4:38 0:52 6:12 1:09	28:58 14:01	1:36:14 yes	5	15:07 7:11	23:42
2	Jalen	45:37 41:03 59:14 6:37 41:40 1:07:25 5:12 3:01	44:45	3:12 7:15 8:01 3:05	21:48 2:53	yes	5	26:47	14:23
3	Paloma	36:04 31:40 38.00 46.50 25.22 23.22	16:52	1:38 21:35* 2:48 3:08 4:08 1:06 1:29 3:22	31:03	yes	4	23:27	31:13
4	Martha	1:01:48 55:39 51:07 1:40:27 37:13 5:39	7:22	6:15 0:25 6:04 0:46 1:01 1:45 1:29 1:14 6:02 9:28*	56:54 7:00	yes	5	11:22	15:29
5	Laticia	40;22 10:15 15:53 11:12 37:13	15:55	1:22 1:53 1:21 0:44 1:45 3:59	42:03 7:21 10:15 17:13	yes	5	18:45	9:13
6	Jessey	19:05	---	21:35* 5:20* 1:18 0:53 1:28 2:16 0:17 0:42	32:14	yes	4	---	14:44
7	Tobik	28:02	13:16	5:02	44:00	yes	4	21:10	11:03

		22:53 30:51 11:38 17:31		3:06 5:10	6:36				
8	Colleen	6:19	12:25	21:35 *	46:16 22:05	yes	5	17:01*	16:51
9	Ashanti	33:53 36:25 48:57 52:16	17:12	6:43	57:08	yes	4	17:29	22:19
10	Kevin	45:02 30:02 25:46	17:12	4:11 2:02	19:22	yes	4	35:46	13:01
11	Radela	20:52** 29:18** 50:51** 39:01** 52:40** 33:02** 59:32**	----	21:35* 5:20*	35:29	yes	4	17:01*	18:03
✓ Photographs of texts, signs etc. at the various location where the interactions took place. ✓ Pre- and post-program oral proficiency evaluations done for students. ✓ Text from the websites of agencies and university ✓ Program-related official documents									
* Another student was involved in the conversation, so same entry appears on another column ** Interactions are audio recorded (no video because learner did not consent to video recording)									

Ethical Issues

Before embarking on this study, I sought approval from the University of Wisconsin's Internal Review Board (IRB) and Human Subjects Committee. Due to the nature of the research, three ethical issues relating to the participants were raised. These were informed consent, confidentiality, and potential harm to participants. I paid due attention to each of these issues in the course of the study.

I obtained informed consent from all participants. I got students' consent before the research started but I obtained consent from the other participants at the various points that they came into the study. Thus, I obtained informed consent for different participants at different times throughout the study. Before getting consent from my participants, I explained the goals of

the research study to them. I made it clear that participation in the study was voluntary and that any participant who might wish to withdraw from the research at any point in time could do so freely. However, because the study involved students interacting with diverse interlocutors at different locations and at different time during the study abroad programs in Ibadan, it was not possible to obtain written consent from everyone who communicated with the students, but I did receive oral consent before recording.

Regarding confidentiality, I made it clear to all participants that their responses would be kept anonymous and that all information collected from them would be kept with confidentiality. However, because of the small number of student participants, and the fact that the Yoruba Language Center is the only center in Nigeria for teaching Yoruba as a foreign language, it might not be possible to totally protect the identities of all those in the study. However, I quote from the data such that no response will be easily linked to a specific participant. All interviews and video recordings have been kept securely. I have assigned a pseudonym to each participant. Their real names do not appear on any of the stored responses and I am the only person who has full knowledge of the codes.

There was no known direct risk of physical harm to participants in this study. The likely psychological discomfort of being observed and videotaped was addressed when I was recruiting the participants. I informed student participants that they could withdraw from the study at any time without any negative effect on their grades or activities while abroad. I also assured the non-student participants that they could decline being videotaped at any point during their conversation or ask that videos they appear in be destroyed and not used as a part of the study.

Data Analysis

In line with Maxwell's (2013) description of qualitative research, I was engaged more or less simultaneously in collecting and analyzing data, developing and modifying theory and elaborating or refocusing the research questions, with each of these activities influencing the others. The study began with a goal to study the social process of language learning during study abroad, but I also refined the goal and questions a number of times in the course of the study, with the most recent being a change in my analytical approach to a critical perspective. But in the process of collecting data for this study, I continually made efforts to conceptually map the analysis of the study. And I stored all data that I generated in preparation for analysis.

Approach to Analysis

My analysis focuses on how the participants used their multiple linguistic resources and the ideologies that can be linked to the practices. I drew on critical applied linguistics to analyze language use in my various data set, including interview texts, personal notes, program website and program-related documents and images. I conducted an examination of the various data sources at the micro level, interrogated them, and then unpacked the impacts of the linguistic practices to reveal the various ideologies that are at play. Although my data included a wide spectrum of information about the participants in my study, such as, for example, their racialized identities, degree of prior affiliation to and experience with the language, and academic backgrounds, I have only highlighted this information in a few places where I see evidence that these elements impacted their language use. While focusing on the macro-features or meaning of the texts, I also zoomed in on the micro-components of the individual text. My interpretations

were based on my knowledge of the structural features of the discourse, placed into the broader contexts.

I approached the study of each interactive domain separately, using a cross-case approach (Schwandt, 2007). A cross-case approach in qualitative research allows for an examination of a collection of cases in order to learn something about a social process. I approached the data with goal of finding and highlighting common themes that explain the local interactive actions that students performed with the language. I offered illustrations from across participants. To achieve a detailed description of the linguistic performance at in each domain of interaction, I triangulated the different data that I have generated, namely video-recorded interactions, participant interviews, student self-reported notes, field notes, the program website and program-related documents.

I approached my analysis by adapting the steps highlighted by Creswell (2013) for conducting qualitative analysis. I started by listening to interviews and rereading notes to first gather an understanding of the study participants' ideas about the study abroad. I made notes of their thoughts, expectations, and motivations, etc. for participating in the program. These provided me with background information and ideas on what to look for as I began to listen to the audio and video data. I took notes of emergent codes (Creswell 2013), i.e. descriptive words or short phrases that describes key information for a portion of the data. I segmented and labeled the texts while still engaging in the process of repeated listening to the interactions and interviews. I also began to classify the themes that were emerging from the different categories of data. These themes guided me in selecting the particular segments of interaction that illustrate themes. I only fully transcribed the segments that I chose to include in the dissertation. While studying these

data sources, I also watched out for codes that exemplified the moments that consist of what Pennycook (2001) described as "power and linguistic interaction." These are codes that allowed me to develop themes relating to participants' ideologies and linguistic practices, such as multilingual processes of negotiation, resistance, or subversion. At the same time, I continued to write analytic memos to document what I learned from the data and noted the development in my thoughts at each stage in the process.

Transcribing Audio and video Data

I closely studied and evaluate all the recorded audio and video data, but only transcribed aspects of the data that I have chosen as relevant evidence to the themes I isolated in each context of interactions. I transcribed the audio interviews verbatim. For the videos of interactions, I sought out aspects that included multiple semiotic codes at the phrase and sentence level, while also paying attention to discernible multilingual practices by the participants at every turn of talk. Since the original interactions include Yoruba, I generated close English translations of the segments I chose to include in the respective chapters. I use an adapted version of the Du Bois Discourse Transcription conventions (Du Bois et al. 1992), listed below to capture the extent of details in interaction needed for my analyses. However, as linguistic anthropologist Alessandro Duranti (1994) noted, transcriptions are never a perfect and never final. I repeatedly returned to the segments of the data and revised both my transcripts and translation so as to makes as close as possible to the audio/video versions.

Transcription Conventions

Unless otherwise stated in my analysis, I use the following transcription conventions:

Word	(Bold) Expressions associated with English
(word)	Multimodal description
(.)	Untimed pause
(.5)	Length of silence in tenths of a second.
[ ]	Overlaps
=	No perceivable pause between speaker turns
@	Pulse of laughter
#	Unintelligible syllable
?	Question/Rising intonation
wor-	truncated/cut-off word
,	Pause in intonation
.	End of intonation meaning
((WORDS))	comment or background information

Establishing Validity

There are many perspectives on the criteria for judging the credibility of qualitative studies. Following a critical perspective, research methodologist Patti Lather (1993) recommended a form of legitimation described as "transgressive validity." This is an antifoundational and political approach to validity, countering conventions of validity. Precisely, it challenges the practice of presenting neutrality in research and urges researchers to make explicit the ideologies and agenda behind their study, and that this should be reflected throughout the presentation of the study. The way to achieve this, Lather stated, is for the researcher to aim for self-reflexivity regarding the practices of representation. The researcher should make known his/her stance and ideological position, he/she should be accounted for in the research process (Lather 1993, 676). Thus, my own subjectivity hinges on my identification as a Yoruba speaker, a multilingual, and a teacher of Yoruba as an additional language in the US. These identities cannot be separated from my ethnographic accounts, and I attempt to be self-reflexive about where they bear on my analysis and interpretation in the chapters that follow.

Chapter Three

The Yoruba Language Study Abroad Program: Multilingual Contexts, Monolingual Goals

> We don't want more than one-quarter of their time to be in the classroom. … Since the society around us is purely a homogenous Yoruba society, immersion will not be complete, will not be really meaningful, if we don't send the students to the field to interact.
>
> – Yoruba Study Abroad Director

The epigraph above, from my interview with the program director in Nigeria, explains the inclusion of the field trip components of the study abroad program. But beyond providing a rationale for field trips, the quote also expresses an underlining ideological assumption upon which the program stands: To provide an "immersion" in a "purely … homogenous Yoruba society." This goal and assumption reflect an ideology that favors monolingualism, manifested through all other events in the program. For example, on the second day after the Yoruba learners arrived in Ibadan, the Yoruba Language Center (YLC) organized an orientation program for them. In his welcome speech, the center director told the learners in English, "Now that you are here, you are expected to speak in only Yoruba." He also mentioned that all the Center staff are "Yoruba-speakers" who have been trained to help students through their academic journey. Prior to the arrival of the students, the center had held a one-day orientation workshop for the participating members of the study abroad program, including instructors, host parents, conversation partners, and administrative staff. These participants were acquainted with the program's expectations, which include the use of monolingual Yoruba with the learners. The host parents in particular were given the obligation of exposing students to the "proper" use of Yoruba during day-to-day family activities. From the outset of the summer program, all the staff

participants were familiarized with the shared goal of creating a local context of a monolingual Yoruba experience for the language learners. And throughout the duration of the program, there was a general understanding among all participants, including students and center staff, that the programs' official expectation was that they would use monolingual Yoruba in all communicative endeavors.

Through the various preparatory events, the program made known and promoted a Yoruba-only policy, a conscious action to shut out the influence on language learners of the obvious norm of multilingualism that exists beyond the walls of the Yoruba Language Center. Thus they established monolingualism as the program's official ideology. It is a policy that draws on the assumption that maximum use of the language is both beneficial to learners and ultimately results in language acquisition (Kafes 2011). But the policy raises more questions than answers: Is the South West truly a homogenous society? Does Yoruba really enjoy the primacy of use among its "native" speakers? Why create an artificial Yoruba-only atmosphere for learners?

This monolingual ideology, which establishes the study abroad context as a site where monolingual practices hold sway, is not unique to the program I examined. Language study abroad has been conceptualized as a time and space of full immersion where participants "learn naturally simply by being surrounded by the language" (Surtees 2016, 85). However, while this monolingual conception of study abroad might appeal to common sense in some quarters, it nonetheless presents a hegemonic learning process, characterized by an unrealistic representation of the linguistic practices and of the sociolinguistic realities of the learning context, in this case South West Nigeria. A monolingually oriented pedagogy detaches Yoruba from the complex social issues that surround its very existence in the region, as well as that of other indigenous

Nigerian languages. Additionally, such a pedagogy presents to language learners staged monolingual performances and fictitious linguistic identities of "Yoruba native speakers"—which misrepresent these multilingual Yoruba-speakers.

This chapter, with the goal of using empirical data to contextualize my study on the Yoruba study abroad program in South West Nigeria, problematizes the given (Pennycook 2001) in the program. By "turning a skeptical eye towards assumptions, ideas that have become 'naturalized'" (Pennycook 2001, 7), this chapter critiques the program's dominant representation of reality and the disservice to learners that is brought about by the monolingual language policy of the program. Through critical analyses of the physical texts surrounding the physical space of the Yoruba Language Center (YLC) and interview responses of participants in the study abroad program, I highlight the contradictions about language at the Yoruba language Centre (YLC), the physical location of the study abroad program, where classes and all other pedagogical activities are held daily. With my analysis, I reveal a deep ideological orientation involved in the Yoruba study abroad that goes beyond simple exposure to extensive target language. Contradictory ideologies about language coexist in, as well as shape the various components of study abroad program. I argue that study abroad in this context constitutes a site for enforcing idealistic, monolingual linguistic practices that contradicted linguistic and cultural realities, as well as learners' own experiences while there.

Language Ideologies

Language policies are ideological (E. Shohamy 2006). People's underlying beliefs about language, language varieties, language use constitute their language ideologies. They derive from fundamental or commonsensical ideas on aspects of social reality, such as the widespread belief

that study abroad context should be monolingually constituted and inherently provide participants with undiluted linguistic forms. Whereas ideas, beliefs, and opinions describe the *contents* of our thinking, ideology is associated with "underlying patterns of meaning, frames of interpretation, worldviews, or forms of everyday thinking and explanation" (Verschueren 2013, 7). Language ideologies are also different from language attitudes (De Costa 2011). Language attitudes are people's reactions, responses, and opinions on issues of language, which are specific behavioral displays. They are not systematic. Language ideologies, on the other hand, are higher level attitudes. They represent a more abstract level of systematic organization.

Languages ideologies share the following three characteristics: First, they are resources for mediating meaning-making between social structures and forms of talk (Horner and Weber 2012). They serve as interpretative frameworks used by individuals or groups to appraise social actions and to evaluate language and linguistic practices, including how to assign value or power to languages in the society. For example, in the program, speaking in a language other than Yoruba is framed as illegitimate and thus frowned upon by the program leadership. Second, language ideologies, although systematic, are not fixed. They are multiple, dynamic, and contradictory in nature, not fixed or unitary. This implies that there is not always consistency in ideology. Because ideology is located in the process of struggle and meaning negotiation, it is often the case that contradictions are manifested in the same context. The contradiction is not accidental, but ubiquitous, and key to how ideology normally functions and achieves its effects (Hodge 2012). The third dimension of language ideologies is that they are biased and partisan. They reflect assumptions and beliefs about what kind of linguistic order is considered beneficial by a specific social or cultural group. Thus, language ideologies serve the interest of specific groups who rationalize their uses of language by either explicitly expressing their perceptions, or

implicitly revealing the ideology through their communicative practices. Language ideology is exhibited, for example, in the Yoruba-language program's decision to narrow language contact of study abroad participants to monolingual Yoruba, in spite of the multilingual activities that surround them.

Language ideologies are discursively constructed and manifested in language use. Weber & Horner (2012) describe five interconnected ideologies, each of which is relevant to understanding how language has been viewed in my study site, the Yoruba-speaking region of Nigeria, and also in the study abroad program that takes place there. These include (1) ideologies relating to hierarchies of languages; (2) the standard language ideology; (3) the one-nation-one-language ideology; (4) the mother tongue ideology; and (5) the ideology of purism. Ideologies relating to hierarchies of languages underly the common distinction between language and dialects, in which "languages" are considered superior to dialects. All Yoruba-speakers speak one or more dialects of Yoruba. The standard language ideology, based on the idea that languages are internally homogenous, promotes a codified abstract version of a language, with the standard dialect at the top of the hierarchy above other dialects. This ideology explains why Standard Yoruba, placed at the top of the hierarchy is the only sanctioned variety for pedagogical purposes. The one-nation-one-language ideology is central to the justification for language study abroad. It maps a language to a territory and links language to national identity. This ideology is echoed in the Director's depiction of South West Nigeria as a homogeneous space. The mother tongue ideology holds that speakers have a single mother tongue which they speak natively, such as Yoruba by Yoruba people. Finally, the ideology of purism underlies the evaluative process of adjudging what constitutes "good" or "bad" language use; and the belief that only certain speakers have "accents."

According to linguistic anthropologist Jan Blommaert (2005a), language ideologies do not exist in a vacuum but rather together with related ideologies. In this case, the program draws on a multiple of the language ideologies highlighted above with the goal of providing an immersive experience for the learners. The Yoruba-only policy is a vision that sees societal multilingualism as a problem for foreign language learners, necessitating the need for a monolingual community of native-speakers that shields learners from the forces of multilingualism. The monolingual goal of the program is a search for a monolingual utopia informed by these ideologies. Yet the reality remains that the program is situated in an overwhelmingly multilingual context, where linguistic practices involving Yoruba are not only shaped by the history British colonialism and currency of English but also impacted by ongoing internal discourse about the dwindling status and relevance of indigenous languages— I detailed these issues in in Chapter One, where I focused on the complexities of issues associated with the sociolinguistic space of South West Nigeria—issues from which the study abroad program sought to shield learners. This chapter traces the trajectories of the monolingual ideology in the program. I argue that an ideology of monolingualism is a central part of the curricular planning process and shapes the disavowal of multilingualism in the study abroad context in complex ways. These ideologies work to constrain Yoruba learners' interaction with the societal multilingualism.

The Routineness of Multilingualism at the Yoruba Language Center

If South West Nigeria is a microcosm of the nation, then the Yoruba Language Center might be seen as a microcosm of South West Nigeria. Despite the monolingual policy for spoken language, the Center is replete with semiotic resources, consisting of texts that present

multilingualism as a normal, routine sight in the physical sites of the study abroad program. For example, the signboard that welcomes visitors into the center reads, “Ibi Iṣẹ́ fún ÈDÈ YORÙBÁ” followed by the English name “YORUBA LANGUAGE CENTRE” and also the contact information for the center (Figure 4).

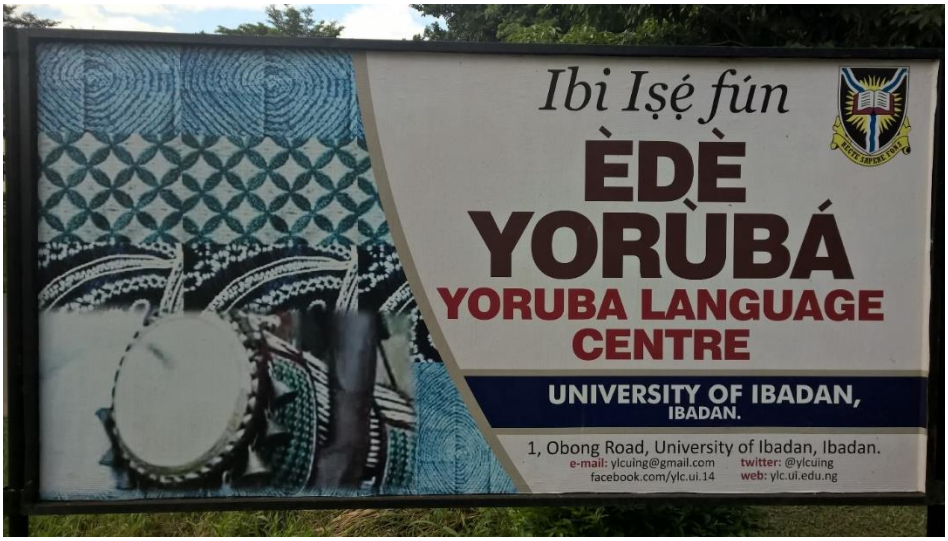

Figure 4. Signboard at the entrance of the Yoruba Language Centre.

The first line on the sign, “Ibi Iṣẹ́ fún” (‘place of work’) parallels the English “center.” *Èdè Yorùbá* means ‘Yoruba language’. Together, “Ibi Iṣẹ́ fún Èdè Yorùbá” carries the same meaning as the English “Yoruba Language Center.” The center name is followed by its location at the University of Ibadan, and then the contact information of the center, which includes the address, email, twitter name, and website. The Yoruba words *Èdè Yorùbá*, written in bold, all caps, dark colors, and a larger font than any of the other text on the sign highlight the prominence of the language at the center, in contrast to the preceding phase, “Ibi Iṣẹ́ fún” which is smaller, italicized, and less prominent. The Yoruba words are also placed in contrast with English words on the next line. The English name, which is the official name of the center, is

next in size to the Yoruba version. Although the English text is also in all caps, it is smaller in font size and written in a different color. The remaining text, consisting of the center location and contact information are also written in English, thereby adding to the prominence of English in the display. Also apparent on the signboard is the Latin phrase on the University seal that is conspicuously placed at the upper right corner of the image. The Latin phrase "Recte Sapere Fons" according to the university's website, means "to think straight is the fount of knowledge" but it appears monolingually in Latin on the signboard.

The physical arrangement of the text suggests a conscious process that combines aesthetics with semantic referencing. According to Jennifer Leeman and Gabriella Mordan (2010, 193), the aestheticization and commodification of language, including the manipulation of letter size, font style, and sign colors imply intentionality. In this case, it appears that the writing style is intended to point attention to the huge presence of and preoccupation with Yoruba at the center. This message connects to the discourses surrounding the study abroad program, which places a premium value on monolingual Yoruba. However, the dominant display of English words may also be said to contradict the idealized construction of a monolingual context in the study abroad program and highlight the bilingual practices including Yoruba and English. The presence of the Latin phrase in the seal adds a less commonly used semiotic resources to the university logo, and increases the multilingualism of the sign. The image represents a form of multilingual practice, but one which privileges Yoruba over English, with the color, fonts, and word order indexing the underlying ideology. Adrian Blackledge and Angela Creese's (2010) notion of "flexible bilingualism" provides a useful lens for interpreting texts in this localized context. Scholars who use the term *flexible bilingualism*, similar to those who write about "translanguaging" (Garcia and Wei 2014), see language as a combination of semiotic resources

at the disposal of a speaker. In its full manifestation, flexible bilingualism encompasses a breakdown of boundaries between languages, urging us to think of language in terms of semiotic resources deployed by language users. But its capacity to view "language use as predicated on using all available signs (themselves socially constituted) to communicate (Blackledge and Creese 2010, 109) is helpful to interpret the co-occurrence of words belonging to separate named languages for routine textual functions in the vicinity of the YLC as evidence of multilingual practices in the center. Another example is the image in Figure 5, below.

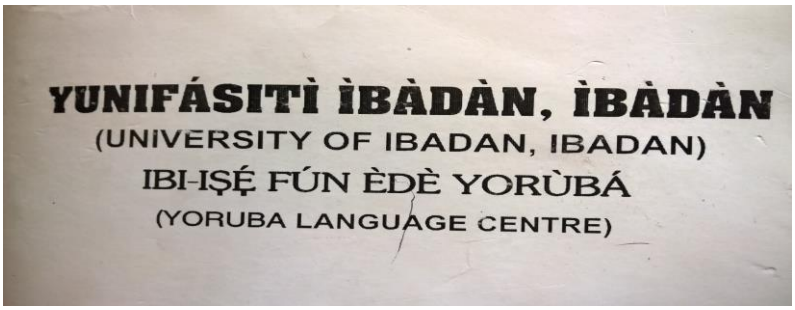

Figure 5. Front cover of customized office file for the center

Figure 5 shows the front cover of the first packet given to the students on the day they arrived at the center. It contained administrative documents and paperwork that students spent the whole the first week completing. The label on the file is bilingual, although the Yoruba words are constructed to carry the main message. The English phrases are enclosed in parenthesis, which can be interpreted to mean a side annotation on the main text in Yoruba. The font size for the phrases in Yoruba is larger than the corresponding English translation. The same juxtaposition of Yoruba words in large fonts and English words in smaller ones is presented in the following images of signs on doors that are displayed all around the center (Figures 6-11).

Figure 6: Sign on women's restroom

Figure 7: Sign on men's restroom

Figure 8: Sign on the computer room

Figure 9: Sign on the reception area

Figure 10: Sign on a lecture room

Figure 11: Sign on the instructors' office

The recurrent pattern in each of the signs is large capitalized text in Yoruba at the top, and then corresponding English translations of the Yoruba words in smaller font at the bottom. The signs present multiple linguistic resources "in ways that are usual, practical, and not normally oppositional" (Blackledge and Creese 2010, 25) in this situated context. But this is a contradictory perspective from that which is articulated by the center director and promoted in the Yoruba study abroad. One might easily interpret the situation for the practicality of the texts

on display, following Blackledge and Creese's (2010) idea of "separate bilingualism." According to these scholars, the ideology of separate bilingualism is often constructed to establish routines and policies that are not in keeping with flexible bilingualism. In the same way, the language center selectively uses the bilingual practice involving Yoruba and English, valuing its use for administrative materials, while language use relating to pedagogy is restricted to monolingual interactions.

In spite of the plural linguistic nature and practices of the population in the South West Nigeria, the complexity surrounding the status of Yoruba among the population, and the incontrovertible routine nature of multilingualism at the Language Center, the teaching of the language within the study abroad program is structured to achieve monolingual goals. And the use of other languages by learners in the program—English, in particular—is considered problematic.

The Trajectories of a Monolingual Ideology

Efforts to constitute the program as a site where monolingual practices hold—or should hold—sway are a result of a collective decision among various parties involved in its planning to uphold the traditional assumption of immersive learning experiences associated with study abroad. Preference for the conception of study abroad as "a specific configuration of encountering cultural Others: in a demarcated 'abroad' space in a compartmentalized time period" (Doerr 2015, 80) resulted in establishing a monolingual-oriented program that is out of step with the multilingual reality of the study abroad site. Although there are indications that the program organizers recognize the presence of multiple languages in their environ, they only see the "multi" in term of multiple bounded and discrete language and overlook the language mixing

that characterizes everyday language use. This perception, linked to the standard language ideology, provides the basis for curricular activities in the study abroad program, and for evaluating language learner proficiency. As a result, the program is a site where opposing ideologies coexist, influencing both the linguistic practices and pedagogical events within the language program. The trajectory of the Yoruba-language study abroad program as a monolingual and monocultural experience is traceable to the dominant discourse surrounding study abroad program sponsors outside of Nigeria. When promoting study abroad in African countries, including Nigeria, discussions usually recognize the multifaceted diversity of the continent across various countries. For instance, in College Scholarships, a website that hosts information about country-specific study abroad scholarships available to American students, students read: "Africa is a culturally rich and ethnically diverse continent, with opportunities to study a wide variety of subjects. Besides the many cultures and languages, subjects of special interest include archaeology, political science, and sustainable development." However, when it comes to discussions about language study abroad on the continent, the discourse rarely emphasizes the diversity of linguistic and cultural practices *within* a given locality. The themes that resonate across the publicity materials for these programs often project language study abroad as an "adventure" in an exotic, homogenous space. Discourses such as these not only construct the target study abroad society as internally homogeneous but also "emphasize the difference between students' home and host cultures" rather than their similarities (Doerr, 2013).

Scholarship on study abroad has raised concerns about the sharp contrast between classroom representation of target cultures and the sociolinguistic realities of study abroad sites. Encountering differences in assumptions, values, and expectations of daily living in the host country, in addition to the challenges associated with hearing and speaking a second language,

burdens students with acculturative stress (Berry 2005; Savicki 2013). The desire to provide a monolingual experience for Yoruba-learners reverberates in various quarters that converge in the establishing and implementing of the program, including the program sponsor in the US, the US university collaborator, the YLC, and even the study abroad participants. In the grant proposal for the 2005-2007 funding cycle of the program written on behalf of the host US university to compete for government funding for the program, the director wrote, "The objective of the program is to provide an avenue for American students to achieve advanced competence in the study of Yoruba language and culture in an environment where the language is spoken on a daily basis." Implicit in this objective are two important points. First, Yoruba language and culture are presented in singular terms, indicating that, from the program's start, the community was envisioned as a monolithic block of a single language and a restricted culture in which study abroad participants will gain proficiency. Second, there is an unstated assumption that the target language serves as an exclusive medium of communication in the location, to which learners will be exclusively exposed daily. One might argue that this statement merely describes the commonsense knowledge that Yoruba-speakers are mostly located in South West Nigeria. However, the statement also highlights deep-rooted ideologies of monolingualism. I interpret the reference to "an environment where the language is spoken on a daily basis" as exemplifying not only the general assumption about study abroad that usually promises a monolingual experience, but also the demarcation of the territory of the study abroad context. This latter interpretation exemplifies the "one nation-one language" and "mother tongue" ideologies. Both of these ways of thinking about language gain strength in the creation of the "other": "deficient" non-native speakers in contrast with native speakers. But more importantly, these ideologies "assume a norm of monolingualism in a world where the norm would rather seem to be the opposite"

(Horner and Weber 2012, 19). While the document does not explicitly say that no other language or a variety of Yoruba exists in the daily linguistic practices in the Yoruba-speaking domains, both the stated and the unstated statement nevertheless reflect a particular way of thinking about Yoruba, and this establishes that the goal of the program is premised on the idea of a monolingual and monocultural site.

The Yoruba Language Center, in conjunction with the collaborating U.S. university, constructed the goal of the program as an immersive language learning, achievable through the Yoruba-only policy and field trips known as "outdoor activities." The program coordinator in the collaborating U.S. university usually visits the Center for a week or two prior to the commencement of the summer program to ascertain that everything is in place. The goal of creating an immersive program was made evident by the Center Director, captured in the epigraph at the beginning of this chapter. When the director stated, "We don't want more than one-quarter of their time to be in the classroom," he implied that the program's goal was to expose language learners to the realistic communicative practices of the region. But his next sentence, "Since the society is purely a homogenous Yoruba society, immersion will not be complete, will not be really meaningful, if we don't send the students to the field to interact," reveals that realism is not the goal. The director's statement exemplifies a broader notion about study abroad as well as the program sponsor's conception of the society as being monolingual. This is akin to an imagined community, one that is "homogenous" for the learners, and for which the curriculum is designed to prepare them.

It was not surprising to me that the Director presented the society as being monolithic. During my interactions with him, I learned that he has a deep commitment to the promotion and development of the Yoruba language and culture. He had earlier established another center for

the promotion of Yoruba-language literacy, for which he also serves as the director. He told me that the goal of the other center is to promote the creation and use of Yoruba metalinguistic terms for academic writing so as to facilitate and promote scholarship in Yoruba. In theory, this is a forward-looking agenda that recognizes the reality of multiple languages (English in particular) among Yoruba-speakers and negotiates ways for Yoruba to interact with the other languages. But the director only discusses this work as promoting the development of Yoruba. The center staff know him for strict compliance with Yoruba stereotypes : He always wears traditional Yoruba attire, such as *bùbá* (a man's shirt with a round neck and buttons close to the neck), *ṣòkòtò* (pant), *fìlà* (cap), and ocassionally *agbádá* (a loose outer garment, worn over bùbá), all of which are made with a variety of fabric that are associated with Yoruba people; when he speaks to someone in Yoruba, he mostly sticks to monolingual Yoruba resources, and consciously avoids translanguaging with English resources even though he speaks English well. He also has a reputation in the university as a language promoter who is working on the preservation of Yoruba. Since all these efforts played a part in why he was appointed by the university to direct the Yoruba Language Center, his narrative of a homogeneous Yoruba society began to make sense. I see the director's love for Yoruba as rooted in the ideologies of mother tongue and language purism. But with the other center he directs, I also sense a contradictory perspective, reflecting the fact that language ideologies are often contradictory in nature.

The director, in consultation with the US coordinator, was in charge of decision-making for the Yoruba study abroad program, which is the major annual program of the Yoruba Language Center. As a result, his conception of the study abroad program as an immersive experience for language learners had a strong effect on the program. The rhetoric of immersion implies homogeneity, with an assumption that it, consequently, could provide the students with

an abundance of Yoruba-only resources. The Director not only considers South West Nigeria homogenous, but he also establishes that the program was designed to provide learners with an immersion experience. The assumption that language learners in the study abroad context will encounter only monolingual Yoruba resources and be able to engage with Yoruba-speakers with the same resources not only ignores the presence of widespread multilingualism but also reiterates the dominant representation of reality in study abroad programs.

Learners also showed evidence of bringing monolingual expectations into the study abroad program. Some of the learners who participated in my research held similar views of immersion experiences as part of their goals for embarking on a study abroad in Nigeria. The idea of learning-by-doing, which is at the heart of immersion (Doerr, 2013), was generally indicated as their motivation for studying abroad. For instance, one student, Tobik, said she came to study abroad in order to have the opportunity to speak in Yoruba. So, the strict policy of a monolingual language also matched her perceived learning style: In an interview, she said, "Classes [in the U.S.] were like, if you don't force me to talk, and I don't talk, I'm not learning anything. I'm just stagnant. So, I felt like if I come to Nigeria, where people actually make fun of you and force you to talk, that will accelerate my understanding." Tobik's perception of immersion was a context where she would have no other language, such as English, to escape to, creating contexts that would "force" her to speak the language. Like Tobik, a few other students expressed similar thoughts that studying abroad in an immersion program would give them ample opportunity to speak the language they have come to learn.

The center's Yoruba-only policy served as a tool for achieving immersive experiences intended for learners in the obvious face of multilingualism. Although there was no strict policing of the policy, its effect was present throughout the duration of the program. All workers

at the YLC, including instructors, host parents, and conversation partners made efforts to embody the Yoruba-only practices. It was common to see people, in different contexts, cautioning one another to refrain from English. Ifeoluwa, one of the conversation partners, told me, “We were told to speak Yoruba to the students at all times.” He said he “[does] so every time” and that he only “shift[s] to English” when there is a breakdown in communication between him and his assigned student. In passive voice, “We were told,” Ifeoluwa describes the top-down delivery of the monolingual policy. When I asked him for his thoughts about the policy, he said, “Ṣẹmọ̀ pé alágbàṣe níwa.” (You know that we are hired laborers.) While he initially claimed to be merely complying with employee policy, he later turned to an identity-based reason, saying, “Ṣebí Yorùbá nàá niwá.” (After all, we are Yoruba.). His use of “we” positions him either as one among many Yoruba people (perhaps specifically the staff at the center), or in relation to me, or both. He seems to assume that every Yoruba person is by default able to speak the language in the manner expected by the program: monolingually. Thus, he suggests, it is commonsense to embrace the program’s monolingualism. But, by admitting that he switches to English whenever they experience communication breakdowns, he also shows that he sometimes disregards the policy in favor of his multilingual repertoire, so that he and his assigned students can overcome their communicative difficulties. Thus, Ifeoluwa spoke monolingually as much as possible to contribute to the learner’s immersive experience, but he also brought with him his multilingual repertoire, which he occasionally calls upon to achieve communicative success.

The host family’s role in achieving the monolingual goal of the study abroad program represents another site where contradictory ideologies about language and linguistic performances are manifested together. In study abroad programs, a homestay is not just about

providing lodging and food. “It is also about providing an environment in which the student is able to enjoy the security, warmth, informal friendships, and support that only a family can offer” (Campbell and Xu 2004b, 109). In the program, the host families are saddled with the additional responsibility of giving learners a monolingual and monocultural Yoruba experience. Host parent interviews present two seemingly contradictory views on Yoruba’s currency in homestay, but both views show how these multilingual individuals variously imbibed the monolingual ideology imposed on them by the study abroad but nevertheless acted multilingually, upholding the ideology in theory but not in practice.

As I discussed in the introductory chapter, host families are paid to serve host for the language learners. One or both of the spouses work at the university, which gives the family the privilege to live in the university apartments located on campus. The recruitment for host parents was done through a university internal memo, which invited applications from Yoruba families interested in hosting foreign learners. Despite my disclaimer that I was a researcher, and not working for the Center, some host parents thought I had come to evaluate their compliance with the language program’s policies and other requirements. As a result, they all were eager to display their best performance when I met with them. I conducted each of my interviews after recording sample interactions between the host parent and the learner assigned to them. During these interactions, contrary to the Center’s expectations, the host parents used English to various degrees. Some of them therefore felt the need to explain during the interview what happened in the interaction, and this may have influenced their responses to my questions. For example, in my question about the language they frequently used in their household prior to hosting the learner, out of ten families, two claimed they use only Yoruba, and the rest admitted to using English sometimes. I discuss the responses by both groups in the following sections.

"We Only Speak in Yoruba At Home"

Of the ten host parents that participated in this study, two separate host parents claimed that their home linguistic practices paralleled the program's Yoruba-only policy. These parents, in these two households, therefore, seemed to have bought into the idea of providing an immersion experience. They displayed this in various ways. First, they both chose to conduct their interviews with me in Yoruba, after I gave them the choice to use either English or Yoruba. Second, during my observations these two parents interacted with the students mostly in Yoruba, with just a few English expressions that to them seemed inconsequential. As far as they are concerned, ability to conduct the gist of their message in Yoruba fulfills their claim of monolingual performance. This way of thinking about language does not conform entirely with the Yoruba-only policy of the center. Their linguistic practices, comprised of "specific semiotic resources, some of which belong to a conventionally defined language" (J. Blommaert 2010, 102), in this case both Yoruba and English, exemplify multilingualism. The same practice is seen in their interview responses which were replete with expressions in English.

The example below is from my interview with Mrs. Jobi. The words in boldface are words I consider evidence of English use while the underlined English words have more or less been localized into Yoruba as borrowings over a long period of interaction between Yoruba and English in Nigeria. While I acknowledge that my categorization of these English-origin expressions is not sharply outlined, I have created this distinction to acknowledge different levels of translanguaging that are observable in the context of Yoruba use over time.

> *Àwa ń sọ Yorùbá tẹ́lẹ̀. <u>So</u>, kì í ṣe pé bóyá kìkìdá òyìnbó náà ni ó jẹ́ sísọ. À ń sọ Yorùbá tẹ́lẹ̀. <u>So</u>, ọ̀pọ̀lọpọ̀ ìgbà, <u>Daddy</u> wa gan náà kò tiẹ̀ fi gbogbo ara **like** k'o jẹ́ pé Òyìnbó, Òyìnbó, Òyìnbó ṣáá lẹ́ẹ̀ máa sọ. Àwọn gan **like** pé kí èèyan sọ Yorùbá. Wọ́n á ní kí èèyàn gbọ́ Yorùbá lódáa ju kí èèyàn sọ òyìnbó; wí pé àwọn t'ó gbọ́ Yorùbá gan-an, àwọn gan ni wọ́n gbọ́ òyìnbó jù. Wí pé àwọn t'ó gbọ́ Yorùbá dáadáa, àwọn gan ni wọ́n gbọ́*

òyìnbó jù àwọn tí wọn ò gbọ́ Yorùbá lọ; wí pé gbogbo Òyìnbó tí wọn kúkú ń sọ òhun, kò kúkú gbàdún náà. But ẹni bá gbọ́ Yorùbá dáadáa, á á mọ Òyìnbó. So àwọn gan-an kò fi gbogbo ara gba ti kí ọmọ máa sọ Òyìnbó.

We were used to speaking Yoruba before (the arrival of the study abroad students). So, it's not as if we speak in English all the time. We were used to speaking in Yoruba. So, several times, even our Daddy [i.e., the husband/father of the house] does not really **like** that one keeps speaking English. He **likes** when people speak Yoruba. He will say he values speaking Yoruba over speaking English; that those who understand Yoruba understand English better; that even the English they speak is not that sound [i.e. not fluent]. Whoever understands Yoruba well will understand English. So, he also doesn't fancy children speaking in English.

Mrs. Jobi articulates her husband's belief that people who speak Yoruba fluently are equally fluent in English while those people who avoid Yoruba do not speak any better English. This view is not uncommon among Yoruba-speakers. Sometimes, people will cite Wole Soyinka, Nigeria's foremost playwright and poet and a Nobel Prize holder in literature, as an example of someone highly proficient in both English and Yoruba. While Soyinka's example might be read as a support for bilingual proficiency, for Mrs. Jobi, this claim is used to justify her husband's insistence on a Yoruba-dominated household. Contrary to Mrs. Jobi's avowal of monolingual Yoruba in her response, she not only uses a few English words, such as "like," "but," and "daddy," but she also references that her husband does not like when someone keeps speaking English. This either suggests that some members of the household do speak English, but that her husband detests the fact that they do, or that her husband generally detests Yoruba-speakers who opt to speak in English.

Another host parent, Mrs. Aje, a high school teacher, shared Mrs. Jobi's outlook about Yoruba. She also chose to speak in Yoruba.

Yorùbá náà l'èdè inú ilé wa. ***Hardly*** *lẹ máa fi gbọ́ English lẹ́nu èmi àti ọkọ mi. Yorùbá náà ni, àfi tí ó bá jẹ́ pé- tí èèyàn bá kàn fi bá àwọn ọmọ yẹn sọ̀rọ̀ lẹ́kọ̀ọ́kan and then at times, ṣe ẹ mọ̀ pé tí ẹ bá sọ nǹkan míì ní Yorùbá, wọ́n á kàn dúro, wọ́n á máa wò yín ni.* ***There was a****- bí i ọjọ́ kan mo fẹ́ ro Àmàlà, mo wá ní "Favor (Child's name) bá mi mú ọmọrogùn." Ó ní, "Ọmọrogùn! Ọmọrogùn! Mummy what is it?", Mo ní "bá mi mú ọmọrogùn, ọmọrogùn". Ṣé ẹ mọ̀,* ***I kept on saying it****.* ***Later*** *ni ó ṣẹ̀ṣẹ̀ wá sọ pé ah!, mo wá ní "ọmọrogùn ní eléyìí", ṣé ẹ mọ̀ ìrú nǹkan bẹ́ẹ̀ yẹn.* ***So at times in their own situation****,* ***you will be forced to speak English but majorly****, Yorùbá ni a fi ń sọ̀rọ̀ nínú ilé. Yorùbá ní a fi ń ṣe gbogbo nǹkan wa nínú ilé. Bí a pè lórí tẹlifóòn náà, Yorùbá ni.*

Yoruba is the language of our household. **Hardly** will you hear me and my husband speak English. It's Yoruba, unless- when we use it [English] with the children once in a while **and then at times**, you know that when you say some things in Yoruba, they will just stand and be looking at you. **There was a-** like a day that I was going to prepare Amala [a type of Yoruba food], and I said: "Favor [child's name], bring me the ọmọrogùn [a spatula]". He said "Ọmọrogùn! Ọmọrogùn! Mummy, **what is it**?" I said, "Bring me ọmọrogùn, ọmọrogù." You know, **I kept on saying it**. It was later that he said "Ah!" And I said, "This is ọmọrogùn." You know, things like that. **So at times in their own situation**, **you will be forced to speak English but majorly**, Yoruba is how the medium of conversation at home. We do all our things at home in Yoruba. When we call her [our host student] on the phone, we also speak Yoruba.

Mrs. Aje, like Mrs. Jobi, claims that Yoruba is the language of her household because she and her husband hardly speak English. Like Mrs. Jobi, however, her claim is not demonstrated in her responses, which are filled with English expressions. In fact she utilizes her translingual repertoire extensively even in the short excerpt above. However, Mrs. Aje also admitted that she and her husband make exceptions when speaking to their children, who do not fully comprehend Yoruba, using English to facilitate domestic activities. It is striking to hear that she confirms that Yoruba use in her family is limited to communication between her and her and husband, not with the children; thereby excluding the language of communication with their children from the language use in their household. The compartmentalization of language types—one type between her and her husband, and the other type used with their children—establishes the use of multiple languages in the household, but she does not see it that way. Her thinking about language use

might be seen as exemplifying what Blackledge and Creese (2010) describe as "separate bilingualism." This is an ideology and practice of bilingualism where each language is assigned separate functions. Similarly, the story about her child, Favor, who at one time struggled to remember the meaning of *ọmọrogùn,* a spatula, also shows that the child does not frequently use Yoruba, as Mrs. Aje had to force her to remember what the basic household item meant. Favor's story also shows that the parents do speak Yoruba to her, not only English, which raises the question of why Mrs. Aje described her communication with her children as different in the first place.

Overall, despite that Mrs. Aje and Mrs. Jobi elected to use the medium of Yoruba for their respective interviews, their language use did not match their position on the use of monolingual Yoruba in their household. Their responses reflect their multilingual capabilities, which they sidelined in favor of the hegemonic privilege of the monolingual policy of the study abroad program. In denying their multilingual practices at home, they (mis)represent themselves as monolingual speakers.

Learners Make Us to Speak Yoruba

Mr. Agula is a representative of the other group of host parents who admit to speaking English at home. This became quite evident in the recorded interaction between him and Gabriele, the American student he hosts. The seventeen-minute-long conversation took place mostly in English, as Mr. Agula repeatedly translated words back and forth across both languages. He acted like a teacher, dictating the spellings of specific Yoruba words after stating their English meaning. At some point, he pulled the student's notebook over to write down some expressions for her, then watched as she read the words out.

In contrast to Mrs. Jobi and Mrs. Aje, Mr Agula admitted to not speaking monolingual Yoruba at home. He recognizes not only his own multilingualism but also that the presence of the learner further facilitates his own speaking of Yoruba, rather than the other way around. Mr. Agula and the other host parents in this category, unlike Mrs. Jobi and Mrs. Aje, chose to speak in English during our interviews, but they utilized Yoruba expressions as needed. Mr. Agula told me:

> I thought I know Yoruba before but uh I know I have lost some of those ingredients because English has taken them away from me. But now, because she has to ask me, "What is this thing in Yoruba?" and I don't want to pronounce in English, so I had to take- look at her dictionary and um- for instance, it's so funny when you ask me *pineapple* in Yoruba and I don't know. You understand now, I had to look at it and now see that it's *ọ̀pẹ̀yìnbó*. I am now regaining all those things I have lost in Yoruba. It's very interesting.

In the excerpt above, Mr. Agula's experience shows that he is unable to present a monolingual experience to the learner at home. Although he does not openly recognize this inability, he realizes that the process of helping the learner acquire the meaning of a lexical item, for example, resulted in his own linguistic development in Yoruba. Also, when I asked Mr. Agula to describe the language in his household on a regular day, prior to hosting the Yoruba learner, he replied, "We have been speaking in English. Even my wife is not a Yoruba person. She's Delta Igbo." I met his wife briefly at the beginning of the interview and we exchanged greetings in the usual mix of Yoruba and English; she obviously speaks the language, at least well enough to conduct basic interactions. While there is no doubt that the Agulas speak English in their household, it might also be that the members of Agulas' household actually engage in translingual practices, involving Yoruba, English, and possibly Delta Igbo, at their home, with the English resources in each person's repertoire being dominant. Yet, his admission that English

plays a dominant role in their daily language repertoire at home raises a question about the criteria used by the Center's officials to choose host parents. While Mr. Agula's response may not accurately represent the language practices in his home, his response and my observation of his situated interaction with the student raise questions on how fully he complies with the program's monolingual Yoruba policy.

Conclusion

A detailed discussion of the linguistic composition of South West Nigeria highlights the complex issues that surround the use of Yoruba in the region and shows contradictory ideologies about language that converge in the study abroad program. Language ideologies and linguistic practices are always subject to each other and constantly reshaping each other. In the Yoruba-language context, the mindset of monolingualism favored by the program handlers drives pedagogical choices, even in the glaring frequency of multilingual conversations in and around the language center. The Nigerian nation as a sociolinguistic space presents us with a context with complex linguistic configuration, characterized by the multiplicity of named languages or linguistic codes. The southwest, as a microcosm of the nation, is not without its issues with regards to language use. In line with House's (2003) description, the majority identify with Yoruba for identification but cannot say the same about its status for communication. There is a nation-wide agreement that the language is losing its pride of place as the main language of communication among the Yoruba people in Southwest Nigeria. Igboanusi and Peter (2005) cite the failure of the regional government to sustain the developments which were historically associated with the language. The media accuses the populace of the declining use of the language in the conduct of their daily affairs. In this context of complex multilingualism, the

Yoruba-language program seeks to create a monolingual experience for the Yoruba-language learners, an idea which is shaped by a standard language ideology and other related ideologies.

Blackledge and Creese (2010, 47) noted that in many educational settings, opportunities to cultivate multilingualism in schools are lost in the persistent drive towards homogeneity. The aspiration of the handlers of the program is to create a community of monolingual Yoruba-speakers, where learners will be immersed in the language. Students' goals mostly align with those of the program, a fact that is not unconnected to longstanding perceptions and popular opinions about study abroad. The focus is largely on the language, and the desire to recreate an ideal scenario of use. Unfortunately, such an endeavor precludes the reality of the speakers of the language as social actors whose linguistic resources are increasingly becoming fluid and superdiverse. The language center is not immune to this condition. Even as the myth of monolingualism as the essence of the program holds a huge presence in the center, the routineness of multilingualism at the center mirrors the eclectic ways through which multilingual people, including the program handlers, make meaning. Even in compartmentalizing the languages at the center, the program unwittingly uses the surrounding linguistic codes, English in particular.

Meanwhile, the prevalence of the monolingual ideology does not entail that all parties involved are able to realize it. While the ideology is mobilized as a reasonable justification for making pedagogical and administrative choices, there are contradictions associated with its implementation. The conversation partners and host parents do not provide the study abroad student with monolingual native speaker experience that the program idealizes.

My analysis of the sociolinguistic situation signals that the nature of linguistic practices learners encounter is far from monolingual. I advance this argument in the next chapter, where I focus on how socio-cultural and linguistic resources, the potential learning affordances for learners, are featured in the linguistic landscape of the South West Nigeria, the physical space in which the Center that houses the Yoruba-language program was located.

Chapter Four

The Yoruba Study Abroad Site as A Context of Linguistic Bricolage

Figure 1: Signs of various multilingual advertisements on the wall of a shopping complex

In situating the Yoruba study abroad in Ibadan, the program coordinators and sponsor seem to assume that the Yoruba speech community will afford learners the opportunity, among others, to experience the target language and culture firsthand. In South West Nigeria, similar to many of Britain's former colonies, however, multilingualism has become the norm. It is clear that learners will encounter multiple semiotic resources that are being deployed in situ by the locals in the community. The photograph in Figure 1 above is the front view of a shopping complex directly opposite the main gate of the University of Ibadan (UI), the primary site of the Yoruba study abroad program I examine in this dissertation. It illustrates a typical outdoor scene of a Yoruba community, where day-to-day personal and commercial interactive activities are conducted through a mix of linguistic resources. The signposts, posters, and a billboard on the

wall of the building variously contain visual images and textual registers, mostly in Nigerian English and Pidgin English. Under the big umbrellas, vendors of various food items aggressively engage in verbal exchanges to both advertise their products and woo customers. On both sides of the building, commercial motorists and motorcyclists queue up, inviting potential passengers by loudly announcing their destinations. Amid this boisterous noise, there are discernible semiotic registers including colloquial Yoruba (Yor), Pidgin English (PE), and Nigerian English (henceforth simply *English*), as seen in Table 1 below. This mix of expressions is similar in nature to the type of language use described by Makoni, Brutt-Griffler and Mashiri. (2007, 34) as an amalgam.

Table 1: Commercial Activities in front of UI. (Bold indicates English; other languages are in italics.)

	Original	**Language combination**	**Translation**
Vendor 1	***Customer**, wetin you wan buy?*	English + PE	Customer, what do you want to buy?
Vendor 2	***Rechargeable lamp, two hundred** péré!*	English + Yor	Rechargeable lamp for only two hundred naira!
Vendor 3	***Customer**, kí lẹ́ fẹ́,kí lẹ́ fẹ́ rà?*	English + Yor	Customer, what do you want, what do you want to buy?
Vendor 4	***My friend** kí lẹ fẹ́?*	English + Yor	My friend, what do you want?
Cyclist 1	Agbowo **one person**, ó yá.	English + Yor	One more person to Agbowo
Cyclist 2	**Bros**, **where you** dey **go**?	English + PE	Bro, where are you going?
Driver 1	((Speaking loudly)) Èkó **by car**! Wolé, **one chance** ló kù.	English + Yor	Lagos by car! Enter, only one seat is left.
Driver 2	((Speaking loudly)) Sango! Sango! **Enter**, **enter!**	English	Sango! Sango! Enter, enter! [i.e. We're going to Sango! Get in the vehicle!]

Driver 3	Bódìjà, **two**! ((Driver raises two fingers))	English + ((fingers))	Bódìjà [spaces for] two [persons]!

Together, the photograph in Figure 1 and the speech in Table 1 capture the situated language use of Yoruba-speakers and represent the sociolinguistic reality of urban South West Nigeria. For many people, Yoruba constitutes a part of a linguistic repertoire that also includes English, the ubiquitous official language of Nigeria. At the societal level, Yoruba, English, and pidgin English co-exist in a multilingual social space, and this localized mix of semiotic resources is deployed across different areas of daily life, such as, in this case, advertising goods and services. There is an interplay of the situated practices and the linguistic situation in the Yoruba-speaking region of Nigeria, which, like the rest of the country, is characterized by a multiplicity of languages.

The linguistic resources in the environment of the program are complex. Contexts for teaching and learning, according to Blackledge and Creese (2010, 4), are "sites where complex bargaining over linguistic resources may occur." Adequate knowledge of the linguistic composition in the area of focus will provide a background for understanding the linguistic practices of learners with other speakers of the language during the period of study abroad. How do Yoruba-speakers organize multiple semiotic resources across different types of linguistic and cultural creations? What interpretation or meaning can be made from the pattern of language use? In this chapter, I provide an overview of the linguistic composition—the potential affordances for learners—of the Yoruba-speaking area in which they are immersed, the southwest geopolitical region of Nigeria, the site of the program with which I conducted research.

Linguistic practices in the South West's sociocultural environment can be gleaned from how semiotic registers are featured in Yoruba-speakers' linguistic and cultural productions, which have the capacity for providing learning affordances for learners. My analysis focuses on two common areas where linguistic practices and accompanying cultural perspectives are made bare: the "linguistic landscape" (Landry and Bourhis 1997) of the city where the program is located and Yoruba-medium movies which are readily accessible by language learners. I generated an expansive collection of photographs of visual texts from the various localities within the five South West states that I visited with the program, and I found the Yoruba movies on YouTube.

My discussion addresses two analytical themes. In the first part, I explore the interplay of Yoruba textual resources with other semiotic forms in the linguistic landscape. In the second part, I analyze a scene from each of two Yoruba-medium films, revealing the depiction of Yoruba in relation to the cultural practices and perspectives that accompany linguistic messages in both types of videos. In each case, I characterize the pattern of situated language use as a way of contextualizing the program within its wider linguistic environment. This discussion points attention to multilingualism surrounding the study abroad site. By describing and characterizing the linguistic and cultural productions that study abroad participants encounter, I argue that, rather than providing a space of monolingual immersion in Standard Yoruba, South West Nigeria is a space of "linguistic bricolage" (Pennycook, Norton, and Vaidehi 2009) in which Yoruba is just one of many linguistic resources at play.

Situating this research within critical applied linguistics requires problematizing the given (Pennycook 2001), including being critical of the common terms such as *language*, *community*, *native speakers*, *learners*, and so on that I will be using here. While I do not conceive of

linguistic resources in terms of the ideological construct of discrete and neatly-bound languages, in this chapter I have nevertheless used *language* in the sense of a named language, such as *Yoruba* or *English,* to describe the repertoires of linguistic resources that are associated with language users in Nigeria, so as to easily identify the semiotic resources that converge in the Yoruba-speaking context.

Linguistic Landscape of Yoruba Cities

Language and place have an intrinsic connection. In any given context, in addition to spoken utterances, language is displayed all around, often in the forms of texts as notices, commercial billboards, signposts, official posters, and notices on automobiles, building walls, shop doors and windows, fences, and so on. The totality of these texts on display in a given place constitutes the linguistic landscape (Landry and Bourhis 1997; Ben-Rafael et al. 2006; Bogatto and Hélot 2010). From a Linguistic Landscape (LL) studies perspective, "the processes through which landscape is concretized and transformed are inherently tied to and located within language" (Burdick 2012, 1). In other words, the language on display can reveal a great deal about the linguistic practices and identities of the people who participate in a given context. Here I focus on the analysis of the linguistic landscape of Yoruba-speaking cities that the study abroad learners visited. I construct the Yoruba-speaking community, following Bogatto and Hélot (2010, 277) as, not just "a space where languages are spoken" but also as "a space where languages are displayed or more specifically written for a potential reader." Based on the idea that languages in the linguistic landscape are not random or arbitrary productions (Barni & Bagna, 2010), I explore the contents of the textual materials in my purview in relation to the multilingual repertoires of Yoruba-speakers. I also point out the social and symbolic power

relations that exist among the languages represented in the multilingual space, arguing that the linguistic landscape of Yoruba society is a site where multiple languages compete and where Yoruba appears to be sidelined.

The study of linguistic landscapes is a relatively new subfield of inquiry in applied linguistics and sociolinguistics. The term *linguistic landscape* (LL) describes a domain of information located within a public space. Linguistic landscape represents "scenes where the public space is symbolically constructed," and "the means of construction are the marking of objects—material or immaterial—with linguistic tokens. These tokens may be analyzed according to the language utilized, their relative saliency in the LL, as well as syntactic and semantic aspects" (Rafael et al. 2010: xi). Studies of linguistic landscape allow us to investigate texts and visual images of any kind that are present in the site in focus.

Linguistic landscape research emphasizes the complexity and heterogeneity inherent in public spaces. An approach used to investigate linguistic landscape is *language visibility* (Barni and Bagna 2010), which requires paying attention to the dominance and autonomy of linguistic properties by investigating signage both in terms of the quantitative prevalence of texts present in the areas (dominance) and the capacity of each language to be used individually in a given linguistic landscape without being juxtaposed with other languages (autonomy). Bringing this understanding to bear on the sites the program visited is to examine the languages that are present within each sociolinguistic and sociocultural space.

Public displays of commercial signs and informational posters represent social discourses created by individuals or agencies. The creators of these discourses include business people, shop owners, government establishments, as well as individuals such as students (Barni and

Bagna 2010). In order to account for the complexities presented by the signs' content and linguistic choices, I first approached the linguistic landscape by taking pictures of all signs irrespective of the language in which the contents were presented. But because of the clear dominance of monolingual English language signs, I began to focus more on signs that exhibited (1) monolingual Yoruba; (2) multilingual signs including Yoruba and English; and (3) multilingual signs including other languages.

I took photographs at sites in five different states in the South West where Yoruba-learners were taken for academic excursions, including Ibadan, where we lived, which provided me with the largest percentage of the data. Representative samples of signs from each community are included in this analysis but I did not keep track of where I took each photograph. Although the towns we visited varied in terms of size, economic opportunities, and so on, they nonetheless share with one another similarities in terms of the linguistic patterns on display. Due to the daily economic and financial activities that are conducted in these various localities, the linguistic landscape is constituted by a high volume of multilingual signposts.

The evidence I examine here is comprised of photographs of public notices, including mostly commercial signs on shops and streets, which were visible at the places that study abroad participants visited during planned outdoor activities or individually during their personal time. A few signs also displayed information put out by non-governmental organizations, and some contain images of goods and services. As Gorter (2006) noted, signs have double dimensions, with both informative and symbolic values. In their informative dimension, signs represent the content being displayed, such as services and products. In their symbolic dimension, they tell us something about the identity of the author. Focusing my analysis on only the texts and written

information on the signs, I take each sign as constitutive of the maker's linguistic production, backed by specific ideological underpinnings relating to language use; understanding that each text is designed to fulfill certain purposes, to communicate messages and to evoke certain emotions from consumers.

Dominance of English

Certain languages were visibly striking in the landscape of each city we visited. The dominance of English both in monolingual presentations and in multilingual displays, in consonance with other languages, was immediately noticeable. For instance, the image below (Figure 5), captured in Ibadan, presents an outside view of a market covered with numerous signs. All the signs in this instance contain messages in either monolingual English or multiple languages that include heavy use of English. Indeed, the cluster of signs creates an environment that could be taken for a monolingual English language landscape.

Figure 5. Wall of a shopping complex, Ibadan

A cluster of signs like those apparent in Figure 5 above are common around open markets and shopping malls, but most instances of English-only signs are individual signs located in every street, corner, and neighborhood in the communities we visited. Their messages address a wide variety of ordinary goods and tasks, including specific activities that study abroad students will potentially participate in, such as in Figure 6 below:

Figure 6: An ATM machine with instructions in English

For example, study abroad participants often made use of Automatic Teller Machines (ATMs), as pictured in Figure 6. In line with the efforts of the Federal government to make Nigerians become less dependent on cash-based transactions and move to electronic transaction, ATM screens or signage contains information meant to guide patrons of the machine on how to

perform various transactions, such as, “To transfer money,” “To buy airtime” and “To pay your bills.” The sticker on the screen also contains information about the classes of ATM cards that are accepted in the machine. These pieces of information, rendered in English, offer learners no encounter with Yoruba.

An area where learners unavoidably come in regular contact with street sign information is in messages about religious events and worship centers. Beside the fact that religious signs are ubiquitously located at almost every corner of every street around them, many of the participants that I worked with attended churches with their host families on Sundays. Figure 7 is a billboard, which advertises Global Harvest Church in Ibadan, with a caption, “Changing Times, Unchanging God.”

Figure 7: Advert, church service

The caption on the billboard, presented in English, sends a particular message to its audience to woo them to attend the church. I read "changing times" as a reference to the socioeconomic difficulties that are prevalent in the country. At the time of my fieldwork (2014), Nigeria's economy was doing badly, resulting in difficult day-to-day life for many. The church calls people to turn to an unchanging God in this time of difficulties. The use of English in this poster suggests that this church is trying to appeal to an upper class educated audience, and the idea of 'global' harvest, in contrast to what is obtainable locally, conveys a subtly message that one can become upper class by joining this church. The message in this sign are not directly intended for language learners, but like many similar posts on this topic, these signs present information in English language to passersby, including the Yoruba-learners.

Lastly, one more area where it common to encounter monolingual English is in the domain of white-collar jobs and private businesses. Figure 8 below is a picture of a building that houses different business establishments.

Figure 8. Advert: School business, tutorial center and cable TV (DSTV) subscription

The variety of advertisements in image 8 represent activities that are normally associated with monolingual English, such as tutorial for school exams, colleges, subscribing to cable TV etc., shown in this picture. Discourses related to these topics are often restricted to the educated Yoruba-speakers who use the medium of English. It comes natural to these speakers to use English when they talk about these topics with people, including the language learners.

In sum, each of these signs represents the kinds of activities, namely banking, economic activity, education, globalization, certain forms of religion/religiosity, white collar jobs such as aviation and management, etc. that are associated with monolingual English. Signs in this medium filled the excursion sites that Yoruba learners visited, constituting a large number of the signs that I photographed. The images rely on the competence of the intended audience, mostly the educated elite, to decode monolingual-English messages they contain. Thus, the dispersal of these mundane discourses in English about upper class activities throughout the society paints a picture of a context where English-speaking visitors, such as the study abroad learners, will feel at home when they arrive there.

Multilingual Signs

Adding to the dominance of English signs are multilingual signs that involve English. Signs in this category range from those that use English extensively to those signs with just small fragments of English expressions. A majority of the signs that I captured contain multiple languages, with English and Yoruba dominating. Belonging in this category are signs that

contain information in two languages on the same sign, either as translations or as complementary messages. Mechthild Reh (2004, 8–14) offers four analytical categories for distinguishing the relationship between message content and the language used: (1) duplicating multilingual writing; (2) fragmentary multilingualism; (3) overlapping multilingual writing; and (4) complementary multilingual writing, These models account for many of the plurilingual signage in my data.

"Duplicating multilingual writing" refers to signs in which exactly the same information is presented with both languages. Figures 9 and 10 below are signs that exemplify this category.

Figure 9: Landlord Association Announcement

Figure 10: Warning for trespassers

Because of frequent armed robberies and the inefficient security services in the country, many communities and individuals have devised means to prevent trespassers from entering their property. A common strategy is to present signs that contain information about accessibility to the neighborhood at night (such as in Figure 9) or warnings to ward off intruders (as in Figure 10). Students went through these streets and neighborhoods frequently, and the preponderance of notices like these in most of the streets, makes the information on them salient. In both images above, the messages are communicated in both English (at the top) and Yoruba (at the bottom).

In another set of examples of plurilingual signs, Figures 11 and 12 below present a combination of English and Yoruba messages from a politician who ran for governor of Lagos State while the study abroad learners were in Nigeria.

Figure 11: Billboard with “Thank you” message

Figure 12: Billboard with “Thank you” message

Although the study abroad students had returned to the US before the Nigerian elections in 2015, they experienced the period of vibrant discourses the lead up to the election, which impacted the students' experience. For example, at that time, students were warned to avoid gatherings that were connected to the political events in their localities and they witnessed a great deal of political activity, exemplified by the display of posters and commercial jingles everywhere. Both of these signs above were posted after the politician won the election. Both billboards contain personal "thank you" messages from the campaign group of the governor to his constituents for voting him into office. The messages are rendered in a combination of English and Yoruba in a complementary way.

Arabic Signs

In addition to the Yoruba and English signs discussed above, I also found instances of translingual practices that involve English, Yoruba, and Arabic. Arabic among the Yoruba people is traceable to the advent of Islam (Fadoro 2014) and, to some extent, the influence of globalization, particularly of oil. Arabic has become a part of the daily repertoire as well as the livelihood of many Nigerian Muslims (Ogunbado 2013) The study abroad learners regularly encountered Arabic, either by personally relating with a Yoruba Muslim or through commercial notices, as pictured in Figure 13, below.

Figure 13: Shop sign in Arabic and English

The shop uses Arabic in advertising Islamic Prophetic medicine, which many Muslims use as alternatives to biomedical health care. The Arabic components on the wall of the shop are presented using two modalities, namely Arabic script and Roman transliteration of Arabic words. At the top is the Arabic script, that corresponds to "Bismillah al-Rahman al-Raheem," a common Qur'anic expression that translates to "In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful." Under the Arabic script is the proper name of the store, *AS-SHUYUTIH,* a transliteration of Arabic to Roman script. Names of some treatments are listed among the store's inventory in Arabic script and also transliterated. For example, words such as *abatu sauda, abatu roshad, and zaetun, Al-Quran, etc.* are Arabic words that are rendered through transliteration. English is used in the shop name, *Islamic Prophetic Medicine Shop,* and to list additional products that the store sells. Also, a Yoruba expression, *Oyin gidi,* appears in parenthesis before *pure honey.* This combination of Arabic, Yoruba, and English exemplifies Reh's (2004, 14)

classification of complementary multilingual writings, in which different parts of the overall information are rendered in a different language. The Arabic use on this poster has a connection to social practices of Muslims in the community, although the shop might also be patronized by non-Muslims.

Similarly, Figure 14 presents another example of signs containing Arabic, located conspicuously near the university of Ibadan. This sign presents translingual language use consisting of transliterated Arabic words, Yoruba loan words from Arabic, and English.

Figure 14: Translingual sign at Temidire Masjid

Temidire is a Yoruba expression which means “mine has become a success.” *Gbigba Adura* is a combination of *Gbigba*, a Yoruba word meaning “request-granting” and *Adua*, a borrowed word from Arabic meaning “prayer.” Together, both words, which mean “prayer request-granting” are the proper name for the mosque. Lastly, *masjid is* a transliteration of the Arabic word for “mosque.” It labels the mosque which is located at Agbowo, University of Ibadan junction,

Ibadan. Many Yoruba-speakers, irrespective of their religious affiliation, know and use the word *adua,* but *masjid* is common among Muslims.

While in the two images above, Arabic usage is tied to Muslims, some instances of English and Arabic signs have no direct link to Islam, as in Figure 15, a fuel pump. Although learners may not necessarily have direct experience of dispensing fuel, I use this image to describe an additional context where Arabic features in the study abroad context.

Figure 15: Fuel pump labeled in Arabic and English

The texts on this pump are in Arabic and English, with the same words, *liter, sale price,* being represented in both languages. Thus, the texts exemplify Reh's category of duplicating of multilingual writings, in which the same information is in both languages by means of translation. In this sign, there is no religious connotation to the pump. The use of Arabic on the pump may have to do with the origin of the pump before it was imported into the country because most fuel pumps in the country are labeled in English. However, together, these Arabic-

English multilingual texts also establish Arabic as one of the featured languages, available to study abroad learners, in the linguistic landscape.

Yoruba-named Business Centers

A sub-category of multilingual signs in the study abroad sites in which translingual practices are manifested consists of signs used to advertise businesses that operate in the region. Many business signs are presented in the English language, in what might be an indication of class status or desire to appropriate English expressions. Interestingly, too, a majority of the signs are localized to express references to local concerns, similar to Higgins's (2009) findings in Tanzania. The localized signs are presented through the use of proper nouns by many of the signposts to brand their businesses, particularly those that reference private businesses, as opposed to government or multinational corporations. In most cases, these proper nouns are identifiable Yoruba words, either a personal name as in Figure 16 or Yoruba expressions created in relation to the goods being sold or services being rendered by the organization, as in Figures18 and 19 below.

Figure 16: Osuolale Electrical Contractor

Figure 16 shows a sign that I saw at one of the three markets that students regularly visited. In it, a Yoruba proper name is used alongside English to advertise a personal business, *Osuolale Electrical Fed. Govt. Licensed Contractor*. The word *Osuolale* is a proper name used for males in Yoruba. Its use in this instance as the business name of an electrical work company sends a message that the business is owned or operated by an individual man with that name. Additionally, in this sign, the addresses of the business location have names that include Yoruba proper nouns.

Figure 17: Alh Ishola omo Alhaja Food Industries

Figure 17, with the message, "Alh Ishola Omo Alhaja Food & Akara Industries" describes a business owned by someone known by a title of "Alh Ishola Omo Alhaja." The words *Alhaji* and *Alhaja,* both commonly shortened in writing as *Alh,* are Yorubanized renditions of the Arabic word *Al-Hajj,* which is used to describe Muslim men and women who have gone on pilgrimage to Mecca. It has become a very common attribute for Yoruba Muslims who have performed the pilgrimage. Therefore, "Alh Ishola Omo Alhaja" meaning "Alhaji Ishola, child of Alhaja" conveys to the Nigerian reader that the individual with those attributes is the shop owner. But beyond the information, the name of the business provides an example of translingual texts that language learners get to encounter when they go to the market. In just the name, *Alh Ishola Omo Alhaja Food & Akara Industries,* three languages are combined. Other information on the bottom of the sign is communicated in a similar manner. The list of "delicious food" is introduced in English while each individual food item is named in a combination of Yoruba and English.

In addition to the use of Yoruba proper names along with English to create business names, people also use creative Yoruba expressions with meanings that either describe, duplicate, or complement the English on the signpost.

Figure 18: Ajisoge Skin Care

For example, Figure 18 above, a signboard advertising *Ajíṣoge Skin Care and Make-over* is an example of a proper name for the service itself. The word *ajíṣoge* means "one who adorns himself every morning." To the right of the name is a picture of a model. The meaning of the Yoruba word itself communicates the main gist of the content of the advert, thereby complementing the phrase, "*Skin Care and Make-over."* Other information on the signs is in English, describing all the make-over services the store offers.

Figure 19: Jeagbadun Block

Additionally, Figure 19 also represents an example of the use of a Yoruba word as a proper noun to brand a good that is otherwise advertised in English. The signage of *Jeagbadun Block Industry* is captured on the wagon that is used for moving bricks from the factory to building sites in Ibadan. The word "jeagbadun" means, "Allow us to enjoy" or "let's have peace of mind." In a country where there are many fraudulent brick makers and substandard bricks have been variously reported to cause the collapse of buildings, a name like this is used to brand the brick company and to influence the potential customer. Combined with this Yoruba business's proper name, further information is presented in English.

The above category of signs, in using Yoruba registers as the proper names alongside English registers in advertisements, represent a plethora of signage that pervades the linguistic landscape of the Yoruba community. These localized act of combining texts in Yoruba with

English and Arabic is an outcome of translingual processes, which also reflect politics and practices of naming and signage in the context that houses the program.

Multilingual signs, "Monolingual message"

Another category of signs in the linguistic landscape of the study abroad contexts is the group that presents a "monolingual" message within the multilingual context. Common to these signs is the conscious performance by their creators to subvert multilingual representations and render a monolingual version of their signs. This performance is made evident by two noticeable patterns common to the signs in this category, namely, 1) the display of translated pairs of signs in English and Yoruba, often located in close proximity to the other, or sometimes placed on the reverse side of the same sign and; 2) create Yoruba monolingual signs using varying register of Yoruba writing conventions. Examples of these signs come in various types, including commercial signs, government notices, non-governmental advocacy notices, and notices on private property, all conspicuously placed in areas visited by the language learners. The following images, Figure 20 and Figure 21, billboard advertisements of Mr. Chef food seasoning exemplify this group of signs:

Figure 20: Mr. Chef seasoning billboard, Yoruba

Figure 21: Mr. Chef seasoning billboard, English

As we see, in this company's advertisements, the signs are paired, each containing the translated version of the other. Unlike the category of multilingual signs, those that use multiple languages to convey their messages, signs in this category, additionally, reveal their creator's concerted move to convey the core messages monolingual in each of the signs. As I noted above, this effort is revealed by the creation of two versions in supposedly separate languages, and the attempt to create monolingual representations in each sign. In the English version above, monolingualism is successfully achieved. Whereas the Yoruba version does not achieve full monolingualism, containing, instead, semiotic particles associated with English, including, the logo of the brand at the upper left corner with the inscription, *Mr. Chef Seasoning* and a photograph of a man dressed in a stereotypical Western chef's uniform.

A similar observation is manifested in the advert poster of MTN, a telecommunication company in Nigeria, below. While the English version is completely monolingual, the Yoruba version, on the other hand still incorporates English word, *sim* in conjunction with the brand's proper name, *MTN*.

Figure 22: MTN sim card registration poster, Yoruba		Figure 23: MTN sim card registration poster, English

Generally, the Yoruba versions of these signs fall under the category of "complimentary multilingual writing," in which messages are displayed in two languages that are entirely different (Reh 2004). But, in this regard, limiting the categorization to only the relationship between message content and language type may not do justice to the texts. The value of these messages can only be better understood by putting into consideration those observable conscious manipulations by the sign creators.

Of all the images I collected during this study of the linguistic landscape, signs in this group are the closest to offer monolingual Yoruba to the language learners. A major observable characteristic of signs in this category is that they present monolingual Yoruba, but written with registers that vary in closeness to the Standard Yoruba orthography. The standard orthography was established in 1974 by the Federal Ministry of Education based on the recommendation of a Joint Consultative Committee (JCC) that was constituted to look into the orthographies of some Nigerian languages with the aim of standardizing them (Bamgbose 1965; Olumuyiwa 2013). The orthography specifies writing conventions that include the Yoruba alphabet, the spelling system, grammar, the use of tone marks and diacritics signs and a set of punctuation marks. The 1974 version has remained the standard orthography for Yoruba until today, recommended to be used for all official purposes, including schools and the media.

Learners are normally taught the standard orthography of Yoruba. The imperative of tone marks to Yoruba-learners is highlighted in a popular textbook (Schleicher 2008, xv), where

students read, “If there is no tone marked on a vowel, that vowel has mid tone. If you change one tone for the other on a vowel in a word, you can change the meaning without changing the consonant in the word. It is important that you learn how tones are recognized and pronounced in Yoruba to be able to speak and understand the language.” Including this statement in the textbook communicates to learners that using tone marks correctly is a required skill to be able to create as well as access meaning from Yoruba texts across various contexts.

From my collection of images, however, it is difficult to find signs that fully comply with all aspects of the Yoruba standard writing or present monolingual messages that learners have been trained to use. In spite of the deliberateness that I associate with the making of the signs in this group, like in the two Yoruba versions of the signs in Figure 20 and Figure 22, above, it is the case that some important elements of standard Yoruba are not realized: Tone marks and diacritics, are either partly marked or completely left out; and some word spellings do not adhere to the standard. And in every instance, too, the poster’s message contains semiotic components associated with English. For example, a partial application of the standard writing system is clearly displayed in the Yoruba version of paired posters below:

Figure 24: Public sensitization program poster, Yoruba.

Figure 25: Public sensitization program poster, English version.

As shown in Figures 24 and 25 above, the message in the English version of the poster is presented monolingually, with the exception of proper names *Oje and Ibadan*, the neighborhood and city where the event was to take place. On the contrary, the Yoruba sign, in the first place, contains unambiguous English words, which establish it as a multilingual sign. Secondly, some of the Yoruba words on the signs, as shown in Table 2, below have non-standard tone marks

placed on them while one of the words, *mewa* is a non-standard spelling of "mẹ́wàá" which means "ten."

Table 2: Texts from Figure 24.		
	Original Texts	**Standard versions**
1	*síse ifilole isé àkanse*	Ṣíṣe ìfilọ́lẹ̀ iṣẹ́ àkànṣe
	"cooking *ifilole* special meal" (possible meaning)	"Launching a Project" (Intended meaning)
2	*Ewébè, léyin ìkorè*	Ewébẹ̀ lẹ́yìn ìkórè
3	*ọjo kerindinlogbon, osun kẹjo, ọdun*	Ọjọ́ kẹ̀rìndílógbọ̀n, oṣù kẹjọ, ọdún

The non-standard use of tone marks and spelling of words might not pose much difficulty for many native speakers, because they have experience and knowledge of the context to rely on to decode the meaning of these texts, but it might not be the same case for learners, who do not already have an extensive knowledge of Yoruba. It might also be difficult for learners to access the intended meaning encoded in the signs, they also have an increased chance of misreading the texts. For example, the words in line 1 of Table 2 above, *síse ifilole isé àkanse* without the English versions *Launching of Project* might read entirely differently. "Síse" as it is written, without the diacritics, means "cooking." The word "ifilole" without the tone marks or the English version nearby will convey no clear meaning to learners; while expert Yoruba-speakers might try different guesses before making sense of the word. And "isé àkanse" without the diacritic marks could be read as "specially made meal" as opposed to the intended meaning of "launching of a project." Together, learners might read the post as "cooking *ifilole* special meal," and the images of fruits on the post might contribute to this misreading.

While it is possible to attribute the inconsistency in the use of tone marks to a familiar trouble with Yoruba typing software, because not many people have access to or use the software

effectively, the texts as they appear shape the presentation of Yoruba, with significant implications mostly for learners who have been trained to read and write with tone marks. In addition to this argument about the depiction of Yoruba on this sign, the presence of other information in English also stands out. Most glaring is the name of the agency that is coordinating the campaign, the National Horticultural Research Institute, Ibadan, with the institute's logo – which also contains the full name of the Institute – on the upper left corner. In the same way, the logos of the two sponsors of the program, the "Nigerian Bottling Company (NBC)" and "Fumman," an agricultural product company are non-Yoruba expression visible to readers. These names of the institutes, as well as the sponsors, are retained in English, mainly because they are proper names of the establishments, and have been named in line with the common practice of using the official status of English. Beside that there is no Yoruba equivalent for these names, showing them in English will allow the audience of the poster to easily connect with the organizations, which in a way will provide legitimacy for the event being advertised. In these ways, these signs not only establish the justification for the use of English but also affirm the limited role of Yoruba in the linguistic landscape.

The implication of this situation for Yoruba study abroad learners is that, in addition to being bombarded with the English language-dominated signs, they are also unable to access the limited "monolingual" Yoruba texts, because the texts are written in registers different from those they have learned. Even when some of the wordings are intelligible, many Yoruba words can be ambiguous, with high potential of misinforming the readers. For example, the image below (Figure 26), which does not have a paired English version, presents a clear example of a text that might be misread by language learners.

Figure 26: Osun-Osogbo Grove "Don't do" list

Figure 26 shows an official signpost at the Osun-Osogbo Grove, one of the places that study abroad participants in my study visited. It contains a list of forbidden activities for visitors and tourists to the grove written without tone marks and diacritics and therefore not complying with standard Yoruba orthography. For example, in standard Yoruba orthography the last word on the first line, *yi* (this) would be written as "yìí"; on the third line, *nitorina* (therefore) would be written as "nítorí náà"; and on the seventh and eighth lines, *nihin* and *sihin* (here) would be written as "níhìín" and "síhìín" respectively. Without the tone marks, all these expressions can only be read in context and it can be difficult to ascertain the meaning of an expression when the reader is not familiar with the context. For example, among the "don't do" activities in the sign

above, two expressions have ambiguous meanings that might give completely different and consequential messages to a learner of Yoruba who has learned to read Yoruba texts with tone marks. These are: 1) *mase da oko nihin* and; 2) *mase kole sihin*. The first expression, *mase da oko nihin,* if written with tone marks and diacritics could mean, "máṣe dá oko níhìín" (don't farm here) or as "máṣe dá okó níhìín" (don't circumsize a penis here). The second ambiguous expression, *mase kole sihin* could mean "máṣe kólẹ̀ síhìín (do not dump refuse here) or as "máṣe kọlé síhìín (do not build a house here). In essence, this register with which the Yoruba texts are written could be problematic for new learners of the language. And here too, the post in the lower section contains in English the information about the signpost sponsors, the *Osun Grove Support Group, Osogbo Cultural Heritage Council and The National Commission for Museum Monuments,* also establishing this sign as one of the pieces that contribute to the multilingual context of the linguistic landscape in south-west of Nigeria.

The use of Yoruba without diacritics is commonplace among writers of Yoruba and there is nothing intrinsically wrong with this choice of orthographic register. My concern here is that it projects a different reality from what the many non-native audiences of this text, such as learners of Yoruba who have been trained to read and write with the standard orthography, are taught to expect. Just as Yoruba-learners have been taught to use monolingual Yoruba, even though it is rarely encountered outside of classroom, they have also been taught that Yoruba is, and should always be, written with tone marks, and yet the linguistic landscape that surrounds them during study abroad demonstrates to them that this is not the case.

Yoruba in Films

If signs show us how Yoruba exists *visually* alongside other linguistic resources, then Yoruba-medium films show us how such mixing *sounds.* Besides being another accessible language affordance for students, Yoruba-medium films are also used by instructors to teach during study abroad. Moreover, the Center has a large television in a lobby that serves as a common area for all students, guests, and staff. The TV is perpetually set to a local cable channel, *African Magic Yoruba*, known to continuously show only Yoruba-medium movies and programs. During my fieldwork, the channel endlessly showed a wide range of Yoruba films. Therefore, I have arbitrarily selected two films that are available on YouTube for my analysis here, with an assumption that these films have probably been shown on the channel at some point in time and are similar to the types of films students had access to. I analyze the language used by characters in the two movies to advance my argument in this chapter about the multilingual realities of the context of the program. My analysis of these genres is situated within the understanding that they are ideologically constituted. As Silverstein (1993) notes, language ideologies influence language forms and use, meaning that language ideologies inform how particular language varieties are used to construct indexical meaning. I am, therefore, pointing out such ideologies, by explaining how Yoruba-users, in this case, filmmakers, through their characters' spoken dialogues, and mise-en-scène, use language in their creative productions. In representing the visual elements of the films, I use screenshots to exemplify notable visual cues and identifiable linguistic practices. For the spoken elements of the films, I gave attention to the characters' use of language in each of the selected scenes, describing the elements of linguistic repertoires that are present in the screenshots that I present. Overall, the analysis contributes to

my discussion of the multilingual nature of the context where Yoruba study abroad learners were engaged in learning.

A Dichotomy between urban and rural setting

Although Yoruba-medium films come in different categories, depending on themes and topic that the film engages with, there is no much diversity in the Yoruba video films when it comes to language choice of characters in the movies. A common trend across the films is that language-use is tied to the film settings; with language-use creating an obvious dichotomy between rural and urban-set movies. When a film in the rural Yoruba setting, the characters, in most cases, are depicted as illiterate, uncivilized and monolingual; therefore, the characters "try" to speak a specific dialect of Yoruba that has been stereotypically associated with monolingual Oyo people. In addition, the characters also garnish their expressions with the use of Ijinle Yoruba, "complex Yoruba language forms" (Ryan 2012), including proverbs, wise and philosophical sayings, and invocations that require rich and adept erudition in Yoruba language and culture to comprehend. On the other hand, when the film is set in an urban location, the characters are known to graciously engage in multilingual language practices in which characters deploy varied semiotic resources to achieve communication. The translingual practices in this category of films reflect the actual sociolinguistic realities of the context of Yoruba study abroad. In discussing both categories here, I argue that neither of these categories conforms with the standard-language-based monolingualism that the program promotes among Yoruba-learners. While the former category, on the surface, may be said to offer a potential affordance for "monolingualism," similar to the program's vision for learners, Yoruba use, in many instances, incorporate linguistic items that are too far from the standard on the continuum of Yoruba dialects. Moreover, a critical

look at those movies reveals that they could not maintain a wholly monolingual or monocultural representation, which affirms that monolingual society presented in the films hardly exists in real life.

Non-standard dialects in Yoruba Rural-situated films

The extract of talk that I analyze here is from a Yoruba-language movie, titled *Egbèje Ọ̀rọ̀* which literally means "one thousand four hundred words." It is a film that exemplifies the use of a Yoruba dialect as a way to project a monolingual and monocultural rural Yoruba setting. The title of the film is derived from a proverb, *Egbèje Ọ̀rọ̀ ń bẹ lẹ́yìn hùn*, meaning 'There are as many as one thousand four hundred words or expressions after *hùn'*. "Hùn" pronounced as /hʊn/ is an onomatopoeic sound of a sigh of relief. The number of words, one thousand four hundred, is used to indicate any large amount. Thus, the proverb means that if one is able to endure a difficult tribulation, there will be plenty of opportunities to breathe sighs of relief and rejoice. This meaning captures the events in the play.

The rural depiction in this film is manifested in every scene in this film. For example, the scene in the screenshot below, Figure 27, shows a family of four members: Apini, the father, who is standing on the left; his wife, Abebi, in the middle leans over to attend to their foster daughter, Bukky, who is pregnant and is in labor on a mat in the middle of a mud house; and to the right is Dende, their son.

Figure 27: A Family living a rural life

The screenshot shows that the room is a rural apartment: in addition to the house that is built with clay, we see that there is a large hand-woven mat that serves as a carpet, on which they are all located. The handwoven old-style baskets, one on the wall and two on the table to the left, as well as the hoe hanging on the wall to the left shows that this is a family of farmers. The characters' clothing is made from traditional materials and styles. Apini wears *Aso-oke* fabric while the other three characters wear *adire*, tie-dye materials.

While all these visual materials accurately create a rural scenery, supposedly a context without contact with other cultures or modernity, a closer look, however, at some details in the frame reveals otherwise. Two examples precisely feature in this frame. The first example is the presence of a kerosene lantern that is visible through the door over Apini's shoulder. This type of lantern is fueled by kerosene, a petroleum product from refined fuel, which is not indigenous to the Yoruba people. The lantern also has a clear glass cover to protect the light beams from the

effect of breeze, and lamp wick, both of which are not indigenous to the Yoruba people. The second feature that shows contact with modernity is the electric switch that is on the wall behind Apini, slightly to his left. It does appear that the switch has fallen off, but its wooden base and the cable connecting the switch to the bulb are visibly present. Additionally, an argument could be made that cloth and the embroidery on Apini's cloth were made using a sewing machine, a product of modern technology.

In consonance with the visual representation of a rural setting, the linguistic component of the scene, below, reflects the use of *Ijinle Yoruba* and non-standard dialect. Items that distinguish the dialect are in bold while those of *Yoruba ijinle* are italicized in the Yoruba transcript. It begins as Apini comes in, and his wife, Abebi greets him:

Excerpt 1: Apini and Abebi

1 Abebi:	Ah **baálé** mi, ẹ káàbọ̀.	Ah, my husband, welcome back.
2 Apini:	Ńgbo o leléyìí tún bẹ̀rẹ̀?	When did this (one) start?
3 Abebi:	Gẹ́ẹ́rẹ́ tẹ́ẹ̀ **se** jàdé tán. Kódà ẹ̀yin àti olorì, ẹ ẹ̀ tí dé odò débi í pé e é bómi àjípọn. Ó tún ti bẹ̀rẹ̀ o. Bá a tún **se** kò si **nùhun**.	As soon as you left. In fact, you and Olori could not have arrived at the stream. That's what we have been dealing with.
4 Bukky:	((groans)) Yéè ẹsẹ̀ mi.	((groans)) Oh, my leg.
5 Abebi:	Ah ẹsẹ̀ tún ni?	Oh, it's now the leg?
6 Bukky:	((groans)) un.	((groans)) yes.
7 Apini:	((shakes his head)) uhn, kò lè ṣe ó má rí bẹ́ẹ̀. *Àìsàn tí ò bá ṣeni rí, aìí pé ó tún dé* ((leans over and puts his hand on Bukky's shoulder)) Wò ó, **ọ ọ́** bí wẹ́rẹ́.	((shakes his head)) well, it's not unsual. One never welcomes an ailment that has never afflicted one before. ((leans over and puts his hand on Bukky's shoulder)) See, you deliver safely.

8 Abebi:	**Àṣẹ** o.	Amen.
9 Apini:	*Ara kìí ni ẹlẹ́dẹ̀,* ara ò ní ni **ọ̀.**	A pig does not know discomfort, you won't know discomfort.
10 Abebi:	**Àṣẹ** o.	Amen.
11 Apini:	*Pẹ̀sẹ̀ báyìí ni t'ọ̀gẹ̀dẹ̀ àgbagbà,* **yí ó** dẹ̀ **ọ́**.	Àgbagbà species of banana is associated with ease, it will be easy for you.
12 Abebi:	**Àṣẹ.**	Amen.
13 Apini:	**Sọ́ ọ** gbọ́, **yíó** dẹ̀ **ọ́**. ((turns to Abebi)) àwọn àgbo wo lẹ̀ti á fún un lò?	Did you hear me, it will be easy for you ((turns to Abebi) what herbal mixes have you given her?
14: Abebi:	Àgbo abíẁẹ́rẹ́.	Abíẁẹ́rẹ́ herbal mixture.

In the excerpt, we see that the talk occurs in a dialect of Yoruba that is associated with the Oyo people. It is composed of lexical and phonological items that are, not only different from the standard being taught in school but also departs from the version that most Yoruba-speakers across the various dialects widely use as lingua franca. I divide the linguistic items that make the dialect salient into two categories, namely 1) outdated lexical items and 2) dialectal variation. The first category consists of lexical items that are hard to come by in the current language use among many speakers but used by the film characters. Those items are also rarely used in Yoruba instructional materials, except when they are included in the comment section as additional or old expressions for what they reference, that might surface in certain limited contexts. In the excerpt, they include *baálé* (husband) which instead is now called "ọkọ" or English borrowings; and *àṣẹ* (amen) which is now replaced with "àmín" in popular parlance. The second category, dialectal variations, that are used in the conversation consists of two forms, namely lexical variation, and phonological variation. The example of lexical variation that is

used in the talk includes: *nùhun* (is that) in line 3 and *yíó* (the verb/tense 'will') in lines 11 and 13. The word *nùhun* is "nìyẹn" while *yíó* is "máa" in standard Yoruba. Examples of phonological variation in the dialogue are the replacement of the voiceless fricative /s/ with its counterpart /ʃ/ in words used by Apini. This is found in words, such as *se* /se/ (does) instead of "ṣe" /ʃe/ in line 13; and *Sọ́* /sɔ/ (do) instead of /ʃɔ/, the standard form. Another phonological variation is seen in a word "you" in lines 7, 9, 11 and 13. In standard Yoruba, the monosyllabic word is pronounced as "o" /o/ when it occurs in a subject position and as "ẹ" /ɛ/ in an object position. But in this dialect, Apini uses a variant of these two sounds, the back open-mid vowel *ọ* /ɔ/ in both cases, summarized in the table below:

Table 3: Phonological variation in Apini's Dialect and Standard Yoruba			
Line	**Dialect**	**Standard Form**	
7	**ọ** ọ́ bí wẹ́rẹ́ (you will deliver safely)	**o** ó bi wẹ́rẹ́	*ọ* /ɔ/ = o /o/
13	**ọ** gbọ́ (you hear me)	o gbọ́	
9	ara ò ní ni **ọ̀** (you won't know discomfort)	ara ò ní ni **ẹ́**	*ọ* /ɔ/ = *ẹ* /ɛ/
11	dẹ̀ẹ̀ **ọ́** (easy for you)	dẹ̀ẹ̀ **ẹ́**	

In addition to the use of a dialect of Yoruba, the film's character also deploys ijinle Yoruba that can only be explained in relations to the happening in the scene. Abebi and Apini talk about Bukky's symptoms and the medication that has been administered to her during her prolonged labor. Abebi tells Apini how long Bukky had been in labor. He responds in line 7 using a combination of proverbs and prayer. The proverb, *àìsàn tí ò bá ṣeni rí, aìí pé ó tún dé,* translates to "one never welcomes an ailment that has never afflicted one before" and means that a recurrent ailment is no more a surprise, referring to the symptom of the labor as temporary. The prayer was *ọ ọ́ bí wẹ́rẹ́,* 'may you deliver safely'. In addition to this prayer, Apini also invokes

two philosophical expressions to further pray for Bukky's safe-delivery: First, in line 9, he says *Ara kìí ni ẹlẹ́dẹ̀,* meaning that *a pig does not know discomfort* and in line 11, he says *pẹ̀sẹ̀ báyìí ni t'ọ̀gẹ̀dẹ̀ àgbagbà,* roughly meaning *the* àgbagbà *species of banana is associated with ease*. These statements are fixed philosophical expressions, used to pray for an expectant mother. The first prayer alludes to pig's ability to carry and deliver multiple babies in each porcine pregnancy, with an assumption that childbirth comes easy for a pig. The second prayer references àgbagbà, a local specie of banana. People believed that its mushy texture makes its passages through the esophagus to the stomach easy. As we see, each of the expressions is followed immediately by a specific prayer that reiterates the meaning of the fixed expressions. And for each prayer, Abebi says "Amen" since Bukky's pain would not let her verbalize her response. This use of ijinle Yoruba is a part of the filmmaker's effort to create a rural Yoruba setting.

In summary, many films with a rural setting use this dialectal variety Yoruba along with the visual accompaniments to try to project a monolingual and monocultural Yoruba society. In the piece of talk in this scene, we see the use of lexical items that are outdated, and also varied from the standard norms, which are enriched with philosophical expressions. Above all, the excerpt suggests no contact or influence of other languages, which is rarely the case in the real sense of a Yoruba society. The daily sociocultural realities in the multilingual Yoruba-speaking domain favors rich translingual practices, which I now turn to in the next section.

Translingual Realities in Urban-situated films

While most Yoruba films that are set in the rural area project a monolingual and monocultural Yoruba setting, a whole lot of other Yoruba films accentuate the multilingual and translingual realities of the Yoruba speaking society, Also, these movies with a multilingual

perspective are often situated in urban settings, and the characters deploy multiple languages that mirror translingual practices that are taking place in their domain of social life. For example, below a screenshot from a film entitled *Bogiri O Lanu* shows a couple in an urbanized restaurant.

Figure 28: Deji and Siju at a restaurant

Figure 29: Deji walks away

Compared to the scene in the earlier film, this frame shows paraphernalia that projects an urban society. In this scene, the restaurant space is filled with round and rectangular tables, each being covered with tablecloths and surrounded by upholstered chairs. A bouquet of flowers and two napkins are neatly placed on each table. Two paintings, a television, and an air conditioner are on the wall. Two male customers are each seated at a separate table across from Deji and Siju. One of them has before him a bottle of wine and a glass filled with wine. The second customer is drinking orange juice from a glass cup, with his cell phone placed on the table in front of him. Also, compared to the characters in the previous movie, these characters wear different types of cloth: Deji and the man who is drinking orange juice wears Ankara, a more developed, patterned fabrics than tie-dye, and sewn into styles that fit what is obtainable among most Yoruba men today. The other man wears a white T-shirt while Siju wears a blouse and a

skirt. The culmination of these visual components portrays a context that is close to the linguistic and cultural references of the Yoruba people in the South West, Nigeria. Excerpt 2 is the interaction in the scene.

Excerpt 2: Siju and Deji argue

1 Siju:	No**,** *Dèjì! Gbọ́ ná, ṣé o fẹ́* disgrace family *mi ni, hẹ̀n-ẹ́n?*	No Deji! *Listen,* d*o you want to* disgrace mi, *right*?
2 Deji:	*Màá* explain *f'áwọn* family *ẹ gbogbo nǹkan tó bá ṣẹlẹ̀ o.*	*I will* explain *to your* family *whatever that happens.*
3 Siju:	Explain what? Tell me. What do you want to explain? *Há há! Kí, kí ni nǹkan tó- ìwọ nàà gbọ́ nǹkan to ń sọ létí.* What kind of rubbish, what kind of nonsense are you telling- am tired of all those shit that you are telling me? *Ìwọ nàà gbọ́ nǹkan tí ò ń sọ. Tí mo ti pe àwọn ọ̀rẹ́ mi, tí mo ti sọ fún wọn.* What are you saying? What the fuck are you telling me *ẹ̀hn-ẹ́hn?* What are you telling me?	Explain what? Tell me. What do you want to explain? *Really! What is it that- you listen to what you are saying.* What kind of rubbish, what kind of nonsense are you telling- am tired of all those shit that you are telling me? *You should listen to what you are saying. After I have called my friends and told them.* What are you saying? What the fuck are you telling me, *tell me?* What are you telling me?
4 Deji:	But *o ma* try *láti* take *ẹ* easy now. *Ìta la wà* now. *O ò dẹ̀* bring voice *ẹ wálẹ̀.* ((rises up))	But *you will* try *to* take *it* easy now. *We are outside* now. Why not bring your voice down ((rises up))
5 Siju:	And so what *tí n bá pariwo*? And so what *tí ǹ bá pariwo ńkọ́?* What are you trying to do? You just sit back right there and listen to me. You don't dare to walk out on me, *Dèjì.* You don't try to walk out on me.	And so what *if I make noise?* And so what *if I make noise*. What are you trying to do? You just sit back right there and listen to me. You don't dare to walk out on me, Dèjì. You don't try to walk out on me.
6 Deji:	*N màa* take time *mi láti bá ẹ sọ̀rọ̀* later ((begins to leave)).	*I will* take my time *to talk to you* later ((begins to leave)).

This excerpt, consisting of English and Yoruba, represents the mixed languages used by characters in most contemporary Yoruba films. The dialogue, like the signs in the linguistic landscape we saw earlier, also illustrates the translingual practices that are taking place in this domain of social life. In challenging Deji's decision to abruptly move forward their wedding, Siju says *No***,** *Dèjì! Gbọ́ ná, ṣé o fẹ́ disgrace family mi ni, hẹ̀n-ẹ́n?* meaning "No Deji! Listen, do

you want to disgrace mi, right?" her statement includes a seamless weave of repertoires that include English and Yoruba words. Her statement alludes to the shame that the postponement would bring to her family, and possibly the loss of face before her friends whom she has informed about the wedding. Similarly, Deji also presents his response with repertoires from both English and Yoruba, saying *Màá* explain *f'áwọn* family *ẹ gbogbo nǹkan tó bá ṣẹlẹ̀ o* (I will explain to your family whatever that happens) also referencing Siju's family, and then asks Siju to *try láti take ẹ̀ easy* (try to take it easy) in line 4. This interaction is solidified through language mixing, where both speakers not only displays their multilingual identity but also shows their creative ability to easily deploy their multiple linguistic repertoires in discussing social and interpersonal issues. The same pattern of language use characterizes the rest of the excerpt in which Siju tries to make Deji realize the bigger implication of the decision for her. The translingual practices in this movie could be seen as a depiction of the practice of translanguaging among the people. It contradicts the notion of a monolingual and monocultural Yoruba society that pervade the administration of Yoruba study abroad.

Language-in-use as presented in two areas of daily lives among Yoruba people, namely the linguistic landscape of the city and in Yoruba films, highlights the heterogeneity of the Yoruba sociolinguistic space. While the data variously revealed the deployment of multiple languages, including Yoruba, it is striking that there are *no* completely monolingual uses of Standard Yoruba in the linguistic content of signage and movies that are created by and for speakers of Yoruba. In cases where Yoruba is written and spoken monolingually, the registers of choice were incongruent with the standard version of Yoruba that learners have been trained to use for oral and written communications. Such minimized display of Yoruba reveals that language use in the linguistic landscape departs radically from the monolingual goals of the

program. The texts on public signs and dialogue in movies not only reveal the multilingualism of Yoruba-speakers but also demonstrate the prevalent use of multiple languages in the socio-sphere of the Yoruba study abroad site. Yoruba, the lingua franca of the South West, Nigeria exists alongside other languages.

Chapter Five

Translanguaging Practices in the Context of Monolingualism and Standardization

In the end-of-program report that was written by the director of the Yoruba program for its US sponsors, under the section on "Students' Language Proficiency," the director wrote that although the "majority of the student improved academically," he felt they could still perform better had they "shown greater commitment to the programme" or if they considered the program in Nigeria as an educational trip designed to help them gain "proficiency in Yorùbá language and culture." That portion of the post-program report reveals a great deal about the program's monolingual ideologies and expectations for participants. It not only captures the director's summative perspective on the learners' language acquisition while abroad but also underscores the outcome-based mentality of the program. In my observations throughout the program, I also sensed the director's frustration regarding the learners' "failure" to completely adhere to the monolingual policies. In another section of the report, titled "Students Attitudes to Instructions, their Instructors and YLC Staff, UI/YLC Policies, Host Families, etc," the director notes that "most of the students were not prepared to immerse themselves in the programme in Nigeria as evidenced by their bad attitudes to virtually all the critical aspects of the programme." While there is much to unpack in these statements, the criticisms of the learners' commitment and attitude towards learning stand out to me. During my observations of and interactions with the director towards the end of the program, I became aware of his displeasure that the learners did not completely adhere to the monolingual policy that the program set to guide interactive activities in the program. He frequently compared this group of students to past groups who purportedly showed more commitment and positive attitudes toward speaking Yoruba, what the

report describes as the "critical aspects of the program." Monolingual proficiency in Yoruba comes to represent good attitude and commitment to learning the language, while the use of resources from English is seen as willful acts of insubordination towards the program's goal.

Referring to students who have chosen to participate in an eight-week-long language study abroad program in a foreign country, criticism of their commitment seems misplaced. While the report recognizes improvement in learners' academic performance based on the post-program evaluation the director nevertheless wished that the learners had done better. In other words, while learners did improve their Yoruba proficiency, they did not manifest the program's expected outcome in term of linguistic performance characterized by monolingual standard language use. This paradoxical outcome speaks to a fundamental concern that has been established in many language study abroad programs: The conceptualization of study abroad as a site for monolingual, monocultural experience (Gilman 2000; Dewey 2007; Coleman 2013; Kinginger 2013c) in spite of the stark reality of multiple language use at both individual and societal levels.

The director's report highlights his desired linguistic outcome for learners, a monolingual proficiency in the target language, a traditional view of a study abroad program which scholars have recently begun to critique. Study abroad scholars such as Celeste Kinginger (2013c) and James Coleman (2013) have called for a reconceptualization of study abroad as a complex site and of learners as "rounded people with complex and fluid identities and relationships which frame the way they live the study abroad experience" (Coleman 2013, 17). Participants are confronted with a complex combination of language practices in which they are often engaged. Learners' engagement with the variety of linguistic resources that the context affords them is what the program interprets in term of commitment and attitude toward language learning.

This chapter explores language use by learners and their assigned conversation partners in two contexts, at the Center and at home. Since many of these interactions contain a variety of linguistic codes, my goal is to investigate what interactional functions translanguaging performs in these interactions. How does the concept of *translanguaging* help us to understand what goes on in these interactions? Guided by this question, I focus on exchanges where translanguaging is being used by learners and their interlocutors to achieve a variety of indexical purposes. As multilingual speakers, participants regularly use translanguaging. Hence, in this section, I examine the multiple linguistic resources used by my participants through the lens of translanguaging, to make sense of their fluid, flexible semiotic resources, explaining the varied purposes they perform.

Context: Homestay and Language Conversation Table

As a part of the ethnographic account of this dissertation, this chapter highlights learners' interactions with assigned first-language speakers of Yoruba in two different domains within the study abroad program: during language interaction table with their conversational partners at the language center and at home with their host parents. Both sites are deliberate instituted components of the study abroad program with goals of reinforcing language learning. Thus, they represent the intersection between the classroom setting and the wider linguistic space of Yoruba-speaking, southwest Nigeria.

The homestay and language-partners' interactive sessions are designed to afford learners the opportunity to experience the target culture and language in natural contexts of use. These episodes of interaction took place every day at the homestay, with host parents; and every weekday with the language partners. Learners first met with their conversation partners at 3 pm, after classes, and later went home in the evening to join their host parents. These encounters,

which are required social components of the study abroad curriculum, constitute sites of language learning. In addition to being space for experiencing language-in-use, the encounters also offered the student the opportunity to try out their language with first language speakers of Yoruba. In both contexts, the discursive events thus serve both as rituals for exposing learners to patterns of language use by L1 speakers and as the rites of initiating the learners into the Yoruba speech community, that of multilingual speakers who engage in translanguaging in their real-time, day-to-day interactions.

My recordings began in the first week of July, the fourth week of the eight-week-long program. Up to this point, I had been limited to my daily conversations with the students during which I began to collate weekly written notes from them, using a simple form. In their weekly reports, students expressed varying levels of success in their Yoruba interactions with the members of their host families and their conversation table partners. By July, I had built cordial relationships with the students which eased my ability to record and observe their interactions. I visited the conversation table venues with the goal of experiencing the interactive events among participants, taking note of language use and then examining the pattern of language use that manifested in these interactions. My exploration of these episodes of interaction also examines the extent to which these speakers have kept to the program's rules of monolingual language use, of which they were informed at the beginning of the program, in their interactions.

Conversations with assigned language-partners, which usually took place during the workday, tended to center around school work. The language partners often provided guidance and explanation directly or indirectly in the conversation. Whenever it was time for the conversation table, learners and their language partners usually spread out within the room, such that while some groups remain seated close to the large round center table, others sit close to the

corners and walls of the room. Sometimes, one or two pairs moved to other rooms in the building. In all cases, the interactants sat beside each other. Those in front of the wide conference table would share the table. Their chairs were slightly angled toward each other. A computer, books, and other items, such as water bottles and snacks belonging to the student, were placed on the table in front of them. In some cases, the computer and books were opened, but rarely used. This allowed me to sometime use the computer in front of them to record their interaction. Students used their notebooks to check information or write notes. I usually began to record interactions after they have exchanged pleasantries. I collected conversations on different days at the same venue, the conference room at the language center.

At home, later in the day, learners, once again went through similar episodes of interactions where they engaged in supposedly casual conversations on any topic with their host parents. It was quite common, however, that the encounter turned to active teaching moments, where the host began to explain simple grammar rules or use, translating back and forth between English and Yoruba. In some cases, a learner brought out their notebook to write down the information. The topic in different interactional episodes determined the purpose for which the speakers usually exhibit translanguaging.

Language Use on a Continuum

From the program's stance, as it was communicated by the language program coordinator at the beginning of the program, only monolingual Yoruba is allowed for all communicative activities. This is because, as in most study abroad programs, the YLC's study abroad program prides itself on offering foreign learners a monocultural, monolingual Yoruba 'immersion' experience. They represent communications in a language other than Yoruba as undesirable

throughout the duration of the program. Although everyone in the program shared the understanding of the rationale for the preference for Yoruba, translating this understanding into daily implementation was no easy process. In many interactive episodes that I observed, participants started out by making conscious efforts to communicate in monolingual Yoruba, but either cut short the interaction or slipped into the use of various meaning-making resources at their disposal. It is possible that my presence influenced their performance. Local participants, who often thought I was an official part of the program, often made a concerted effort to adhere to the monolingual language use policy. Even after I explained my purpose to everyone and they consented, some of the host parents and conversation partners were still conscious of my presence, which I believe might have affected the flow of talk and language use. Whenever possible, I tried to mitigate any possible feeling of awkwardness by moving away from their view.

A preliminary overview of the overall linguistic ecology of the various contexts of language use revealed that all speakers, including the assigned representatives of the program, frequently used English language resources when they participated in interactions. Also, the data reveal that translanguaging was initiated by the learners as well as the assigned interlocutors. Both of these observations contradict the program's one-sided report, which critiqued only students. Additionally, three ways of using language to participate in interactions emerged, which I characterize as a *continuum of language use*. These include (1) the use of monolingual English language resources (2) the use of monolingual Yoruba resources and, in between them, (3) the use of both English and Yoruba language resources, or translanguaging within turns. The relative frequency of the use of English resources, however, became salient to the program director, thereby resulting, partly, in the disaffection by the program administrators and the

director's questioning of the learners' commitment and attitude to learning the language. However, when viewed from another lens, the continuum establishes that learners use Yoruba, the sanctioned language in the program, as well. I look at the variety of learners' linguistic compositions in term of their capacity to make pragmatic and linguistic choices as well as exercise their agency.

The tension in the program centers on the contradictions in the language program's monolingual policy and the translingual realities of the larger society where the program takes place. As in most study abroad programs, the YLC's study abroad program is designed to offer foreign learners a monolingual Yoruba 'immersion' experience. The program's overriding policy is that learners should abstain from using their dominant language, English, while they are in the program and use monolingual Yoruba for all interactions with their interactants, assigned or randomly encountered, during the program. The seemingly logical requirement presumed to favor the acquisition of monolingual Yoruba is however more easily envisioned than actualized in a context of linguistic diversity. Also missing in this line of argument is the understanding that the multilingual capacities of the participants, including the program handlers, contribute to societal factors that invariably shape language production by study participants. Both learners and their assigned interactants are multilingual speakers who often engage in a flexible linguistic practices, using their full range of linguistic resources (Blackledge and Creese 2010) which most feasibly include English, their L1, and the target language.

In contrast with the program's criticism, my approach to exploring the language use of the learners in these contexts is largely from a social constructivist perspective, where language is seen as socially situated and constructed through interaction (Vygotsky 1978; Lantolf and

Thorne 2006). I see language use as reflecting the expansiveness of the speakers' linguistic systems, in which these interlocutors take advantage of their multilingual repertoires in the domains of interaction (Higgins 2009). The language practices of these learners are shaped by the domain of language use. Therefore, I align with scholarship on translanguaging (García 2009; Creese and Blackledge 2010; Hornberger and Link 2012; Garcia and Wei 2014) as an approach examining the creative effort of learners as they engage in various discursive practices.

Translanguaging: A Process and an Approach

Translanguaging, a concept based on the idea that bilingual speakers have a single linguistic system comprising of corresponding features from various named languages, has gained an increased interest in enabling our understanding of the language used by multilingual learners. A paradigm that frames language as dynamic, hybrid, fluid, and heteroglossic practices and processed (Hawkins and Mori 2018), translanguaging favors "multilingual speakers' fluid, flexible, and creative deployment of semiotic resources without regard to the clearly demarcated named languages" (Garcia and Wei 2014). Translanguaging, therefore, shifts research focus away from named languages and asks us to focus on the communicative resources that the speakers possess, use to make meaning, and use for learning, in the context of education. Similar concepts that have also been introduced by scholars include Language Crossing or Code Crossing (Rampton 1995)and Translingual Practice (Canagarajah 2013), based on emerging findings from their work with multilinguals. While there are subtle differences in how these scholars conceptualize language mixing, there is nonetheless a general understanding of the need to embrace the multilingual practices of learners. Based on this understanding, this chapter

investigates translanguaging practices in the process of language learning in the Yoruba study abroad context.

In their seminal book on translanguaging, Garcia and Wei (2014) detail how learners engage in translanguaging practice to learn new linguistic skills. According to these scholars, bilingual students are involved in a "new way of languaging" which is more difficult than "just learning new subject content in school" (79). Bilingual learners use translanguaging to make meaning of their learning which is beyond "just picking it up as in 'acquisition' promoted by communicative language teaching." Rather, "new language practices can only emerge in interrelationship with old ones, without competing or threatening an already established sense of being that language constitutes" (Garcia and Wei 2014, 79).

Translanguaging, therefore, is "the act performed by bilinguals of accessing different linguistic features or various modes of what have been described as autonomous languages, in order to maximize communicative potential" Garcia (2009, 140). Otheguy, Garcia, and Reid (2015, 281) elaborated on the definition of translanguaging, describing it as "the deployment of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named (and usually national and state) languages." These scholars highlight the bilingual's practice of flexibly moving across hitherto named languages as a result of their proficiencies in multiple languages. Thus in translanguaging, bilinguals seamlessly deploy the multiple semiotic registers within their repertoire to achieve communicative goals. Underlying this description is the idea that language is not something that speakers or learners "have" but rather a repeated and expansive practice in which they continuously engage or learn to engage (Pennycook 2010).

The concept of translanguaging refers to both the thinking about and the use of language by those traditionally referred to as bilinguals and multilinguals. In contrast to code-switching, the traditional term for explaining language mixing, translanguaging undermines the idea that bilingual speakers have, for example, two separate language systems at their disposal. While code-switching is fundamentally rooted in the understanding of two separate language systems, between which a speaker shuttles during interaction, translanguaging begins with the assumption that a bilingual's language is not two autonomous systems as being traditionally viewed; instead, as a single system, characterized by a linguistic collection of registers from systems that society has hitherto considered as parts of two separate languages. Garcia and Wei (2014) capture the epistemological distinction between both terms in a more vivid illustration, stating that:

> …the epistemological difference between code-switching and translanguaging has to do with the language function on the iPhone. The language-switch function could be said to respond to a code-switching epistemology where bilinguals are expected to 'switch' languages. But especially in texting, bilinguals' language practices are not constrained by outside societal forces; and thus features of their semiotic repertoire may be selected. Some of these features are visual – emoticons, photographs; other features are textual, defined societally as different 'languages'" (22)

This explanation presents a shift in the ideological view of language. Through this illustration, these scholars make it clear that, as opposed to code-switching which is seen from the socially defined lens of two connecting languages, translanguaging is mainly the linguistic activities of the bilinguals. The bilingual speakers' language, therefore, should be thought of in term of a collection of *semiotic repertoire* that transcends a named language.

With respect to language use, a translanguaging lens emphasizes the creative ability of the bilingual to construct complex discursive activities, thereby, nudges us to see language use in term of "the speakers' construction and use of original and complex interrelated discursive practice… that make up the speakers' complete language repertoire." (22). This perspective also

ties into Pennycook's (2007) idea of performativity, which holds that identities are formed in the linguistic performance rather than pregiven. Pennycook' performativity inverts the relationship between competence and performance and stands against foundationalist categorization of language when it comes to talking about language use and identity. In essence, translanguaging leans on multilingual ideologies. As Wei (2017) stated, it "opens up a new thinking and new ways of looking at everyday linguistic practices in society" by advancing a focus on how the language users' utilize words to construct language and identities. The linguistic registers of multilingual speakers, including their lexicons, grammar, and discourse, etc. with which they communicate and create meaning, constitute a single language system. Hence in this chapter, the medium by which people interact is regarded, following (Higgins 2009) not only as language, but also as ideological entities, and are co-constructed by interactants in the particular context of language use.

Through the performance of translanguaging, speakers get to establish social relationships with their interlocutors. Garcia and Wei discuss, furthermore, the *translanguaging space*. This is a site wherein their interaction, multilingual individuals "break down the artificial dichotomies between the macro and micro, the societal and the individual, and the social and the psycho in the studies of bilingualism and multilingualism" (24). In other words, this is the point in an interaction where a multilingual speaker integrates social spaces by subverting norms of societally established language codes, creating a new space that, although it has features from societally recognized codes, is unique in its own ways. Such a space is envisioned by Garcia and Wei as a *third space*, not merely a hybrid of the speaker's prior languages but allowing new possibilities, such as new knowledge and new discourse, in the act of languaging. Translanguaging space happens in interaction, where speakers go between and beyond the

hitherto separate spaces. However, Garcia and Wei maintained that going both between and beyond the hitherto separate spaces requires *creativity* and *criticality*. Creativity means the skill of "following or flouting" recognize norms of language use; while criticality means "using evidence to questions, problematize or express views" (25). Therefore, in translanguaging, speakers adopt a space where they consciously perform their identities through social and linguistic practices to do six things: (1) To mediate understanding among each other; (2) To co-construct meaning of what the other is saying; (3) To construct meaning within themselves; (4) To include others; (5) To exclude others and; (6) To demonstrate knowledge (Garcia and Wei 2015, 231).

These specific functions of translanguaging not only show the speakers' translingual capability to interactionally establish social acts and subjectivities but also underscore their capability to use translanguaging to articulate social or indexical meanings that are associated with languages. Garcia and Wei discuss, furthermore, that translanguaging serves as an affordance for learners in achieving feats, such as (1) *investment* (2) *positioning* and (3) *integration* (Garcia and Wei 2014). Investment is the learner's desire to participate in language learning, and translanguaging serves to mediate the process for learners to "engage and interact socially and cognitively in the learning process in ways that produce and extend the students' languaging and meaning making" (79). Positioning is the process where speakers locate selves in an ongoing conversation. Language and literacy productions are not simply cognitive creations by learners but, instead, "products of positioning of students within social/political economies," and this positioning can be enabled by translanguaging. Lastly, the scholars explain integration as the process whereby a bilingual performs languaging in ways "that reflect the unified constitution of the learners" (Garcia and Wei 2015, 229). Rather than linguistic production in

two separate language systems, the learners appropriate registers that make up for their own "unique repertoire of meaning-making resources" (Garcia and Wei 2015, 230). Translanguaging practices enable each of these functions and, more importantly, these functions serve as a frame for which to explicate how translanguaging explain the process of language learning and socialization in interactive contexts during a study abroad program.

In my application of translanguaging to the study of learners' interaction in the Yoruba study abroad program, I would like to make two caveats: First, I am mindful of the fact that this approach emphasizes the creative use of resources "without regard to the ideological constructs of named languages" (Mori and Sanuth 2018). This lens, therefore, urges us to reference linguistic resources of language users, rather than talk of the traditional view of named languages. I share this idea in principle and its application to analyzing my data. While I still refer to each language by name as in the traditional sense of referencing the abstract and imagined construct, I avoid as much as possible using those names to describe an individual speaker's semiotic codes. Instead, I use the terms *linguistic resources*, *English resources*, *Yoruba resources* or *linguistic codes*, depending on context.

I also recognize that the idea of translanguaging emerged as an approach to advocate for space and roles for less powerful minority languages spoken by learners of a more powerful language, such as learners of English as a foreign language. The reverse is the case in the Yoruba context, where learners speak a more powerful language as their L1. For this reason, it is not out of place to worry about the possibility that this approach will further entrench the hegemony of English, which already has the reputation of dominating many indigenous languages it has come into contact with (Jenkins 2015), including Yoruba. However, my focus here is on the

communicative affordance that translanguaging bequeaths learners in the process of language learning and use. Differing from the monolingual, outcome-focused ideology that resulted in the animosity I noted at the beginning of this chapter, I apply translanguaging to focus on the co-construction of social and cultural meanings by learners and their assigned interlocutors in the program, demonstrated in language use.

In this chapter I approach interactive events to reveal how, by engaging in translanguaging in order to achieve communication goals in their discourse, participants demonstrate their agency, and highlight or avoid certain ideologies in the context of language use. My exploration of translanguaging is also in line with the overall Critical Applied Linguistics (CALx) approach of this dissertation. As Pennycook (2001, 37) noted, CALx is "a form of anti-disciplinary or transgressive knowledge." Elsewhere, he regards CALx as a constantly shifting and dynamic approach to questions of language in multiple contexts, rather than a method, a set of techniques, or a fixed body of knowledge (Pennycook 2010). An important aspect of CALx is the fundamental notion of "problematizing practice," described as the constant "problematization of the given" (Pennycook 2001). From this standpoint, as a researcher, I must not accept the taken-for-granted components and official accounts of the language center. Instead, my analyses of learners' translanguaging practices as a creative process of languaging problematizes traditional understanding of language and language learning by privileging users' strategic deployment of repertoires and resources for meaning-making. Through analysis of translanguaging, I explain how participants in the program, contrary to their representation in the Center's report, creatively navigate the policy of monolingual language use. Rather than focus solely on language, I present the learners as individual with agency (Coleman

2013) who draw on their multilingual capacities at different points of engagement with their assigned interlocutors in the program.

Compartmentalized Language Use

At both language tables and homestays, an important feature that stands out is what I describe as the *compartmentalization of language spheres*, a term I adapt from Higgins (2009, 3). I use the term to describe a macro-level separation of functions that are assigned to English and Yoruba by participants in the program during their respective interactive meeting. In what may appear to be a way around the monolingual policy of the program, participants who share competence in both Yoruba and English ordered their use of languages by compartmentalizing them into two separate spheres of communication, namely: 1) a *sphere of informalities* and (2) a *sphere of language learning*. In the informal sphere, communication is always in English language and is treated as unconnected with language learning. The speakers engage in a variety of talk including the exchange of pleasantries and chats entirely in English about specific topics they had previously shared or news of interest to both parties. During this talk, because they are aware of the requirement to speak in monolingual Yoruba, both speakers shared an understanding that their activities in this sphere are separated from language practice, the purpose of their assigned meeting. The groups made it known to me from the outset that they prefer that I do not start recording until they tell me to; meaning that they prefer to not have on record their talk in this sphere of interaction. I mostly kept to that agreement except on some accidental recording such as in Excerpt 1, which illustrates how learners and conversation partners treat the informal sphere. This excerpt includes an interaction between Túndùn (a conversation partner), Colleen (a student), and me. I had just set up and started the video, not

realizing that they were still speaking in English, which prompted Túndùn to tell me they were not ready.

Excerpt 1: Colleen and Túndùn at the Conversation Table

1	Túndùn:	Are we?	Are we?
2	Colleen:	Yes. (inaudible)	Yes. (inaudible)
3	Kazeem:	You are on. You are on air. (smile)	You are on. You are on air. (smile)
4	Túndùn:	A à ì tîì ready.	We are not ready yet.
5	Kazeem:	Anytime.	Anytime.
6	Túndùn:	Okay.	Okay.

The excerpt captures a moment when I accidentally intruded into the communicative sphere of *informalities* between these two speakers. When I confirm to Túndùn that I have started recording their interaction (line 3), she objects (line 4) that they are not ready to enter into the second sphere, when their linguistic practices will be arranged to comply with the monolingual expectations. In addition to highlighting the distinction between the two spheres, Túndùn's language use in line 4 also demonstrates an instance of the practice of translanguaging that I explore in this chapter.

The second sphere of communication is when speakers construct their conversations to facilitate language learning. For example, Excerpt 2 below is a chance recording of the switch between the prior sphere to the next. Brian and Dèjì have been speaking for about two minutes predominantly in English.

Figure 1: Dèjì sketching a map while Brian looks on.

As seen in the Figure 1, Dèjì (right) is sketching a map of campus and telling Brian how to get to the Faculty of Arts, where they plan to meet up the next day. As Dèjì describes and simultaneously sketches the map, Brian focuses on the sketch that Dèjì is making, and their interaction centers on the description. The point of change-over between spheres occurs in line 10.

Excerpt 2: Brian and Dèjì at the Conversation Table

1	Dèjì:	No, no, this is not Oduduwa. Oduduwa is here. (pointing to a different spot on the notebook) It's this one here.	No no this is not Oduduwa. Oduduwa is here. (pointing to a different spot on the notebook)) It's this one here.
2	Brian:	(pointing) So, this is the Bookshop.	(pointing) So, this is the Bookshop.
3	Dèjì:	(traces the direction with a pen while Brian looks on) Bookshop, then Tedder. You turn, then (.05) it's very easy.	(traces the direction with a pen while Brian looks on) Bookshop, then Tedder. You turn, then (.05) it's very easy.
4	Brian:	(collects the notebook and looks at the drawing).	(collects the notebook and looks at the drawing).
5	Dèjì:	So, ten. You call me.	So, ten. You call me.

6	Brian:	Okay.	Okay.
7	Dèjì:	And we can go shopping.	And we can go shopping.
8	Brian:	Alright (still looking at the sketch)	Alright. (still looking at the sketch)
9		(.25)	
10	Dèjì:	So, ehn, kí lẹ kọ ní kíláàsì lónìí?	So, uh, what did you learn in class today?
11	Brian:	Ehn ní kíláàsì lónìí, a ti kọ́ ọ́ a ti sọ ohun ti ṣe ni ọjọ́ àbámẹ́ta.	Uh, in class today, we have learned, uh we have discussed what we did on Saturday.

Dèjì and Brian demonstrate a shared understanding of the demarcation between the two spheres of communication that are common in most of the context of interactions that I observed. The relatively long pause in line 9 marks the end of the sphere of informalities and precedes the turn that heralds the sphere of language learning. Both spheres are usually found at every conversation table.

In the following section, I present analyses of a series of interactions that are representative of both the form of translanguaging and the purposes for which the learners use them in contexts of talk. I focus the linguistic choices of participants in the sequence of turn as a unit of analysis. I interpret the meaning of language alternation in the sequence by taking into account the language choice in the preceding and following turn (Wei 2017). I begin with details of the contexts of interactions with the conversation partners, followed by a discussion of the context of interactions with host parents.

The Conversation Table: Translanguaging as Instructional Strategies

A number of scholars have pointed out the pedagogical implications of the translanguaging paradigm in the area of bilingual education (García 2009; Creese and Blackledge 2010; Blackledge and Creese 2010; D. Wang 2016). Interactional events at the

conversational table of Yoruba learners provides us with examples of such pedagogical moments. A daily avenue for practicing using Yoruba with an assigned conversation partner, the conversation table is an important site of interaction in the program. Its location at the language center exposes the interactive activities that take place there to scrutiny by the instructors and program administrator, so it is not surprising that both speakers usually begin by orienting towards monolingual Yoruba practices as much as possible. The typical way of moving between linguistic codes during these conversations demonstrates a common theme that connects to instructional purposes, often exhibited by both the learners and their L1 interlocutors. Specifically, the L1 interlocutors in some of the excerpts use *explanatory strategies* (D. Wang 2016, 7), described as "cognitive or metalinguistic scaffolding for meaning-making activities such as elaborating grammar rules and lexical uses, translating new words, and interpreting cultural meaning." All of these interactive practices are common in my data. For example, in Excerpt 3 below, Túndùn, the conversational partner, utilizes translation both as an explanatory strategy and to provide linguistic accommodation for Colleen, the learner. English words, the unsanctioned choice in the program, are in bold.

Excerpt 3: Colleen and Túndùn at Conversation Table

1	Colleen:	Mo fé bèèrè nípa ilé-ìwé ní Nàìjíríà.	I want to ask about the schooling system in Nigeria.
2	Túndùn:	Ó yá, máa bèèrè.	Okay, keep asking.
3	Colleen:	Um, ní ilé-ìwé... uh. Kíní ìtumọ **Elementary School?**	Uh, in school… uh. What is the meaning of **Elementary School**?
4	Túndùn:	Ilé-ìwé alákọ́ọ́bẹ̀rẹ̀.	Ilé-ìwé alákọ́ọ́bẹ̀rẹ̀.
5	Colleen:	Alákọ́ọ́bẹ̀rẹ̀.	Alákọ́ọ́bẹ̀rẹ̀.
6	Túndùn:	Alákọ́ọ́bẹ̀rẹ̀ ni **preliminary, where you start from.**	Alákọ́ọ́bẹ̀rẹ̀ is **preliminary, where you start from**.
7	Colleen:	**Oh ok, okay.** (nods)	**Oh, okay, okay.** (nods)

8	Túndùn:	Àkọ́kọ́, àsopọ̀ ọ̀rọ̀ méjì. **Combination of two words.** Àkọ́kọ́ àti ìbẹ̀rẹ̀. Bẹ̀rẹ̀ is **start**, Àkọ́kọ́ is **first.**	First, two words are combined. **Combination of two words**. First and start. Bẹ̀rẹ̀ is **start**, Àkọ́kọ́ is **first**.
9	Colleen:	**Okay.** (nods)	**Okay.** (nods)
10	Túndùn:	So, **first start.**	So, **first start.**
11	Colleen:	Àkọ́bẹ̀rẹ̀.	Àkọ́bẹ̀rẹ̀.
12	Túndùn:	Alákọ̀ọ́bẹ̀rẹ̀.	Alákọ̀ọ́bẹ̀rẹ̀.

Colleen begins in monolingual Yoruba in line 1, to which Túndùn responds in monolingual Yoruba in line 2. This is a typical way that many interactions begin, with both interlocutors orienting towards monolingual Yoruba. But their extended exchanges soon drift into another direction when there is a need to define or describe a term that is known to the learners in English, as in line 3 when Colleen wants the Yoruba word for *elementary school*. Translanguaging often results from translation for communicative purposes within a conversation meant to advance the learning of Yoruba.

Túndùn provides the Yoruba equivalent *ilé-ìwé alákọ̀ọ́bẹ̀rẹ̀* in line 4, which Colleen partially repeats in line 5. Túndùn takes this partial uptake by Colleen as an indication that she does not comprehend the word, so she continues in line 6 to elaborate on the meaning of the phrase, explaining each of its words. By translanguaging between Yoruba and English resources, Túndùn ensures that Colleens comprehends the meaning of the word. This mixing of linguistic resources also shows that Túndùn acknowledges Colleen's multilingual capability. In line 8, Túndùn goes on to do a morphological analysis of the word. Colleen indicates her understanding bothe verbally and through nodding in line 9 but Túndùn continues the analysis in line 10. Túndùn establishes the practice of translation as a pedagogical strategy enabled by

translanguaging, with which Colleen later became acquainted and also performed later in the course of their conversation.

While the conversation partner moves between linguistic codes by means of translation as an instructional strategy, the learner collaborates in the process, establishing responsive participation. Like other learners I observed, Colleen uses translanguaging to co-construct and establish an understanding with Túndùn. In this case, as highlighted in excerpt 4, below, Colleen establishes understanding using multiple modes, namely linguistic and embodied participation. Li Wei (2017, 17) argues that in a translanguaging paradigm, language learning is "a process of embodied participation and resemiotization." We see how Colleen exhibits these forms of language use in the following excerpt, which begins when she asks a question about the elementary school, a follow up to the interaction in the previous excerpt.

Excerpt 3b: Colleen and Túndùn

13	Colleen:	Alákọ̀ọ́bẹ̀rẹ̀. Uh um eélòó... **No**, mélòó ni?	Elementary. Uh how much… **No**, how many?
14	Túndùn:	Ọdún mẹ́fà.	Six years.
15	Colleen:	Mẹ́fà.	Six.
16	Túndùn:	Ṣùgbọ́n àwọn ipele kékeré kan wà, pre-nursery, nursery **ok**?	But there are some earlier sections, pre-nursery, nursery **ok**?
17	Colleen:	Ùhn úhn. (nods)	Yes. (nods)
18	Túndùn:	Àwọn ìyẹn ọdun mẹ́ta.	Those ones are for three years.
19	Colleen:	**Okay** um ọdún mẹ́ta láti.	**Okay** uh three years to.
20	Túndùn:	Pẹ̀lú.	With.
21	Colleen:	Pẹ̀lú.	With.
22	Túndùn:	Ó jẹ́ bí ọdún mẹ́sàn-án.	It sums to nine years.
23	Colleen:	Ọdún mẹ́sàn-án. Nine. (.05) Um kíláàsì yíi um I don't know how to say it, **like** ní èdè Yorùbá.	Nine years. Nine. (.05) Um this class um I don't know how to say it, **like** in Yoruba.
24	Túndùn:	Ilé ìwé gíga?	University?
25	Colleen:	**No**. Um, ní ala-	**No**. Uh the ele-
26	Túndùn:	-Ní alákọ̀ọ́bẹ̀rẹ̀	-Elementary schools.

27	Colleen:	Alákọ̀ọ́bẹ̀rẹ̀ um kíláàsì ní èdè Yorùbá	Elementary classes in Yoruba
28	Túndùn:	Alákọ̀ọ́bẹ̀rẹ̀ náà ni. **So** Kíláàsì kìíní, ìkejì, ìkẹta, ìkẹrin, ìkẹfà.	It's Alákọ̀ọ́bẹ̀rẹ̀. **So**, class one, two, three, four, six.
29	Colleen:	Yeah, but do they teach Yorùbá?	Yeah, but do they teach Yoruba?
30	Túndùn:	Bẹ́ẹ̀ ni. Ṣé wọ́n máa ń kọ́ èdè Yorùbá ní ilé-ìwé alákọ̀ọ́bẹ̀rẹ̀?	Yes. Ṣé wọ́n máa ń kọ́ èdè Yorùbá ní ilé-ìwé alákọ̀ọ́bẹ̀rẹ̀?
31	Colleen:	(Nods).	(Nods)
32	Túndùn:	Bẹ́ẹ̀ ni, àwọn ilé-ìwé aládàáni, private schools,	Yes, private schools. Private schools.
33	Colleen:	(Nods).	(Nods).

Colleen's question in line 13 is composed of fragmented statements and a recast but oriented toward monolingual Yoruba presentation. Even though the question is fragmented, Túndùn shows her understanding in line 14 by responding that primary education takes six years. Túndùn, again, in line 16, utilizes her instructional strategies of explaining the other sections of schooling that precede the primary level nursery. At the end of the explanation, Túndùn elicits an affirmation response from Colleen by using the word *Okay?* At the end of her explanation. Colleen's response in line 17, to the elicitation by Túndùn was 'Uhn uhn' a pair of supportive minimal vocalizations, which are often used in Yoruba interaction to back-channel and keep a conversation going. The supportive minimal vocalizations in Yoruba is tonal, so its meaning changes depending on the tone. It could mean "yes", "yes?", "really?", "Okay" or "I see". Here Coleen says 'Ùhn úhn' and nods in affirmative. This combination of the fragmented phrases, the supportive minimal vocalizations, and nodding demonstrate the fluidity of Colleen's communicative repertoire, which includes both linguistic and multimodal semiotic signs that enable her translanguaging. This language practice, an example of what Garcia and Wei (2014) describe as weaving different language practices and linguistic subjectivities, is used to establish an understanding of Túndùn's explanations in the preceding turn. The same pattern of

translanguaging to establish comprehension is repeated by Colleen in lines 19, 25, 29, 31 and 33, although with different types of semiotic resources. While she uses the word *okay* in line 19, and the nodding in lines 31 and 33 to make affirmations to the respective turns that precede them, she, uses *no* in line 25 to reject a lexical suggestion that Túndùn offers her in prior turn.

Colleen also displays an instance of translation in line 23 when she says "Ọdún mẹ́sàn-án. Nine." It is possible that she is beginning to take a cue from her conversation partner who uses translation as an instructional strategy. However, her statement suggest that she also confirms with Túndùn that she understands *mẹ́sàn-án* to be "nine" before she moves on to attempt a question, although she declares in line 23 that she does not know how to ask the question using monolingual Yoruba resources. This might be read as a request from Colleen to change the language of interaction, but there is no such uptake from Túndùn. Interestingly, however, Colleen translanguages to establish her inability to say the question in monolingual Yoruba; that is itself a process of co-constructing understanding with Túndùn. When Túndùn, who does not know what she wishes to say suggests *ilé ìwé gíga* (university), Colleen again rejects that suggestion in line 25. After another attempt in line 27, she finally asks the question in line 29, using entirely monolingual English. Túndùn, taking it that Colleen wants to learn how to says the question in Yoruba, provides her the Yoruba equivalent in line 30, after answering the question in affirmative. Colleen is able to manage the interactive process, to co-construct and negotiate meaning by translanguaging. Her strategies include using linguistic resources from Yoruba and English both directly and through translation, combined with visual and other semiotic codes.

In Excerpt 4 below, we see another student using translanguaging as a strategy to effect understanding by co-constructing and negotiate meaning. Radela's host grandmother, who was visiting the host family in Ibadan, was to go back to her hometown on the day that this interaction took place, and Radela tries to make her conversation partner Bamiji understand that she will miss her grandmother:

Excerpt 4: Randela and Bamiji

1	Radela: Ìyá àgbà mi máa lọ lónìí.	My grandma will leave today.
2	Bamiji: Wọ́n máa lọ lónìí	She will leave today.
3	Radela: [Úhn-uhn]	[Yes.]
4	Bamiji: [O ò] fẹ́ kó lọ ni?	[Don't you] want her to leave?
5	Radela: Mo máa sòoró yín.	I will sòoró you.
6	Bamiji: O máa?	You will?
7	Radela: Ṣòoró.	Ṣòoró.
8	Bamiji: O máa sọ̀rọ̀ lónìí?	You will talk today?
9	Radela: (voice raised) **No**, mo máa sòoró yín.	(voice raised) **No**, I will ṣòoró you.
10	(.05)	(.05)
11	Radela: Mo máa sàrò.	I will miss.
12	(.05)	(.05)
13	Radela: <u>sàrò.</u>	<u>Miss.</u>
14	Bamiji: Sáré lọ lé?	Go home briefly?
15	Radela: **No**, not sáré, sàrò.	**No**, not run, it's miss.
16	Bamiji: Saa=	Bamiji: Saa=
17	Radela: =miss. **I'll miss her**	=miss. **I'll miss her.**
18	Bamiji: O máa ṣàárò wọn.	You will miss her.
19	Radela: Mo máa ṣàárò wọn.	I will miss her.

In this excerpt, Radela misremembers or mispronounces the word *ṣàárò* 'to miss someone'. She also uses the wrong pronoun for the object in the sentence, using *yín* 'you' instead of *wọn* 'her'. Her mispronunciation is the object of analysis here. Her trouble is phonological, specifically with using the right tone mark and the use of the wrong middle vowels in the word, which should have been pronounced "sàárò." Bamiji in line 6 interprets Radela earlier turn as problematic, and so prompts her to recast her statement, saying, "*O máa …?* (You will…?). Radela interprets this as a request to repeat herself, which she does in line 7. *Ṣòoró* is not a meaningful word to a Yorùbá speaker, so this time around, Bamiji provides an alternative word, *sọ̀rọ̀* (to talk) to replace Radela's choice, by asking a question "O máa sọ̀rọ̀ lónìí?" (You will talk today?) in line 8. Radela uses an English word, *no,* to reject Bamiji's suggestion and then goes ahead to restate her message in line 9. As she says this, a subtle resistance to Bamiji's suggestions manifests in the modulation of her voice.

Within an ideology of monolingualism, by using the word *no,* a linguistic resource associated with English, Radela is deviating from the expected norm. Because conversational partners are considered as substitute instructors that students approach with their classwork, assignments, and academic difficulties, a context of linguistic hierarchy is commonly created based on closeness to native-like proficiency. This social construction of hierarchy could create an opportunity for a conversation partner to display superiority. In this case, the learner deployed her multilingual resources to negotiate and subtly contest the imbalance. So when in line 14, Bamiji once again offers another possible word choice to replace the problematic word, Radela combines multiple linguistic resources, saying "No, not sáré, sàrò." (No, not run, it's miss.) In line 15, Radela's pronunciation is close to the intended word but before Bamiji could completely say another word, in line 17, after eight successive turns, Radela finally resorts to narrate what

she wishes to say using English expressions. This prompts Bamiji to tells Radela the correct Yoruba expression.

Both Excerpts 3 and 4 demonstrate that, although they try to orient towards monolingual language use, both the L1 interactants and the learners often end up translanguaging. The use of translanguaging as an instructional strategy is central to the language use and choices at conversational tables. While the instructors' use interactional processes, such as translating, learners use translanguaging to negotiate the language of interaction with their interactant and to establish understanding.

Homestay: Doing Nigerian Multilingualism

The homestay is an integral component of most study abroad programs. It provides overseas students with the opportunity to experience the local culture and language in real everyday terms (Campbell and Xu 2004b, 108). Designed to complement the conversation tables, the Yoruba homestay is intended to help learners transform classroom content into useful day-to-day interaction. Although the expectation and policy requirement remains that those interactions should be take place in monolingual Yoruba, learners are in fact exposed to more practical and authentic language behaviors of their multilingual interlocutors, such as for example, the practice of translanguaging.

While translanguaging is a prominent phenomenon at the homestay, the most striking observations from the data are how, through translanguaging, learners demonstrate their ability to achieve a form of Nigerian multilingualism in a manner similar to many L1 Yoruba-speakers. What I call *Nigerian Multilingualism* is a localized way of using language that combines the use of Yoruba forms in the English language. I highlight three such multilingual practices here: (1)

modifying an English noun with a Yoruba possessive pronoun; (2) rendering an English verb with some Yoruba phonological feature, by inserting vowels in between or after a final consonant; and (3) translanguaging. Excerpt 5 below illustrates the first of these various practices. In the excerpt, Tobik's host mom, Màmá, begins the conversation when she asks Tobik about a presentation which she gave at the Yorùbá center earlier that day.

Excerpt 5: Tobik with her Host Mother

1	Màmá:	Báwo ni **presentation** ẹ?	How was your **presentation**?
2	Tóbik:	(laughs) Ó lọ dáadáa. Mo sọ̀rọ̀ Mo sọ̀rọ̀ em.	(laughs) It went well. I spoke, I spoke uh.
3	Màmá:	O sọ̀rọ̀ lóríi ọdẹ.	You presented on hunters.
4	Tóbik:	Mo sọ̀rọ̀ lóríi ọdẹ àti alágbẹ̀dẹ	I presented on hunters and blacksmith.
5	Màmá:	Alágbẹ̀dẹ. **Okay.**	Blacksmith. **Okay.**
6	Tóbik:	Mo sọ̀rọ̀, mo sọ̀rọ̀ **like very good.**	I spoke, I spoke **like very good.**
7	Màmá:	**Okay.**	**Okay.**
8	Tóbik:	**Like pronunciation** mi, [o dáa gan.	**Like** my **pronunciation** [it was very good.
9	Màmá:	[o dáa gan.	[it was very good.

Màmá opens the talk in line 1 with a translingual question that combines the English word *presentation* with a Yoruba possessive pronoun *ẹ* 'your presentation'. This kind of combination is common among many Yoruba-speakers, such that Màmá uses them with Tobik without any hesitation–. Tobik's response begins with a positive evaluation on how the presentation went and she begins to share some information about her presentation. Màmá takes it that Tobik was going to mention the topic of her presentation and steps in to offer her assistance in line 3. Tobik takes the assistance and includes an additional topic in line 4. Tobik seems to indicate that she is not interested in discussing the topic of her presentation, but rather her assessment of it, as she goes on to do in lines 6 and 8. In both lines, she combines linguistic

codes, saying “mo sọ̀rọ̀ like very good” and then “like pronunciation mi, o dáa gan.” This last expression parallels Màmá’s translingual use of an English noun and a Yoruba possessive, exhibits Tobik’s competence in Nigerian multilingualism.

The next excerpt, from the same episode of interaction, illustrates the second form of multilingual practice, one in which a speaker appropriates an English verb by inserting vowels in between consonants or after a final consonant. It begins when Màmá asks Tobik if she has reached out to her father.

Excerpt 5: Tobik with her Host Mother

1	Màmá:	Ṣé o pe daddy ṣá?	Did you call your dad?
2	Tóbik:	Rárá.	No.
3	Màmá:	O ò pè wọ́n?	You did not call him?
4	Tóbik:	Rárá.	No.
5	Màmá:	O ò pè wọ́n láti Saturday!	You have not called him since Saturday!
6	Tóbik:	Mo **text** uh (.) mo texti wón.	I sent **text** uh (.) I sent him a text.

The word *texti* is a loan word from English which has been modified to sound like a Yorùbá word. This is a common practice of nativizing linguistic resources from another language. This use of multilingual practice further displays Tobik’s capacity as a speaker with a flexible linguistic repertoire that encompasses a wide range of resources; she is able to draw on those resources during interaction with her interlocutor in the program.

A third common multilingual practice at the homestay, simultaneous translanguaging, adapted from the label “simultaneous code-mixing” by translanguaging scholars Wang and Curdt-Christiansen (2018, 6). This term refers to the simultaneous need for and use of multiple languages in the process of meaning-making, whereby each language is used to convey a different message. The full meaning of the message is only realized through the combination of

these different linguistic codes. Excerpt 6 below provides an example of an interaction where both a learner and her host father are not only engaged in an unmitigated use of English language resources but also in practices that exemplify simultaneous translanguaging. Leticia, a student, is asking her host father, Mr. Agula, to tell his wife that Leticia wishes to hire a different tailor than the one has been initially tasked to make a dress for her.

Excerpt 6: Leticia and host father, Mr. Agula

1	Leticia:	**Oh** bàbá	**Oh**, Father.
2	Agula:	**Yes**.	**Yes**.
3	Leticia:	**Okay** um **I was praying mummy will be here.**	**Okay uh I was praying mummy will be here.**
4	Agula:	**Okay**.	**Okay**.
5	Leticia:	**Because I need to**- um um **aunty called me.**	**Because I need to uh uh aunty called me.**
6	Agula:	Ùhn úhn.	Okay.
7	Leticia:	**Aunty Lola called me**.	**Aunty Lola called me.**
8	Agula:	**Okay**.	**Okay.**
9	Leticia	**Maybe I can ask someone to help me with the Yoruba**.	**Maybe I can ask someone to help me with the Yoruba.**
10		**I want to tell mummy, but since you are here, to** ba mi gba aso ti mo fun Ranti nitori pe Aunty Lola mu elomiiran ti o le ti ole ran-an.	**I want to tell mummy, but since you are here, to** help me collect the fabric I gave to Ranti because Aunty Lola recommended someone else who can sew it.
11	Agula	**Okay.**	**Okay.**
12	Leticia	**Yeah cos I just don't know how to get to Ranti.**	**Yeah cos I just don't know how to get to Ranti.**
13	Agula	**Okay. What happen is that** se o le ra àsọ mii? Je ki n ra àso nii ko fi ran imi. Je kí ohun naa ba e ran ikan.	**Okay. What happen is that** would you buy another fabric? Let me buy another fabric that you will to make another dress. Let her also sew one for you.
14		(.1)	(.1)
15	Agula	**What happen is that I dont want you to collect the dress from her. So let her use that one to sew for you, then we give you money to buy another one.**	**What happen is that I dont want you to collect the dress from her. So let her use that one to sew for you, then we give you money to buy another one.**
16	Leticia	Aha bàbá **are you serious?**	Aha Father **are you serious?**
17	Agula	**I'm serious.**	**I'm serious.**

18	Leticia	(laughs) **That's too much money to be like-**	(laughs) **That's too much money to be like-**
19	Agula	**-----Oh no no, no problem so that you can have.**	**-Oh no no, no problem so that you can have.**
20	Leticia	**Thank you.**	**Thank you.**
21	Agula	**You know here in Yoruba and you say this thing, she can feel offended.**	**You know here in Yoruba and you say this thing, she can feel offended.**

As shown in the excerpt, both the learner and her interlocutor extensively use English in spite of the knowledge of the program's rules. The parts of the interaction that exemplify translanguaging are in lines 10 and 13. But the expression by Leticia in line 3, *I was praying mummy will be here,* is worth highlighting. The verb *praying* to mean 'hoping' is a form that I have heard frequently among Nigerians but not among American speaker of English. Forms like this are popularly called *Yoruba-English* among Yoruba-speaking Nigerians, describing expressions that are rendered with English resources, but which convey Yoruba thoughts and meanings. Yoruba English itself is part of categories that are classified *Nigerian English* by scholars. It might be that this learner is learning Nigerian ways of speaking English alongside learning Yoruba. While I am unable to say whether this learner acquired the expression in Yoruba before translating into English or the other way around, I read this as another form of translanguaging behavior by this specific language learner.

The dominant forms of translanguaging in this transcript are in lines 10 and 13. In each of these turns of talk, both speakers shuttle seamlessly between Yoruba and English. When Leticia says, "I want to tell mummy to ba mi gba Aso ti mo fun Ranti nitori pe Aunty Lola mu elomiiran ti o le ti ole ran-an" (I want to tell Mummy to help me collect the fabric I gave to Ranti because Aunty Lola recommended someone else who can sew it) she breaks the messages into two, conveying each with different linguistic resources. Her statement in the preceding turn, line

9, suggests that she feels obligated to to break off from the use of monolingual English, in which they have been speaking for close to two minutes, and present the information in monolingual Yoruba. However, she draws from her combined linguistic resources to communicate the message. It might be that this practice is a middle ground to fulfilling the Yoruba requirement without sacrificing the content of her message. Like Leticia, Agula also presents part of his message using English resources before moving to Yoruba resources; but says the rest of the message in the excerpt in monolingual English. If we divide the message into separate linguistic resource groups, we will observe that each group communicates a different message. We get a full message by combining utterances in both linguistic groups. This is a common multilingual practice among Yoruba-speakers that learners like Leticia occasionally exhibit to create meaningful engagement with their host families.

Conclusion

Analysis of data in this chapter regarding the use of translanguaging in the Yoruba program participants' interactions reveals that they strategically use their multilingual and multimodal resources to achieve meaningful engagement with interlocutors in the various contexts of language use instituted by the program. Learners' capacity to draw on multiple linguistic resources is variously exhibited in interactions with conversation partners and host parents that the program assigned to them. Translanguaging also illustrates the multilingual capacity of the assigned language facilitators, who are active participants in the multilingual linguistic landscape. The L1 Yoruba-speakers collaborate with learners in the practices of moving between linguistic codes. Translanguaging practice affords these speakers strategies to not only achieve meaningful interactions but also to engage in the same kinds of authentic

linguistic practices that they would in conversation with other multilingual Yoruba-speakers outside of the program.

Interpreting the translingual practices in a situated manner shows a relationship to the local and geopolitical contexts of the program that shape these practices and language choices of learners. Despite the program's expectation that all interactions should be in only monolingual Yoruba, these students, as well as their assigned interlocutors deviated from such expectations by incorporating linguistic forms associated with English. Although the learners and their assigned interlocutor are both culpable in this practice, the program director's criticism merely centers on the acquisition of language, failing to take into consideration the external social factors that shape language acquisition.

Chapter Six

Outdoor Classes:

Socialization into Monolingual Practices in a Multilingual Context

During the Yoruba study abroad program, the open markets constitute an important site for observing both linguistic practices and the enactment of language ideologies. Scheduled visits to markets, known as "outdoor classes," formed a core aspect of the study abroad program. As we saw in the previous chapter, the study abroad program handlers believed that the outdoor events will "complete" the immersive experience of the study abroad learners. Consequently, the outdoor events are meant to provide learners with opportunities for "real life" communicative interactions with random and untutored "native" or more advanced speakers of Yoruba. While the location of the classes is broadly defined, visits to the market are more common and often referenced by the program handlers when justifying its inclusion. The choice of the market is based on widespread assumptions that a majority of the individual market people have low or no formal education, in comparison to more educated Nigerians who commonly take up white collar jobs and speak English well. Thus program organizers take the markets as the most natural sites with rich monolingual Yoruba, where the language learners can try out, shape and refine the command of the target language (Dewey et al. 2014; Freed 1995); and in the process undergo language socialization. In reality, however, the real, situated linguistic practices of the supposedly illiterate market people present language learners with multilingual and translingual practices that form the day-to-day linguistic realities of the Yoruba-speakers.

This chapter explores the linguistic practices by study abroad participants and market workers during situated, real-life act of price haggling at three open markets. Given that all

contexts of interaction are potentially socializing ones (Schieffelin and Ochs 1996; Ochs 2013), the dynamic nature of interactions in these transaction episodes present rich data for making sense of the socialization processes of learners in the program. As these participants negotiate price and sales of merchandise in open market situations, they bring to bear the set of linguistic resources at their disposal to also negotiate meaning, thereby contributing to their own (and others') socialization. Language socialization is rooted in the notion that the process of acquiring a language is part of a much larger process of becoming a person in a society (Ochs 2002). My approach to language socialization is to illustrate how these participants are socialized into monolingual language use while they participate in haggling. Focusing on the discursive practices that I observed in the epsiodes of interatcion, my analysis in this chapter is guided by the following questions: How do Yoruba learners learn to participate in communicative and cultural events of price haggling that allow them to function as member of the society? How do they collaboratively coordinate and enact their knowledge of participation in the sociocultural norms and ways of life of the Yoruba-speaking context? Which linguistic resources are utilized, what social meanings and linguistic choices signal socialization in the context of interaction, and what language ideologies are manifested? A socialization paradigm, informed by the theoretical framework of language socialization (Watson-Gegeo 1992; Schieffelin and Ochs 1996; Duff 2008; Kinginger 2013b), enables me to make sense of these processes. I examine how language learners, coming from monolingual-oriented classrooms confront and operate in the interactive encounters with multilingual Yoruba-speakers outside of the classroom; and how multilingual interactants who are first-language (L1) speakers of Yoruba also react to and deal with the encounter with monolingual-oriented users of Yoruba. I explore not only the language of these

participants in relation to the activity of making purchases of merchandise but also in relations to the ideologies that drive the practices.

The Outdoor Classes

A key component of the Yoruba study abroad program, which creates social domains for contact with and commentary about "the other" (Appadurai 1996), is the *outdoor classes*. Twice a week, students were scheduled to take part in outdoor learning in lieu of classroom instruction. These were not actual instructor-led classes, characterized by specific pedagogical objectives and instruction plans, but more like learning in the wild (Wagner 2015). The "classes" were an informal but obligatory communicative encounter. The meetings were mostly held in public spaces, such as markets and other civic establishments, with the goal of giving students increased access to Yoruba (supposed) native speakers. Throughout the program, students visited several open markets and other locations, such as the University of Ibadan radio station on campus, a fashion designer shop, a juvenile correctional facility, an art gallery, and stores in Ibadan.

During each outdoor class to the market, students formed three groups of about four students each, based on a predetermined order, each group led by an instructor. Each instructor went with their group to different stalls in the market. The instructor introduced the students, explaining the goal of the visit to the sellers. After introductions, students were expected to greet the sellers and start conversations with them. Sometime, the conversation could include other random people, such as buyers, sales assistants, and other passers-by.

Price Haggling in the Open Markets

By the second week of the study abroad program, participants had started going out for the outdoor classes. The market visits that I examine in this chapter took place from the fourth week to the seventh week. By this time, the students had covered needed topics in their classes to prepare them for dealing with day-to-day living in the community, including how to haggle in the open markets.

Haggling, or negotiating prices of merchandise is a common practice in many societies and an important sociocultural practice among the Yoruba people. It is considered traditional education that young Yoruba children are socialized into by their parents or guardians (Ayoola 2009). Haggling exchanges generally include not only negotiations of prices but also casual interactions between buyers and sellers on topics directly or remotely relating to the merchandise. For example, both the seller and vendor might begin with an extended greeting and share information about the motive for the transaction before starting the actual negotiation. And it is common that both the sellers and buyer in a specific haggling exchange would employ discourse strategies such as "humor, dysphemism and euphemism, cajoling, flattery and flirting" (Ayoola 2009) to ensure they get the best bargain during the transaction.

The haggling process is contextualized as genre-specific and linked specifically to markets or places where the exchange of goods and services take place (Ayoola 2009). The relative prevalence of haggling in the day-to-day life of the Yoruba people, including the outdoor class spaces, might explain why haggling is one of the common topics and skills to which Yoruba-learners are exposed. In the classroom, in line with the content of the popular instructional materials (Schleicher 1993; 2008), students learn the significant elements of haggling, including various semiotic resources and discourse strategies needed to beat down

prices. Through roleplays, learners take turns to enact the roles of both vendors and buyers in the discursive act, putting to use basic phrases and expressions that are commonly used in the real-life version of the transactions.

The haggling interactions that I focus on in this chapter took place mostly at textile and apparel stores at three different markets, *Òjé*, *Alẹ́shinlọ́yẹ́*, and *Gbági*. The students visited each on three different occasions for a total of nine market visits. I have chosen encounters that took place in the clothing stores because interactions in these stores provide extended processes of haggling and interactive episodes that I explore in this chapter. Students haggled for actual purchases, as they were also using the moment to shop for cloth that they needed, either for personal use or as gifts to take back with them to the U.S.

Each haggling encounter was expected to take place between a specific language learner (or learners) and a specific seller (or sellers) of the merchandise that students wished to buy. But an instructor was always present with every group of approximately four students, primarily to ensure that the interactions took place in Yoruba. At each store, the instructor introduced the students in their group to the seller and encouraged them to speak only in Yoruba to the students. From a socialization perspective, the presence of the instructor is to play supervising roles of the interactive events that take place during the outdoor classes, similar to an apprenticeship model that is based on explicit socialization. By introducing learners and setting the guideline for interactions in monolingual Yoruba, the instructor sets the stage for an expected ideal experience for the language learners. In the program's estimation, this guided exposure to the Yoruba-speakers might enable learners to discover how to function communicatively through a process

of trying out and modifying their language. And more importantly, to do so monolingually in Yoruba.

However, because many of these sellers were used to engaging in translingual practices, they frequently fell back to the use of their multiple linguistic repertoires. When this happened during conversations, the instructor would make efforts to call the native speakers to order, causing the instructor to feature, in one way or another, in the interactions. As I will show in the excerpts, there are times when an instructor would choose to interject in the conversation while in some instances, either the seller or learner invited the instructor, directly or indirectly, to join in the talk. In all cases, the instructor's participation emphasized the monolingual language use that the program tries to enforce. Because all three instructors played similar roles in monitoring the use of monolingual Yoruba, I have chosen not to identify the instructor by name in the excerpts. In a few instances, I was also invited into some discussions while I operated my video camera, although I refrained from joining them in most cases.

Àpò and Páwùn: Two terminologies for haggling

While the terminologies for bargaining prices are not completely unique to Yoruba speakers, there are two culturally-inflected terminologies that frequently surface in the excerpts: *Àpò* and *Páwùn.* Both of these terms are units of currency that can be said to constitute a part of the haggling genre in the Yoruba market system. An *àpò* was a unit of exchange in a traditional Yoruba monetary system. *Àpò,* meaning a "bag" or a "pouch," describes the container that people traditionally used to store cowrie shells, at one time a medium of financial transactions. Every Àpò contained two hundred cowrie shells. Hence, an *àpò* is used to mean two hundred naira (about US$0.56) in contemporary Yoruba society. *Páwùn* is a Yorubanized pronunciation

of "pound." Pounds and Shilling used to be Nigeria's legal tender during British colonialism, after which Nigeria changed to Naira and Kobo. The use of *Páwùn* is not uncommon among elderly Yoruba speakers even though it has been officially phased out. Its value is also two hundred naira.

Language socialization

This chapter examines the interactional processes involving Yoruba study abroad study during haggling exercises and roles such events play in the language socialization process of study abroad participants. Language socialization research is concerned with the process of how individuals acquire knowledge of linguistic and cultural competence necessary for them to function properly in a given social group (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986). From this perspective, language learning is not limited to the acquisition of linguistic properties but also a process of acquiring social and pragmatic meanings. In its original composition, language socialization involves a relationship between a learner, also regarded as a "novice" and a more adept user of the language, known as an "expert" (Ochs 2013). The novice collaborates with the expert to accomplish communicative tasks of various form and contexts, such as in the cases I examine here, to haggle price of merchandizes. The originators of the language socialization approach, Bambi Schieffelin and Elinor Ochs (1996) specified two types of language socialization, namely: (1) socialization *through the use of language* and (2) and socialization *to use language*. Within the field of second language acquisition, scholars of language socialization posit that learning a second language is a process whereby an L2 learner comes to understand socially constructed meaning through participation in a particular speech community (Atkinson 2002; Kramsch

2003). Therefore, L2 socialization covers both communicative competence as well as the functional deployment of the language.

Understanding the role of language in the "reproduction and innovation of social order and cultural knowledge, beliefs, values, ideologies, symbols, and indexes" (Ochs and Schieffelin 2011, 11) is the key focus of language socialization. This means that language is an important component of socialization. Language socialization research also encompasses the complex pattern of interaction, including how different subjectivities might be called to play, as well as how meaning is produced and negotiated in interactions. In social interactions, such as exemplified in the study abroad context, an analysis of situated communicative events of language learners in connection to ethnographic account of the social group into which the learner is being socialized can provide us with an understanding of the process of socialization.

Language socialization can take place either through explicit practices or through implicit participation in semiotically mediated practice (Ochs and Schieffelin 2011). Explicit socialization takes place when the language expert overtly instructs the novice. Schieffelin and Ochs (1996) highlight examples of explicit instruction in the case of children and caregiver, such as: prompting routines, modifying a child's utterance so as to make it an activity-appropriate contribution. In addition to these and other principles of L1 socializations, second language learning involves more complexity due to the existing linguistic and cultural framework to which learners will add new ones. Implicit socialization, on the other hand, takes place without conscious awareness of learners. Byon (2003, 269) considers implicit socialization to be more effective than the explicit socialization, claiming that while learners may refuse to admit an explicit use of some linguistic norms in the society, learner do not get to contradict how speakers

use a language in the society. Through language-mediated activities, situated in culturally specific context, such as price haggling, in this case, learners get to acquire vocabulary, language form and discourse patterns, the system of meaning-making, cultural understanding and perspectives and the organization of day-to-day lifestyles. In other words, learners are able to draw connection among linguistic forms, social context, and meaning, referred to as the "Indexicality Principle" (Ochs 1996). In this context of Yoruba study abroad, the linguistic resources used in interaction by both the more proficient language users and the language learner will be studied as a potential medium of socialization.

Early studies on language socialization explored socialization as a lifelong process. Schieffelin and Ochs (1996) focused on how children are socialized into a community, using the "expert-novice" metaphor to describe the relationship between the competent language user and the learner respectively. Although this idea of language socialization enjoyed wide reach, the "expert-novice" dichotomy, nonetheless, received criticism. For example, SLA scholar Patricia Duff (2008) argued that the metaphor obliterates the multi-directionality of the language socialization process, and also undermines leaners' personal histories and experiences. Applied linguist Dort Lonsmann (2017, 330) adds that new language learners often bring with them "firm expectations about language use in their new community," and that this expectation may "influence their attitudes and expectations to the new language practices they encounter and consequently also their language socialization." Ochs and Schieffelin (2011, 1) later informed us that research into language socialization "extends the objects of inquiry to the range of adult and child communicative partners with whom a child or other novice routines engage in some capacity across socioculturally configured settings." This speaks to the expansion of language socialization research to complex and dynamic interactive situations beyond the "expert-novice"

dichotomy. In particular, language socialization in second language learning highlights the dynamic and multidirectional aspects of language socialization. Socialization may be directed by language instructors and more advanced speakers; and it can be also directed by language learners, by being "involved actively in the construction or the resistance of socialization" (C. Wang 2010, 57). Additionally, educationists Robert Bayley and Sandra Schecter (2003) extend language socialization study to multilingual contexts in an edited volume on language socialization in bilingual and multilingual contexts. Scholars emphasized novices' agency in selecting different codes, the ideologies surrounding the different codes, and negotiation of identities in the process. The chapter aligns with these new perspectives in language socialization research, by exploring the multi-directionality of language socialization in the price-haggling processes by participants in Yoruba study abroad context.

Language socialization research in study abroad context investigates the extent to which language learners abroad learn languages through active engagement in local communities (Kinginger 2013b). Language socialization is commonly evaluated based on linguistic transformation in which a novice becomes an expert language user and becoming socialized into the practice of meaning-making in the local communities through language is an important part of this.

With the critique of research focus on outcome-based findings, and the popularity of the "social turn in second language acquisition" (Block 2003), scholars have embraced the study of social and cultural aspects of language learning in study abroad (such as Coleman 2013; Jane 2013; Kinginger 2013; Maria 2013). Kinginger (2013b, 1) claims that although these works emerged from a variety of methodological traditions, they may be interpreted from the

perspective of language socialization. Researchers, following this tradition, have interrogated broader questions relating to the "socio-cultural, political, and identity-related meaning of study abroad for particular students and groups of students" (Kinginger 2013b). All social activities in the context of study abroad in which learners regularly interact with other speakers "are not only by definition socially organized and embedded in cultural meaning systems but are inherently political" (Watson-Gegeo 1992, 21). Taken together, language socialization approach to investigating learners' interactions abroad emphasizes the language learners' agency in the use of language, and that research in the context of study abroad can explore the key roles of specific contexts and all actors in the language socialization process of learners. Combining implicit demonstrations and explicit instructions, it illustrates "a range of ways in which language learners abroad either succeed or fail to negotiate access to learning opportunities." And it allows me to bring to bear a critical perspective on the program.

Study abroad space makes an ideal setting for language socialization study since it has to do with the experience of new members gaining access to communicative practices in the new context. In order to become a member of the Yoruba-speaking community, the learners are expected to speak like locals and engage in socio-cultural activities that mark the local practices, as encapsulated in the monolingual expectation of the program, however unrealistic that is. But we should not assume that it is only language learners who will be socialized. And considering that the language in focus is a part of a bricolage of semiotic resources that are routinely used by its supposedly more advanced speakers, we might be faced with genuine questions such as: To which language would leaners be socialized? Who socializes whom? Language learners have to deal with competing language ideologies, as they take the opportunity to participate in everyday haggling activities with Yoruba-speaking sellers. Hence, a socialization study, from a

methodological standpoint, should be concerned with subjects' participation in locally meaningful interactions, described by Schieffelin and Ochs (1996) as the "microgenesis" of competence. These scholars, (Ochs and Schieffelin 2011, 13) later offers an extensive list of social actions that exemplify language socialization, including: "error-corrections, assessments, reminders, calling out and other attention-getting moves, prompts, commands, suggestions, requests, threats, warnings, insults, shaming, teasing, praise, confirmation, rhetorical and test questions, commons sense and other evidential particles, proverbs, idioms, gossip, moralizing narratives, reported speech, explanations, and other metapragmatic discourse." Some of these cues constitute social actions that can be potentially isolated in the interactions involving language learners and L1 speakers of Yoruba during price haggling in the outdoor classes. Focusing on language use of participants, including Yoruba-language learners, in fluid bilingual and multilingual contexts, I examine the socialization processes by and through language in the market proceedings, being a domain of knowledge and cultural practices. The following sections explore some of the specific categories that emerged during the data analysis.

A Translingual Space: Participation and Monolingual Orientation.

Study abroad learners' participation in the out-of-classroom engagements highlights the disparity between monolingually-oriented classroom language practices and the translingual realities of Yoruba-speakers. Although the Yoruba study abroad program considers the market spaces as rich contexts for gaining exposure to monolingual Yoruba, the learners' interactive encounters are characterized by active participation in the use of diverse linguistic resources and exposure to sociocultural values which are beyond the linguistic objectives of the program. In the open market spaces, the L1 speakers of Yoruba, despite being asked to speak in monolingual

Yoruba with learners, freely utilized their multiple linguistic resources (mostly Yoruba and English), to perform discursive functions. To these speakers, this practice of syncretic language use has become normal. These norms are variously manifested in all interactions between language study abroad learners during the outdoor classes, and they provide scenarios for language learners to participate in and play roles in socializing practices. In particular, language learner's socialization normally involves participating in translingual practices and sociocultural meaning making. For example, in Excerpt 1 below, Jalen, a language learner, and Yẹni, a vendor, collaboratively use multiple linguistic resources to co-construct a locally meaningful mundane interaction and activities (Ochs 1996) as Jalen tries to buy a strip of *aṣọ-òkè*, the most prestigious Yoruba item of clothing, for his brother who is back in the United States. Figure 1, below is an example of a type of *aṣo-òkè* fabric:

Figure 1: Yéni shows Jalen a strip of aṣọ-òkè fabric. Aṣo-òkè of different colors and design are also neatly packed in the glass case behind Yeni.

A strip is a unit of measuring and selling aṣo-òkè. Normally, an individual will buy the number of strips they require from the Aṣo-òkè sellers like Yeni and take them to a dressmaker who will sew the strips together to make different items of clothing, such as *fila* (cap) for men, *gele* (headwraps) for women or complete outfits for both men and women. In this context, Jalen intends to buy a strip for his brother to make a *fila*. In this interaction, as in most of the interactions that I recorded in the outdoor classes, speakers move freely between languages (Blackledge and Creese 2010, 124) in spite of the shared understanding of the need to speak using monolingual Yoruba. In all data transcripts, English expressions are in bold; multimodal description are in single parenthesis; background information are in double parenthesis; overlaps are indicated with brackets; and equal signs are used to indicate that there is no perceivable pause between speaker turns.

Excerpt 1a: Jalen at Yẹni's store

1 Jalen:	Ẹ̀gbọ́n mi ọkùnrin fẹ́:: um (snaps his fingers) fẹ́ **strip** nìkan. **He only wants strips.**	My elder brother wa::nts uh (snaps his fingers) **strips** only. **He only wants strips.**
2 Yẹni:	**Just one strip?** Ìkan. Ṣé fún fìlà?	**Just one strip?** One. For a cap?
3 Jalen:	Mi ò mọ̀.	I don't know.
4 Yẹni:	Fìlà nìkan náà ni awẹ́ kan lè rán.	Only a cap can be made out of a strip.
5 Jalen:	**Okay.**	**Okay.**
6 Yẹni:	Mo máa gé awẹ́ kan nínú eléyìí.	I will cut one strip from this.
7 Jalen:	Mi ò gbọ́.	I don't understand [it].
8 Yẹni:	(stretches out a long strip of aṣọ-òkè and uses her right hand to demonstrate cutting it with a scissor) Mo máa gé awẹ́ kan nínú eléyìí. **This is the length of one** - awẹ́ kan. **So I will just cut it.**	(stretches out a long strip of Aṣọ-òkè and uses her right hand to demonstrate cutting it with a scissor) I will cut one strip from this. **This is the length of one**- one strip. **So I will just cut it.**
9 Jalen:	Ó yé mi.	I understand.
10 Yẹni:	(laughs)	(laughs)
11 Jalen:	(smiles) Mo ń gbìyànjú ma.	(smiles) I am putting in some effort.

12 Yẹni:	èmi náà ti ri bẹ́ẹ̀ (Cuts out the strip and hands it to Jalen.) Ẹgbẹ̀rún kan.	I can see that. (Cuts out the strip and hands it to Jalen.) One thousand.
13 Jalen:	Ẹgbẹ̀rún kan um **one thousand?**	One thousand uh **one thousand?**
14 Yẹni:	Uhn.	Yes.

This excerpt presents an instance of participation in a sociocultural event that demonstrates a learner's practical knowledge and use of language to engage in talk as an activity (Garrett and Baquedano-López 2002). The interaction begins with Jalen telling Yẹni that he wants to buy a strip of aṣọ-òkè for his brother. The manner in which Jalen communicates this message, in terms of his linguistic choices and the task he performs, shows him as a creative language user who is in tune with the cultural norms and social realities about language in the context in which he is operating. He starts the turn with Yoruba, the expected code for him to communicate in, but crosses to use English resources in the middle. Before translanguaging, he stretches the vowel in fẹ́ (want), then he uses a speech filler "uh" and then snaps his finger before saying the English word. These spontaneous strategies suggest two possibilities: First, it might be that he forgets the Yoruba word for *strips,* hence the use of the English code. Second it could be because he is not yet versed in using vocabulary relating to selling aṣọ-òkè in market context. However, his choice indicates an assumption that his interlocutor is equally capable of operating using linguistic resources from both English and Yoruba. While Jalen's use of English from the early turn may be said to serve a practical purpose, to engender communication, it nonetheless shows his willingness to violate the program's monolingual rule, to participate in the translingual practice. And this move become even more evident when he quickly follows up the translingual sentence with another sentence in monolingual English that reinforces the prior one. This discursive act carries a load of meaning that only becomes obvious as the haggling continues,

concluding on an agreeable price. The fact is that Jalen's brother wants multiple strips of aṣọ-òkè, where each strip is in a different design. But seeking a single strip of aṣọ-òkè is not favorable to wholesale sellers such a Yẹni, who usually prefer to sell in bundles of a minimum of three strips. While it is not unheard of for these sellers to sell a single strip, particularly for an individual who wishes to make a cap, as suggestive from Yẹni's response in line 2, it is dispreferred. Jalen's upfront clarification that he is buying the strips for his brother shows that he understand sellers do not like to sell single strips. As a result, making his plan known upfront at the beginning of the haggling process by way of translanguaging has a functional implication, which is to provide clarity for Yẹni.

The aversion to selling a single strip is made obvious in Yẹni's response in line 2, when she confirms that Jalen's brother wants *just one strip*. The use of "just" indexes a negative stance toward the quantity, which becomes the basis for Yẹni's question as to what Jalen's brother intends the strip for. Jalen's response, that he does not know, has two possible interpretations: it could mean that he does not know what his brother intends to do with one strip or that he does not know that only a cap can be made out of a single strip. But Yeni, reading the response as the latter, sees that gap in Jalen's understanding as the opportunity to educate him, in line 4. Jalen accepts this as a form of education by saying, "Ok" in line 5. Up to this point, both speakers are moving between English and Yoruba. Following this, Yeni proceeds to further educate Jalen on how she will end up with a strip, by cutting from a longer strip. She says this explanation in monolingual Yoruba, which prompts Jalen to initially say that he does not understand what Yeni says. Yeni then explains again, in line 9, how he will get one strip by cutting a standard measurement for one strip out of a long roll of fabric. This time, she makes this explanation through a combination of both linguistic and embodied semiotic resources, including using her

right hand to demonstrate cutting it like a scissor, until Jalen indicates that he gets the explanation in line 10. Jalen's response serves as a confirmation of learning that is actualized through the use of language in flexible translingual ways. Yẹni's brief laughter in line 12 comes off as a form of positive assessment of Jalen's linguistic performance as he participates in the discourse, hence Jalen affirms with a smile, *Mo ń gbìyànjú ma* (I am putting in some effort). And Yẹni this time, verbalizes her assessment, *Èmi náà ti ri bẹ́ẹ̀* (I can see that) as a confirmation of Jalen participation and engagement in the socializing encounter.

As Yẹni goes ahead to cut out a strip from the long roll and informs Jalen of the price in monolingual Yoruba, *ẹgbẹ̀rún kan* (one thousand), in line 15, she not only initiates the actual price negotiation process but also commences another round of socialization opportunity. Jalen, being presented a price, gets an opportunity to participate in a cultural act that will involve his linguistic resources. A seller either agree to pay the initial quote without further talk, back and forth or choose to haggle. In this instance, Jalen opts for the latter, beginning by first seeking confirmation that the quoted amount matches his understanding. He does this by first saying the amount in Yoruba and then translating it into English, a move similar to the opening turns of this episode that signify his willingness (or need) to translanguage. By confirming the price Yeni ratifies Jalen's language use with respect to this particular amount in Yoruba. This understanding, thereby, prompts Jalen to initiate the haggling which unfolds in the following excerpt:

Excerpt 1b: Jalen at Yẹni's store

15 Jalen:	Ẹ má bínú ma, mi ò lè san ẹgbẹ̀rún kan. Mo jẹ́ akẹ́kọ̀ọ́.	I'm sorry ma, I can't pay one thousand. I am a student.

16 Yẹni:	Ó yá ẹ san **eight hundred.**	Okay, pay **eight hundred.**
17 Jalen:	Ṣé kò gbaa [eight hundred?]	Will it sell for [eight hundred?]
18 Yẹni:	[awẹ́ mẹ́ta] **two-five ni**. Ṣ'ẹmọ̀ ta bá máa pin **eight hundred** ni. Uhn eight hundred.	[Three stripes] cost t**wo-five.** You know if we split it its **eight hundred.** Yes, eight hundred.
19 Jalen:	Um màmá, mi ò lè san ẹgbẹ̀rún dín ni àpò kan. Mi ò lè san an. Ṣé kò gba àpò mẹ́ta?	Uh mother, I can't pay a thousand less a bag. I can't pay it. Would you accept three bags?
20 Yẹni:	(looks surprised) Kò gba kò gba àpò mẹ́ta. (smiles) Kò gba àpò mẹ́ta. Ìṣirò [Kò gba àpò mẹ́ta].	(looks surprised) Can't accept, can't accept. (smiles) Can't accept. By calculation [Can't accept three bags].
21 Jalen:	[Kí ni ẹ fẹ́?]	[What do you want?
22 Yẹni:	Ó yá ẹ san àpò mẹ́ta àbọ̀	Okay, pay three and a half bags.
23 Jalen:	Àpò mẹ́ta àbọ̀.	Three and a half bags.
24 Yẹni:	O súnmọ́ iye tí mo tà á fún Martha. **Ẹ ti get?**	It's close to how much I sold it to Martha. **Do you get [it]?**
25 Jalen:	Okay.	Okay.

Language socialization enables speakers to become culturally competent, or to become a "speaker of culture" (Ochs 2002). This excerpt, in advancing the haggling process, presents how Jalen and Yẹni use their multiple linguistic resources to collaboratively construct a scenario which shows Jalen as a culturally intelligible participant. I read his ability to perform the culturally-inflected feat as evidence of his prior socialization into performing a context-specific cultural role. Beginning from his first statement in line 15, Jalen initiates price negotiation by establishing that he will not pay the initially quoted price of one thousand. But he does so by first appealing to Yẹni, and then making it known that he is a student. In this turn, which he constructs in monolingual Yoruba, Jalen combines two strategies that Yoruba-speakers commonly use to request a favorable deal in a transaction. The expression, *ẹ má bínú ma* (I am sorry) is the same word used to apologize for one's inaction towards someone else. It literally means "don't be mad"; it's a go-to phrase that is commonly used in various contexts. So Jalen is not admitting to a fault but rather is creating an atmosphere that will enable him to beat down the

price without coming off as being rude. In the same turn, he immediately follows up with a statement about his status as a student, which Yẹni already knows. With this statement, Jalen not only provides a reason for why he will not pay one thousand but pushes Yẹni to offer him preferential consideration. Jalen is proving that he understands what button to press when haggling in order to get a favorable price.

In line 16, Yẹni yields, lowering the price to eight hundred but stating the new price in English. Jalen was going to further lower the price in line 17, as he begins a question, but stops mid-way and repeats Yẹni's new quote in English. Here, it is Yẹni's lead that Jalen follows, since he starts out the haggling in monolingual Yoruba. But before he ends the question, Yẹni cuts in to offer an argument for why the price of eight hundred is ideal to sell the strip. Offering justifying explanation like this is a normal move for a seller, to try to convince the buyer to stop further haggling and buy at the current price. If a buyer accepts the logic, they will end the haggling, and decide whether to buy or not. But in this case, Yẹni's argument—that because the bulk price for three strips is two thousand five hundred naira, a strip costs eight hundred—does not add up. Either she mis-states the price or just intends to make a huge profit from Jalen. Also, Jalen, seems not to accept the argument, and reaffirms that he cannot pay eight hundred, in line 19. By prefacing his decision with the word, *màmá* (mother), Jalen demonstrates his capacity to use a relevant linguistic term as a strategy to further beat down the price. His move here fits into an act of "cajoling" (Ayoola 2009, 396), where either the seller or buyer uses "terms of endearment" to address the other so as to evoke a favorable response. Also, like in the previous turn, Jalen's strategy of adding prefaces in Yoruba before rejecting the quoted price, beyond demonstrating his ability to use the appropriate linguistic terms also shows his ability to evoke

culturally-appropriate resources that engender his participation in the shared cultural norms associated with price haggling.

When Jalen states that he will not pay *ẹgbẹ̀rún dín ni àpò kan* (eight hundred), which literally means "one thousand less two hundred" and then offers to pay *àpò mẹ́ta* (six hundred), Yẹni reacts with surprise on her face (line 20). Her surprise seems to mean that Jalen's offering price of six hundred is too low, and she immediately rejects it. This time, Yẹni states the price in Yoruba, suggesting that she takes the cue from Jalen's stating the amount in Yoruba, thereby socializing her. Yẹni's facial expression of surprise may also be read to mean she recognizes Jalen as a really shrewd negotiator, who successfully beats down the price, mostly using the Yoruba counting system. As Yẹni begins to present another round of explanations, Jalen asks what price she wants, meaning what is the absolute selling price (line 21). With this question, Jalen indicates his understanding, based on Yẹni's previous turn, that he is within the range of her lowest possible price. Yẹni affirms this when, instead of answering Jalen's question, she restates that the strip will not sell for six hundred and asks Jalen to pay seven hundred instead, lowering the price by a hundred naira from what she had asked for (line 22). Also, Yẹni evades Jalen's question, so as to offer another price, a strategy to still push for some additional profit, sensing the possibility that Jalen is nearing an agreeable price and ready to be done haggling. Accordingly, Jalen accepts to pay seven hundred and buys the strip.

These episodes of interaction not only show Jalen's role in co-constructing the flow of the haggling but demonstrate his level of engagement in an interactional event associated with core membership in the Yoruba-speaking society. Jalen's participation in the interaction mostly highlights how a language learner's socialization involves participating in translingual practices

and making culturally appropriate moves during price haggling. However, the interaction also shows subtle instances when both interactants socializes each other to their respective ways of using language during interactions. The learner orients towards monolingual language use and socializes Yẹni into using the Yoruba monetary system in line 20; while Yẹni socializes Jalen into using English in lines 17-18.

Orienting Toward Monolingualism

While participation in translingual practices is a common occurrence during the outdoor classes, it also common to observe learners orienting towards monolingual Yoruba use. An instance of such scenario is captured in the episode below, involving another learner, Brian, in his interaction with Atiba, a fabric seller at Gbági open market. It illustrates the contrast between Brian's effort to speak monolingual Yoruba in the face of the vendors' default choice of English language for price negotiation. The episode starts with the usual exchange of pleasantries, after which Brian looks through all the fabric displayed on the shelf. When he chooses a fabric of interest, he asks for the price in Yoruba. The seller tells him the price of the fabric in English. I started recording just before Brian responded to the seller:

Excerpt 2: Brian at Atiba's Shop

1 Brian:	Aah, àpò mẹ́sàn-án. Áhnhàn!	Uh, nine bags. No!
2 Atiba:	**Not by force,** kò kìí ṣe dandan.	**Not by force,** it's not compulsory.
3 Brian:	Ẹẹhn. Àpò **okay**, uh, àpò méje. àpò méje àbọ̀.	Uuuh. A bag **okay**, uh seven bags seven and half bags.

4 Atiba:	Iye ti o sọ náà níyẹn. (.05) Yorùbá. Eléyìí ti gbọ́ Yorùbá dáadáa gan ((to me)).	That's the price you offered. Yoruba. This guy's got Yoruba down really well ((to me)).
6 Brian:	Àpò méje àbọ̀.	Seven and half bags.
7 Atiba:	Ó yá mu lápò méjọ **last last**. Ẹ fi **hundred** naira si àpò méje àbọ̀.	Ok, make it eight bags the **final price.** Add **hundred** naira to the seven and half bags.
9 Brian:	Àpò mẹ́jọ **Sixteen thousand.**	Eight bags. **Sixteen thousand.**
10 Atiba:	**One thousand six hundred.**	**One thousand six hundred.**
11 Brian:	Bẹ́ẹ̀ ni.	Yes.
12 Atiba:	**Color** wo ni ẹ fẹ́ mú nínú ẹ̀?	What **color** do you want to take among them?

Brian's response to the fabric price starts the interactive episode. After he takes a little time to mentally process the amount, he responds in Yorùbá, in line 1, saying, *Aah, àpò mẹ́sàn-án. Áhnhàn.* (Uh, nine bags. No!). The expression "Aah" with which he starts his turn is a form of exclamation to show that price, *àpò mẹ́sàn-án* (one thousand eight hundred naira) is on the high side, and he rejects the price. Of note is the fact that Brian translates the initial price to Yoruba. By translating the initial price to Yoruba, Brian yields to prevailing expectations of haggling the price in Yoruba, perhaps, to conform with the monolingual expectations from the program, enforced by the presence of the instructor. He uses the traditional, largely outdated, counting system, which use a "bag" (*apo*) of 200 naira as a unit. The nine "bags" mentioned by Brian in line 1 means one thousand eight hundred naira. In line 2, Atiba responds to Brian's rejection of the price by saying, *Not by force, kò kìí ṣe dandan* in line 2, saying the same thing successively in two languages. With this statement, Atiba suggests to Brian that there is room for negotiation. But after using his default haggling language of English, he immediately switches

his linguistic code to Yoruba, to align with that of Brian. Atiba's translation to Yoruba might also be interpreted as a linguistic cue with which he reassures Brian that the negotiation is open. Following that, Brian offers to pay *àpò méje àbọ̀* (seven bags and half/one thousand five hundred naira), in line 3. As he struggles to find the right amount in Yoruba that is lower to the original price, he seems determined to express the amount in Yoruba. In response, in line 4, Atiba seems to confirm the validity of a price to Brian. With his statement, "that's the price you offered," it is not clear whether he thinks Brian had offered that price before or he meant to assure Brian, who struggles to arrive at the right Yoruba amount, that what he says is meaningful. But he says this in entirely in Yoruba, which can be said to be a reflection of Brian's insistence to use Yoruba.

Atiba follows this statement up by saying to me behind the camera that *eléyìí ti gbọ́ Yorùbá dáadáa gan* (this guy has got Yoruba down really well). Atiba's comment here recognizes Brian's use of not just monolingual Yoruba but also the use of a specific system of pricing. Brian repeats his offer of *àpò méje àbọ̀* (one thousand five hundred naira) in line 6, to which Atiba then makes a counter-offer, in line 7, asking Brian to raise his offer and buy the fabric *lápò méjọ last last* in a translingual combination of Yoruba and English repertoires. By translanguaging to combine "last last" with the amount (one thousand six hundred naira) in Yoruba, Atiba indicates the final price he would sell the fabric, urging Brian to accept that price and conclude the haggling. Atiba goes further to break down the amount to Brian, asking Brian to add one hundred naira to the seven and a half bags (one thousand five hundred) that he offered to pay earlier. Atiba achieves this next stage in the haggling process by again translanguaging between Yoruba and English resources. We see that in his explanations, Atiba uses the *àpò* monetary system after Brian first uses it but says "hundred naira" in English to explain how he

arrives at his additional offer. This means that he picks up the language use from Brian, an evidence of momentary socialization to use the specific Yoruba words.

After Atiba's explanation, Brian, in line 8, says *àpò mẹ́jọ, sixteen thousand,* to confirm the new price that Atiba offers. He does this by translating the price from Yoruba into English, which although not in line with his orientation toward monolingual Yoruba, serves as a check for him. But in the translation, Brian accidentally says "sixteen thousand" rather than "sixteen hundred," prompting Atiba to reiterate, in English, "one thousand six hundred," as a way to confirm the amount said by Brian in English. Atiba's exclusive use of English in this context has some implications: First, Nigerians do not normally count any number above one thousand in "hundreds," although we understand it. Second, Brian makes a consequential mistake of saying "sixteen thousand" in the middle of pricing a merchandize that is only worth "one thousand six hundred." Hence, Atiba's use of English here serves a clarification purpose in the haggling process, but also shows his preference for English to eliminate ambiguities and misunderstanding associated with the price. In response to Atiba, Brian says *bẹ́ẹ̀ ni* (yes), indicating that he meant one thousand six hundred and that they are on the same page in the pricing. Atiba finally advances the haggling process to another stage by asking for the *color* of fabric that Brian wants, again combining linguistics resources belonging to English and Yoruba. Brian ends up buying the fabric for one thousand six hundred naira.

The discursive collaboration between Brian and Atiba in this episode provides another example of a scenario where a language learner engages in a socializing event. Both Brian and Atiba did not sustain and are not limited to the use of monolingual Yoruba interaction. While Brian initially seeks to fulfill the monolingual expectations of the program, starting out the

haggling with monolingual Yoruba, Atiba initially moves between Yoruba and English. Brian's struggles to stick to monolingual Yoruba for pricing seem to reflect his effort to orient to the program's monolingual expectation, enforced by the presence of the instructor. But Atiba's ease of translingual practices in spite of the request to speak monolingual Yoruba suggest that that is his default medium of interaction. As the conversation advances, both speakers demonstrate a change in their language behaviors. Brian translates the price twice between Yoruba and English, the same way that Atiba easily engages in translingual practices. In the use of linguistic resources from multiple named languages, both speakers, in principle, go against the monolingual expectations of them.

From this interaction, as well as the prior excerpts, both Yoruba learners, Jalen and Brian, exemplify how language learners' linguistic choices are used to develop knowledge building and participation in a cultural event of price haggling. In these interactions, both the learners and their respective interlocutors collaboratively focus on the use of language to actualize participation in a sociocultural event of haggling. However, there are other cases where the instructor participates in the interaction and changes its dynamics. Most glaring across many interactions is that instructors become obsessed with the goal of enforcing monolingual performance during interactions, scrutinizing and policing the language choice of the interlocutors.

Policing Monolingualism

The prevalence of instructor scrutiny suggests a type of linguistic monitoring by the study abroad program that sought to perpetuate monolingual performance. More specifically, the

manner of language policing also brings to the fore the inextricable relationship between language use and ideologies that drive use. It exposes the divergence in the monolingual premise upon which the language study abroad is based, from which it derives expectations by learners and other Yoruba speakers, and the stark linguistic realities that these participants are constantly faced with. Take for example the episode of interaction below, which I describe as "public policing of Yoruba-speakers" by the language instructor who was with our group. Martha, one of the students in the higher-level class, intends to buy strips of *àṣọ-òkè*, with which to make gèlè, a common Yoruba woman's headwrap, shown in Figure 4 below:

Figure 2: Yẹni tying gele. Bundles of different Aso-oke in the background.

Yẹni, the fabric seller, demonstrates the art of gèlè tying to the students in her shop. Behind her, a glass case contains various aso-oke for making gèlè. As I explained earlier, people usually buy the fabric and take them to tailors who will sew together into a single wider unit that can be used to tie gèlè.

Martha begins the haggling process by asking for the price of three strips.

Excerpt 3a: Martha at Yẹni's store

1 Martha:	Fún mẹ́ta, èló ni mo máa san?	For three, how much will I pay?
2 Yẹni:	**Three thousand.**	**Three thousand.**
3 Instructor:	Kí ni three thousand yẹn?	What is that three thousand?
4 Martha:	**Three thousand?**	**Three thousand?**
5 Yẹni:	[Ẹgbẹ́rún mẹ́ta]	[Three thousand]
6 Martha:	[Ẹgbẹ́rún mẹ́ta]	[Three thousand]
7 Instructor:	(to Yẹni) Èyin gan-an ò fẹ́ẹ̀ gbọ́ Yorùbá yìí mọ.	(to Yẹni) Even you don't seem to understand this Yoruba anymore
8 Yẹni:	(laughs) àbí o (0.5) Ṣẹmọ̀ pé àwọn tí wọ́n ń kọ yìí, wọn ń sọ ìjìnlẹ̀.	(laughs) Yes indeed (0.5) You know those who are learning it, they speak the deep language

While Martha starts out her inquiry about the price using monolingual Yoruba, Yẹni, on the other hand, responds in English (line 2) that the three pieces of fabric cost "three thousand." Yẹni's use of English defies the instructor's expectation of monolingual Yoruba, which was communicated to her when we arrived at her store. As a result, her breach of code could not escape the instructors who promptly interrupts the conversation by asking Yẹni, *kí ni three thousand yẹn?* (what is that three thousand?). The instructor's question is not actually seeking information but rather calling out Yẹni's use of English. Meanwhile, Martha in line 4 also says *three thousand*, repeating the price that Yẹni quoted, before following up with *ẹgbẹ́rún mẹ́ta*, the

Yoruba equivalent. Martha's use of English does not evoke the same reaction from the instructor, perhaps because she immediately says the Yoruba equivalent, which makes it appear that she was only converting the amount said by Yẹni. But by repeating the amount in English in form of a question seem to suggest that she orients to Yẹni's initial turn, where she states the price in English. In contrast with Martha's initial turn that is entirely in monolingual Yoruba, it appears that Martha adopts Yẹni's use of English to confirm the price of the merchandize.

Yẹni, in line 5, responds to the instructor's question by saying *ẹgbẹ́rún mẹ́ta*, overlapping with Martha's translation as well. Although they both ended up saying the price in Yoruba, the instructor comments in line x that Yẹni seems to have lost her competence in Yoruba. With this comment, the instructor is criticizing Yẹni's use of linguistic resources belonging to English alongside those of Yoruba. Beside that this does not align with the pedagogical goal of study abroad program, the claim might also be said to echo a society-wide bemoaning that many Yoruba-speakers are losing competence in the language, a fact that is known to both speakers. Saying Yẹni does not have a grasp of Yoruba anymore is an act of shaming, explored by language socialization scholars Adrienne Lo and Heidi Fung (2011), in which an expert performs a negative assessment of a novice's behavior in an attempt to change it. Yẹni's use of English, as we will further see in another excerpt, is repeatedly assessed negatively by the instructor so as to arouse her sense of shame and reflections about her failure to perform monolingually. And like the adults in Lo and Fung's episodes of shaming are justified, the instructor's shaming of Yẹni, for not speaking in "Yoruba" seems to be justified as his expected role, when Yẹni does not contest the depiction. Instead, in line 8, she briefly laughs and accepts the claim, before ratifying her point of view, offering an explanation for her act of translanguaging. Yẹni's response to this comment is heralded by a brief laughter which might

mean that she takes the comment as a joke. And the laughter might also be read as her way to mitigate her admittance that follow in her response, that *àbí o*. *Ṣẹmọ̀ pé àwọn tí wọ́n ń kọ yìí, wọn ń sọ ìjìnlẹ̀*. This response, composed of two parts, separated by a brief pause, contains contradictory information that requires further analysis. The first part of her response, *àbí o,* means something like the English expression "What can I say?" Culturally, Yoruba-speakers use this expression as an affirmation of a preceding statement by an interlocutor, particularly when the topic is something both speakers can easily come to an agreement on. Here, in other words, it means something like: "How else can one describe the fact that I did not specify the price in monolingual Yoruba than to conclude that I do not understand Yoruba?" So, Yẹni agrees with the instructor. To both the instructor and Yẹni, this is not something to be proud of, and so with the laughter, Yẹni mitigates the seriousness of her own admission that, in that instance, she did not say the price in monolingual Yoruba. However, in the second part of the response, *Ṣẹmọ̀ pé àwọn tí wọ́n ń kọ yìí, wọn ń sọ ìjìnlẹ̀* (You know those who are learning it, they speak the deep [Yoruba]), Yẹni makes a distinction between her language use and that of language learners. To her, the learners speak *ìjìnlẹ̀* version of Yoruba. In common usage, *ìjìnlẹ̀* (deep version) is used to describe a deeply rich, genuine, and undiluted Yoruba, but it also describes the standardized monolingual Yoruba that is taught in school and which the instructor expects Yẹni to speak. Although she agrees to the claim that her use of English means she has lost her grip of the language, she also shows that she understands the difference between the instructed version of the language and the widely spoken variety among "native" Yoruba-speakers like herself. In this way, Yẹni both exonerates herself from the local monolingual ideology with which she is being evaluated and aligns with a more realistic ideology of multilingualism that surrounds her. She clearly points out this claim before Martha cuts in to resume the haggling process in line 9.

Excerpt 3b: Martha at Yẹni's store

9 Martha:	Ṣé mo lè san ẹgbẹ̀rún méjì?	May I pay two thousand?
10 Yẹni:	(holds up another type of aso-oke) Eléyìí ẹgbẹ̀rún méjì àti **five-hundred** ni mẹ́ta ẹ̀.	(holds up another type of aso-oke) This one, two thousand and five hundred naira for three of it.
11 Instructor:	Ẹgbẹ̀rún méjì-àbọ̀.	Two thousand and a half.
12 Yẹni:	Ẹgbẹ̀rún méjì-àbọ̀ ní eléyìí ṣùgbọ́n eléyìí, ó ni design, full design ni, **so** ẹgbẹ̀rún mẹ́ta ni	This one is two thousand and a half but this one has a design, it's a full design so its three thousand
13 Martha:	So-	So-
14 Yẹni:	-Irú eléyìí òhun ni ẹni tó lọ yẹn ó rà nísìyín. Ẹgbẹ̀rún méjì-àbọ̀ lòun náà san **but** eléyìí, **price** wọn ó yàtọ̀ síra wọn. **Price** wọn ó yàtọ̀ síra wọn.	Like this one, it's what the person that just left bought now. She also paid two thousand and a half but this one, the prices differ from each other. The prices differ from each other.
15 Martha:	(points to sections of the shelf) **So** lẹ́yìn nàá gbogbo àwọn yìí máa jẹ́ [ẹgbẹ̀rún méjì-àbọ̀].	(points to sections of the shelf) So at the end, all these will be [two thousand and a half].
16 Yẹni:	[Ẹgbẹ̀rún méjì-àbọ̀] (facing the same shelf) **Yes**, eléyìí nìkan lo dá yàtọ̀ sí wọn.	[Two thousand and a half] (facing the same shelf) **Yes**, this is the only different one.
17 Martha:	(Points to the shelf containing fabric stripes of three thousand naira worth) Ṣé mo lè ra èyí?	(Points to the shelf containing fabric stripes of three thousand naira worth) Can I buy this one?

The next sequence of interaction is similar to the previous one, in that Yẹni continues to utilize her translingual competence, while the instructor continues to hold her accountable for doing so. Again, Martha begins this episode by asking question in monolingual Yoruba. Yẹni responds, translanguaging in between linguistics repertoires from Yoruba and English. And the instructor intercepts to remind Yẹni to speak monolingually. After Martha asks Yẹni if she could pay two thousand naira. In response Yẹni makes a counter-offer (line 10), telling Martha that three pieces of the particular stripe cost *ẹgbẹ̀rún méjì àti five-hundred,* combining Yoruba and

English in the process. Unlike in the previous excerpt, where the price was given entirely in English, here Yẹni's translanguaging moves her closer to yielding to the instructor's request that she should use only monolingual Yoruba, while also showing the extent to which she can perform using completely monolingual resources. The instructor, in what appears to be a defiance of Yẹni's reality, cuts in, in line 11, and offers a monolingual Yoruba equivalence of the amount, saying *ẹgbẹ̀rún méjì-àbọ̀* (two thousand five hundred). Here, as before, the instructor mobilizes another strategy to remind Yẹni to state the price in monolingual Yoruba. Yẹni takes up the correction in line 12, following it up with an explanation to justify the price. In justifying the price of three thousand naira, Yẹni holds another type of Aso-oke, a plain style without design, different from the one with a design that Martha wants to buy, which she says cost two thousand five hundred. While Yẹni justifies the asking price by contrasting the designs of the two pieces of fabric, she also reiterates the price by adding an independent clause, *ẹgbẹ̀rún mẹ́ta ni* (it's three thousand), joined to the preceding sentence with the English conjunction "so." I consider Yẹni's effort to perform monolingually as a subtle transformation due in part to the instructor's insistence and Martha's provision of monolingual models. Despite the instructors' constantly calling out Yẹni whenever she departs from monolingual Yoruba, Yẹni engages in translingual practices at almost every turn. Translanguaging, consisting of linguistic resources form Yoruba and English, persists in the interaction at Yẹni's shop, even though the instructor does not allow a single instance of it to pass without comment. In line 13, Martha attempts to reply, beginning a sentence with "so" but she is cut of by Yẹni in line 14, in which she informs Martha that she has sold the cheaper fabric to other buyers for two thousand five hundred naira, further justifying the price of the three thousand naira for the fabric. And she also does this by translanguaging, combining her linguistic resources from Yoruba and English. Twice, Yẹni says

the English word “price” as she informs Martha that those prices are different. Martha shows her understanding of Yẹni’s explanation by confirming that all the fabric in a section of the shelf cost two thousand five hundred. And as usual, Yẹni responds to Martha by translanguaging, saying *yes, eléyìí nìkan lo dá yàtọ̀ sí wọn* (yes, this is the only different one). In the end, Martha goes ahead to ask entirely in Yoruba, if she could buy a particular piece, not following in the line of Yẹni’s constant translanguaging.

The interactions in this episode reveal how Yẹni’s pluralistic semiotic resources permit her to translanguage effortlessly. The consistency of her use of the fluid resources suggests that she is used to this way of ordering her linguistic resources and making social meaning in a context that is generally recognized as being multilingual. However, her actions are constantly called out by the instructor who demands absolute use of monolingual Yoruba. While this scenario highlights the instructor’s acts of calling out as well as reminding Yẹni to stick to monolingual Yoruba, it can also be seen as providing the program’s model of “how not to speak” Yoruba to the learners who are present. Translanguaging with resources from Yoruba and English is projected as a shortcoming, and learners who are present are supposed to see the act as inconsistent with the program’s sociolinguistic norm. On Martha’s part, she mostly stuck to the use of monolingual Yoruba resources that she has been exposed to in the Yoruba program, except for the brief instance where she repeats the initial price of the fabric in English.

Socialized to Scrutinize

While the instructor was the one policing the language use of participants in the episode above, on many occasions I observed language learners picking up their instructors’ scrutiny of

their interactive partners. The excerpt below reveals how the default translanguaging medium of delivering pricing by a Yoruba-speaking Seller, Àjàní, is destabilized by the instructor's preference for monolingual Yoruba, and later picked up by Brian, the language learner. The episode occurred at a ready-made clothing section of Alẹ́shinlọ́yẹ́ market between Brian and Àjàní, an elderly seller of household materials and ready-to-wear apparel. In this context, Brian wanted to buy a pack of three t-shirts from Àjàní. Before the haggling started, they exchanged pleasantaries and Àjàní appeared impressed, as seen in Figure 3 below, that Brian could speak Yoruba.

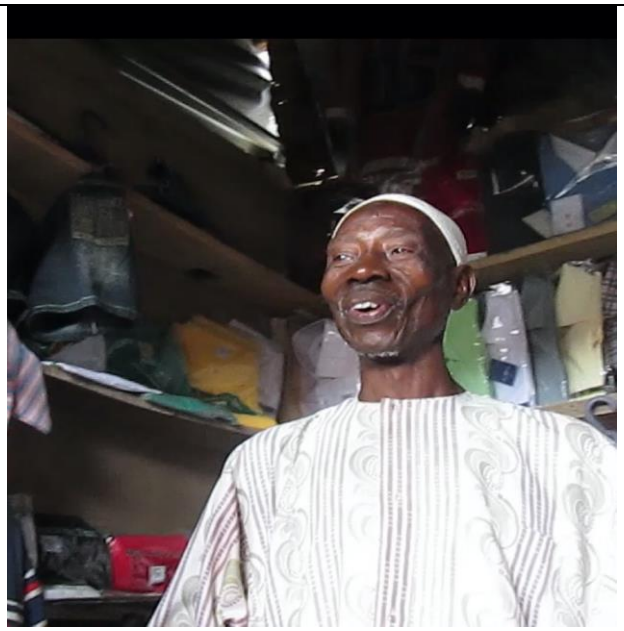

Figure 3: Àjàní, impressed that Brian speaks Yoruba

During the Outdoor Classes, it was common to see local interactants taken by surprise by the linguistic abilities of the learners. Therefore, it usually did not take long to convince these potential conversational partners to converse with the learners. At the market stalls, sellers who

are prompted to speak in Yoruba, get to engage the learners using the totality of existing linguistic resources in their repertoire, mostly comprised of English and Yoruba. As a result, Àjàní follows up on his excitement by saying that learners' ability to speak Yoruba makes them the same as Yoruba people:

Excerpt 4: Interaction between Àjàní (seller), Brian, and the Instructor at Àjàní's shop

1 Àjàní:	Yoruba ni wá, àwọn náà ti di the **same thing** nísìyín.	We are Yoruba, they are now also the same thing.
2 Instructor:	Wọ́n ti di nkàn kan náà.	They are now the same thing.
3 Àjàní:	Bémi náà bá tún dé ìlú wọn, èmi náà á tún kọ́ èdè wọn.	When I also get to their country, I will also learn their language.
4 Brian	(Sorts through the merchandise).	
5 Àjàní:	(points to a pack of t-shirts) **Medium** ré.	This is **medium** size.
6 Brian:	Àh áh àh, ok.	Uh uh ok.
7 Àjàní:	(points to another pack) **Large.**	(points to another pack) **Large.–**
8 Brian	Eélòó ni eléyìí? (he holds a pack)	How much is this one? (he holds a pack)
9 Àjàní:	San **one-two.**	Pay **one-two.**
10 Instructor:	Kí ní ń jẹ́ **one-two**?	What is **one-two**?
11 Àjàní:	Páwùn um uh, (closes his eyes as he tries to recall the Yoruba words, then opens his eyes, stuttering, stretches forward his right hand) **one thousand** em em páwùn kan àti náírà mẹ́wàá.	Pound Un uh (closes his eyes as he tries to recall the Yoruba words, then opens his eyes, stuttering, stretches forward his right hand) **one thousand** um um one pound and ten naira.
12 Instructor:	Bàbá, kìí ṣe bẹ́ẹ̀ o. Mo lérò pé àpò kan ni igba náírà.	Bàbá, it isn't so. I believe one bag is two hundred naira.
13 Àjàní:	Bẹ́ẹ̀ ni, àpò ni mo fẹ́ dárúkọ. Bẹ́ẹ̀ ni Bẹ́ẹ̀ ni páwùn kan àti igba náírà.	Yes, I wanted to say one bag. Yes yes, One pound and ten naira.
14 Instructor:	Àpò kan ni igba náírà ṣùgbọ́n èló lẹ pè é báyìí nísìyín?	One bag is two hundred naira but how much do you say it is now?
15 Àjàní:	Báyìí nísìyín mo ti ni kí wọ́n san páwùn kan	So now I have said he can pay one pound
16 Instructor:	Ẹgbẹ̀rún kan, àbí?	One thousand, you mean?
17 Àjàní:	Bẹ́ẹ̀ ni, àti igba náírà.	Yes, and two hundred naira.
18 Instructor:	Àti igba náírà, ìyẹn jẹ́ àpò mélòó?	And two hundred naira, that's makes it how many àpò?
19 Àjàní:	Ó jẹ́ àpò mẹ́fà.	That makes it six àpò.
20 Instructor:	(faces Brian): Brian wọ́n ní àpò mẹ́fà.	(faces Brian): Brian, he said its six bags.
21 Brian	**Ok**, àpò mẹ́fà (.) **one-two.**	Ok, six bags (.) one-two

22 Àjàní:	Bẹ́ẹ̀ ni òun ti gbà á. (taps Brian on the shoulder and give him a thumbs up) Ó kare, o ti gbà á.	Yes, he's gotten it. (taps Brian on the shoulder and gives him a thumbs up) Well done, you got it.
23 Brian:	Ó ti wọ́n jù.	It's too expensive.
24 Àjàní:	Kò wọ́n jù. Sorí eléyìí ó dáa ni. eléyìí dáa ni. Èyí tó dáa ni.	It's not too expensive. You see this one, its good. This is good. This is a good one.
25 Brian:	Eléyìí mẹ́ta nìkan	This, just three.
26 Àjàní:	Ẹ̀hn, mẹ́ta ni, mẹ́ta ló wà níbẹ̀. Tó bá ṣe pé ẹyọ ni, um àpò márùn-ún nìyẹn, ṣé ó yé yín? **Five hundred** tóbá ṣe pé ẹyọ kan.	Yes, its three, there are three in there. Had it been an individual piece, um that's one thousand, you understand? it will cost five hundred if sold individually.
27 Brian:	Àpò márùnún kọ́ ni five hundred. Kí ni five hundred? [Ẹgbẹ̀rún-	Five àpò is not five hundred. What is five hundred? [Thousand-
28 Àjàní:	[(laughs and stutters) Ó yá **pay**. Ó yá san ẹgbẹ̀rún kan. Mo ti gba ẹgbẹ̀rún kan fún un. Torí pé ó jẹ́ wípé ó ń kọ́ Yoruba ni mo ṣe fẹ́ tà á ní ẹgbẹ̀rún kan.	[(laughs and stutters) Alright pay. Pay one thousand. I have accepted one thousand for it. Because he is learning Yoruba is why I'm selling it for one thousand.

Identities are inevitably mediated in and through languages (Blackledge and Creese 2010, 40). Àjàní's translingual practices, moving between Yoruba and English, manifest throughout this episode but to the chagrin of the instructor, and later Brian, who prefer that Àjàní interacted with them monolingually. In the beginning of the excerpt, Àjàní faces the camera, telling me and the instructor, who stands behind the camera, about Brian that, *àwọn náà ti di the **same thing** nísìyín'* (line 1), meaning that Brian has become the same as a Yoruba person. I consider this statement as an act of "hailing or solicitation" (Ayoola 2009, 390) that precedes a haggling encounter. The acts of praising and complementing a potential customer when they stop by the front of a seller's stall are common tactics, used by sellers to endear potential buyers in the open markets. Here, Àjàní uses the honorific plural pronouns "they/them", a formal means of talking about a stranger, to refer to Brian in spite of the obvious age difference between them. Àjàní

might imply that, by virtue of his ability to converse in the language, Brian, as well as other learners have earned the opportunity to be related with in the same way as a Yoruba person, while he envisions that he will be treated as such whenever he goes to Brian's country. In this case, where the complement centers on language capacity of the learner might be seen as Àjàní's readiness to interact cordially with Brian, including using the language with him in the ways he would normally communicate with any other Yoruba-speakers. So, in the first line, Àjàní begins by displaying his capacity to translanguage, combining linguistic resources from Yoruba and English. This causes the instructor to reply to Àjàní in line 2, offering him the monolingual Yoruba equivalents of the words, *nkànkan náà*. Here is another instance where the instructor performs a negative assessment of a speaker's linguistic repertoire. In providing the Yoruba equivalence of the phrase, the instructor reminds Àjàní to speak only in Yoruba and avoid English. In the next turn, line 3, Àjàní obliges the instructor, and in monolingual Yoruba say that he hopes to also learn Brian's language whenever he goes to Brian's country. But again, in line 5, Àjàní informs Brian that one of the packs of t-shirt was "medium" size, saying *medium ré,* in an effortless combination of linguistic codes. It is unclear why this statement does not attract a response from the instructor. The word "medium," in contrast to borrowed English words such as "pọ́wùn" (pound) is English, in the same category with words such as *computer,* and *school*. The instructor might have elected to overlook this because it is customary to use this sizing label to describe ready-made, imported apparels that were not sewn by local tailors.

Although the brief activities so far have already established a haggling encounter (Ayoola 2009), the actual price haggling starts in line 8 when Brian says, *Eélòó ni eléyìí?* (How much is this?). Brian's word choice, *eélòó,* is a formulaic and formal standard Yoruba expression for asking about a price. It accentuates all syllables, unlike the colloquial version, "èló" that is also

common among Yoruba-speakers. Àjàní then responds to Brian's question in line 9, that Brian should pay "one-two" (one thousand two hundred naira), again translanguaging. Of note about Àjàní's response is the fact that when he responds to Brian's question for the price by saying "pay one-two," Àjàní does not state the final price but asks Brian to pay the specified amount, which means that he opens the channel for haggling. Culturally, a Yoruba-speaker will take his linguistic choices to mean that, first, the quoted price is already inflated and secondly, the seller implicitly expects the potential buyer to haggle over the price.

Following Àjàní's English expressions in his response about the price, the instructor again interrupts the haggling process by asking Àjàní in line 10, *what is one-two*? With this question, the instructor is again registering a disapproval of Àjàní's departure from monolingual language use, prompting him to state the amount in Yoruba. In line 11, Àjàní attempts to respond to the instructor's question. Figure 6.1 and 6.2 are screenshots that show his facial and physical demeanor as he struggles to recall the Yoruba equivalent. He closes his eyes, tries to recall the right words, then opens his eyes, stutters and makes various gestures with his right hand.

Figure 4: Àjàní (right) struggles to recall ***one-two*** in Yoruba. Brian (left) looks at him.

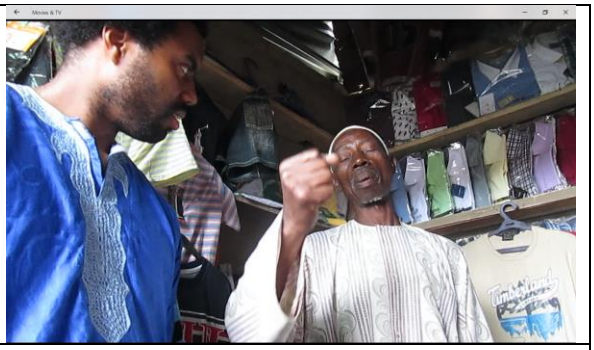

Figure 5: But he did not get the right equivalent. Brian looks puzzled.

After mumbling some disjointed words, Àjàní still could not say the right value for "one-two" in Yoruba. In line 11, he sheepishly said *páwùn kan àti náírà mẹ́wàá* which means *two hundred and ten naira*, to which the instructor said, *Bàbá, kìí ṣe bẹ́ẹ̀ o* (Father, you are wrong) in line 12. It is not clear at this point whether Àjàní's failure to produce the right Yoruba value for "one-two" is due to lack of linguistic resources or a momentary inability not recall the amount. However, the instructor's response establishes that he is only concerned about Àjàní's compliance with the program's monolingual objective, which opens Àjàní's language to scrutiny and criticism, while the language learner watches on.

After the instructor points out to Àjàní that he was wrong, Àjàní incoherently mutters "Yes, I wanted to say one àpò. Yes, yes, one pound and ten naira." But he still does not get the value correct because "one apo" is two hundred while "one pound and ten naira" is two hundred and ten naira. By saying a different value, in an affirmative manner, Àjàní's response here reveals that he cannot pull off the use of the Yoruba counting system for financial transactions, further demonstrated in the subsequent interactions. Also at this point, Àjàní appears to be embarrassed and momentarily confused by the exchange. So in line 15, he inadvertently says, *Báyìí nísìyín mo ti ni kí wọ́n san páwùn kan* (So now I have said he can pay two hundred naira). Both words, *Báyìí* and *nísìyín* are synonyms, meaning "now" or "right now." By combining both words, Àjàní gives a meaning of "at this point" or "considering what is going on now." These statements show that Àjàní wishes that this impromptu language task from the instructors would come to an end. Yielding to the spur of the moment, he states a lower price, saying "*páwùn kan"* (two hundred naira) when he meant to say "one thousand two hundred." The instructor realizes that Àjàní said two hundred, so, he checks with him, in line 16, saying "one thousand, you

mean?" But Àjàní soon overcomes his confusion, maintaining that he wants Brian to pay one thousand, one hundred naira, going back to the starting price.

Up to this point, the interaction has been mostly between Àjàní and the instructor. While the instructor lavishly scrutinizes Àjàní's language use, using a narrow, monolingually-oriented definition of language, he not only extends the program's monolingual ideologies but also provides an implicit form of socialization for the language learners whose pedagogical preparation has been in the monolingual Yoruba. At line 20, the instructor reiterates the asking price to Brian, which signals that Brian should re-enter the conversation and continue the haggling process. Brian, in line 21, then repeats aloud the price using linguistic resources from both English and Yoruba, *ok, àpò mẹ́fà (.8) one-two.* This statement by Brian prompts a commendation from Àjàní, who shows excitement that Brian translates *àpò mẹ́fà* back to English. Beside the meaning of what Brian says, the way he says it might have created a greater impression to the seller: There was a noticeable pause of .8 seconds after he said *àpò mẹ́fà,* suggesting that he took a little time to calculate and process the figures. After Brian did the translation, Àjàní taps Brian in the shoulder and did thumbs up for him, captured in figure 2 below, and says "Yes, he's gotten it. Well done, you got it" in line 22. Àjàní is simply impressed that Brian knows the English equivalence of *àpò mẹ́fà*. His excitement recognizes Brian ability to demonstrate an understanding of the price that was given in Yoruba, but he also recognizes Brian's display of multiple linguistic resources, consisting of Yoruba and English, which parallels his own struggle to translate. In a way, Àjàní may be said to celebrate Brian's success at producing language and making meaning using a combination of linguistic resources, or simply socializing Brian into the translingual practice, a practice that contradicts the expectations of the language instructor. From another perspective, Àjàní may also be said to be taking up the role of

a ‘scrutinizer’ but in this case praising rather than criticizing Brian use of language, thereby repositioning himself as an expert to save face.

Figure 6: Thumbs up for Brian: he knows “one-two”

Following the commendation from Àjàní, Brian extends the haggling process by saying, in line 23, that the asking price is too expensive. Brian’s statement here, *ó ti wọ́n jù*, is one of the formulaic expressions taught in class as a move to beat down an initial asking price. Brian used a similar formulaic expression in his next turn, line 25, where he says *eléyìí mẹ́ta nìkan* (This, just three), to mean that “there are only three t-shirts in the pack,” as another move to make Àjàní slash the price. Brian conducts these acts using monolingual Yoruba, which aligns with the program’s goal. Brian achieves communicative goals, evidenced by Àjàní’s counter responses,

where he defends the price and the quantity of the t-shirts respectively in line 24. But he also achieves a feat of making Àjàní use a monolingual Yoruba in his response. In responding to Brian's claim that t-shirts are expensive, he says, in line 24, *kò wọ́n jù. Sorí eléyìí ó dáa ni. eléyìí dáa ni. Èyí tó dáa ni,* meaning *"*It's not too expensive. You see this one, its good. This is good. This is a good one." As he repeats the phrase *dáa* 'good' to describe the quality of the t-shirt, Àjàní limits his language use to the model constructed by Brian, even though it is short-lived.

However, in his next turn of talk (line 26), reproduced below, Àjàní tries to convince Brian that the stated price of "one-two" is not expensive for a pack of three t-shirts:

> Ẹhn, mẹ́ta ni, mẹ́ta ló wà níbẹ̀. Tó bá ṣe pé ẹyọ ni, um àpò márùn-ún nìyẹn, ṣé ó yé yín? **Five hundred** tóbá ṣe pé ẹyọ kan.
>
> Yes, its three, there are three in there. Had it been an individual piece, um that's one thousand, you understand? it will cost **five hundred** if sold individually.

The excerpt above contains three successive sentences in which Àjàní explains to Brian why the asking price of one thousand two hundred is not expensive. The reasoning he offers is one of the common practices in haggling that many sellers use to compel a buyer to pay a stated price. After first confirming that the pack contains three t-shirts in the first sentence, he goes ahead to say that each of the three t-shirts could sell for *àpò márùn* (one thousand) if sold individually. But in the third sentence, supposedly reiterating what he said in the prior sentence, he says *five hundred tóbá ṣe pé ẹyọ kan*, meaning "it will cost five hundred if sold individually." This third statement reveals that he wrongly translates *àpò márùn* (one thousand) as "five hundred." This time, it is Brian who immediately notices this blunder and, like the instructor did earlier, calls out Àjàní,

saying: *àpò márùnún kọ́ ni five hundred* (five *àpò* is not five hundred) in line 27, and follows up by asking Àjàní, *Kí ni five hundred?* (What is five hundred?). Brian's action here, of negatively assessing Àjàní's language use, shows his taking up of the instructor's policing interlocutors. He also wants Àjàní to present the accurate prices for his merchandise in Yoruba. At this point, Brian demonstrates that he has been socialized to scrutinize the correctness of Àjàní's language. Sensing another imminent test of his monolingual Yoruba proficiency, Àjàní deflects Brian's question, and with laughter and stuttering, he agrees to reduce the price and sell the pack of t-shirts for one thousand naira. It is at this point that the starting price was first marked down, from "one-two" to "one thousand" by Àjàní, and he accomplished this in line 28, a turn that he first starts in English before switching to Yoruba to complete the rest. Brian has not only learned how to police another speaker's Yoruba but also a haggling strategy. Àjàní's statement that he agrees to sell the t-shirts to Brian for one thousand "because he is learning Yoruba," may be seen as another instance of him positioning himself as expert, and also as his bid to put an end to the linguistic quizzing by both Brian and the instructor who directly call out his limited performance in monolingual Yoruba. Even though Àjàní made this shift as a result of the interplay of language use, the scrutiny of his language, the sequence of events leading to the point follows a normal trajectory of price haggling.

Brian eventually did not buy the pack of t-shirts because he wanted to pay three hundred naira, which was too low compared to the asking price of one thousand. But the exchange in this interactive episode reveal a case where socialization to use monolingual Yoruba is being forced into what should be a casual interaction between a study abroad learner and an L1 speaker. Through this situated practice, Brian comes in contact with the real-life sociolinguistic practice of translanguaging, along with the cultural meaning and implication embedded in this

experience. The experience exemplifies an instance of multidirectional socialization: Àjàní, a supposed "native-speaker" does not sustain the use of monolingual Yoruba in the haggling process; and forcing him to do so reveals a limitation in his use of the Yoruba monetary system. But the encounter presents him with a socializing experience through the instructor and Brian's attempt to make him speak monolingually. The same can be said of Brian, whom the instructor not only exposes to an experience of language policing but also provides with a template for scrutinizing Àjàní's language. Through participation in the interaction, both Brian and Àjàní contribute to shaping the process, and both change their language use in the process.

Role Reversal at the market

Critiquing the designation of "expert" and "novice" binary in favor of dynamism of directionality in the analysis of language socialization in multilingual contexts, Schecter and Bayley (2004, 615) argue that children, "through their participation in interactions" also "contribute to shaping the process" which often results in socializing their caregiver. Similarly, a common scene during the outdoor interactions is the situation where a learner reverses the traditional order of language socialization by playing the teacher role, providing linguistic resources that their interlocutor does not have momentarily. The dialogue below provides an example of such cases. The conversation began with Martha asking a seller, Àwẹ̀ró, if she sells scarves with which she can cover her hair. Suprisingly, even to me, Àwẹ̀ró, who appeared to be in her 50s, displays difficulties in remembering the word for *color* in Yoruba.

Excerpt 5: Martha at Àwẹ̀ró's store

1 Àwẹ̀ró:	Wo **color** eléyìí.	Look at this **color.**
2 Instructor:	Kí ni **color** màmá?	What is **color**, mama?
3 Àwẹ̀ró:	Ẹ́ẹ̀hn? **Yellow** wà.	What? We have **yellow.**
4 Instructor:	Kí ni à ń pè ní **color** ni Yoruba?	What do we call **color** in Yoruba?
5 Àwẹ̀ró:	(looks away to ask someone else inside the store) ẹ gbọ́ kí ni à ń pe **color** ní Yoruba?	(looks away to ask someone else inside the store) Please, what do we call **color** in Yoruba?
6 Martha:	Àwọ̀.	Àwọ̀.
7 Àwẹ̀ró:	Àwọ̀.	Àwọ̀.
8 Instructor	Ṣé ẹ ri pé ọmọ mi lò ń kọ́ ọ yín.	You see, it's my students who is teaching you.
9 Àwẹ̀ró:	Ó gbọ́. Àwọ̀ oríṣiríṣi- àwọ̀ ẹ wà lóríṣiríṣi (pointing to the scarf). Ọmọ yín ti gbọ́ ju àwa oníYorùbá lọ. Ó ni àwọ̀. (She goes into the store to bring out more scarves from her shelf, while she keeps chorusing) Àwọ̀, àwọ̀.	She understands it. Different colors. It comes in different colors (pointing to the scarf). Your student understands even more than we Yorubas. She said àwọ̀. (She goes into the store to bring out more scarves from her shelf, while she keeps chorusing) Àwọ̀, àwọ̀.
Martha:	Um, èló ni?	Uh, how much is it?

As the excerpt above reveals, Àwẹ̀ró markets her array of merchandize to Martha by asking Martha to check out a particular set of "color" scarfs. She does so by translanguaging, an act which can be described as being in conformity with locally prevalent ideologies about how Yoruba people are known or expected to use language in their day-to-day casual encounters. But, in doing this, Àwẹ̀ró violates the agreement to speak monolingual Yoruba, which, as by now we should expect, prompted a redress by the instructor. Before Martha can respond whether she likes the scarf or not, the instructor cuts in with a question, reminding Àwẹ̀ró to refrain from using English words. But, in line 3, Àwẹ̀ró appears to interpret the question as a request to indicate the specific color of scarfs she has on display, by saying "we have yellow." Her use of

the plural pronoun “we” may suggest that she jointly owns the store with another individual who is in the interior section of the store, whom she reaches out to later in the interaction. Or it might be that she uses the plural to refer to her business as a company, for which she stands as a representative. But pluralizing her response,Àwẹ̀ró identifies herself as a member of a group of speakers, for whom using certain English words perhaps does not imply speaking another language. With this initial response, she seems not to see anything wrong in her speech until the instructor further pushes back in line 4 with a question, *kí ni à ń pè ní color ní Yoruba?* (What do we call color in Yoruba?). Compared to the same equation in line 3, which present the question in its basic form, the instructor pluralizes the subjects of this question, also using “we,” but now to refer to Yoruba-speakers. And with words such as *pè* (to call), and *ní Yoruba* (in Yoruba), the instructor’s new question affirms to Àwẹ̀ró that the Yoruba-speakers have equivalent words for *color,* which Àwẹ̀ró should provide. In essence, the instructor again nudges Àwẹ̀ró to return to monolingual Yoruba. With this question, the instructor also exerts a form of authority over Àwẹ̀ró to respond. In response, in line 5, Àwẹ̀ró leans back towards the interior section of her shop, to ask someone else whose face we can not see, to tell her the Yoruba expression for “color,” as captured in the folowing images:

Figure 7: Madam Awero looks back to ask someone else for how to say *color* in Yoruba.

Àwẹ̀ró's move to ask someone else suggests that she takes the instructor's question to mean that the instructor actually needs this information, rather than acknowledging that he is correcting her. Nevertheless, it is clear that she does not have the Yoruba word, at least at the moment. The phrase, *ẹ gbọ́* 'please' with which she prefaces her question, literally means "you hear [this]" or "you believe [this]"; it is akin to asking the other individual to confirm to her if indeed there is a Yoruba word for *color*, by telling her what the Yoruba word is. While we should not assume that this woman does not know this word, it is obvious here that it is not dominant in her repertoire, and her question seems like a honest request to be educated, possibly seeking to be reminded of the actual Yoruba word for color. But before we can hear from the individual who is indoors, Martha, the student, provides her with the Yoruba word, *àwọ̀* in the subsequent turn. Àwẹ̀ró repeats the words, without any comment, which suggest that she knows the word. Following this outcome, the instructor points out to Àwẹ̀ró that she is being taught by

her student, a learner of the language, which, similar to the shaming episode we saw earlier, pushes Àwẹ̀ró to speak monolingually. In her last turn, Àwẹ̀ró first uses the reactivated vocabulary to re-market her scarf, and the ease with which she reincorporates the word into her speech suggests that it is not strange to her. She follows this up with a statement, where, in agreement with the instructor, she acknowledges that Martha has a grip of the language, more than *àwa* (we) Yoruba-speakers. And she repeats the word, *àwọ̀* twice before she is interrupted by Martha who asks for the price of the scarf. Her statements in this turn not only suggest that she recognizes Martha's competence in the language but also shows how she comes to momentarily embrace a monolingual model that the instructor seems to be pushing for, aided by Martha, who plays a reversed role of facilitating Àwẹ̀ró's learning.

Conclusion

As we have seen, the linguistic practices of learners in haggling encounter can be viewed as socializing encounters, with a focus on the multilingual nature of the context. The ability to negotiate price and to engage in other talk surrounding the purchase of merchandise is a major site for examining learners' communicative competence in Yoruba study abroad. Central to language socialization is a learner's ability to participate in "shaping the process" (Schecter and Bayley 2004, 615) of haggling events, including using the language and acting in accordance with sociocultural norms. In achieving goals of haggling, whether resulting in a sale or otherwise, participants in the localized context of market-space establish presence and participation in the market context. Jalen, Martha, Brian, through active discursive activity, manifested in different ways, partake in similar sociocultural events where they learn and exhibit

their knowledge as culturally intelligible subjects. In the haggling context, language socialization for each of these participants is not just dynamic but also reflects a momentary change of their linguistic and cultural behaviors.

As study abroad scholar Celeste Kinginger (2008) notes, it is important to look at "the disposition towards language learning" that participants adopt. In partaking in communicative events, these participants presented here are, first, socialized into the contradictory ideologies of language use. On the one hand, the multilingual L1 interlocutors become involved and oriented towards the reality of monolingual Yoruba, which is linked to ideologies of Yoruba as the standard, national language. On the other hand, the learners, although aware of the monolingual Yoruba goal, come face-to-face with the translingual language routine of the more experienced Yoruba-speakers. The language ideology that each enacts in their speech shapes their moment-to-moment linguistic practices.

In the same vein, learners begin to form opinions about plural linguistic practices and accompanying language ideologies. As their understanding of the linguistic practices and the system begin to take shape, the socialization process of learners in a multilingual context is typically complicated by the presence of multiple language properties and ideologies. The monolingualism and standardization policies instituted by the program, on the one hand, and the pluralingual realities that surround the learners, on the other hand, constitute the learners' experiences. Through the socialization events such as these haggling encounters, the newcomers try out and reinforce the linguistic system that they are beginning to acquire.

Socializing the L1 interactants takes place during the interactions in a number of ways. First, the instructors make the goal of a monolingual practice known to the interactants at the

beginning of the interaction, in the assumption that the speakers are able to easily "switch" to being monolinguals. As we see play out in the interactions, the L1 speakers who agree to speak in monolingual language, are not mindful of the fact their translingual habits contravene the rule of monolingual Yoruba. Hence, they are met with the stark reality of language policing and scrutiny that the instructor closely imposes on them. These contradictory ideological perspectives on language use become a socializing encounter for the speakers, such as Àjàní who was not only grilled to produce the amount for his T-shirts in monolingual Yoruba but also aware of his choice of linguistic practice. Second, the presence of instructors not allows them to monitor the language choice of speakers, resulting in policing and scrutiny of the speakers' language practices. Third, students, monolingually-leaning expressions tend to shape the L1 speakers' language use in the process of participation in interactions. For example, Brian's propensity for monolingual use of the monetary system become a cue for Atiba to modify his language choice, and it causes him to praise Brian's Yoruba use.

The socializing role of the instructors, as agents of the study abroad program, is visible in how they handle what it is to speak Yoruba. Language policing emerged as a central practice that both learners and the interlocutor encountered. The instructor supervises both students and L1 Yoruba-speakers and the L1 Yoruba-speakers were held to their unwritten agreement to speak "Yoruba" to learners. In pushing the speakers to speak monolingual Yoruba, the instructors take both the students and L1 Yoruba speakers through explicit lessons of how *not* to speak Yoruba in an ideal (and nonexistent) Yoruba community. In the interactions that the instructors participate in, such as those of Brian and Àjàní, and Martha and Yẹni, each of the instructors scrutinizes and policies the language use of the L1 interlocutors. Language policing is a complex verbal practice linked to cultural and local ideologies about language. In the program, monolingual Yoruba is set

as the goal of instructional activities, and language learners are expected to be immersed in it when they interact with Yoruba-speaking interlocutors outside of the language center. This explains the rationale for asking L1 speakers to speak monolingually, and consequently policing them. This also reflects the ideologies of monolingualism and standardization, since they are tasking these speakers to use classroom-style monolingual Yoruba.

The explicit institutional recommendation against the use of multiple languages is variously enforced by the instructors who interactively put the L1 Yoruba-speakers in check during interactions. These actions manifest a monolingual language ideology: it tasks multilingual speakers to speak only Yoruba when speaking Yoruba; and to speak only English when they speak English, thereby separating the domain of where the language codes are variously used. A speaker may be accused of losing her grip of Yoruba when she does not adhere to complete monolingual performance, as we saw in Excerpt 3a. This attitude towards language use of L1 speakers when they do not haggle prices in monolingual Yoruba is blind to the fact these speakers possess a different kind of linguistic or cultural capital, one that is complemented by their knowledge of English repertoires.

Chapter Seven

Conclusions

How do foreign learners of Yoruba language navigate the multilingual context in which the Yoruba study abroad program is situated? Instead of focusing on the outcome of grammatical acquisition, I explored what could be learned from the experiences of those language learners as they come in contact with various speakers of the language. I examined the social and interactional experiences of eleven learners of Yoruba in Southwest Nigeria. I sought to better understand how these students navigate language learning in the hope that such a lesson can generate innovative ideas that can shape the delivery of this and other study abroad programs. In doing this, I align with the critique of the dominant monolingual-oriented approach to study abroad research and second language learning research, and focus, instead, on the sociocultural aspect of language learning through a focus on the learners' multilingual capacities.

This study was shaped by three main ideas relating to the sociocultural paradigms in SLA: (1) language as social practice linked to underlying ideologies; (2) interaction as both the means and end of language learning; and (3) language and culture as dynamic and changing social practices. I build on these poststructural frameworks to show how participants in my study co-constructed and negotiated the use of multiple linguistic codes as they made efforts to participate in language learning encounters that involve them and experienced speakers of the language, in the form of conversation partners, host parents, and other speakers in various social contexts. Although focusing more on the learners than on their interlocuters, I take both as objects of research, since both are translingual (Canagarajah 2013), while I attempt to show how these participants collaboratively negotiate meanings in the second language learning process.

I adopted a critical approach to second language learning research. This means that I focused on micro and macro level relationships between societal ideas, ideologies, institutions, systems, and interaction in second language learning (Kinginger 2013b; 2009). I approach my data with skepticism toward a long-standing approach to language teaching, with an unwillingness 'to accept taken-for-granted components of our reality and the dominant accounts of how they came to be the way they are" (Pennycook 2001). In my exploration of the social processes of language study abroad, I am indebted to the work of SLA and applied linguistics scholars who have engaged creatively and critically with second language learning in various contexts. This includes language study abroad scholars such as Barbara Freed (1995) James Coleman (2013) and Celest Kinginger (2009; 2013b); critical applied linguistics scholar Alastair Pennycook (1999; 2001) and Sinfree Makoni (2006) and recent works on trans perspectives to language, such as translanguaging (Garcia and Wei 2014) or translingualism (Canagarajah 2013). I am also indebted to the social and linguistic anthropologists who have asked us to rethink the epistemological approach to language in the context of multilingualism and superdiversity (J. Blommaert 2005b; 2010; J. Blommaert and Rampton 2011; Heller 2007; 2012), and to applied linguists who have examined language use and ideologies in discursive contexts (Higgins 2009; Canagarajah 2007). These scholars have shown us how changing linguistic landscapes organize regimes of language use by speakers and encouraged the broadening of study abroad research in SLA to integrate the sociocultural aspects of language. Through the corpus of these works, I have learned not only to think about the social processes of language learning but also explore language learning as a process-oriented endeavor, making space for the role of language learners as active language users. My task here has been to build upon this work by paying attention to how Yoruba language learners mobilize multiple linguistic

resources to navigate a superdiverse linguistic landscape and the ideologies that drive their practices.

This dissertation joins other critical applied linguistics research that seeks to make sense of multilingual practices in study abroad contexts through the lens of language practices and ideologies. I addressed two interrelated research questions: how the study participants utilize their multiple linguistic resources to negotiate interaction during the study abroad program and how these interactions reflected their language ideologies. In seeking answers to these questions, I first examined the complexity of the linguistic context in which the Yoruba study abroad program is situated. I spent the first section of this dissertation, chapter two and three, analyzing data that address topics on how context is linguistically constituted, the ideologies about language reflected in the way language is both constituted and utilized, and how these potential affordances for learners have been shaped by the realities that surround the study abroad sites.

Chapters three and four demonstrate that Yoruba as a regional language exists in a web of complexities. The diminishing link between this language and its speakers, caused by globalization (Bianco 2014) means that the language does not enjoy monolingual status and use, contrary to the study abroad program's depiction of it. In an empirical analysis of the linguistic landscape of the sites of language learning across Yoruba-speaking Southwest Nigeria, I showed that a multiplicity of semiotic resources, in the form of translanguaging, holds a significant place in day-to-day linguistic experience in the Yoruba-speaking southwest, Nigeria. Translingual practices have not only enabled speakers to express their linguistic creativity but also demonstrated their capacity for strategic deployment of linguistic resources but it has contributed to framing their mode of identification (Higgins 2009). Yet, multilingualism in itself is not "a cause for celebration," but rather an "issue of conflict" for the speakers, for whom it evokes a

range of complex, and even contradictory feelings (McNamara 2011, 430). The fear of losing their mother tongues is a reality in Nigeria, including among Yoruba-speakers, for whom the language is more than just a means of linguistic communication. So it is understandable that this might find its way into the program through a Center operated by staff who feel protective of the purity of the language. Teaching an idealized monolingual version of the language may carry additional meaning for them, such as preserving the use and the relevance of the language, while also fulfilling the standard-based teaching mandate of the program sponsor. In Chapters Three and Four, I showed that the Yoruba study abroad program, regardless of how it was packaged for learners, was deeply shaped by contradictory ideologies about language. The social conditions in South West Nigeria, which I discussed in Chapter One, actively influence the constitution and delivery of the program's curriculum, including the ideologies that dictate linguistic expectations. The language program's ideologies, which, based on the typologies in (Horner and Weber 2012) and (Curdt-Christiansen 2016), I characterized as "monolingual and standard language-oriented," primarily highlight an essentialist view of languages as bounded, pristine, separate entities. In Chapter Two, we saw that the various statements and writings by the director of the program, on the one hand, tied this view to the monolithic view of one nation-one language views, which resulted in the overwhelming preference for the use of unmixed linguistic resources within the program. On the other hand, although there was some level of divergence in different constituents' conception of monolingual language use, all those involved in the program, including host parents, conversational partners, the Center staff, and even learners, unanimously participated in the program with acceptance of monolingualism, at least in principle.

The dominant ideologies in the program are manifested in three ways: first in the program's strict desire to promote the standard and monolingual language for not only pedagogical purposes but also as the means for all interactions in the program; second in the overriding policy that these ideologies exerted on the participants, including both learners and L1 Yoruba-speakers, to conform to the Center's position on linguistic and cultural practices, and third in the Center's criticism of learners' multilingual performance when, as exemplified in the director's view, they failed to comply with the center's monolingual expectations. While the Yoruba-speaking community is multilingual and translingual, embracing the mixing of languages by native speakers, it frequently remains inequitable to language learners, whom the program held to the standard of an ideal monolingual speaker, and controlled through the instrumentality of standard language policies. In doing so, the Yoruba program oversimplified the sociocultural context in which the program is situated, to construct "native-speakers" and the target culture as unproblematic "Self" and the learners as a generalized "Other" who are negatively constructed (Pennycook 1999; 2001).

Contrary to their ostensible acceptance of the program's position, language users' use of language did not usually align with the Center's view of separate language. Learners used language as a tool for purposeful interactive engagement. Learners and their interlocutors' use of language shows strategic utilization of fluid linguistic resources with which they both construct multilingual capacities and participate in the translingual act of moving in and out of named languages.

The Center sees the learners' linguistic practices of translanguaging as not only incongruent with the ideologies of separate linguistic codes but also as undermining the Center's policy. The resultant outcome of the contradictory ideologies was the subtle but perceptible

animosity toward learners, due to an imbalance in Center's unrealistic linguistic expectation for language learners and the translingual realities with which learners are faced. Despite the program's monolingual goal for target language learning, participants in the program thrived in multilingualism and discursive practices situated in multiple sociocultural contexts. Regardless of the explicit attempt to prevent it, multilingualism features prominently in the second language learning experience of the learners. Language became a tool for learners to conduct situated sociocultural activities in collaboration with the existing speakers of the language, not a means through which they became monolingual speakers of the language, an imagined identity which even many L1 speakers of the language do not inhabit.

In chapters five and six, I investigated how participants, primarily learners, in conjunction with various L1 interlocutors, conducted meaning-making actions and gave voice to their ideas through language. I focused on these discursive acts in specific contexts of interaction, namely at the language table, in the homestay setting, and in the public market spaces. Across all these settings, participants deployed their multiple linguistic resources as meaning-negotiation strategies. The various contexts of interactions during the program provided sites for learners to enact their multilingual subjectivities while creating meaning within various local contexts. The data that I gathered present a picture of creative and adaptive language learners, with equally responsive multilingual interlocutors. These participants collectively exhibited various practices with which they contended and subverted the monolingual expectations. In the interactions with assigned conversational partners, the speakers showed their translingual capacity and identities by drawing on the totality of their semiotic resources, including linguistic and multimodal assets. In homestay interactions, such as we saw with Tobik and Leticia in Chapter Five, multilingual speakers used their creativity with words from various

named languages as a micro-strategy that shows their language creativity. This includes the use of translanguaging as a way to express their voice despite the limiting monolingual policy. Against what would traditionally be described as their limited access to linguistic resources of the target language, these learners demonstrate their ability to achieve a form of Nigerian multilingualism in a manner similar to many expert Yoruba-speakers. I described three localized ways of using language in which the learners combine the use of Yoruba forms with those of English as Nigerian Multilingualism: (1) modifying an English noun with a Yoruba possessive pronoun; (2) rendering an English verb with some Yoruba phonological feature, by inserting vowels in between or after a final consonant; and (3) translanguaging. All of these are pragmatic strategies that align learners with the regular practices of expert Yoruba-speakers. At the conversational table, the L1 Yoruba-speakers collaborated with learners in the practices of moving between linguistic codes, not only achieving meaningful interactions but also engaging in the same kinds of authentic linguistic practices that they would in conversation with other multilingual Yoruba-speakers outside of the program. The impact of their interactional strategies, such as translating, resulted in establishing understanding.

The multilingual learners participated in conversations with various speakers outside of the classroom. In the open market, for example, learners' ability to participate in "shaping the process" (Schecter and Bayley 2004, 615) of haggling events, demonstrated their level of socialization into a space occupied by Yoruba-speakers, including using the language and acting in accordance with sociocultural norms. In Chapter Six, we saw learners such as Jalen, Martha, and Brian discursively participating in sociocultural events where they learned and exhibited their knowledge as culturally intelligible subjects. In achieving goals of haggling, whether

resulting in a sale or otherwise, participants in the localized context of market-space established presence and participation in the market context.

Contribution of the study

The exploration of learners' multilingual performances in a language study abroad program is still a relatively understudied area in second language research. This dissertation aligns with existing work in this area such as Campbell and Xu (2004b), Thomas (2013) and Thomas (2016), to shows the potential for study abroad research—and by extension, study abroad programs—that privilege language learners social encounters over linguistic outcomes. At the same time, this research adds to this field by discussing multiple contexts in which learners used translingual practices to negotiate meaning. –

The focus on the means and strategies of language learners in interaction aligns with research on communicative strategies (Makoni and Pennycook 2006; Heller 2007; Blackledge and Creese 2010; Canagarajah 2013). I add to this research a focus on the agency of language learners performing their sociolinguistic endeavors even in the face of scrutiny at the micro level and overriding language policies at the macro level. Learners' interactions are both the means and end of language learning. With a multilingual perspective we unravel interesting instances of empowering, communicative encounters, active participation in social activities, and dynamic language use in the form of translanguaging practices. By explicating the complexity of the linguistic landscape of Yoruba study abroad, through a discussion of both the linguistic practices and language ideologies that pervade the context, I offer an empirical account of often assumed expectations about language and sociocultural context in study abroad. Additionally, analyzing the linguistic landscape of this study abroad site provides a case study of the essential features

relating to the current sociolinguistic and sociocultural practices in the target communities of a less commonly taught language. The knowledge about multilingualism and translingual practices in this context reveals the needs for dynamism in language curriculum, especially in this age of globalization, which is characterized by superdiversity and the creation and exchange of "mobile resources" (J. Blommaert 2010). It adds to the literature in favor of the need to transform language learning in tandem with changing linguistic landscape in those target communities of language speakers.

By emphasizing the roles of translanguaging in the Yoruba study abroad, the study extends the investigation of trans-perspectives (Hawkins and Mori 2018) to another instance of less commonly taught languages. Arguing that the use of all resources in learners' linguistic repertoires, comprised of resources from all languages that learners have learned, should be given a chance in study abroad context may raise a conversation, beyond the language learners' agency and the use of multiple resources (Garcia 2007; Blackledge and Creese 2010) raises questions about the very purpose of language study abroad. By highlighting the social actions and strategic functions constituted in translingual practices, the study redirects attention to the importance of communication in language use, joining a growing list of sociocultural studies in SLA.

By connecting expert Yoruba-speakers translingual practices to learners' negotiation of meaning and discursive strategies, this study highlights an often-overlooked component in SLA studies on learners' interactions. It also highlights the importance of sociocultural aspects of Yoruba learning, where the practice of teaching and learning is greatly influenced by the activities of both the learners and the experienced language users.

Implications for study abroad programming

Multilingualism, demonstrated through translanguaging or translingual practices, is not only the norm in the Yoruba study abroad context but also shapes the study abroad experiences of Yoruba-learners. Yoruba-language learners, as well as their interlocutors, come into the program as having multiple and constantly shifting linguistic identities. Although the program's criticisms of learners centered on the language learners' multilingual practices, the learners and their assigned interlocutors are both responsible for this practice. The significance of these participants' linguistic background on their participation within the context of language learning cannot be overlooked in the conception of the language program. Such background reflects in how the learners, for example, conduct their linguistic practices and in the choices, they deploy from their repertoire to accomplish specific social acts. As a result, instead of strictly asserting monolingual expectations, which leads to the misinterpretation of learners' efforts as lacking in motivation to participate in language learning, it is important that the program be mindful of the varied social resources and networks that these individuals already possess and bring into the program, as they seek to become speakers of an additional language. Programs need to recognize and take advantage of the impact of the students' efforts to both undertake as well as participate in the life-impacting experience of language learning abroad. It is critical for the program to explore how to reflect the impact of the sociolinguistic realities, including those of Yoruba speakers, in the study abroad programming. And this has implications for rethinking pedagogical materials and various aspects of the program, including both human and material resources.

My analysis critiques the monolingual approach of language study abroad. It also highlights the participants' linguistic productions that exhibit the dynamic use of multiple semiotic resources; feat which get criticized when assessed from monolingual perspectives. My

data speak to the role of multilingualism in study abroad research. I argue for program that will expand the purview of operation in language study abroad, adopting a multilingual perspective, with an appreciation of the expansive affordance that the sites provide for the language learners.

Implications for Pedagogy

Pennycook (1999, 341) made it clear that the notion of a critical approach is not reducible to teaching techniques and methods and does not entail introducing a "critical element" into the classroom. Rather it involves an attitude, a political understanding of the location of pedagogy and the development of a way of teaching aimed at transformation."

However, as my research on the multilingual practices in Yoruba study abroad developed, I continue to ask myself: what are the ideal pedagogical practices for such a program? As Kramsch and Huffmaster (2015) ask, "How can foreign language teachers take into account the changing contexts of language use for which they are preparing their students without losing the historical and cultural awareness that comes from studying one national language, literature and culture?" At the core of this question is the need for curricular adjustment. Changing contexts need to be put into consideration while we teach. But we also need to be clear on what constitutes the changing context. As I have shown, the Yoruba context is mostly one of linguistic bricolage in which Yoruba constitutes but a part. Language use in the context is similar to the experience presented by Lo Bianco (2014): the widespread adoption of localized English terminologies and frequent translingual practices accelerated by globalization. Meanwhile, sustaining the historical and cultural awareness of national languages like Yoruba has become a significant problem for those with strong affiliations to it. As the language use in the day-to-day

social life takes new forms, it burdens a number of locals who have become concerned about the possibility of losing their indigenous language.

There is an understandable fear among expert Yoruba speakers and scholars who are involved in the teaching of Yoruba as an additional language that allowing translanguaging might mean that English will dominate Yoruba use over time. But my data demonstrate that multilingual practices are already an inherent social practice that dominates the study abroad context. Also, we must understand that the existing model of separate multilingualism has largely relied on the western ethnocentric attitudes to language. TESOL scholar Adrian Holliday (2005) criticizes "English-speaking Western TESOL" which fails to accommodate a shared international, professional-academic identity, and treats heterogeneity, diversity, and difference of its professionals as problematic. He interrogates the assumptions surrounding the concept of "native-speaker" in TESOL, which assumes that monolingual native speakers have a special claim to the language.

This research shows that in spite of the restrictive measures, in the name of monolingual policies, and in the face of what might be considered as limited linguistic knowledge in Yoruba, multilingual learners find ways to communicate effectively by employing interactive strategies, including the use of a range of linguistic resources and other multimodal semiotic resources. It is possible that the learners would show more engagement with interlocutors in the classroom and outside of classroom interactions if they were allowed to use their existing repertoire for communication without forcing them to produce in a single language. With the consciousness of translingual strategies, instructors should give opportunities to students to express their ideas without excessive scrutiny.

So, the alternative future model must be able to not only answer the questions by Kramsch and Huffmaster (2015) but also be willing to rid a learning program designed for foreign learners of an ideological burden that is out of sync with pluralingual realities of both the Yoruba-speakers and learners. Program designers should also be wary of the infiltration of the unstated agenda to promote and maintain a local language at the expense of foreign learners. It is critical to understand that the language learners' need, first and foremost, is to communicate using the affordance of resources associated with the target language. As the translanguaging practices in this study have evidenced, the ability to creatively communicate one's ideas with interlocutors is personally relevant to learners. This finding suggests that program handlers should actively incorporate considerations relating to learner needs, goals, and identities in the curricular plan.

I do not have a proposal that will completely address the different layers of concerns about study abroad that I have touched upon in this research. But I expect that a tenable suggestion will directly address pertinent issues to first-language speakers of the target language. A pedagogical proposition should, among other things, recognize the ethical desire of accomplished user who do not want to allow more powerful languages to dominate their own. In line of this argument, I propose the emergence of the field of Yoruba for Speakers of Other Languages (YSOL), similar to TESOL. It will be a possible pedagogical solution that will create a permissive learning space, similar in conception to the Kramsch's "third place" (1993; 2013) for foreign learners. This subfield of Yoruba studies will provide a conceptual space for sociocultural realities and translingual practices, where learners can function in "collaborative inclusivity," without the existing restrictions associated to the use of individuals' home culture or target language culture (Kumaravadivelu 2003, 271). While the development of this subfield

might appear to be unattainable in a foreseeable future, we must be reminded that the various practices reported in this research have already established instances of what the pedagogical practices will look like in this new subfield. It only requires the will and courage for us to promote it, to create appropriate learning materials and opportunities, and begin to develop theories that will advance the field.

Recommendations for Further Research

This dissertation demonstrates that multilingualism in study abroad can be explored not only in theory but also in practice. Further research in this area will help to refine and enrich the literature that critiques the monolingual approaches to study abroad research. For example, more research need to be conducted on assessment of study abroad outcomes. Beyond placing value on learners' learning process and efforts in participating in translingual practices, a further study needs to focus on the overall aspects of assessment that will take into consideration the new parameter of process-oriented and context-shaping multilingual performance.

More research is also needed across multiple contexts of interaction, so as to create an in-depth classification of the pattern of language use, the nature of discursive strategies, and their corresponding affordance in the process of meaning-making. The contexts that I examined are not comprehensive enough to cover all micro strategies that language learners and their interlocutors draw upon. Developing multi-sited research that focuses deeply on a specific context, such as, for example, peer-to-peer interactions, would yield a refined outcome that can be relevant for theory building, as well as pedagogical and material development.

In future research, I would also like to explore multilingual practices across different categories of learners who participated in the study abroad program. Participants had diverse racialized and historical connections to the language of study. This diversity may have impacted

language use in ways I did not capture in this dissertation. Following Anya (2016), examining learner identity more closely might offer information that would help shape the development of knowledge and understanding of about language acquisition.

In the chapters on discursive practices of learners, I have paid most attention to interactions involving the learners. I acknowledge the need to give attention to other forms of semiotic resources beyond conversations. For example, what do language learners acquire and demonstrate besides knowledge of the language? How learners' cultural understanding change over time is often not typically measured in study abroad assessments, and is an important topic for future research.

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Appendix 1

Weekly Thoughts About Your Language Learning Experience in Ibadan

What interactional/communicative experience stood out for you last week? (any experience even if it doesn't directly relate to your language learning)

Where did it take place? **Who** did you talk with and **What** did you talk about?

Please rank the quantity of your communicative encounter with native Yorùbá speakers last week: 1 2 3 4 5 (1= little encounter; 5 = so much encounter)

Of the time, we spoke Yorùbá for _____%; English for _____%; and _____ (other language) for _____%

I spoke more Yorùbá with_____

at/during_____

I spoke more English with_____

at/during_____

I spoke _____(the other language) with_____

at/during_____

___was helpful (or not) to my language study last week:

Overall, I will say my experience learning/communicating in Yorùbá in Nigeria (last week):
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Appendix 2- Interview with learners

(Remind participant about confidentiality)

Background

Personal information
Prior language knowledge
How many semesters of Yorùbá

Motive
Reason for learning Yorùbá language
Why studying abroad in Nigeria

Study Abroad context

How has the social context (Ibadan/UI: the environ and people) been helpful in your language study

Enjoyable learning experience (what makes it enjoyable)

Least helpful experience (what makes it least helpful)

Surprises and disappointment — What would you have liked to see differently?

Have you ever encountered any other language /Do you feel the presence of other languages in this learning context?

Has English affected anything? Tell me more.

Contacts with native speakers outside of the people in the YGPA

How frequently do you interact other native speakers of Yorùbá outside of the YGPA?
What kind of topics do you like to speak on with the native speaker interlocutors?
In what language do you talk most – Can you give a percentage?
Have you met speaker/spoke with speakers of any another Nigerian or European language?

Questions specific to each contexts—– home, class, outdoors, CPs,

Class

What day did you feel most/least enthusiastic to come to class this week? Why?
What interactive experience ever made you feel most enthusiastic to come to class? Why?

What interactive experience did you feel least enthusiastic to come to class? Why?

Beyond the activities at the center (class, tutors, host parent and conversation partners) what other …has impacted your language learning? Positively or Negatively?

----- In Comparison to domestic classes in the US

Home (regarding your interactions with NS)

What do you do at home after class/weekend
Do you get to interact with your HP? — how much? Rate — 1 to 5
Can you recall your most interesting interactional/communicative experience at home?
What did you talk about?

Outdoor Classes/Excursions (regarding your interactions with NS)
How helpful would you consider the excursions and outdoors to your interactional/communicative experience in SA?
If anything should continue, it should be what?
If anything should be modified, it should be what?

Conversational Partners (regarding your interactions with NS)
How would you say the CPs been helpful in shaping your interactional competence?
But they speak more english?

Leaner's self-appraisal so far (outcome)

What were your expectations for studying Yorùbá abroad in Nigeria?
How have the expectation been altered
Competences area with much gain
Competences area with least gain

Strategy considered most useful
Strategy considered least useful

Post Study Abroad

What are your plan for Yorùbá after YGPA?

Appendix 3- Interview with Host Parents

(Remind participant about confidentiality)

Background

Prior experience as host of foreign learners

How Long?

Study Abroad context

Experiences with guest/student so far…

Impacts of learner's presence on language use in the household

Has his/her presence affected anything? Tell me more

Challenges with hosting foreign learners/ creating contexts (as par communication)

Other languages in in the household

What about English… Tell me more

How you see your learner…

Competences area with much gain

Competences area with least gain

More explanation

Post Study Abroad

Plan/resources for the learners

Life-long learning

Appendix 4 – Notes to Learners to Schedule Interview

Dear study participants,

I am using this sheet to schedule my first interview with you. I will like to conduct all interviews during your third or fourth week in Ibadan (i.e. between July 1st to 11th). Please indicate your availability. If you would like to be interviewed between Monday and Thursday, please provide two possible dates and time. We will talk about the venue afterwards.

2014						JULY
SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30	31		

Time 1: _____

Time 2:_____

	Name	Friday 07/04	Friday 07/11
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			
7			
8			
9			
10			
11			
12			

If you prefer a Friday, please specify the time you will be available on either **Fri. 07/04 or 07/11**
Thank You!

Appendix 5- Letter to Host parent to Schedule Visits

Dear Host Parent,

Thank you for accepting to be part of my research on Yorùbá language study abroad in Ibadan, Nigeria. Your participation in this study will involve two processes:

Observation
An observation of (at least one) social communicative episode at home, involving you and your guest learner.

This can be during any of the times you spend together with this learner, such as during lunch or dinner at home or at any other context you would prefer.
I will be around to video record the communicative interactions between you and the learner and may also take some notes in the process.

Interview
A brief interview about your experience as a host parent

I will ask a few questions about your experience with having a Yorùbá learner in your home. The interview will be audio recorded.

I ASSURE YOU THAT ALL RECORDINGS AND NOTES WILL BE TREATED WITH UTMOST CONFIDENTIALITY. THEY WILL NOT BE MADE AVAILABLE TO ANY OTHER PERSON.

Dates for Observation
Please indicate **two** possible dates that you would be available for each visit. **I will work with your schedule.**

Each visit will not be more than an hour. **Thank YOU!**

2014 JULY

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30	31		

WHERE:_____

TIME:_____

2014 JULY

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30	31		

WHERE:_____

TIME:_____

Appendix 6- IRB Approval

Education and Social/Behavioral Science IRB
6/9/2014

Submission ID number:	2014-0577
Title:	Investigating Language Study Abroad in the Context of Superdiversity
Principal Investigator:	KATRINA D THOMPSON
Point-of-contact:	KAZEEM K SANUTH, JUNKO MORI, KATRINA D THOMPSON
IRB Staff Reviewer:	JEFFREY NYTES

The convened ED/SBS IRB conducted a full review of the above-referenced initial application. The study was approved for the period of 12 months with the expiration date of 5/15/2015.
To access the materials approved by the IRB, including any stamped consent forms, recruitment materials and the approved protocol, if applicable, please log in to your ARROW account and view the documents tab in the submission's workspace.

If you requested a HIPAA waiver of authorization, altered authorization and/or partial authorization, please log in to your ARROW account and view the history tab in the submission's workspace for approval details.

Prior to starting research activities, please review the Investigator Responsibilities guidance (http://go.wisc.edu/m0lovn) which includes a description of IRB requirements for submitting continuing review progress reports, changes of protocol and reportable events.

Please contact the appropriate IRB office with general questions: Health Sciences IRBs at 608-263-2362 or Education and Social/Behavioral Science IRB at 608-263-2320. For questions related to this submission, contact the assigned staff reviewer.