

# Reimagining the Role of Stakeholders in the Development and Entrenchment of Igbo Language and Culture

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## ABSTRACT

The main thrust of this paper is to bring to the fore, the inevitable role stakeholders, including the family, government and government agencies, Ohaneze Ndi Igbo, Igbo language educators and researchers, as well as International agencies like the UNESCO, could play towards the growth of Igbo language and culture in this age. We adopted the descriptive/qualitative research paradigm in reviewing available literature on the subject, in terms of what were and what are expected. The findings from this study show that, contrary to the pessimism of some scholars and or organizations, the Igbo language and culture are not so threatened, but require greater push by their stakeholders, to expand to the frontiers of their development, through formal and informal applications. We conclude that what is needed now is for experts in the language and culture to review the content of the existing roadmap to stability in the speaking, study, research, printing/publishing and engineering, in Igbo language and culture. Implementation of the outlined roles, rather than repeated theorizing and controversy, is key towards activating the development and entrenchment of Igbo language and culture, to enable the inseparable duo (Igbo Language and culture), to fulfill their functions, at all levels of their owners' and users' situations and applications.

**Keywords:** reimagining, Igbo language, culture, development, stakeholders.

## INTRODUCTION

The language and culture of a people are critical and primary in their survival and growth. To neglect the language and culture of a people is to neglect their progress, phatic communion and development. This is because language and culture remain the primary benchmark for determining human identity, and social entity, hence, Olabara (2008 p.3) explains that the quickest litmus to identify a people anywhere, anytime is language.

Igbo language is one of the three co-official languages recognised by law in Nigeria. It is indigenous to five states of Nigeria known as the south-eastern part of Nigeria, namely; Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu and Imo. It also has speakers in parts of Delta, Bayelsa and Rivers States (Nkamigbo, 2011). With an estimated native speaker population of 44 million, Igbo is also recognised as a minority language in Cameroon (Wikipedia, 2022).

In this paper, the author uses descriptive or takes a qualitative examination to reimagine the challenges in the way of Igbo Language and culture, arising from the stakeholders' inertia, or negligence. Solutions and strategies for repositioning Igbo language and culture for national and global reckoning or relevance, have also been outlined.

## A PREFATORY ON KEY CONCEPTS

### Culture.

Wardhaugh (2006) pg. 221, defines culture as “the ‘know-how’ that an individual must possess to get

through the task of daily living...” This agrees with the submission that a society’s culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members, and, to do so in any role that they accept for anyone of themselves (Goodenough 1957, P.167).

Igbo culture, therefore, consists of the customs, practices, ethos traditions and values of the Igbo people of south east Nigeria.

Culture is categorized into two aspects; material and non-material culture. Material culture is simply defined as the symbolic aspect of people’s culture which range from their attire, food, artifacts, architecture, dance patterns, and the likes. We can refer to them as the physical aspect of the culture of a people. The non-material culture are the norms, values, etiquette and the moral code of conduct. They are instruments of rules and regulations that guide a group of people or society. (Abamara & Onyemachi, 2020).

Omokhidion, Nwokeocha and Pemedede (2015) examine three categories in the definition of culture. They suggest that, firstly, culture is ideal, that is, culture is a process of human perfection, in terms of certain universal values. Secondly, culture is documentary, which implies that culture can be seen as a body of intellectual and imaginative work that is a detailed recording of human thoughts and experiences. Thirdly, they posit that culture is social, which means that culture is seen as the description of a particular way of life, which expresses certain meanings and values not only in art and learning but also in institutions and behaviour.

The Igbo language is an integral part of Igbo culture of the Igbo people and is key to identifying, describing and relating with the Igbo people *modus operandi*. It is also imperative that if the Igbo culture must be preserved and promoted, the use of IGBO language, especially within the Igbo speaking territories\speech communities, holds the key.

### **Language**

Onuoha (2017 p.10) notes that the definition of language is fraught with many varieties by linguists.

Language is a fundamental element of communication and interaction used by humans. It is a tool used essentially for expressing social reality. “It is a means by which man can express, communicate, and describe his thoughts, feelings, belief and ideas,..., develop himself, others, his immediate environment and the world in general” (Onyebuchi & Patrick, 2023, pg.8).

Language does not stand alone. It does not exist in a vacuum, neither does it exist independent of its users and the uses they put it to (Ndimele, 2008 p.3). It is therefore safe to say that language is the fabric that weaves human existence and interaction, and without language human society, would have been dumb.

Ndimele (2008 p.2) also asserts that there is a correlation between the form and content of a language. There is also a close relationship between the beliefs, values and needs present in the culture of a people and the language they speak. The vocabulary of a language provides the catalogue of things of import to the society.

In other words Igbo Language and culture are inseparable as the language is also the tool with which the culture is learned and shared. The characteristics or functions of language remind us the dire need and responsibility for every Igbo to be patriotic and work for the full development of Igbo Language and culture.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

To appreciate the tremendous human and academic resources that have been channelled over the years, to the study and research Igbo culture and language, it is pertinent to review available literature, and how they

relate to the growth, development and entrenchment of Igbo language and culture, especially with regard to the roles of stakeholders and native speakers. In this section, we shall attempt a brief chronology of the various attempts by stakeholders in Igbo studies development and growth, before and now. We shall also provide a synoptic overview of the current status of the Igbo language and culture, and, as well, highlight the current global trends in language, culture and its impact on healthcare, science and technology, ICT, and so on.

### **Role of Stakeholders in Igbo then**

The Igbo language has witnessed several stages of metamorphosis to what we have today as 'Igbo Izugbe'. For instance, the study of Igbo language is traceable to the nsibidi writing system which is believed to have been in existence in the 1500s. Although it is on record that the first European to learn about the existence of *nsibidi* is T.D Maxwell in 1904. Other major milestones recorded in the development of Igbo language and culture, especially with specific regards to Igbo language and cultural studies include the Isuama Igbo studies which lasted between 1766-1900. This period witnessed the first ever publication in Igbo language by Oldernadorp, a German missionary titled "*Geschichte der Mission der Evangelizhen auf den Garabischen* (meaning History of the Evangelistic Mission of the Brothers in the Caribbean). The book contained few Igbo words, numerals, 13 nouns and 2 sentences. Crowther in 1857 produced the first book in Igbo, the Isoama-ibo Primer which contained Igbo alphabets, words, phrases, sentence patterns, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and translation of the first chapter of Matthew's Gospel. In 1861, J.F. Schon published 'Oku Ibo': Grammatical Elements of the Ibo language, written in Isuama dialect. It was necessitated by the need to develop the language, and, as well, further entrench the study of Igbo. Igbo language, like every other language of the world, was then basically spoken. Its written version was a product of scholastic efforts. The prominent stakeholders that made novel efforts in the Igbo studies were researchers and academics, which we choose to refer to as academic stakeholders. Their efforts made Igbo language subject of study. The religious stakeholders also played a vital role in Igbo studies. It was through their missions that publication of materials in Igbo were funded and widely circulated. This can be seen in the efforts of the Church Missionary Society under which Crowther and Schon worked.

The Union Igbo Studies, which lasted from 1900-1929 was primarily attributed to the Church Missionary Society (CMS). In this period, the Igbo Bible (Bibul Nso) was translated and published. The Union Igbo era witnessed a broader collection of other dialectal works of Igbo such as the Arochukwu, Onitsha, Owerri, Unana and Bonny dialects, and other dialects of Igbo.

In 1949, the SPILC was formed to develop the study of Igbo. The SPILC was set up primarily to produce an orthography for writing Igbo language, although the society did not achieve this aim, it however bolstered the coming together of literate Igbo scholars around the common good of promoting Igbo language and culture. The orthography controversy was resolved in 1961 by the acceptance of the Onwu Orthography Committee Report.

The success of the Onwu orthography was further entrenched in June 1962, when the government ordered all school principals to ensure that tutors of Igbo language use the orthography in teaching and learning of Igbo. This is the last meaningful policy the government has made in the development of Igbo language.

In 1972, SPILC set up its Igbo Standardization Committee with the key assignment of enriching the Igbo language. Although this was criticized by some scholars, including Chinua Achebe, the intention was to ensure that there was a standard language, common to all, regardless of dialectical variations.

As earlier stated, the major stakeholders whose role were obviously felt in the early days of Igbo language and cultural studies were the educators, researchers and religious stakeholders.

## **Role of stakeholders in Igbo Now**

The growth and development of Igbo studies today are going to be fundamentally drawn from the efforts of different stakeholders. Hence, we shall review and establish the role of these stakeholders under the following sub headings.

### **The Family Unit as Stake Holder**

No language can be sustained if native speakers do not get actively involved in the process of maintaining the vitality of their language. The family unit, being the basic and vital structure of the society, has a major role to play in ensuring that children are bequeathed with the requisite knowledge of Igbo language and culture, from the home front. Ndimele (2019) refers to Hiding Carter who submits that there are only two lasting bequests we give to our children, one is roots (language and culture), the other is wings (education). This is possible by the role the family plays in the life of a child.

The family is the cradle of a child's existence and a crucial stakeholder in the general upbringing/training of the child. That is, the family is the first ground for the upbringing and education of the child as the child's ability to acquire/learn a language is highly influenced by the family, just as the language of instruction and communication with the child becomes his/her easiest as well as most internalized language.

Ihedioha (2017) agrees that the family is pivotal to the developmental, emotional and cognitive growth of a child. Aside teaching morals and daily conducts, parents maximise the enormous time spent with their children, in teaching them and exposing them to the acquisition and use of their mother tongue and culture.

One of the very potent ways the family, as a stakeholder adopts to expose the younger generation to the nitty gritty of the Igbo language and culture are the Igbo indigenous knowledge systems, which include Igbo fold tales, folk drama, proverbs, folk songs which Onuoha and Patrick (2021) agree are laden with the values and ethos required to morally and societally straiten a child. These stories and songs also expose children to the use of Igbo language, because the tales and lyrics presented in the Igbo language.

From the angle of Igbo families in diaspora, Nwankwere, Mmadike and Eme (2017) identify high rate of negative attitude of parents living in the diaspora – outside Igbo speech communities, towards the transfer of the Igbo language and culture to their children or dependants, shifting from Igbo to other languages. Their study further buttresses the inevitable roles families, within or outside Igbo speech communities must play to further strengthen the use of Igbo language by the younger generation and outside the Igbo speaking communities. However, children in rural Igbo communities, are more at home in the expression of Igbo language and culture.

### **The Government as Stake Holders**

Good governance or effective governance is one which is able to reaches out to the grass roots and influences their needs. Government and government agencies have current roles to play in the development and entrenchment of Igbo language.

Onumajuru (2013), states the role of governments of the south east Nigeria in promoting the study and use of Igbo language for through establishing scholarship schemes for the training of Igbo language teachers harmonising programmes for Igbo Curriculum for primary and secondary schools, establishment of Igbo studies institute for the training of Igbo language teachers in diversified disciplines, giving legislative backing on policies regarding the teaching, learning and use of Igbo language in both public and private settings such as institutions, State Houses of Assembly, Political campaigns etc. Onumajuru (2013, p. 96). Duru (2022) agrees that government should make laws mandating the use of Igbo language in ceremonies,

homes, schools, churches and the media across the five core Igbo speaking states and communities.

However, Ikoro (2019, p.49) observes a lack of government interest in the development of indigenous languages in Nigeria just as the National Policy on Education till date, has failed to achieve, or even enforce the policy. The facilities and structures needed for effective implementation of programs are grossly inadequate and unavailable. This view is also shared by Onwudiwe & Ugochukwu (2015, p. 6) who suggest that the lack of seriousness and commitment on the part of the government towards language policy enforcement and implementation show that the government is yet to come to terms with the importance of language in nation building: education, technology, communication, and so on.

### **Non-governmental Organisations.**

Some stakeholders are also ensuring that Igbo language and culture are developed. Such organizations NGOs and Socio-cultural groups in the south east, including the Youth Orientation for Development (YOD), UNESCO NGO (Business Bay, 2022), Ogbako Umunwanyi Igbo worldwide (OUIW), UNESCO, etc, have organised enlightenment for on the Igbo language and culture.

### **Status of the Igbo Language Today.**

The Wikipedia, puts the population of native Igbo speakers at 44 million as against the 2006 population Census that gives an estimate of 15 million, while the National African Language Research Centre (NARLC) gives the population range of 20-25 million people as native Igbo speakers (Onumajuru, 2013). The figures above show an increase, and not a decrease in the number of native Igbo speakers, thereby giving a clue that the Igbo language is waxing stronger in usage, notwithstanding the death of over 2 million Igbo who died during the Nigeria-Biafra war, due, especially, to starvation (UNESCO-CIPDH, 2023). However, the actual population of Nigeria, nay the Igbo has been a matter of controversy, due to ethnicity issues.

There are predictions that the Igbo language is in danger of extinction or being subsumed by stronger languages in about the next forty years. This prediction has been accepted by some scholars, agreeing that the Igbo language is endangered.

Given the empirical data available to me, and my field research in contact with Igbo speakers and speech community (see Onuoha, 2017). I do not agree with the prediction of the UNESCO. It does not stand, is not valid, or reflects the true status of Igbo Language culture today. However, I believe that much more still needs to be done to further ensure greater viability, stability, spread and growth of the Igbo language and culture. Contrary to the above predictions of UNESCO, the Igbo Language has witnessed

- increased ascending digital language support (Ethnologue, 2023).
- increased usership and native speakers, as stated earlier and confirmed by (ethnologue, 2023), showing that the Igbo language is on the second range of speaker population, which lies between 1 million – 1 billion L<sub>1</sub> users;
- usage as a language of instruction in schools; also, confirmed by ethnologue, 2023, Igbo language is taught as a subject of instruction in education at all levels of education;
- using the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS), ethnologue places Igbo as a stable language. This sign of Igbo language vitality was reached using the criteria that “Igbo language is not sustained by formal institutions, but it is still the norm that children are taught Igbo language in the home and community; and
- the British Broadcasting corporation adopts broadcast in the Igbo Language/Culture.

It is, therefore, unfair to term the Igbo language an endangered language. It is appreciable that the UNESCO



endangerment prediction has helped to reawaken Igbo scholars, researchers, teachers and speakers of Igbo and point the lapses which needed to be overcome.

### **Global Trends in Language and Culture Today.**

The world we live in today, is digitally driven. To meet the demands of the new generation, one must not neglect the potency of the new media and present day technology in mentoring and acculturating them in the indigenous languages and culture, including Igbo language and culture.

Hastings-Spaine (2022) notes that technology can serve as the solution to the endangerment status of languages. Different effort have been made been put in place by Igbo language and culture enthusiasts in making the Igbo language and culture digitally accessible globally. Notable amongst them is the novel Igbo API dictionary known as *Nkowa Okwu*. The English-Igbo dictionary is an open-source online application and learning platform which allows users to search for words in Igbo using their English equivalent, and was developed by Ijemma Onwuzulike, an Igbo, who was born and raised in the United States of America. With over 8000 words across 17 dialectal variations, the *Nkowa Okwu* is the first African Language API (Application Programming Interface), accessible to the world.

Another important part of the application of Igbo language and culture is in healthcare delivery. The role of language in health care can never be overemphasised. The recent global Covid-19 pandemic reintroduced the germane and inevitable role indigenous languages play as means of reaching out to people, especially, the uneducated and at the grass root (villages and communities).

Igbo language is a major tool in culture preservation and propagation. Language not only enables it users to think about the various aspects and relationships of their own culture, but also guarantees ability of psycholinguistic retrieval process. By preserving culture, language helps in acculturating the younger generation, bequeathing to them values and beliefs for the future.

The global attention enjoyed by the Igbo culture and language is responsible for the introduction of the teaching of Igbo as a course in many Universities across the globe. According to Emewu (2022), Igbo language is taught in three major Universities internationally, namely, Peking Universities, Beijing China, since 2015. Pennsylvania University, USA and most recent is the introduction of Igbo language as a course at the prestigious University of Oxford Language Centre, Britain.

Igbo language and culture has also held significant sway in the composition of contemporary music genres in Nigeria, with world class music artistes including Chibuzo Nelson Azubuiké (Phyno), and Chinedu Okoli (Flavour) making hit songs using the Igbo language for their lyrics, and using the Igbo attire in making their music videos. Worthy of note, are Igbo gospel music artistes, including Frank Edwards, whose Igbo music enjoy international acclaim.

## **THE ROLE OF STAKEHOLDERS IN IGBO LANGUAGE AND CULTURE REIMAGINED: WHAT SHOULD BE DONE FROM NOW.**

The challenges facing Igbo language and culture today require all hands on deck to ensure Igbo language and culture development and entrenchment. In line with this, assertion we have proposed the following key areas of concern and the required actions to be taken.

### **Award of Scholarships and Bursaries.**

Provision of is very necessary to further entrench the study of Igbo language and culture. Government, international agencies and well placed individuals should provide financial grants for students who want to

study Igbo Language and culture at different educational levels. This will go a long way to encourage the financially under-privileged individuals to acquire certificates and degrees in Igbo Studies.

### **Production of Qualified Teachers of Igbo Language and Culture.**

Many potential teachers of Igbo language and culture, with burning desire to make a career in the language and culture, have not achieved their ambition because they lack the needed financial support for access to further studies in education and Igbo Language and Culture. This is why the Governors of south east states, the home of Igbo Language and culture should mount robust financial provision, through what I call the “The South East States Joint scholarship Board”, from where the needed funds shall be drawn for the all-round development of Igbo Language and culture.

The above step would fill the present gap where very unqualified teachers are allowed to teach Igbo language and culture due to lack of qualified ones.

### **Setting up of world-class printing and publishing technology for Igbo Language and Culture.**

Information, they say, is power. Today, there are very few published works in Igbo language and culture. Setting up a printing and publishing house in Igbo will go a long way to alleviate the frustration of scholars and researchers in Igbo language and culture. Many manuscripts written in the Igbo Language are lying with many academics, scholars, researchers, teachers and enthusiasts, waiting for Igbo publishing outlets. It well-known that English-based printing presses cannot handle the printing and publishing of the Igbo writing system. Existing private Igbo Language-based printing and publishing services are expensive for authors. This is the duty of any patriotic Igbo businessmen, organisations and governments, to do for affordable printing and publishing outlets.

### **Training of Igbo Editors.**

The training of Igbo language and culture editors, through the funds mentioned above, would guarantee experts in Igbo language who will forestall the production of sub-standard or error prone texts and educational materials, in the Igbo Language.

**Establishment of Igbo Language regulatory Authority** There is a dire need for the establishment of an Igbo Language Regulatory or Standardization Commission/Board with the mandate to regulate required or accepted standards or usages, planning of the language, certification of practitioners in the language, and sourcing for funding form development partners, for the development and entrenchment of Igbo Language and Culture.

### **The Establishment of the Igbo Language and Culture Broadcast Network.**

The 21<sup>st</sup> century has witnessed globalization of virtually everything. The role of the radio and television as well as the print media in propagating information in the globalized world cannot be over emphasized. The absence of broadcast and print media that produce and present contents purely in Igbo is very worrisome. Frantic efforts must be made to ensure their establishment and sustenance. This will also ensure that the younger people will have access to these contents to be able to entrench themselves. Seasoned, artful, and eloquent Igbo speakers, practitioners and programs, should be employed to realize this objective. The establishment of Igbo radio and television networks would popularize the Igbo Language and culture, globally. Furthermore, existing radio and television stations should increase the number and hours of their Igbo programmes/broadcast.

**Sponsorship of Researches and Conferences.** Research is capital intensive. Research in Igbo language

and well culture should be encouraged and funded. Also, Pan-Igbo conferences such as this, should must be taken seriously by Igbo scholars and researchers. This will further strengthen the unity among scholars. They should be well funded through the joint funding system. Conferences are good avenues for scholars to brainstorm on challenges and proffer effective solutions on Igbo Language and culture.

**Establishment of special schools for indigenous language propagation:** The typical Nigerian general school setting does not provide enough time for exhaustive teaching and learning of the Igbo language and culture. French language, special schools can be established for the exhaustive teaching and learning of Igbo language and culture, especially for non-native Igbo students, teachers, researchers and enthusiastic.

### **Orientation and Outreach in Igbo Communities.**

From time to time, orientation, outreach and re-awakening programmes should be organised in community centres for all age brackets of Igbo children at pre-school, school and out-of-school levels, in order to popularize the use of Igbo at the grassroots. This would engender natural interest in the beneficiaries of these programmes, to pursue the study of Igbo language and culture beyond the primary school level, expand the awareness in the language as a school subject, and popularize it among the committee of indigenous languages of Nigeria and the world. The implementers of this recommendation would be the Igbo regulatory authority (board), using volunteers, teacher, and local leaders and churches.

### **Use of Igbo in Public Addresses:**

**A legislation is** necessary for us to ensure patriotism and loyalty, especially, among politicians, elites and religious preachers. Situations where these categories of people and others in their mould use the English Language in addressing their fellow Igbo audiences leaves a lot to be desired.

Onuoha (1997 p.60-69) believes that making it compulsory for political and enlightenment rallies, as well as religious gatherings to be addressed and conducted in the Igbo language would go a long way to entrench Igbo language and Culture in the native Igbo Communities or grassroots and beyond.

### **Compulsory Basic Igbo Courses in Tertiary Institutions in the South East.**

I further recommend that there should be a deliberate policy by the governments of the Igbo speaking states by the governments of the Igbo speaking states to mount “General Studies” (GST) Course(s) in Basic Igbo language and culture in all tertiary educational institutions in their states. The implication here is that every student, irrespective of his/her course of study shall do a compulsory elective course in Igbo in his/her university, polytechnic, college of education and similar grades of institutions of higher learning (education). This basic Igbo course would serve as an acculturation course for those students who are non-Igbo speaking. For this class of student also, the basic Igbo course shall fulfil the dream of the National Policy on Education, to engender inter-lingual/cultural co-existence, cohesion, peace, unity and resource sharing.

Without prejudice to other south east tertiary institutions which have done this already, but unknown to this author, let me commend the Nnamdi Azikiwe University (NAU,) Awka and Abia State University, Uturu (ABSU), which practise this already and that is, where every undergraduate student admitted pass through compulsory basic Igbo course in their general studies programme.

### **Ohaneze to the Rescue?**

The Ohaneze Ndi Igbo is the highest/apex socio-cultural organisation of the Igbo speaking people of Nigeria. It is, if she has the will assert itself. To the best of my knowledge, Ohaneze Ndi Igbo has never



taken a position or issued any directive which she enforced. She only issues releases, complaining of infractions against Igbo people. Unlike the “Arewa” (Hausa/Fulani) socio-cultural/political organisation and the “Afenifere”, Yoruba people’s equivalent, who possess the political will, courage and solidarity to call out their people for manifest action, the Ohaneze Ndi Igbo only exist for the political convenience and advancement of its leaders and Igbo political mercenaries. To make it worse, most executive members of the Ohaneze Ndi Igbo are senior or entrenched members of various political parties in Nigeria.

Ohaneze Ndi Igbo leadership positions are determined and filled by political officer holders and leaders. Thus, in its present structure and mode of leadership selection, as well as language of transaction, Ohaneze Ndi Igbo, which was created to give succour, direction and amplify solidarity of the Igbo, is not focused and determined enough to protect the interest of her people – the Igbo.

For instance, the language of debate at Ohaneze Ndi Igbo is the code-mixing (Ingligbo-English and Igbo). The minutes of the organisation are written in English, making the transactions and resolutions of the body insecure or vulnerable. In other words, a pro-ethnic solidarity body that lacks resolve and motivational drive to patronize, promote and develop the language of her people would hardly attract the people’s loyalty. This is because language is the driver of loyalty and solidarity.

I further recommend that Ohaneze Ndi Igbo should embrace all the recommendations proffered above as well as use the Igbo language in all her transactions in debates and keeping of transactional records.

## CONCLUSION

World languages and cultures are in silent and unwritten competitions for survival and reckoning. The classification or ranking of indigenous Nigerian languages attest to this stand

Also each time the chips are down, Nigerian linguists exhibit bias in the matter of objective ranking of Nigeria’s mother tongues. For us, the owners of the Igbo language and culture, this conference provides, yet another opportunity to re-imagine the point of setting out, where we are, and a reconsideration of our roadmap for a re-invigorated, developed and entrenched Igbo language and culture. With the various assumptions on the endangerment, death and extinction, or otherwise of the Igbo language, it is important that a critical review of the status of the Igbo language is done intermittently, to not only present facts about the language, devoid of political and ethnocentric biases, but to also ensure that the owners and users of the language and culture are informed about their future. It is therefore expedient that we, as stakeholders, should show better and greater commitment, in line with the recommendations of this paper, to boost and entrench the Igbo language and culture.

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## FOOTNOTE

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