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# LOJEL

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**A Journal of the Department of English and Literary Studies, Federal University Lokoja**

## A Journal of the Department of English and Literary Studies, Federal University Lokoja  Vol. 1, No. 2, 2020

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# Editorial Preface

It is with a great sense of commitment to scholarship that I present **LOJEL: Lokoja Journal of English & Literature,** Volume 1, Number 2, 2020, a publication of the Department of English & Literary Studies, Faculty of Arts, Federal University, Lokoja.

This number has come out with a luscious harvest of scholarly essays that have passed through stringent scrutiny with the sole aim of keeping faith with sustaining a quality journal that will stand the test of time.

With a bumper harvest of seventeen articles that cut across diverse areas of English Language and Literature with different approaches to the interpretation, interrogation and analyses of its epistemology, I present this journal to the reading public.

I thank the Editorial Advisers, the Editorial Board, contributors and staff of the department for their steadfastness and support in making this dream a reality. We hope and pray to keep the journal afloat always even in these austere times.

If, in the course of reading, any errors are detected, it is highly regretted.

Happy Reading!

**Prof. Ayodele Bamidele,**

**Editor**

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2.      The following details should be noted on paper format:

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# "I belong to everybody and I belong to nobody": A Critical Discourse Analysis of Selected Speeches of President Muhammadu Buhari

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## Abstract

*Effective political communication, involves the deployment of language by political public speakers not only to share political visions with the people, but essentially, to enact ideological positions. Even though scholars have examined ideologies in political speeches, to the best of our knowledge, adequate works are yet to be done on the strategies and the language use that index these ideologies. This study examines selected political speeches of President Muhammadu Buhari (PMB) with the view to identifying and discussing the ideological stances, the strategies and the linguistic elements employed to enact and legitimise them. The study deploys Critical Discourse Analysis in the analysis of eight political speeches of PMB with the view to elucidating the discourse elements and the strategies deployed to enact shades of ideological stances in the data. The study reveals that PMB selects proforms, auxiliary verbs, action verbs, descriptive adjectives, concrete nouns and descriptive phrases to enact and legitimise unity of purpose, shared responsibility and shared glorification and, to achieve positive self-imaging while delineating others negatively.*

**Key Words:** Ideology, President Muhammadu Buhari, Presidential Speeches, Critical Discourse Analysis, Political Communication, Language Use

## Introduction

Speeches are important to politicians and public figures because they are means of reaching out to their target audience to disseminate vital information to them. Such events provide opportunities for speakers to present their views, opinions and beliefs and to persuade their listeners into accepting them. Speeches by Presidents are powerful in shaping people's opinions, beliefs and values; they are vital to governance, as they provide the platform for government to keep the populace informed of policies, developments and programmes. Presidential speeches provide opportunities for the establishment of rapport between Presidents and their fellow citizens.

Speechmaking is an art that is "concerned with the use of public speaking as a means of persuasion" (Bradford, 1997: 3). Even though public speaking is not only about persuasion, it is an important aspect of it. Speech is an essential tool in political processes, hence, directly related to rhetoric. This is why politicians need to master the art of oratory because

their ability to present their speeches in a manner that soothe the electorate can go a long way in achieving success in their political career. Al-Faki (2014) observes that "making speeches is a vital part of the politician's role in announcing policy and persuading people to agree with it". One would agree with Al-Faki that politics is a business that requires the most extensive use of language; for while dictators rely solely on the use of force to take power and to exercise it, politicians rely mainly on their use of language and their rhetoric skills to be able to win the people's mandate and convince them to agree with their ideas [see Adetunji (2009), Opeibi (2009:9), Condor, et al (2013), Akinwotu (2016)].

Politicians particularly use language to steer the emotions of the electorate, to affect their opinions and attitudes and also to control their thoughts and beliefs. The language used in politics is so distinguished from other types of discourse that is functional and directed at or used to identify a group of people; it is constructed to suit the ideology of its users. The interest of linguists in the whole of these lies in the way politicians use language to encode and pass their ideologies to their electorates and how power relation is legitimized and enacted through their use of language.

There have been various scholarly attempts to study the way politicians use language, the effect they intend to achieve and the various features that distinguish their language from other domains of language use. Langrova. (2010) examines ideology in Obama's Prague Speech. Rashidi and Souzandehfar (2010) is a Critical Discourse study of the debates between Republicans and Democrats over the continuation of War in Iraq. Sharndama (2015) examined the linguistic features and the discourse issues in the inaugural speech of President Muhammadu Buhari. Kamalu and Agangan (2012) analysed the rhetorical strategies evident in President Goodluck Jonathan's declaration of interest speech. The study focuses on the various rhetorical devices in the speech and their effect in the legitimization of the ideologies in the speech. Akinwotu (2013) examines the performative role of language in the acceptance of nomination speeches of Chief Obafemi Awolowo and Chief Moshood Kashimawo Olawale Abiola. Matic (2012) studies the ideological structures of election debates selected between the Republican Party candidate John McCain and Democratic Party candidate Barack Obama, held shortly before the presidential election of the United States of America in 2012.

Furthermore, Alo (2012) focuses on the rhetorical import of Selected Political Speeches of Prominent African Leaders. In a related study, Akinwotu (2015) studied the pragmatic strategies in the Ondo State governorship election debate of 2012 and identified some positive and negative politeness strategies employed by participants in the debate. Ezeifeka (2013) focuses on a Critical Discourse Analysis of interpersonal meaning and power relations in selected inaugural political speeches in Nigeria. Doha (2015) is a critical examination of American political discourse as manifested in Hillary Clinton's interviews. Furko (2016) accounts for evidential markers, general extenders, quotation markers and markers of (un)certainty in political interviews broadcasts by the BBC, CNN and Hungarian ATV with the view to accounting for the manipulative uses of pragmatic markers in political discourse. The paper observes that pragmatic markers can perform several manipulative functions in political discourse.

However, to the best of our knowledge, none of these studies has undertaken a critical analysis of the deployment of language to enact ideologies in political speeches. As a result of this, the current study focuses on sampled speeches of President Muhammadu Buhari (PMB) and studies how the President employs language to enact and legitimise his ideological standpoints. The study further examines the strategies employed by PMB to portray and project his ideologies to the people in a bid to orientating himself to the people while at the same time criticizing and condemning the ideological positions of his predecessors. For data, fifteen political speeches of President Muhammadu Buhari were collected out of which eight were purposively selected based on the contexts of their delivery as revealed in their titles. The speeches were downloaded from the internet and subjected to critical analysis. They are presented with their contextual details in the table below:

| No | Title | Date |
|----|-------|------|
| 1 | Inaugural speech | 29th May, 2015 |
| 2 | Independence speech | 1st Oct., 2015 |
| 3 | National Youth Day speech | 1st Aug., 2015 |
| 4 | Budget of Change | 22nd Dec., 2015 |
| 5 | New Year message | 1st Jan., 2016 |
| 6 | An Address at the United Nations Assembly | 13th Sept., 2016 |
| 7 | Democracy Day Speech | 29th May, 2016 |
| 8 | Paris Peace Forum Speech | 12th Nov., 2018 |

**Theoretical Framework**
The theoretical framework that is adopted for this study is the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a theory and a method of analysis of discourse which is concerned with studying and analysing words used in discourses to reveal the sources of power, abuse, dominance, inequality and bias and how these sources are initiated, maintained, reproduced and transformed within specific social, economic, political and historical contexts (van Dijk, 1988). As a linguistic theory rooted in the social use of language, CDA examines power relations and dominance in discourses. According to Fairclough (1995:287) "Critical Discourse Analysis is a perspective which is concerned with showing up an often opaque connection between language and other aspects of society and culture.

That is, critical discourse analysis often examines those hidden relationships between discourse practices, events, and texts on the one hand and the wider socio-cultural contexts on the other hand". CDA explores the connection between the use of language and the social and political contexts in which the language occurs. Central to it are issues such as power, dominance and ideology that are embedded in texts and talks. The theory holds the belief that the society shapes discourse and discourse in return shapes the society. This implies that the society has a great influence on the production of discourse and that the surrounding situation in which a discourse is produced is also important to its interpretation.

Thus, CDA examines how power, dominance and ideology are constructed and legitimized in discourses by looking at the contexts in which discourses are produced. It seeks to

understand how language can be used to control people's minds and actions, how powerful groups control public discourse and the consequences of such social control. CDA claims that our language usage encodes ideological patterns where language is not just a mere means of communication but a representation of our dynamic and objective reality (see also van Dijk 1996 & 2002; Fairclough 1989; Wodak and Meyer 2008). Thus, when people use language, their language acts are expressions of meanings that reflect one form of ideology or the other which may be a means of influencing people's thoughts and beliefs or as a control device. For example, politicians encode some ideological perspectives in their public utterances in an attempt to influence the direction of text and talk or control the thoughts and beliefs of the people. This paper examines the ideologies communicated in selected speeches of President Muhammadu Buhari and the purpose they are made to serve.

**Data Presentation and Analysis**
This section examines selected speeches of President Muhammadu Buhari (PMB) to identify and describe the ideology communicated and legitimised in the speeches. It focuses on the language use of PMB by looking at the discursive and linguistic elements employed in the enactment of the ideological positions in the speeches.

One major linguistic element that usually reflects the ideological stances of speakers, especially in political speeches is pronoun. Ordinarily, pronouns function as substitutes to nouns in a sentence. However, pronouns have also been found to possess the potentials to reflect the ideological stances of their users. Thus, a speaker's ideological stances may be revealed through a critical examination of the pronominal elements employed in his/her speech. Irimea (2010) cited in Sharndarma (2015:22) asserts that:

> Pronouns that political speakers use to refer to themselves or their audience can be a significant part of the message. They can be used to foreground or to obscure responsibility and agency.

Politicians often engage in self-glorification, collectivism, and shared responsibility in their utterances. They use pronouns to express their ideological positions by presenting a positive image of themselves while presenting their contenders (others) in a bad/negative light. This is what Van Dijk (2006) identified as positive self –presentation and the negative other presentation ideology. Political public speakers often attempt to legitimise themselves and the ideological positions they represent while de-legitimising others and their ideological stances.  In such a situation, ideologies often are presented in the form of in-group and out-group differentiation. This means that the good of the in-group is fully discussed and emphasised while the good of the out-group or the other people are usually overlooked and ignored (see van Dijk 1998). In the foregoing, attempts are made to identify and discuss the shades of ideological stances communicated and legitimised in the selected speeches.

**Collective Responsibility and Shared Glorification Ideological Stances in Selected Speeches**
A single man cannot make a government; an administration consists of various personnel who work hand-in-hand to achieve corporate objectives. There must be collective

responsibility and individuals must act in one accord to achieve success. As head of government, the president takes responsibility for the actions and inactions of his government. Thus, when he or she speaks, he most often assumes the institutional voice and talks on behalf of others involved in the administration. It is in this regard that PMB makes use of some linguistic elements to represent his administration as a collective entity. "Collectivism" in this context, involves the use of these linguistic elements to enact ideological positions in a manner that shows the unity of purpose, shared responsibility and shared glorification. Here are some extracts.

**Extract 1.** At home, **we** face enormous challenges. Insecurity, pervasive corruption, the hitherto unending and seemingly impossible fuel and power shortages are the immediate concerns. **We** are going to tackle them head-on. Nigerians will not regret that they have entrusted national responsibility to **us**. **We** must not succumb to hopelessness and defeatism. **We** can fix our problems. [**Speech 1**]

**Extract 2.** On the economy, **we** injected new leadership at the helm of our revenue-generating agencies including the Federal Inland Revenue Service (FIRS), Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC), Nigerian Communications Commission (NCC), and the Nigerian Customs Service (NCS). **We** implemented the Treasury Single Account (TSA) which, so far, has provided greater visibility of Government revenues and cash flows. **We** intervened to support States to navigate their fiscal challenges by restructuring their commercial bank loans and by providing facilities to enable them to pay salary arrears. [**speech 5**]

**Extract 3.** Let **us** remind **ourselves** of the gifts God has given **us**. **Our** Creator has bequeathed to **us** Numbers – Nigeria is the ninth most populated country on the planet. **We** have in addition arable land; water; forests; oil and gas; coastline; and solid minerals. [**speech 2**]

**Extract 4.** From day one, **we** purposely set out to correct our condition, to change Nigeria. We reinforced and galvanized our armed forces with new leadership and resources. **We** marshalled our neighbours in a joint task force to tackle and defeat Boko Haram…We continue to demonstrate zero tolerance for corrupt practices and non-conformity conduct in public life, by confronting corruption head-on. This is predicated on the fact that **we** remain steadfast in **our** commitment of ensuring integrity and ethical conduct in the task of governance. **We** are mindful of the primacy of leadership by example in this regard. [**speech 7**]

Yule (1996:61) has avowed that the inclusive 'we' in the subject position is often used to achieve a "face preserving act", to achieve solidarity and to identify with listeners as 'in-group' to secure their consent and perpetuate their hegemonies. PMB makes use of pronouns when he is referring to in-group members of his government or party or Nigerians and also in instances where he wants to create a sense of solidarity. Apart from the second "**we**" in extract 1 which refers to PMB and his government, others refer collectively to Nigerians. The President identifies the various problems plaguing the nation and assures the people that his government will tackle the problems headlong. The auxiliary verb 'can' in the last sentence further serves to project the conviction of PMB in collectivism as a problem-solving ideological stance of his administration.

Further to the above is shared glorification as an ideological stance. PMB recounts some of the efforts of his administration to reposition the economy (extract 2). To further support his ideological stance on collective action, he observes that government agencies and policies were not working well because of bad leadership and ineffective coordination by the previous administrations. The choice of action verbs *injected, implemented, intervened* are meant to achieve shared glorification that his government is working well or very active. Also, in extracts 3 and 4, PMB appeals to the national sentiment of individuals to create a sense of solidarity and pride of a nation. The plural pronouns **we** (subject), **us** (object), **our** (possessive) and **ourselves** (reflexive) are employed to achieve the ideological stances of collective responsibility and shared glorification.

**Institutional Ideological Stance in Selected Speeches**
The first person singular pronoun is also used when a speaker wants to assert his/her authority and to show commitment to his/her propositions. When a speaker wants to prove that he/she is in control, he/she changes to face-threatening acts by deploying the singular "I". (see Yule 1996) PMB used the first person singular pronoun to enact and legitimise institutional ideology in the selected speeches. In this case, the positions maintained by him are not personal but institutional. The voice (VCE) of PMB is no longer personal but representing institutions such as the party and the office of the President and Commander in Chief of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Here are some examples.

**Extract 5.**  **I** would like to thank the governments and people of Cameroon, Chad, and Niger for committing their armed forces to fight Boko Haram in Nigeria. **I** toured the neighbouring countries, marshalled a coalition of armed forces of the five nations to confront and defeat Boko Haram. **I** met also the G-7 leaders and other friendly presidents in an effort to build an international coalition against Boko Haram. …**I** have instructed security and local authorities to tighten vigilance in vulnerable places. **[speech 2]**

Even though the voice of PMB may seem personal in this extract, it is none the less institutional. He was talking in his capacity as the President and on behalf of the nation. He thanked the neighbouring countries for supporting Nigeria in her fight against the Boko Haram terrorist group in the North-Eastern part of Nigeria. The pronoun **I** is used to give the impression of his interest (as a leader) in the security of the nation and also to claim glory for the performance of his administration in the first few months of his assumption of office. He recounts the efforts of his administration at combating terrorism and applauded the effort and bravery of the armed forces under his leadership as the Commander in Chief. In the last sentence, PMB takes credit for instructing the security organizations and local authorities to tighten vigilance which has resulted in weakening the resolve of the Boko Haram sect.

**Extract 6.**  The amnesty programme in the Niger Delta is due to end in December, but the Government intends to invest heavily in the projects, and programmes currently in place. **I** call on the leadership and people in these areas to cooperate with the State and Federal Government in the rehabilitation programmes which will be streamlined and made more effective. As ever, **I** am ready to listen to grievances of **my** fellow Nigerians. **I** extend **my** hand of fellowship to them so that we can bring peace and build prosperity for our people. **[speech 2]**

**Extract 7. I** would like to take this opportunity to express **my** appreciation for the increasing role that our women are playing in revitalizing the agricultural sector. Modern farming is still hard and heavy work and **I** salute our Nigerian women in sharing this burden. In this respect I am very pleased to announce that the government will shortly be launching the national women's empowerment fund, which **I** have approved to provide N1.6 billion in micro-finance loans to women across the nation to assist in rehabilitating the economies of rural communities, particularly those impacted by the insurgency and conflict. [**Speech 7**]

In the extracts 6-7 above, PMB deploys both the personal subjective pronoun 'I' and the personal possessive adjective 'my' to communicate institutional ideological positions. He employed the subjective pronoun 'I' to solicit the support (**I** call on) the leadership and people of the Niger Delta region to join his government in rehabilitating and rebuilding their community. Again, the possessive 'my' (**my** hand of fellowship) is also an institutional reference to himself as the President in his quest for peace and prosperity for the nation which is part of his official responsibility. He also employed these linguistic elements to reassure the citizens (As ever, **I** am ready) of his commitment and promised to be a good leader. PMB also employs the pronoun to express appreciation (I would like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation); to announce (I am very pleased to announce).

President Muhammadu Buhari also makes use of the first person singular possessive pronoun "**my**" to enact some personal (equally institutional) ideological stances in the selected speeches to show deep concern for the nation. He states that:

**Extract 8.** **My** appeal for unity is predicated on the seriousness of the legacy we are getting into. With depleted foreign reserves, falling oil prices, leakages and debts the Nigerian economy is in deep trouble and will require careful management to bring it round and to tackle the immediate challenges confronting us, namely; Boko Haram, the Niger Delta situation, the power shortages and unemployment especially among young people. …no matter how well organized the governments of the federation are, they cannot succeed without the support, understanding and cooperation of labour unions, organized private sector, the press and civil society organizations. [**speech 1**]

He employs the possessive "**my**" in his earnest call for unity in the country. This is against the backdrop of the heterogeneous nature of the country with over 250 ethnic groups and over 400 indigenous languages. Arising from these is the problem of disunity heightened by ethnicity/tribalism and religion. There is, therefore, the need for unity amongst the various ethnic/tribal groups for the nation to achieve its full potentials. President Buhari realises this fact hence, he advocates for unity not only amongst the entire citizenry but also amongst the various tiers of government. He appeals for unity in diversity towards achieving a greater Nigeria

According to Bloor and Bloor (*2004:* 228), there is a sense in which the use of possessive pronouns (my/our) is ideological. The use of such pronouns in conjunction with nominals that represent things that cannot be owned in any real sense of the word (such as government, administration, etc) is ideological. The nouns in 'my *appeal'* (extract 8) and 'my

*administration'* (speech 4) demonstrate the position of Bloor and Bloor above. Through the use of the possessive pronoun 'my', PMB's assumes the institutional voice as Mr President, to appeal for unity and to assure the citizens that his administration will not fail them.

**Individual/Personal Ideological Stance in Selected Speeches**
Our examination of selected speeches revealed some personal or individual ideological positions of PMB. This is evident in the context of his deployment of the first person singular (subjective) pronoun. As evident in the extracts below, the pronominal element (representing PMB) appears in the subject positions as the direct performer/participant in the unfolding actions. The sentences are mostly declarative/assertive/active to the extent that the verbal element merely provides information. The pronoun was used to take or assume personal responsibility, to claim personal achievements and to affirm personal commitment as the case may be. Ideologically, PMB used the pronoun 'I', to create a sense of individual responsibility and to express self-glorification. For instance:

    **Extract 9. I** am immensely grateful to God who has preserved us to witness this day and this occasion… **I** would like to thank President Goodluck Jonathan for his display of statesmanship in setting a precedent for us that has now made our people proud to be Nigerians wherever they are…. Together we co-operated to surprise the world that had come to expect only the worst from Nigeria. **I** hope this act of graciously accepting defeat by the outgoing President will become the standard of political conduct in the country. [**Speech 1**]

President Muhammadu Buhari's use of the first person singular pronoun '**I**' in the excerpt above reveals his ideological stance of personal appreciation for electing him into the office of the president and for the successful transition programme culminating in his inauguration. First, he used the pronoun 'I' as a device to personalise the position he maintained (appreciation) in the utterances. Through this device, he expresses his appreciation to Almighty God for preservation and to President Goodluck Jonathan for his show of gallantry and statesmanship by 'graciously accepting defeat' in the face of palpable tension in the nation during the election period. PMB's enacts and legitimises this as an ideological position which he recommends as 'the standard of political conduct in Nigeria'.

    **Extract 10**. **I** would like to thank President Goodluck Jonathan the millions of our supporters who believed in us even when the cause seemed hopeless. **I** salute their resolve in waiting long hours in rain and hot sunshine to register and cast their votes and stay all night if necessary to protect and ensure their votes count and were counted. **I** thank those who tirelessly carried the campaign on the social media…. At the same time, **I** thank our other countrymen and women who did not vote for us but contributed to make our democratic culture truly competitive, strong and definitive.

[**Speech 1**]

PMB deploys the first person pronoun 'I' to thank the electorate for voting him to power. His choice of the verbs 'thank' and 'salute' is apt as they reveal his attitude of thanksgiving. The President is aware of the fact that some people did not vote for him. However, he appreciates them for making the context democratic and strong. He also appreciates his

campaign team for a job well done. These scores of appreciation are his positions and they are ideological.

PMB also makes use of the pronoun 'I' to achieve another ideological stance. He employs this linguistic element to assure the people of his total "commitment" to his election campaign promises. Here are some extracts to support this.

**Extract 11.** When **I** presented myself to you as a presidential candidate and asked you to vote for me, **I** wanted to be a leader who keeps his promises. **I** wanted to be a leader who restores the people's hope in those elected to serve them. **I** wanted to be a leader who initiates positive and enduring CHANGE. [**speech 4**]

**Extract 12.** **I** am still totally committed to being that kind of leader. Unforeseen circumstances and other distractions notwithstanding, **I** shall still do my utmost best to keep every promise **I** made to Nigerians during my election campaign. [**speech 4**]

There is a preponderance of the use of the pronoun 'I', in the extracts above. In extract 12, PMB makes use of the linguistic element, supported by the verbal element 'wanted', to remind the listeners of his promises during his campaign for election. The first sentence of extract 13 is an assurance of his commitment to these promises. He assures them that he is totally committed to his promises and the overall wellbeing of the country. He states that he is committed to being *a leader who keeps his promises, a leader who restores the people's hope* and *a leader who initiates positive and enduring change.* The verb phrases, *am still totally committed* and *shall still do my utmost best,* further enact his ideological stances of assurance and commitment in the selected speeches.

Also worthy of mention here is the clause structure of the sentences. A close examination of the utterances of PMB in extracts 5-13 above reveals the preponderance of declarative sentences with the declarative mood structure. More important is the prevalence of both finite temporal operators (am, have) and modal operators (shall, would, should) which give the speeches their propositional structure. The following are examples of temporal operators in our data.

I *am* ready to listen…(extract 6)      **promising**
I *am* immensely grateful to God… (extract 9)      **thanking**
I *am* still totally committed…(extract 12) **promising**
I *have* instructed security… (extract 5)      **informing**
I *have* approved… (extract 7)      **informing**

Here are a few examples of modal operators

I *would* like to thank…(extract 5)      **thanking**
I *would* like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation…(extract 7)   **thanking**
I *would* like to thank President Goodluck Jonathan…(extract 10)      **thanking**
I *shall* still do my utmost best… (extract 12)      **promising**

PMB deliberately chose the verbal elements (italicised) to communicate his ideological positions. For example, the auxiliary verbs 'am' and 'would' reveal the expression of PMB's ideology of personal appreciation as an act and an attitude. He engaged them to perform

some language functions such as promising, announcing/telling, thanking, informing and acknowledging.

## Positive Self-imaging and Negative Other-delineation Ideological Stances in Selected Speeches

A closer look at selected speeches reveals a high significance of positive self-imaging and negative other-delineation ideological stances. This is similar to what Van Dijk (2006) called Positive self-presentation and Negative other-representation. PMB engages in image laundering with the intention to achieve self-glorification by using certain strategies that have the capacity to endear his in-group ideology to the people. He deliberately selects some linguistic elements to present himself and his administration in good light. He achieves this by recounting his achievements and by highlighting future plans. For instance, PMB legitimizes his own administration by telling the people of the various steps the administration has taken in tackling the challenges facing the country.

**Extract 13.** …I toured the neighbouring countries, marshalled a coalition of armed forces of the five nations to **confront** and **defeat** Boko Haram. I met also the G-7 leaders and other friendly presidents in an effort **to build an international coalition against** Boko Haram. … We have established a multinational joint task force to **confront**, **degrade** and **defeat** Boko Haram. We *have driven them away* from many of their strongholds, killed or captured many of their operatives or commanders and *freed several hundreds of hostages*. [**speech 2**]

In the extract above, the PMB endears himself and his administration to the people by telling them about his efforts that has led to the formation of a coalition of the armed forces of Nigeria's neighbouring countries to fight Boko Haram. Of note are the specially selected action verbs (military registers) **confront, degrade** and **defeat** to portray himself as focused and forthright. In the last sentence of extract 13, PMB endears his in-group ideologies to the populace by presenting the achievements (italicised) of the coalition group.

**Extract 14.** Unemployment, notably youth un-employment features strongly in our Party's Manifesto. We intend to attack the problem frontally through revival of agriculture, solid minerals mining as well as credits to small and medium size businesses to kick – start these enterprises. We *shall quickly examine* the best way to revive major industries and accelerate the revival and development of our railways, roads and general infrastructure. [**speech 1**]

**Extract 15.** We *will invest* to **safeguard** lives and property. We *will invest* in equipping our farmers with the right tools, technology and techniques. We *will invest* in empowering and enabling our miners to operate in a **safe**, **secure** and **humane** environment…We *will invest* in training our youths, through the **revival** of our technical and vocational institutions… Preliminary steps have been taken to **sanitize** NNPC and improve its operations so that the **inefficiency** and **corruption** could be reduced to a minimum. [**speech 4**]

In extracts above, the PMB talks about the willingness of his political party to tackle the socio-economic problems such as unemployment, corruption, insecurity and inequality in the polity. He deployed the auxiliary verb *will and shall* (+present +modal) to make promises and to assure his listeners of his readiness to take some steps aimed at reviving

the economy. This shows that he actually understands the problems of the economy and he is willing to tackle them. By recounting the achievements of his administration and stating their plans, the President tries to legitimise his government and endear it to the people. This strategy corresponds with Van Dijk's notion that the good of the in-group is emphasized upon to create a positive picture of the in-group and further legitimizes their claim to power.

The other group or person in political discourse is usually under constant attack and is presented in negative light. This act of negative other-delineation involves criticising and condemning the other group (out-group) thus magnifying their ills and shortcomings. This is usually achieved through act of polarization, condemnation, scape-goating, blaming and questioning the moral standing of the other person/group. PMB presents previous administrations in bad light by criticising and condemning them for the economic woes of the country. He kept reminding the people that his administration inherited problems from the past administration. For instance, in extract 19, PMB deliberately selects words like *safe, secure, humane,* (adjectives) *sanitize* (verb) and *inefficiency* (noun) to paint the general situation of things in the country as at the time of handing over of power to him and his efforts to correct the inadequacies.

**Extract 16.** In recent times Nigerian leaders appear to have misread our mission. Our founding fathers, Mr Herbert Macauley, Dr NnamdiAzikiwe, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Alhaji Ahmadu Bello… and their colleagues worked to establish certain standards of governance. They might have differed in their methods or tactics or details, but they were united in establishing a **viable** and **progressive** country. Some of their successors behaved like **spoilt children breaking everything and bringing disorder** to the house**. [speech 1]**

**Extract 17.** We have seen in the last few years how huge resources were **mismanaged, squandered** and **wasted**. The new APC government is embarking on a clean-up, introducing prudence and probity in public financing. **[speech 2]**

In the extracts 16 and 17, PMB categorizes and labels the other group as "spoilt children" thereby who brought "disorder to the house". He reminds Nigerians of their heroic past and the need to build on the legacies of the nationalists who fought for the independence of the country. With descriptive phrases such as "spoilt children", "breaking everything", and "bringing disorder", the president condemns the actions of the past administration and their wasteful attitude towards the country's wealth and resources. He achieves this by recounting the effort of the "founding fathers" in building the nation and how their predecessors (the out-group) have destroyed everything like "spoilt children". He apportioned the blame for the economic condition of the country on past administrations. He labelled them as "squanderers" and "wasters".

**Ideological and Persuasive Function of Vocatives in Selected Speeches**
In this section, we examine the ideological and persuasive use of vocatives in the selected speeches. Our analysis reveals that vocatives were engaged not only to achieve persuasion, but also to communicate some covert ideological positions. This is done by connecting the

vocative elements with the pronominal elements that follow them in context in order to unearth the speaker's intentions in the selected speeches.

**Extract 18.** My compatriots, it is one year today since our administration came into office. It has been a year of triumph, consolidation, pains and achievements. By age, instinct and experience, my preference is to look forward, to prepare for the challenges that lie ahead and rededicate the administration to the task of fixing Nigeria. **[speech 7]**

**Extract 19.** Esteemed Ladies and Gentlemen, finally, let me reiterate the importance of unity and collective action. It is only together that we stand a better chance to win the fight against the menace of Illicit Financial Flows and corruption. **[speech 8]**

**Extract 20.** Fellow Nigerians, there have been a lot of anxiety and impatience over the apparent delay in announcement of ministers. There is no cause to be anxious. Our government set out to do things methodically and properly. We received the handing over notes from the outgoing government only four days before taking over. **[speech 2]**

In the extracts above, PMB deploys the vocatives (italicised) to achieve interpersonal rapport. Vocatives in the above extracts are; 'My compatriots', 'Esteemed Ladies and Gentlemen'; 'Fellow Nigerians'. PMB deploys them to not only to secure listeners attention, but essentially, to achieve interpersonal relations (e.g. solidarity and intimacy) thereby enhancing his 'face want' (positive face). By these, he intends to make his listeners/readers accept the validity of the propositional content of his utterances. To further heighten this, he makes use of pronominal elements such as the inclusive 'we' and 'us' to identify with them. He also deploys the possessive 'ours' and assertive 'our' to institutionalise his voice. Again, he employs the assertive 'I' to convince his listeners of the assurances/authenticity of his propositions. He gave no room for his listeners/readers to accept or object to the propositions. The major propositions (which are ideological) in the extracts are listed below:

(a) It is implied in extract 18 that previous administrations have failed and his administration has taken up the 'task of fixing Nigeria'.

(b) Extract 19 implicates that there is lack of unity which is needed for collective action in the fight against corruption (a major policy thrust of the administration).

(c) In his attempt to douse the anxiety generated by delay in the appointment of ministers, PMB insinuates that previous administrations were not methodical and did not do things properly.

(d) That unlike previous administrations, his administration is a credible one.

**Conclusion**

This paper has attempted to investigate the effectiveness of language in political communication with reference to its deployment by politicians not only in sharing political visions but essentially, to enact ideological positions. It focuses on the various ways in which politicians make use of language to communicate and legitimise ideological positions in their political speeches. The study deploys Critical Discourse Analysis in the analysis of six political speeches of President Muhammadu Buhari (PMB) with the view to identifying and discussing his ideological stances and the linguistic elements employed to enact and legitimise them. The study reveals that PMB deployed proforms as discourse markers to enact individual and institutional ideological stances and, to communicate unity

of purpose, shared responsibility and shared glorification. This corroborates Irimea (2010) cited in Sharndarma (2015:22) that the pronouns which political speakers make use of to refer to themselves or their audience can be a significant part of the message as they can be used to foreground or to obscure responsibility and agency. The study further reveals that PMB deliberately selects auxiliary verbs, action verbs, descriptive adjectives, concrete nouns and descriptive phrases achieve positive self-imaging and to delineate others negatively. Further studies can examine the use of linguistic elements to portray power relations in the political speeches of PMB.

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# Conceptual Metaphor Analysis of the Discourse of HIV/AIDS Awareness Campaigns in Nigeria

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## Abstract

*Findings of a recent survey by the Nigeria HIV/AIDS Indicator and Impact Survey (NAISS) reveal that although there is a drop in HIV/AIDS prevalence indicators in Nigeria as a result of government and foreign interventions, the epidemic is still being perceived with a sense of dread.  This has negatively impacted on the psychological wellbeing of the victims, and by consequence, directly or remotely, retarded their expected overall response to such interventions.  Previous studies have identified socio-cultural practices, stigma, and discrimination as the major causes of the foregoing, without accounting for the cognitive linguistic mechanism that underlies such a fear -inducing conceptualization of the disease. The cognitive potential of language as a tool for shaping and encoding a people's worldview and experiences   makes language an attractive site for investigating the link between Nigerians' dreaded perception of the HIV /AIDS epidemic and the metaphors deployed in the discourse of the campaign against the disease in Nigeria. This study thus seeks to investigate the conceptual metaphors used by health care providers in their campaigns against the disease in Nigeria with the aim of unraveling the cognitive –linguistic framework that informs the conceptualization and perception of the disease in the country. Data for the study are sourced from HIV/AIDS awareness campaign flyers and texts of speeches presented by health related NGOS at some campaign fora on the disease. Conceptual metaphors in the selected texts are analysed using Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) Cognitive Metaphor Theory. Findings of the study demonstrate the centrality of conceptual metaphor in HIV/AIDS communication and show that effective and appropriate deployment of same has the potential to yield better communication of HIV/AIDS information.*

**Key Words:** Conceptual Metaphor, HIV/AIDS, Discourse, Cognitive –Linguistic Framework

## Background

Since it was first discovered in the Democratic Republic of Congo about eight decades ago, the HIV /AIDS epidemic has remained a global health challenge (Gallo, 2002; Montagnier, 2002). From where it was discovered, the disease has spread beyond the borders of its initial

origin to all the countries of the world. For example, information obtained from the Global Health Observatory Data (GHO) on the official website of the World Health Organization reveals that since it was discovered, 75 million people have been infected with the virus, while 34 million of those infected have died. The report further reveals that at the end of 2018, 77000 deaths were recorded out of the 37.9 million people living with HIV that year. A similar report by UNIAIDS reveals that in 2017, about 36.9 people were already living with HIV AIDS worldwide, with about 5000 people being infected daily. Besides this statistical data on the global spread of the disease, information also exists on the ravaging effect and distribution of the disease across individual countries and regions of the world. For example, according to Clifford e'tal (2017) in 2017, Nigeria had 3.8 million people living with HIV, the second largest globally.  In the United Kingdom, over 101, 600 people are living with the virus, and 4, 300 people are diagnosed with the virus every year.

The foregoing not only demonstrates the pervasive spread and devastating effect of the HIV /AIDS epidemic, it also explains why the international community has become united in the effort to reduce its spread and ameliorate the effect on those already living with it. Governments of countries, NGOs, philanthropists, civil society organizations such as WHO, UNAIDS, UNICEF, The World Bank, etc are making huge financial allocations to create awareness on the disease and to facilitate the availability of quality antiretroviral drugs to victims. In the area of awareness creation especially, there have been remarkable collaborative efforts worldwide by civil organizations and NGOs to eradicate cultural stereotypes, sensitize people on survival and prevention techniques, and mobilize empathy for victims of the disease. The remote objective of these efforts is   the mission to end the HIV/AIDS as a public health threat by 2030.

In its effort to scale-up prevention of the  epidemic, facilitate treatment and mobilize support and empathy for its victims in Nigeria, the Nigerian government in collaboration with many civil society organizations has (like its counterparts across the world) been vigorously creating awareness on the disease through the media and other public lecture platforms. Although the findings of a recent survey by The Nigeria National HIV/AIDS Indicator and Impact Survey (*NAISS*) (conducted in 2019) indicate that there is a drop in the prevalence indicators of the disease in Nigeria as a result of these efforts, the disease is still being perceived with a high sense of dread and apprehension.  In previous studies, socio-cultural stereotypes, stigma, and discrimination were identified as being responsible for this (Clifford etal 2017,   Yahaya etál 2010; Okareh eta'l 2015; Okonkwo eta'l 2013). However, the cognitive linguistic mechanism that underlies such a fear -inducing conceptualization of the disease has not been accounted for.  The cognitive potential of language as a tool for shaping and encoding a people's world view and experiences  makes language an attractive site for investigating the link between Nigerians' dreaded perception of the HIV /AIDS epidemic and the metaphors deployed in the discourse of the campaign against the disease in Nigeria. This study thus seeks to investigate the conceptual metaphors used by health care providers in their campaigns against the disease in Nigeria with the aim of unraveling the cognitive–linguistic framework that informs the conceptualization and perception of the disease in the country.

**Metaphor in Discourse: A Review of Literature of Previous Studies**

The publication of Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) *Metaphors We Live By* triggered an upsurge of scholarly works in metaphor research, in which linguists began to investigate the discourse value of metaphor in various domains of human experience. In medical discourse, for example, a study by Kangira (2017) focuses on how women writers use metaphor as gender rhetoric in HIV/AIDS and sex-related discourse. Contextualized within the Shone culture of Zimbabwean women, the study demonstrates how (given the cultural stereotypes and restrictions on direct communication in matters relating to AIDs and sex among Zimbabwean women) Zimbabwean women writers often rely on different metaphors and other idiomatic expressions when talking about sex and AIDS. The data of the study are a collection of short stories by a Zimbabwean writer. Using the metaphor of ''sex is food'', for instance, the study reveals the psychological perception of sex among the Zimbabwean women.

Similarly, Karska and Prazmo (2017) evaluated the didactic potential of metaphors in medical discourse. Drawing insights from Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) Conceptual Metaphor Theory, the study analyzes a corpus of medical texts focusing on doctor to patient communication. Findings of the study demonstrate that metaphors in medical discourse are based on multimodal representations which rather than obscure meaning, enrich conceptualizations, structure the semantics of the message and also serve a number of pragmatic functions, thus making meaning in the discourse clearer and more precise.

Karska (2015) also uses the conceptual metaphor theory to analyze the cognitive value of metaphors in doctor to patient interaction in Poland, the findings of which reveal a number of military - associated linguistic metaphors in such interactions which portray a conceptualization of MEDICINE AS WAR. Also, in a study entitled, "Pain as Metaphor", Neilson (2015) uses the conceptual metaphor theory to evaluate the psychological effect of using neurological metaphors in medical discourse. The analysis of the data shows that in medicine, pain is conceptualized and expressed through negative and destructive metaphorical systems that have been appropriated by physicians and entrenched with supplementary neurological metaphors. The studies reviewed above are relevant to the current survey in that they demonstrate the potency of metaphor as a communicative tool in medical discourse.

The discourse potential of metaphor has also been studied in religious discourse. One of such studies is Okafor (2014). The study uses the conceptual metaphor theory to investigate the use of metaphor as a rhetorical device in selected Roman Catholic Bishops' pastoral letters in Onitsha Ecclesiastical Province of Nigeria. The study uses as data ten of such pastoral letters written between 2000 and 2010, with themes ranging from conversion, reconciliation, love, faith to repentance. Findings reveal that although the metaphors of journey, building, light, food, body parts, health and plant are predominant in Catholic discourse, the plant metaphor has the highest frequency of occurrence (77 times), followed immediately by the journey metaphor, which along with the others, the study concludes, is rhetorically significant within the Catholic discourse domain. The work is significant as a contribution to the corpus of literature on metaphor research in Christian discourse, and by extension provides a theoretical insight to the current study.

Cameroon (2007) integrates Vygotsky's theory of concepts with current works on metaphor into a coherent framework for investigating how researchers and learners negotiate figurative language in order to promote development in the classroom setting. Using a corpus of classroom spoken discourse, the study demonstrates the central role of linguistic metaphoric expressions in classroom learning, especially in relation to how learners can acquire a deeper understanding of complex mathematical and scientific concepts. The study's major strengths lie in its identification of metaphor in the education domain and the systematic analysis of its use within this domain. The current differs from the current study in that it focuses on the discourse function of metaphor in the educational domain, whereas the current study is based on the medical domain.

**Theoretical Orientation**
The theoretical orientation underpinning the analysis and discussion of findings in the study is Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Cameron and Maslen's (2009) Discourse Dynamics Approach to Metaphor Anslysis. Also known as the Cognitive Metaphor Theory, Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) Conceptual Metaphor Theory was propounded to challenge the classical Aristotelian perception of metaphor which restricted the notion of metaphoricity to the domain of literature and rhetoric. Under the classical era, words were considered metaphorical only if they have aesthetic and ornamental value in poetry and public speaking. In the conceptual metaphor theory however, metaphor was argued to be not only pervasive in man's daily experiences, but also an integral aspect of the human conceptual system. Scholars argue that the prevalence of metaphor in man's daily experience makes it the underlying cognitive basis for what he thinks, and for how and why he acts. For instance, according to them, the conceptual metaphor "ARGUMENT IS WAR" does not only illustrate the English speaker's conceptualization of argument, but also determines what s/he does in the process of arguing.

Thus, s/he can "win" or "lose" an argument, "attack" his opponent's view or "defend" his own. Such a conceptualization of argument, based on this theory, will certainly be different in a culture where argument is conceptualized as love, for instance. In the latter culture, the participants in an argument will be seen as performers, and the goal will not be to "win", but rather to "perform" in a balanced and aesthetically pleasing way. In such a culture, people will view arguments differently, experience them differently, carry them out differently and talk about them differently, and will therefore, in the end, not be said to be arguing at all, but to be rather doing something else. The difference between the two cultures, according to Lakoff and Johnson (19), will be in the structure of their discourse. Whereas, owners of the first culture will be said to have a discourse form structured in terms of a battle, their counterparts in the second have one structured in the form of a dance. This view sees metaphor as not just shaping human experience, but also providing a perceptive mechanism by means of which humans make sense of their environment.

Thus,(conceptual)metaphor refers to the understanding of one idea or conceptual domain, in terms of another through a process of mapping. By *mapping* in the theory is meant the systematic set of correspondences that exist between constituent elements of the source domain and those of the target domain. To know a conceptual metaphor therefore is to know the set of mappings that applies to a given source – target pairing. The fundamental argument of the theory is that metaphor operates at the level of thinking. That is, metaphor

is a *figure of thought* rather than of speech Lakof and Johnson (1980). Metaphors, according to the theory, have two conceptual domains, the ''source domain'' and the "target domain". The source domain consists of a set of literal entities, attributes, processes and relationships linked semantically and apparently stored together in the mind. The target domain is abstract, and takes its structure from the source domain through the metaphorical line or "conceptual metaphor". Target domains are therefore believed to have relationship between entities, attributes and processes which mirror those found in the source domain. At the level of language, these entities, attributes and processes in the target domain are lexicalized using words and expressions from the source domain (Peignan, 39).

Cameron and Maslen's (2009) Discourse Dynamics Approach to Metaphor Analysis is a framework of metaphor analysis that focuses on "patterns of metaphor use in data" (p.1). Also known as Metaphor – Led Discourse Analysis, the model was designed for data that focuses on social phenomena such as family life, poverty, crimes, terrorism, etc. One of its major strengths, according to Cameron and Maslen, is to account for the "complex dynamics of real - world language use in social situation "which the conceptual metaphor theory fails to accommodate. Thus, rather than restricting metaphor analysis to a static mapping of conceptual domains, the approach (and herein lies its usefulness to the current study) provides a framework   for analyzing metaphor usage as a discourse activity in which emphasis is on the linguistic manifestation of  metaphor in a real context of use. In the model, besides analyzing single word linguistic metaphors, attention is sometimes given to the linguistic context Please rework.

## Methodological Considerations
Data for the study were sourced from HIV/AIDS awareness campaign flyers and texts of speeches presented by health related NGOS at campaign fora on the disease.  Hundred slogans were purposively sampled and critically studied for selection of possible linguistic metaphors. Forty- five (45) metaphor "candidates" emerged, having been subjected to test of metaphoricity using Cameron and Maslen (2010) Metaphor Identification Procedure through Vehicle terms (MIV),  a five – step model   for identifying metaphors in discourse. The steps as outlined in the model are:
i) The researcher familiarizes himself with the discourse data.
i.) The researcher works through the data for possible metaphors
iii) Each metaphor is checked for its meaning in the discourse context, the existence of another more basic meaning, an incongruity or contrast between these meanings and a transfer from the basic to the contextual meaning.
iv) If the possible metaphor satisfies each of the criteria above, it is coded as metaphor.
v) The basic meaning of the metaphorically used word(s) can be determined through the use of external resources such as the Macmillan English Dictionary.

The suitability of the model in the present study hinges on its emphasis on  the centrality of linguistic context in determining  metaphorcity.
Using the model, the analysis reveals forty- five (45) linguistic metaphor categories with four (3) corresponding conceptual metaphors. Usually, a set of  linguistic metaphors from a given semantic field constitutes a conceptual metaphor. Such a submission hinges on Goatly's (2005) assertion   on conceptual metaphors that a significant conceptual metaphor should be capable of being linguistically realized by at least six lexical items found in a recognized

dictionary of the English Language. What follows is an analysis of the linguistic metaphors and the mapping principles of their corresponding conceptual metaphor categories. The top to bottom approach of conceptual metaphorization is adopted in the analysis. In this approach a given conceptual metaphor category is mentioned and the linguistic metaphors giving rise to it are traced along the mapping principles underlying such a conceptual metaphor. This approach is unlike the bottom to top approach where a set of linguistic metaphors from a given semantic field are identified.

## Data Presentation and Analysis

Group One

| S/N | CATEGORY /SOURCE DOMAIN | TARGET DOMAIN | LINGUISTIC METAPHORS | RESULTING CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | BATTLE | HIV/AIDS PREVENTION | 1. What are you doing in the **war** against AIDS? <br> 2. I am **fighting** in the **war** against AIDS! <br> 3. Use **helmet** while driving in an unknown road. <br> 4. Let HIV be your worst **enemy**! Fight HIV/AIDS <br> 5. Join in the **struggle** against AIDSs. <br> 6. Let's aid each other to **combat** AIDS! <br> 7. That's how we'll **defeat** AIDS and build a healthier... world for everyone. <br> 8. Discrimination is the greatest barrier in **defeating** the disease. <br> 9. HIV/AIDS destroys without **wars** or **violence** <br> 10. Patients lose the ability to **defend** themselves. <br> 11. HIV reduces the body's ability to **combat** other diseases. <br> 12. Individuals' genetic **resistance** to HIV/AIDS. <br> 13. The bacteria **overpowers** the immune system. <br> 14. For HIV/AIDS, we haven't killed the **beast**. | PREVENTION OF HIV/AIDS IS WAR |

| 2 | RISK/SAFETY | IGNORANCE/ KNOWLEDGE | 15. The **risk** is not knowing; stop aids.<br>16. Un-informed, un-caring, **un-safe,** un-alive!<br>17. One in four people with HIV don't know they have it.<br>18. Play it **safe** with a single partner or die with two. The choice is yours!<br>19. Ignorance is your **enemy**<br>20. Aids is no joke, **wrap** before you poke<br>21. Better **safe** than sorry.<br>22. The disease is a **threat** to human existence<br>23. That's how we'll defeat AIDS and build a healthier... **safer** world for everyone.<br>24. We cannot **beat HIV/AIDS** without giving young people the voice they deserve. | **KNOWLEDGE OF HIV/AIDS IS SAFETY/ IGNORANCE OF IT IS A RISK** |

## Group Two

| S/N | CATEGORY /SOURCE DOMAIN | TARGET DOMAIN | LINGUISTIC METAPHORS | RESULTING CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | DANGER | UNPROTECTED SEX | 25..End the **dread**…stop the spread.<br>26.Be aware! Be prepared! HIV is passing, but don't be **scared**!<br>27.**Condom is in your pocket**; HIV **is out** there**.**<br>28.It's fast, it's **furious**, it's aids!<br>29. .HIV/AIDS has no **boundaries.**<br>30. Better to control **your reflex** than to live in **regret**.<br>31. Control **your reflex** and avoid **unprotected sex**.<br>32. **Safe sex** or no sex; it's your life that's at **stake**<br>33. HIV does not make people **dangerous** to know, so you can shake their hands and give them a hug: heaven knows they need it<br>34. ABC—Abstain! Be faithful and 1**Condomise**<br>35. We gave themthe tools to **protect** themselves<br>36. Open your eyes before **AIDS closes them**<br>37. **Death** n **AIDS**–made 4 each other<br>38. **Kill** aids & save world | **HAVING SEX WITH AN HIV/AIDS INFECTED PERSON WITHOUT CONDOM IS DEADLY** |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 39. Sex is fun; don't let it **kill** you! <br> 40. AIDS is **death**, cover you head when you enter <br> 41. Play it safe with a single partner or **die with two**. The choice is yours! <br> 42. AIDS is **death**, cover you head when you enter. <br> 43. We have transformed a **death sentence** into a treatable disease. <br> 44. HIV/AIDS...a **death sentence** <br> 45. It is a **fatal** diseases. | |
| | | | | |

## Discussion of Findings

What follows is the discussion of the findings arising from the analysis of the data of the study.

## Eradication of The HIV/AIDS Disease is Battle

The conceptual metaphors above reveal a perception of the eradication of the HIV/AIDS epidemic as battle. A proper understanding of this metaphor hinges on the cognitive interface between the source domain of the metaphor and its target domain. In the current analysis, the source domain of the metaphor is battle, whereas the target domain is the eradication of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. In other words, the eradication of the HIV/AIDS epidemic is cognitively associated with the act of warfare. This means that there are activities and ideas connected to the act of battle which are mapped onto the effort, in Nigeria, to eradicate the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Although this *mapping* of battle- associated activities to the effort to eradicate HIV/AIDS is a conceptual process existing only in the cognitive consciousness of the stake holders in the HIV/AIDS campaign in Nigeria, it is linguistically signaled by the use of lexical items from the semantic field of battle deployed in the campaign. Some of these words are *fighting* (2)*, battle*( 4)*, war*( 6)*, violence*( 9)*, defend*( 10)*, enemy*( 4)*, helmet*( 3)*, combat* (11) etc. Some of these words are captured in the excerpt below.

   i.  HIV reduces the body's ability to combat other diseases.
   ii.  I am **fighting** in the **war** against aids!
   iii.  Let HIV be your worst **enemy**! **Fight** HIV/AIDS.
   iv.  Use **helmet** while driving in an unknown road.

The words *combat* and *fighting* and *enemy* as seen in the texts are all from the semantic field of warfare. While *combat* for instance, denotes a fight between two armed forces, *fight* in its noun form is a violent struggle involving the exchange of physical blows or the use of weapons, and *enemy* is a person who is actively opposed and hostile to someone or something. These words altogether suggest the idea of armed conflict or *battle* involving causalities among the opponents. Thus the description of HIV/AIDS in (i) above as being capable of reducing the victim's ability to *combat* other diseases not only creates an atmosphere of war, but also triggers a sense of defeat especially with regards to the victims of the epidemic in that by their being infected, they lose the power to resist other diseases. Good as the communicative intentions of these slogans might be therefore, the metaphors deployed in them have the potential to defeat these intentions in that rather than ameliorate

the condition of the victims of the epidemic, they may tend to incite a sense of war and thus psychologically  weaken the  ability to survive the disease.

**Knowledge of HIV/AIDS is Safety; Ignorance of it is a Risk**
The above conceptual metaphor suggests a conceptualization of the knowledge of HIV/AIDS as safety and the lack of such knowledge as risk. The source domain of the metaphor is security whereas its target domain is knowledge about HIV/AIDS. Evidence of the cognitive metaphor in the analysis is signaled by such linguistic metaphors as *risk*, *unsafe*, *enemy*, *wrap*, *beat*, *threat*, etc. as used in the following excerpts from the data.

  *i.* The **risk** is not knowing; stop aids.
  *ii.* Ignorance is your **enemy**.
  *iii.* Un-informed, un-caring, **un-safe,** un-alive!
  *iv.* Play it **safe** with a single partner or die with two. The choice is yours!

Semantically, the words *safe* and *risk* in the above excerpts *are* antonymous in that whereas the former denotes protection from danger, the latter suggests exposure to it. Thus, to"play *safe* with a  single partner" is to relate sexually with  one's partner, conscious of  his/her HIV status. This type of awareness with regards to sexual relationship is conceptualized in the slogan as being *safe* in that it protects the partners from the danger of being infected with the disease. Although metaphors of safety such as this are obviously targeted at  those who have not  yet been infected  with  the disease (and this   understandably to stop them from being infected), there is a sense in which  the   usage of these metaphors, especially when contrasted with the metaphors of risk (linguistically realized in the text as *risk*, *enemy*, *unsafe*, and *un-live*), could be said to have a negative effect on those who have been infected by the disease. This is because to describe awareness of one's(negative) HIV status and that of one's partner as *safe*   invariably suggests that ignorance of this is dangerous, and it is in this contrast that the psychological impact of the metaphors of risk is mostly felt by the victims of the  HIV/AIDS  epidemic. For  example,  ignorance  of  one's  status  is  metaphorically described in text 16 as being un-*safe* and being *un- alive*! The two metaphors here connote the  danger  associated  with  death.  Thus,  it  could  be  argued  again  that  although  the communicative intention of the metaphors under analysis is meant to orient the masses towards the need to be aware of  their partners' HIV status,  the metaphors have negative mapping potential capable of instilling more fear in the victims and by so doing weaken their psychological will power to survive the illness.

**Having Unprotected Sexual Intercourse With an HIV/AIDS Infected Person is Deadly**
In this cognitive metaphor, to have intercourse with a victim of HIV/AIDS and not wear a condom  in  the  process  is  conceptualized  as  deadly.  This  conceptual  metaphor  is linguistically unveiled in such lexical metaphors as *dread, scared, at stake, dangerous, regret, furious, kill, fatal death,* etc contained in the following excerpts:
  i.   End the **dread**…stop the spread.
  ii.  Be aware! Be prepared! HIV is passing, but don't be **scared**!
  iii. Condom is in your pocket; **HIV is out there.**
  iv.  It's fast, it's **furious**, it's AIDS!

D*read*, *dangerous*, and *scared* are sourced from the  domain of terror. Whereas *dread* suggests to anticipate with great apprehension or fear, *dangerous* denotes something likely to cause harm or injury, and *scared* gives the idea of being frightened. Thus, to "end the

*dread*" and "stop the *spread*" is a metaphorical description of "protected sex" and "unprotected sex", respectively. Since *dread* is associated with the disease, ending it would therefore mean to take all precautionary measures, including the use of a condom during sex, and it is by so doing that the *spread* of the *dread* can be stopped. The psychological implication of such a depiction of the HIV epidemic lies in the consciousness of fear and apprehension it is likely to generate among the victims of the disease. Other linguistic metaphors in the text that conceptualize unprotected sexual intercourse with an HIV infected person as deadly, *dead, kill, death, die, death sentence*, *fatal disease*, contained in the excerpt below:

  *i.*    Open your eyes before **AIDS closes them**
  *ii.*   **Death n AIDS**–made 4 each other
  *iii.*  Sex is fun; don't let it **kill** you!
  *iv.*   Aids is **death**, cover you head when you enter!
  *v.*    Play it safe with a single partner or **die with two**. The choice is yours!
  *vi.*   AIDS is **death**, cover you head when you enter.
  *vii.*  HIV/AIDS...a **death sentence**
  *viii.* It is a **fatal** disease.

Central to all the metaphorical expressions above is the notion/theme of death which has been associated with either HIV/AIDS itself or the act of having sexual intercourse with an HIV/AIDS infected person. Universally, the phenomenon of death is perceived with a sense of awe and dread, and this, understandably, because of the "irrecoverableness" of the loss associated with it and the uncertainty surrounding its occurrence . Consequently, to associate the act of contracting a disease with such a solemn and dreadful aspect of human experience such as in *Aids is **death**, cover your head when you enter, HIV/AIDS...a **death sentence**, we have transformed a **death sentence** into a treatable disease, open your eyes before **AIDS closes them*** is to weaken the psychological defensive mechanism of the victims in their struggle to remain alive, and thus violates the tenets of humanistic medicine.

**Conclusion**
This study interrogated the impact on HIV/AIDS patients of the type of metaphors deployed in HIV/AIDS awareness campaigns in Nigeria. The problematic of the study was hinged on the link established in the study between the overall wellbeing of the HIV/AIDS patients and the metaphors deploy in communicating awareness about the disease. The analysis of the study unveiled three conceptual metaphors in the discourse of HIV/AIDS campaign in Nigeria. The conceptual metaphors are ERADICATION OF HIV/AIDS IS A BATTLE, KNOLWEDGE OF HIV/AIDS IS SAFTEY WHILE IGONRANCE IS A RISK, HAVING UNPROTECTED SEXUAL INTERCOURTSE WITH AN HIV/AIDS INFECTED PERSON IS A DEADLY. The deconstruction of these conceptual metaphors demonstrate the centrality of conceptual metaphor in HIV/AIDS communication and show that effective and appropriate deployment of same has the potential to yield better communication of HIV/AIDS information.

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# Popular Style in Olu Obafemi's *Wheels*

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**Abstract**
*This study began with an introduction which gave highlights of the meaning of style to put the study in the right perspective. An explanation of popular style then followed to point out the suitable framework for the study of style in Obafemi's Wheels. The researcher adopted the model of literary stylistics for textual analysis. This model provided the framework for satisfactory analysis of evocative language in the novel. The researcher chose passages of imagery, symbols, and wise sayings for analysis. The findings of the study include: Olu Obafem's style in Wheels is a major consideration in the conclusion that the novel belongs to the canon of popular literature.*

**Key words**: Style, popular style, African creative aesthetics, popular literature, literary stylistics.

**Introduction**
Every writer has an audience in mind and the message he wants to pass across to them. He carefully chooses the words that can pass across this message effectively. The linguistic and extra-linguistic devices he chooses to pass across the message constitute style in literature. As a volatile area of literary studies, style has many definitions as there are many literary critics and stylo-linguists.

According to F.U. Nnamani, style is the writer's unique and peculiar way of passing across his idea. He points out that it is the way a writer chooses his words, constructs his sentences, and arranges them; as a marker of his personality (35). This demonstrates that elements of style are deployed for communicative purpose. He sees style to be authorially bound: the writer's diction. His definition of style is in tandem with the aim and objectives of the present study.

Furthermore, Leech and Short define style as the way in which language is used in a given context by a given group of people for a given purpose (10). This implies that style is the use of register or varieties of language, and the writer's diction for communicative purpose. Most of the critics of African literature are interested in the communicative function of style. This is probably because, the most popularly held opinion in African creative endeavor (oral or written) is that it balances on the scale of text and message relationship. According to Mohammed Attai Yakubu, "every African literary work has a message which is passed across from the writer to the reader to decode. The analysis of several literary works in Africa has revealed meaning (message)-text nexus" (43). Therefore, the analysis of themes in African literature is an important critical exercise. The study of the popular style in this article aims at identifying and analyzing the stylistic devices that reveal Obafimi's message and project his ideology.

Furthermore, Sola T. Babatunde avers that, "persistent and definite attempts should be made to understand the dialectical relationship between linguistic choice and social, economic, political and cultural environment determining this choice" (119). In African literature, the socio-economic and political conditions determine the themes and the writer's choice of words in a literary work. For instance, Chinua Achebe's choice of words and themes in *Things Fall Apart* and *Arrow of God* are different from those in *A Man of the People* and *Anthills of the Savannah*. This is because, in Africa, the prevailing condition in society determines the themes and the writers' choice of words to espouse these themes. Therefore, language and style in African literature are a product of the stimulus that gives rise to the work. In the analysis of a text, we identify the devices that are used by the writer to pass his message across. Linguistic and extra-linguistic devices are the vehicle that transmits the writer's message and ideology.

Moreover, Emmanuel Ngara asserts that,

> The writer selects lexical items, grammatical structures and symbols, to talk about his subject, to create characters, to bring out his theme. In other words, he uses linguistic format. The linguistic format is the realization of content, character and narrative structure into verbal object, what we call the novel. (16).

Language and style are central to literature. Writers' choice of words: from one writer to the other, and from one text to the other vary according to the message and the writer's ideology. The novel is an end product of language which is used as a means of communication. Obafemi's message and ideology in *Wheels* determine his choice of lexical items, varieties of language, images, symbols, and so on.

Images, symbols, wise sayings (proverbs and idioms), myths, allusions, and other native elements constitute the popular style in *Wheels*. These are the literary devices that seek to convey messages and endow the novel with verbal beauty.

The novel, like every other literary work as earlier observed, is a medium of communication. Niyi Osundare asserts that "all writers seek to communicate, but not in the same style, and not with equal communicative competence" (139). This stimulates the interest in the study of different types of style as well as the motive behind the present study. Moreover, the different types of style provide the framework for the study of literary works depending on the diction of the author. The classification of style into different types is not a strictly compartmentalized procedure. This study is centered on popular style but recommends different types of style for further studies.

The Popular Style is the style characterized by simple vocabulary without stylistic complexity. Olu Obafemi, Festus Iyayi, Kole Omotoso, Bode Sowande and Ben Okri use this style. Marxist Nigerian writers use this style, which is simple but not bannal. Yakubu observes that the language of the popular style is highly informative (3). According to J. Cockelreas and D. Logan, the feature of the modern prose fiction is the plain style. They contend that the plain style does not strive for form for form's sake but to express thought in the clearest possible manner. They explain that the length of sentences (short or long) in the plain style varies according to the ideas and intentions of the writer (57). They also assert that the plain style has an outstanding quality because of absence of redundancy (57). The plain style is what

Osundare calls popular style which is used in popular literature (158-165). The plain or popular style is easily accessible to the generality of the reading public. The plain or popular style is the style that writers of popular literature use because they are committed writers and they identify with the common people. It is important to note that popular literature captures the lives of the people at the lower rungs of socio-economic ladder in relation to those of the privileged class. The language is often dialectical. Obafemi's *Wheels* employs the popular style.

Furthermore, M. H. Abrams's explanation of 'local color' as "the detailed representation in prose fiction of the setting, dialect, customs, dress, and ways of thinking and feeling which are distinctive of a particular region, such as Thomas Hardy's "Wessex" or Rudyard Kipling's India" (153), sheds light on the elements of the popular style. American writers such as Bret Harte, Mark Twain, George Washington Cable, E. W. Howe, Hamlin Garland, Sarah Orne Jewett and Mary Wilkins Freeman have experimented with the literary possibilities of local color in their fictional works after the civil war.

The present study which is on the popular style in Obafemi's *Wheels* comes out of the researcher's conviction that this aspect of Obafemi's novel has been lying fallow and requires critical attention. Furthermore, an attempt to interpret Obafemi's works may not be said to be judiciously done if his concern and solidarity with the masses are not critically examined. Obafemi is a revolutionary writer with a bond with the masses that is why he uses the popular style. In *Wheels*, *Naira Has No Gender*, *Suicide Syndrome*, and his other plays, the popular style is a framework that can provide an understanding of his revolutionary message and his sympathy for the masses.

In this this study, the popular style in the novel is analysed using the model of literary stylistics, which is concerned with figurative and evocative use of language for effective communication of the author's message. The concern of literary stylistics is not analysis of use of language from purely structural and linguistic perspective. It focuses on the diction of the text, (Ayo Ogunsiji, 27). Furthermore, three aspects of style such as the authorial, the periodic, and the generic come under literary stylistics. One major preoccupation of this study is the authorial study which falls within the domain of the popular style. Skillful and artistic use of language in *Wheels,* apart from its aesthetics, generate revolutionary messages in the novel. These are the parameters of the popular style that is thoroughly investigated in this study.

**Elements of the Popular Style in Olu Obafemi's *Wheels***
The elements of the popular style in Olu Obafemi's *Wheels* are diction, figurative expressions and native elements that are simple and straight forward. These include imagery, symbols, wise sayings (proverbs and local idioms), myth, allusion, heroic poem and panegyric in the novel; these, according to Chinua Achebe produce a unique and authentic African literary tradition. He observes that by borrowing proverbs from African culture and history; colloquialisms and African expressive language from the ancient griots; the worldviews, perspectives, and customs from the African tradition and cosmology, some African writers have altered the language of the colonizers to produce an African creative aesthetics (55). These native elements display the sensibilities of everyday people and dovetail into popular

literature. They are the fulcrum in the study of popular style in African literature. Furthermore, these elements constitute what is believed to be local color in African literature.

Obafemi's knowledge of the Yoruba culture with his linguistic competence births his craftsmanship that produces creative African aesthetics in his works. The success of his novel, *Wheels*, can be attributed to this. He does not sacrifice aestheticism on the alter of content. While using language to pass across his message, Obafemi does not deprive his audience of enjoyment and the pleasure which language induces. Therefore, he achieves the dual purposes of entertaining and conscientising in the novel. These are some of the qualities of a masterpiece of arts. Furthermore, Obafemi's choice of images, symbols, native elements in the novel, reinforces his Marxist ideology. Below are sample passages of style and their analysis to reveal their functions in the novel:

**Imagery:**
(i)      "Sonja's eyes glow like red coal as he faces the crowd" (99).
This is fire imagery and fire or flame connotes danger. The message of the passage is that of anger and confrontation. The above passage portrays protest. Sonja represents the masses while Seun's father represents the ruling class. Sonja's protest is on behalf of the masses. His action is a rejection of the gulf between the rich and the poor. He is saying no to class distinction. The situation that gives rise to Sonja's action and his physical transformation as described above is failure by Seun's father to recognize the contributions of members of the working class and the downtrodden. The masses in the gathering are made to stand in the scorching sun while the propertied class are cooling their heads in the shed. As if this is not enough, Seun's father ignores them in his speech. This deliberate act infuriates Sonja who snatches the microphone from him (Seun's father). In his fury, Sonja remarks, 'now he dey praise his class and lef the rest of us in the sun' (100). With this, he has shown his nausea for class distinction.
(ii)     "The nightmare we call life" (132)
'Nightmare' as an image evokes fear, torture and psychological imbalance. It reveals the suffering that the poor pass through because of poverty. The abjection is unimaginable. 'Nightmare' as an image can make readers perceive a kind of life that those at the lower rungs of socio-economic ladder are made to experience which they do not bargain for. It depicts a terrible situation of abjection more so as one is made to believe that this is an artificial creation of the bourgeois class and then imposed on the poor. With its evocative power, the image of 'nightmare' is an appeal to emotion for a change of the status quo.
(iii)    "He has dribbled and wriggled and twisted like slippery snake right from his own half of the field into the last quarter of ours" (48).
(iv)    "He takes a squatting posture of a tiger prowling for his prey" (49).
(v)     "Musa clenched his fist and ground his teeth and the bones stuck out like the crack in the dry earth after the burst of yam tuber from a swell of bulging" (24).
Unlike the earlier passages, images in (iii) and (iv) passages above have no Marxist undertone. There is no implicit message in them but nevertheless, they are powerful instruments of description. They are capable of evoking the visual ability of the mind to perceive things and events being described. They are used to achieve details through vivid description.
The fifth passage depicts anger. It is Musa's (Sonja) reaction to violence that characterizes the lives of the poor people like him and his family after making much sacrifice in a war fought

to keep Nigeria one. What gives rise to this utterance is leadership failure that brings armed robbery into existence. In the above passages, animal and farming imagery are examples of local color that can impact on the audience effectively. Furthermore, these images project the author's bond with the traditional society. Moreover, the images create a kind of aesthetics that endows the expressions with verbal beauty thereby making reading and listening pleasant. Passage number (iii) has musical effect because of the use of alliteration.

**Use of Symbols:**
    (i)     "Wheels"
The title of the novel is symbolic. 'Wheels' symbolizes direction, movement, changeabilty, and mobility. The direction is as well class bound: the privileged class and the less privileged with change as a possibility. The two move in parallel directions. Sonja, an ex-soldier, who has suffered deprivation, is on wheels with members of his family in search of livelihood which is tortuous and laborious; they ride on the wheels of misfortune. "Wheels" is also associated with journey motif, which is portrayed in the novel. It as well relates to the journey of life, from birth to death with fortunes and misfortunes which are artificially created by man, and therefore, changeable.

Kemi, like Seun and Gbenga from the ruling class rides on the wheels of fortune. It is implied that the bourgeois class is responsible for the misfortune of the dregs of society. However, wheel is a flexible object which can change directions. Wheels of fortune and misfortune can be reversed for smooth journey of life. This is what the young generation represented by Seun, Gbenga, Kemi, Kofo and Lanre stands for in the novel. Their friendship with synergy is a union to effect changes positively in the wheels of life: "No need to cry. We need to turn the wheel in a different direction" (112). This is 'to turn' from the present system that provides for a few to live on one side with sky-scrapers, marbles, diamond lights, movies and televisions, and for others, who are the majority, to live without food to eat.
    (ii)     "Hold your guns. We no dey slaughter snail with cutlass. We no dey cut plenty bee with gun" (100).
    (iii)    "The police fires (sic) gunshots in the air…" (104).
    (iv)    "…the soldier slaps his daughter very ferociously several times across the face. She falls down, head-long, hitting her head against the marble floor….there is a gunshot and the house is still" (119).
    (v)    "A cut in the thigh, a brutal kick in the arse and a gun-butt in the head" (122).
Words and phrases that are symbolic in the above passages are: 'guns', 'slaughter', 'cutlass', 'cut', 'fires', 'gunshots', 'slaps', 'hitting', 'falls down', 'brutal kick', and 'gun-butt'. They connote violence, oppression, suppression, repression, and intimidation against the less-privileged class. These words depict lack of sympathy by the upper class for the masses as they are pinned down by the powerful few with knees on their necks.

The use of these symbols in the novel is based on action and reaction relationship. For example, in number (ii), it is Sonja's resistance that gives rise to the reaction by the police who are overzealous in their duty to protect the ruling class. The law enforcement agents are the government's instrument of coercion. They torture and intimidate the helpless masses; this is the practice of capitalist system as we witness daily in Nigeria. In this passage, we can deduce mockery in the speech of Sonja because, the police are eager to defend their pay masters. Number (iii) is the reaction of the police against the angry poor

men and women who are combat ready to defend their land from being snatched by the three white men and their collaborator, Seun's father. They are throwing tantrums and threats against the influential natives, hence the attempt by the police to suppress them. Number (iv) portrays violence in the form of intimidation and coercion by the ruling class as a means of perpetuating the oppressive system. Kemi, a young girl from the ruling class has been conscientized and she begins to revolt against her class. This infuriates her father who begins to torture her. Her action portrays her as a revolutionary character created to bring about a change. As a female character, her role is a realization of androgyny which is a principle of Marxism. Kemi plays an important role as a member of the young generation on whom the author places the hope of change for an egalitarian society. But her father, like every member of his own class is bent on perpetuating injustice and inequality.

The last sample passage above is a message on the suffering of the masses. It connotes bitter experience arising from exploitation and deprivation. The situation that gives rise to the expression is the association of Kofo with the children of the privileged class. His friends' fathers are oppressors who have inflicted pains on a number of people. Therefore, for his father, Sonja, they should be avoided. The situation surrounding the utterance suggests the theme of alienation.

    (vi)     "Seun then spits on the posh carpet right in front of his father. Seun finally hisses…." (135).

In the passage, 'spits' and 'hisses' connote contempt. The idea that Seun's action here symbolizes is contempt for his father and his business associates. This means, Seun has rejected the class that his father belongs to, which is the ruling class. Having been coscientized, Seun has changed; in this, there is hope for a classless society in the future. Similarly, the union between Kemi and Kofo is a seed to germinate equality and justice. Obafemi's message and mode of presentation at the end of *Wheels* are similar to his artistic procedure in *Naira Has No Gender* even though the latter is a dramatic work. The symbols deployed in *Wheels* enunciate the themes of injustice, poverty, suffering, oppression, intimidation, deprivation, and violence.

**Wise Sayings (Proverbs and Local Idioms):**

    (i)     "This sun which rises gently in the morning may burn our skins at noon….This love of the goat is proclaimed to eat our yams. This fresh romance of the woman for the chickens is to make chicken dance in her soup pot" (103).

These wise sayings are used by Pa Garuba to warn the native people against their exploitation which is compared to 'second round of slavery' in the novel. Seun's father, the three white men's collaborator, is deceiving the people to grab their lands for mechanized farming. Pa Garuba understands the business tricks of these capitalists, hence the warning.

These sayings are figurative: 'sun', 'goat' and 'woman' stand for superior power: the capitalist ruling class, represented by Seun's father and the three white men while 'skins', 'yam', and 'chicken' are the vulnerable, the downtrodden, the poor villagers who are oppressed because they are powerless. These wise sayings project the people's attempt to resist their exploitation and deprivation by the rich class. Each of the sayings has a dialectical effect. Furthermore, the wise sayings reveal the affinity between Obafemi and the traditional society and they are a strong criterion in the consideration of literary works as a canon of popular literature.

(ii)    "A broiler chick must keep away from hawks and vultures if he wishes to remain alive. A mouse cannot play in the same hole with a cat. You must know, if you are truly my son, that termites don't build their queendom along the hunting ground of hyenas". (114).

The image of predators runs through the above passage: 'hawks' and 'vultures' are birds of prey, equally so are carnivorous animals like, 'cat' and 'hyenas'. Sonja is using these wise sayings to advise his son, Kofo, not to mingle with Kemi, Seun and Gbenga, the children of the rich, who are likened to predators. As predators, the rich people are seen as cannibals, therefore, Sonja's son, Kofo, should keep them at arm's length. These wise sayings have an underlying theme of alienation.

Furthermore, the language of these sayings is dialectical to reinforce the theme of social stratification: 'A broiler chick', contrasts with 'hawk' and 'vultures'; 'mouse' is a contrast to 'cat' and 'termites' contrasts with 'hyenas'. 'A broiler chick', 'mouse' and 'termites' on one side represent the oppressed while 'hawks', 'vultures', 'cat' and 'hyenas' represent the oppressors.

Images, use of symbols, and wise sayings are vehicles for the transmission of messages and the author's ideology in this novel. Obafemi uses these native elements to project the Yoruba culture and demonstrate his bond with the traditional society.

**Summary of Findings**
1. Elements of style such as animal and farming imagery, proverbs, symbols, myth, etc in *Wheels* form the local colour that lead to the consideration that this novel is a Nigerian (regional) or African novel.
2. Obafemi's *Wheels* is an example of popular literature.
3. Elements of style in the novel reveal the author's revolutionary message.
4. Aspects of oral literature (native elements) in the novel, constitute African creative aesthetics.

**Conclusion**
This study is an exercise on the importance of style in literary studies. Style is the realization of 'literariness', Abrams (107) of a literary work, which formalists consider as the kernel of literary criticism. This study, by using the tenets of literary stylistics takes criticism beyond the border of 'literariness'. Stylistic devices in the Nigerian or African novel have communicative functions. Some of these devices in *Wheels* were identified and analysed. They enunciate the themes of oppression, intimidation, exploitation, deprivation, injustice, poverty, alienation, and violence. Style in Obafemi's *Wheels* is key to the classification of the novel in the canon of Nigerian popular literature.

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# Oral Aesthetics and Satiric Commentary in Tanure Ojaide's *The Fate of Vultures*

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## Abstract

*Writers often seize on different styles to put across their messages in their artistic productions. Some writers adopt naked words or direct attack in their bid to address certain misdeeds observed in their surroundings. But some engage in parables to bring home their message. Poets are no exception to either mode. This paper dissects Ojaide's The Fate of Vultures as a poetic collection in terms of the underlying tone and choice of words that convey ridicule and abuse. Does The Fate of Vulture contain invectives and who are the targets? How does Tanure Ojaide address the perceived social vices prevalent in society? The paper interrogates the poet's mode of presentation in castigating the perpetrators of these evil practices. The paper also x-rays the likely impact and illuminates on the poetic tirade inherent in Ojaide's collection and submits that satiric poems are genuine and potent approach to redressing social vices and lampooning the offenders for the purpose of correction.*

**Key Words:** Oral Aesthetics, Satire, Udje Dance Song, Ojaide, *The Fate of Vultures.*

## Introduction

With Ojaide, poetry is a potent medium through which the happenings in society could be x-rayed and commented on. Presenting his vision for his society in his poetic volume, *The Fate of Vultures*, he explores the oral resources which he adapted for meaning–making. To Ojaide, there is a symbiotic relationship between oral resources and the written medium. That is, though a number of modern poets in Africa have their poetry in written form their dependence on or borrowing from the oral traditions is prominent.

In *The Fate of Vultures*, Ojaide deploys biting satiric refrain resplendent of oral art to expose and condemn the socio-political and economic malaise plaguing his nativity. In achieving this thematic engagement, he uses the oral artistic forms through adaptation to launch a scathing attack on the perceived desecrators and plunderers of the land as well as their cohorts.

Satirical poetry or song is meant to ridicule a person or group whether high or low, perceived or caught to be perpetrating acts capable of defiling or disorganising the moral standard of a society. It is usually borne out of the response of the people to the bad or atrocious activities of a person or group of people in the society. Ojaide's effective use or deployment of satire in *The Fate of Vultures* is not unconnected with his upbringing in his traditional background having immersed himself in the art of satiric songs in Udje community. He comments on the appropriateness of the medium further:

> I think I like oral literature generally and I grew up in the
> Udje environment. These are mainly satirical songs, also

of lamentation, once in a while, a few praises. When you have that type of corpus with what has been happening in Nigeria for the past 30 years there is a lot one could use to criticize either government or the establishment. So I think Udje, being satirical, as traditional society, there is no praise sing. One of the forms of control to make people fall within the norms is to sing about them, satirize them. (Cited in Bodunde's interview with Tanure Ojaide, 1999)

Thus, justifying his medium and relevance of the satiric refrain, Ojaide says it is an artistic weapon in the hand of a poet of his calling in a society like ours. To this end, he specifically declares without mincing word, his ultimate vision of exposing political corruption and other social evils palpable in the land for the purpose of ridicule and possible change of attitude as embedded in the volume which his transposition of oral tradition has enabled him. "And one of the ways of approaching what has been going on especially in Nigeria and many other African countries, I think is to use this medium to bring out their weakness, expose them, many people would not know and sensitize people. And I feel that by exposing the wrong they are doing, embarrass them and make them leave what they are doing. So Udje comes close as an appropriate medium for the type of period we are going through." Indeed, in both content and form, Ojaide's refrain in *The Fate of Vultures*  are 'fine - filed machetes in the hands of the threatened hurled in all directions at robbers and jungle mortars'(1-2).

**Satire, Poetry and Udje Dance Song Tradition**
The essence of satirical songs is hinged on the sociological imperative of art as emanating from the manifestation or perpetration and detestation of social vices in society. This position springs up from the theoretical framework of literary sociology which foregrounds the role of art in societal edification and growth. The theory locates the interdisciplinary relationship between literature and sociology which are two distinct fields or superstructures united at the altar of social discourse. Satire is a subgenre of literature which ridicules social vices in society. The aim of satire is to eradicate misdemeanour through castigation, condemnation, ridicule and exposition for the purpose of exposing, correcting, educating and changing the mind set of the perpetrators. Its ultimate goal is to court the censorious reaction of the public.

Satire is a poetic tool in the hand of a writer often deployed to ridicule, condemn, expose and correct social ills in society with the aim of cleansing the ugean stable. As earlier noted, satirical songs are composed in response to proliferation of criminal acts. *Collier's Encyclopaedia*(437) defines crime as "any act of commission or omission believed to be socially harmful to a group and thus forbidden by the designated authority of that group under threat of punishment". This is the manifestation of all forms of social vices such as corruption, nepotism, teenage pregnancy, abortion, murder, armed robbery, theft, rape, intoxication, power rage, witchcraft among others.  In the western conception of satire, there are three commonest types of satire, namely; Horatian, Juvenalian and Mennipean as obtained in Thanet Writers Education Policy and uploaded by Luke Edley in 2017. Horatian satire takes its name from its proponent called Horace, a Roman satirist who started writing satiric poetry in 35BC.

This type of satire mainly provokes laughter by blending humour with mockery. The aim of horatian satire is to entertain through provocation of laughter. This type of satire is what

Yoruba people often referred to as comic or comic song. It is close to and shares characteristics of farce and comedy with comment on social attitudes without the intention to hurt. Juvenalian satire on the other hand can be scathing, bitter and contemptuous in terms of remarks. It attacks individuals, governments, political class and groups. The satire was originated by a roman satirist called Juvenal in the 1st century. This form of satire thrives in ridicule, abuse, sarcasm and irony. The third type of satire is called Mennipean having been named after a man called Menippus, a Greek philosopher. This form of satire shares both the characteristics of Horatian and Juvenalian but its distinguishing feature is that it passes moral judgement on its victims. Such moral demeanour as arrogance, pomposity, racial and sexist comments easily come under the attack of Mennipean satire. Udje dance song of the Urhobo nativity of Ojaide thrives in all of the above forms of satire rolled into one. The poet's transposition of the aesthetics of Udje dance song in his poetic writing is palpable in the tone and choice of words.  In reacting to the prevalence of social vices in society, especially at the top, the corridor of power in the independent African nation states and around the world, Ojaide deploys satire as embedded in his Urhobo traditional entertaining repertoire.

Oral tradition remains the aesthetic forte from which generational poets of African descent draw artistic materials for their vision as such artistic patterns and content are transposed or adopted into their writing. In Tanure Ojaide's poetic collections, Udje songs tradition of his Urhobo background is one most singular oral aesthetic form which has largely influenced his writings transposed or adopted in terms of structure and themes as embedded in the Urhobo tradition. Udje tradition and traditional songs remain largely oral aesthetic materials which have been with the people of Urhobo of the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria before the contact with the colonial administrators. Udje traditional songs were preserved and performed until late eighteenth country before the European colonial exploration dealt a great blow to the culture.

In his article entitled "Poetry, Performance, and Art; Udje Dance Songs of Urhobo People", published in *Research in African Literature* 2001, Ojaide embarked on a literary treatise cum historical account of Udje tradition. He traces in-depth the Urhobo social, political and religio-cultural background. Thus, the ultimate aim of theorizing on Udje dance songs of the Urhobo ethnic group as Ojaide puts it, is to rescue the genre from dying and possible total extinction from the poetic stable of Africa. But much more significant than a mere retrieval, preservation and study is to expose one of the most poetic of Africa's indigenous oral forms to the literary and creative world especially its oral existence and traditional artistic form in its multi-dimensional and rich forms. Ojaide is equally concerned with the transposition, adoption, transfer and adaptation of his Urhobo people's cultural heritage whose socio-political situation has attracted worldwide attention, pity or sympathy and widest reactions from across the globe due to unpalatable condition of the people as precipitated by the exploration of oil.

Udje dance songs is a satire composed by rival sections of Urhobo community and sung to expose and condemn social vices and crimes which may have been committed or perpetrated by any member of society in Urhobo land. Ojaide emphasizes the import of Udje dance songs as constituting a valuable means of social and ethnographic understanding of the Urhobo people who produce and perform them. Taking us on an excursion of the Urhobo

world, Ojaide provides an insightful explanation of the socio-political and cultural background of the Urhobo ethnic group.

The Udje dance songs truly reflect the Urhobo behavioural tendencies and social traits, civic duties and religious practices. It references parts of their social life and ethical enunciation that have impacted on their socio-economic and cultural life. In the words of Ojaide, "Urhobo people are very republican in character, a euphemism for their individualism which even today makes them rebel against autocracy" (24). The Urhobo world is divided into two yet unified in a complex one. There are physical which is the natural world and the metaphysical invisible world which harbours ancestors, spirits, gods, witches and wizards.

The two worlds in Urhobo ethnic group's view contrast and are parallel to each other and yet they are interwoven as their activities correlate. In finding explanations to ailments, behavioural tendencies and happenings, spiritual consultations are made as spiritual explanation is always given to a death or misfortune. For this reason, Ojaide contends that:

> people therefore try their best to live spiritually clean lives since spiritual transgression have their karmic repercussions. A women who flirted would confess her ''stepping outside" of her matrimonial home or, according to popular belief, she would die from delivery. Sometimes in Urhobo belief the sins of the mother are visited on her children who can become sick or even die. Witches who do evil somehow suffer the repercussion of their acts. People therefore join religious sects like Igbe or do protective medicines to cater for their physical and spiritual salvation. Clans have festival of health and prosperity. (24)

There is a strong belief in reincarnation, fate, justice, repercussion, reward, prosperity, long life, celebration of death inform of traditional burials etc. Aridon, the Urhobo god of memory and inspiration typifies the spiritual sphere upon which the performance of Udje traditional songs revolves. Ojaide severally makes references or direct invocation to the memory god-Aridon and Ughawa in his poetic lines of several collections acknowledging their looming presence and effigy. Who knows if Tanure Ojaide is not an incarnate of Aridon engaging in the modern day singing mode as a literate poet, an Urhobo warrior-poet, and an activist. Udje traditional songs are multi-dimensional in nature reflecting the socio-cultural milieu and traits of the Urhobo ethnic group as highlighted above. It is both for performance and traditional songs encapsulating a traditional performance. The song is performed to entertain the people and satirize vices. The performance period is usually during the harvesting period when all tedious farm works have been completed. The performance often takes place at the hall of chiefs, at the shrine and market square in sequence and stages laced with practical, spiritual and social undertone and themes. The performers usually:

> Dressed in wrappers in a special way with bells, the body was left bare-the performers wore charms so that they would not be tired from dancing. Some parts of the ribs could hurt with vigorous dance, hence medicine was procured to prevent the dancer from getting tired. At Otughievwe up to three groups could dance

> simultaneously in different sections of town and the crowd of spectators would drift to the most interesting. It was because of this rivalry that each group prepared charm to outshine its fellow competitors. There were instances, from my Iwhrekan informant, when two groups were dancing and there would be rain to disperse one side to the advantage of the other side where it would still be sunning.

The formalistic patterns as well as thematic engagement of Udje dance songs of the Urhobo people are imperative and instructive to poetic forms and implication of Ojaide's collections whether devoted to the Niger Delta issue or socio-political concern affecting the world. Udje dance songs reflect a social reality bordering on several issues, development and philosophical sayings, economic and political issues, social vices and spiritual implications. In terms of content and form, the songs are recursive, creatively composed and adaptable, referential and relational in nature. For instance, Udje songs have historical echoes with references to Nana's war supporting the British against the Oba of Benin in 1897; the influence of 1916, taxation crisis and resistance in 1927 with a mention of names of colonial officers such as Mr. D. Pender; World War I and II, colonial objects like Koko, a colonial Khaki hat Zaqzone, a colonial fashionable shoe popular in 30's and 40's, Bur Dillon, an appellation for the first colonial governor of western Nigeria. Ojaide's words poignantly capture the very kernel and essence of the Udje dance songs.

> The Udje dance songs were some of the means of maintaining law and order. The songs reined in arrogance, greed, and other excesses that are destructive to a communal spirit. Each song tends to focus on one bad feature of a person, quarter, or town …. Character traits that go against the norm of communal ethos are seriously attacked. (28)

Other traits sang about or satirized include sexual misbehaviour, prostitution, poverty, idleness, indebtedness, folly and stupidity; cowardice, murder. But Udje is not all satiric as certain acts are praised. Such include strength and manliness, honesty, industry and respect for elder and obedience. Ojaide says appreciation of the poetic form and techniques of Udje dance songs should be done against the backdrop of the performers' aims and objectives. In all, Udje songs are entertaining and for entertainment purposes. Such has been the evocative lyrics, imagistic pattern, symbolic elements as well as senses in Ojaide's array of poetic collections written and published so far.

**Tone, Invocation and Audience**
Like a bard in wailing tone, Ojaide opens his volume on a note of lamentation. He laments the wasted years of the nation and seemingly intractable and dangerously slippery political root of the people of Nigeria. Measuring his age, a metaphor for the nation's independence status, at forty, the proverbial age of maturity, it is still the music of pain.

>     Listen
>     A fortish man does not cry in vain
>     Listen to my song
>     The music of communal pain. (3)

Cast in the garb of a griot archetype, the poet persona's tone and language reveal the enormity and seriousness of his avowed vocation. On the one hand, his tone is fiery and harsh as he hints his audience of his preparedness to fight a battle of words through sensitization and incitement of his oppressed fellows. On the other hand, he poses as their spokesmen who sings out their varied concerns, their pains with the intention of exposing the baleful conditions imposed on them by 'chiefs of self-rule'. These songs, he declares are not just 'a chorus of resistant cries' / 'to excoriate the land's scurvy conscience' but 'land's infantry' / 'drawing into its veins' / 'the strength of millions'. The song 'took the cause of the country into its expanding heart' (12).

On the other hand, the poet is unhappy as he mourns the palpable dilapidation on the monumental wall of the heritage. He is enraged at those perpetrating the wrongs and their dehumanizing tendencies. The dilapidation is a national eye sore conveying the visual image of rottenness, decay and stagnation. It is a national malaise. It is the poet's desire to arrest the doldrums that he sings out his heart to register his displeasure and sadness. Thus, Ojaide finds himself in a mood that is far from ecstatic but sad and gloomy.

> My blood is no longer mine, it is boiling with anger and
> hunger of the land.
> I am no longer just a man, I am human
> I am a devotee of the faith of justice,
> I wave the borderless flag of unity
> I enlist in the army of instant recovery. (20)

It is against these baleful socio- political aura and those perpetrating it that the poet invokes the spirit of his ancestors to come to the aid of his people and energize him as he sings to exorcise the land. Invocation is an aesthetic device which Ojaide has borrowed from the oral art with which he opens his song. By invoking the spirit of his ancestral bards, the poet – persona announces his arrival at the public arena thus imitating the usual aesthetic practice by oral artist stepping out to performance. The oral artist usually begins his performance by saluting and paying homage to ancestral bards, older and contemporary artists alive and even the younger or upcoming ones. In this connection, Ojaide, reinvesting himself with the sensibilities of the oral poet, hints his audience of his observance of the rule as a true artist – initiate. He also registers he has not failed to salute and pay homage to whom it is due, especially the ancestral Aridon.

> I invoked Aridon for trails
> Of victories against warlords
> Who clamped reins upon jaw bones
> Of upright words. (2)

The aesthetic implication of Ojaide's invocation goes beyond mere homage. Aridon is the god of memory, the offspring and probably the incarnate of whom the poet is. Of Aridon, Olafioye comments on the imperativeness of Ojaide invoking the god's spirit:

> In his cultural habitat of Urhobo land, traditional poets and minstrels worship the god of memory….The god of memory needs be assuaged and invoked to grant retention, delivery and invocation. Aridon is a god of memory, an object of worship and an agent of mental or

> poetic activities who needs to instruct the world on African happenings. (4-5)

The image of Aridon looms large in the poet's heart from whom he garners strength, inspiration and spiritual support. Aridon is the ancestral fountain, the mythical cauldron and spiritual repertoire of knowledge to whom reverence and obeisance must be given. For all this, Aridon remains the performer's anchor upon whom he leans for guidance in his communal service. And once his performance is approved by Aridon, the poet has conquered fear; either fear of running dry, lacking in wit to spice up his performance at crucial moment or fear of his adversaries. The poet hints at this in the subtitle "The patience of memory".

> Memory is the god of future
> And Aridon tests devotees with patience
> Whatever is lost to the future
> Will see light.(92)

And going extra-terrestrial by invoking the cosmic forces, Ojaide, in a rather incantatory tone, invokes the spirit of Aridon against plunderers and desecrators of the land in order to rid the country of corruption and decadence.

> O Aridon, bring back my wealth
> From rogue – vaults;
> Legendary witness to comings and goings
> Memory god, my mentor. (11)

Aridon, mythical and potent, Ojaide besieges the god against corrupt leaders to 'Blaze an ash-trail to the hands'\ 'That buried mountains in their bowels'\'Lifted crates of cash into their closet.' (11).

Ojaide's arsenal is his poetry, the efficacy and potency which emboldens him. The poet's strength and bravery reside in flaming words, 'the bite of the desperate ones'. Reverencing Christopher Okigbo, a fiery poet, Ojaide says such is the songs by Okigbo which he imitates. The poetry is sacrosanct as riddled with 'sneer oozing from the face of the slit-drums'p.51. Okigbo is mythical too and so is his service from whom Ojaide draws vitality and inspiration as well. They both dedicate their service to humanity and as such, poetic vocation establishes the link between the duo. They as well dig deeper into oral forms with which they lace their songs and establish the vision. Ojaide reinforces the nature of their calling and poetic vocation in the following lines:

> The call of diviners
> is first heard in a dream
> There no charlatan to confuse
> the truth of god's with men's
> Certain things to remain the same
> To work magic
> But that dream is soon forgotten
> For a vision of dance
> to the rhythm of our songs. (53)

To Ojaide, his songs are not just 'howls of patients'/ 'his lore's of salvation', but the ultimate end of his performance resides in the manure metaphor for the over tilled, plundered and desecrated land and vice versa. The song in this instance is the healing substance, jabbing at the ears of desecrators and chorusing into their conscience. The first stage is proclamation of their sins and an invitation of the public to behold the spoils through biting lyrics and sonorous satire.

> The song needs the soil
> for deep roots and notes:
> the land needs the song
>  to revive its strength
> and raise itself
> and what celebrated union isn't beset
> By one trouble or another? (41)

Ojaide, with his algeita, the town-crier gong addresses his song to two main categories of audience. In this kind of performance, audience in their varied groups is very significant in terms of reception, promotion or criticism of the art. In satiric performance, the particular audience to whom the satire is aimed is usually termed or regarded unseen while he too, the satirized audience is an unwilling receiver of such poetry.

In the title "What poets do our leaders read?" Ojaide admits that these 'rulers' would not prefer to hear him. This is because his type of song is 'a rib-relaxing sigh or 'a grief dispelling chant which when heard makes them 'kick the air; that they become enraged '(demon possessed)', 'needing blood to still their spasm'(6.). Buttressing the above categorization of his songs, Ojaide alleys our fear that the poor reception of his songs by those supposedly intended does not diminish the potency and the reach of his vision. The poet sees these leaders as:

> Perjurers of the word,
> Drummers of bloated drums
> Carrier of offensive sacrifice
> Fanners of vanities
> And their own doubles, the likes
> Sellers of tatters. (70)

The second category of the audience to whom Ojaide's poetry is addressed are the oppressed and the downtrodden on whose behalf the poet undertakes the voyage. These are the people at the receiving end of the baleful aura pervading the socio-political life of their native land. Ojaide's art is a solidarity with this audience. The poet does not only identify with them, he is empathetic with their situation seeing himself   as one of them. Of these audiences, Ojaide rededicates his art in the title "My next step".

> Out of this life, let me fashion strength
>  to recover the losses of the virtuous heritage
> Out of my days, let me give birth to new warriors
> who will love the abused land with their bodies
> with my breath; let me forge a metal shield
> from the common will to overcome
> whom do we wait for from the chorus of today's

> patients
> whom do we wait for from the void of tomorrow? (20-21)

**Icons, Images and the Fated Life of Vultures**
Name calling and personality labelling for descriptive purpose and concrete reference is an aesthetic device in oral performance. Usually, images, icons, allegory, anecdotes, wits and fables are employed in satiric songs to veil or achieve indirect referencing. These are often used by the oral artist in heaping abuses, curses and attacks on his targets for wrong doings in the society. In a like manner, *The Fate of Vulture* is vested with icons and images with which the poet characterizes his performance as aesthetic pivot for his socio-political vision. Political commitment, no doubt is an embellishing thematic engagement in the volume. The titles as they run into one another capture the misrule, socio-political malady and pervasive corrupt tendencies of the leaders. In his poignant painting of this nauseating socio-political scenario, Ojaide deploys icons and images to give concrete and mental pictures of leaders responsible for the unpleasant development, 'the cabal sharing the booties at the corridors of power'. But first of all, the poets distinguish himself from them as their role in the society are antithetical. To this set of leaders Ojaide vows:

> I would not follow the hurricane
> nor would I the whirlwind
> in their brazen sweep-away
> they leave misery in their wake. (11)

Using animal imagery and allegory, Ojaide calls these 'rulers' the descendants or icons of Ogiso, the Urhobo accursed legendary despot, the plagued dynasty of beasts. He likens them to the carnivorous vultures that gluttonously feed on carcass and corpses, the metaphor for the despoliation and decadence of socio-economic life of the nation. He calls them names which portray them as irresponsible, unreal and gluttonous in their approach to nation's wealth and leadership. The 'chief and his council a flock of flukes,' 'gambolling in the veins of fortune range chickens,' 'they consume and scatter…'(13)

The list is endless as the poet employs several images and symbols and metaphorical names in describing the character and attitude of these leaders to power and wealth. Blood spillage, life snuffing, gluttony, the poet says are the emblem of the 'diplomat soldiers', 'the hyena with blood-tinted teeth; 'bedbug or smug cannibal who doesn't care for the rank smell of blood'; 'the lions and elephants roaming the jungle, 'the image of visionless leaders parading themselves at the corridor of power'. Sarcastically, Ojaide labels them as 'compatriots' as he asks rhetorically

> Who does not know of their ritual murders?
> Who does not know they fortify themselves
> with vicious charms
> to live beyond their tenure?
> As soon as they had their hold on the land
> They upset the custom of truth.(13)

Outlining their antics in power, the poet says the 'warriors have blunted the sacred sword'. Using the metal metaphor, the law is no longer a blade, he says as justice can no longer be dispensed in the land. Thus, in portraying maladministration, Ojaide declares these rulers

are jungle lords who specialize in perfecting their nefarious deeds through their agents. The deadly cover-up is symptomatic of the class of rulers, the diplomat soldiers of our land.

> You will never see the leopard's fangs in the dark
> You will never trace the rain-flushed blood trail to a den
> You will never catch the slayer by his invisible hand
> Rhetoric out shoots cracking guns
> Detours lead to no fields of defeat
> there's great skill in the craft! (4)

This is the leadership style often adopted by fascist, autocratic and feudalistic governments who subsume under military or totalitarian rulership. That is they are mindful of the public outcry and lamentation and so they try as much as possible to cover up their heinous and corrupt practices. But Ojaide would spare neither the sinners nor their sins.

Lampooning these 'rulers' in the titles 'Players' and 'Where Everybody is King', the poet captures the image of the born-actor on the theatrical stage of absurdity. These rulers Ojaide says are like inhabitants of Agbarha

> Where everybody is king
> And nobody bows to the other
> who cares to acknowledge age, since
> power doesn't come from wisdom?
>
> Of course, rivalry
> has smacked the town
> with a bloody face
> no king is safe .(58)

Just as Udje song is not totally satiric, it praises good habit, honesty, display of strength and prowess towards societal progress. Ojaide's song is not altogether a satire. The poet recognizes the heroic works of some people even across the continent. His epithets are reserved for these kind of people, heroes, nationalists and singers of freedom, and of exorcism like him. There are patriots he teams up with to fight the pigs hibernating on the land. They are, Thomas Sankara of Burkina Faso whom the poet describes as 'the favourite son, the hope and redeeming gift of the generation', and Christopher Okigbo who 'has ear for passionate music in the cosmic realm'. Others are Jack Mapanje, Dele Akogun, Silas, the poet's revered student and Mohammed Garbar. Thus, in the title 'The Northern Star', Ojaide declares of his songs as:

> Not for Mailtashine zealots
> …who cannot capture headlines with blood?
> Not for the rumoured uranium mushrooming beneath the soil.
> … who does not know the eternal myth in geopolitics.
> Only for "Gardi"
> Who tore down the frontier walls around him
> Only for the distant traveller come home
> With songs of a new faith
> Only for the Northern Star
> That absolves the abused land from blindness (46-47)

Bodunde draws a distinction between these two classes of heroes and villains thus:

> The contradiction has always been there, contradiction between the physical man, the of man of war, the warrior, and then the man of the intellect, the intellectual. A controversy is always there. The poet belongs to the intellectual class; he is creative, he is not disruptive, his responsibility is to mould, to shape society and to mediate at the front of politics and social forms round.(Charles Bodunde's interview with Tanure Ojaide,1999)

This physical man of war, in the title "The arrow-flight" the 'warrior' in the corridor of power, Ojaide places a curse to register his anger further. What the poet goes on to say shows that, he is far from being happy or tolerable in his assessment of the unpatriotic activities of these leaders who are symbolized by their war attire and draconian, retroactive laws and fiat orders.

> May this arrow flight pick wing from the angry wing and pluck
> Spider in the centre of his web
> The tortoise in his moving fortress
> The hyena in his bone- furnished den …. (16)

Justifying his virulent attack on the selfish heads, Ojaide showcases the end-result of their reign. The poet as well invites us to behold the ill-fated life of the vulture as he predicts their likely end. The purpose is to make others, the rest of us learn from the pit-fall and fatal ends of the bad ones. The poet as well invites us to behold the ill-fated life of the vultures as he predicts their likely end.

> Pity the fate of flash millionaires
> If they are not hurled into jail, they live
> in the prison houses of their crimes and wives
> and when they die, of course, only their kind
> Shower praises on vultures. (12)

The point here is that when their cup is full, the public will rise against them in a popular protest against injustice, corruption and autocracy.

### Images of Defiled Landscape and Tattered Monuments

Ojaide holds for his audience the apparition and ghost image of national monuments and depleted natural resources. The poet says the eagle and the flag 'the banner of the future' bearing green emblem were once symbols of health and wealth; of fertile ground and common faith in which 'our adopted name' resides.

> Once
> a flag
> and an eagle
> meant everything proud
> from health to wealth
> the land's salvation (69).

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Forty years into the existence of the nation, Ojaide says the nation's monument is 'a termite / gazing / at a hole in the horizon …the colluded time scope'. The apparition of the eagle, symbolizing the image of the nation,'…known by its perch / a sky thrust of eyes', is now 'a gasping eagle/shorn of its proud feathers'. These symbols have become tattered and desecrated beyond our imagination.

> We least expected the charger
> to grow into a monster
> within the voracious years
> there have been luckless years, years of
> self- inflicted tears.
> with neither eagles nor Irokos,
> pillars of faith
> in sight. (69-70)

If Aridon represents the spiritual fortress of Urhobo people, Ojaide hints us of his physical background which is as well mythical. To this land, his fatherland he has demonstrated love by exposing and condemning the socio-political disorder pervading it. This physical environment is divided into two parts: first, there is the Delta home of Ojaide, a waterlogged area which invariably is symbolic of his birthplace, cultural and physical upbringing. Of the birthplace, the poet confesses:

> My root thus runs deep into the delta area, its traditions, folklore, fauna, and flora no doubt enriched my (poetry). This area of constant rains where we children thought we saw fish fall from the sky in hurricanes, did not remain the same …. My Delta years have become the touchstone with which I measure the rest of my life…. Home remains for me the Delta, where I continue to anchor myself. (1994)

The title 'the praise name' conveys the poet's emotional attachment to this home, his root. The reference to water gives the physical image of the Delta home of the poet. It as well conveys the poet's physiological and nostalgic impulse in which he immerses where ever he sees water. The Delta is as well spiritually involving as the poet and his kinsmen are usually allergic to the sight of water wherever they see the mass flowing. It is a totem for the riverine children of the delta home of the poet.

> "Water". That was my Grandpa's Praise name
> water, I am sometimes called…
> and as he recedes into
> the darkening shadows of the other world
> I invoke his name 'Ame' whenever
> I see stretches of water, the root
> and strength of my blood. (34)

His second home, the bigger enclave is symbolised here by river Benue. But the poet cannot invoke the water here because of its lifeless, lamentable and polluted stretches. It is a conduit pipe of illegal siphoning of cash. Thus 'the bed of Benue, Disrobed of green, robbed of Immeasurable sheets of water' and now 'A sore spectacle,' 'Preyed upon by contractor-masons The …robbed of its heritage, 'Unable to flow'

Sadly, this land the poet says is inhabited by the 'hyena with blood-tinted teeth; vultures/shylock, a dim star in their galaxy of blood / the Ogiso, a plagued dynasty of beasts'. By their gluttonous and nefarious deeds the once prosperous land now wallops in recession. To this land, all the same the poet has dedicated his service. Pledging his loyalty, he engages in performance of cleansing. Ojaide further demonstrates his patriotic zeal as a poet-activist and nationalist writer whose service is forever committed to the fatherland and humanity.

> Let this be yours
> a simple gift
> bigger than public words can buy
> wrapped   tenderly
> with the sweat of care
> It is for your patience
> that shames your torturers (32)

Thus with poetry the land could be rescued from all forms of pollution and the inhabitants triumph over all forms of tyranny.

**Conclusion**

The four parts volume of poetry with a total of 51 poems registers Tanure Ojaide's vision for his local Delta environment in particular and the Nigerian society as a whole. The structural link of the collection portrays the perception of the poet and his understanding of the systemic degradation and decadence piling up around him. *The Fate of Vultures* as a compendium contains intricately woven themes of lamentation, anguish and anger on the one hand, and the theme of love and praises on the other hand. The adoption and transposition of Udje Dance Songs by the poet exemplifies genuine aesthetic transfer from oral artistic forms of the poet's cultural setting of Urhobo. This borrowing from the oral tradition adds local flavour to the poetry and helps the understanding of the language and message of the poet.

In spite of its biting satire, sarcasm, anger or anguish against desecrators of the beloved nativity, Ojaide imbues the volume with music of hope and salvation as the poet promises that he would not abandon his road of honour as "my stars of faith show flowers to burn out dark clouds"(p.92). The tone and imageries are resplendent of the Urhobo folks' singing mode and makes the poet's poems familiar to the reader and listener of his writing or rendition.  Thus, employing imagery, metaphors and rhetorical devices in his lyrical satire, Ojaide reiterates his socio- political commitment. He protests against the doldrums, degradation and misrule pervading the land.

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# The Pragmeme of Admonishing in Selected Ebira Proverbs

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## Abstract

*Proverbs are important aspect of social interaction among the Ebiras. However, there has not been sufficient scholarly research to explore pragmemes of proverbs in Ebira social discourses in spite of different underlying pragmatic functions in them. Therefore, this paper explored the pragmeme of admonishing in some Ebira proverbs, drawing on insight from Jacob Mey's Pragmatic Act Theory, an approach that has its roots in the sociocultural view of pragmatics. The study adopted a survey design method and obtained data through direct observation. Using purposive sampling, twenty (20) Ebira proverbs, among several, were analysed. Research findings revealed that the pragmeme of admonishing, together with many allopracts, is the dominant in Ebira proverbs used in naming, burial, marriage, and coronation ceremonies. Therefore, the study concludes that Ebira proverbs constitute very pungent rhetorical stratagems building family and community role-expectations, and raising consciousness towards and contributing to the development of the society..*

**Keywords:** Pragmatic Acts, Ebira Proverbs, Pragmeme of Admonishing,

## Introduction

Proverbs are used to represent everyday experiences and observations in a concise and figurative way. They exist in many forms across cultures and languages and are used to convey messages which in turn, guide and control the socio-cultural aspects of those who understand them. Proverbs are used to inform, warn, reprimand, admonish people and more often than not, to strengthen communal bonds among users of any language (Agu, 2010). According to Odebunmi (2008:1), "language expresses the patterns and structure of cultures"; while proverbs are a tool of language considered in different ways by different cultures. Proverbs provide significant insights into the socio-cultural, historical, religious constituents of a language environment. Hence, there have been various studies on proverbs by different renowned scholars for a very long time. Its nature, usage and function have attracted the attention of many scholars from various linguistic backgrounds and field of human endeavour.

For example, Lawal, Ajayi, and Raji (1997) in a pragmatic study of selected pairs of Yoruba proverbs assert that proverbs represent the quintessence of a people's collective wisdom sustained and transmitted from generation to generation. They also say that proverbs provide insight into some of the greatest pragmatic constraint in language use. They identify the illocutionary acts performed through the use of

twelve Yoruba proverbs and likewise analyze the type of pragmatic context and competence which listeners have to invoke and deploy respectively to interpret them appropriately. This is also one of the characteristics of Ebira proverbs that this study sets to explore.

Odebunmi (2008) examines the pragmatic function of crisis motivated proverbs in Ola Rotimi's *The Gods Are Not To Blame* by applying the pragmatic act theory of Mey (2001). He identifies two types of crisis initiated proverbs: social crisis-motivated proverbs and political crisis-motivated proverbs.

Olubode-Sawe (2009) examinedhow hearers interpret proverbs with the aim of determining the cues that are deposited in a proverb to help the hearer deduce the meaning; while Adetunji (2010) investigated some of the forms of linguistic violence against women in Yorùbá proverbs and observed subtle and abusive forms of linguistic violence used to silence and dominate Nigerian women, a situation which he noted is traceable to the cultural dictates of a patriarchal, androgynous culture.

Melefa and Chukwumezie (2014) also examined pragmatic acts of proverbs within the contexts of crisis in Soyinka's *Death and the King's Horseman*. Their study focuses on proverbs that are used within crisis situations in the play, that is, those deployed in situations where there were confrontations and disagreement between the traditional order and the new western order in the play. They categorised the pragmatic acts drawing insights from Mey's (2001) theory of pragmatic acts and from contextual resources such as shared situational knowledge, shared cultural knowledge, inference, etc. They observed that pragmatic acts of Counselling, cautioning, challenging, accusing, unveiling, etc. were performed with crisis-motivated proverbs in the play by characters to strengthen the force of dramatic action. Mmadike (2014) examined the perception of womanhood in Igbo proverbs and found that Igbo sexist proverbs sustain the notion of male domination over the female and noted that it is difficult to change the cultural stereotype ingrained in these proverbs.

Nevertheless, an appraisal of existing literature indicates that scholars have worked on the nature, functions and structure of the proverbs of the major Nigerian languages, notably Hausa,Igbo and Yoruba but there is scarcity of research on Ebira proverbs. Ebira is one of the minority languages which are under-researched. Therefore, this study sets out to analyse the pragmatic acts performed with Ebira proverbs.

## The Ebira Language, People, and Proverbs
Ebira Language, one of the minority languages in Nigeria, which is also known as Igbira, belongs to the Nupoid of the Kwa Benue-Congo group spoken by over 1.5 million people in Nigeria (Adive 1989). Ododo (2001) asserts that the different dialects of Ebira, Ebira-Igu or Koto, Ebira-Etuno, Ebira-Panda, Ebira-Oje, EbiraTao, and Ebira-Agatu belong to the same language group with few variations.

According to Isiaka (2017), Ebiraland consists of the hub of Ebira Tao which makes up the central districts of Kogi State of the North Central geopolitical zone of Nigeria. The core of the Ebira ethnic group mainly live in six major local administrative units: Adavi, Okene, Okehi, Ajaokuta, Ogori-magongo and Lokoja, with ethnic annexes in other states across the country

– in Ondo, Oyo, Osun, Nassarawa, Edo, Benue states and the Federal Capital Territory. Their ethnic history dates back dimly to 1680 when they migrated from the Kwararafa confederation (the present Taraba State) across the deserts of the North to settle near the River Niger, forming one of the ethnic groups in the Middle Belt (Isiaka, 2017).

Ebira proverbs just like those of other languages are reflection of the culture of the people.  In a fairly obvious sense, native speakers of Ebira know the rhetorical devicesof their native language, proverbs inclusive. The people have their own ways of doing things like every other ethnic group and as a result of this their proverbs often depict their cultural heritage.  Therefore, their proverbs, which are usually rich in meaning, show the richness of the cultural and moral instructions of the Ebira people. Ebira proverbs like those of many other languages are used to inform, warn, reprimand, admonish and more often than not, to strengthen communal bonds among users of the language (Ododo, 2001). For example:

(a) *Uvoeevaoonyinaenguni*(Two hands (often) wash each other).
Meaning (Informing) – There are a lot of benefits and joy when we give helping hands to each other.

(b) *Ezeo ma tite di oza oosi uvohuirachi*(A port drum cannot be available and one begins to beat his chest with hands)
Meaning:  It is not necessary to overtask oneself when there are people that could offer needed assistance or helping hands. This proverb is used to encourage people to seek  help or support where necessary from others in time of need.

(c)        Proverb –*waatanaigege. Hi oza anavaka u vekaaaa vi ewu yo*(Translation – When you point a finger at someone, the others pointing towards you. Ask: What if you were the one?)
Meaning (Warning) – Whatever your utterances or intentions are towards someone else, you should remember that you could be the one in that situation.

**Theoretical Framework and Methodology**
The study adopted the Pragmatic Act Theory as theoretical framework for this study.

**Pragmatic Act Theory**
Mey's (2001) Pragmatic Act Theory is an action theory that was 'necessitated by the puncture made in the Speech Act Theory' (Odebunmi, 2008:76). Mey (2016c:239) asserts that the 'pragmatic act', or 'pract', was introduced to capture the need to account for the many ways a situation determines what a speech act really 'does' (apart from, and often contrary to, its official 'canonic' illocutionary point or intention). The emphasis there is not on rules or verbs of individual speech acts but on characterising a typical, pragmatic act as it is realized in a given situation. Adopting familiar linguistic terminology, Mey (2001) calls this (proto-) type of act a 'pragmeme.' Individual pragmatic acts realise a particular pragmeme (e.g., 'admonishing young couples to patient'); we may call these 'practs.' However, since acts will never be completely identical (every situation and expression through which admonishing is given is different from every other), every pract is also an 'allopract' – that is, a different realization of a particular pragmeme. According to Mey (2016b:139) pragmeme refers to 'the embodied realization of all the pragmatic acts (or 'allopracts') that can be subsumed under it'.

Pragmatics, through the medium of the pragmeme, maps situations onto individual human activities. Thus, the pragmeme of 'admonishing' maps the conditions and obligations perceived as inherent in the admonition to the actual act of giving admonition. Admonishing takes many forms considered in this study to be allopracts of the admonishing pragmeme. Linguists discuss admonishing in terms of language expressions that help people to face personal, social, cultural, and psychological challenges, but on more careful consideration what is pleasing is the behaviour that accompanies and/or is embodied in the language expression. Indeed admonishing behaviour may be nonverbal. As Mey (2001: 227) observes: 'As integral parts of pragmemes, body moves are naturally part of, and may naturally represent, the whole pragmatic act which realizes a particular pragmeme.' The pragmeme of admonishing is what is general to acts (practs) of admonishing, i.e., instantiations of admonishing. These practs are the behaviours that accompany and follow the use of proverbs for admonition. This implies that speakers and hearers are equal participants of the use of proverbs for social communication process. They both produce and comprehend relying on their most accessible and salient knowledge expressed in their private contexts in production and comprehension. (Kecskes 2010: 2890).

Parvaresh (2016) also states that a pragmeme is a pragmatic act – an utterance whose goal is to bring about effects that modify a situation and change the roles of the participants within it or to bring about other types of effect, such as exchanging/assessing information, producing social gratification or, otherwise, rights/obligations and social bonds. With regard to pragmatic acts, the primary concern is not with matters of grammatical correctness or strict observance of rules. What counts as a pract (i.e., what can be subsumed under a particular pragmeme as an allopract) depends on the understanding that the participants have of the situation and on the outcome of the act in a given context. Hence, Fairclough (2016:191) states that "a pragmatic explanation requires a meta-level, where the facts and factors of the analysis are placed in an overall explanatory framework, and where the analyst him/herself is engaged beyond the immediate context".

The organisation of the Pragmatic Act Theory is schematically summarised in Fig.1 below.



| | Pragmeme | |
|---|---|---|
| Activity Part (Interactants) | | Textual Part (Co(n)text) |
| | | INF  REF  REL  VCE  SSK  MPH  'M'… |

Speech acts:
Indirect speech acts
Conversational ('dialogue') acts
Psychological acts (emotions)
Prosody (intonation, stress,…)
Physical acts:
Body moves (incl. Gestures)
Physiognomy (facial expressions)
(bodily expressions of) emotions
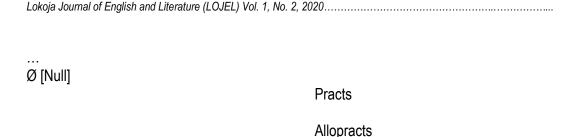
…
Ø [Null]

Practs

Allopracts

Fig. 1: Pragmeme, Pract, Allopracts
(Adapted from Mey, 2001:222)

As explained by Mey (2001) and Parvaresh (2016), the various abbreviations to the right have to do with textual features, such as INF for 'inferencing,' REF for 'establishing reference,' REL for 'relevance,' VCE for 'voice' (Mey, 2000), SSK for 'shared situation knowledge,' and MPH (for 'metaphor'). The symbol 'M' denotes a 'metapragmatic joker' – that is, any element that directs our attention to something happening on the metapragmatic level. For instance, changing the order of the words in a sentence may tell us something about the relative importance of the transposed elements. The items in column to the left in schema are considered as a feature matrix whose cells can either be filled or empty. If the latter is the case for all of the cells, the matrix renders the value zero (Ø).

**Methodology**
This study is a survey which involves collection of data from five occasions where proverbs are widely used among others. The data collection involves researchers' observation and recording of events on traditional marriages, naming ceremonies, burial rites, and coronations . The observations and recordings were done in eleven wards in Okene Local Government namely Bariki, Otutu, Orietesu, Lafia/Obesa, Okene-Eba, Idoji, Onyukolo, obehira-Eba, Obehira-Uvete, Abuga/Ozuga and Upogoro/Odenku wards between May 2016 and April 2017 from where 67 proverbs were identified . The data analysis involved 20 purposively selected proverbs which were analysed using the Pragmatic Act Theory.

**Analysis of the Pragmeme of Admonishing in Ebira Proverbs**
**Proverbs Used for Admonishing during Marriage Ceremonies**
**Proverb 1: "Ozionazekaaponiozekaarasanni"** (A child that allows him/herself to be brought up properly is enjoyed by the parents)

This proverb was used by an elder in a traditional marriage ceremony to praise both the parents and the couple for meeting up with the expectation of societal value. The proverb rides on a metaphor and the interpretation is hinged on SSK. Everyone present at the occasion acknowledges the relevance and truth about the proverb through their facial expressions, being members of Ebira speech community, in which the proverb exists, and given the circumstance requiring the use of the proverb. The proverb has the pragmeme of admonishing people to train their children appropriately as a way of acknowledging the parents, the bride and the groom for moral uprightness.

**Proverb 2: "*One oboraoviodionaabionorisikuni*"** (A good wife is the crown of everyman)
The proverb, which is a metaphor, functions as an admonition to the bride by her mother on the need to be of good conduct in her matrimonial home for her husband to be proud of her.

The proverb was also accompanied by metapragmatic joker as the mother held her right ear and looked straight into the daughter's eyes while using the proverb. The proverb has the pragmeme of admonishing and instantiated pragmatic act of encouraging the bride to be of good behaviour in a way that she could bring honour to her husband.

**Proverb 3: "*Onoruanawuereyioseaniomahurate*"** (A man that listens to his wife does not go astray easily)
The relevance of the proverb is clear, given the general social context, the co-text, and SSK. It was used for admonishing the groom on the need for mutual understanding between him and his wife before taking a critical decision. The instantiated pragmatic act is that of cautioning the groom to be heedful of the Ebira belief that a man needs the blessings of both his mother and wife to be successful.

**Proverb: 4 '*Uzoza one iniroyeoyani*'** (A woman's beauty lies in her character)
The proverb was used by the bride's elder brother to admonish the bride to place character above
beauty and any other thing in dealing with her husband and his relatives. The proverb was also used to caution the bride to understand the importance of good characters in marriage. The interpretation is hinged on SSK as the bride attested to admonition by nodding her head in acceptance.

**Proverb 5: '*Usuruoviahonoehionoru*'** (Patience is the best medicine for good matrimonial home)
This proverb forms another pragmeme of admonishing. Drawing on metaphor, an elderly man practs on admonition for the bride to make patience her priority if she wants to enjoy her matrimonial home. The people present as well as the couple acknowledged the relevance and importance of patience as necessary tool in building a successful home by nodding their heads in support.

**Proverbs Used for Admonishing during Naming Ceremonies**
**Proverb 6:   '*Ozioviaaruozozaanawurameji*'** (The child is the garment of pride for the parents)
An elderly woman talking during a naming ceremony to the parents of the new born baby used this proverb, which is a metaphor, to admonish the parents of the new born child to rejoice for having been blessed with a baby. The proverb was also used as an admonition to people who were felicitating with the parents to consider children as special blessings and the pride of their parents. Among Ebira people where the proverb exists, just like in many African societies, children are highly valued as barrenness is considered as a misfortune.

**Proverb 7:    "Irena anasiozivovoomaaroyaozaanatoto"** (The back that carries a baby never lack who to send)
Drawing on SSK, elderly woman practs admonition with this proverb by encouraging the parents of the new born baby to nurture the child well by co-textually emphasising the blessing of having a child. In Ebira land, just as in many other African societies, parents nurture and train children who will later take care of them at old age.

**Proverb 8:** *"Uvoeevaoonyinaenguni"* (Two hands (often) wash each other better).
This proverb was used to simultaneously felicitate with and admonish the parents of a new born baby to join hands in training the child. An elderly man used the proverb, which is a metaphor, to admonish the parents on the cooperation of the parents in proper upbringing of the child.

**Proverb 9:** *"Ozioyi pa eviukoroabiokokoro"* (It takes a whole village to train a child)
This proverb engages the metapragmatic joker of hyperbole to underscore the importance of the involvement of everybody in the proper upbringing of children. In Ebira community where the proverb was used, there is communal effort in moralising children and youth on good behaviour as they are considered as responsibilities of all. Hence, the woman who used the proverb deployed it as a direct encouragement for the people present to join hands in the proper upbringing of the child

**Proverbs Used for Admonishing during Coronation Ceremonies**
**Proverb 10:** *"Ohinoyiomagu ova tiniabara on ara"* (There cannot be two kings in a community at the same time)
Being a member of the speech i.e. Ebira, in which the proverb exists, and SSK, a Chief pragmatically engaged the proverb during the coronation of a King for admonition by cautioning members of the community on the danger of going contrary to the authority of the king. The chief emphasises the need to support and respect the authority of the king so as to encourage peace in the community.

**Proverb 11:** *"Odovidiviututuanakuete hi"* (A leader is always a dumping ground where subjects dump their refuse)
The proverb is a metaphor used by an elder for admonishing a newly installed king to be accommodative, while paying homage to him. The proverb was largely derived from the flora of the Ebira. It makes reference to the social and physical structure of the Ebira community, while admonishing the king to be tolerant and accommodating, as a father to all his subjects.

**Proverb 12:** *"Eresuodobaevienyaozioweyiove"* (The head of an elephant is not a load for children)
At the palace during the coronation, an elderly man used the proverb in praising the conferment of a chieftaincy title on an illustrious son of Ebira land. In pragmatic sense, the elderly man practs admonition by commending the king, other chiefs, elders, well-wishers and other members of the community on the good choice of the newly installed chief. The elderly man accompanied the proverb with a raised fist in admiration of the new title holder and the responsibilities, respect and benefits attached to such esteemed title.

**Proverb 13:** *"Otaru yieogane, uvoani out omavi"* (Otaru stays in Ogane but his hands reach Omavi)
An elderly man used this proverb at a palace during a coronation to admonish the king, chiefs and other dignitaries present to work for the success of the king. The proverb implies that it is when the chiefs work in cooperation with the king that his hands will be seen everywhere. In pragmatic terms, the elderly man advised the chiefs to represent the king well in their different domains so that his reign could be successful.

**Proverb 14:** "*Udionoohomorihiokovioza, enyikaozaosiukatasior"* (He who is destined for power will not have to fight for it)

One of the kingmakers used this proverb to admonish members of the ruling houses in a village in Ebira land to be patient and magnanimous in the process of choosing a successor to the throne. With the proverb, the man proclaimed the king's eligibility to the throne of his ancestors and admonished other chiefs and the well-wishers to support him.

**Proverb 15:** "*Ozaanasasiahuadani, va nana vakosi use oyiziani"* (When you follow in the path of your father you learn to walk like him)

This proverb was used by an elder at a village square during the installation of a new Village Head to admonish the newly installed Village Head to uphold the socio-cultural norms of the Ebira so that he could be successful on the throne.

**Proverbs Used for Admonishing during Bereavement/Burial Ceremonies**

**Proverb 16:** *Usuomajuzaekwuniomaume* (Death gives no date, sickness gives no month)

In this proverb, one of the sympathisers talking to others during burial rites, evokes SSK to admonish the bereaved family and sympathisers present that death and sickness can befall anyone at anytime.

**Proverb 17:** "*Ekuhinozenoeonyiuwhuo"* (No matter how long we stay on earth, we must surely die one day)

This pragmeme of admonishing is further made in this proverb by an elderly man, with the instantiated pragmatic act of consoling. The elderly man admonished the bereaved family and sympathisers on the inevitability of death.

**Proverb 18:** "*Oza o ma kata, baa yisu"* (One is never too powerful for death)

This proverb was engaged by one of the sympathisers consoling the family of the bereaved in admonishing them that death does not consider position before taking anyone. The proverb is pragmatically used to consol the bereaved and the sympathisers that death is no respecter of one's position or strength. All these are complemented by the relevance of the proverb to context. The bereaved and the sympathisers were thus, given contextual factors, able to draw appropriate inferences.

**Proverb 19:** "*Enyioyiza, o me kuinioruku"* (Good water does not last long in the strange pot)

This proverb, which is a metaphor, used by an elderly man during the burial ceremony of a young industrious son of the community who died at a prime age, states that good water does not last long in the strange pot. The metaphor implies that strangely, good people often die prematurely. What the elderly man practs, practically speaking, is admonishing sympathisers by consoling them with the fact that life is not how long but how well one lived. Using SSK, the bereaved and the sympathisers were able to draw inferences as they indicated understanding by nodding their heads in the affirmative.

**Proverb 20:** "*Ekehioviahonouusu"* (Money is not the medicine for death)

This proverb draws on metaphor to admonish mourners that death is inevitable at the graveyard during the burial of a wealthy man. While sympathising with the bereaved family

and the members of the community, an elderly man practs admonition by this proverb, illustrating the meaninglessness of money on the day of death.

## Conclusion

This study has explored the pragmame of admonishing in Ebira proverbs. In Ebira society elders attach so much importance to verbal admonition. Hence, in the traditional Ebira society, the elders employ proverbs in naming ceremonies, burial ceremonies, marriage ceremonies, and coronations for admonishing people on family and community role-expectations, aspirations, and consciousness towards building and contributing to the development of the society. The study has shown that Ebira proverbs, more than any other oral form, admonish the Ebiras by outlining rules of conduct, state what should or should not be done and laying conditions and consequences for certain actions and attitudes. Through the pragmeme of admonishing, most Ebira proverbs serve as social charters condemning some practices while recommending others. . Therefore, it has become clear that Ebira proverbs are very pungent rhetorical stratagems in social interaction among the Ebira people for moralising people and maintaining orderliness in the society.

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# A Comparative Study of Conflict and Empowerment in Wole Soyinka's *Season of Anomy* and Sembene Ousmane's *God's Bits of Wood*

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## Abstract

*The issue of thematology, a contrastive study of themes, has not received considerable attention in the works of Wole Soyinka and Sembeme Ousmane, two first generation African writers, from different socio-cultural backgrounds This discourse is therefore a comparative study of the themes of conflict and empowerment in Wole Soyinka's Season of Anomy and Sembene Ousmane's God's Bits of Wood. The study compares the chosen texts in terms of conflict and empowerment; the connection between the two writers revolves round conflict and empowerment. The authors reflect at a particular point in history, how a coterie of individuals, in desperation for power, makes surreptitious moves to retain power by relegating the marginalized who struggle to reverse status quo. The study also reveals that while Soyinka relies on the intellectuals to effect positive change, Ousmane believes in the potential strength of the workers. The researcher draws attention to the fact that the two authors present similar ideas. Comparison is our instrument as we extract points of similarities in dissimilar texts-Anglophone and Francophone literatures. Through a comparative study of Soyinka's Season of Anomy and Ousmane's God's Bits Wood, the researcher looks at the relationship between Senegalese and Nigerian literatures. The study enables us to see beyond our own historical horizons and bridge the gap between the two different societies. By comparing an Anglophone writer with a Francophone writer, this discourse serves as an additional source of material in the field of comparative literature.*

**Keywords:** Comparative Literature, Conflict, Empowerment, Soyinka, Ousmane.

## Introduction
## Methods used by the Comparativist

Comparative literature is an academic field dealing with the literatures of two or more different linguistic, cultural or national groups. Comparative study can be performed on works of same language if such works originate from different nations or cultures. It is an iinterdisciplinary field where the comparativists study literature across genres, across national borders, across time periods and across languages. Comparative literature establishes a relationship between different writers and promotes 'our

understanding of literary works as a human activity with similar aesthetic and social functions'( Izevbaye:11).

The study of selected texts by Ousmane and Soyinka demonstrates how people of different cultural and social backgrounds respond in the same way when they are confronted with similar situations. The similarities drawn between Soyinka and Ousmane's texts are quite revealing. The researcher has established parallels between Soyinka's themes of conflict and empowerment and that of Ousmane. The importance of this comparative study with regards to the selected texts is that the full understanding of the works is shaped by the projection of similar ideas and vision by the writers. Comparative literature is therefore a method of literary analysis that enhances our appreciation of literature and its value to society.  Other areas of interest in comparative literature include the link of literature to folklore and mythology and the study of colonial and post colonial writings in different parts of the world. Beginning from the twentieth century, a popular empiricist and positivist approach termed the French school has characterised comparative literature. The Scholars examine works forensically searching for evidence of origin and influences between works and from different countries. They also trace how a particular literary motif or idea travelled between nations over time. In the French school, the study of influences and origins dominates. This researcher has embarked on a study that is similar to the French School.

This paper establishes defining characteristics such as sources, influence, thematic parallels and disparity by comparing the selected works of the chosen artists in terms of themes and approach. The authors present societies 'going through political, social and economic revolution' (Palmer:193). The research looks at the exchange of themes between the two writers and draws attention to the fact that the two authors present similar ideas. Henry Remak writes that 'comparative literature is the study of literature beyond the confines of one particular country (Remak: 1).

## Chosen Authors' influence
Soyinka and Ousmane share similar influences which, to a large extent determine the nature of their works. The two novelists who are committed to empowering the marginalised grew up in an environment where conflict was the result of the oppression of the less privileged by the privileged ones.  Soyinka and Ousmane are African writers who started their creative activities before their countries gained Independence in 1960. They are among the first generation of African writers who demonstrate their concern for the less privileged with the same passion.  Both of them are human rights activists and visionary writers who seek to better the lot of the proletariat. Wole Soyinka and Sembene Ousmane are also leading protagonists in empowering the marginalised. Various instances of conflict in the works of our chosen artists and the process or method of empowerment are discussed in this research

*The Writings of Wole Soyinka* by Obi Maduakor provides insights into Soyinka's influence. Maduakor's book confirms our view of Soyinka as a non-conformist and defender of the defenceless .Soyinka's character was formed early in life .His parents were very strict and rigid .Soyinka's rebellious nature 'appeared to be a… means of sheltering himself from the rigid regimentations of his home' [Maduakor,154]. Soyinka considers this as injustice; he

feels there was no justice in the adult world. This concern for justice remains with him as he grows up. It is therefore not surprising that most of his works border on injustice, conflict and empowering the oppressed which is the thesis of this study.

In a similar vein, Ousmane was greatly influenced by his earlier experience as a docker. He was actively involved in the 1947 workers' strike in Dakar which can be equated to the Egba women's strike mirrored in Soyinka's *Ake* that equally motivated Soyinka. Sembene Ousmane, the Senegalese writer has been a vehement champion of human rights. He took part in the workers' struggles against French colonialism in Africa and he denounces the African privileged class that emerges. The events mentioned manifest in the works of these first generation writers. Again, Ousmane's background as a strong member of the workers' Union in his days is manifested greatly in *God's Bits of Wood*. He took part in the workers' strike that paralyzed the colonial economy culminating in the nationalist struggle in Francophone Africa in the 1940s.

**Writers' Approach to Conflict**
A close examination of Ousmane's *God's Bits of Wood* and Soyinka's *Season of Anomy* reveals the unity-cohesion- and interconnectedness of literatures in terms of themes and characterization. Just like Bakayoko in *God's Bits of Wood* mobilizes the workers to fight for their political rights, Ofeyi does the same in *Season of Anomy* by requesting the presence of the marginalized Aiyero community to undermine the Cartel. The two protagonists (Bakayoko and Ofeyi) marshal the less privileged class into political awareness and conscientization which spur them to action. In *God's Bits of Wood:*

> Class struggle exists as workers show their disgust in their white employers' exploitative and oppressive gimmicks. The strike action in the novel is a result of class struggle. As the whites are conflicting with the blacks, so also the oppressors and the oppressed are at loggerhead with one another. Furthermore, the bourgeoisie always resists the open confrontation from the proletariat (Balogun: 8).

Similarly, Soyinka's *Season of Anomy* is about the mobilisation of the people of Aiyero by the intellectual elites to undermine the oppressive ruling class. Therefore, Ofeyi and other progressives 'enlist the support of Aiyero to undermine the ruling cartel'. (Sembene Ousmane:95)

Ousmane and Soyinka reflect the dogged struggle of the weaker folks with the dominant class. The heroes are empowered and placed in conflicting situations in which they challenge forces of reaction in their bid to liberate the less privileged. The workers disagree with the white overloads over wages and conditions of service in Ousmane's *God's Bits of Wood*. To the struggling and agitating black folks, it is either the conditions given to the whites are met or there will be a total strike. The white man's reluctance to give the rail workers their dues marks the beginning of conflict. Ousmane chooses characters like Bakayoko and the heroic Ramatoulaye to generate such passion and anger in the workers that could lead to the conflict between the employer and the employee.

Stewart Creham points out that the spirit of negation in Soyinka as seen through the intellectuals is 'restless, mercurial and strongly masculine often humorous … always alive to incongruity…' (17). The spirit of negation springs from Soyinka's impulse to oppose. 'Where an idealistic search for life's meaning … is constantly defeated … a contrary movement sets in (Creham 18). Soyinka's *Season of Anomy'* corroborates Soyinka's impression of the ruling class in the society. Juliet Okonkwo states that: "The corrupt, excessively materialistic world of the establishment, which already existed in *The Interpreters*, is represented by the cartel" (Okonkwo:112). This alliance of politicians and the military controls production, marketing and prices. The 'alliance' as demonstrated in *Season of Anomy* is a superstructure of robberies and the role of the intellectual in the possible reconstruction in a society that is afflicted with excessive socio-economic and political malaise is significant.

Soyinka's *Season of Anomy,* therefore, 'captures …the decadence and sterility of contemporary social and political set up in many African countries' [Gikandi,66]. The intellectuals dislike the situation in the country and hence decry it; there is social conflict or antagonism between the intellectual elite and the political elite represented by the Cartel. Soyinka mirrors the evils of political domination, conflict and suppression of the weak. He believes that it is the duty of the marginalised to rise up to liberate themselves. In *Season of Anomy,* he equally presents a 'nation violently ruled by a corrupt elite, business interests and army misusing authority and governmental powers to enrich themselves and stay in office at all cost',(King:95) a situation that engenders conflicts between the privileged and the less-privileged classes similar to the one in *Ousmane God's Bits of Wood*. Ousmane's leaning towards socialism is equally mirrored in his works. Being a trade union leader and having played an active role in several workers' strikes,

Ousmane depicts conflict between the deprived workers and the Whites, between the employers and the employees. While the employers are bent on retaining power, the employees struggle for the reverse - bridging the old feudal network. Through the actions of the workers on strike, Ousmane condemns racial oppression, injustice and discrimination connected with colonial rule. In *Season of Anomy,* Soyinka reflects a dictatorial regime that consists of civilians supported by the military to ensure the perpetuation of the ruling class (the cartel) in power. The disagreement between the intellectuals (represented by Ofeyi, Iriyise and the Dentist) and the ruling class is a very serious one because the oppressed (Ofeyi and the Dentist] resort to violence. Jeff Thomson in 'The Politics of Shuttle: Soyinka's poetic space' affirms that: Soyinka confronts "the social and political ramifications of power, especially the abuse of power" (98).

*Season of Anomy* presents a determined people like the striking workers in Ousmane's *God's Bits of Wood* that would not submit easily to the power that be- the Cartel. In spite of the measures taken by the Cartel to suppress the will of the intellectuals, they remain adamant and persevere in their struggle to depose the corrupt regime and break the monopoly of power.

Thus, Ousmane and Soyinka reveal African countries governed by oligarchs. They equally demonstrate attempts by pressure groups to halt this monopoly of power by a small group. Ousmane and Soyinka seek to challenge the dominant discourses of the society. Their writings are a vitriolic attack on the legitimising power of such discourses. They condemn

the authority of certain oligarchy and equally show their faith in the less privileged ones- the workers movement(in Ousmane's works) and the intellectual (in Soyinka's prose) where the people collectively struggle for an egalitarian society.

The young protagonists in Ousmane's and Soyinka's works are the ones who play the messianic role of delivering their people from colonial bondage and from the clutches of the neo-imperialists. For instance, Bakayoko and other progressives play the messianic role in a bid to emancipating the blacks in Ousmane's *God's Bits of Wood* where they battle against reactionary forces (the Whites and the African middle men) to liberate the rail workers from the shackles of colonial domination and the Middle men who desire to perpetrate colonialism. In a similar vein, Ofeyi in a determined effort to liberate the people of Aiyero in Soyinka's *Season of Anomy* plays the role of a messiah as he is in the fore-front of the struggle to bring to an end the rule of the Cartel. Furthermore, in the selected prose of Soyinka and Ousmane:

> antagonistic contradictions are basically contradictions between classes whose interests are irreconcilably hostile. The major feature of these contradictions is that they cannot be resolved within the framework of social system of which they are representative. As these contradictions grow deeper and more acute, they lead to bitter clashes, to conflicts...(Nwankwo and Mbajiorgu: 146).

For instance, the antagonism between Ofeyi and the cartel in *Season of Anomy* is irreconcilable because they represent different classes and so is the antagonism between the workers and their employers in Ousmane's *God's Bits of Wood.* This bitter class struggle (Conflict) has become endemic in the fight against injustice.

The disenfranchised Africans yearn for better living conditions, equal rights and political emancipation. In spite of all the attempts by the forces of oppression to suppress the will of the less privileged, the striking workers remain steadfast, determined and resolute. The Union leaders urge them to stand firm and go on with the struggle until a new life is born out of their present misery. An important milestone in the conflict is reached when the Governor-general addresses the black workers on their rights. Therefore, *God's Bits of Wood* is an example of socialist form of literature, which is on the side of the people. It is a people's literature that:

> Creates positive heroes from among the working people, positive heroes who would embody the spirit of struggle and resistance against exploitation and naked robbery (N'gugi Wa Thiongo:24).

The authors also present the marginalised as the heroes in the political conflict between the political elite and the marginalised. Selection of characters is premised on the deplorable condition of the marginalised. Bakayoko, the leader of the workers in *God's Bits of Wood* is marginalised and also one of the heroes in the text. Other marginalised protagonists include Penda, Ramatoulaye, Maimouna and Adjibidji among others. Similarly, in Soyinka's *Season of Anomy* the marginalised, the intellectual elite – Ofeyi, Iriyise and the Dentist are the heroes.

## The Writers' Approach to Empowerment

Empowerment is the process of thwarting attempts to deny the marginalized opportunities for fulfilment. Empowerment refers to 'increasing the political, social or economic strength of individuals or groups' (http://en.Wiki pedia.Org/ wiki / Empowerment: 1of 5). The less privileged are given the ability to make decisions about their personal or collective circumstances and the ability to be assertive in decision-making. In addition, they have the capability to bring about positive changes.

Soyinka and Ousmane's works are tools for empowerment as they aim at liberating the suppressed. The main characters, for instance, in Soyinka's works are designed (educated) to create the awareness in the gullible society. Soyinka and Ousmane contribute to the liberation of Africa and the empowerment of the dispossessed and deprived people of the continent. They have often contributed towards the opening of portals for their upliftment and their placement along the right path of dynamic development. Their writings are often geared towards empowering the dispossessed and deprived people of Africa. The intellectuals in *The Interpreters* and *Season of Anomy* are educated, hence empowered to challenge injustice and other social malaise. Similarly, the progressives like Bakayoko in Ousmane's *God's Bits of Wood* and the destitute in *Xala* are so assertive in their resolve to cause political changes, hence empowered to challenge the reactionary forces.

The writers' works are meant to rescue the oppressed that this researcher feels should be conscientised and empowered. The characters, particularly the less privileged have been given the empowerment as seen in *God's Bits of Wood* where Bakayoko mobilizes the rail workers to demand for what belongs to them. In a similar vein, in Soyinka's *Season of Anomy*, the intellectual Ofeyi is educated, thus possessing the wherewithal and empowerment to marshal the people of Aiyero to agitate for political and economic emancipation from the ruling class.

Soyinka's and Ousmane's prose are thus political tools designed to bring about a just society, a society where Man will be very free. It is also hoped that their contributions through their works will set the dispossessed free and also give them hope in life. Both of them are therefore committed to empowering ordinary people who do not have the same privileges as the bourgeoisie.

Again, Soyinka and Ousmane believe in the potential strength of the oppressed class and they employ the same method of empowering them. The oppressed class is mobilised into political awareness of their rights through the protagonists. The disadvantaged as seen in their works are always in solidarity, thereby drawing strength from each other. The common bitter experience often binds them together and gives them the confidence and empowerment to fight the injustice meted out to them. For instance, the progressives in Soyinka's *Season of Anomy* who do not belong to the ruling class are so united that they remain committed to displacing the cartel (the ruling class).The deprived workers in *God's Bits of Wood* remain committed to the same cause- the overthrow of the colonial masters. The workers' Union in Ousmane's prose is as united as the progressives in Soyinka's works.

The two authors equally increase the political, social and economic strength of the marginalised that are often excluded from decision making and denied other privileges.

The less privileged ones who were earlier ostracised gradually become relevant and bring about positive changes. The marginalised people of Aiyero in Soyinka's *Season of Anomy* were initially unaware of the cartel's moves to cling on to power. However, as Ofeyi and the Dentist embark on a mission of empowering the citizens, the people become conscious of the events around them. In a similar vein, the naive workers and beggars in Ousmane's *God's Bits of Wood* are equally mobilised into political consciousness.

Soyinka and Ousmane are averse to systems whereby few people continue to keep power; they do not believe that leadership should be retained by the privileged class. This conviction informs their resolve to empower the less-privileged ones as they do not support monopoly of power by the ruling class (royal family). Therefore, the two authors allow those who do not belong to the ruling class to have the upper hand in *Season of Anomy* and *God's Bits of Wood* and suggest that power should not be monopolised by a particular group or lineage. Soyinka wonders why people want to hang on to power forever. For instance, attempts to cling to power by the power-besotted cartel are resisted by the progressives. Similarly, Ousmane advocates skill, knowledge, integrity, honesty and ability as yardsticks for anyone who wants to run the affairs of government. He denounces the practice of denying those who are not of the aristocratic lineage access to power. Hence, he breaks the old feudal networks by allowing the black workers in *God's Bits of Wood* to triumph. In essence, the two authors are committed to empowering people from the low caste; the ordinary man; the disadvantaged folk and the marginalised. The two writers give the dispossessed people hope.

**Differences**
As we have seen from our previous discussion, both of them show strong unity and similarities. Nevertheless, each of them is biased towards some of these issues. The writers demonstrate tendencies to favour certain beliefs by projecting them positively. Ousmane focuses more on the effects of colonialism and the rise of the African middle class. Much of his prose is centred on the struggle for independence, and how the African bourgeois ape the former colonial masters.

Thus, in Ousmane's *God's Bits of Wood* the power conflict is twofold. The less privileged blacks fight to end colonialism and they are also against the collaborators. They are bent on deposing the colonialists and these collaborators. This strong determination informs the killing of Mabigué's ram by Ramatoulaye. The bold step taken by Ramatoulaye is significant. It is a challenge to the authorities of the white man and his stooge. The slaughter of the ram that constitutes another strand of contradiction wreaks a violent conflict between the two opposing parties. Through this conflict, Ousmane proves his commitment to emancipating those blacks disenfranchised and marginalized in their own father-land. Maryse Conde contends that:

> ...Ousmane is an exception in French-speaking West Africa. He is almost the only writer who started publishing novels during the colonial period and still does, denouncing the evils of the post-Independence era as he did for pre-Independence.( Conde:97)

In its early stage, the bulk of Ousmane's works was concerned with colonial abuse of power and the concomitant 'effects of the colonial experiences on the cultural values on his referent society (Amuta:180). However, his later critical observations condemn the perpetration of oppression and injustice in post-colonial Africa. Ousmane turns his attention on the rupture between the black workers and the collaborators. These collaborators, represented by the Imam and Elhaji Mabique, are the agents of the French Imperialists. These intermediaries are presented as ridiculous figures and stooges who combine forces with the imperialists to perpetuate the white man's tenure. The black workers strongly disagree with these collaborators. They consider them as stooges who are often in league with the white authorities. This group of unpatriotic opportunistic Africans has taken a position against the less privileged ones. While the African bourgeoisie are bent on perpetuating the Whiteman's rule by giving the white administration their unalloyed support, the deprived Africans have also resolved to cause a political change. The two are therefore at variance. The black workers strongly deplore the unscrupulous acts of these middlemen. The oppressed blacks-Ramatoulaye, N'deye Touti and Tiemako among others, rise up against the unpatriotic blacks whom Ramatoulaye calls fornicators.

On the other hand, Soyinka dwells more on post-independence politics (Neo-colonialism) than on colonialism in his prose. He is often bitter about African leaders' overriding interest in power. The conflict in his prose is mostly between the black rulers and the less privileged. For instance, Soyinka condemns the injustice meted out by African leaders to the less privileged through the conflict in *Season of Anomy* between African bourgeoisie and Nigerian intellectuals, between the progressive blacks and the reactionary black leaders. Ofeyi, the Dentist, Zacheus and Iriyise are the progressives; Chief Biga, Zaki Amuri and Chief Batoki represent the reactionary group. Soyinka explores post-colonial politics in *Season of Anomy*, thus suggesting that we should not be unduly preoccupied with the atrocities of the colonialists .If we continue to dwell so much on the evils of colonialism, African writers may neglect the chaotic state of the continent in contemporary times and ignore the responsibilities of Africans themselves for its present state.

*Season of Anomy* is more committed to exposing the decadence of modern African society than the evils of colonialism; the novel is concerned with snobbery, hypocrisy, materialism, social inequality, injustice, incompetence and the prevalence of corruption in post colonial Africa. All these are attributes of African leaders that are seen in *Season of Anomy.* For instance, Soyinka condemns social inequality and materialism in *Season of Anomy* where Chief Batoki lives a flamboyant lifestyle. The conflicts in Ousmane's text are between the haves and have nots- the employers and the employee. On the other hand, Soyinka portrays conflict between the intellectuals and the Politicians, and between the privileged and the less-privileged.

## Conclusion
By comparing an Anglophone writer with a Francophone writer, the study has served as an additional source of material in the field of comparative literature. Other scholars working in the area of comparative literature may find this study relevant. In the light of Nnolim's submission that comparative literature is 'a truly fertile area for criticism ... in our literary scene... '.(158)

The ways in which the authors handle political and socio-economic problems that is under scrutiny in their works reveal that awareness of social injustice is possible through reading their works or research works like the one we have embarked upon. To this end, Soyinka and Ousmane would have contributed to consciousness raising (empowerment) in their readers. It is a consciousness that strives for the establishment of equity and justice. Hence, in any conflict situation, the marginalised should remain steadfast.We draw the conclusion that since the dawn of the Nigerian Republic, the human rights and political activist Wole Soyinka has remained steadfast in opposing discreditable regimes. He has continued to demonstrate his political courage and dedication as an artist and he meditates on justice and tyranny and has not relented in his fight against this abuse of power.  Just like Soyinka, Ousmane remained committed to his ideals until his death in 2008.  Ousmane demonstrated that he was an artist concerned with taking his message to the less privileged. He was a revolutionary writer who believed strongly in the combined efforts of the proletariat and in a bid to make his art accessible to the people who constitute the subject of his artistic endeavours, Ousmane adapted most of his novels for the screen.

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# Impoliteness as a Tool for Humour Delivery in Nigerian Stand-Up Comedy

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## Abstract

*This study explores the communicative strategies deployed by comedians in Nigerian stand-up comedy to attack face through the use of verbal aggression, which provides humour and entertainment. The pragmatic theory of impoliteness is used as framework for interpretation, and data are sourced from purposively sampled recorded videos of Nigerian stand-up comedians. Impoliteness is creatively deployed to provoke laughter, and generally, a joke is tagged humorous only when it is targeted at someone, real or imaginary and heavily bedecked with impolite remarks. The study argues that Nigerian stand-up comedy has become famous because of its use of conflictive verbal illocutions, and that understanding the mechanisms for the impoliteness phenomenon in Nigerian stand-up comedy is important in assessing the nature, motivation, and success of stand-up comedy in Nigeria.*

**Keywords:** Humour, Nigerian stand-up comedy, impoliteness, face, verbal aggression

## Introduction

This study explores the connection between impoliteness and humour in the Nigerian stand-up comedy (NSC) by examining the communicative strategies deployed by comedians to attack face in the process of creating humour and entertainment (Culpeper, 1996, 2005, 2011; Mills 2005; Bousfield, 2008; Bousfield and Locher, 2008). Aggressive verbal behaviour is a common phenomenon in certain activity types such as army training discourse, courtroom interrogation and exploitative TV shows (Culpeper et al., 2003). But unlike the army training discourse and courtroom interrogation, in a comedy show, the purpose is entirely for humour and entertainment. For this reason, it has been suggested that impolite verbal behaviour in this context may be seen as sanctioned and therefore harmless (Mills 2003). However, as Bousfield (2010) and Culpeper (2005) have argued, being sanctioned does not necessarily neutralize the harmful effects of the aggressive language used in such instances.

The Nigerian stand-up comedy can be described as an art form that rides on the train of aggressive verbal illocutions. But as pervasive as this is in NSC, scholarly work in the area has been largely neglected. The goal of this study therefore is to explain the mechanism for the use of socially unacceptable linguistic behaviour in Nigerian stand-up comedy, show its harmful effects, and suggest why it has been a ready tool in the hands of comics in the NSC. Data for this study was purposively sampled from recorded videos of three Nigerian stand-

up comedians, and analysis is based on the theory of impoliteness as developed by Culpeper (2005, 2011; Culpeper and Haugh 2014), with additional insights from Bousfield (2008, 2010) and Haugh (2013). In the section that follows, we examine this theoretical framework and how it explains our data.

**Theoretical Framework**
Within the last two and half decades or so, studies in the impoliteness phenomenon has been on the increase (Culpeper, 1996, 2005, 2011; Culpeper et al. 2003; Eelen 2001, Mills 2003, Bousfield 2008, Bousfield and Locher 2008) just to mention a few. Locher and Bousfield (2008) contend that "any adequate account of the dynamics of interpersonal communication… should consider hostile as well as cooperative communication" (p. 2). Impoliteness may be described as a communicative strategy designed to attack face. It is essentially a negative evaluation of behaviour manifested in linguistic and/or non-linguistic inputs in a communicative context. This evaluation depends on expectations and perceptions of the norms of appropriateness shared by interactants (Haugh, 2007). Culpeper (1996) marks the beginning of his development of the impoliteness approach to interpersonal pragmatics. Here, he conceives of impoliteness as the use of strategies that are "designed to have the opposite effect" of politeness as proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987); that is, the effects of social disruption (p. 350). In fact, he emphasized the fact that "impoliteness is likely to occur in situations where there is imbalance of power" (p. 354), and that "impoliteness is very much the parasite of politeness" (p. 355). It is for this reason his impoliteness super strategies are directly the opposite of politeness super strategies proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987) (Culpeper, 1996, p. 355-358).

In Culpeper (2005), speaker's intention to attack the face of the interlocutor is considered essential for impoliteness to occur. According to him, "impoliteness comes about when: (1) the speaker communicates face-attack *intentionally*, (2) the hearer perceives and/or constructs behaviour as *intentionally* face-attacking, or a combination of (1) and (2)" (p.38 our emphasis). In this regard, impoliteness is seen as both a communicative and a perceptual phenomenon. First the speaker communicates a face-threatening act intentionally, and the hearer at the same time perceives and constructs it as such. Bousfield (2008, 2010) also emphasize the place of intention in the occurrence of impoliteness. According to him impoliteness is generally "intentionally gratuitous" and "purposefully performed" (2010, p.120). The intention to offend is a major strategy of Nigerian stand-up comedians as their jokes are carefully selected to produce the effects of disparagement of their comic victims. Culpeper (2011), however, plays down the idea of speaker's intention. He argues that impoliteness occurs on a moral ground as behaviour is evaluated against expectations of appropriateness within specific contexts (p. 254). He states that impolite behaviours "always have or are presumed to have emotional consequences for at least one participant, that is, they cause offence. Various factors can exacerbate how offensive an impolite behaviour is taken to be, including for example, whether one understands a behaviour to be strongly intentional or not" (p. 23).

As Culpeper (2011) and Culpeper and Haugh (2014) further demonstrate, the most common impoliteness formulae type is insults and these come in various forms. For example, as *personalized negative vocatives* such as [you] 'moron', 'rotten', 'fucking', 'fat', 'bastard', etc; *personalized assertions* such as ' [you] 'ugly', 'shit,' 'fat', etc; as *personalized negative*

*references*, such as [your] 'stinking,' 'little'…, etc; and *personalized third person negative references* (in the hearing of the target), such as [the ] 'daft' (Culpeper and Haugh, 2014, p. 224). Apart from insults, Culpeper (2011) identifies other impoliteness formulae types as criticisms, unpalatable questions, dismissals, silencers, threats, curses, and ill-wishes. In terms of how these may be performed, Culpeper (1996, 2005) formulate specific strategies which include *bald on record impoliteness* in which FTA is performed in a direct, clear, unambiguous manner in situations in which face is at stake; *positive impoliteness* which is designed to damage the hearer's face wants; *negative impoliteness*, a strategy designed to damage the hearer's negative face wants, *withhold impoliteness,* as when thanks, for instance, is withheld where it is necessary. Others include *sarcasm* and *mock politeness,* in which the FTA is performed with the use of politeness strategies that are clearly insincere.

Impoliteness is closely connected with entertainment; for this reason, it provides an appropriate platform for the description of Nigerian stand-up comedy as an entertainment genre. Culpeper (2011) explains that entertaining impoliteness involves a victim or a potential victim, who may not be aware of the impoliteness. He notes that even if the participants who are entertained are not aware of who the target is or whether the target is "always a 'real' identity", they "can understand the probable impoliteness effects for the target. Without this, it would not be entertaining impoliteness" (p.234). Impoliteness thrives in entertainment because it provides certain kinds of pleasure for the audience. Culpeper (2011) proposes five sources of such pleasures. First, *emotional pleasure*, the creation of a state of arousal, a thrill in the observer. Second, *aesthetic pleasure*, caused by some form of negative verbal creativity. Third, *voyeuristic pleasure,* "observing people reacting to impoliteness often involves the public exposure of private selves, particularly aspects that are emotionally sensitive", thereby resulting in voyeuristic pleasure (p.234). Fourth, *the pleasure of being superior*, which is a "self-reflexive pleasure of observing someone in a worse state than oneself" (p. 235).

This relates to the superiority theory of humour. Fifth, *the pleasure of feeling secure*. Here the pleasure arises from the realization that one is exempted from the plight of the victim of the impolite verbal behaviour. One question that arises at this point is, when impoliteness serves a 'good' purpose, such as entertainment, can it be justified? We argue that it is still impolite and may be regarded as a negative verbal behaviour as long as someone suffers from it (Locher 2010). In light of these, therefore, that is, entertaining impoliteness and the pleasures the audiences derive from it, this study finds another basis for exploring the significance of verbal aggression in Nigerian stand-up comedy. The next section provides a brief review on humour and NSC.

**Humour and NSC**
Humour is a universal phenomenon that affects every aspect of human interaction and relationships, and has been studied from diverse perspectives from classical times till the present (Attardo 1994; Carrell, 2008). Mindess (1971) describes humour as "a frame of mind, a manner of perceiving and experiencing life…a kind of outlook, a peculiar point of view, and one which has great therapeutic power" (p.21). For others, humour embodies the comic, the funny and the ludicrous, and its physical manifestation is laughter (Carrell 2008). Of all the theories of humour that have emerged since Plato and Aristotle (See Attardo, 2008) the superiority or disparagement, and the incongruity theories seem to be key to understanding

impoliteness in Nigerian stand-up comedy. The superiority theory explains humour as a form of aggression or degradation. As Hobbes (1999 [1650]) puts it "the passion of laughter is nothing else but sudden *glory* arising from some sudden *conception* of some eminency in ourselves, by *comparison* with the infirmity of others, or with our own formerly…" (p. 54). Incongruity, on the other hand, refers to something out of keeping or place, or something inappropriate, out of character. It is something that breaches expectation and it thrives on the element of surprise (Morreall, 2008, p.225); a "violation of what is socially or culturally agreed to be normal" (Myer 2000, p. 314).

Language use has been the central focus of many studies on NSC. Adetunji (2013) examines the interactional contexts of humour in NSC by describing the strategies for co-constructing the jokes and how comedians use language to shape audience attitude or to maintain and sustain the interest of their audiences. Filani (2015a, 2015b, 2016) from a social pragmatics perspective investigates NSC as an activity type as well as the use of mimicry in NSC. He distinguishes two important contexts – contexts of jokes and contexts in the jokes, and argues that the context of the joke determines the one in the joke. For Raheem (2018), NSC provides a platform for sociopolitical activism and non-violent protests. This is similar to Filani (2020) in that both apply the CDA approach to examine the social functions of comedy performances. Filani (2020) argues that "while the immediate function of comics in stand-up comedy venues is to entertain the audience, they also perform a broader intention, which is social critique" (p. 320). He argues that comedians in NSC use language to index the identity they share with their audiences as Nigerians. So far, most of the studies on NSC have been concerned with the identification, characterization, and description of linguistic and pragmatic techniques comedians employ in their routines. The use of verbal aggression as tools for the delivery of humour in NSC is yet to receive any scholarly attention. Yet, this seems to be a crucial aspect of the practice in NSC. It is in this regard that this study derives its relevance.

Data for this study are sourced from live performances of selected comedians in 'Warri Again' volume 1 (2014) and 'AY Live' (2017) comedy shows after surveying many comedy series. The excerpts are specifically chosen texts of three popular Nigerian stand-up comedians namely: Gordons, I Go Die, and Elenu. Our choice is motivated by the fact that these are well-established comedians, and also because their works display instances of the use of impolite utterances, aimed primarily at provoking laughter, that are appropriate for this study. For the most part, the jokes are performed in the Nigerian Pidgin, and we have provided translations where necessary.

**Data Presentation and Analysis**
This section presents the instances and analyses of verbal aggression in the selected excerpts, with particular emphasis on the impoliteness strategies employed and their possible effects.

**[Excerpt 1 Gordons]**
1. If you plenty, dat is you be Oceanic Bank
2. You no need to feel bad,
3. All you need na to take care of yourself.
4. If you see slim girls dey wear supaghetti

5 You sef wear macaroni

6. Even though your own go be like bed sheet, e no matter.

7. If dem wear mini skirt,

8. Whether your own be like tapeline, wear am

9. And if dem dey do catwalk,

10. My friend, no bi only cat be animal,

11. We get hippopotamus, elephant even dey there.

[Translation: *If you are overweight, you don't need to feel bad about it. All you need to do is to take care of yourself. Instead of putting on spaghetti tops like slim girls do, you can wear 'macaroni' top because of your size; even though it would look like a bedspread, it doesn't matter. If they (slim girls) wear miniskirts, you can wear any skirt as big as a tarpaulin and when they catwalk like models, you can walk like an elephant or a hippopotamus.*]

This excerpt is highly metaphorical; it masquerades as an advice to people who are overweight, but turns out as a sheer mockery. The face-threatening strategy here is twofold. First the comedian performs the positive impoliteness strategy by identifying the owner of Oceanic bank as a woman with "plenty" or excess flesh. At another level the FTA is simply sarcasm or mock politeness. He begins by saying 'if you are plenty,' insinuating that the persons in question are so big that they can be described as 'plenty;' this is, possessing large amount of flesh. Pursuing this metaphor further, he says 'you be Oceanic Bank.' This analogy evokes boisterous laughter from the audience because they understand that the comedian is not referring to the bank per se but to a persona who has become a symbol of the bank. From mutually shared contextual knowledge the audience is able to infer that the 'Oceanic Bank' mentioned by the comedian refers to the CEO who is a rather huge lady. This is a direct attack on the lady's face. The use of the pronoun 'you' is also an indication of a direct confrontation and attack on her face. The comedian implicitly shows that his verbal attacks are targeted primarily at her and overweight people in general. The use of the pronoun 'plenty' also implicates the impolite belief that overweight people accumulate fat that is usually more than enough. The consistent repetition of 'you' and 'your' is an instance of reinforcement for purposes of emphasis, focus or thematic arrangement (Quirk et al. 1985, p.970). This reinforcement is actually meant to foreground the damage that is caused and thus inflict emotional injury on the targets because impoliteness always involves emotional consequence for the victim (Culpeper 2011).

While attacking the positive face of overweight people by associating them with negative aspects and using a code name known to the audience, the comedian also achieves humour through sarcasm. He perpetuates this act of verbal impoliteness in the guise of giving an advice. He pretends to sympathise with his targets, and implies that supposedly tight- fitting clothes could be as wide as a bed sheet thus pursuing the metaphor of 'plenty'. Then he moves further to state that their mini-skirts could be as large as a tarpaulin – which is a large strong, flexible, water-resistant material. Finally, he advises that instead of cat-walking as slim ladies do, they could 'elephant-walk' or 'hippopotamus-walk' and we know that these two animals are massive in size. In fact, comparing overweight people to an elephant and a hippopotamus is offensive.

Another striking feature of this excerpt is the use of symbolism or 'derogatory nominations' (Culpeper 2003) to perform the FTAs which leads to laughter. This comedian tactfully avoids mentioning names; rather he uses symbols that are closely related to the butts of his joke. For instance, he says 'Oceanic Bank,' and expects his audience to make the appropriate pragmatic inference to the effect that 'Oceanic Bank' is associated with a CEO who is overweight. This is the common ground shared by the audience and the comedian (Clark and Brennan 1991). The comedian goes on to use 'spaghetti' and 'macaroni' to symbolize slim and overweight ladies. At one level of meaning, 'spaghetti' and 'macaroni' are a type of food, but through the process of contextual conditioning, 'macaroni' acquires the properties of clothing like 'spaghetti' leading to a semantic clash which results in humour. Here we experience the interplay of disparagement and incongruity theories of humour. Finally, he mentions 'cat walk' to mean the movement of slim ladies and he coins his own term for heavily built ladies 'elephant/hippopotamus walk' to describe their heavy and clumsy movement.

**[Excerpt 2, I Go Die]**
1. I dey always tell artists say if dem no get beta boxers,
2. Make dem no dey open body for stage.
3. Like D'Banj, if he open chest,
4. I no get problem with am because he dey try.
5. But some go dey show boxers, e go come be like bedspread.
6. Una no dey watch R. Kelly?
7. When he go open boxers, di thing go clean like 'face towel',
8. So when he throw am, people go rush am
9 Because dem know sey dem go make money from the boxers.
10. If D'Banj throw away him own, girls fit rush am
11. But if 2face throw away him own, girls go give am chance
12. Because 2face boxers fit give girl belle.
[*I always advise artists not to take off their clothes on stage if they are not putting on neat boxers. For instance, if an artist like D'banj opens his chest on stage, I won't have a problem because he wears clean clothes. But some artists display their boxers that look like bedspread. Don't you watch R. Kelly? Whenever he displays his underwear it looks clean like a face towel so that when he throws it to the audience, everyone goes for it because they know that they can make a lot of money from it. If D'banj throws his at his audience, girls could run to get it, but if 2face throws his boxers, girls would run away from it because it could impregnate them.*]

Here the comedian pokes fun at Nigerian musicians who try to imitate foreign artists by throwing their clothes at the audience. He performs the FTA baldly by mentioning specific names like D'Banj and 2face asserting that these musicians are in the habit of taking off their clothes during performance. First, he implicates the impolite belief that Nigerian musicians usually put on dirty under wears when he says 'I dey always tell artists say if dem no get beta boxers, make them no dey open body for stage.' This comedian hits the height of his ridicule when he overtly says that girls may likely accept an under wear from D'Banj but would readily reject that of 2face because of the possibility of becoming pregnant… 'but if 2face throw away him own, girls go give am chance because 2face boxer fit give girl belle'. The strategy here is positive impoliteness as the comedian implicates that 2face is highly

promiscuous. The FTA also becomes more damaging when you consider the fact that the comedian craftily transfers the attribute of promiscuity from the target to his personal belongings thus implying that even his costumes cannot be trusted. Gordons also deploys this strategy in the same comedy show to tell 2face, who is present at the performance, to show respect for his culture as the following excerpt shows.

**[Excerpt 3, Gordons]**
> 1. COMEDIAN:  In Benue, I was told of a tradition that when a visitor comes to visit
>               you, your host will give you his wife for the night. I don dey visit
>               2face now for two years.  Even kiss [*I have been visiting 2face for two
>               years now and he has not allowed his wife to give me even a kiss*]
> 2. AUDIENCE:  (laughter)
> 3. COMEDIAN:  even kiss (gestures)
> 4. AUDIENCE:  (laughter)
> 5. COMEDIAN:   with the three hundred wives and seven hundred concubines
> 6. AUDIENCE:  (laughter)
> 7. COMEDIAN:   *2face learn to respect your culture*
> 8. AUDIENCE:  (laughter)
> 9. COMEDIAN:   Tomorrow I dey come your house.
>               [*I am coming to your house tomorrow*]

In this instance, Gordons clearly commands 2face to show respect for his culture. It is an FTA that is used directly to attack the face of the target to elicit laughter from the audience. As the comedian attacks the face of 2face Idibia, the audience laugh uncontrollably strengthening the fact that much of what we believe to be funny actually emanates from what is perceived to be impolite. The comedian in the first place, makes reference to an alleged barbaric and grotesque cultural practice in Benue whereby a man offers his wife to a male guest for the night to show acceptance and hospitality. Then the comedian says '2face learn to respect your culture; tomorrow I dey come your house,' insinuating that the target should offer him his wife thus damaging his negative face. Interestingly, 2face is seated in the show, his reaction shows that he is affected by this joke but others seem to find it funny.

As the comedian diminishes the personality of 2face, the audience finds it pleasurable because they are not the object of the mockery. The scenario becomes more pitiable when we realize that in a comedy show only comedians have the right to speak (Mintz 1985). So, as Gordons lashes out on 2face, 2face becomes helpless because there is no room for him to respond. This is an instance of positive aggravation. Positive aggravation as Lachenicht (1980) puts it "is an aggravation strategy that is designed to show the addressee that he is not approved of, is not esteemed, does not belong and will not receive cooperation" (p. 619). Using this same strategy, Elenu castigates the Igbos, an eastern tribe in Nigeria for their so-called dubious nature. He makes fun of them to show that their act of pirating the works of others is not approved of and will not be accepted anywhere.

**[Excerpt 4, Elenu]**
> 1. COMEDIAN:  But you know say Ibo men, if Ibo man won sing, dem no get song.
>               All dem need to do na to wait may oyibo sing dem go come get their
>               own version of that song (ariaria)

2. AUDIENCE:    (laughter)
3. COMEDIAN:    oyibo man go sing song like dis (sings) 'You are awesome in this place mighty God'. If Ibo man dey sing the same song, with so much pride na him go dey sing *nonsense.*(sings) 'halleluyah' (mimicking an Ibo accent)
3. AUDIENCE:    (laughter)
4. COMEDIAN:    umu Chineke eh
5. AUDIENCE:    (laughter)
6. COMEDIAN:    You go come hear their own version, (sings) 'You are handsome in this place mighty God'. One *idiot* go just shout- JESUS
7. AUDIENCE:    (laughter)

[*We know that the Ibos do not usually compose their own songs, all they do is to sing the songs composed by others, especially foreign singers. In singing a song like 'You are awesome in this place mighty God', they would change the word 'awesome' to 'handsome'.*]

Frequently occurring output strategies for positive impoliteness include: 'ignore, snub, fail to attend to H's needs', 'avoid agreement, and use taboo language, swear, be abusive' Culpeper et al (2003). The use of derogatory words like 'nonsense' and 'idiot', by the comedian to poke fun at the Ibos instantly stimulate laughter from the audience. As the comedian attacks the positive face of the Ibos, he out rightly tags them as flagrant swindlers who enrich themselves by adulterating the good works of others. The audience corroborate his opinion by laughing because they share the same belief. Elenu's conversion of the word 'awesome' to 'handsome' explicitly indicates how in practical reality these Ibos change the original products of others. The change in pronunciation sound so much alike that it would demand careful listening to detect the difference. In the same way, these people cleverly pirate products that it becomes very difficult to tell the difference between the original product and the fake one. This act gives the audience an edge over the Ibos as the comedian apparently exonerates them from such ill practices. They feel superior because they seem to sit at a vantage position unaffected by the impolite verbal remarks that the comedian launches at the butts of his joke. Also, members of the audience who may have been victims of such acts feel satisfied as the comedian launches a reprisal attack through humorous impoliteness. This joke becomes particularly effective because the audience shares the social background or common ground that consider the Ibos flagrant swindlers. As Raskin (1985) puts it, "the scope and degree of mutual understanding in humour varies directly with the degree to which the participants share their social background" (p. 16).

Through mimicry (Filani, 2016) the comedian stereotypes a typical Ibo accent by singing an English song in an Ibo accent which evokes a resounding laughter from the audience. This laughter actually is not based on the change in accent per se because such songs are pervasive in the Nigerian context. What is really striking about his mimicry is the impolite undertone that it bears substantiating the fact that he, the comedian is deliberately attacking the face of the butts of his joke and he intends his hearers to construct his action as such. Impolite mimicry, as Culpeper (2005) notes involves "the echoer which is a recognition that the attitude of the person who produced the echo is one of ridicule towards the person identified as the source of the echoed behaviour" (59-60). As can be seen, while impoliteness entertains the audience by elevating them to a position of superiority, it

diminishes its objects of ridicule and makes them lose face before others. Thus the impolite demotion of one becomes a humorous elevation of another.

Another instance of comedy performance that encapsulates the use of positive impoliteness is Elenu's condemnation of excessive eating habit which leads to overweight.

**[Excerpt 5, Elenu)**

  1.COMEDIAN:  (enters the stage) (0.2). I few abi?
  2.AUDIENCE:  (laughter)
  3.COMEDIAN:  I am very few. I'm watching my weight now. You know say e get
         the way you go fat if you waka pass where dem dey sell pig, dem
         go prize you join
  4. AUDIENCE:  (laughter)
  5. COMEDIAN:  I don dey get dat *problem* now.
  6. AUDIENCE:  (laughter)
  7. COMEDIAN:  And no be everybody wey fat na him dey chop money oh. E get d
         way you go broke, hungry go catch you, you go begin *swell up*.
         People wey see you go come say` ah ah dis guy don dey fresh up,
         dem no know say na hunger won kill you.
  8. AUDIENCE:  (laughter)

[*I have reduced in size because I have been working on my weight. I have discovered that overweight is so much of a problem that people can easily mistake an overweight person for a pig and most of the time being overweight is not necessarily a sign of wealth but excessive hunger can make a person bloat*.]

This may be described as affiliative humour (Ruch 2008), a tolerant sort of humour that is an affirmation of self and others. Here belongs self-deprecating humour – the tendency to say funny things about oneself, while maintaining a sense of self-acceptance. In this encounter, the comedian uses the words 'pig' and 'bloat' to describe overweight people.

He dissociates himself from this group of people by stressing the fact that he has started working on his own weight. This attack on the positive face wants of people with bulky frames is intended to offend and in the process elicit humour and laughter. He begins with himself in order to "put others to ease, facilitate relationship, and to reduce interpersonal tensions" (Ruch, 2008, p.38). While attacking their desire to be appreciated despite their size, the comedian also infringes on their equity rights thus performing an FTA that is double-edged. However, the humour proves successful because he cleverly draws a relationship between two entities belonging to different semantic fields altogether thereby forcing the audience to think beyond the ordinary in order to derive pleasure from the joke. The relationship he draws between a human and a pig paints a clear picture of the illustration he tries to make and this makes the joke vivid to his listeners. A pig is naturally bulky, but the comedian seems to infer that being overweight is a state that is artificially attained either by excessive eating or financial predicaments, and whatever be the case it could be controlled. A pig cannot control its size because it is not human. But humans who are overweight and cannot control what they eat have deliberately refused to be rational, which now makes them non-human. His denigration of overweight people becomes a tool to poke them back to their unique attribute of rational thinking which distinguishes all humans from every other creature.

**Discussion and Concluding Remarks**

Evidence from the excerpts analysed in this study indicates that the Nigerian stand-up comedy is propelled by impolite verbal behaviour. Whether such verbal behaviour stereotypes individuals, social or tribal groups, institutions or other kinds of human entity, it is by far the most salient strategy for humour delivery in NSC. Drawing from traditional approaches to humour studies, we can interpret audience positive reactions to impoliteness in terms of the feeling of superiority over the victims of humiliation and ridicule. In fact, the affiliative responses of the audience through laughter, cheers and applauses are indicative of the success of the jokes and endorsement of the aggression embedded in them. Three questions then arise. First, how can rational beings like us legitimately derive pleasure in the humiliation and denigration of others by humourists? The answer is that it is natural to do so, and as Martin (2007) succinctly puts it, "the cleverness of the logical process involved in interpreting the jokes enables us to distract our attention from the fact that we are deriving pleasure from other people's pain and stupidity" (p. 34). Moreover, there is an inner feeling of safety arising from the realization that we are secure from those disparagement and their emotional effects. Humourists are aware of this aspect of our common humanity, and they exploit it to their own advantage.

The second question is about who or what determines what is impolite or offensive verbal behaviour. Scholars that favour the discursive approach to the (im)politeness phenomenon contend that the evaluation of impolite behaviour lies with  the targets of the action (Culpeper 2005, 2011; Watts 2003; Locher 2012; Haugh 2007; Kecskes 2015). Haugh (2007), for example, says we can know this "through the reciprocation of concern evident in the adjacent placement of expression of concern relevant to the norms invoked in the particular interaction" (p. 301). But in NSC, we have a totally counter scenario. First, it is essentially a monologue; so the situation referred to by Haugh (2007) does not arise. Second, except in very few cases such as that of Gordons and 2face Idibia (Excerpt 2), the target may not be present in the situation. But even if the object of ridicule were present in the show, they are unlikely to retaliate. However, the laughter and applause that greet jokes encoded in verbal attacks are enough indications of their offensiveness. Moreover, "impoliteness is largely a matter of triggering and /or formulating a particular evaluation […] specifically, an interpersonal attitude that is positively or negatively valenced" (Haugh and Culpeper, 2018, p. 230). Such a theory is largely meant to predict an outcome based on certain situations or contexts (Bousfield, 2010, p.125-127). This leads us to the third question. Since impoliteness in the context of entertainment is simply a creative and rhetorical strategy for humorous purposes, can it still be called impoliteness?

As we argued earlier, the answer is yes. If a person is disparaged publicly; if their sexual life is called into question or brought into public scrutiny by the humourist (as in excerpt 2), all things being equal, an impoliteness theory should predict that the person will be hurt whether they respond in kind or not. In this regard, we argue that aggressive verbal behaviour in *this context* has the *potential* to cause emotional distress both for the victim and their 'extended face' such as their sociocultural, ethnic, groups.  Culpeper (2011) states that even if impoliteness were legitimized or sanctioned in a particular context, "this does not mean to say that impoliteness is *neutralized*" (p. 217, our emphasis). In fact, he contends that "bahaviour tends to be more salient than situational factors…" and that "…when experiencing impoliteness, it is difficult to see it *in context* "(p. 218, original emphasis).

This study is based on the notion that Nigerian stand-up comedy thrives on the use of impolite verbal behaviour as a strategy for humour delivery. The creative use of impoliteness enables the comedians to achieve their rhetorical and entertaining purposes, but they do this at the expense of individuals, socio-cultural groups, or other human entities whom they humiliate and denigrate. As Culpeper (1996: 354) observes, "a powerful participant has more freedom to be impolite, because he/she can reduce the ability of the less powerful participant to retaliate…" During a comic narrative, the comedian assumes the authority of the more powerful participant and he/she exercises that undue freedom to humiliate and ridicule his/her victim in the presence of an audience that lends credence and approbation to his art by laughter and applauses. Although impolite verbal acts are socially unacceptable, it appears NSC cannot exist without them.

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# Rhetorics of Human Conditions in the Protest Poems of Oswald Mbuiseni Mtshali

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## Abstract
*The beauty of poetry lies, among other considerations on the judicious use of relevant literary tools to convey the feelings and sensibilities of the poet. These literary devices have been put to use by Mtshali in most of his poetry. This paper however limits its focus to rhetoric - the use of Metaphor and Irony to achieve meaning in some of his poems contained inSounds of a Cowhide Drum. The poems are critically analyzed with emphasis on the efficiency of the mentioned devices. At the end, suggestions are made to potential poets not to ignore the benefits inherent in these devices; while celebrating Mtshali's success and pride of place in poetic communication.*

**Key Words:** Apartheid, Rhetoric, Irony, Metaphor, Protest.

## Introduction
The beauty of poetry lies not only in the theme or the settings. More to that is the judicious use of appropriate poetic devices to effectively drive the message home. Such literary tools task the reader's sense of imagination and sensibilities. The phenomena of Metaphor and Irony in Rhetoric as meaning-signaling devices in modern poetry lend weight to the statement above. Specially, these devices lend weight to the establishment of meaning (M) in poetic communication. As both creative and expressive devices, these tools afford the language user the opportunity to exploit vast authorities of his imagination for effective communication purpose. Mtshali's worth of a pride of place in poetry is justified by his quick resort to these literary tools in his poetry.

## Theoretical Framework
This paper hinges on the Pragmatic and Relevance theories.  Dan Sperber and Deirde Wilson (2002) defined Pragmatic to mean "the study of meaning in context. It deals with the study of linguistic meaning in context, in particular, the inferential construction of meaning. Inferences may be defined as aspects of meaning which are derived from the interaction of the surface form of a linguistic expression with the general context of its production."

Pragmatics is an offshoot or a branch of linguistics that studies the relationship between context and meaning. It is a discipline under linguistics which shows how context contributes to meaning. Pragmatics encompasses speech acts theory, conversational implicature and other approaches to language behaviour. It goes further to study how the transmission of meaning depends not only on structural and linguistic knowledge of the speaker and listener but also on the context of the utterance. As a field of study, pragmatics explains how language users are able to overcome apparent ambiguity since meaning relies on the

manner, place and time of the utterance. Thus, the ability to understand another speaker's intended meaning is called Pragmatic competence.

The Relevance theory is a framework for understanding utterance interpretation first proposed by Dan Sperber and Deidre Wilson and used within cognitive linguistics and pragmatics. Relevance theory aims at explaining that communicators usually convey much more information with their utterances than what is contained in their literal sense. To this end, Sperber and Wilson argue that acts of human verbal communication are ostensive in that they draw their addressees' attention to the fact that the communicator wants to convey some information.

Sperber and Wilson sum up these properties of verbal communication to calling it ostensive – inferential communication. It is characterized by two layers of intentions on the part of the communicator:

a) The Information intention: The intention to inform an audience of something.
b) The Communicative intention: The intention to inform the audience of one's informative intention.

Mtshali's intent to expose the obnoxious and inhuman apartheid policy to the whole world informs his simple language style which justifies hinging this paper on the theories above.

## Literature Review

James Reeves (2007:39) states on Metaphor that it "is one of the most fundamental expressions in language of the human imagination". In Richards Lewis' (2007:85) opinion, perhaps one man that has treated metaphor in a way that has continued to excite rhetoricians, linguists, poets and pundits is Aristotle. Aristotle himself describes metaphor not as an instrument of thoughts but as "an ornamentation; an adornment that best serves the function of clarity and vividness" His discussions which are to be found in the "Rhetoric" and "Poetic" have continued to be highly influential. Hence, a metaphor is seen as an implicit comparison which is based on the principle of analogy.

Diction and style are inevitable applications in poetry. Discussing them in "Poetics", Aristotle observes that "the clearest diction is that which consists of word in everyday use". As far as he is concerned, a diction abounding in unfamiliar usage has dignity, and is raised above the everyday level. Among such usages are loan words, metaphors, expanded forms and "anything else that is out of the ordinary".

Such unusual, but certainly not passive words – the metaphors, the ornamental terms and other figures will prevent the language from being mean and common place, while the everyday words give the ordinary clarity. Here goes Aristotle's summary of metaphor:

The greatest thing by far is to have a command of metaphor.

This alone cannot be imparted by another.

It is the mark of genius. To make good metaphors implies an eye for resemblance. It is important to state however, that this prestigious and generous view of metaphor is not limited to Aristotle alone. Eric and Brahan (2011:11) also state that "all metaphor is poetry" and with this stand, they seem to share the same views with Geoffrey Leech (2001:76), who declares that "we should always be prepared to judge a poet……. by the force and originality of his metaphor". Nkosi (2011:49) opines that metaphor alone can give styles in a kind of eternity".

In language and informal logic, James L. Jarret and Robert T. Harris (2003:61) said of metaphor: "If one wanted to fight against all employment on non-literal language, he would be engaging in a losing battle, for the very existence of language seems to depend on metaphor. In his complementary claims, Richard L.A. (2007:78) maintains that "metaphor is the omnipresent principle of language".

Quite clearly therefore, it becomes obvious that metaphor is required as a major source of expressiveness in language. Hardly can one make comparison between two or more things, whether written or spoken without "closely intertwined with the very texture of human speech." (2010:83)

## Discussion

Mtshali's abundant use of metaphor in his descriptions contributes immensely to achieving deeper meanings in most of his poetry. In discussing the extent of dehumanization in his "Nightfall in Soweto", (11). Mtshali metaphorically states:

> Man has ceased to be man
> Man has become beast
> Man has become prey (11).

These metaphors show the level of dehumanisation in Soweto. In the same poem the poet recalls the resentment generally felt by Blacks at being cooped in drab and dull structures of the meanest architectural design which does not provide any form of security to the Blacks who are hunted at night by the"marauding beast". He metaphorically referred to those lose structures as:

> Matchbox house
> Where I barricade myself against nightfall (12).

In his "Handcuffs" (33), Mtshali paints the piteous picture of the Blacks in South Africa who are always arrested for one minor offense or the other. They are handcuffed and imprisoned for breaking one of the obnoxious laws of the apartheid regime. He proceeds in his poem from the literal pain to the feeling of deep humiliation felt by black men at not being able to attain the full status of human beings because they are denied the basic freedom enjoyed by free men. He states: "My wrists are manacled", a restriction of the freedom of movement. The poet metaphorically refers to the Pass laws which control and restrict the movement of the Blacks.

"My mind is caged," is another restriction to freedom of thought. The metaphor here implies that the right to develop one's intellectual powers and to express one's thought freely is denied.

"My soul is caged" shows a restriction to the freedom of association and expression. The poet's metaphor here implies the erosion of cultural values by means of religious and political indoctrination and the denial of social intercourses amongst the recital groups of South Africa.

"My Metamorphosis" (39) recounts how a young boy (or the personal of this poem) was a delinquent who frequented drinking houses (Shebeans), and soon landed in prison. In the second stanza, the young prisoner's mental torment is represented in the metaphor as a rat shying away at a chunk of cheese. The metaphor of a rodent is continued in the third stanza:

> I am a mouse of sublimation (40).

This time, the poet himself is the mouse and the store of food to be robbed is the very scarce leisure, the time he needs for quiet thoughts and writing.

In "The Face of Hunger" (55), Mtshali paints a pathetic picture of the emaciated body of a young child, all but dead of continual hunger. As usual, the poet is so engrossed in his description to the point that he states metaphorically:"I counted ribs on his concertina chest" (55); which tells us at once that the child is so lean and malnourished that the skin between the ribs has collapsed. What remains of the child are only skin and bone.

**Rhetorics and Irony**
The next devices by which Mtshali attempts (and succeeds) to convey his message and arouse our sympathy are the use of Rhetoric. By using the first person singular "I" in "Nightfall in Soweto", (11) he personalises the suffering and focuses attention on the one victim in front of us - himself, and when he calls out dramatically, hammering away:
> I am the victim
> I am slaughtered.
> I am the prey to be run down by the marauding beast

Mtshali indulges in declamatory repetition for emphasis, and with the rhetorical questions:
> Where is my refuge?
> Where am I safe?

(And followed by)
> Nightfall!  Nightfall!
> Why were you ever created?
> Why can't it be daytime?
> Daytime forever more (11).

Thus, drama, rhetoric and "I" imagery are his major rhetorical weapons in this poem - Nightfall in Soweto (11)
.

In "The coffin", (63) Mtshali merely re-asserts the obvious fact that death spares no one. It is the inevitable and ultimate end of all mortals. It comes to all and it does not respect one's position or age. The coffin is the final vehicle in which mortals will be conveyed to their graves. The dramatic opening of the poem:

 "There it stands glistering" (63)
Is an ironic posture for introducing an object usually associated with death and solemnity. It is also ironic that one can only ride on this vehicle by paying the supreme price. The poem succeeds by its very own ironic humour, which conceals the sting of death and the victory of the grave.

In "In-take Night, Baragwaneth Hospital", (42) Mtshali deals with the scene in the emergency or casualty ward of the hospital on a Friday night. The poet shocks the reader into serious reflection upon the extent to which human beings have been turned into beasts and the general condition of life that results in this degree of dehumanisation. From the vantage point of an on-looker, he surveys the scene and makes the simple but shocking statement: "The ward was like a battlefield" (42)
Then in three successive stanzas, the poet gives the gruesome details of what he saw, smelled and heard in the ward and ending in a simple but devastating ironic statement.

Mtshali's technique is one of a simple statement supported by powerful images, followed by ironic anti-climax:

> So It's Friday night!
> And everybody's enjoying (in pains) (43)

Mtshali is always alert for rhetorical effects, and so presents the collection of instruments in a horrendous climax:

> They bore
> Knife wounds
> Axe wounds
> Bullet wounds
> Burns and lacerations (43)

Thus the poem presents a picture of the horrible conditions of blacks in the townships.

In all, Mtshali's devices here are rhetorical presentation, powerful imagery and the inevitable ironic twist at the end:

> "Everybody is enjoying" (43).

"Boy on a swing", (22) in which a child, after swinging to and fro, asked his mother why the father was jailed. This reminds the reader that in South Africa, even children so soon became aware that there is a place called 'prison' where fathers, brothers and even mothers are sometimes taken and held by the police for weeks, months and even years. Mtshali succeeds in making his indictment by means of a subtle ploy. He deploys the reader far away from the world of adults and their prejudices and worries, into the carefree world of a child at play, only to fling him back into that baneful world from which the boy on the swing seemed so happily remote. So as the swing comes to a standstill the boy, still dazed and uninhibited, like a patient emerging from anesthesia, piles the mother with a flurry of rhetorical questions:

> Mother!
> Where did I come from?
> When will I wear long trousers?
> (And)
> Why was my father jailed? (23)

These rhetorical questions could only have come from children and babies in places like apartheid South Africa. What manner of place is this (apartheid South Africa) where the tender susceptibilities of little children are exposed to the cruel realities of man's inhumanity to man? There lies Mtshali's purpose, message and method (Rhetoric and Irony) to quietly draw the curtain aside so that the world may see. This is a strong protest against man's inhumanity to man.

In "Men in Chains", (53) Mtshali paints a pathetic picture of six prisoners boarding a train at a country station to be conveyed to an unknown destination – 'nowhere'. They are barefooted and their heads are clean-shaved, like 'potato.' They are evidently scantily dressed. Their hands and feet are bound with steel rings, and they looked as cowed and pathetic as cattle about to be slaughtered.

Mtshali's purpose in this poem seems to be to wring pity from the heart of the reader by presenting him with this picture of human beings treated like animals. This is a strong protest against man's social injustice to fellow men. The Poet is pretty well aloof and makes one of the men utter the pathetic plea:

> Oh Dear Sun!
> Won't you warm my heart
> with hope? (53)

In this poem, Mtshali underlines the dehumanised state of the Blacks by presenting them in less-than-human images:

"Men shun of all human honours
> like sheep after shearing
> Bleating at the blistering wind.
> Ankles manacled
> With steel rings…
> Like cattle at the abattoirs
> Shying from the trapdoor (54)

The Poet obviously intends to decoy the utter humiliation of Blacks, using these prisoners as illustration.

"Pigeons at the Oppenheimer Park" (61) castigates the whole apartheid ideology and certain specific obnoxious legislations like the 'Separate Amenities Act' and the 'Immorality Act', as well as attacking the false moral piety of white South Africa.

Tone is the all-important factor here. By pretending to be naive, Mtshali in this poem succeeds in creating a delightfully humorous satire against the ludicrous apartheid enactments. He assumes a mock attitude of offended or outraged propriety at the conduct of birds that flout every known and faithfully observed tenets of the "Holy Ideology" of Apartheid. They (birds) sit anywhere they like, even on "Whites only" benches, and "make love in full view of Madams, Hobosand giggling office girls". Mtshali took in the guise of a simple-minded person, a half-wit, and so can express surprise at the behaviour of birds that do not seem to know the law of the country. The sane onlooker, hearing Mtshali's comments realises how "crazy" the laws are.

The Poet deliberately exposes the ironic incongruity of the whole situation by such incompatibles as "insolent birds", "hallowed benches" and "sacred immorality". He ridicules the system by daring it to arrest and "prosecute" the "trespassing" birds for

> "Defying all authority"
> ''Don't they know the sacred immorality act?'' (61).

The whole piece is a delightful satire in which Mtshali lets loose stinging arrows without risking a cuff on the ear. The cryptic mode is at its best here.

"Ride upon the Death Chariot" (66) has its genesis in the death of three Africans who were arrested by some white policeman and thrown into a "pick-up" van, to be taken to a charge office. On the way the police men stopped and parked the closed "pick-up" van (Black Maria) by the kerb side and walked across the street to a restaurant for a "coke" or something. Entombed in the Black Maria in the scorching South African Sun, the three men yelled and yelled, but their captors, enjoying their drink and a chat with the shop assistant could not be bothered by the senseless cries of the natives". They returned to the van at their own sweet time, to find the three black men stone dead.

Mtshali uses this poem to demonstrate the callousness of the white authorities in dealing with Blacks. His intention is to call for public condemnation of the treatment of Blacks by Whites in general and by those in positions of authority in particular. As usual, the poet's rhetoric tone is one of an aloof and uninvolved reporter of events as they happened. What a silent (but loud) protest.

**Conclusion**

A close look at the pattern of human expression, whether in the form of artistic or ordinary communication shows that metaphor is an undying force. It is a delight in the sense that it thrives on shock to convey its message. It is an omnipresent phenomenon which douses whatever speculations there may be that claims about metaphor are ordinary. Metaphor is a unifying force in rhetoric and discourse, granted that other artistic devices exist side by side with it to fulfill the communicative exigencies of the language user. Coupled with the device of irony and rhetoric, Mtshail's appropriation of metaphor enriches his language use. These devices also enable him to achieve tremendous expressiveness and meaning (M) in his poetry. A celebration of Mtshali's success as a poet cannot be complete without an appreciation of his appropriate use of these devices – Metaphor, Irony and Rhetoric. This justifies all claims and assumptions that metaphor, irony and rhetoric are meaning signaling devices in poetic communication. Images and expressions become clearer in the mind through the use of appropriate figures of speech.

It is therefore strongly recommended to prospective poets not to underestimate or down-play on the potency of these literary tools in driving home meaning and the theme of any poem. Such would - be writers or poets should Endeavour to apply the appropriate figures of speech in their adventure into poetic communication.

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# An Analysis of Thematic Structures in Congratulatory Messages of Selected World Leaders to President Muhammadu Buhari on Nigeria's 59th Independence Anniversary

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## Abstract

This paper analyses the thematic structures in congratulatory messages of some world leaders on the occasion of Nigeria's 59th Independence Anniversary using Systemic Functional Grammar as a theoretical model. Messages by three leaders are selected and lebelled Texts A, B and C, accordingly. All the thematic structures in the texts are identified and analysed into themes and rhemes. The themes are classified based on their types and discussed. From the finding, the topical theme is the most employed type as it occurs thirteen (13) times: 9, 3 and 1 in Texts A, B and C, respectively. Nouns, pronouns and nominal groups are the linguistic items used as topical themes in the texts. In terms of number, the topical theme is followed by textual theme which occurs four (4) times: 2 each in Texts A and B. Conjunctions and conjunctive adjuncts are employed as textual themes. Then interpersonal theme is the least occurring type as only three (3) are identified: 1 and 2 in Texts A and B, accordingly. Vocative and modal comment are the identified interpersonal themes in the texts. The paper concludes that thematic structures in all the texts reveal that the texts are meant to extend goodwill message on the occasion of Nigeria's 59th independence anniversary, however, Text A expresses a high level of concern because it employs the highest number of main messages through the use of themes and it is the only text the uses the first person plural pronoun 'we' as topical theme in order to establish a strong affinity between the sender and the receiver.

**Keywords:** Thematic Structures, Congratulatory Messages, World Leaders, Mohammadu Buhari, Independence Anniversary

## Introduction

In Systemic Functional Grammar (henceforth SFG), clause is described in three ways, namely: clause as representation, clause as exchange and clause as message. The concern of this paper lies in the area of clause as message because the paper is on thematic structure. According to Halliday and Mathienssen (2004), thematic structure is what gives the clause its character as a message while the analysis is basically concerned with the main part of a message (theme) and its elaborative part (rheme) in the clauses of a given text, whether spoken or written. This paper presents the themes and rhemes in congratulatory messages of selected world leaders to President Muhammadu Buhari on Nigeria's 59th Independence Anniversary Day with a view to provide an interpretation of the messages for better understanding of their meanings.

This paper aims at exploring the thematic structures in the congratulatory messages by identifying and analyzing them into themes and rhemes. The themes are then classified based on their types and discussed. To do that, SFG, specifically Hallidayan SFG, is the

model adopted in the analysis. This is because SFG being a text grammatical model is the most suitable for research of this type.

The data for this work are the congratulatory messages to Nigerian President on the occasion of 2019 Independence Day. These are messages from three world leaders: the US President, the King of Morocco and the Queen of England. The messages are then lebelled Text A, Text B and Text C, accordingly. The selection of messages has been on the basis of their appearance in the public domain. The US President's message came in on the anniversary day and the two other messages came in on the following day. Geographical locations and significance of the three leaders to Nigeria have also been considered while selecting the texts. All the messages were downloaded and thematically analysed.

### The Concept of the Systemic Functional Grammar

In conducting contemporary grammatical researches, SFG appears to be the most trending and the most used grammatical model. This is not far from the fact that SFG is concerned with grammatical categorization of linguistic items (like other grammatical models such as the traditional grammar and structuralist grammar), but has also been concerned with meaning of text (be it spoken or written), its use, as well as its interpretation. The chief exponent of this grammar is Micheal Alexendar Kirkwood Halliday. Halliday (1994) clearly states that his theory is largely based on Firthian Systemic Structure Theory, but derives some Prague School ideas and more abstract principles from Hjelmslev.

According to him, language serves three Metafunctions in general; namely: ideational, interpersonal and textual. The ideational metafunction concerns with how language serves the function of conveying human experience about the world. It is subdivided into experiential and logical. The former is concerned with content and ideas, while the latter deals with the relationship between ideas (Bloor and Bloor, 2004). The use of language to enable people to communicate with one another, to express feelings, attitudes and subjective judgements is known as interpersonal metafunction, while the use of language to relate what is said (or written) to the rest of the text and to other linguistic events or the organization of the text itself is known as textual metafunction (Bloor and Bloor, 2004: 10-11). The concern of the present paper is in the area of textual metafunction (being a language function involving organization of text itself), specifically thematic structure.

### Thematic Structure

As earlier stated, thematic structure is the structure that gives the clause its character as a message (Halliday and Mathiessen, 2004). For Bloor and Bloor (2004), it is a system of analysis involved in text organization and like information structure (the structure of given and new information), it operates at the level of clause. Bloor and Bloor further add that all full clauses have thematic structure but not in short expressions such as *Hi* and *Good morning.* More so, the constituents of thematic structure are *Theme* and *Rheme.*

### Theme and Rheme

In a clause, the main part of the message is known as the Theme, while its elaborative part is the Rheme. Thus, the Theme occurs at the initial slot of a clause, while the Rheme is the part that immediately follows to make the message contained in a clause complete. Halliday (1985: 38) first defines theme as 'the starting point of message'. Later Halliday and

Mathienssen's (2004: 64-65), redefine the theme as 'the element which serves as the point of departure of message; it is that which locates and orients the clause within its context'. They add that 'the remainder of the message, the part in which the theme developed, is called in Prague School terminology the Rheme'. They further assert that 'a clause consists of a Theme accompanied by a Rheme; and the structure is expressed by order- whatever is chosen as the Theme is put first'.  Examples:

(1)  *//* Nowadays (**theme**), the Nigerian political terrain is peaceful (**rheme**).*//*
(2)  // The Nigerian political terrain (**theme**) is peaceful nowadays (**rheme**).//

**Types of Theme**

It is worthy of note to state here that while Theme is divided into types and subcomponents, Rheme is not. Thus, we shall discuss the types of Theme in this section. There are three major types of Theme; namely: topical theme; textual theme; and interpersonal theme.

*Topical Theme*

When the theme of a clause is the subject of that same clause, it is said to be topical (also known as unmarked theme) as in.

(3)  //They (**topical theme**) will travel tomorrow//.

*Textual Theme*

Textual theme can be a conjunction like *and, but* and *so,* a continuative expression such as *well* or *anyway* when used before topical theme to indicate a speaker/writer is about to continue an idea or argument. And conjunctive adjuncts like *then, therefore, nevertheless* and *however* are often but not always identified as textual themes (Bloor and Bloor, 2004). Example:

(4)   // Well, (**textual theme**) they will travel tomorrow.//

*Interpersonal Theme*

Linguistic items such as *honestly, possibly, really, probably* and *presumably,* committing a speaker to the truth or correctness, certainty or strength of the proposition that follows, and those linguistic items like *unfortunately, tragically, clearly* and *happily*, expressing a speaker's attitude to something or evaluation of situation which are used before a topical theme are known as interpersonal themes (Bloor and Bloor, 2004). Example:

(5)  //Honestly, (**interpersonal theme**) the boy is good at Syntax.//

Interpersonal themes can be classified into: vocative, modal comment adjunct and finite verbal operator. An interpersonal theme is said to be *vocative* when it is typically, not necessarily, a personal name other common names used to address, it is *modal comment adjunct* if it expresses speaker's or writer's judgement or attitude to the content of message and it is *finite verbal operator* if it marks tense or polarity in yes/no interrogatives (Halliday and Mathienssen, 2004). Examples:

*Vocative as Interpersonal Theme*

(6)  //**Hiba,** do you like the bag.// (personal name*)*
(7)  //**Ladies and gentlemen,** you have to listen carefully.//(other names*)*

*Modal Comment Adjunct as Interpersonal Theme*

(8)  // **Clearly**, we are the losers. // (speaker's/writer's judgement)
(9)  //**Sadly**, we were defeated in the match.// (attitude to the content of message)

*Finite Verbal Operator as Interpersonal Theme*

(10) // **Did** he write the letter?// (primary auxiliary)
(11) //**Could** I use your pen?// (modal auxiliary)

**Choice of Theme in Varieties of Clauses**
Choice of themes could be based on mood and structure of a clause. Only the choice of theme in clause based on mood are discussed in this paper.
*Choice of Theme in Clause Based on Mood*
        Themes are chosen based on the mood of clause in which they appear, be it declarative, interrogative or imperative. According to Halliday and Mathienssen (2014), the choice of theme in an English clause depends on the choice of mood. Here are some examples:
*Theme in Declarative Clauses*
In declarative clauses, themes are identified as marked or unmarked. A marked theme in declarative clause is one which is not the subject of the clause but realized as textual or interpersonal theme preceding the topical theme, while unmarked is one as the subject or a topical theme not preceded by any other theme.
(12) //**Next week**, the lecture will hold.// (**marked theme** in declarative clause)
(13) //**The lecture** will hold next week.// (**unmarked theme** in declarative clause)
*Theme in Interrogative Clauses*
Themes are identified at the initial position in both polar and WH-interrogative clauses. Even questions that simply begin with H are treated as WH-interrogative clauses. In polar interrogative clause, theme includes both the finite verb operator and the subject. The former is regarded as unmarked and the latter as marked, making it to always appear as multiple theme. However, in WH-interrogative clause, the theme can be realized as either simple consisting of only one item usually unmarked or multiple consisting of both marked and unmarked elements. Examples:
(14) //**Did you** eat food.// (themes 1 and 2 in polar interrogative, **marked** followed by **unmarked**)
(15) //**What** is her name?// (simple theme in WH-interrogative)
(16) // **And how long** will it take you to get there?// (multiple themes in WH-interrogative)

**Previous Works on Thematic Structure**
 Researchers had previously done different works on thematic structure. For example, To (2018) presents a thematic structure of reading comprehension texts in English textbooks. The work employs SFG as a theoretical framework as the present study intends to do. While the work of To (2018) concentrates on thematic structures in reading comprehension texts, the present study dwells on thematic structures in selected Radio Nigeria network news commentaries. That means the works relate in terms of thematic structure. To carry out the work, To (2018) selects twenty-four (24) reading comprehension texts across four levels of education namely: elementary, pre-intermediate, intermediate and upper-intermediate. Various themes are identified and analysed descriptively.

The analysis reveals tripartite findings of the work. First, it shows that simple themes (which include marked and unmarked themes) are mostly used across all the levels, followed by multiple themes, while clausal themes are used the least. Second, the number of multiple and clausal themes increases with regard to the textbook levels from low to high. However, the simple themes demonstrate a decreasing pattern. Third, among the varieties of multiple themes, the experiential and textual themes are significantly found in all the four books, compared with that of interpersonal ones. A conclusion is drawn that a variety of themes are

employed in reading texts across all the levels, contributing to the coherent organization of the analysed texts.

Khedri and Ebrahimi (2012) is another work on thematic structure. It is a review of article which aims at presenting the essence of thematic structure in the academic translated texts. It identifies and discusses major areas that concern thematic structure, thematic organisation, thematic progression and thematisation and translations.

The work is divided into three sections, the first being the introduction, dwells on thematic structure (specifically theme and rheme), thematic organization (which includes topical, interpersonal, textual, simple and multiple themes) and thematic progression (the link between sequential themes of clauses within a given text). In the second section, various previous works on thematisation and translation are presented. Lastly, the conclusion forms the third section of the work. It concludes that thematic structures are greatly effective and valuable tools in translation process as obtained from the review of previous works presented in the paper. The paper seems related to the present study in terms of theoretical framework and thematic structure.

Furthermore, the effect of explicit teaching of thematic structure and generic structure on English as a second language (henceforth ESL) students' writing quality and motivation has been the focus in Albufalasa (2013), a doctoral thesis. The thematic structure portion of the work remains the area of concern giving its relevance to the present study. The work employs Systemic Functional Grammar as its theoretical framework just like the present one.

To obtain data for the study, a 14-week quasi experiment was conducted in a university in Bahrain during the first semester of 2011-2013 session. A mix method is employed to collect the data: quantitative and qualitative. The quantitative data is obtained through writing test and filling in questionnaires, while the qualitative data is obtained via semi-structured interviews. Four groups are used: one controlled group and three experimental groups. The latter groups are given three treatments: thematic structure (TS), generic structure (GS) and a combination of thematic and generic groups (TGS). Pre-, mid- and post-tests are administered on all the groups. The scripts were marked and the scores are calculated statistically.

The results of the work reveal significant differences among the four groups, but no difference was obtained from the three experimental groups. It was found that the students in the experimental groups wrote more coherently and cohesively than those of the controlled group.

Subsequently, an in-depth analysis of the post-test scripts of experimental group is carried out to assess hidden differences. The findings unveil differences between TS, GS and TGS in two thematic progression patterns. More so, questionnaires and interviews are used before and after the intervention. The questionnaires are administered on all the groups, but only the experimental groups are interviewed. The findings here show that the motivation and attitudes of the three experimental groups have been improved towards learning and writing in English. Lastly, it is concluded that the study highlights a number of contributions in the light of implementing thematic and generic structures in ESL writing classroom.

Aminu (2016) is also another work that involves the analysis of thematic structure. It is aimed at studying Barack Obama's second term inaugural speech using the Systemic Functional Grammar approach. The speech, being the data for the study, is downloaded from the internet. Arabic numeral and sentence and clause boundary markers are used to identify the sentences and clauses in the speech. Process types alongside their participants, themes/rhemes and cohesive devices in all the clauses are also identified and presented, thereby indicating their frequency of occurrence and percentage distributions.

The work has recorded findings on process types and their participants, cohesive devices and theme/rheme. However, only the finding on theme/rheme is presented here considering its relevance to the present work. The finding shows that varieties of themes are used in the speech, but the pronoun '*we*' which refers to the people of America including Barack Obama himself, is the most occurring theme, followed by the demonstrative '*that*' and then the phrase '*our journey*' , whereas the least occurring theme is the adverb '*together*'. Although not stated in the work, a close look at these themes from the speech attached to the appendix of the work, suggests that '*we*', '*that*' and '*our journey*' are topical themes, while '*together*' is interpersonal theme. The study concludes that systemic functional grammar plays a vital role in bringing out meanings in Obama's speech to close the distance between the speech and a reader through helping the reader to understand the intention and message the speech conveys.

**Result and Analysis**
This section presents and analyses the result obtained from Texts A, B and C. The table below presents frequency of occurrence and percentage distribution of the topical, interpersonal and textual themes obtained from the result. It comprises all the themes in Texts A, B and C.

Table 1: The Varieties of the Themes in Texts A, B and C

| Type of Theme | Texts | | | Frequency of occurrence | Percentage distributions |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **A** | **B** | **C** | | |
| **Topical** | 9 | 3 | 1 | 13 | 65% |
| **Interpersonal** | 1 | 2 | -- | 3 | 15% |
| **Textual** | 2 | 2 | -- | 4 | 20% |
| **Total** | **12** | **7** | **1** | **20** | **100%** |

Table 1 shows that twenty (20) themes are identified in the data. Of this number, thirteen (13) or 65% are topical: 8, 3 and 1 in Texts A, B and C, respectively; three (3) or 15% are interpersonal: 1 in Text A and 2 in Text B; four (4) or 20% are textual: 2 each in Texts A and B. That means the topical theme is the highest occurring type, followed by the interpersonal theme, whereas the least recorded theme has been the textual.

*Topical Themes*
All the topical themes found represent what the clause in which they appear are all about. That means they are the topics or subjects of the clauses. Examples:
    *Text A*
(17) //Nigeria (**topical theme**) is among our strongest partners in Africa (**rheme**).//

*Text B*

(18) // I **(topical theme)** should like Your Excellency to know how satisfied I am with the steady,  positive evolution of Moroccan-Nigerian relation **(rheme)**.//

*Text C*

(19) // It **(topical theme)** gives me great pleasure to send to Your Excellency my congratulations         on the celebration of your National Day… **(rheme)**//

From examples 17 to 19 above, it can be seen that **'we', 'I'** and **'Nigeria'** are the themes in the clauses they appear and are regarded as topical themes because they stand as the topics of subjects of the clauses. Furthermore, varieties of linguistic items are identified in the topical theme slots. These include nouns, pronouns and nominal groups. The below table is a guide:

Table 2: Varieties of the Linguistic Items as Topical Themes in Texts A, B and C

| Linguistic Items Identified as Topical Theme | Text | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **A** | **B** | **C** | **Total** |
| I | 3 | 3 | -- | 6 |
| We | 3 | -- | -- | 3 |
| It | -- | -- | 1 | 1 |
| Nigeria | 1 | -- | -- | 1 |
| United States | 1 | -- | -- | 1 |
| Our Vice Presidents | 1 | -- | -- | 1 |

Table 2 reveals the varieties of linguistic items used as topical themes which include the noun 'Nigeria', the pronouns 'I', 'we', 'it' and the nominal groups 'United States' and 'our Vice Presidents'. More so, text A employs all the three varieties of linguistic items as topical themes, while Text B and C only use pronouns. Subsequently, only Text A employs the first person plural pronoun 'we' which indicates a strong affinity between the sender of Text A (US President) and the receiver (Nigeria's President). No such topical theme is used in the other texts.

*Interpersonal Themes*

Interpersonal themes are found in Texts A and B. However, no such theme is identified in Text C. Examples:

*Text A*

(20) // On behalf of the American people, **(interpersonal theme)** I **(topical theme)** extend our     warmest greetings (**rheme**).

*Text B*

(21) //Thanks **(interpersonal theme)** to our shared desire to inject strong momentum into our ties **(rheme)**.//

The interpersonal theme **'on behalf of the American people'** in example 20, has committed the speaker to the proposition **'I extend our warmest greetings'** and to the truth of what is said therein. In example, 21 the interpersonal theme '**thanks**' reveals the speakers attitude and evaluation of the bilateral relation between the two nations, Morocco and Nigeria in this case. Of the three subclasses of the interpersonal themes, two are found in the result and are presented below:

Table 3: Subclasses of Interpersonal Themes in Texts A, B and C

| Subclass of Interpersonal Theme | Text | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | A | B | C |
| Vocative | 1 | -- | -- |
| Modal Comment | -- | 2 | -- |

The interpersonal theme **'on behalf of the American people'** in Text A is *Vocative* because it is common name used by the US President to address his fellow compatriots. On the contrary, the interpersonal themes '**thanks'** and **'keenly'** in Text B are both *Modal Comment* as they express the attitude of King of Morocco the content of the message sent to Nigeria's President.

  *Textual Theme*

Also, textual themes are found in Texts A and B. However, no such theme is identified in Text C. Examples:

  *Text A*

(22) //and (**textual theme**)…congratulate you on the 59th Anniversary of Nigeria's Independence (**rheme**).//

  *Text B*

. (23) //I (topical theme) therefore **(textual theme)** keenly (interpersonal theme) look forward to pressing ahead with our joint action to strengthen our relations the fullest extent possible, **(rheme)**//

In example 22 and 23, '**and'** and '**therefore'** are realized as textual themes. The '**and'** in example 22 is a conjunction which links the clause in which it is employed with the immediate preceding clause. The ellipsis dots after the textual theme '**and'** reveals that there is an elliptical topical theme in that slot which has antecedent in the immediate preceding clause as well. While, the '**therefore'** in example 23 is a conjunctive adjunct that connects the clause in which it appears with the clause immediately before it. Below is a table showing the sub-categorisation of the textual themes in the data.

Table 4: Sub-categorisation of Textual Themes into Continuative and Conjunctive Adjunct

| Subcategory of Textual Theme | Text | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | A | B | C |
| Conjunction | 2 | 1 | -- |
| Conjunctive adjunct | -- | 1 | -- |

The next table presents the classification of the themes obtained from the result into simple and multiple. It shows the cumulative their frequency of occurrence alongside percentages in Texts A, B and C.

Table 5: Classification Themes into Simple and Multiple in Texts A, B and C

| Type of Theme | Texts | | | Frequency of occurrence | Percentage distributions |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | A | B | C | | |
| **Simple** | 6 | 3 | 1 | 10 | 66.67% |
| **Multiple** | 3 | 2 | -- | 5 | 33.33% |
| **Total** | **9** | **5** | **1** | **15** | **100%** |

All the themes identified are subsumed into two simple and multiple as presented in Table 5. The table reveals that ten (10), accounting for 66.67% are simple: 6, 3 and 1 in Texts A,

B and C, accordingly, while five (5), accounting for 33.33% are multiple: 3 and 2 in Texts A and B, respectively, but no such theme is found in Text C. This shows that simple themes outweigh the multiple ones by exactly 50%.

***Simple Theme***

Each of the simple themes found is made up of single theme which is virtually a topical one, because they serve as the topic of the clause in which they are employed. As can be seen from Table 5, all the texts have simple themes. For example:

*Text A*

(24) // I **(simple theme)** wish the people of Nigeria continued success as you mark another year of  Independence **(rheme)**.//

*Text B*

(25) // I **(simple theme)** am sure this will help us serve our peoples' interest **(rheme)**//

*Text C*

(26). // It **(simple theme)** gives me great pleasure to send to Your Excellency my congratulations  on the celebration of your National Day…**(rheme)//.**

Examples 24, 25 and 26 have one theme each realized as 'I', 'I' and 'It', respectively. Thus, they are all simple themes.

*Multiple Theme*

With the exception of the Text C, there have been multiple themes spread across the result. The multiple themes have two themes each besides one of them which has three themes. Below are some examples:

*Text A*

(27) // and **(textual theme)**  we **(topical theme)** want to see Boko Haram and ISIS-West Africa    driven out of the region and other insurgencies like them dismantled **(rheme)**.//

*Text B*

(28) //I **(topical theme)** therefore **(textual theme)** keenly **(interpersonal theme)** look forward to          pressing ahead with our joint action to strengthen our relations the fullest extent possible, **(rheme)**//

Example 27 has two themes: the textual theme '**and**' and the topical the **'we'**, while example 28 recorded up to three themes: the topical theme **'I'** the textual theme **'therefore'** and the interpersonal theme **'keenly'**. It means both of them have multiple themes and multiple themes could constitute of two or more themes.

However, where themes happened to be multiple only one is unmarked, while the rest: one or two is marked. This leads us to the classification of themes obtained from the result, into marked and unmarked as presented in table 6 below.

Table 6: Classification Themes into Marked and Unmarked in Texts A, B and C

| Type of Theme | Texts | | | Frequency of occurrence | Percentage distributions |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **A** | **B** | **C** | | |
| **Marked** | 3 | 3 | -- | 6 | 33.33% |
| **Unmarked** | 9 | 3 | 1 | 12 | 66.67% |
| **Total** | **12** | **6** | **1** | **18** | **100%** |

Table 6 shows that the marked themes are fewer to unmarked ones. The former are just six (6): 3 each in Texts A and B, which accounts for 33.33%, while the latter are up to twelve (12): 9, 3 and 1 in Texts A, B and C, respectively, which stands 66.67%.

### *Marked and Unmarked Themes*

The analysis reveals that Texts A and B have marked themes while no such type is found in Text C. Examples:

*Text A*

(29) // On behalf of the American people, (**marked theme**) I (**unmarked theme**) extend warmest greetings (**rheme**).//

*Text B*

(30) //and **(textual theme)**…contribute to the unity and development on our continent **(rheme)**.//

In examples 29, the marked theme is **'On behalf of the American people'** preceding the unmarked theme **'I'**. In example 30, the marked is **'and',** while the unmarked is the elliptical subject. The marked theme in example 29 is an interpersonal theme employed for the purpose of focus or emphasis, whereas the one in example 30 is textual theme used to bind the preceding clause with the one in which it is used. As for the unmarked themes, they are the subjects (topical themes) of the clauses. So, marked theme, can either be interpersonal or textual theme, while unmarked theme is always a topical theme realized as the subject of the clause in which it appears.

### Conclusion

In conclusion, although thematic structures in all the texts reveal that the texts are meant to extend goodwill message on the occasion of Nigeria's 59th Independence Anniversary, Text A expresses a high level of concern for many reasons obtainable from the result. For instance, text A has recorded the highest number of themes (main parts of the messages) on which the sender built the rhemes (eloborative parts of the messages) to pass to the receiver, followed by Text B and lastly Text C. Also, all the texts have pronouns as topical themes, but only Text A employs the first person plural pronoun 'we' as topical theme which tries to establish a strong affinity between the sender (US President) and the receiver (Nigeria's President).

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# Landscape and Narrative: A Postcolonial Ecocritical Reading of Adamu Kyuka Usman's *The Death of Eternity*

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**Abstract**

*This paper centres on Adamu Kyuka Usman's narrative, The Death of Eternity (2012) and its preoccupation with fundamental concerns of industrialization, resource exploitation, ecological imperialism and contamination, which are rapidly smouldering indigenous forests, farmlands, and rivers into ecologically polluted and devastated landscape. The novel, The Death of Eternity foregrounds the relationship that exists between landscape, economic development, toxicity, infections and resource exploitation. In view of these, the text illuminates the dire need for a renewed sense of place in an epoch where desertification, deforestation, climate change, pollution, disease, and environmental degradation have become the order of the day. This paper employs postcolonial ecocriticism as a theoretical framework to explicate the present-day ecological discourses alongside the challenges that industrial development, ecological imperialism, and natural resource exploitation create on the exploited, less-privileged people and their sources of livelihood. The study evaluates the extent to which literary works document and critique representations of ecological crises on human and non-human, in addition to the misery that their complex interface creates on the African space. Taken together, Adamu Kyuka Usman's selected work under study is a commitment to the planet and a call for socio-environmental justice and sustainability.*

**Keywords:** Postcolonial Ecocriticism, Discourse, Ecological Imperialism, Industrialization, Toxicity

**Introduction**

This paper examines Adamu Kyuka Usman's *The Death of Eternity* (2012) as an ecological narrative that interrogates man-nature connection and how man's opportunistic relationship imperils the natural environment with grave ecological complications which pose threats to the present and future wellbeing of the ecosystem and its occupants. This concern assesses diverse environmental communications as postcolonial African environmental literary writers such as the martyred Ken Saro Wiwa, Mathai Wangari, Niyi Osundare, Tanure Ojaide, Helon Habila, Kaine Agary, Adamu Kyuka Usman and a host of others mobilize to depict and protest against such ecological menace through their literary oeuvres. Fundamental to this signification, Graham Huggan and Helen Tiffin (33) explain that:

> Postcolonial writers have a valuable contribution to make
> towards the ongoing debates about social, and economic
> developments in many regions of the colonised

world….The primary function of much of this literature has been that of global consciousness-raising in a wide variety of postcolonial contexts in which the twin demands of social and environmental justice are consciously displayed.

On this note, this study deploys the poetics of postcolonial ecocriticism on Usman's *The Death of Eternity* to evaluate issues that border on natural resource exploitation, contamination or toxicity, industrial development in contemporary epoch. It also examines the relationship between the natives and the invaders as it relates to ecological disconnection and imperialism, hence the investigation of how these uneven interrelationships degenerate into contemporary eco-tragedies that elicit what Usman calls "the death of eternity".

The writer, Adamu Kyuka Usman is one of Nigeria's modern writers, who has many literary works to his credit such as *Hope in Anarchy* (1993)*, The Village Tradesman* (2005), *The Last Saints* (2005), *The Death of Eternity* (2007), *My Headmaster* (2010)*, The Butcher's Wife* (2011)*, Bivan's House* (2010)*,* and *The Disappointed Three* (2012). From an environmental activist perspective, he engages in socio-environmental discourse geared towards exposing contemporary realities of social inequalities, poverty, pollution, and ecological plundering. His works thematise the quandaries prevalent in the postcolonial Nigerian space. Consequently, the text of study, *The Death of Eternity* is constructed within the ideology of socio-economic-cum-ecological justice. It investigates the hegemonic tendencies between man and the environment, the first world and the third world countries. As an eco-literature, *The Death of Eternity* examines the interconnection between man and the natural world alongside the way man's activities largely modify the environment negatively. The novel draws attention to the struggles of Tibor, a Hungarian and an eco-proselytizer who travels down to Africa to impart environmental wisdom among the natives who are ignorantly contaminating the soil with chemical fertilizers in attempt to improve productivity, thereby despoiling the soil and other elements therein. As a postcolonial text, *The Death of Eternity* criticises the deleterious effects of land degeneration and biodiversity loss - a reflection of the ecosystem's frailty. The text, ridicules the Nigerian capitalists and multinational companies for degrading the African ecosphere with toxic waste. From a postcolonial ecocritical outlook, the writer, Adamu Kyuka Usman revolts and resists the pauperisation of indigenous people's flora, fauna, water and landscape, which escalates environmental and social dilemma.

**Postcolonial Ecocriticism as a Theoretical Framework**
Postcolonial Ecocriticism is a marriage between two literary concepts: postcolonial and ecocritical theories. Lawrence Buell in one of his recent books, *The Future of Environmental Criticism: Environmental Crisis and Literary Imagination* calls for "a convergence of environmental and postcolonial critique" (81) which probably theorises postcolonial ecocriticism. Postcolonial Ecocriticism is a variety that addresses "concerns of conquest, colonization, racism, sexism along with its investments in theories of indigeneity and diaspora and the relations between native and invader, societies, and cultures" (Graham and Tiffin, 6). For Alia Afzal (4), "Post-colonial ecocritical studies takes the challenge to respond to these two separate fields; post-colonial and ecocriticism, by studying the environment as a complete body composed of humans, animals, and land. It redirects critical thinking

towards the relationship between humans (indigenous and foreign), land and humans and nonhumans" believing that contemporary postcolonial crises are inextricably linked with ecological crises, hence the need to challenge these imperial modes of social and ecological dominance.

Numerous works have engaged the intersection of ecocriticism with post-colonial cultural studies. For example, Serpil Oppermann (4) comments that:

> Like post-colonial studies, ecocriticism is a heterogeneous field of study that does not correspond to any unified discourse. Although internally varied, ecocritical discourses converge on non-anthropocentric knowledge practices, which entail a consensual focus to address and conceptualize the global environmental crisis in socio-cultural and literary contexts. Ecocriticism focuses on this condition of interfaced reality that points to the ways in which culture and nature are closely entwined. Post-colonialism, however, prioritizes an ostensibly anthropocentric vision, exploring cultural models and methods that account for the relations of power in the "discursive division between the First and the Third Worlds, the North and the South (4).

In the same vein, Bonnie Roos and Alex Hunt maintain that:

> Increasingly, ecocritics have come to emphasize that environmental problems cannot be solved without addressing issues of wealth and poverty, over consumption, underdevelopment and resource scarcity, while post-colonial critics have highlighted the ways in which historical struggles over colonial and neo-colonial power structures as well as contemporary conflicts over economic globalization have involved and continue to revolve around fundamental environmental questions of, for example, land ownership, energy needs, uses of natural resources, agricultural production systems, pollution, exposure to risk and local and global patterns of consumption. This intertwining of concerns over social justice and environmental conservation has led scholars to speak of a productive overlap and opportunities for a fruitful alliance between the two critical/theoretical schools… (252).

To reinforce the above excerpt, Upamanyu Pablo Mukherje remarks that "Surely any field purporting to theorize the global conditions of colonialism and imperialism…cannot but consider the complex interplay of environmental categories such as water, land, energy, habitat, and migration with political or cultural categories such as the state, society, conflict, literature…" (144). Thus, racism, environmental imperialism and anthropocentricism as matters of concern are intrinsically interwoven. Hence, the interconnection between postcolonial and ecocritical theories become paramount in negating these contemporary environmental and social injustices.

In addition, issues that have risen in the dialogue between postcolonialism and ecocriticism have also been envisioned by environmental justice ecocriticism- one of the strains of "second wave" ecocriticism. Lawrence Buell, declares that in many ways, postcolonial ecocritical work can be linked with "second wave" ecocriticism which focuses on the positionality of environmental representation and knowledge and which has thus, expanded ecocriticism and embraced cross-cultural dialogue. "Second Wave" investigations emphasize nature's relationship to the realm of politics – including the importance of political categories such as gender, class, race, sexuality, and environmental justice to investigate nature's ideological construction including the ways nature is conceptually manipulated. Still, postcolonial ecocriticism brings a focus both on global imperial contexts and on parts of the world often eluded even by second wave ecocritics whose expertise remain predominately in American and British literatures.

Significantly, postcolonial ecocritical framework is important in understanding the ways in which the ecosystem or nature is conceptualised by culture or the society in literature. Susie O'Brien and Anthony Vital suggest that "post-colonial ecocritics often explore how discourses of nature and the environment have been shaped by the history of empire" (in DeLoughrey and Handley 10). Postcolonial ecocritics also capture the predicament obvious in conserving endangered ecosystems and animals when the livelihoods of local/subaltern peoples are concurrently put at risk. In the same vein, Huggan and Tiffin argue that "human liberation will never be fully achieved without radically challenging (how) human societies have constructed themselves in (hierarchical) relation to other societies, both human and non-human" (214) as they insist on imagining new ways in which societies can be transformed to ecologically bond with the natural and more than human world. Consequently, postcolonial ecocritics

> Pits against colonizing nations, transnational corporations and international organizations such as World Bank, W.T.O and IMF- all of which are quite frequently described as historically and institutionally… agents of environmental destruction against indigenous peoples, third-world farmers and workers whose sustainable ways of life in self-balancing ecosystems are overpowered, undercut and disrupted with somewhat varying assessments of what chance there might be of political, economic, or cultural resistance to these processes… (Bonnie and Alex 254).

Therefore, postcolonial ecocriticism explores the relationship between contemporary environmental crises and the society by offering diverse ways of how to approach harmony of humans and nature locally, nationally, and globally. Subsequently, the selected fictional work, *The Death of Eternity* as an environmental writing and a protest literature pays critical attention to the natural elements (landscape, flora, fauna, wildlife, water, etc) which are often altered and manipulated by the ruling authorities in the name of civilisation. Adamu Kyuka Usman, uses his creative work to open spaces of how the ecology in Nigeria, Africa, and the real world which have experienced unequal biases and imbalances might be transformed thereby, substantiating the postcolonial ecocritical axiom that there is no social justice without ecological justice.

**The Writer and Ecological Proselytization in *The Death of Eternity***
In the wake of the 20th century till date, the ecosphere has been exposed to pollution, global warming, climate change and myriad of ecological issues causing health challenges and death among humans and non-humans. Given these current ecological menaces, the place of literature and the writer in creating or raising ecological consciousness in the society cannot be undermined. In this light, Usman through the spellbinding title, *The Death of Eternity* conveys the sociological-cum-ecological concerns in the postcolonial Nigerian space as a representation of the third world countries. He appraises the hegemonic tendencies of man over the environment, which often emanates from the anthropocentric altitudes and the erroneous belief that the natural environment is merely an object to be eploited for economic benefits not minding the reversal effect of such on the flora, fauna, rivers and animals. In the novel, Usman communicates his environmental concerns through Tibor, a European eco proselytizer and activist who abandons the comfort of his home country, Hungary and sails down to the Dark Continent (Africa) to preach ecological wisdom. He emphasizes the benefits of ecological practices among Africans and the exigent need to preserve the planet as well as defend the landscape from imperialists. Through careful characterization and settings, Usman lends credence to environmental commitment within the circumscription of postcolonial ecocriticism as Gomides corroborates that "it is the field of enquiry that analyses and promotes works of art which raises moral questions about human interaction with nature, while also motivating audiences to live within a limit that will be binding over generations" (16).

In this context, the novel, *The Death of Eternity* reinforces the reader's awareness about socio-political justice towards solving persistent ecological concerns. The author, through the protagonist expresses his dissatisfaction with the manner in which the communities alongside the manufacturing companies desecrate the environment. He expresses his intentions to:

> …fight the despoliation of the earth by modern industry … preach the gospel of environmental salvation to the poor, innocent lives about the plateau who were gleefully using chemical fertilizer and pesticides hoping for a life more abundant. He would tell them they were being served with their death and death of their children. (*The Death of Eternity* 23)

From the above extract, it is obvious that the farmers are driven by consumerism and the voracious desire for bumper harvest, hence, they carelessly and ignorantly dump chemical fertilizers on the soil regardless of its consequences. In the end, these practices often endanger the lifespan of the soil as well as kill the nutrients and the microorganisms. Therefore, Tibor persistently sets out to warn the Cockdens (Africans) to desist from such agro-economic practices such as indiscriminate application of chemical fertilizers that end up endangering the earth. Daily, he summons the locals and sensitize them on the need to always test-run the soil in order to know the nutrient lacking therein before applying such toxic chemical fertilizers and pesticides.

By demonstrating these ecological concerns, the writer alludes to the fact that indiscriminate application of fertilizer on the soil and spraying of chemicals - herbicides and pesticides are

lethal to humans, animals and non-humans. On the aftermath of these agro-chemical activities, Tibor highlights that:

> DDT pesticides cause cancer and genetic defects in unborn children which lead to their being born deformed. Most pesticides persist in the soil for a long time. They are not biodegradable. So, they keep accumulating in the soil only to enter the food chain. When a particular crop they have been absorbed by is eaten, they cause cancer, sterility in men, mental derangement, and deformities in children. (29-30)

The quotation above suggests that the ecosystem is an interconnected web where all things therein interact with one another and affected by one another. That is why when toxic substances are absorbed by plants and ingested by animals and humans; it degenerates into awful disorders and illnesses such as mental conditions, cancer, skin rashes, sterility in men or barrenness in women and deformity in children. In this relation, Aswin Prasanth warns that "The destruction and depletion of nature is suicidal; it ultimately leads to the destruction of humanity" (62). Consequently, the most important function of literature today is to redirect human consciousness to the predicament of man in a threatened natural landscape as evident in *The Death of Eternity*.

In his commitment to inculcate ecological sensitivity, Tibor, dialogues with Bilami, the Chief of Poloa and Francis, a biology teacher who is presumed to have sound knowledge of ecological ethics  yet prides in demolishing and chopping-off trees for its economic benefits. He warns against such destructive practices because of its grave consequence on biotic, abiotic and the entire ecosystems. He explains thus:

> Trees are part of the water cycle, if you don't know. They take water from the atmosphere and the soil, and return it to the atmosphere only for the atmosphere to send the same water back to the earth during rainy season for the trees to take once more.... Trees are rivers from which the atmosphere fetches water to produce rain. If you lose your trees, the water they would have stored would find no resting place and it will evaporate into space. When the atmosphere over your land comes down on earth looking for water to produce rain, the desert that has replaced your trees will be laughing at it…. Once this balance is lost because trees have been felled, the water such trees would have sequestered from the atmosphere would not be available as rain in the next rainy season. (63)

On the contrary, Francis throw's caution to the wind and secretly continues his lucrative trade of tree felling until nature retaliates and slays him. The novel emphasises that the quest for materialism drives Francis into tree cutting as noted "…Francis's appetite for wealth became more whetted, each day he entered the forest early in the morning, he did not come out until dusk" (122). However, Francis soon met his waterloo as nature strikes back and crushes him to death. He lies underneath the tree that would have provided him enough wealth. The writer uses the text to substantiate that ecological ruination overtime is an offshoot of the pollution of the human mentality which translates into the current eco-systemic chaos. He

emphatically cautions against reckless cutting down of tree plants and explicates that, tree plants play unprecedented roles such as: water conservation for plant and animal use, climatic and weather control as well as, check against aridity and global warming. Succinctly put, "the removal of … vegetation on a large scale will bring about sufficient changes in the region's hydrological cycle and climate..." (Emilio Moran 2). In this light, Usman's narrative corroborates Joseph Meeker's submission that literature:

> Should be examined carefully and honestly to discover its influence upon human behaviour and the natural-environment to determine what role, if any, it plays in the welfare and survival of mankind and what insight it offers into human relationships with other species and with the world around us. (3)

Altogether, contemporary (Nigerian) writers espouse eco-discourse as motifs in their literary compositions to draw the society's awareness to the on-going ecological wreckage which often foreshadows disillusionment, exploitation, frustration, unrest, and contamination in the Nigerian ecosystem and the planet at large.

### *The Death of Eternity* and Ecological Imperialism

Ecological imperialism according to Uzoechi Nwagbara (229) "is a form of colonialism aimed at damaging as well as exploiting the environment and ecology of the colonized". On this premise, the paper examines imperialism, exploitation and the depredation of the natives' ecosystem by (neo) colonizers. The novel offers a critique of the recurring environmental mortification orchestrated by materialists, capitalists and imperialists who perceive nature as mere object to be exploited for its economic value without regards to the outcome on other organisms. Thus, investigating ecological imperialism foregrounds the extent to which "histories embedded in the land and sea have always provided vital and dynamic methodologies for understanding the transformative impact of empire and the anticolonial epistemologies it tries to suppress" (4). In other words, expounding ecological imperialism highlights how critics appreciate land that has borne neo-colonial violence thus, creating a reformative response that addresses perceptions of environment and social justice.

Usman uses *The Death of Eternity,* a postcolonial Nigerian text to illustrate histories of ecological ruination in imaginary African locales such as Sondo district, Cockde, Tanka Plateau, Nunsa, and Kodewa. The novel is set in a period when the colonizer has vacated, yet strategises and tacitly returns and sites oil industries in its former colony to continually dominate the natives and keep them under control by subjecting them to squalor, impoverishment, underdevelopment, and ecological ruination. The novel symbolically demonstrates the relationship between forests, rivers, modernity and all living organisms. Therefore, the capitalist and imperialist intention to continually conquer the third world economically and politically, collaborate with their former colony through globalization and industrialization processes to cunningly harness natural resources in the indigenous peoples' environment. In this relation,

David Ricardo (175) once comments, "… capitalism encourages primitive accumulation of wealth and the pauperization of the people. Thus, the forceful expropriation of the people from their environment and lands as well as the imperial control of the resources coming from these lands creates significant ecological implications." This implies that ecological

imperialism is a corollary of capitalism. Hence, the displacement of the natives from their ancestral land as well as the despoliation of their environment for economic interest is a neo-colonial scheme to continually impoverish and subject the locals to political and economic dependence. In view of this, the writer poses postcolonial ecocritical questions of socio-political and ecological justice, sustainability and conservation which are attempts to confront the "tension between a postcolonial preoccupation with displacement and an ecocritical preoccupation with an ethics of place" (Nixon, 236).

Therefore, Usman creates Tibor, an environmental activist whose intention is to challenge "nature butchers" and end all forms of environmental degradation. When Tibor arrives Cockde and sees the destruction of nature by nature exploiters, especially tin miners, whose activities left "ugly gashes on the land" (23), he resolves to settle at Tanka Plateau, an imaginary place in West Africa to "fight the despoliation of the earth by modern industry" (23). Usman, in the text maintains that the implication of nature despoliation is grievous in that all humans and non-humans are vulnerable to it. Given this cause, he commits himself to ecological evangelisation and warns that:

> As global warming was wreaking this devastation, the depletion of the ozone layer by chlorofluorocarbons was causing skin cancer and increased incidence of asthma… the soil was being poisoned by acid rain…. The oak, the lime, the beech and other deciduous trees were dying from acid rain poisoning. (16-17)

This implies that life and life supporting tissues are steadily dying out due to the recurring crises in the ecosystem. The health system of these plants and animals are in jeopardy. For instance, when Mmanya tours Nunsa and sees how River Kodewa has lost its pristine purity to oil pollution, he narrates that, "The water now looks dark, oily and grey instead of blue" (89) resulting to the asphyxiation of plants and death of animals or wildlife across the environment. Tibor highlights that "… daily, a convoy of lorries streamed into the forest and returned loaded with timber logged from the forest. Within a span of thirteen years, the entire forest of Poloa was laid bare" (59).

Furthermore, Tibor, the protagonist indicts the Tenama Chemical Industry and Chinaka Petroleum Refinery for exhibiting bad environmental habit of dumping their waste into the river that serves as source of water to the natives of Nunsa, Kudima and Cockde. To support this, Patrick McCully in one of his books writes that "more than any other technology, massive dams symbolize the progress of humanity from a life of nature … to one where science rules nature ... (237). From this statement, it is apparent that big dams, just like factories and industries suggest a "deadly alliance between modernist ideology of technological gigantism and the repressively authoritarian politics of state ownership and control" (237). By this mindset, the people of Poloa like most third world communities are made to suffer ecological problems triggered by the invaders thus, revealing the correlation between globalization, local cultures, and the environment.

The refinery's inability to properly manage its toxic waste before disposal results "to devastation of man, animal and plant in Kudima village behind the refinery" (35). Consequently, Tibor laments that the natives are sentenced to death in their ancestral land as many of the kinsmen are dying from the outcome of lethal contamination of their water,

fauna, and flora; their means of survival and livelihood. Considering these pains inflicted on the indigenes, Tibor declares "…we shall engage them to put a stop to your suffering and to pay for the suffering you have already passed through" (100). This statement signifies that ecological activism through literary narratives as indicated in the novel is a possible way to curb these ecological tragedies befalling the natives as well as jeopardising their natural world.

Given that Postcolonial Ecocriticism is a variety that tackles "concerns of conquest, colonization, racism, sexism along with its investments in theories of indigeneity and diaspora and the relations between native and invader, societies and cultures" (Huggan and Tiffin 6), Usman's *The Death of Eternity* addresses issues of invasion of the indigenous people's environment by foreigners or capitalists through globalization processes which favour the foreigners at the expense of the indigenes. The natives are subjected to underdevelopment and impoverishment while the colonizers enjoy the juice from the natives' land. Tibor illustrates the predicament of the natives thus: "here was a forest people that had little to do with either the products of the refinery or the money they were turned into, but who were being devastated and poisoned by the activities and products of the refinery" (140). In other words, establishing industries in these locales reinforces the hegemony and (re)colonization of Africans or generally, the third world countries which are perceived as the subaltern other. Consequently, this process triggers ecological imperialism which leaves the natives at the mercy of the invaders. In other words, this leaves the local inhabitants overwhelmingly disadvantaged and subaltern. Against this backdrop, Tibor expresses thus:

> That is why I am in Africa to ensure they do not destroy this beauty. Wherever our people have gone, they have only left behind diseases and death. Check out the experience of the Indians in Latin America and even the experience of your Aborigines of Australia. I intend to make this place difficult for them to overrun with pollution as they have overrun every other place. This is the only mission I have placed before my life and the only destiny… (219-20)

Noticeably, Tibor has committed his life to environmentalism, to fight imperialism and ensure social and ecological justice for the underprivileged Africans. For instance, he bonds with Ekwolu, a labourer with the Chinaka Oil Refinery to post threatening letters to the company, mandating them to compensate the victims of their industrial pollution. He sternly posits that: "Treat your wastes. Pay those your wastes had wasted or we will waste you with more damaging attacks" (339). For Usman, industrialization, capitalism, and toxic contaminations are the banes that are rapidly smouldering indigenous forests, farmlands, and rivers to ecologically devastated landscape. Hence, the present-day calamities that have befallen the African people and its ecology thus:

> Today, if you don't die of AIDS, terrorism will claim you. If you escape the arrow of terror, you will without fail find death under the canopy of environmental pollution. This is the new Bermuda Triangle no man, animal or plant can fly over. (77)

In the above extract, it is obvious that death lurks around with its ugly head. The residents of Kudima, Nunsa are ill fated and now await death either by AIDS, terrorism or environmental pollution. Their habitat has become a death zone such that no living or non-

living organisms within the landscape can escape. Therefore, there is no eternity (procreation and longevity) but death (end) of eternity. To this end, Adamu Kyuka Usman's *The Death of Eternity* probes into the relationships that exist between landscapes, pollution levels, health issues, deforestation, and the vast endangered species and then suggests that there is exigent need for a renewed sense of place in an epoch where desertification, deforestation, climate change, toxic contamination, disease, and environmental crisis are widespread. The novel is a disparagement of the abuses on African environments, land, and resources in the name of modernity or development via neo-colonial processes of globalisation, industrialization, and development. From the viewpoints of postcolonial ecocriticism, the novel unearths the writer's preoccupation with environmentalism and the need to liberate Africa and the ecology from cultural and ecological crises.

## Conclusion

This paper demonstrates that Usman's *The Death of Eternity* is an environmental narrative, which interrogates human/nature relationship and how the exploitative connections between them could endanger ecological equilibrium and biodiversity. From a postcolonial ecocritical assessment therefore, the study addresses current issues and their relationships, which prompt exploitation of natural resources, capitalism, globalization, underdevelopment, and ecological imperialism. In this regard, ecological imperialism is a form of robbery that despoils the ecology and impoverishes the natives. Altogether, this paper submits that environmental sustainability and social justice are bound up with questions of development, neo-colonialism, industrialization, threatened landscape, places, animals, exploitation, maladies and poverty that stare the common people in the face. In conclusion, Usman's *The Death of Eternity* exemplifies how environmental and postcolonial-cum-social constructions can be brought together in productive dialogue along with the necessity for sustainability and ecological justice.

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# Identity and Language Choice in a Multilingual Sabongida-Ora Edo Market in Nigeria

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**Abstract**
*The paper examines the connection between identity and language choice in a multilingual market place. The aim is to ascertain whether the identity portrayed and the choice an individual makes among the available languages in multilingual market place can influence the outcome of bargaining. In this regard, Howard Giles' Communication Accommodation Theory is adopted as a theoretical framework for this study. Qualitative data collected through interview and observation were analyzed. Two markets in Sabongida-Ora Edo state were selected for the study. The data were collected through a field study of the markets in 2015. The findings revealed that the language chosen by an individual as an instrument of bargaining in Sabongida-Ora market place can go a long way in influencing the outcome of transaction. It is therefore recommended that great attention be paid to language use in multilingual business environments.*

**KeyWords:** Language Choice, Identity, Multilingualism and Communication Accommodation.

## Introduction

Multilingualism, a sub-field of sociolinguistics has generally been defined as the act of using or promoting the use of multiple languages, either by an individual speaker or a community of speakers However, the definition or qualification of multilingualism varies according to authors. For instance, Bloomfield (1933) takes an extremist position by arguing that one needs to have a native -like ability in the second language to be considered multilingual. Heugen (1966) in Fishman (1972) adopts a minimalist approach by asserting that a working knowledge of the second language is sufficient for one to be considered multilingual. The third position which is maintained by Hornby in Fishman (1972) and shared by others like Spolsky, (1998); Sirdhar in Wardhaugh, (2006); asserts that multilingualism should be viewed as a process and on an individual's basis which may vary in degree from minimal competence to complete mastery.

Multilingualism, therefore is the use of more than one language by a single individual or community, (Gal, 2007). In popular imagination and in linguistic theory, multilingualism is often assumed to be an anomalous, exceptional practice. The knowledge and use of single language – monolingualism, – has been taken as the natural human condition. Yet, both historically and currently, most of the world's communities and a majority of speakers are multilingual to a greater or lesser extent. According to Gal (2007:200), the privileging of

monolingualism as against multilingualism is due to the dominance of the European nation states, which has been legitimated by a monolingualist language ideology. This ideology, now taken for granted throughout the world – presumes that each ethnic group has a language of its own and by virtue of this difference deserves political autonomy. Linguistic knowledge in this view, is an emblem of political belonging and thus multilingualism implies political unreliability or mixed loyalty. Gal (2007) further argues that the biblical story of Babel suggests a much older distrust of multilingualism in the western tradition. Thus, a single, universal language was seen as a gift of paradise, while linguistic diversity and multilingualism were presented as divine punishment for human arrogance.

However, in the contemporary world, there has been increasing flow of migrants, tighter economic ties across the globe and other factors as a result of which and despite the legacy of the Babel story, there is increasing recognition of the high incidence and practical advantages of multilingualism. This recognition extends to the significance of multilingualism historically, before the rise of nation states and in the centuries since.

Therefore, in multilingual communities where more than one language is spoken by a majority of people, sufficient consensus about appropriate rules of speaking and interpreting linguistic behaviour may arise for it to be considered one sociolinguistic unit (or speech community), (Mesthrie et al, 2009). In this regard, cultural conceptions and institutional arrangements define how speakers allocate languages language, to social circumstances – which language(s) for politics, for intimacy, scholarship or prayer, how much switching is appropriate and what social meaning it conveys. The languages of a multilingual speech community commonly stand in the same relation of functional contrast to each other as do registers in monolingual speech communities. When this happens, switch in language and register, signals the same kinds of social differences. They both signal changing alignment between speakers in the event of speaking and changes in stance towards the objects of discussion.

## Literature Review
### Language Choice
In this study, we are looking at how choosing between languages can be invested with the same kinds of social and affective meaning as choosing styles in one language. Decisions made about the use and recognition of languages can have a powerful impact on the long term strength of a language. In multilingual settings, the choice between languages carries interactional force or implies something about the situation or the interlocutors. One language may be used for some social functions or in a specific social context, while another language is reserved for other functions and contexts. The study of choice can also focus on the relationship between groups of speakers and the languages in use in their community. This can lead to the understanding of why some languages remain strong in the face of social change, while others are abandoned within a few generations. It can equally help us understand the role language plays in defining a group or ethnic identity. Domain of use can also determine the language a speaker chooses in a multilingual setting. In making a choice therefore, speakers may conceptualize the relationship between location, addressee and in group identity in different ways.

According to Sankoff (1972) the behaviour of multilinguals in communities where it is the norm and communication takes place in two or more codes has received considerable

amount of attention. He argues that rather than concentrating on the historical linguistic consequences of such heterogeneous situations, scholars have dealt instead with the network of communication itself, trying to elucidate, on the synchronic level, the systematic aspects of people's use of the various codes available to them. Hymes (1967) and Gumperz (1968) cited in Samkoff (1972) have both argued that in every speech community, there exist a variety of repertoires of alternate means of expression. They go on to note that this fact has social implications, i.e. that in choosing among the various codes available to them, speakers indicate what might be called social meaning. To further buttress the assertion, speakers in any community share rules regarding language usage, These rules allow them interpret the social meaning of alternate linguistic choices. Multilingual speech communities are however unique in one way. The fact that the alternates in question are (theoretically) discrete and easily identified i.e. (as separate languages) makes them particularly prone to certain types of sociolinguistic investigation.

Language use in multilingual setting is, therefore, examined in specific contexts, looking at how, during the course of an interaction, speakers may adopt different language varieties or create switch between varieties as a communicative strategy.

Many studies of language use in multilingual communities have been concerned with habitual language choices made by speakers, (Mesthrie et al, 2009). However, in many cases, speakers could, in principle use any of their languages in interaction with others, but in practice certain languages tend to be associated with certain contexts (with certain settings, topics, groups of interlocutors and so on).

**Language and Identity**

The concepts of language and identity relate to the extent to which we use language to construct different identities in different social interactions. Using an ethnographic approach, a researcher focuses on the ways in which individuals perform particular aspects of their social identity in specific situations. Linguistic Identity is not only the use of a particular language, but also how it is used with others. Fadong (2017) submits that language is so important in the construction of individual identities to the extent it is often used as a powerful means of exercising social control. Thornborrow (2004) further remarks that identity is something which we are constantly building and negotiating all our lives through our interaction with others. Different aspects of an individual's social identity will be more or less relevant in specific social contexts, and even at different points within the same interaction. Holmes (2008) argues that sociolinguists use the term 'community of practice' to capture the complexities of what it means to belong to a social group. This concept has been adopted by some sociolinguists to permit a focus on social categories which make more sense to participants than abstract categories such as class and gender. Communities of practice develop around the activities which group members engage in together, and their shared objectives and attitudes. We all belong to many communities of practice which share particular goals and ways of interacting-family, sports team, work group and so on. Some may be relatively long-term; others, such as a group organizing an event, a dance, a school fair, or a conference, will be more temporary.

Therefore, in constructing identity, social meaning is a dynamic mutual linguistic construction between different participants in an interaction, while sociolinguists need to describe the linguistic patterns that correlate with the macro-level abstract categories of class, age,

ethnicity and gender, for describing the detail and complexity of what goes on in day-to-day interactions between individuals, the concepts of social network and community of practice are particularly useful. They allow us to examine the ways in which individuals use linguistic resources in dynamic and constructive ways to express various social identities – identities which draw on macro-level categories such as new gang member, or feisty friend, or youngest child in a family. Indeed, it is this moment-to-moment linguistic choices which ultimately create the larger scale patterns, a point which becomes evident in given speech communities.

The role of language in identity formation and presentation has been a prime interest of sociolinguistics right from the onset (Bell, 2008 in Liamas et al). Labov 1963 study of the local identity value of a single vowel sound in the English of Martha's Vineyard. In this regard, language is seen as having an active, constitutive role in interaction, as being very much a matter of initiative rather than response. The emphasis therefore is on how individual speakers use style (in the case of monolingual speaker) or and other aspects of their language repertoire to represent their identity or lay claim to other identities. In any contact of people with different background, language can be used to take initiative in framing the encounter, the speakers' relationship and their positioning towards what they discuss. In this regard therefore, their linguistic usage reflect both the responsive dimension of language, it can be ethnic identities which they want to project, and their ability to use language creatively for their own identity purpose.

According to Norton cited in Llamas et al (2008: 50) identity is "how people understand their relationship to the world, and how that relationship is constructed across time and space and how people understand their possibilities for the future. Sociolinguists have long acknowledged that variation in speech can be used to express social meaning and to signal important information about aspects of speakers' social identity. Therefore, sociolinguistic perspectives on identity are unsurprisingly deeply intertwined with investigations into language variation. Eckert (2002) proposes useful sociolinguistic perspectives on identity. This is categorized into three waves; the first being Labov (1966) study where he employed surveys and quantitative methods to investigate the correlations between linguistic variability and social categories like social class, age, ethnicity and sex. The second wave employed more ethnographic methods with categories suggested by the participants themselves, in an attempt to understand most locally grounded linguistic variation. According to Eckert, studies in the first two waves are concerned with language as situating the individual in a community or social group. The third wave focuses on the social meaning of variables, with variation not simply reflecting but actually constructing social categories and meaning. This wave also focuses on variation within one speaker and with the various and overlapping constructions of identities within the individual.

**Theoretical Framework**
This research has adopted Giles' (1977) accommodation theory because it is socially diagnostic and lays emphasis on effective communication in complex multiethnic and multilingual communities. Furthermore, it is concerned with the way language users perceive and respond to language in such communities. Accommodation theory is a powerful attempt to explain the courses of choice and it is paralleled by an approach within sociolinguistics. The theory is interested in the specific motivations that may encourage individual speakers

to adopt certain language varieties. Accommodation is regarded as a general phenomenon, applying in both monolingual and multilingual communities.

The theory is a bundle of principles that are intended to characterize the strategies speakers use to establish, context or maintain relationships through talk. Regardless of its scope, accommodation theory rests on one pivotal process: attunement. The idea is that we all tailor, or attune our behaviour according to the interaction and this process of attunement involves a range of communicative behaviour like language choice. Attunement renders the addressee(s) as equally important as the speaker and it also presents communicative behaviours as elements in a dynamic system. Speakers may consciously undertake convergence or divergence, but it is important to note that accommodation may occur well beyond the speaker's level of conscious awareness.

It tends to suggest that one's language behaviour shows that one associates other social and interactional benefits with speaking more like the different groups of people one moves in and out of. The theory allows for the possibility of an interaction in which one person converges and the other person diverges, which shows how complicated and important people's attitudes towards others are and how these attitudes can be played out in language choice. The theory may also reveal aspects of the structure of a speech community that a linguist may have taken for granted. The theory equally stresses the importance of speaker's attitudes to their addressee, and the resulting dynamism in interactions. The theory provides us with a context for comparing what speakers think they are doing with what they actually are doing.

## Methodology
Language, as demonstrated in the literature review, is one of the instruments that which identity is constructed. Others are age, gender, and status. For the purpose of this study, language and age have been used as the bases for determining identity in the selected setting.

The study involved interview and observation of the linguistic situation in Sabongida-Ora markets and collation of data in the locality. Interview and observation were adopted in view of the fact that markets are usually dominated by people who can hardly read and write. Two markets were selected in this locality for this study. Two sets of conversation were recorded, one for each market. This selection was arrived at because of the fact that the respondents in the two markets have similar environment, their characteristics are nearly the same and their exposure are likely to be similar. The researchers were accompanied by indigenous informants to conduct interviews and interpret conversation. The study adopted Giles' (1977) accommodation theory because it explains the specifics motivations that may encourage the individual speaker to choose certain language or variety.

## Data Presentation, Analysis and Discussion
In Sabongida-Ora situated in Owan West Local Government of Edo State, the language situation is a little complex. In this community, the inhabitants speak a language they now refer to as Ora, even though it was previously referred to as Owan or Luleha. In addition to this, Nigerian Pidgin English is generally spoken alongside Yoruba. However, a number of

other languages like Bini, Etsako, Ebira, Igala and Urhobo are spoken by a certain percentage of the population.

## Market A

The following conversations occurred at a market in Umhomora, an Ora speaking settlement about eight km outside Sabongida-Ora between a young man and an elderly market woman in Ora language.

Buyer: Mama Edio Ma
Seller: Laoba Ovbi me
Buyer: Ekai khi Ema?
Seller: Ekpa Eva
Buyer: Mama Uyawa i Ekpa okpa?
Seller: Eye Ovbime
Buyer: Mama Khakon Sken I Me
Seller: Mui Ekpa Okpa Bi Ushomo Re
Buyer: Ohomon Iyon Ma I Muy Ode Vbai Me

**Translation**
Buyer: Good morning Ma.
Seller: Good morning my child.
Buyer: How much is yam?
Seller: Four hundred naira
Buyer: Mama will you agree to sell for two hundred naira?
Seller: No my child.
Buyer: Please sell for me.
Seller: Bring three hundred naira.
Buyer: Ok give me two parts.

The above conversation was done completely in Ora language, so there is very little or no code-switching in the conversation.

## Market B

The following conversation took place at a market in Sabongida-Ora between a young buyer and an elderly seller.

Buyer: Who dey sell for here?
Seller: me me o obvime.
Buyer: How much for basin of garri?
Seller: Ekpa Ogban bi Ihen Ushomo.
Buyer: Mama how much you go sell am last?
Seller: Ovbime Ubo we.
Buyer: You no sell for five thousand naira?
Seller: Eye Ekpa Ogban.

**Translation**
Buyer: Who is selling here?
Seller: It is me my child.
Buyer: How much is a basin of Garri?
Seller: It is seven thousand naira.
Buyer: Mama how much will you sell it last?
Seller: My child that is the last price.

Buyer: Won't you sell for five thousand naira?

In market A, the conversation was in Ora language almost exclusively. This enabled both buyer and seller to flow freely and the negotiation ended amicably. This shows that the indigenous language chosen by both speaker facilitated the successful negotiation. On the other hand, the exchange in market B revealed certain implications of interplay between age and language choice in a multilingual market place. For instance, unlike market A where the buyer opened the conversation with greeting in Ora language, the case in market B is quite different. The buyer in market B, a younger person, failed to greet the seller an older person. Moreso, the younger buyer chose to open the conversation in Nigerian Pidgin English, which is a lingua franca among the people of this area. The elderly woman who understood Pidgin as well, chose to reply in Ora language. When the younger buyer noticed the uncooperative attitude of the older seller, he realised that he had made a mistake by initiating conversation in Pidgin.

However, effort by the younger buyer to amend or repair the damage proved abortive as the elderly woman continued to respond in Ora language. This implicates that the younger buyer failed to accord the necessary recognition that was due to the older seller, not only by failing to greet her, but opting to speak pidgin English instead of Ora.   In fact, the conversation ended abruptly without any agreement between them and any form of courtesy from either side. The negotiation broke down mainly because of choice of language which one of the parties considered inappropriate. A situation where two speakers use different languages in one conversation, particularly where one of the parties has done so to show resentment is referred to as divergence in accommodation theory. In accommodation theory therefore, when speakers cannot attune their speeches to accommodate each other it means that they cannot converge, this often leads to communication breakdown.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, the findings have confirmed the relationship between identity, language choice and bargaining in multilingual market place. It therefore means that participants are very conscious of the language used and the status of co-interlocutors in the process of business transaction. This can only be ignored at the detriment of any of the participants. The choice of inappropriate language can lead to break down in negotiation as seen in the setting examined.

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# Speech Act Analysis of Selected Hate Speeches on Social Media in Nigeria

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## Abstract

*The public outcry for the overwhelming flow of hate utterances in the social media in Nigeria and globally, and the inability of having a definite definition of hate speech motivated this study. Using the speech act theory, the paper investigated selected hate speeches on social media in Nigeria to; identify, categories, analyse and account for the motivation of hate utterances in online social media in Nigeria. Twenty expressions laced with hate were downloaded from social media sites and ten were randomly selected from four different sites of the social media, namely; Facebook, WhatsApp, YouTube and the Twitter. Using John Austin, John Seale and St. Clare's speech act theory, it was revealed that hate utterances are identified by certain characteristics and that hate utterances could be classified into ethnic, religious and political motivated hate expressions. While ethnic motivate hate expressions (50%, n = 7) is the most prevalent hate expression in the study, religious motivated hate expression (35.7%, n = 5) is next and political motivated hate expression (14.3%, n = 2) is the least. The study revealed that hate utterances are employed by the users to demean, dehumanise and/or subordinate and silence the target individual/group. It was also observed in the study that hate utterances are motivated by shared socio-political and historic experiences which are used as weapon of mission offenders, verbal defence or retaliation of hurtful utterance from an individual/group to another individual/group. The study acknowledged that while hate utterances are used to inflict emotional and psychological damage on the targets and can hardly be eradicated, hate utterances should be reclaimed to remove the sting in such utterances through the promotion of peaceful communication, and peace education.*

**Keywords: -** Speech Act, Hate Speech, Social Media, Lexical Choice

## Introduction

The social media has introduced new communication practices, provided new found interaction patterns, created new forms of expressions, stimulated a wide civic participation, and so forth. They are rapidly evolving and their significance is increasing while their role is changing social processes (Boyd & Ellison, 2007). The social media as a modern technology in communication no doubt has turned the entire world into a global village. This brings to fruition the prediction of Herbert Marshal McLuhan in his famous quote in 1964 which prophetically envisaged a 'global village' where what happens in one part of the world would be known instantly and simultaneously worldwide (Crystal, 2001). Some examples of these social media platforms include Facebook, WhatsApp, YouTube, Instagram, Twitter Blogs, Skype, online newspapers among others. The social media has become a channel through

which hate-mongers communicate their views; popularly known as hate speech. Mostly, people use the social media to spread their hate utterances because they believe the social media is the best avenue to convey hate speech, since the social media is perceived to be faceless to some extent.

A good example of this in Nigeria is the Boko Haram sect. St. Clare (2018) defines hate speech as an utterance that silences and dehumanises others. Hate speech emerged and became an issue of great concern to both individuals and the government. Hate speech has long troubled policy makers, causing the boundaries of free speech to be constantly renegotiated. Debates about hate speech regularly cover newspaper headlines all over the world; with some suggesting that hate speech users should be prosecuted. This is because hate speeches have caused a lot of havoc in the world, inciting people into revolution and genocide, like: the 20th century genocide in Southwest Africa (now Namibia), the Rwandan genocide of 1994 and even the Nigerian civil war of 1967- 1970 (Osaghae & Suberu 2005), For this study, only the Facebook, WhatsApp, Twitter Blogs and YouTube would be used.

**Problem Statement and Significance**
Studies on hate speech has increased since the last decade, although some salient issues are yet to be addressed, especially with respect to having a specific definition of what hate speech is, categorising its vocabularies and accounting for its motivation. Researches on hate speech have, however, been concentrated on either political hate speech (Rasaq, Udende, Ibrahim & Oba 2017; Ezeibe, 2016), racial hate speech (Langton, 2012) or complexity between free speech and hate speech (Shaw 2012; Bakircioglu 2008). ). Not enough scholarly attention has been paid to the vocabularies and motivation of hate speech. The truth of the matter is that hate speech vocabulary and motivation have received little or no scholarly attention, as far as the extant literature here is concerned. The present study is therefore aimed at identifying hate speech, examining the vocabularies used for hate utterances, and accounting for their motivation.

Hate speech investigation is very pertinent at this time as insight is needed as what qualifies an utterance a hate utterance and what motivates such utterances. Hence, this study is significant in theory and also in application. The theoretical aspect is that; the study is capable of explicitly revealing the features in an utterance that qualifies it a hate speech and unearths the motivation of such utterance.  Also, the findings of this study will aid scholarly activities in peace linguistics, peace education and linguistics studies in general. Secondly, the study will assist government bodies and agencies -such as; National Communications Commission, the National Assembly, legal practitioners among others- in the clear understanding of the linguistics of hate speeches as a necessary prerequisite in the collective efforts to enact legislations and policies to curb and control the use of hate speech in Nigeria.

**Theoretical Concept and Methodology**
The speech act theory, propounded by John Austin (1962), expanded by John Seale (1969) and further expanded by St, Clare (2018) is the theory adopted for this study. The speech act theory is a subfield of pragmatics which studies how words are used to perform action, John Austin (1962) maintains that many utterances are equivalent to action. Austin's (1962) investigation on speech act theory led to the conclusion that all utterances constitute three

kinds of acts; the locutionary act -which is in form of either a statement, a question, a command or an exclamation- illocutionary act -the act performed by virtue of the performance of the locution- and the perlocutionary act -the perceived effects or consequences of the illocution.

John Seale (1969) expanded Austin's (1962) speech act theory and came up with the following sub-classification of the speech act theory: repressive/assertive speech act -speaker expresses their belief and asserts that something is judged as true, example, reciting, asserting, claiming, describing, concluding, reporting, suggesting, predicting, stating, persuading among others-; directive speech act -speaker wants the hearer to take a particular action, example, requesting, commanding, advising, questioning, pleading, inviting, warning and so on-; expressive speech act -expresses the speaker's attitudes and emotions towards a proposition, example, congratulating, thanking, apologising, appreciating, complaining, condoling, greeting, scolding-; commissive speech act -commits a speaker to some future action, example, promising, threatening, offering, guaranteeing, vowing, betting, challenging- and declarative speech act -its successful performance changes the reality in accordance with the proposition of the declaration, example, baptising/naming, pronouncing someone guilty or pronouncing someone husband and wife, arresting, imprisoning and so on.

St. Clare (2018) further expanded the speech act theory to unearth the features and characteristics of hate speech. Thus: Austin's (1962) locutionary act deals with utterance generally, St. Clare's (2018) locutionary act of hate speech deals also with utterance but derogatory, demeaning and painful utterances, Austin's (1962) illocutionary act deals with non-linguistic acts performed by linguistic/locutionary acts, St. Clare's (2018) illocutionary act of hate speech deals with subordinating ,silencing and dehumanising the target, also performed by linguistic/locutionary acts and Austin's (1962) perlocutionary act deals with the perceived effects or consequences of the illocution, St. Clare's (2018) perlocutionary act of hate speech also deals with the perceived effects or consequences of the illocution as the target may take offence, go out for retaliation, confrontation or a violent act.

The data sample for this study consist of twenty (20) online speeches/songs laced with abusive words -in English and other Nigerian indigenous languages- which were randomly downloaded from Facebook, WhatsApp, YouTube and Twitter. Five speeches and one song were downloaded from each of the four above mentioned social media sites between June and December, 2018. Data from Facebook and WhatsApp were collected from the researcher's Facebook and WhatsApp walls, while those from Twitter and YouTube were got from online free-to-air watch, posted by the authors. From the sample collected, eight (8) speeches and two (2) songs laced with abusive words were randomly selected and analysed. Using the qualitative and quantitative data analysis methods, the researcher coded the data collected as Text 1-20. In some instances, some texts were sub-numbered as Text 2a, Test 2b and Text 2c for instance, to follow the thread of a particular text. Texts were also analysed in terms of thematic categorization.

**Hate Speech**

In recent times, hate speech has become a new and controversial catch phrase in Nigeria. While almost everyone talk about it, there seem not to be a definite definition of hate speech. People can hardly draw the line between hate speech and freedom of expression. The freedom of expression guaranteed in the Nigerian constitution privileges Nigerians to speak their mind on issues. This is hardly attained with Nigeria being a multilingual and multicultural society where an offence less expression in one tongue can sometimes be interpreted to be offensive in another. This therefore creates a nebulous meaning of what constitutes hate speech.

Aligning with the above, Ude (2017) acknowledges the fluidity of the phrase hate speech. He argues that there are many things one can say that may make others angry and may want to make one react violently but when the same thing is said to another, they may just laugh over it and move on. Also, Nzeako (2017) admits that hate speech has a wide definition which varies from country to country, depending on the historical experience of the country in question. He describes hate speech as a speech or any action laced with hatred, explaining that when speeches by individuals or groups are aimed at disparaging, bringing down, exposing to danger of anybody or a group of persons or species of people, it becomes hate speech even if what is said is true or false.

Adibe (2014) in Segun (2015) is of the view that hate speech employs discriminatory epithets to insult and stigmatize others on the basis of their race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation or other forms of group membership. It is any speech, gesture, conduct, writing or display which could incite people to violence or prejudicial action. And for Segun (2015), "hate speech is often the gateway to discrimination, harassment and violence as well as a precursor to serious harmful criminal acts. It is doubtful if there will be hate-motivated violent attacks on any group without hate speech and the hatred it purveys" (p. 11). This view is shared by Akinola (2017) who describes hate speech as any speech which attacks a person or group on the basis of attributes such as race, religion, ethnic origin, sexual orientation, disability, or gender. He further explains that as many as the categories are, it is subject to various cultural values and laws of different countries. Illustrating with South Africa, Akinola (2017) explains that if someone is called a gay in South Africa, it will not be regarded as hate speech because gay marriage and lesbianism are legally allowed. But in a country where lesbianism and gay marriages are not allowed because of their cultural values, that may count it as hate speech. Cohen-Almagor (2013,) sees hate speech as:

> ...a bias-motivated, hostile, malicious speech aimed at a person or a group of people because of some of their actual or perceived innate characteristics. It expresses discriminatory, intimidating, disapproving, antagonistic, and/or prejudicial attitudes toward those characteristics, which include gender, race, religion, ethnicity, colour, national origin, disability, or sexual orientation... aimed to injure, dehumanize, harass, intimidate, debase, degrade, and victimize the targeted groups and to foment insensitivity and brutality against them. (43)

Given the above definitions of hate speech, it is obvious that hate speech varies according to values, norms, culture, race, religion, belief, politics and a whole lot of conditions, depending on who is talking, where they are talking from and who is/are the target audience.

It is assumed that hate speech users choose their words deliberately to convey whatever negative intention they have against their target individuals or group. They send their hate expressions to the individual or group so as to hurt, dehumanise, silence or make most irrelevant of them.

However, there are certain drawbacks associated with the above descriptions of hate speech. They still fail to capture hate speech in every aspect, in terms of defining their characteristics. Hate speech obviously operates strangely and uniquely. To capture all that hate speech is, there is need to isolate the various characteristics/features of hate speech as seen in the work of St, Clare (2018). He holds that hate speech has not only the potential to offend, but to also injure, both physically and psychologically, and can even incite violence. St. Clare (2018) identifies the following characteristics of hate speech:

### Referents and Reminders
Hate speech is characterised with multiple referents and hate words. Hate words referred to individuals in a group and the group as a whole at the same time. That is, just as it points to an individual, it directly refers to the entire group members.  In other words, hate speech cannot be used on just an individual; it automatically refers to the entire group the individual belongs to.  This draws a clear-cut demarcation between mere insults and disapproval and hate speech; where the former can be constrained to target an individual, the latter automatically includes the entire target group. With the above, the definition of hate speech is further modified to cover the fact that it must refer to a target group as well as the individuals in the target group or vice versa (St. Clare, 2018). The group reference is anchored on reminders, that is, hate speech also is characterised by having the tendency of alluding to past bitter historical facts, which are injurious and seek to assert a negative world-view of a target group. This could be by making the target group look/feel inferior (at the very least). .Hate speech has the capacity to reach back through history and bring some of the worst cruelties into the present and endorse them. Also, hate speech can open healing wounds of the past. These reminders of past injury and past oppression only add to the already complex nature of hate speech.

### Subordination and Silencing
According to St. Clare (2018), hate speech has the tendency to subordinate and to silence. Hate speech subordinates as it places members of a target group in a position of inferiority; and this may convey that the speaker tends to demean and denigrate the target. In the same vein, Langton (2012) posits that instances of racist speech can rank the target as having inferior worth. Speech then, can subordinate when it ranks, legitimates, and/or deprives. Langton (2012) also notes that subordination is not always the case when speech ranks, legitimates, and/or deprives. There are instances when ranking might be appropriate, but for racist speech acts, connoting apartheid can be considered acts of subordination because they unfairly rank the target as being inferior or having inferior worth; they legitimate discriminatory behaviour; and they unjustly deprive the target of some vital powers. It is an established fact that hate speech can derogate, demean, dehumanize, belittle, or injure, among others. It is also a fact that hate speech unfairly ranks its target. Another characteristic of hate speech is that it can silence its target. Langton (2012) lists three ways in which people may be silenced:

    i. people do not speak when they feel intimidated, or when they believe that no one will listen;

    ii. people speak but fail to achieve the perlocutionary effects they intend to achieve and;

    iii. People speak and not only do not achieve the perlocutionary effects they intended, but their speech also fails to perform the illocutionary action the speakers intended.

Langton (2012) further explains that in cases where violence leading to death is incited by hate speech, the speech silences the target group. Undoubtedly, those who are killed because of hate speech are silenced to a greater degree.

**Context**

Hate speech does not only have the potentials to injure or to inflect pain, it also is context sensitive. The notion of context is not new in linguistic studies. Many linguistic works (Odebode & Adesanya, 2015; Mwanambuyu, 2011; Chiluwa & Adegoke, 2013; van Dijk 1977) have advocated and recognised that context is incorporated into linguistic explanation. The importance of context in relationship to language studies was introduced by Malinowski (1923) when he asserts that utterance can only become intelligible when situated within its context of use. To further buttress this point, Mey (2001) notes that to understand any utterance correctly, it is necessary to make reference to the world of the speaker. He identifies the speaker's world to include the speaker's linguistic, social, cultural and general life context. The world of the speaker in this study includes the speaker's socio-cultural background, religion, ethnicity, political party and general ideologies. Correspondingly, Huang (2007) opines that context can be referred to as any relevant feature of the dynamic setting or environment in which a linguistic unit is systematically used. He explains that context can be divided into three: the geographic division of context, the physical context - which refers to the physical setting- and the knowledge of context, consisting of the shared background knowledge of the speaker and the hearer/reader. Buttressing the above, St. Clare (2018) asserts that the words "I do" are used to perform different speech acts in various contexts. This suggests that what the words "I do" mean in a court room (assertive) differs from what it means in the church (commissive). He further explains that the illocutionary act performed by certain words depend largely on the context in which they are uttered. In addition, the word *mallam* in the northern states in Nigeria represents the English word "Mr." but if the same word -*mallam*- is used on an individual in the western part of Nigeria, it is dehumanising and denotes inferiority. Therefore, context as a concept is dynamic; continually changing in the widest sense that enables both speaker and hearer interacts in a way that the linguistic expression of the interaction is intelligible. Base on the above, hate speech can be said to be empowered according to the context in which it is used. Generally speaking however, Daniel Burke on CNN Live TV posits that it is outdated and inaccurate to say what spurs hate offenders into action. Burke (2017) believes that it is a mixture of emotions, from anger to fear and to indignation. With this, he identifies four major motivations for hate speech/crime; the three which are applicable to this study are highlighted below.

    i. **Defensive:** According to Burke (2017), the attackers see themselves as defending their religion, ethnic group, political party, country and so on. Defenders have specific target victims and they justify their hate speech/crime as necessary so as to keep treats at bay. They show little or no remorse for their actions as they believe everyone in the group they claim to be defending is in support of them.

ii. **Retaliatory:** Hate speeches/crimes are seen as revenge. These avengers often target members of a group (ethnic, religious or political) who they believe committed a crime or a very prominent personality in the target group who if attacked, everyone in the group is attacked. These eye-for-an-eye attacks often spike up terrorism and bitterness and even war. This is so because if each group keeps going back for revenge, genocide may ensure.

iii. **Mission Offenders:** Burke (2017) maintains that these sets consider themselves crusaders and are the deadliest type of hate speech/crime offenders. Their mission is total war against members of a rival race, religion or political party. Mission offenders write lengthy manifesto, explaining their views, visit websites, post hate speech and violent imagery and travel to significant sites seeking to maximize carnage

**Findings and Discussion**

Three themes laced with hate expressions have been identified as used in the data for this study, viz. Ethnic motivated hate expression, religious motivated hate expression and political motivated hate expression. The themes are found to be indexed by specific lexical choices (in the data used) which are considered hate speeches with regards to the characteristics of hate speech earlier discussed. Ethnic motivated hate expression accounted for the highest occurrence with 50% (n = 7), followed by Religious hate expression with 35.7% (n = 5) and Political motivated hate expression with 14.3% (n = 2). The ethnic motivated hate expression accounted for the highest occurred because four data (two religious and two political hate motivated speech/song) have ethnic undertone. The distribution of these hate expressions are summarised in the tables below.

**Table 1: Samples of Ethnic-Motivated Hate Expressions**

| Thematic Category | Hate Expression |
|---|---|
| **Ethnic-motivated Hate Expression** | They inherited their warlike and troublesome nature from their forefathers. Inyaniris did a lot of bad deeds in the time past. They killed Sardauna, multiple threads, the loved by all, look at also Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa. Inyamiri is shameless and useless. **(Text 1)** |
| | The Igbos are the ones killing this country, we knew right from onset. (**Text 2**) |
| | The imbecilic Goodluck Jonathan is a disgrace to humanity and deserves to be skinned alive for handing over to a Hausa goat. **(Text 8)** |
| | The Igbos are also responsible for the Nigeria's cultural and moral degeneracy with their notorious involvement in all kinds of crimes including international networking for drugs and human trafficking, violent robberies and kidnapping, high-profile prostitution and advanced financial fraud. **(Text 3)** |

**Table 2: Samples of Religious-Motivated Hate Expressions**

| Thematic Category | Hate Expression |
|---|---|
| **Religious-motivated Hate Expression** | We hate you even more and we can never love you because you are all infidels.**(Text 4)** |
| | Nigeria is dead; her constitution is dead!! Islam and Islam alone; war by war upon the Kafir who is the unbeliever**(Text 7a)** |
| | …it is a Jihad war against Christians and Christianity. It is a war against western education, democracy and constitution. We are anti-Christians, and those that deviated from Islam, they are forming basis with prayers but infidels. **(Text 5)** |
| | Harvest (President Goodluck) Jonathans neck, harvest Kashim's neck (the then Governor of Borno State). Allah said, "… even in Ka'ba, if someone is doing salat (prayer), for so long as he is deviating from what Allah said, he is an infidel. **(Text 9)** |

**Table 3: Samples of Politically-Motivated Hate Expressions**

| Thematic Category | Hate Expression |
|---|---|
| **Politically-motivated Hate Expression** | In 2019, it's Buhari or we set the zoo ablaze. **(Text 10a)** |
| | All APC supporters are Boko Haram members, they are the real terrorists, Chuhwuabiama will expose them all. **(Text 7b)** |
| | "When you described him as a "drunken sailor", a "drunken fisherman", a "kindergarten President" and insulted members of his family it was not described as hate speech."Whenyou called us "wailing wailers" it was not hate speech. When they called us "PDPigs" it was not described as hate speech. **(Text 10b)** |
| | I was disgusted with Buhari's Democracy Day speech. **(Text 6)** |

**Ethnic Motivated Hate Expressions**

One of the characteristics of hate speech according to St. Clare (2018) is "referent and reminder" where utterances have the tendency of alluding to past bitter, injurious historical facts which seek to assert a negative world-view of a target group. This characteristic of hate speech is prominently observed to be extensively used in texts 1, 2, 3 below where references are made to historical events in Nigeria dating back to 1966 when the first military coup, claimed to be masterminded by the Igbos, was staged in Nigeria. The aftermath of the coup and subsequent events led to the 1967 genocide culminating in the bloody civil war (1967-1970). Recalling the agitation for the Biafra in 2015 is akin to opening up old healing wounds. Texts 1 and 2 are extracts from a Hausa/Fulani hate video/song on YouTube titled "The Anti-Igbo Song by Hausa/Fulani', inciting another genocide". Text 3 is a speech by one of the northern youth leaders (Alhaji Yerima Shetim) declaring war against the Igbos in the

north if they fail to leave the north after October 1, 2017. These came as a reply to the utterances of the IPOB leader (Nnamdi Kanu) and some other "Biafrans."

**Text 1** extracts below for instance allude to some ugly historical past which are discussed thus:

> **a.** They inherited their warlike and troublesome nature from their forefathers.
> **b**. Inyaniris did a lot of bad deeds in the time past.
> **c.** They killed Sardauna, multiple threads, the loved by all, look at also Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa.
> **d.** Inyamiri is shameless and useless.

Text 1c is an allusion to the first Nigerian military coup d'état in 1966, a prelude to the Nigerian Civil War while Text 1a is an allusion to the Nigerian Civil War of 1967 to 1970, commonly known as the Biafran War. Texts 1a and 1c agree with St. Clare's (2018) assertion that one of the characteristics of hate speech is its ability to allude to troublesome historic past. Some hate locutions (utterances) could go farther than just gaining visibility online because for every utterance, there is a perlocutionary force (the effects of the locutions) and sometimes begets an illocutionary force (the actions of the hearer), because not all utterances attract an illocutionary act/force. The Rwandan Genocide of 1994 for instance was caused by hate utterances on the media by the "superior" Hutus over the "inferior" Tutsi. The hate utterances led to killings, reprisal killings leading to mass atrocities and genocide. This then stirs up the illocutionary act which could be the subordination or mortification of a particular group of people, for the singular fact that they originate from a particular ethnic group.

In Texts 1b -*Inyaniris did a lot of bad deeds in the time past*- and Text 1d -*Inyamiri is shameless and useless*-, the lexical item, *Inyamiri* is used to denigrate the Igbos by the Hausas -another characteristic of hate speech discussed earlier. This name was said to be derived during the Nigerian Civil War when the government cut supplies of food and water. When Igbos were captured, the first thing they would say was *Nyemmiri*, meaning, "give me water" in Igbo language (Nairaland Forum). Therefore, the speaker's use of the word *Inyamiri* is a deliberate act to hurt, demean, dehumanise and subjugate the Igbos who are the target group here. The word *Inyamiri* to the Igbos brings back the bitter memories of the sufferings and pains the Igbos went through during the civil war. The Igbos were abandoned without the supply of food and water. They were running in the bush without food or water, watching their children die in their hand just because they needed to drink water. When they eventually gave them water, it was poisoned and this resulted in more massive death of the Igbos. The word *Inyamiri* evokes a general image of the war, the painful losses of lives and property. The pronoun *they* in the above extract shows a divide between the speaker *we* and the addressee *they*. It connotes that there is a *we* that is superior and better than the *they* that is inferior and bad. This also agrees with St, Clare's (2018) accession that hate speech denigrates.

**Text 2:** The Igbos are *the ones killing this country,* we knew from onset.
The focus in the above extract is the clause, *the ones killing this country*, which is assertive. Seale's (1969) assertive speech act maintains that the speaker expresses their belief while asserting that something is judged as true. Seale (1969) further explains that the illocutionary

point of the assertive act focuses on persuading the hearer/reader to form a parallel belief. The manifestation of such utterance in the above extract is a clear expression of the speaker's belief of the about the Igbos which is asserted as a true judgement of the Igbos in Nigeria, Again, the assertion is a subtle persuasion from the writer to the reader for the formation of a parallel belief. In the same vein, aligning with Seale's (1969) assertive speech act, the extract in text 3 also asserts that the Igbos are responsible for the state of decadence in the country, hence:

**Text 3**: *The Igbos are also responsible for Nigeria's cultural and moral degeneracy with their notorious involvement in all kinds of crimes, including international networking for drug and human trafficking, violent robberies and kidnappings, high-profile prostitution and advanced financial fraud.*

With the above, it is asserted that the country is losing its values and moral decadence - *killing-* courtesy of the Igbos.  In the above assertion also, a particular ethnic group is named as the target group -the Igbos-, as against all other ethnic groups in the country. This utterance is obviously aimed at subordinating the target group as it places the members of a target group in a position of inferiority. This may convey that the speaker tends to demean and denigrate the target (St, Clare, 2018; Langton, 2012). Their life style is allegedly said to bring moral decadence to the entire country and its populace. This allegation is a blanket allegation on everyone who is Igbo just on the basis of their ethnicity. The word *notorious* is an adjective used to describe a person or people that are famous for a bad reason. From the speaker's view, based on ethnicity, all Igbos are known for one bad reason or the other. By the extract above, no Igbo is exonerated from any kind of crime hence "…*involvement in all kinds of crimes"*. The above extract qualifies all Igbos as "*international networkers for drug and human trafficking, violent robber and kidnappers, high-profile prostitutes and advanced financial fraudsters",* all on the bases of their ethnic identity. The target audience on the other hand would perceive the utterance as demeaning and dehumanizing as the assertion is luring other ethnic group to see the target group as such (Seale, 1969).

The immediate motivation for the above hate utterances (Texts 1, 2 and 3) is retaliatory**,** while the remote motivation lies in ethnic identity and feeling, which are rife in Nigeria. Retaliatory hate speeches/crime according to Burke (2017) are speeches/crime that are vengeful, it is an eye-for-an-eye attack. The researcher termed the above extracts retaliatory as the speech was a response to the Igbos' agitation for Biafra in which some derogatory statements were made against the Hausa/Fulanis.

**Religious Motivated Hate Expressions**
The next dominant hate expression in this study, accounting for 35.7% (n = 5) occurrence, is the religious motivated hate expression. The high frequency in the use of religious motivated hate expression is a worldwide problem. This inspired the MacArthur Foundation in 2009 to award a grant to the Centre for Faith and Public Policy to 'prevent' hate  speech and deepen inter-religious cooperation in Nigeria (MacArthur Foundation, 2012). Some examples of these religious motivated hate expressions are examined in the texts below:

**Text 4:** *We hate you even more and we can never love you because you are all infidels.*
The word *infidel* refers to a person who does not believe in a prevailing, particular religion (Collins English dictionary online, 2016). The use of the religious hate word *infidel* is mostly found in the religious hate expressions of the current Boko Haram sect leader, Abubakar

Shekau. The activities of the Boko Haram sect in Nigeria are no news to Nigerians and the world at large. The sect and its followers believe in Islam and the teachings of Islam alone. To them, Christianity and western education are interwoven, and are both perceived *sinful* and/or *forbidden*, hence the name Boko Haram, meaning, western education is forbidden. The sect sees Christians who believe in western education and practice democracy and others who share the same faith as them but not fanatical as their enemies, infidels and not fit to co-exist with so should be eliminated. The above facts as stated in Awojobi (2014) are justified in the hate expressions of Abubakar Shekau, the Boko Haram leader as is evident thus:

**Text 5:**…*it is a Jihad war against Christians and Christianity. It is a war against western education, democracy and constitution. We are anti-Christians, and those that deviated from Islam, they are forming basis with prayers but infidels.*

The clause, *you are all infidels* is a declarative statement because the speaker is declaring that anyone who does not have the same religious beliefs as the speaker is nothing but an infidel. This is in line with John Searle's sub-classification of John Austin's speech act theory but it is a misfired declarative. A declarative according to Searle (1979), is a speech act whose successful performance brings about correspondence between the propositional content and reality. Here, the speaker has no powers to bring to reality the fact that all those who do not have the same religious beliefs as that of the speaker are infidels, as a second definition of the word *infidel* in the same Collins English Dictionary (2016) states that *infidels* are people without any religious beliefs. Hence, this declarative is a misfired declarative.

In the same vein, the speaker in text 9 (Abubakar Shekau), believes that Islam and Islam alone is the true religion, anyone who believes in any other religion other than Islam and does not practice it doggedly is practising paganism and so, an infidel, should be broken down, hence;

**Text 9**: *Harvest Jonathans neck (President Goodluck), harvest Kashim's neck (the then Governor of Borno State). Allah said, "… even in Ka'ba, if someone is doing salat (prayer), for so long as he is deviating from what Allah said, he is an infidel.*

The above extract opens with a verbal positive lexicon, *harvest*, a pleasant sound to the ear, but used in this context to denote hate as it is hostile, malicious and dehumanizing (Cohen-Almagor 2013). The deliberate choice of the diction *harvest*, made manifest the degree of hate the speaker has for *infidels* and how the speaker wants them to suffer even as they die. The immediate target persons here are *Jonathan* and *Kashim* but they are but a channel to the larger target group, the *infides.*

The major motivation of religious hate expression/crime is religious intolerance which can degenerate to religious conflict. Burke (2017) asserts that religious hate utterances/crimes are called *defensives*. This is because the motivation behind them is that attackers see themselves as defending their religion. He maintains that defenders have specific targeted groups and that these defenders justify their hate speech/crime so as to keep threats at bay. Burke (2017) further opines that defenders show little or no remorse for their actions as they

believe everyone in the group they claim to be defending is in support of them. This is very typical of the Boko Haram sect in Nigeria.

**Politically Motivated Hate Expressions**
Politically motivated hate expressions accounted for 14.3% (n = 2) frequency of occurrence which is the least occurred hate expressions among the three identified in this study. This could be so because several other studies (Agwu, 2009; Godwen, 2004; Salawu, 2010) have proven that politically motivated hate expressions are fuelled by ethnicity and religion. Democratic norm is fully displayed during political campaigns and such campaigns are characterized by hate expressions as is seen below:
**Text 7b:** *All APC supporters are Boko Haram members*, *they are the real terrorists, Chuhwuabiama will expose them all.*
In the above extract, it is glaring that the speaker's intentions are to: stigmatize all APC supporters as terrorists (which is what Boko Haram sect is known as in Nigeria), antagonize APC members and followers, inflict psychological pain on all APC supporters, subordinate all APC members and their supporters, intimidate APC members so as to loss the then forthcoming elections among others. The utterance, *All APC supporters are Boko Haram members* is a directive which intention is for the hearer to be warned.

Politicking is the actions or activities concerned with the acquisition and use of power in an organisation, a group or a country; the latter is our concern in this study. The foundation of Nigeria's party politics was tribally-oriented as portrayed from the First to the Fourth Republics. The term "Boko Haram" is a trade mark name world-wide and particularly in Nigeria. With the notorious history of the Boko Haram sect, no one would want to identify with them in Nigeria and even the world over. The already established speech act schemata of both the speaker and the hearer are that; there is a sense of divide between the two political parties that is, PDP is for the Westerners/Easterners while APC is solely for the Northerners Going by their history, the Easterners and Westerners cannot differentiate the Hausa man from the Hausa/Fulani man, they all are Hausas.

As a matter of fact, to them, anyone from the Middle-Belt region upwards is Hausa. Bearing in mind the utterance, *All APC supporters are Boko Haram members*, which came from an Easterner (Nnamdi Kanu) implies that APC is a political party for terrorists because it is assumed to be a party for the Northerners, and so are their supporters whether they are Northerners or not. Secondly, for the fact that Boko Haram emerged from the North, all Northerners have the tendencies of being terrorists. In spite of the provisions in the Nigerian constitution that political campaign, in Nigeria should be hate speech free, they are still tainted with hate rhetoric, even watered down to aspirant's family members.
Political hate utterances are also aimed at dehumanising prominent political figures and denigrating the target's immediate family members and ethnic group as can be seen in the extract below:

**Text 10**: w*hen you described him as a drunken sailor, a drunken fisherman, a kindergarten President and insulted members of his family it was not described as hate speech. When you called us wailing wailers, it was not hate speech. When they called us PDPigs, it was not described as hate speech*

Text 10 is an extract from Femi Fani Kayode's Tweeter handle page. It was a reaction to the then Acting President Yemi Osibanjo's call for the reawakening and enforcement of the Nigeria Electoral Act of 2010 and also, the treating of users of hate speech as terrorists. Femi Fani Kayode, a Nigerian politician and lawyer, was a member of the APC until June 2014 when he decamped to the PDP. Femi Fani Kayode is a strong supporter of the PDP and has been politically vocal for the PDP. The above extract was used to describe past President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan and his party members who was at that time the presidential flag bearer of the PDP. The phrasal slanders -*drunken sailor, drunken fisherman*- used in the above extract allude to Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's historical background. This has a lot to do with the shared background knowledge of both the speaker and the hearer. The terms *drunken sailor and drunken fisherman* refers to Goodluck Ebele Jonathan and his people's life style in his village, Otuoke, Rivers State, Nigeria. The predominant occupation for both men and women in Otuoke where past President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan hails from is fishing. They go fishing in their boats and canoes and come back to unwind after work with their locally brewed gin, *Ogogoro*; hence the hate phrase *drunken sailor* and *drunken fisherman*. This aligns with the hate speech characteristic St. Clare (2018) refers to as referent and reminder where hate words directed to an individuals in a group automatically refers to the entire group the individual belongs to. The utterance is also amid at asserting a negative world-view of the target -*drunken sailor*- to make him look unfit for the presidential post he was vying for. The *kindergarten President* hate phrase is also an allusion to the past. This speech was made during past President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's campaign for a second tenure in 2014. Kindergarten is a preschool for children between the ages of four and six, to prepare them for the primary school. Mainly, the kindergarten class is a class where children go to play, otherwise known as play class. The use of the hate phrase, *kindergarten President* demeaning, denoting that past President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan is not matured enough to rule the country so should give way for those who have been in the business of ruling the country, the likes of General Mohammed Buhari Rtd.,  the opposition party flag bearer. This utterance is hinged on the singular fact that all the speaker wants to do is to make inferior, demean, subordinate and silent the target,

The immediate motivation of political hate expression is to create disdain for the party maligned in order to win more supporters for a particular political group/party. Politically-motivated hate speeches are usually perpetuated by members of the opposition party/parties. The members of the opposition party/parties make their hate utterances basically to lower the personal self-esteem of their oppositions and diminish the masses' sense of security with the opposition. Although it has been argued (Ezeibe, 2015; Rasaq, Udende, Ibrahim & Oba, 2017) that politically motivated hate speeches in Nigeria exacerbate the ethnic and religious divide and intolerance. Political hate expressions are intended to offend, humiliate or discriminate against an individual member of a political party or a particular political party mainly on the bases of affiliating with the political party.

## Conclusion

Certain hate expressions observed in selected online social media in Nigeria were identified, categorised and analysed. It was revealed that online hate expressions can be identified, categorized and accounted for. Hate expressions were categorised in terms of their thematic categorisation and motivation. It was discovered that ethnic motivated hate expressions are predominantly used, closely followed by religious motivated hate expression and lastly, political motivated hate expression. It was also acknowledged that hate utterances are used deliberately to inflict emotional and psychological damage on the targets and subordinate them.

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# Traditional Oral Art Forms and Contemporary Contexts: A Study of Themes and Functions of the Folktales of *Tangle* People in Gombe State, Nigeria

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## Abstract

*Folktales have been an important oral art form used in educating and entertaining the citizens of a given community. It reflects the social and political milieu of particular times and place, and reflects the people's culture and world view. In Tangle society, folktales constitute a form of entertainment, relaxation and education for the child. This art form is told by the fireside in the harmattan or dry season, between December and February, a time also when there is little farm work and hence no necessity for sleeping early. Folktales in Tangle tradition are in various forms. While there are dilemma tales others are etiological in nature. However, little systematic interest has been taken in the study of folktales of the Tangle people in Gombe State, Nigeria. Though, there are some isolated instances of Tangle folktales that have been transcribed and in some cases translated into English however this has been carried out without any meaningful discussion of the themes and functions of these tales. Therefore, this paper is seeking to investigate the themes and functions of the folktales of Tangle people who predominantly reside in Billiri and Akko Local Government Areas of Gombe State, Nigeria. Similarly, the paper seeks to emphasise how the Tangle folktales could be deployed as pedagogical materials incorporated in the national curriculum of education. Most of the data used for this paper are generated through a careful field work – where ten (10) folktales were collected and later on five (5) of the tales were selected for this study. Tape recording and non-directive interview method were used to collect data. Besides that, library research and internet search were employed as latest source of information. Lastly, the paper finds out that modern education, which provides secular, pluralistic and egalitarian values is deficient in many ways; therefore there is urgent need to embrace oral tradition which fills this gap by inculcating universal, humanistic and Tangle values. The paper recommends that government should promote, document and disseminate the study of folktales through funding of research in this art form.*

**Keywords:** Traditional, Oral, Art Forms, Contexts, Themes and Functions

## Introduction

In and outside Nigeria, the status of folk narratives has been a source of worry and concern by most African scholars who have remarkable interest in the study of Folktales and Folklore in general. For instance, folklorists like Darah, Okpewho, Bamgbose, Olatunji and the likes have described it as underrated, ignored and neglected. This study proposes to prove that whereas folktale traditions in Nigeria are relatively old, the present position of research on folktales is unsatisfactory. Hence, this study hopes to focus and provide a significant contribution to Orature by investigating the themes and functions of the Tangle folktales as well as to reinvigorate the need for the study of folktales to be deployed as pedagogical

materials incorporated in the National Curriculum of education in Nigeria. There is, at the moment, a dearth of criticism of the Tangle folktales.

The situation is fundamentally because the present young generation of Nigerians (Tangle people of Gombe State, Nigeria) seem not to appreciate the value of the oral tradition and equally know the artistry involved in the composition and the humanistic values that inhere in them. Therefore, the analytical thrust of this paper lies in the exploration of the themes inherent in Tangle folktales; as well as to look at the functions of folktales in general. In this regard, it will address the following research questions: What are the themes inherent in Tangle folktales? And what rich functional values do Tangle folktales offer?

Folktale is one of the forms of Nigerian Orature. Others include myth, legend, proverb, aphorism, reminiscence, anecdote and joke. In the main, folktales comprise various kinds of narrative prose literature found in oral traditions of the world. They are told, heard, remembered and [as well as] subject[ed] to various alterations in the course of retelling (Kehinde, 1). Folktales have been defined by many scholars of different orientations. Its definition depends on its functions in a society and the way the narrator and the audience think of it at the time of performance. M.H Abrams provides a more concise and technical definition of folktale. According to him, "a folktale, strictly defined, is a short narrative in prose of unknown authorship, which has been transmitted orally" (5).

This means that a folktale is imaginative; it is in prose form, its authorship is anonymous, and it is orally transmitted across ages. This form of story –telling usually takes place in the evening, the bedtime and the twilight. Chesaina also says that storytelling is one of the oldest arts among the Embu and the Mbeere (a tribe in Eastern Africa, Kenya). It is an art in which almost every member of the two societies must have taken part at one time or another. Stories are told in the evening before and after the evening meal. It was taboo for anybody, children and adults alike, to tell stories during the day. It was believed, for example, that everyone who told stories during the day would grow a nail on his bottom (10). A belief such as this is used to encourage people to concentrate on work during the day and avoid the distraction of storytelling (46). This explains why in Tangle community of Gombe State, Nigeria; folktales are also forbidden during the day time possibly because if folktales were told in the day time most people will not be there to carry out their daily house chores. Therefore, it is believed that a bird could perch on the person's head involved in the narration if done during the daytime. However, this is just a fictive belief which is uttered as form of deterrence or to scare the children, or an attempt to compel them to respect the tradition.

It should be noted that, not all stories are utilized in teaching virtues, as there are some that are ambiguous or contain vices rather than virtues. Plato and Socrates observed that the stories to be used in teaching should be selected with utmost care. Then should we be so careless to allow children to hear just any story made up by anyone who comes along, taking ideas into their minds that are the exact opposite of the ones they should have when they grow up? It is paramount, that stories for the [audience] should be selected and be screened. This is done with a view to avoid those stories that may impact negatively on the morals of the [listeners]. It is an obvious fact that some stories are better left out because they contain a lot of vices, and some teach ills (10).

Thus, some folktales have the potential of breeding indiscipline and immorality in the society. If not carefully illustrated, some folktales may mould children's characters to become bullies, aggressors, con artists and selfish individuals. However, if well and carefully employed, folktales stand as useful tools of socialization and celebration of communal ethos and pantheons (Kehinde, 4). Kaschula adds that, "Oral literature exists only insofar as society allows it to exist" (12).

**Methodology**
The data for this study was drawn from the following sources; the researchers own knowledge, as a member of Tangle community; informants' knowledge of Tangle folktales. Being a member of the Tangle community gave the researcher an intuitive grasp of the Tangle culture that could be utilised to gain useful information from informants. The researcher did not only rely on the assistance and insights of other community members but did embark on a field study-where ten (10) folktales narrative sessions were witnessed and collected from various regions within the Tangle community and later on five (5) tales were selected for this paper. Tape recording and non-directive interview method were used to collect data. Secondary sources which have been used by the researcher are library research and internet search where latest information was supplied. Other secondary sources are *books, articles* from *journals* and *dissertations*.

**Theoretical Approach to Oral Literature**
In Orature studies functionalism is the view that all Orature materials must have a particular function. As Mark Glazer points out," here the expectation is that every proverb, tale, folk belief or ballad must satisfy some important cultural, social or psychological function" (1). The functionalist approach to the study of Orature therefore stresses the role of Orature in society. The functionalists believe that Orature can fully be understood only through the knowledge of the people's culture. They see Orature as a means of maintaining the social structure of society. These basic tenets and principles were laid by A.R Radcliffe-Brown, a British anthropologist and Bronislaw Malinowski. These tenets were later amplified by other functionalist apostles like William Bascom. Radciffe- Brown believes that " every custom and belief of a primitive people plays some determinate part in the social stability of the community, just as every organ of a living body plays some part in the general life of the organization"(219 ). He sees the function of an institution as helping in stability and cohesion of the society and the functions are seen to consist of "the place they occupy in the mental, moral and social life of the people" (221).

In summary William R. Bascom presents fours holistic functions of Orature in the society. He presents Orature as the ethnography of the people and argues that recording Orature materials helps the anthropologist since "it gives further leads for the investigation of the content of culture, ensuring that important cultural details are not overlooked" (222). He adds that Orature offers clues to the events of the past and also exposes the vital ingredients of culture and "verbalize these in form which needs only to be translated and quoted as evidence of common sense opinion"(265). Orature, William Bascom stresses further, is a mirror of culture and therefore not taken for amusement only. For one to understand Orature we must be very familiar with the culture of the people from which these oral arts forms spring. Another function of Orature is that it helps in validating culture, in justifying its rituals and other social institutions to the performers and observers. Hence Orature is seen as guide

to the stability of the social structure of a society. Bascom points out that Orature plays an important role in education "particularly, but not exclusively, in non-literate societies". He goes on to say that "in many non-literate societies the information embedded in [Orature] is highly regarded in its own right. To the extent that it is regarded as important; and also seen as a mirror of a given culture; It contains practical rules for the guidance of men" (293).

This means that Orature is considered as didactic, as "essentially social" and as being capable of educating children in non-literate societies. Bascom adds that Orature is seen as a way of disciplining the child. Finally, Orature serves the function of making one to conform to the accepted patterns of behaviour. Individuals who fail to conform to the social conventions or laid down principles of the society would have items of Orature employed against them. This is irrespective of whether the deviant is a child or an old person. One can adduce that Orature helps in checking the behaviour of people in society: praising the conformists and condemning or advising the deviants.

Thus in general the functionalist school sees Orature essentially in relation to the stability of the society: as a balancing, harmonizing factor in the structure of the society. All art, whether oral or written, serves a particular function in society, ranging from entertainment to education. Therefore this paper adopts the functionalist theory taking into considerations some of the ideas of these theoreticians.

### Thematic Features in Tangle Folktales
Scholars like Rattray, argue that folktales have many themes and are sometimes difficult to categorize under distinct themes (30). Ruth Finnegan , for instance argues that "it would be true to say that all stories, to a greater or lesser degree, according to circumstances, can contain some or all of several elements-morality and generalisation; explanation, comparison… and intension to amuse and entertain"(31). In spite of this diversity, this paper classifies Tangle folktales into distinct groups based on the themes that are most conspicuous in them. Since, from the functionalist point of view, all folktales serve a particular purpose, for the Tangle people, the art of story-telling serves the important function of socialisation, education and entertainment.

Tangle folktales reflect the totality of the Tangle worldview and express the various activities, values and beliefs of the people. For instance, children are told stories with morals to caution them about an immediate act of disobedience, bravery, to encourage them on a mission or assignment and history to educate and inculcate cultural values.

### Categories of Tangle Folktales
### Stories about People
These categories of folktales revolve around people as characters and human nature as the subject of their narration. The attribute and actions of human beings-children or adults and their interactions are critically examined in this category of stories.
### Text I
A King with his four wives had gathered. The king declared that his item was missing. The wives began to grumble and point accusing fingers at one of the co-wives named Abibiyo. The co-wives insisted that Abibiyo was the one who stole this unnamed missing item. The accused Abibiyo declared her innocence by saying that she did not know anything about this

missing item and as such she was kept in the dark. Abibiyo redirected the accusations to her co-wives. She said that the other three wives were responsible for the said unnamed missing item. The co-wives inquired as to whom she was directing her accusations. Abibiyo declared that she was referring to them the trio.

One day the king gave an instruction that a grave be dug. The grave was dug just as the king had instructed. The grave was deep. Lamanjo was fully aware of the intention of the king. She called Abibiyo and told her what was going on especially the king's intention. Lamanjo told Abibiyo the king's motive via his instructive message. She told Abibiyo that the grave the king, instructed to be dug was for her to be thrown and buried inside. Lamanjo, however, gave Abibiyo a large gourd (kuluk) and also told her not to be scared as she will not die.

Lamanjo instructed Abibiyo, that she should take a knife and throw it on the grave and she should equally sit on the knife. This would help to rescue her. Abibiyo did exactly as she was instructed. Early in the morning, Abibiyo took a large gourd, and also a mat and took it to the graveside. She sat on the large gourd. Abibiyo was pregnant. Eventually she was buried alive.
One day the king's emissary went in search of grass close to the graveside where Abibiyo was buried. Abibiyo began to sing:

> Kill the king's horse
> Kill Abibiyo, kill the king's hen,
> Kill Abibiyo,kill the king's pigeon,
> Kill Abibiyo, sleep my dear child, and sleep quietly.

The king's emissary listened with rapt attention to Abibiyo's song for the second time.  He went and told the king what he had heard insisting that he was not lying. He told the king that he should go and see for himself where Abibiyo was buried. This was what he had seen and heard. He told the king that Abibiyo sang that her child should sleep gently and that when the king's cow, hen or any animal is being killed the accusations were always directed at her. Her child should sleep gently. The king's emissary re-emphasized that what he had seen was true and not a lie. The emissary, however, requested that the king should send someone to confirm the veracity of what he has said.

Therefore, the king sent some people and when they had reached the grave side, they began to cut grass. Abibiyo sang again. They all ran to the palace and told the king that the matter was true. Early in the morning, the king sent out a message around the town that early in the morning the following day Abibiyo should be dug out from the grave. Therefore, early in the morning, the people did exactly as the king instructed. The graveside was full of people. The king requested Abibiyo to come out of the grave but Abibiyo refused to come out. Abibiyo insisted that a mat should be rolled out at the graveside and the equally the people responsible for the hideous crime be dealt with.

Therefore, some women who had gathered at the grave volunteered to work and be responsible for her house chores. Others said they would be responsible for cleaning her calabash, cooking food, and yet others to be responsible for bathing her, some for sweeping

the house. One woman said she would take care of her baby. When all her requests were met, Abibiyo decided to come out and began to walk on the mat that was unfolded by the grave till she entered her room. When she had entered; she sat down. The king's men gathered with his people and instructed the women that no one should leave but should rather work for Abibiyo. The women declared their loyalty to Abibiyo by choosing their responsibilities. From washing of house, washing of calabash, cooking, washing her face and legs etc.  Abibiyo not vindicated? End of story.

The allegory here relates to the fact that, in life, it is very bad for people to give false testimonies concerning things or activities they do not have facts on. The tale also admonishes us not to be hasty and judgmental in our decisions whenever we lack proper information to adduce on a case(s). This is similar to the Tangle Sam kwi bolji (proverbs) that:

> *Ka kum saba tobo, bana tuntho.*
> Hear first, delay anger.

This saying is cautioning one to exercise patience even when one hears some infuriating words. One should be slow to anger and weigh words and situations carefully, as sometimes the information we receive may not be correct. This saying can be an advice or caution but on the whole, condemns the idea of getting angry without confirming what one has hears or sees (Tadi 83). The tale of Abibiyo (see **Text I**) proves beyond reasonable doubt that in every society people are created differently, which gives others advantages over others in height, wealth, knowledge and other factors which lead to class differences and struggles. Again, since human beings, by nature, live in these societies, then, they must struggle to maintain, by all means, the needed class.

It is in the attempt and struggles then, that jealousy comes in. In this tale, we see the kind of extreme jealousy of the other co-wives against Abibiyo. It has always been a normal practice that when something goes wrong in the house an accusing finger is pointed at Abibiyo. This tale, therefore, is an admonition against evil deeds such as wickedness and jealousy. Thus, human beings are reminded that jealousy is an evil deed and must be taken out if we are to live in peace with one another. Similarly, people are often advised to speak the truth in all circumstances as that would ensure their peaceful survival.

The tale equally teaches people how to live together, respect one another, value promises, responsibilities and many others. Above all, this tale teaches us the importance of truthfulness. Sincere people are never at any loss. Evil plotters gain nothing but shame and degradation in the end. The tale teaches the significance of love to all mankind.

## Animal Stories

In this group of stories, the characters are animals. However, in most cases, the stories do not really refer to animals. Animal characters are merely agents through which the messages of the stories are presented. Personification, allegory and fables are used to portray the animals as very reasonable or behaving like humans with the ability to reason like human beings. This means that they can be portrayed as being very witty, to the point of outwitting bigger animals, or very stupid that they can do nothing well. A typical example is "The tale of cobweb and cricket"

**Text II**
Cobweb and the cricket had a talk and not quite long, the atmosphere became cloudy -it was about to rain. The cricket suggested that they should dig a hole but cobweb refused and insisted on making *Dangla* – (a canopy, shade made of cornstalk) instead of a hole. Cricket dug a whole whereas, cobweb made a canopy. When they had finished, the rain began to fall and the stormy wind destroyed the canopy. Cobweb ran to the cricket and begged. The cricket was allowed to come in.

This tale provides a clear picture of human life. Human beings sometimes want to do things half-way, manipulate or manoeuvre their way(s) in carrying out their daily activities. For instance, a man who wants to build a house will not go for genuine and qualitative building materials. Instead he/she will opt for less expensive materials. This could result in to the collapse of the entire structure. This is also similar to other fields of human endeavour. In demonstrating our cleverness, we end up doing a great deal of harm to ourselves. Therefore, the tale "cobweb and cricket", advocates' hard work and resilience in life. However, the theme of patience is woven through in this tale. Each animal character displays some of the uniqueness that belongs only to its kind. Animals like the Hare, for instance, are mostly presented as witty, cunning, greedy etc. The lion is depicted as arrogant, mean, most often outwitted by smaller animals. The allegorical representations of these animals in those various tales lie in the fact that the story-teller uses them as tools for conveying messages to the audience, and in most cases, they are seen as satirical in nature. Such messages could be about leadership, justice, morality and social interaction.

**Satirical Tales**
Similarly, there are tales satirising injustice, arrogance, ingratitude, unscrupulousness, greed, shamelessness, and so on. The tales are told in order to let the community know what is happening. They are also intended for people to take precaution. The story-teller mimics the characters, sometimes by walking like them, or wearing different facial expressions of the characters satirised. These types of tales could be funny, or sad, or entertaining. However, mostly, when the audience laughs at some funny episodes in the tale, he/she could unknowingly be laughing at himself/herself at the same times. Since the stories are told to satirise the man/woman and his/her nature. It is more like a self-reflection, which story-teller tells in order that the society might improve for the better.

**Text III**
An example of this can be seen in the tale of "The Beautiful Proud Girl". The tale is a story of a beautiful proud girl who refused to accept any suitor with a slight scar. She was looking for an extraordinary fine person to marry, but she turned down all the men that came to her. The girl ends up marrying a monster, who had transformed itself into a handsome young man. The monster took her to the land of spirits and punished her severely. She was however rescued later by her mother. She wanted a perfect man and refused to marry anyone with a scar, but she got married to a monster that turned out to be uglier than them. The quest for extreme perfection or beauty ends in disaster.

The tale admonishes people not to judge a person by outside trappings or paraphernalia as it can be very deceptive. We are to search beneath the smiles and other outside gestures in order to truly known a person. Hence we are to recognize the differences between appearance and reality (104).

### Moral Themes
This group of tales treats diverse issues concerning morality, which includes issues such as the lazy cobweb who refused the wise counsel of its friend-the cricket. The tale teaches us not to be lazy: Laziness is a negative virtue that tarnishes one's personality. The allegorical lesson in this tale is that hard work pays however tasking and herculean a work is. We are required to face it in a serious manner. Other stories classified under this theme include the'tale of Ladomol-domol' (**Text VI**).

### Text vi
La domol – domol was passing by and she came across a group of people digging radish. The people were kind enough and gave out a little of the radish to La domol – domol. She ate the radish at home. After some days, La domol – domol began to think of how she would reciprocate the people's kind gesture. She thought at length how she was going to repay these people.

When the radish farmers had all left, La domol – domol immediately picked her bag alongside her bowl. As she was walking, whenever she sighted those digging the radish; she would begin to sing. The people beckoned at La domol – domol, "Please come La domol – domol". They began to dance while La domol – domol kept singing. La domol – domol became tired and told them that she was exhausted and was about to leave. They all scooped the radish in great quantity and gave to her. La domol – domol opened her bag and poured the entire radish. Again as she was walking she sighted a different set of people digging radish. La domol – domol greeted them and began to sing for them. She kept singing for those digging the radish and they began to dance and after sometimes La domol – domol told them that she was going. They all scooped the radish and gave it out to La domol – domol. Her bag and bowl were filled up with the radish. La domol – domol came across another set of people and she sang for them and left. She was happy as she set out for home.

When she came back home, her husband was surprised and asked La domol – domol what she was carrying. She told him that she was carrying radish. Later on La domol – domol took the entire radish and cooked it. When all the farmers had returned home; she began to serve them the cooked radish.  She served them, and equally greeted them saying 'well done'. Hasn't La domol – domol paid back? End of story! Ladomo-domol does not have a radish farm but she makes use of her talent as a means of livelihood.  She sings for the farmers who pay back with their radish.

The Tangle people believe in hard work and in the need to be faithful in every aspect of one's life. Therefore, to discourage certain negative vices, they create and tell such stories that discredit among others, laziness and sadistic character only leads to ridicule, shame and regret. Hence, stories with moral themes teach that faithfulness, hard work and perseverance pay, whereas evil is always punished. Although this story is meant for moral inculcations, it also entertains; in fact, it serves dual purposes of education and amusement. The concern of the story- teller is to influence children to conform to the norms of the society,while at the same time reminding the adults of their responsibilities. The tale in text (iv) show the communal nature of work in Tangle society; shows that workers are spurred by music/songs and that it is good to reward entertainers. La Domol, the singer is equally seen to have a very generous nature.

## Themes of Injustice

Some stories depict the theme of injustice, portraying how injustice has eaten deep into many communities. This is demonstrated in the relationship between the rich and the poor, the ruled and the rulers, the strong and the weak. Storytellers have a way of creating stories that capture the social inequalities in the society.

**Text V**

There lives a king in a village called Nakadas. The king is said to be rich; God has also blessed him with so many children but among the children, one of them did not marry. Therefore, the king brought several maidens for his child to marry but the son refused. One day, the child decided to travel and as he was travelling he came across a house. Most members of these families were poor. However, there was a beautiful girl in the house. The girl was an orphan. Her guardian often times maltreats her. The girl is always sent to sleep with some goats whereas other girls in the house sleep with their mothers. The prince needed a place to rest. He unknowingly came and jumped inside a goat's pen where the girl was also sleeping.

The girl was frightened but he admonished her not to panic. He told her that he had been monitoring her case. Thereafter the prince proposed to the girl and eventually they got married. This folktale demonstrates how orphans are treated badly by their guardians, even when something good is perceived to be coming their way. The tale shows how an external force can be a source of liberation to the poor and wretched.

## Functions of Tangle Folktales

Folktale is the most popular and widely available folk literary genre known as *Sindi* in Tangle language. Village women/men are repositories of folktales of different versions. They have perfected the art and committed it to memory by repeated narrations to their children, close relatives or other children. Tangle folktales exist for life's sake, serving multi-purpose functions for individuals, family, society and community. There are multi-layered meanings embedded in the tales. Most of the folktales are of trivial events but of great moral and social importance, with experiences drawn from their daily life such as farming, fishing, hunting, religion and rituals, adventure with domestic and wild animals, interactions with human companions and with spirits such as ghosts, life and death etc. This paper discusses some main functions of the Tangle folktales- their roles in the society in general.

## Education of children

Of many functions, the most important one is the education of children. Poet Schiller wrote "deeper meaning resides in the fairy tales told to me in my childhood than in any truth that is taught in life". When tales are told in the Tangle extended family system, it is considered as a school where grandparents, parents, elders and other family members educate and prepare children for their adult life. Tangle folktales serve as an inherent vehicle for intergenerational communication that prepares and assigns roles and responsibilities to different generations in their communities. Values are acquired through maintenance of and direct participation in social, cultural and religious institutions. Education is not only acquired, but lived through. They are more of pedagogic devices and less of literary pieces, deliberately composed to inculcate values into children with no formal instruction on what and what not to do.

Distilled folk wisdoms like proverbs for example validate values and belief, which are reinforced practically in adult life. Folktales make children imagine and create their own mental pictures, and this mental exercise leaves deepest impression on them, imprinting folktales' rightful place in their imagination. For folk wit and wisdom are not taught through formal arrangement but through direct observation in earlier stage and direct participation in events themselves. To children, entertainment is the end, and values inculcation comes as a by-product without their being aware of it. To parents, value transmission is the main objective and the entertainment is a by-product. Parents distil folktales into proverbs and use them to guide children's behaviours, thoughts and actions.

Stories express moral or practical wisdom and provide an insight into the adult world. It is common for village elders to quote from some well-known folktales: like in the tale of *Montholing.* A tale in which *Montholing's* head was cut with an axe and she had to travel far to a native doctor who after testing her in many ways finds her virtuous and neatly stiches her head. At dawn *Montholing's* head was not only completely stitched but was very smooth. The ultimate lesson here in this tale is patience and endurance. A child is exposed to knowledge, experiences, morals, customs, rituals and belief that they are supposed to live through as adults.

### Entertainment
Another function of folktale is entertainment. Folktale is normally told in the evening after daily chores. Children sit round the fire side in their parents' room or in an open space to listen to folktales. Normally the elders, their father or mother tells the story. Children then take turns in telling their own stories. Chesaina maintains that the oral narrative incorporates songs which are sung by some of the characters as the story develops. The song may be a device used by a character to disguise a certain happening in the story. It conveys emotions and helps relieve tension while at the same time propelling the story towards its conclusion, thus making this narrative a type of musical oral literature in that the song interacts with the narrative in a way that strengthens the narrative aesthetically by infusing it with melody and a greater emotional quality (44).

### Folktales enhances child discipline
Storytelling performance also instils discipline in children. This is because the children go to storytelling sessions voluntarily and with a tacit agreement to adhere to the conventions prevailing (Miruka, 182). This discipline is also cultivated even through songs that accompany the tales. The singing is usually a collective activity, with one leading, others chorusing, clapping hands rhythmically or shouting words of encouragement. The simple fact that there is a 'pattern' to be followed when singing implies that there is need for some discipline to be enforced in the participants. Hence such a collective activity creates and fosters discipline at the same time cultivating the spirit of oneness.

### Folktales and talent identification
Apart from being didactic in nature, folktale narrations also equip children with various talents that could be later explored in life. These include singing, dancing, oratory or drum-beating in some cases. When the story-teller starts a song, the children who are the audience, respond. On songs, usually, if the children audience do not know how to respond (which may be the case owing to their age and limited experience), the story-teller teaches them,

indicating how the various parts have to co-ordinate. The story-teller may also ask one or more among the audience to lead the chorus. In other words, each child is granted the platform to be creative his/her rendition. Through folktale narrations, children also acquire the skill and art of story-telling itself. This is because, among the Tangle people, story-telling is not is a monopoly of a group of people or certain individuals. Everyone, including children, is exposed to this art at a tender age. After completing a tale, the narrator can ask one of the children to tell any other story. The nominated child usually does that, initially with hesitation, and it is the duty of the audience, including the elderly story-tellers, to encourage and cheer him/her up. Therefore, folktales offer one of the best platforms for speech training for the young such that when they grow up, they easily become good story-tellers and public speakers. They would not be passive in national debates, but would take part by confidently airing their views.

### Folktales and Language Training

Folktales also play a major role in teaching the new vocabulary of a people's language. It broadens the children's lexicon of their particular language. If a story mentions a new word that the children have never heard of, they interrupt the story-teller and ask for the meaning of that particular word. A good story-teller leaves the text, suspends the action of the narrative and explains some points to the audience (Chimombo, 88). The chances of learning new vocabulary are quite high, given the nature of oral art forms. Tangle oral art forms like proverbs, riddles, euphemisms, folktales complement each other and inter-relate in everyday situation. So, in telling stories, new words from these other oral art forms surface and are explained by the narrator thereby boosting the vocabulary of the young audience. In this way the children learn new words. So, they are introduced to the verbs, tenses, proverbs, idioms, and a whole range of figurative language. This amply demonstrates that folktale is serious literature that guides the younger generation. Once they are guided in their youth they grow into mature responsible citizens.

### Folktales and other Social Values

The young are also trained and 'taught' the aspects of tolerance and patience, especially given the fact that some of the child narrators can be hesitant or have floppy narrations and have to be corrected and cheered up. In this case, the audience would be made to understand that in life, people are not equally gifted and have to be accepted as they are. Since some of these seemingly hesitant narrators later develop into polished tellers, Tangle children get to understand that patience pays, and that any skill that one desires in life can be successfully acquired if patiently learnt.

### Conclusion

From the foregoing discussion, it has been established that story telling is an important aspect of socializing people in a given traditional society. The folktales are vignettes on the vicissitudes of social life which comment on human nature and its effect on interpersonal relationships and social cohesion. As a form of entertainment, the tales are also powerful vehicles of social cohesion, through which people are educated that humans beings are self-seeking and that we learn from our customs and traditions.

This paper has discussed the various themes, as well the general functions of folktales. Therefore, the individuals are challenged to take interest into the various aspects of oral

performances of their people, especially folktales. Research into African culture should be intensified because modernity and urbanism are wearing away the young generation from their cultures at very early stages. Technology has today reduced the world to a village setting, and keeps bombarding the populace, especially the children with lots of foreign cultures. Therefore, it is important that governments should as a matter of concern fund research into collection, transcription, translation and the preservation of Nigerian cultural materials for posterity. Results indicate that modern education, which mostly provides secular, pluralistic, egalitarian and market values necessary for running economic, political and legal institutions and machineries of modern nation-state is deficient in many ways; and it is the oral tradition which fills this gap by inculcating universal humanistic values and Tangle values. There is need for school administrators to include folktales in the educational curriculum because it is an important process of cultural orientation of children as they grow and learn away from homes. This helps in reinforcing whatever they learn orally from their parents at homes.

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# Religious Extremism in Elnathan John's *Born on a Tuesday*

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## Abstract

*Religious fanaticism has become a special area of interest in many humanistic studies. Religious fanaticism has led to un-orchestrated and perpetual terrorism and violence leading to the problem of insecurity. This paper is instigated by the ruthless and prodigious religious conflict which is induced by extreme display of religious fanaticism and intolerance among different religious groups and especially in Northern Nigeria. In exploring this topic, Born on a Tuesday by Elnathan John is adopted for the paper. Furthermore, the paper embraces Carl Jung's psychoanalysis theory that posits that our past becomes the center of human consciousness, projecting and reflecting the future behaviour. In other words, Carl believes human mind has innate characteristics imprinted on it as a result of evolution. This study discovers that diverse religious sects with diverse ideologies, interpretations and fanatic enforcement have played key roles in many recorded violent and terrorist activities in contemporary Nigeria. The paper holds that religious extremism is born as a result of different conflicting interpretations of doctrines and religious ideologies within the same religious sect, religious intolerance between worshippers of different religions, ravaging poverty and misunderstanding created by certain aggressive clergymen as well as political climate. The study concludes by suggesting that certain remedies such as the provision of adequate security, promotion of poverty alleviation projects, promotion of secularism and provisions of diverse platforms to educate the masses are critical interventions towards stemming the tide of religious extremism.*

**Keywords:** Religious Extremism, Terrorism, Northern Nigeria, Insecurity, Secularism

## Introduction

Literature is generally described as the reflection of society. It reflects the society's good values and ills. Literature is also described as imitation of human action. Abugu, (2019) in an article titled "Literature as a Reflection of the Society", views literature as "an imitation of human action, often presents a picture of what people think, say and do in the society" (http://www.abugubenjamin.expertscolumn.com/article/literature-reflection-society). He further says that in literature, we find stories designed to portray human life and action and reaction, convey certain messages for the purpose of education, information and entertainment. As against structuralism which argues that literature is an art-for-art's sake activity which is meant for just entertainment, Ngugi wa thiong'o opines "literature is more than just a mechanic reflection of the social reality… it does shape our attitudes of life, the daily struggle within our individual souls and selves" (6). This means that literature is not just

a social construct whose foundation is imaginations or imagery situations; rather, literature is a refraction of the realities in the human world.

Consequently, for African writers, literature assumes more than an aesthetic function. They look into the social, political, economic and religious life of the society to create a story as it has become a matter of necessity that writers talk about prevailing issues of poverty, insecurity, corruption, social dislocation, religious extremism and crisis, violence, terrorism and political thuggery. In a sense it is pragmatic. For instance, Elnathan John's *Born on a Tuesday* embodies a perfect representation of the society that produced it. Although the text is fictional, they draw greatly from the social reality of their world which is reflected on the characters representing the locale of the narrative.

Violence and terrorism in Northern Nigeria have taken a new dimension in contemporary Nigeria due to religious fanaticism. This situation calls for urgent attention as the life of many in Northern Nigeria is threatened and those of the people in neighboring states. Many lives have been lost as a result of terrorism and violence emanating from religious extremism. It is alarming that these fanatics do not feel they are wrong in any way but rather present themselves as thoughtful and responsible people with the right course. Religion, as the opium of the masses at some point develops certain fanatical dimensions. This is so because, religion helps in identity formation and its achievement is highly connected with indoctrination by internalization of religious commitments that is influenced by parents and or the clergy that Elnathan John in his *Born on a Tuesday*, have largely understudied in their representations.

**Religious Extremism**
Religious extremism is a century-old problem; a culture that is in existence prior to the first phase of globalization (Hashmi, 21). Remarkably, all religions have shown diverse levels of violent extremism. According to Prus (2005), religious extremism is an "intense sense of ideological fervor accompanied by highly focused and sustained sets of activities that express the devotion of one or more persons to their particular belief systems". He further identifies certain features of religious extremism to include: "monastic seclusion of members, the extended proselytization of non-members, the vilification of outsiders as well as sinners within, the criminalization of non-compliant persons, and the eradication of designated enemies." (qtd. "Religious Extremism and Terrorism in Nigeria"2). Prus, however, posits that religious extremism reflects the norms and ritual activities of diverse religions, which are supported, sanctioned and certified by members and are not perceived by members as extreme but a normal mode of doing things sanctioned by a superior being. Thus, for the members, their actions are moderate.

For Liebman, religious extremism is the "desire to expand the scope, detail and strictness of religious law; social isolation, and the rejection of the surrounding culture" (75). Religious extremism can either be "a process or an institution" that is a process of expanding religious laws to the extent that it is incorporated not just in the private realm but in the public realm. In other words, extremists strive to enforce their laws on the society hence creating political conflict or isolate themselves and wait for a divine interpolation for their ideals to become reality. Moreover, their laws are elaborated and are strictly observed to the extent that leniency in the interpretation of sacred text is prohibited. Liebman (1983), thus submitted

that, religious extremism is detrimental to collective formation and "all historical religions recognize the destructive capacity of extremism and sought strategies to contain it." (77)

Beit-Hallahmi posits that religious extremism tends to antagonize the forces of secularization and other religious groups that are opposed to it through the instrumentality of violence (58). In various parts of the world, this violence against secularization and other religions have been seen among the Hindus in India that attacked Muslims and destroyed their mosques. In the United States, religious extremist groups have demanded for policies and laws that ensure prayers in public schools, they have also destroyed hospitals and killed doctors who engage in abortion. The Jewish religious extremists in Israel have also demanded for a theocratic state and have attacked and killed Palestinians. The 1979 Iranian revolution carried out by Ayatollah Khomeni is a good example of the consequence of religious extremism.

In Nigeria, Christian and Islamic religious identities have been culpable in various acts of violent extremism and terrorism. Some Muslim extremist groups such as the Maitasine, the Muslim brotherhood and the Izalla present themselves as the expediter of true Islam and are divinely mandated to cleanse the faith from any form of adulteration, and they also strive to reduce or completely eliminate the sway of the Christian identities in politics. Thus, their standpoint within Islam is a return to the literal interpretation of the sacred texts and ultimately the establishment of an Islamic Umma (Haynes, 215-219).  In the same vein, the Christian extremist groups are not apolitical as has been perceived in many quarters (Marshall 21). Christian extremist identities are precursors of various forms of violence in response to Muslim Islamization activities. This was a main factor that militarized some factions of the Christian groups and drew them into national politics (Haynes, 206).

### The Psychoanalytic theory

Psychoanalysis remains one of the influential theories of the 20th century.  Sigmund Freud is considered as the father of the theory. Freudian psychoanalysis was developed out of the observation and the analysis of data derived from his clinical practice. Many others have written on psychoanalysis as a theory. This includes: Alfred Adler, Karl Popper and Carl Jung. Psychoanalysis is a literary theory which in method, concept or form is influenced by the conscious and unconscious psychology of the human behavior and the mind. Psychoanalytic reading has been practiced since the early development of psychoanalysis itself and has developed into a rich literary interpretive tradition. The basic feature of the theory is the role of the unconscious in human behavior. Psychoanalysis examines literature from two broad areas: from psychoanalysis of the author and psychoanalysis of the characters in a text. The principle holds that in all mental functioning, nothing happens by chance. Everything a person fantasizes, dreams and does has psychological effect.

Psychoanalysis in literature applies to characters in a given text. Sigmund Freud posits that the human mind has three compartments: the id, ego and superego. The id is the primitive and illogical part of a mind that has a strong force and desires pleasure. The ego is explained as the part of every human that is realistic and logical and curtails the urge of the id in a way that is socially acceptable. The ego's decision is based on what others will think and the consequences of an action. The superego is based on morals and judgments about right

and wrong. It is based on moral value. The ego is caught between the id and superego and must thus find a balance. Thus Freud says:

> We are warned by proverbs against serving two masters at the same time. The poor ego has things even worse: it serves three masters and does what it can to bring to their claims and demands into harmony with one another. These claims are always divergent and often seem incompatible. No wonder that the Ego often fails in its task. Its three tyrannical masters are the external world, the Super-ego and the id (110)

Carl Jung psychoanalysis theory is most appropriate for this study because, Jung views the mind as a battlefield of conflicting personal, collective and psychic forces. To him, religious extremism stems from a built up repression of an individual inner traits which is then transferred onto intense display of religiousity and he calls it Archetype. Carl Jung psychoanalysis also follows the lines of Freud's argument but has some points of departure. Jung explains motivation for people's general behavior and not just reasons for their sexual behavior as Sigmund Freud stressed. The features of Jung's theory that would be used for the purpose of this study are:
- Conformity
-Shadow
-Jehovah complex

According to Jung, our primitive past becomes the basis of the human psyche, directing and influencing present behavior. Jung posits that the human mind has innate characteristics imprinted on it as a result of evolution. This universal disposition stems from dispositions of belief, activities and symbols in which the unconscious becomes articulate and conscious to us. He calls these ancestral images archetypes. To him, "archetypes are images and thoughts which have universal meanings across cultures which may show up in dreams, literature, art or religion (www.simplypsychology.org/carl-jung.html).

Jung recognizes a large number of archetypes but stresses on four: the persona, conformity, shadow and individual. But for the purpose of this study, as stated above the conformity and shadow would be considered. Conformity archetype, as Jung puts it, is the public face or role a person presents to others as someone different from who they really are. This archetype is what we find in *Born on a Tuesday* by Elnathan John. Mallam Abdul-Nur, a character in the text, is brutal and violent with a destructive motive but he hides these traits to fit into the society he finds himself. But with time his real self was manifested. The shadow archetype is the animal side of our personality like the id in Freud's theory. It is the source of both creative and destructive energies. The shadow is traits that we dislike or would prefer to ignore. Jung believes that people not wanting to look at their shadow project them onto others, meaning that the qualities we often cannot stand in others, we have in ourselves and wish not to see (Young-Eisendrath, and Dawson 319).

Jung (2004) also identifies some numbers of complexes that explain the reasons for people's behavior. This includes the Jehovah complex, God complex, Father complex, Jonah complex, inferiority complex. But for the purpose of this study the Jehovah complex has

being identified as the basis for extremist display. Jehovah complex is a term used in Jungian analysis to describe a neurosis of egotistical self-inflation:

> The term derives from the Masoretic Old Testament wherein by certain literalist interpretations, Jehovah is depicted as a blood-thirsty genocidist who seeks the extinction of every man, woman, and child of enemy tribes and who disobeys the commandment to have "no other gods before me." In popular usage, the Jehovah complex is a metaphor for bigotry within a specific religion and for a take no prisoner's enforcement of conformity (https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jehovah_complex).

In relation to the primary texts of this study, violence and terrorism are represented as a result of the build-up of psychological tension in the characters most of whom are not able to strike a balance within their mental makeup. For example, Mallam Abdul-Nur in *Born on a Tuesday* is driven by his uncontrollable, primitive, illogical and irrational emotion towards his religion. He formed an Islamic sect that later turned into a terrorist group. Also, in agreement to Jung's position that it is past experience and future aspiration that combine to form the motivation behind a person's action, Sheikh said to Abdul-Nur:

> You don't have a plan! You don't even have a plan for defeating the army. All you want is to give into your lust for power and get Muslims killed unnecessarily in the streets. That is what ignorance is allowing your feelings to guide you instead of thinking of whether this will be good for Muslims or not. (199)

The above excerpt from *Born on a Tuesday* is an indication that religious extremists most of the time do not apply rationality to what they do. They are most times concerned with feeding their lust, agreeing to Sigmund Freud's id that believes the illogical part of a mind has uncontrollable force and desires pleasure. This could be linked to the motives behind creating various sects of insurgencies from the Niger Delta to the North-east of Nigeria. The founders never thought of the aftermaths of these groups but, what could be achieved immediately. It suffices to say, these group also hunt after their founders and kill any opposition forces that cross their ways.

**Religious Extremism in Elnathan's *Born on a Tuesday***

Elnathan's *Born on a Tuesday* is a novel that discusses extensively religious extremism and its effect on both lives and properties. Religious extremism and terrorism are two terms used frequently in contemporary Nigeria and the world at large.  Religious extremism most times employs the use of violence which escalates to terrorism, if not well managed. Religious extremism has endangered the lives of many in Northern Nigeria. There are many factors that lead to religious extremism as explained by Elnathan which include: faith without knowledge, wrong teaching or misinterpretation of holy books, intolerance, unwavering religious belief and fundamentalism, reaction to secularism. The interpretations here are expressed based on Carl's psychoanalytic theory features, conformity, Jehovah complex and shadow. According to Carl Jung, all these factors are reflections of the human psyche or as he calls it the Jehovah complex. The varied factors that lead to religious extremism identified by Elnathan in his novel are explained in Carl Jung's, psychoanalytic literary theory. He gives an explanation for religious extremism that it is psychological. He termed the aspect

of human psychology responsible for this as the Jehovah complex. Jehovah complex is a term used in describing a neurosis of egotistical self-inflation. In popular usage it is a metaphor for bigotry within a specific religion. People with Jehovah complex do not accept their error or failure even in the face of irrefutable evidence. By this, it means that all religious extremist thought and actions are manifestations of the Jehovah complex. People with Jehovah complex feel that they are bound by sacred truth to uphold the precepts of their religion and uphold morality. Kaplin and Benjami (1972) give details of how people with Jehovah complex behaves. Thus:

> The person is also highly dogmatic in their own views. Someone with a god complex may exhibit no regard for the conventions and demands of society, and may request special consideration or privileges (2)

This means people with Jehovah complex express the religious view as though it were unquestionable and sacrosanct. They frown at westernization and any form of living that is not guided by their "Holy Book" even if it is not evil. Elnathan in the text used Abdul-Nur to demonstrate this. Abdul-Nur fought against everything and everyone who is anti-Islam and refused to accept that he was wrong in any aspect. He made sure he did not only speak against the non-conforming Muslims but also demonstrates his belief. He said:

> …Shites are worse than Christians. Allah says in the last verse of Surah Al-Fath: Mohammed is the messenger of Allah and those with him are severe against the disbelievers and merciful among themselves … (127)

Elnathan futher buttresses his point through Adul-Nur's action carrying out an act of cleansing on his followers as shown in this report below:

> … Mallam Abdul-Nur is supervising the burning, adding kerosene anytime the items being dumped seem to be overwhelming the fire…. Mallam Abdul-Nur has told them that before they can truly join his movement they must burn any school certificates they have. They are also burning the books by Hausa writers because those books corrupt women with illicit love affairs. And they are burning CD of Hausa movies, which he says are products of Kano, a city of corrupt wealth, usury and decadence. (189-190)

Another neurosis identified by Carl Jung that is responsible for religious extremism is the shadow. The shadow is an aspect of personality that we chose to reject and repress and thus channel this energy on something else thereby causing disaster. The Nigeria 'Boko-Haram turned into Fulani Herdsmen and kidnappers' attacks are very good example. Abdul-Nur in *Born on a Tuesday* is an aggressive and abusive man but because of the society he found himself, had to repress this aspect of his life and channel it on religious piety until he had the chance to break off from Sheikh's control. Most extremist embodies this trait of repression. Dantata has this to say about Abdul-Nur:

> I don't like the way Jubril returns with swollen red eyes or lips many times after his brother has sent for him… I don't like the way Ma'am Abdul-Nur hits people, especially the new boys, who have started living in the newly built rooms by the side …of the mosque… Last month he whipped one

> of the boys. Khalil, with a horsewhip until he bled and chucks had to treat his wounds… (80).

Jubril also describes how Abdul-Nur abuse and treats his wife like an animal in the excerpt below:

> Like a donkey. He will treat her like an animal that he despises. Some days he locks her in her room without any food because his food is cold or there is too much salt or not enough salt. He beat her with a tyre whip. He forces things into … anus! Candles… (149)

So much of a so-called 'Holy-man' who preaches and gives renditions on living a life that is well pleased to Allah, that frowns at westernization, democracy and cuts off a man's hand that stole meat out of hunger. While he himself was once a thief. The Sheikh exposes his deeds; abusive and repression traits in his words:

> I know that he sometimes takes our money. I know what he thinks about Jihad. If you let him, he would attack this minute. But I try to keep him in check and let Allah judge him. (169)

One the factors of religious extremism recognized by Elnathan is faith without knowledge. The text explains that religious extremists are those who have great affinity with the religion but have limited knowledge of the religion. It is this strong bond that moves them into destructive acts in a bid to protect their faith, what Carl calls conformity. According to Suleiman (2014), religious fanatics' excessive irrational zeal to defend their religions in Nigeria consequently became destructive agents of religious harmony in the society. Religious extremists are most times not fully equipped with knowledge about the precepts of the religion they claim to protect and they go about imbibing corrupt interpretations of the religions guideline (Bible or Quran). Some lack religious literacy and could actually be regarded as religious novices.  Elnathan's character Sheikh renders thus in the following lines:

> Some of the worst enemies of Islam are the ones who deceive innocent people into thinking they are Muslims. Somebody who has no understanding of Islam and its precept will go around calling himself a Mujahedeen.  Islam does not put people in bondage like they are doing or in fear. Those are the people who are our greatest enemies; traitors with you sit on a farm with ignorant people around you and alone pass fatwas according to your whims. How is that sharia? I tell you even if they do not get their punishments now Allah will ask them on the last day. (217)

Another factor is unwavering religious beliefs and fundamentalism. Religious fanatics have been recognized to be dogmatic; their theories, ideology and proposed solutions are absolutely right in their own eyes. They are irrational in interpreting and applying their scriptures and other religious books that form part of their ideology. Carl's Shadow also features in the acts of Many clergy men in Nigeria. They instill their self-acclaimed doctrine into their members, brain washed them and exhibits mischievous things that seems right to them. The followers of this extremists would kill and lay down their lives for their belief. One

of the ideologies of Muslim extremists portrayed by Elnathan is Wahhabism. Wahbabism is an Islamic doctrine and religious movement founded by Muhammed IbnAbd al-Wahhab.

The movement support war against anyone and everyone who is not like them. It is described as ultra-conservative, austere, fundamentalist or puritan Islamic reform movement to restore pure monotheistic worship by devotees; a deviant sectarian movement, vile sect and distortion of Islam by its opponent. While Wahhabism claims to represent Islam in its purest form, other Muslims consider it a misguided creed that fosters intolerance, promotes simplistic theology, and restricts Islam's capacity for adaptation to diverse and shifting circumstances (David 2009). This doctrine has created a divide between different Islamic sects and has attracted scornful opposition from other sects. For example, *Born on Tuesday* shows strife between the Shiite and other Islamic sects and then later the Mujahedeen against all other Islamic sects. In the text, Abdul-Nur upholds the ideology of Wahhabism as he attacks and executes all those who do not share his beliefs. He also claimed that all Muslims that accept any form of westernization, be it education, democracy or technologies deserve to be killed as the hadith instructs:

> There is nothing worse than shirk, and in the matter some Christians better than Shiites. You know there are some Christians who don't elevate Jesus to the position of Allah and they believe that there is no one worthy of worship but Allah. They don't just call him Allah, surely then the Shiite, who set up gods in opposition to Allah, Shiites are worse than Christians. Allah says in the last verse of surah Al-Fath: Mohammed is the messenger of Allah and those with him are severe against the disbelievers and merciful among themselves. (127)

In addition, modernity is another factor that leads to religious extremism. Islamic extremists believe that secularism, western education and democracy have corrupted the Muslim society. Thus they fight for the restoration of pure Islamic practice. The 'Mayetti Allah' founders and followers are mostly Fulani's' that believes they are born to rule and dominate wherever they are settled. In Nigeria, they believe that the incumbent president is Allah sent and will remain as the president for life. To them, it is their inheritance and woe betides anyone who dares to oppose them. They advocate through the use of violence for the strict adherence of the Sharia law as it would restore order in their society.

Abdul-Nur explained in page 196 how Islamic societies were self-sufficient and pious and progressive before the Europeans conquered Muslim people and sought to start by conquering their culture through worthless and sinful education. He condemned modern Islamic university education and called it Haram as it adopted western education. He also said that the basis of Nigeria government is Kufr because democracy is 'a disgusting, anti-Islamic, western invention which seeks to introduce liberal ideas and kill Islamic values'. He emphasizes the word Kufr and says that it is the obligation of every able Muslim to forcefully challenge and remove ungodly, infidel rulers. Not through elections, because elections themselves are part of a system of Kufr, but by force, because Muslims are bound by submission to the will of Allah. Religious extremists perceive themselves as bound by divine authority to uphold the morality of their community. Thus, they give extreme interpretations

of the Quran and engage in the movement of Islamic revivalism which influences the emergence of violent jihad that is labeled act of terrorism.

Islamic extremists have been able to legitimize their movement as acts of violence jihad permitted by the Quran are so essential because these sanctions permit the use of violent acts of defense and to preserve the will of God. Based on the Quranic principle of jihad, terrorists emphasize the Quran's tenents on violence and revivalism in their religious interpretations and present it as a legitimate premise for the use of excessive aggression. According to Ijtihad cited in Jonah Adamu et.al (2014) a hadith, Muslims are permitted to interpret and determine the extent of Islamic practices individually as long as these are directed to the will of God in an Islamic community. Hence, Abdul-Nur in *Born on a Tuesday* said: "… Muslims are bound by submission to the will of Allah" (18). This means that the use of violence as a means of restoring Islamic principle is the will of Allah and he is thus justified. This was what motivated Daniel Benjamin and Steven Simon (2010) in their book, "The Age of Sacred Terror" to conclude that:

> Islamic terrorist attacks are purely religious. They are seen as a sacrament… intended to restore to the universe a moral order that had been corrupted by the enemies of Islam. These fanatics believe that they have justification for their violent outburst as they claim that they are defending and preserving their religion. (47)

Sheikh questions their motives and advises they leave judgment to Allah instead of taking laws into their hands, "but is judgment not for Allah" (140). Sheikh represents the likes of Muslims that have acquired western education and have different views to life. The likes of him are hated with passion and becomes Haram to be discarded like an infidel.

Islamic extremists advocate the strict use of Sharia law as a means of restoring the Islamic society. This is found in the text when Sheikh asked Abdul-Nur how he intend to rule the country if he was able to defeat the Nigerian Army, and he replied: "Sharia! I will use sharia! The law of Allah is self-sufficient" (199). Most of the time, the implementation of the sharia laws they advocate for are not applicable to themselves. Two studies of the background of Muslim Terrorists in Europe reported that a large number of those involved in terrorism do not practice their faith regularly. It was also reported by the Times that the notorious terrorist Osama Bin Ladin who had been fighting America for its secularity and permission for immorality was found in his possession of pornography by the U.S navy SEALs. This characteristic was also displayed by Abdul-Nur in *Born on a Tuesday:*

> Abdul-Nur chopped the hands of a boy that stole raw meat even though he himself had been stealing from the mosque collection box. We should have chopped off the infidel's hands, chopping off people's hands for stealing meat. (216)

Intolerance is another factor that leads to religious extremism. It is one of the major causes of religious extremism. The feeling that one religion is better than the other has led to religious extremism. Even in the same religion different sects do not condone members of other sects. Strict adherence to a religious ideology has caused enmity between or among opposing sects. This is because each sect tends to claim superiority over the other. This enmity results in societal disharmony. The novel illustrates the enmity between the

Mujahideen and other Muslims as both parties cannot tolerate each other even as Muslims. Ali's *Born on a Tuesday* demonstrates confrontations between the Mujahideens and the Sunnis. The lines below depict this:

> They beat up anyone who tries to make trouble with them and threaten non-members who have similar businesses around them…a group of boys drag a man to where the tyres are burning. … crowd quickly gathers. They beat him, first with whips, then with sticks. I make my way to the middle but cannot recognize his face because of the blood… how do you know he is a Mujahideen? I asked: 'because he admitted it' (187 and 229).

Furthermore, false teaching and misinterpretation of holy books has also led to religious extremism. People build up ideology by the interpretation they give to their religious books and from what they learn from their religious leaders. Hence, when one builds his ideology on false teaching and misinterpretation, it becomes disastrous. The lines below by Maccido to Dantala in *Born on a Tuesday* (2015) show an example of misinterpretation of the Holy Book:

> I know you yourself have studied under malam, so I am sure you must have heard the hadith: of whomever I am the Mawla, Ali is Mauola. O Allah! Love him who love Ali, hate him who hate Ali? (107).

This portion of the Hadith by the Shittes in the text has been interpreted to mean that anyone who hates Ali or does not believe that he is the sole successor of Mohammed is to be hated. But other sects explain that it was not only Ali that was praised and that he is not the successor of Mohammed; but because the Shittes built their ideology on Ali's teachings, they gave the Hadith their suitable interpretation. Religious ideologies are most times built as a misinterpretation of the holy book but sometimes it is done purposely by some extremists who want to perpetrate evil for their selfish interest. In *Born on a Tuesday*, Dantala argues that even if everything is in the Quran explicitly, some people would read their own meaning to it. He says:

> There are people that even if everything is in the Quran they would bring their own thinking into it to cause a fight. Maybe some people just like to fight. I don't understand. Allah forgive me (206).

The factors that led to religious extremism in the text *Born on a Tuesday* which includes faith without knowledge, unwavering fundamentalism, modernity, intolerance, false teaching and misinterpretation of Holy Book are also factors that have led to religious extremism among Christians and Muslims alike in contemporary Nigeria.

**Conclusion**

This paper has been able to examine religious extremism as playing a key role in the numerous occasions of violence and terrorism in contemporary Northern Nigeria and Nigeria as a whole exemplified in the text. It has also been able to demonstrate the history of religious violence in Nigeria and proven that extremism, whether religious, political or socio-cultural is the main cause of these violent incidents.

In contrast to the claim that religion (especially the Abrahamic ones: Christianity and Islam) is the cause of religious violence, this paper reveals that the problem is not with religion but with the people who give different conflicting interpretation of their "Holy Books" and attempt to impose their view on others. Too much unguided emotional attachment to religion and politics has proven to culminate into violent incidents.

Furthermore, this paper shows that religious manipulation by individuals and politicians has further endangered contemporary Nigeria. As a result of the long tension that exists between Muslims and Christians, it becomes easy for politicians to manipulate each party and cause them to fight each other for their political goals. This is why Colonel Dibarama said that "they would use the old fault line of ethnicity "Religion" (Paraphrased. 134). With regards to the findings of this paper, it is recommended that the government encourage its citizens to acquire literacy and not merely make education accessible. The government should also encourage youths to develop skills by providing platforms where it can be realized. Jobs should also be created to reduce the high rate of violence and other crimes as shown in the study. Poverty alleviation projects should also be set in place.

In addition, religious leaders should preach tolerance, peace and unity rather than fueling religious tensions by displaying bigotry. Furthermore, the government should make provision for adequate security. The security units should be fully armed and be on the lookout for any fast rising group with ideologies which they aim at spreading.

In conclusion, this study distills that religious extremism coupled with other factors such as unemployment, illiteracy, misinterpretation of 'Holy Books', religious prejudice, vengeance, the urge to expand territory and manipulation are the reasons for the reoccurrence of violence and terrorism in contemporary Nigeria.

The paper presents insight into the nature and motivation for terrorism and violence in contemporary Nigeria. It posits that too much unguided emotional attachment to a religion is destructive as people who do so resort to violence to propagate their religious ideologies. Religion has been given all kinds of negative connotation in the past such as the opium of the masses. Holman Michael (1986) noted that religion is delusional, similar to scoliosis or insanity. He said, "When one person suffers from delusion, it is called insanity, when many suffer from a delusion it is called religion" (qdt. in Religious conflict in Nigeria: 1). But the question is, is it really religion that is faulty? This study has shown that the fault is not with religion but the people in it who attach emotions to it and suspend reason. Hence, this study asserts that religious extremism is the major cause of violence and terrorism in contemporary Nigeria having considered other factors that contribute to extremism and violence.

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# Globalization and Hybridization in Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's *Purple Hibiscus*

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## Abstract

*Most studies on Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's works focus on inter-gender conflicts, war and very recently, migration. This essay, therefore, investigates the thematisation of globalisation and hybridisation in Adichie's Purple Hibiscus. The essay adopts the postcolonial theoretical framework to account for the interaction between Africa and the new world, as featured in the selected novel. The literary, analytical method of research was employed in this study to examine global consciousness, which manifests in the form of a hybrid culture through characters' conducts and utterances in the aforementioned text. The essay reveals that the recurrent interaction between Africa and the West has given rise to a hybrid African personality. The novel exposes the reader to the crossbreeding or mixture culture, which is imperative in an age of globalisation. This duality of thoughts and identity is ushered into the African consciousness as a result of the continuous mingling with the Western world.*

**Keywords**: Globalization, Hybridization, Adichie, Purple Hibiscus.

## Introduction

The emergence of modern African literature was engendered by the urgent response to the changing dynamics of the society. A number of literary scholars have posited that global consciousness and modernity which manifested itself in the form of the European civilising mission are instrumental to the birth of modern African literary works. Undoubtedly, globalisation poses tremendous influence and implications on contemporary literature (Israel, Miura, 2003 & 2004). This is owing to the fact that the literary artist deploys his art in response to the imperative social changes in the human society. As apparently interrogated in literature, there is a close relationship between globalisation and modernity. No wonder, Israel (2004: 1) illustrates:

> Undoubtedly, globalisation is untimely connected to the phenomena of modernity, and as with modernity, one could view not just the last two or three centuries, but indeed the entire history of the world as a process of globalisation, an approach toward a globe-ness that is ever on the verge of expressing itself, a spatial analogue to modernity's temporal orientation.

Over the years, literary history has been a faithful response to global consciousness and/or the age that gives rise to it. This is why Clara Reeve defines the novel as "a picture of real life and manners, and of the time in which it was written" (quoted in Scott, 1870: 546). From Reeve's definition of the novel, atmospheric features and socio-political configuration influence the content and form of a novel. In other words, the thematic thrust of a novel or any literary work is generated by the socio-political cum cultural experiences of the people at the time it was written.

The emergence of global consciousness in African literature could be traced to the European 'civilizing mission' of the third world during colonial and missionary incursion, which is foregrounded in the expressions of the Chilean President, Domingo Santa Maria, in 1983 (Kaun, 1986). However, the term globalisation as a modern concept is said to have emerged in the 1950s, during "the onset of the cold war and many "third world" national liberation struggles, both of which the current era of globalization has supposedly superseded" (Israel, 2004: 3). In the real sense, globalization as a concept cannot be defined within a set time frame or neat box— it implies a process without an actual sense of beginning or an end. It entails more of economic integration, the transfer of policies across borders, the transmission of knowledge, cultural stability, the reproduction, relations, and discourses of power (Miura, 2003; Israel, 2004 & Croucher, 2004).

Globalisation, as a concept, has been defined in various ways over the years, with both positive and negative connotations. While some scholars use globalisation to connote progress, development and stability, integration and cooperation, others refer to it as a process of regression, colonialism, and destabilisation. A number of factors such as an individual's political ideology, geographical location, social status, cultural background, and ethnic and religious associations offer the context that determines how globalisation is interpreted. In the words of Anthony Giddens (1990: 64), globalisation is "the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa." This definition is logical giving the fact that social forces are inherent in every society, and have a cross border influence.

As conveyed through the artistic consciousness of African creative writers, from Achebe to Adichie, globalisation has made the world more unified and organic. This is given the fact that there has come into existence, a unifying modern language, technologies and cultural standards from which the failures and successes of the world is measured. Arjun Appadurai (1990:308) illustrates this point when he affirms:

> The critical point is that both sides of the coin of global cultural process today are products of the infinitely varied mutual contest of sameness and difference on a stage characterized by radical disjunctures between different sorts of global flows and the uncertain landscapes created in and through these disjunctures.

This implies that the influence of globalisation on African thoughts as manifest in her artistic consciousness is such that the progress and development of Africa as a continent is based on the view of the West. Evidently, the English culture is a common torchlight through which

individuals measure their progress and achievements in the contemporary world. Roland Robertson (1992:8) seems to underscore this point when he opines that globalization is both "the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole.

"Every society has a shared consciousness in ensuring that humanity lives peaceably by strengthening diplomatic ties with one another, especially the economically dependent nations. The achievement recorded in this regard could not have been possible without the recognition of how much of a global village the world is. In the same vein, Peter Dicken (1992:1) asserts that globalisation is "qualitatively different' from internationalisation, and that it represents "a more advanced and complex form of internationalisation which implies a degree of functional integration between internationally dispersed economic activities." Similarly, Kenichi Ohmae (1992) states that globalisation is the onset of the borderless world. This definition does not have positive or negative connotations but is vague and inclusive. It is based on such subjects as technology and trade agreements, and just about any other issue that deals with overcoming traditional boundaries. It also is a bit too vague, however, for discussions on the detailed implications of globalisation. It can be argued that the views expressed by these scholars are in consonance with one another.

Robert Cox (2006:2) provides a good example of the globalisation of the third world nations when he maintains that a dominant feature of globalisation is the internationalisation of different aspects of the people's socio-economic life. Similarly, The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (1993:7) theorises that globalisation is a "phenomenon by which markets and production in different countries are becoming increasingly interdependent due to the dynamics of trade in goods and services and the flows of capital and technology".

In a contrary view, Martin Khor (1995) refers to globalisation as colonisation. Khor, perhaps, perceives the world as a stage where the actions of characters are scripted. By this, societies are controlled by forces externally incomprehensible. For David Harvey (1998:8), globalisation is "the compression of time and space"; for Immanuel Wallerstein (1998:11), it "represents the triumph of a capitalist world economy tied together by a global division of labour", which implies the effect of globalisation on international business interactions between countries; and Martin Abrow (1998:15) perceives globalisation as "…all those processes by which the peoples of the world are incorporated into a single world society." Other scholars such as Larsson (2001) and Al-Rodhan (2006) support the views above. By its nature, globalisation transcends a host of disciplines, communities, and cultures. This, perhaps, may be responsible for the different opinions about the subject. The impact of globalisation is great, as the definitions that we present here indicate.

The above review shows the plurality of globalisation as a topical issue that bestrides the domains of varying disciplines— sociology, economics, political science, history, anthropology and of course, literature. Though the above surveys pay little attention to the manifestation of globalisation on the African literary consciousness, there are a number of literary scholars who have investigated that literature and globalisation share a kind of synergy. This view is significant because a literary work is consciously or unconsciously deployed to respond to the age that gives rise to it.

Achebe is one African writer and scholar that responds prophetically and productively to the wind of globalisation. We notice this vision in his creative and critical works. For instance in *Arrow of God*, conscious of the westernisation of the African consciousness, Ezeulu sends his son to join the whiteman's religion which was fast introducing western education and culture to the African landscape. He declares:

> I want one of my sons to join these people and to be my eye there. If there is nothing in it you will come back. But if there is something there you will bring home my share. The world is like a mask dancing. If you want to see it well you don't stand in one place. My spirit tells me that those who don't befriend the Whiteman today will be saying had we known tomorrow (*Arrow of God,* 1964: 45- 46)

The declaration above is born out of a globalised thought which is ushered in by the Whiteman during the Europeanisation of the African continent and/or consciousness. The post-colonial African lives with this contact between Africa and the West which is remarkably foregrounded in African literary expression. While some African writers condemn globalisation and Westernisation, Achebe believes that through the art of imaginative creation, the African writer can form a hybrid consciousness by marrying western and African thoughts in an age of globalisation. Following Achebe's submission above, Stephen Kekeghe (2015: 105) adds:

> In effect, the average Nigerian man is first, an African, and second (rather unconsciously), an English man. The harbouring of a twofold identity is an innate crisis which the Nigerian man is faced with in an age of westernisation and globalisation. The modern Nigerian writer has remarkably conveyed these conflicting identities in his works.

A significant point that can be gleaned from Kekeghe's submission is that the contact between the Western and African culture in Post-colonial African society, introduces a hybrid of sensibilities to the African which is found in their literary imagination. No wonder Israel (2004: 1) notes that "the theme of hybridity and multi-rootedness- in part expressions of the subjective experience of globalisation are increasingly prevalent in literary texts". This is to say that in the discussion of globalisation in African literature, hybridity is an imperative phenomenon.

In Henry Oripeloye's (2011) investigation of features of globalisation and cultural assertion in the exilic poetry of Tanure Ojaide and Odia Ofeimun, he asserts that "globalisation has engendered the cultivation of a new poetics of exile as conventional exilic tropes are discarded to pave way for the enunciation of global environment and that contemporary societies promote social mobility as the world communities are now creating room for cultural affiliations" (Oripeloye, 2011: 89). Oripeloye's study, which tilts towards migration, shows the impacts of globalisation on African literature. This is why Sheila Croucher (2004) concludes that "both globalisation and literature share some meeting points in their institutional and structural edifices" (10). It is the constant thought to make African literature a universal culture that informs the constant thematisation of globalisation. The deployment of European language in African literary expression is one way of making the African literature a globalised culture. Thus, from a western-Eurocentric perspective, such literary works are

regarded as belonging to the English society owing to the language of conveyance. This idea is portrayed in *Mother is God*:

> …if an African writes in English his work must be considered as belonging to English literature as a whole, and it must be judged by the same critical standards as any other work written in English (Chinweizu*et al.,* 1985: 9).

In line with the argument above, Osondu (2016) stresses that the quest to make African indigenous art or literature a universal and a globalised culture has adversely affected its content and structure. This is due, largely, to the untranslatability of some of the indigenous language markers and social contents. As one way of westernising or globalising African literary and artistic culture, global medium or technologies are deployed in transmitting African indigenous artistic tradition. Recent studies such as by Ropo Sekoni (2013), G. G. Darah (2014) and Stephen Kekeghe (2014) show the influence of the new media technologies in conveying African oral art form for international intelligibility. Though the studies above focus mainly on the globalisation of the artistic instruments of form in conveying the content, one can argue that the narration of western and African experiences in a conflictual relationship in African literary expression reveals both the negative and positive implications of globalisation as a post-colonial phenomenon. This dynamism in the social and artistic culture of the African people is imperative. This is in consonance with Enajite Ojaruega's (2014:16) observation that "globalization refers to the social, economic, and political changes taking place in human society in recent times, especially since inception of the 21st century". The 21st century is an era of discoveries. There is this constant tide of change sweeping every area of human endeavour, either for good or bad. Attendant to this child of uncertainty birthed by the 21st is the ever increasing quest for peace and material wellbeing.

It has been observed that one way of achieving globalisation is the hybridisation of consciousness and identity. The term, hybridity, originates from biology, and its most basic form denotes mixture (Hermsen and Ramanna, 1976). From the 19th century to the present, the concept of hybridity has been commonly deployed in studies that border on racism, language, multiculturalism, postcolonialism and globalisation (Young, 1995 and Hutnyk, 1997). Cultural hybridisation is the process through which a cultural element bends into another culture by modifying the element so as to fit into a universal cultural norm. Thematisation of cultural plurality and globalisation in modern African literature usually echoes the imperative of hybridisation. Thus, in this article, Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's novel, *Purple Hibiscus,* is subjected to a close, critical reading, highlighting indices of globalisation and hybridisation, which are manifested by the characters featured in it. The study reveals that the dual consciousness manifested by the characters is as a result of the wind of globalisation ushered into the African consciousness by the European civilising mission.

**Discussion of the Text**

In Adichie's *Purple Hibiscus*, the interaction between Western and African culture, Christianity and African indigenous belief systems are brought to the fore. Through Adichie's exploration of experiences that border on globalization and hybridization in this novel, one comes across the cultural and identity conflicts ushered in by colonial incursion and its imperialistic tendencies. Every postcolonial African, including diasporans manifests plural identities. This is why Salman Rushdie (1991) declares that "our identity is at once plural and partial. Sometimes we feel that we straddle two cultures" (p. 15). *Purple Hibiscus* centres on fifteen year old Kambili, a dutiful and intelligent daughter of a rich man named Papa-Eugene. Kambili's father is the renowned publisher of the newspaper, *The Standard* who is best known as a religious fanatic, domestic tyrant, Eurocentrist and ironically, a philanthropist. Through Kambili, her elder brother, Jaja, their mother, Beatrice (Mama), their grandfather, Papa-Nnukwu and their aunt, Aunty Ifeoma, Adichie's paints the strong influence of Westernisation and Christianity on Papa Eugene, and how it fosters his display of unhealthy arrogance.

Adichie's *Purple Hibiscus* explores the hybrid consciousness that comes with globalisation in Africa, unfolding the arrogance of Western imperialist tendencies as a measure of controlling the thoughts and actions of the post-colonial African. Papa Eugene is shown to us in the novel as a Eurocentrist who privileges western ideals and Christianity while he condemns indigenous religious practices. Thus, he imitates Western practices. Papa Eugene sees those African values which do not correspond to his standards as being morally and culturally weak; and are therefore, not worth identifying with. What he regards as his standard is anchored on Western world-view. Through Kambili, the narrator**,** the reader is made to understand that Papa-Eugene's quest to mimic global and universal culture resultsin an unhealthy relationship with people in his traditional society. The narrator reveals: "[Papa] hardly spoke Igbo… he did not like us to speak it in public. We had to sound civilized in public, he told us, we had to speak English" (13). This declaration is informed by what could be termed as Papa-Eugene's slavish consciousness that English and Western culture is universal and superior to Africa's. Papa Eugene, given his conscious imitation of the global, universal culture birthed by the Europeans, feels that it is inferior or degrading to speak Igbo in the public, including the church. A case in point in the novel is when the visiting priest at St. Agnes breaks into an Igbo song. He refuses to participate in the singing and even cautions Kambili and Jaja to follow his stance.

Throughout the narrative, Papa Eugene quests to project and maintain the European culture, which is perceived as universal. Bearing a Eurocentric consciousness, Eugene believes that the European culture best suits his pseudo-aristocratic life-style. To be more civilized, according to Papa Eugene, is to make his accent sound British "…in the eager-to-please way that he always assumed with the religious, especially with the white religion…" (46). It is further revealed in the narrative that Papa Eugene "liked it when the villagers made an effort to speak English around him. He said it showed that they had good sense" (66). Following Papa Eugene's imitation of Western practices, his sister, Aunty Ifeoma, regards him as "too much of a colonial product" (13).

From examples in the novel, religion is the chief instrument of globalisation. Papa Eugene's cruel actions towards his immediate and extended family is born out of his quest to promote

Western religion or Catholicism. Thus, Papa Eugene condemns his own father, Papa-Nnukwu simply because the latter is a traditionalist who practices African (Igbo) religion. His relationship with his father is strained simply based on this singular reason. Papa Eugene admonishes Jaja and Kambili not to eat anything at Papa-Nnukwu's house. On one of such occasions when they travel to the village for the Christmas holiday, he autocratically dishes out his warning to Jaja and Kambili after asking them to go and greet papa-Nnukwu: "Kambili and Jaja, you will go this afternoon to your grandfather's house and greet him. Kevin will take you there. Remember, don't touch any food, don't drink anything. And, as usual, you will stay not longer than fifteen minutes. Fifteen minutes" (61). Papa Eugene refuses to do anything for his father and estranges his family from him because Papa Nnukwu is a traditionalist. As a result, when Papa Nnukwu offers drink to Jaja and Kambili, they refuse to drink. At this point we notice the deep seated indoctrination of the children by their father. The narrator conveys Papa-Nnukwu's distress over this abandonment and the children's interrogation of their father's judgment of their grandfather:

> *'Eziokwu?* I know your father will not let you eat here because I offer my food to our ancestors, but soft drinks also? Do I not buy that from the store as everyone else?"(p.66).

Though Papa Eugene succeeds largely in indoctrinating his children, especially Kambili, the children assert themselves to assess the level of justice in their father's condemnation of their grandfather, Papa-Nnukwu. Though Kambili acknowledges that Papa-Nnukwu's accent is "ancient" because Papa Nnukwu's accent lacks the "anglicized inflection", she recognises that Pa Nnukwu is a moral man with a great sense of love which is lacking in her father, Papa Eugene. It is this love that endears Kambili and Jaja to him. A notable instance in the novel is the noticeable bond between Papa-Nnukwu and Kambili. Kambili reports: "I pressed myself to him just a moment longer, gently, holding my breath because of the strong unpleasant smell of cassava that clung to him" (64). In spite of the fact that Papa-Nnukwu is presented as a symbol of the old, while Papa Eugene is seen as the modern and the new, a close examination of the binary relationship of these characters reveals that the African indigenous culture which Papa-Nnukwu represents, has more healthy influences than the Western and globalised culture that is propagated by Papa Eugene. Through the character of Papa-Eugene, we notice an unhealthy imitation of Western culture to the detriment of African indigenous practices. This kind of transportation is apparently portrayed when Papa Eugene's family visits the Igwe's palace and the catholic Bishop on different occasions. Kambili laments:

> Mama had greeted him (the Igwe) the traditional way that women were supposed to… Back home that night, papa told Mama that it was sinful. You do not bow to another being. It was an ungodly tradition, bowing to an Igwe. So, a few days later, when we went to see a bishop at Awka, I did not kneel to kiss his ring. But papa yanked my ear in the car and said I did not have the spirit of discernment: the bishop was a man of God; the Igwe was merely a traditional ruler (p. 94).

The excerpt above conveys how Papa Eugene's manifestation of dual identities leads to psychosocial conflicts. Owing to his conscious effort to uphold western culture which is revered as superior, he is torn between upholding the tenets of European culture and religion and discarding African culture and religion. Since he is out-rightly Eurocentric, he finds it difficult to justify why he holds a particular culture above the other. This is why his children, whom he makes concerted efforts to indoctrinate, become confused by his judgments. At this point, Adichie ridicules Eurocentricists and blind religious fanatics, noting that one's religious inclination notwithstanding, what matters in the worship of God is kindheartedness and love for all. From the events in the story, it is evident that Papa-Nnukwu, the traditionalist, is the epitome of this kind of love-for-all that is scorn-free life. As conveyed in the novel, Papa Eugene's conduct is influenced by the wind of globalisation which ushers in Western ideas. By implication, that Papa Eugene regards Papa Nnukwu as heathen and unholy, is informed by his slavish imitation of western culture.

Another character in the novel that is used to portray the Eurocentric vision is Beatrice's father who is simply identified in the novel as grandfather. We learn that grandfather is the English equivalent of Papa-Nnukwu; but Beatrice's father who is also a Eurocentrist like Papa Eugene, as Kambili notes, "had insisted that we call him Grandfather in English, rather than Papa-Nnukwu or Na-Ochie" (67). Kambili further reveals her maternal grandfather's imitation of western ways thus: "Grandfather did things that right way, the way the white people did it, not what our people do now!" (67). The imitation of European culture and religious practices, which is born out of global consciousness, tends to debase cultural experiences and belief systems that are indigenous to Africa. While Papa Eugene is Eurocentric and universal, Papa-Nnukwu is Afrocentric and localised. The implication is that, the former is open to the vast opportunities of globalization but the latter is limited to a confined indigenous territory of socially acceptable practices but globally unintelligible.

Papa Eugene's restless quest for his family to uphold the dictates of a globalising world assumes an unhealthy posture. For instance, there are two ugly incidents where he beats his wife to the point of having miscarriages. Another shocking incident in the novel is Papa Eugene's burning of Jaja's and Kambili's feet because they slept in the same house as their grandfather, Papa Nnukwu. All these incidents show Papa Eugene's domineering character as a religious fanatic. After pouring the hot water on the children's feet, he declares arrogantly: "This is what you do to yourself when you walk into sin. You burn your feet"(p.192).

Aunty Ifeoma, unlike Papa Eugene, represents a healthy hybrid consciousness which is the aftermath of post-colonial Africa. As we learn from the novel, Aunty Ifeoma is a lecturer at the University of Nigeria in Nsukka. She is a perfect example of a modern and left-winged woman— she is not afraid to criticise Papa Eugene's fanaticism. Though Aunty Ifeoma is a Catholic, she appeals to us as a liberal and open-minded person who also respects and accepts Papa-Nnukwu's traditionalist beliefs. The dual personality of Aunty Ifeoma attests to the fact that cultures cannot be preserved from mixing, but "can only continue to exist as a product of such mixing" (Boyarin & Boyarin, 1993: 721). She is unlike the traditional woman like Beatrice, who does not have the courage to speak up in the gathering of men. Aunty Ifeoma represents the true idea of a globalised woman; and this is the vision of the kind of woman which Adichie privileges. Since the death of Ifediora, her husband, Aunty Ifeoma

single-handedly raises her children well and treats them with respect, by encouraging them to be assertive always. Her exposure to Western education gives her a different view about human relationships, which contrasts with the patriarchal configuration of the African society. For instance, she helps Jaja and Kambili to find their voices.

Aunty Ifeoma is angry with her brother, Papa Eugene because of his arrogant debasement of African religion and culture and blind imitation of western practices, which is evident in his display of religious fanaticism. Her anger towards him intensifies when Papa Eugene bars Papa Nnukwu from coming to his house. Kambili reports that, "Aunty Ifeoma stopped speaking to Papa Eugene after he barred Papa-Nnukwu from coming to his house, and a few years passed before they finally started speaking to each other" (65). Aunty Ifeoma's Christianity does not make her to discard indigenous traditional world view of her people. She takes Jaja and Kambili to watch a masquerade performance when they visit her. Her acceptance of African indigenous tradition and Western culture shows a dual consciousness that is manifest in the age of globalisation.

Furthermore, Aunty Ifeoma is a replica of an emancipated woman, which is made possible through her educational and Western exposures. She boldly criticises the "sole administrator" of the University of Nigeria, and this eventually leads to her sack from the University. Since she is a liberated woman who has earned some levels of global relevance, she moves to America where she eventually enjoys the freedom she craves for. Through Amaka's letters from America to Kambili, the reader is made to understand that the interactions between Africa and the Western world lead to the gradual globalisation of the African thoughts and continent. For instance, Aunty Ifeoma's western education empowers her mentally. Kambili and Jaja benefit from her ripe mind. Kambili speaks of Aunty Ifeoma's role in emancipating her and Jaja:

> I lay in bed after Mama left and let my mind rake through the past, through the years when Jaja and Mama and I spoke more with our spirits than with our lips. Until Nsukka. Nsukka started it all; Aunty Ifeoma's little garden next to the verandah of her flat in Nsukka began to lift the silence. Jaja's defiance seemed to me now like Aunty Ifeoma's experimental purple's hibiscus: rare, fragrant with the undertones of freedom, a different kind of freedom from the one the crowds waving green leaves chanted at Government Square after the coup. A freedom to be, to do (p. 15).

Aunty Ifeoma represents the idea of a modern woman which is conveyed through the global culture in University of Nigeria, Nsukka. She is a liberated woman— liberated by the University which has exposed her to years of Western education and training. Thus, she possesses the intellectual wit and logic to interrogate the fanatic conducts of Papa Eugene. The University is symptomatic of the idea of globalisation in the novel. This is because it is the university that nurtures Aunty Ifeoma into becoming a free woman. This implies that the global culture which education brings forth changes the sensibility of Aunty Ifeoma. This is why she is able to criticise the brother, Papa Eugene with intellectual maturity. Hear her:

But you know Eugene quarrels with the truths that he does not like. Our father is dying, do you hear me? Dying. He is an oldman, how much longer, does he have, gbo? Yet Eugene will not even greet him… Eugene has to stop doing God's job. God is big enough to do his own job. If God will judge our father for choosing to follow the way of our ancestors, then let God do the judging, not Eugene (p.95).

The character of Aunty Ifeoma is very significant in the overall realisation of the theme of globalisation in the novel. She is an example of the modern and liberated woman as seen from her activities in the narrative.

Similarly, despite Papa Eugene's penchant for westernization, he unconsciously practices some of indigenous lore which the people hold sacred and which define their root. Some of such practices include title holding and communalism. At this point, Papa Eugene displays a dual personality— the old and the new – in an age of globalisation. The narrator reveals:

We were always prepared to feed the whole village at Christmas, always prepared so that none of the people who came in would leave without eating and drinking to what Papa called a reasonable level of satisfaction. Papa's title was Omelora, afterall, The-One-who-Does-for-the-Community. However, it was not only Papa who received visitors. The villagers trooped to every big house with a big gate, and sometimes they took plastic bowls with firm covers. It was Christmas (p.56).

The excerpt above underscores some aspects of the people's communal life which Papa Eugene could not discard. Bernd Schulte (1998) points out this notion when he declares that "there is always some kind of communication between cultures, and there is always a communication motor of culture change in the interplay of cultural systems…" (59). Papa Eugene is influenced by imperialist culture but he could not completely discard the African culture. This idea is well captured by Edward Said (1993). At Nsukka and Abba, Papa Eugene has modern mansions, a fleet of cars and a driver which attest to his status as a wealthy and an influential man.

## Conclusion

The foregoing discussion reveals experiences that border on globalisation and hybridisation which are featured in Adichie's novel, *Purple Hibiscus.* This novel is examined, highlighting the author's exploration of plural identities, which arise from the contact between African and Western cultures. Since culture is fluid, the characters that are exposed to this cultural dynamic, manifest a dual consciousness. The cultural plurality and duality of identity, which is the after-effect of globalisation is investigated from the characters' utterances, conducts and the content narrative of the novel. The appropriation of the tenets of Postcolonialism in the analysis of the novel helps in identifying indices of otherness and biculturalism which colonial incursion and globalisation trigger in the characters' consciousness. As learnt from the novel, the globalised African is an embodiment of a hybrid form— a manifestation of African and Western world-view.

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# New Englishes and the Social Media: The Proliferation of the Nigerian Variety

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## Abstract

*The paper examines the proliferation of the new variety of English occasioned by computer-mediated communication. It investigates how Nigerians use the new variety on the social media chat as well as the extent of its use. The paper uses purposive sampling to select some conversational texts of three groups – academic scholars, linguistic PhD students of the Benue State University, and an unclassified group consisting of different categories of people, all on Facebook and WhatsApp platforms. The paper assesses a total of 120 messages spread across the groups (40 for each group). Using both textual and tabular method of presentation and analysis of data, the paper clearly explains how each of these groups uses CMC tool to chat on social media and the level to which they do this. The average formula used for the calculation is: $\frac{Total\ frequency\ of\ an\ item}{Total\ number\ of\ messages}$. The findings reveal that Nigerians, like other social media users, use both linguistic and non-linguistic sings to chat. These include shortened forms (which involves alphabets and numerics); pidgin, multifarious punctuations and mannerisms, and emojis. From the analysis it is evident that the use of emojis is higher than other non-linguistic and linguistic signs with the average rate of 1.33 per message. The paper concludes that emojis play a greater role in communication on the social media. It thus recommends that since emojis have dominated the CMC scene, linguists and semioticists should queue into more studies on them, for this opens up grounds for more linguistic analyses. The achievement of the paper is that it has exposed how the new variety of English is developing through CMC.*

**Keywords:** New Englishes, Social Media, the Nigerian Variety, Proliferation.

## Introduction

A study of the history of the English language reveals that it emerged as an outcome of the contact between the three Germanic tribes – Angles, Saxons and Jutes. These groups arrived the British Isle in the 5th century AD. According to Algeo (2010), the exact date for the first landing of the Saxons on the British Isles as contained in by the Venerable Bede's account in his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* is 449. Algeo submits that the invading newcomers (the three groups mentioned above) came from various tribes in northern Germany and part of Southern Juteland. These groups spoke a number of closely related and similar Germanic dialects (p.80). Doubtlessly, even though these Germanic groups were of different tribes mixed with members of other tribes "their descendants a

century and a half later were already beginning to think of themselves and their speech as English" (p.80).

Subsequently, as time went on, they developed some dialects: West Saxon, Kentish, Mercian and Northumbrian. The West Saxon dialect took prominence over the rest as it was highly used in the literatures of that time. But eventually the Mercian dialect dominated and evolved into the middle and modern English (Riccio, 2004 p.19; Algeo 2010 p.86). However, they maintained a standard core. Along the line of development of the language, a series of events of invasions and conquest, such as the Vikings incursion and the Norman Conquest ensued, thereby leading to a lot of linguistic and literary change in the language. There was a lot of borrowing and structural adjustment in both the sound system and the grammar of the language (Riccio, 2004).

\Modern English however developed essentially as a result of the evolution of science and technology. The language has spread across the globe today; many nations use English for various purposes or functions. It is undeniable that, as the language spread across nations, it has assumed various forms across these nations. And this is spreading rapidly, as earlier mentioned, as a result of the development of science and technology. This analogy rightly explains why the social media (as we shall discuss in full in the subsequent sections) plays a role in the development of English today.

The social media, according to Kham, Ayaz, and Faheem (2016), is basically "a media which is used through various electronic devices and rechargeable devices like mobile phone, computer, tablets, and so many other ways to facilitate the people while sharing their ideas with others in an easy and systematic way" (p.591). Consequent to the emergence of the internet which is the machinery through which social media platforms have dominated the global scene, the varieties of English (as considered in this paper – New Englishes) have grown high. Abdu, Al-Kadi and Ahmed (2018) posit that "the arrival of Web 2.0 tools and applications, such as Facebook, Twitter, Skype, WhatsApp, and Viber… reveal changes that English has recently undergone. The internet has given rise to what is arguably a new variety of English that differs from standard varieties" (p.727).

Abdu, Al-Kadi and Ahmed's viewpoints to what in modern research is referred to as Computer-Mediated Communication (CMC). This is the form of communication where people interact or socialise themselves through the use of electronic devices. Any communication that occurs through the use of electronic devices such as cell phones, tablets, laptop among others, and which is connected particularly to the internet is regarded as Computer-Mediated Communication. Studies have shown that CMC has introduced a "new language" which has its unique features such as the use of emotions and the combination of written and spoken forms (Androutsophoulos 2006 p.420). Details of this can be seen in the review section of this discourse.

The thrust of this paper therefore is the proliferation of the new variety of the English language through the social media platform. It is aims at exploring how the social media has contributed to the development of the language, especially as it concerns the expansion and spread of the new variety. At the end of this paper, those who may be privileged to read it will surely have an insight to these new usages that have flooded the cyberspace.

**Clarification of Concepts**

This section takes a look at the meaning of some concepts as used in the context of this paper. These include the terms, "New Englishes", and "Social Media". The term Englishes, according to Jowitt (2008), was first used by a distinguished historian of the English language – Barbara Strang. Strang used this to refer to the varieties of English. Kachru (1982), cited in Jowitt (2008, p.8), extends the concept of "Englishes" to include, "New Englishes". According to Jowitt, the "new" refers to the non-native varieties, especially the ones associated with ESL. It thus implies that New Englishes is a referent to all the emerging non-native varieties of English. Schneider (2003) avers that New Englishes is used to refer to all the varieties resulting and emerging from historical accounts of the early phases of colonial and postcolonial eras "until the maturation and separation of the variants as newly recognized and self-contained varieties" (pp.234-235). McArthur (1982, pp.668-669) in Bolton (n.d.) defines it as "a recently emerging and increasingly autonomous variety of English, especially in a non-western setting…" (Bolton p.2).

It is apt therefore to conclude that "New Englishes" refers to the new forms/varieties which have emanated or are emanating after the colonial periods (Postcolonial Englishes) that are not native to the British/American Extraction. Therefore, the following can be referred to as New Englishes: Nigerian English, Australian English, Indian English, Singapore English, among others. However, with the current state of flux of the internet which has brought in "online communities", the definition of "new Englishes" from the perspective of the geographical spread may be termed incomplete. It is sufficient therefore to say that the term includes all the forms such as the ones mentioned above and any other form which does not take the features of the British and American varieties.

Social media, as earlier defined in the introduction, refers to the media that uses various electronic devices like mobile phones, tablets, and the like to facilitate easy conversation or communication. Similarly, Siddiqui and Singh (2016) defines it as "computer tools that allows (sic) people to share or exchange information, ideas, images, videos and even more with each other through a particular network" (p.71). On the advantages and disadvantages of social media, Drahosova and Balco (2017), aver that "social media allow people to exchange ideas and opinions, discuss together the content of pages and make contacts online. Social media is different from traditional mainstream media in that their content can create everybody as well contribute into it or comment on it" (p.1006). Social media however lacks security, information overload and loss of social contacts (p.1009). There is a plenitude of these platforms. They include: WhatsApp, Facebook, Instagram, Google, Twitter, Viber, Skype, etc.

**Objectives of the Study**

The objectives of the paper include:
i.        to examine how Nigerians use the CMC based variety of English
ii.       to examine the extent of use of the CMC based variety

### Review of Literature

This section reviews scholars' views on how new varieties of English emerge and how the social media plays a role in the development and spread of these varieties. Since the paper aims at using the language of computer-mediated commutation (CMC), this section also discusses its (CMC) features and the various platforms by which it is explored.

### How New Varieties of English Emerge

Jowith (2008) posits that "the special character of the history of English… is reflected in the increasing cognizance that is taken today of the varieties of English that have emerged around the world" (p.5). A variety of a language refers to "a set of linguistic items with similar social distribution" (Hudson 1996). Linguistic items include characters of phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics. This section explains how varieties of English emerge. Nordquist, R. (2019) in an online article updated on 30th May, 2019 avers that varieties of a language develop for a number of reasons. These include, as broadly classified, geographical and social reasons. According to Nordquist, people who live in different geographical areas usually develop dialect (variety). Those who belong to specific group (social category) tend to adopt jargon that is understood among members of such a group. Thus, the experience of a group or even individuals influences the form of language they use. It is noteworthy therefore that, as people continue to lose contact with others and/or subsequently have contact with some groups, so do variations continue to increase.

From the above summation, it is evident that the English language has undergone such experience thus leading to its numerous regional and social varieties. It suffice to say, therefore, that the social media serves as a social world where all categories of people live as well as all the factors come to play. This explains the rapid spread of the varieties, especially the social media type as is seen previously in this work.

### How Social Media Contributes to the Development and Spread of the New Varieties of English

The social media has contributed a lot to the development and spread of the English language in general. Mutum and Wang (2010) in Khan, Iyaz, and Faheem (2016, p.590) submits that due to online blogs and social media sources, "the visitor sends messages and also gives comments on different things which improve the English language ability of learners. There are online communities which are helpful for English learning and vocabulary development (Godwin-Jones 2003, cited in Khan, Iyaz and Fahaam 2016, p.590). Social media helps users to share their ideas, experience or views with others. The communication system is thus shared through language, in most cases, English. As such, as people communicate on social media they likewise foster the spread of English in its varying forms.

It is important to state that the emergence of the social media has made communication or information disseminating easier. It is not a misconception that the social media has become a major agent for the spread of the English language. Particularly, it has helped in developing a new form of communication referred to as computer-mediated communication, which entirely has peculiar features of a new variety of the language.

### Computer-Mediated Communication (CMC)

The emergence of the modern computers has brought a lot of changes in the development of the English language. That the cyberspace is awash with a lot of inventions, innovations and renovations in the study of English or languages at large is not an overstatement. The impact of the modern computers is not just on language alone but has cut across several fields of study or human endeavours. For language or communication based studies, the language of computer-mediated communication has flooded the scene with a lot of research in socio-linguistics and pragmatics/semantics.

As earlier defined, CMC is any form of communication that is passed through electronic devices. Ifukor (2011) states that "since its coinage by Hiltz and Turoff (1978) the term computer-mediated communication has been adapted and broadly conceptualized as interactive communication by and among human beings via networked computers and mobile devices." According to Ifukor, internet interlocutors or netizens/detextizens, as they are also referred to (for regular SMS senders) adopt textual data to exchange their opinions, thought, feelings, ideas and observation on a subject matter. Johns (1995:11) cited in Ifukor (2011) explains that these interactive milieu makes CMC "a technology, medium, and engine of social relations" wherein language stands as the major medium for such relationship.

The CMC has been classified into synchronous and asynchronous. In synchronous CMC participants chat (send and receive) messages simultaneously, such as e-chat and instance messaging (IM). Asynchronous CMC form is not an instant response (not simultaneous) type. This form includes mailing/lists, news groups and discussion boards (Androutsopoulos, 2006 p.420).

It is worthy of note that CMC has acquired a new pattern of the English language usage that is apparently not the usual form of the language. Crystal (2001), according to Androutsopoulos, coined the term "netspeak" to refer to the type of language "displaying features that are unique to the internet…" (Androutsopoulos, 2006 p.420). The language of CMC is composed of the use of "emotions and acronyms, the hybrid communication of written and spoken features, and principal differences between synchronous and asynchronous modes" (p.420). Thus, "the characteristic features of CMC are now understood as resources that particular groups of users might draw on in the construction of discourse styles in particular contexts" (p.421).

Several works have been done on language of CMC which showed that it has its peculiar features. Baym (2003) has had a study on "communication in online communities". In the study Baym postulates that online communities emerge through certain individuals – participants who adopt specific pattern of interaction with codified rules guiding their use of language. Androutsopoulos's (2006) writing on sociolinguistics and CMC is also a source of reference. Androutsopoulos' work provides "an outline of linguistically focused CMC studies". Thus drawing inference from the empirical works, Androutsopoulos observes that "socio linguistics can contribute to the interdisciplinary theorizing of CMC by demonstrating the role of language use and linguistic variability in the construction of interpersonal relationship and social identities on the internet" (p.419).

Shoki (2010) in "Semiotic Analysis of computer-mediated communication in selected instant messages of Nigerian students" examined the signification and social meaning of computer generated textual signs in online interaction. Shoki analysed the linguistic and non-linguistic signs used by Nigerian students in their instant messaging. The outcome of the work reveals that Nigerian students on the internet platform use only universal non-linguistic signs and iconic linguistic signs to communicate social meanings in their instant messaging.

It suffice to state here that our current study is also in line with all that have been discussed above. However, the focus of this study is not just to examine how Nigerians use the internet platform using CMC tools to communicate, but it also examines the extent to which they do this.

## Methodology
The research is both qualitative and quantitative. It is qualitative in that it seeks to investigate how Nigerians communicate on the social media using the CMC tools. It is quantitative because it examines the extent of use of the new variety of English on these platforms. In effect, the researchers used their mobile phones and other persons' to assess some group media chats, particularly Facebook and WhatsApp, where-upon screenshots were taken. Since the research focused on the language of CMC, the researchers used purposive sampling; they selected 40 messages each from three groups: academic scholars, PhD students and unclassified groups. The presentation and analysis of data was done in both textual and tabular form (that is, presenting some conversational texts and drafting of a table). The analysis was done using the following average formula:

$$\frac{Total\ frequency\ of\ an\ item}{Total\ number\ of\ messages} = \text{Average rate per message}$$

Eg: See table 1; shortened forms = $\frac{07}{40}$ = 0.18 Average

The average rates of each of these groups were added and divided by 3 to find out the total average rate of each item of the three groups.

## Data Presentation and Analysis
The presentation of data is both textual and tabular. The first aspect of this section shows how Nigerians use CMC based variety of English. The second aspect shows the extent of use of the CMC based variety.
## Textual Presentation and Analysis
The following shows how language of CMC is used among the three selected groups. This usage is classified into linguistic and non-linguistic signs. Linguistic signs include abbronyms – acronyms, abbreviations and other multifarious shortening of lexemes. Non-linguistic signs include emoticons (emotional icons), emotexts (emotional texts), and vest (vowel extension) (Shoki, 2010 p.30). However, we use the term "emojis" (Pictographs/images representing humans or things) for this discussion.
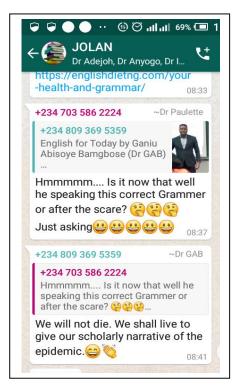## Group 1: Academic Scholars
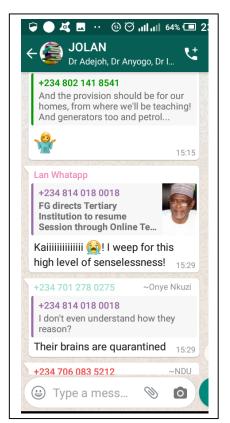1.      Shortened forms
        i.      Good evening with a smile on your face
        ii.     Break dis one before d main d main
        iii.    How about dis
2.      Pidgin
        i.      Oya make una come pay school fees (Ok! Come and pay school fees)

ii.        Salary neva come (Salary alert has not been sent)
iii.       Na so argument take start (That was how an argument started)
3.    Multifarious Punctuations and Mannerisms
i.        … yes now. We should not just speak … in fact ehn, ha … na wa
ii.       … you find this funny, right?
iii.      Hmmmm… is it now that well he speaking correct grammer or after the scare?
iv.      Kaiiiiiiii I weep for this high level of senselessness!
4.    Emojis
Some of them are presented below:

i.



ii.

From the above, it can be observed that among the academic scholars there is just an inclusion of shortened forms in few places 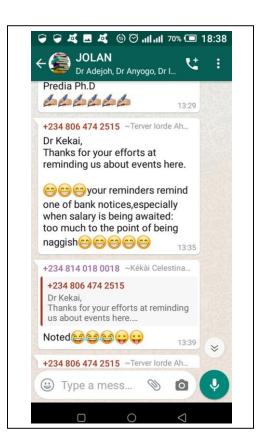in their sentences or utterances. For instance, in sentence (i) of (I), there is just "ur" (your); sentence (ii) has "dis" (this) and "d" (the), while sentence (iii) has only "dis".

It is also interesting to state that the employment of ellipsis and other mannerisms such as the ones seen above makes the conversation more like oral or spoken form than written. In terms of the use of emojis, it is evident that this group uses them to show the intensity of meaning of what the writer of the message means. For instance, the emojis in the messages above show how deeply the speaker is thinking and how what they (speakers) express is funny. The first three emojis in (i) represent someone who is thinking and the second ones express someone who is laughing or smiling exceedingly.

**Group 2: PhD Students**
**Shortened forms**

 i. Please and please help me pray 4 my only daughter she was taken to de theatre since 4pm.

 ii. We pray for total and fast healing IJN [in Jesus' name]

 iii. Good day ladies and gentlemen, how r u doing today I just spoke to Prof. abt d public holiday on our lecture wit him n after dat Monday it will be exams so wot r we going to do he said I shud inform al of u dat we shal meet on Tuesday.

 iv. Thank u for d in4mation

      v.      Ok tnk u for d info

**Pidgin**

      **Phil**:    Stephoo! How far? (Stephie, how are you?)

      **Steph**:  I dey babe, how your side? I miss you die (I am still around my lady, what about you? I have missed you seriously)

      **Phil**:    We dey oo, miss you more, my only lady (we are around/fine, and we missed

          you my lady)

**Multifarious Punctuation and Mannerisms**

      i.      Hmmm! Such a powerful room

      ii.     Have you seen this???

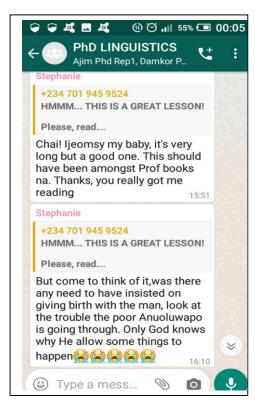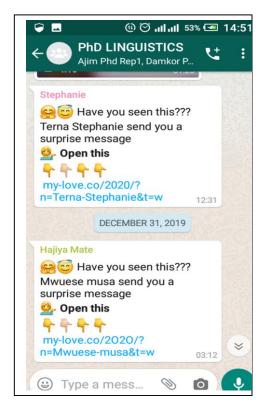      iii.    Isssssh! Imagine the number of birth after the pandemic
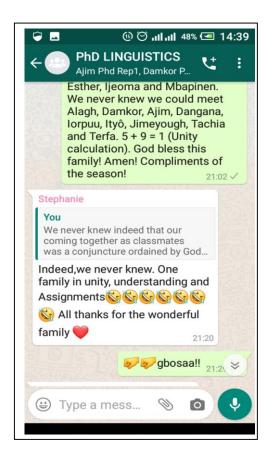
      iv.    Okay oo!

**1.**     **Emojis**

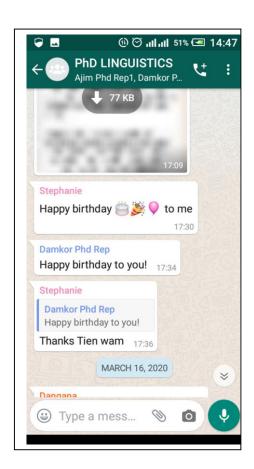     Below are some of the usages of emojis:

                 v.                                          vi.

From the texts above, it is observable that this group makes use of different shortened forms and there are variations in the shape of some of these. For instance, the word "information" appears as "in4mation" or "info". There is also the use of single letters as words. Example: "r" (are); "u" (you); "n" (and), and "b" (be). This may cause confusion to someone who does not understand the use of these shortened forms. Moreover, there is the use of numerics with alphabets. This, Shoki (2010) refers to as alpha-numeric surrogates). Example: in4mation and "4" (for).

As observed from the group 1, the use of certain mannerisms and punctuations make written conversations more like oral. This group also uses expressions like: "Hmmm!", "Issssh!", "oo" etc., as well as emojis in their chats.

## Group 3: Unclassified group (mixture of different category of people)
## Shortened forms

Below are some conversations:

i. **Amuta**: How your side

   **Don**: Dat day u say u de cm bak I no cm c u again

   **Amuta**:  I been house so e get things well I forget so as I remember na I say make I do am

   **Don**: Okey na no p

   **Amuta**: How jab now

   **Don**: Nrm

ii. **YCS**: Hi group

   **Cmfrt**: fyn

   **Ycs**: okay

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| **Cmfrt**: | u |
| **Ycs**: | me? |
| **Cmfrt**: | How u |
| **Ycs**: | Am doing great and you |
| **Cmfrt**: | Same |
| **Ycs**: | Okay |

## Multifarious Punctuations and Mannerisms
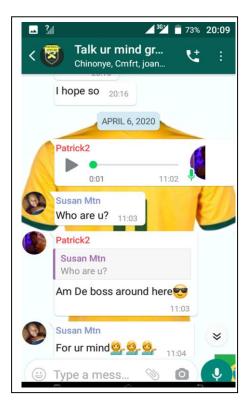
i.      Dat msg na ur own???

ii.     How much is cabin biscuit in your area? … lol. Don't laugh alone send it to ur friends n make dem laugh… too

iii.    Cheers!!!!! Here is mummy's gift

iv.     May God see you through, Rev… Perpetual Profession to the priesthood… The joy has to be shared in space…

## Emojis

The following are the usages of emojis in this group.

A cursory observation of this group's conversations reveals that they use more shortened forms than the other groups. The use of these shortened forms is so peculiar that an average reader or a novice in the area of shortening of words or sentences can hardly comprehend the conversation. Such abbreviations as "HBD (happy birth day and "IJN" (in Jesus' name) are peculiar features used in this group.

From the conversation (i) above, Don's use of "no p" and "nrm" are very strange; "no p" means no problem, while "nrm" means "normal". Other examples like "but y" (but why) and "y what" (why what) are also strange. These are found in some of the group's conversations.

It is apt to state also that this group makes use of a lot of pidgin in most communication events. As it is seen from the sampled conversation, they use pidgin more than the standard grammar of English. For instance, Amuta says "I been house so e get things well I forget so as I remember na I say make I do am". He is trying to respond to the petition by Don that he promised to come back but has failed to come. What Amuta means is that he is supposed to do some chores which escaped his memory. But having remembered his duties while at home, he has to do them. Both the grammatical structure and the shortening may cause confusion to the reader.

From the sampled conversations, expressions like "cheers!!!" and the use of ellipsis "…." signify the degree or intensity of the speaker meaning. For instance, "cheers!!!" calls for more attention to the gift presented to "mummy" for her birthday. In "send it to ur friends n make dem laugh…. too", the ellipsis emphasises a prolonged laughter. One interesting point observed in this group's conversation is that there is hardly the use of punctuation marks apart from the ones used for emphasis. In terms of the use of emojis, like other groups, this group also uses emojis to complement the meaning of what the speaker expresses.

From the above analysis of the three groups on how they use the new variety of language of CMC, it suffice to state that each group, even though uses both linguistic and non-linguistic signs, has peculiar forms of usage. Nevertheless, the fact remains that they all use a variety of language that is distinct from the ordinary normal usage of the English language. As observed above, the peculiar aspects of use of these signs makes their conversations more like oral form than written.

## 4.2    Tabular Presentation and Analysis

| Items | Groups 1 | | Groups 2 | | Group 3 | | Total Average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Frequency | Av. Per message | Frequency | Av. Per message | Frequency | Av. Per message | |
| Shortened forms | 07 | 0.18 | 62 | 1.55 | 80 | 2.00 | 1.24 |
| Pidgin | 07 | 0.18 | 04 | 0.40 | 16 | 0.40 | 0.23 |
| Multifarious | | | | | | | |
| Punctuations and mannerisms | 09 | 0.23 | 08 | 0.20 | 09 | 0.23 | 0.22 |
| Emojis | 77 | 1.93 | 30 | 0.75 | 53 | 1.33 | 1.33 |

From the table above, emojis in group 1 has the highest frequency of occurrence with the average of 1.93 per message out of 40 messages. Multifarious punctuations and other linguistic mannerisms appears 9 times (0.23 Average); shortened forms and pidgin occur 7 times, each with the average of 0.18 per message. Group 2 contains 62 shortened forms (1.55 Average), 30 emojis (0.75 average), 8 multifarious punctuations and mannerisms (0.20 Average), and 4 against pidgin with the average of 0.40. Group 2 has 80 (2.00Average) frequency on shortened forms, 53 (1.33 Average), on emojis, 16 (0.40 average) on pidgin, and 9 (0.23 average) on multifarious punctuations and mannerisms. All of these were calculated against 40 messages each.

This implies that among the academic scholars (group 1), emojis are the most frequently used signs, while the PhD students (group 2) use more shortened forms in their messaging, and group 3 – unclassified group – also uses more shortened forms than other items or signs. Above all, to address the second objective of this study which aims at examining the extent of use of CMC based variety of English, it is logical to state that among Nigerian users of the computer- mediated communication, at least the average occurrence of shortened forms per message is 1.24; pidgin (0.23), multifarious punctuations and mannerisms (0.22), while emojis have the greatest average of 1.33 per message. By inference, the use of emojis among Nigerians on CMC is greater than other signs of communication.

## Conclusion/Recommendation

The paper focused on the use of English by Nigerians on social media using computer-mediated communication tools. It thus discussed how the social media contributes to the development of the new variety of English as is occasioned by the CMC. The work carefully reviewed the features of CMC in order to gain insight into their use by people on the social media. The platforms used for assessing data were basically Facebook and WhatsApp. Findings from the data and the analysis reveal that the new variety of English used by Nigerians on the social media, like others across the globe, is concocted with both linguistic and non-linguistic signs. The linguistic features used by Nigerian include: shortened forms (which involves alphabets and numerics), pidgin and other multifarious use of punctuations and mannerisms. Non-linguistic signs include emojis (smileys, and images of people or their parts, animals and plants). Among these items (linguistic and non-linguistic), the emojis are frequently used among Nigerians.

The paper therefore concludes that emojis play a greater role in communication on the social media. As such, it recommends that linguists and semioticists should engage themselves to studying these emojis and their usages as they have dominated the CMC scene. Moreover, linguists should queue into the exploration of the language of CMC as it exposes them to different linguistic analyses.

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# Inflectional Processes in English and Bokyi: The Pedagogical Implications

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**Abstract**
*This study entitled 'English and Bokyi inflectional similarities and differences: pedagogical implications' was designed to highlight the similarities and differences in the inflectional systems of English and Bokyi with a view to discussing the pedagogical implications of the similarities/differences so as to be able to offer reliable suggestions for remediation and effective teaching of English, as a second language, to Bokyi learners. The theoretical linguistic tool adopted in this paper is Contrastive Analysis (CA), known to have originated with Fries in 1945, and later developed by Lado Clive in 1957 into a fully–fledged theory of teaching, testing, textbooks writing, and evaluation. Information (data) on the similarities and differences in the inflectional processes of the two languages were derived from the author's PhD unpublished dissertation and other related sources. The study revealed, among others, that while inflection of words in English applies to nouns, pronouns, verbs, adverbs and adjectives, inflection of words in Bokyi applies to nouns, pronouns and adjectives only. While both systems show some markers for plurality in noun, there is a divergence in the inflectional pattern of verbs in both systems. There is consistency in the inflectional patterns of English and Bokyi adverbs and regular adjectives. Bokyi, however, is discovered not to have irregular and non-gradable adjectives. In the derivation of words, it is discovered that prefixes in English do not altar the word class of the derivative. The reverse is the case in Bokyi. Based on the above findings, pedagogical implications were highlighted and discussed as it affect each situation followed by recommendations to relevant authorities on areas of remediation and how to have effective teaching of English, as a second language, to Bokyi learners.*

**Keywords**: Contrastive Analysis, Inflections, Pedagogy.

**Background of the Study**
The observation of Elemi (2001: 114) as highlighted in chapter two of this study seems to have provided part of the answer to the question of 'what facilitates/hinders the learning of a second language?' According to the source, "what an individual acquires before affects what he learns now or later; positively in the areas of similarities, and negatively in the areas of differences". Elemi's observation (above) is in tandem with Wilkins 2008:89) view in his analysis of tense system of English and French. Wilkins study reveals that areas of similarities and differences between the tense system in the two languages result in facilitation and difficulties, respectively, for English/French learners of either language.

Also, the results/observations of Bisong (2010:125) affirm the above position regarding what facilitate or hinder the performance of second language learners. On noun inflection for instance, it was discovered that the system of plural noun formation (regular noun) in the two languages is similar. This level of similarity may account for the ease experienced by the Boki respondents (in that study) in attempting questions on English plural noun formation. Conversely, there was difficulty in dealing with the issues of English irregular noun formation (suppletion), zero plural formation and possession; all resulting from the difference in the morphological approaches of the two languages in the above areas. According to Bisong (2010), the Boki learners experience difficulty in realizing all English tenses (except the progressive). This, according to the source, results from the similarities and differences existing between the two languages in those areas. In fact, Table 1 (below) shows the Bokyi learner–users of English problem and non-problem areas in word formation; which are not unconnected with the difference and similarity existing between English and Bokyi in this regard.

However, according to Oliver (2006) differences and similarities may not be the sole factors constituting difficulty or facilitation in second language learning. He (Oliver, 2006) sees a range of factors such as learning environment, pedagogical materials, psycho-social and cognitive factors. These factors, however, go beyond the realm of language learning.

The definitions of inflectional morphology by Crystal (2000) and Stump (2001) suggest that in inflectional process of word formation the word class of the root, to which an inflectional morpheme is added, is never altered. Rather, it modifies the form of the word to enable it fit into a particular grammatical category. The findings of Bisong (2010:181), regarding the inflectional processes of English and Bokyi, prove these definitions to be correct and applicable to both languages. The study also shows that though the inflectional process of word formation in Bokyi is not as productive as that of English, inflection in both languages applies to nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs and verbs respectively. We shall now examine the theoretical framework to which this study is based.

**Theoretical Framework**

This study is anchored on the concept of Contrastive Analysis (CA). The concept of Contrastive Analysis (CA) originated with Fries in 1945, and was later developed by Lado Clive in 1957 into a fully–fledged theory of teaching, testing, textbooks writing, evaluation and preparing supplementary materials for the teaching of English as FL or L2 (Amayo, 2004:123). The field of CA investigates interlingual interference. Bright (2009:271) views Contrastive Analysis as the systematic study of a pair of languages with a view to identifying their structural differences and similarities. According to him, apart from being used to establish language genealogies, CA is used extensively in the field of second language acquisition (SLA) as a method of explaining why some features of a target language were more difficult to acquire than others. He argues that:

> The difficulty in mastering certain structures in a second language (L2) depended on the difference between the learner's mother tongue (L1) and the target language. Those elements which are similar to the leaner's native language will be simple while those elements that are different will be difficult.

This view of Bright (above) is supported by Baur (2005:200) who holds that "once the areas of potential difficulty are mapped out through contrastive analysis, it becomes easy to design language courses more effectively". Contrastive analysis along with *Behaviourism and structuralism* exerted a profound effect on second language acquisition curriculum design and language teacher education, and provided the theoretical pillars of *Audio-lingual* method of language teaching (Williamson, 2004:101).

Also, Banjo (19786:140) in explicating the responsibility of contrastive analysis states that:

> Contrastive analysis base their argument on the premise that possible areas of difficulties for the L2 leaner can be predicted and therefore emphasized to ensure proficiency in them. If the structures of the source language (L1) and the target language (L2) are similar then the learner is not likely to commit many errors as will be the case where the two structures are fundamentally different. The instructor is expected to study the nature and structure of the two languages and compare them with the purpose of predicting errors the child is likely to commit.

By means of contrastive analysis of whatever aspect of languages, some scholars have made it known that no two languages are exactly the same or completely different in all respects. There must certainly be found areas of similarities as well as areas of differences. Linguists have since been able to classify languages based on the significant properties they share. The search for the fundamental properties shared by languages of the world is the domain of language universals (Katamba, 1996), and this has resulted in the formation of typologies/classification which include analytic or isolating, agglutinating, inflecting, synthetic or fusional languages, and incorporating or polysynthetic languages.

Bammer (2002) argues that one of the major problems facing learners/users of a second language is the tyranny of mother tongue. That is, we think in our native languages and speak in the second language. According to him, the need to tackle the problem of mother tongue interference in second language usage gave rise to what is today known as contrastive analysis (CA) or contrastive linguistics. He sees it as the juxtaposition of certain aspects of a pair language (the native language (L1 and the target language (L2) with a view to identify areas of similarities and or differences so as to be able to predict areas of difficulties and to offer remedial teaching/ learning in such areas. While the similarities aid and facilitate the learning process, the differences usually lead to interferences/negative transfer and impediment of the learning process.

The above position of Bammer agrees with the view of Bamgbose (2000:103) which holds that Contrastive analyst base their argument on the premise that possible areas of difficulty for the second or foreign language learner can be predicted and therefore emphasized to ensure proficiency. The language instructor should study the nature and structure of the two languages, compare and contrast them for the purpose of predicting errors the language user is likely to commit. The major assumption of contrastive analyst, according to Lado (1987), is that language users tend to transfer the language habits of their native language to the target language. According to him, the primary goal of CA is to discover areas of similarities and differences between languages, explain the implications of the difference and similarities and predict possible problems of L2 users, and design course material for language teachers/users/researchers. This framework is therefore fit for this study, since its

aim is to juxtapose the similarities and differences in the English and Bokyi inflections, explain the implications of the difference and similarities and predict possible problems of L2 users, and design course material for language teachers/users/researchers.

**Pedagogical Implication of the Difference/Similarity in English/Bokyi Noun Inflection**
Bisong's (2010) study reveals that while noun inflection in English occurs in plurality and possession, the Bokyi noun inflection occurs in plurality only. Also, while English forms its plural nouns by suffixing the '-s' or '-es' plural marker (Z1 morpheme) to the base, Bokyi does so by prefixing any of the following plural markers to the base: 'ba-', 'bu-', 'bi-', 'a-', or 'e-' through prefixation. Findings of the study show that the problem encountered by the Bokyi learners of English as a second language with regards to plural noun formation in English is not prompted by the fact that English form plural through suffixation and Bokyi through prefixation, but by the fact that while Bokyi plural nouns are basically regular, the English plural nouns are either regular or irregular. This irregular formation in English, particularly in the case of suppletion, poses a serious problem to the Bokyi learner of English. This answers the question why the Boki respondents were able to provide the plural of all the English regular nouns correctly, but unable to provide the plural of all the English irregular nouns presented in the questionnaire administered by Bisong (2010).

English nouns are also inflected by adding the possessive marker '-s' to the base through suffixation. In contrast, Bokyi lacks the possessive marker; possession in Bokyi is exhibited in context. Examine the following expressions:

| **English** | | **Bokyi** |
|---|---|---|
| Paul's mother | → | bone Paul |
| Banku's son | → | wan Banku |

From the above, it can be seen that unlike English nouns, which are proceeded by adjectives/adjectival (e.g Nigerian government), Bokyi reverses the order, so that the head of the Bokyi nominal group will now take the position of what in English is the adjective. With this, constructions such as the following:

> Wife of James….. instead of James' wife
> Baso book ….. instead of Baso's book etc.

were discovered from the students written composition. Possession, therefore is an issue to be fully addressed by teachers of English to Boki learners of English.

Research has also shown that certain words in the two languages have zero plural morphemes (Bisong, 2010); a situation which should ordinarily facilitate the learning in that regards. But, a learning difficulty is posed by the fact that there is no one to one correspondence between English and Bokyi words having zero plural morphemes. For instance, while the English word 'furniture' has zero plural morphemes, it lacks such status in Bokyi. The tendency in this situation is for a Bokyi learner-user of English to be unable to differentiate English words that have zero plural morphemes from others. In providing the plural forms of some nouns in the questionnaire administered to respondents in Bisong (2010), the following errors were made by the Bokyi respondents:

Example 1:       **Singular**                              **Plural**
                 sheep                                   sheeps
                 furniture                               furnitures
                 counsel                                 counsels

In the written exercise, the following construction was noted:
Example 2:               My father <u>have</u> ten cat, six goat and three cock.
While the errors in example 1 may have resulted from the fact that those words lack zero plural morpheme in Bokyi, the errors in example 2 are the result of the fact that cat, goat and cock have zero plural morpheme in Bokyi. The respondents have merely transferred into English what obtains in Bokyi. This also calls for pedagogical attention.

**Pedagogical Implication of the Difference/Similarity in English/Bokyi Verb Inflection**
On English/Bokyi verb inflection Bisong (2010) study reveals that while Bokyi verbs are basically regular, English verbs are both regular and irregular. It was also discovered that both the English and Bokyi verbs (regular) are inflected in their uniform and predictable manner respectively but while English uses suffixes to show tense, Bokyi uses pronominal prefixes and tone to indicate tense.

This situation naturally creates learning problems to Bokyi learners of English. The result of the questionnaire and the oral interview administered to Bokyi speakers/learners of English in Bisong (2010) study reveals that many respondents have no problem with the English progressive form. This may be resulting from the fact that the production of the progressive forms of both English and Bokyi verbs have the similarity of adding something to the base – a suffix (-ing) to the English base, and a prefix (Okuo-) to the Bokyi base. The two languages realize the other forms of the verb differently; while English uses the suffixes '-s', and '-ed' in the realization of the other forms of the verb, Bokyi applies tone to have each of the other forms of the verb. This disparity may account for the following wrong expressions of the student in the composition exercise given them in Bisong (2010) study:

My sister <u>go</u> to school all the time
….. they <u>are</u> all <u>run</u> to school
I have <u>give</u> him is book
He <u>like</u> to eat chewing gum in the class
My father <u>sees</u> gain from the chair business

Also, Bokyi lacks the exact equivalents of the English modal auxiliaries –shall, should, can, could, will, would, may, might. All of the above are represented by the Bokyi word 'nchi' which by exact translation means 'will'. This situation poses a serious learning problem to Boki learners of English as they are prone to using 'will' where other modal auxiliaries should fit in. This was noticed from the scripts of the composition by the students in Bisong (2010) study:

They have <u>give</u> them the money
They have <u>took</u> it to the principal

The above illustration/discussion on the inflection of English/Bokyi verbs suggests that teachers of English to Bokyi learner–users of English should pay particular attention/emphasis to the following forms of the English verbs, modal auxiliaries verbs and irregular verbs.

**Pedagogical Implication of the Difference/Similarity in English/Bokyi Pronoun Inflection**

Pronouns such as personal pronouns, relative pronouns and demonstrative pronouns operate in both English and Bokyi languages. In both languages also, the personal pronouns operate at the level of 1st, 2nd and 3rd personal singular and plural, and at the subjective, objective and possessive cases. This shows a considerable level of structural similarity. See Tables 1 and 2 below:

But, a closer look at the composition/operation of each type of pronoun, one discovers glaring difference between the pronouns of English and those of Bokyi. This has been exemplified on Table 3 (below). The Table 3 reveals that while some Bokyi pronouns (e.g nkin → this, nbin →these, kira → which etc) represent each of the English demonstrative pronouns, others represent two or more English pronouns (e.g. the Bokyi personal pronoun 'yi' stands for four English personal pronoun – he, she, him, and her, while the Bokyi possessive pronoun 'emen' represents three English possessive pronouns – his, hers and its). The tendency in this situation is for the Bokyi learners to misuse those English pronouns that are equally represented by a particular Bokyi pronoun. In other words, a Bokyi learner of English language may follow the generalization that the following sets of the English possessive pronouns; himself/herself, they/them, their/theirs, whom/whose, can be used interchangeably.

**TABLE 1**

English pronoun classification and changes in person

| Personal pronouns | | | | Subject | Objective |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number | Person | A | | | |
| B | C | D | | | |
| | 1st person | I | | | |
| Me | My | Mine | | | |
| Singular | 2nd person | You | | | |
| You | Your | Yours | | | |
| | 3rd person | He | | | |
| Him | His | His | | | |
| | | She | | | |
| Her | Her | Hers | | | |
| | | It | It | Its | |
| Its | | | | | |
| Plural | 1st person | We | Us | Our | |
| Ours | | | | | |
| | 2nd Person | You | You | Your | |
| Yours | | | | | |
| | 3rd person | They | Them | Their | |
| Theirs | | | | | |
| Relative pronoun | | Who | Who or Whose | Whose | |

| | Whom | |
| --- | --- | --- |
| | Which    Which | |
| Demonstrative | That | That |
| pronouns | This | This |
| | Those | Those |
| | These | These |

**TABLE 2**
Forms of Bokyi personal pronouns

| Form          ⟹ | **Singular** | | **Plural** | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | Subject | Object | Subject | Object |
| 1st person | me (I) | me (me) | be (we) | be (us) |
| 2nd person | wo (you) | wo (you) | ben (you) | ben (you) |
| 3rd person | yi (he)  yi (him) | mbe (they) | mbe (them) | |
| | yi(she)    yi (her) | mbe (they) | mbe (them) | |
| | nki (it)  nki (it) | nki (they) | nki (them) | |

**TABLE 3**
 English pronouns and their Bokyi equivalence

| **Bokyi Pronouns** | **English Equivalence** |
| --- | --- |
| *Personal pronouns* | |
| mé …………………………….. | I, me |
| bé ………………………………… | we, us |
| wo ………………………………… | you (sg), you (p) |
| yi …………………………………. | He, she, him, her |
| nki ………………………………… | it (subj), it (obj) |
| mbe…………………………….…… | they, them |
| *Possessive pronouns* | |
| ji ………………………………… | my, mine |
| kitten ………………………………… | Our, ours |
| eyen ………………………………… | you, yours |
| emen …………………………….. | his, hers, it, its |
| bé …………………………………. | their |
| *Reflexive pronouns* | |
| me-yen ………………………….… | Myself |
| be-yen ………………………….….. | ourselves |
| wo-yen ……………………………… | yourself |
| ben-yen …………………………..… | yourselves |
| yi-yen …………………………….. | himself, herself |
| nki-yen ……………………………… | itself |
| mbe-yen ……………………….…... | themselves |
| *Relative pronouns* | |
| ye …………………………………….. | who, whom, whose |

| kira ………………………………….. | which |
| *Demonstrative pronouns* | |
| nkin ………………………………… | this |
| nki-ene ………………………………. | that |
| nbin ………………………………… | these |
| mbi-ene ………………………………. | those |

This may account for the errors observed in the written composition administered to the students in Bisong (2010). The following are some of the written expressions recorded:

…. and I asked him <u>who</u> bag do you cary

….. the goat put <u>it</u> mouth in the drinking water

the teacher give oka <u>him</u> money yesterday…

… but <u>me</u> I will not go to fetch the water

The book is <u>his own</u>

The English inflectional suffix '-selves' is usually added to a word to show plurality of reflexive pronouns (e.g myself →our<u>selves</u>, yourself → your<u>selves</u>, himself /herself → <u>themselves</u>). In the same way, the Bokyi inflectional prefix '-be' is usually prefixed to the singular form to show plurality of Bokyi reflexive pronoun. Examine the following examples:-

| **Singular** | **Plural** |
| me-yen (myself) | be-yen (ourselves) |
| wo-yen (yourself) | ben-yen (yourselves) |
| yi-yen (himself/herself) | be-yen (themselves) |

The two languages therefore have a similar system of plurality of reflexive pronouns, and this has made the learning of the English reflexive pronoun very easy to the Bokyi learners of English.

This analysis/discussion of the English/Bokyi pronoun inflection suggests that the attention of the teacher of English to Bokyi learners of the language should be directed to those English pronouns that lack one to one correspondence with Bokyi pronouns to eschew the error of two or more English pronouns being represented by one Bokyi pronoun.

**Pedagogical Implication of the Difference/Similarity in English/Bokyi Adjective Inflection**

Research has shown that while Bokyi adjectives are basically regular, English has both the regular and the irregular adjectives. Again, the process/manner of inflecting the regular adjectives in both languages was not only consistent but also predictable. This makes the processes similar, thereby facilitating the learning of the inflection of English regular adjectives.

But the Bokyi learners of the English language express difficulty in the learning of irregular adjectives and the non-gradable adjectives. This may be caused by the fact that such types of adjectives do not exist in Bokyi. The findings made from the oral interview and the questionnaire in the study conducted by Bisong (2010) show that while the respondents could provide the comparative and superlative forms of the English regular adjectives, they could not provide the comparative and superlative forms of the English irregular and non-gradable adjectives. The following are a few examples of the outcome of the test:

high, <u>higher</u>, <u>highest</u>   √

```
great greater greatest    √
bad badder baddest        x
little  little    ?           x
many    ?      ?           x
well  wells    ?           x
round rounder roundest  x
fatal    ?      ?           x
superior ?      ?           x
```

This situation, therefore, calls for the attention of both teachers and learners to the inflection of the English irregular and non-gradable adjectives.

**Pedagogical Implication of the Difference/Similarities in English/Bokyi Adverb Inflection**

It is evident in Bisong (2010) that English adverbs are inflected by adding the suffix '-er', '-est', or '-ly' to the base of an adjective or an adverb, Bokyi adverbs, on the other hand, are derived by reduplicating the base (which is either a noun or an adverb). There is consistency in the process of adverb inflection in English as well as in Bokyi. Consistency in each case should necessarily facilitate the learning of English adverb inflection by a Bokyi learner. The results of the questionnaire and the translation exercise in Bisong (2010) study reveals that Bokyi learners of English do not have problem with the formation of English adverbs.

This may have resulted from the consistency in the formation of adverbs in English and Bokyi – while Bokyi applies reduplication, English adds the suffixes '-er', '-est', or '-ly' to the base (which may have be an adjective or an adverb). Table 4 (below) shows the problem/non-problem areas of English word inflection to the Bokyi learner-users of English. While the problem areas are the results of the difference in the inflectional processes of English and Bokyi, the non-problem areas signify areas of similarities between English and Bokyi regarding word inflection:

**TABLE 1:**

**Problem and Non-problem Areas of English Word Inflection to the Bokyi/English Bilinguals**

| Word Class | Problem Areas | Non-problem Areas |
|---|---|---|
| Noun | - irregular formation (suppletion) <br> - zero plural formation <br> - uses of possessive markers | - regular plural formation '-s', '-es'. |
| Verb | - the 3rd person singular formation (-s) <br> - the past perfective (ed1) <br> - the past imperfective (ed2) <br> - modal auxiliaries | - The progressive (-ing) |
| Pronoun | - the possessive pronoun <br> - the personal pronoun <br> - the relative pronoun | - the demonstrative pronouns <br> <br> - the reflexive pronouns |
| Adjective | - irregular formation <br> - non-gradable adjectives | - regular formation (-er, -est) |

| Adverb | - | | - | general inflection of English adverbs |

## Conclusion

This study has revealed that there are areas of similarities as well as areas of differences between English and Bokyi morphological systems. Whereas areas of similarity are found to enhance and facilitate the learning process, areas of differences are found to pose learning difficulties to the Bokyi learner-users of English.

The study revealed also that while English words are inflected and derived suffixally and prefixally, Bokyi words are inflected or derived by means of prefixation only. Though the inflectional process of word formation in Bokyi is not as productive as that of English, inflection in both languages applies to nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs and verbs respectively. It needs to be noted that the learning of English inflectional processes is usually problematic to a Bokyi learner of English. This results from the fact that there is no one to one correspondence between the inflectional processes of English and Bokyi in most cases. This major area of English word formation (derivational/inflectional suffixation and prefixation) therefore requires extra pedagogical attention by teachers who teach English to Boki learners.

Some Bokyi words are discovered to have several meanings depending on the tone applied in realization. Also, Bokyi uses tone to derive it verb forms; by applying the right tone to the base to have the needed verb form. This process of verb formation is different from what obtains in English, making the learning of English tenses difficult for the Bokyi learner-users. The learners therefore need to be adequately exposed to the operation of English tenses, and be encouraged to embrace wider learning and reading opportunities so that they can familiarize themselves with English tenses and internalize them consciously and unconsciously.

A teacher's good knowledge of the target language cannot proffer solutions to all learning difficulties. It has to combine with ability to perfectly analyze the two languages (L1 and the target language) showing areas of similarities and differences and their pedagogical implications. This applies also to the teaching/learning of the English language by English language teachers and the Boki learners. The English language text writer can avail himself/herself of his wealth of knowledge to guide him/her as these linguistic phenomena recur in many African languages.

Based on the findings of this study, designers of the syllabus need to lay emphasis on the areas of difference, which impede the learning process. Also, authors of the English language text-books, being aware of the needs of the learner, should produce English texts that are meant to tackle the identified areas of difficulty (as emphasized in the syllabus).

Both the teachers and the learners should be made to be aware of the basic problem areas resulting from the difference in the inflectional processes of two languages. This awareness will enable them to isolate areas where emphasis should be laid for effective remediation.

Finally, the government / employers of labour should ensure that those employed to teach English to the students are professional English language teachers, versed in the language and equipped with the skills and method of language teaching. Also, good learning environments and facilities are to be provided so as to enhance the learning of English morphology. In addition, seminars and workshops should be organized for teachers to enable them master English, as a language, the techniques of language teaching, and the concept of Contrastive Analysis (CA).

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