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General Information

Journal of the English Scholars’ Association of Nigeria (JESAN)

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- The Manuscript should be submitted in Microsoft Word Format, Times New Roman 12 point.
- It should be double-spaced throughout and with 3cm for left and right as well as head and foot margins.
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**Chapter in an Edited Book**

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- Quotations more than 4 lines should be indented and typed in single line spacing without quotation marks.
Illustrations, figures, graphics and tables should appear in the body of the manuscript where the author wants them. Tables and figures should have short descriptive titles. The journal would prefer tables and figures rather than artworks.
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Word Stress Patterns in Educated Igbo English

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Abstract
This paper accounts for the cognitive processes that condition word stress assignment among Educated Igbo English (EIE) speakers. This becomes necessary because previous studies have not provided insights into how universal constraints (of Optimality Theory) are (re)ranked by educated Igbo speakers of English in the assignment of word stress in their speech. Using the three important constraint families (Faithfulness, Alignment, and Markedness) of Optimality Theory (OT), this paper, therefore, provides insights into how universal constraints are reranked by educated Igbo speakers of English in assigning stress to words. A specially prepared text, which was read by fifty (50) respondents and analysed perceptually and theoretically using insights from OT, form the data for the study. Although EIE shares some similarities with Standard British English (SBE), there were some significant differences. There was reordering of universal constraints. There was preference for rightward/leftward shift in stress placement by the participants. Constraint ranking for the words tested are steady: ROOT>>TROCH>>NON-INI>>WSP>>PSYLL>>ALIGN L>>FTBIN.

Keywords: Markedness, Stress, Constraints, Generator, Evaluator, Educated Igbo English.
Introduction
Language is an important tool for interaction. There is no nation or community that can survive without language (verbal or non-verbal) since it serves as a key tool for communication and interaction. Nigeria, being a heterogeneous society with well over 400 languages, uses English as its official language (Banjo, 1996; Adegbite, 1999; Bamgbose, 2003). This language has become indispensable by reason of its role as the nation's lingua franca. Owing to this, everyone in Nigeria strives to be educated in English. Bamgbose (1995) supports this claim when he states that English is used in every sphere of the nation's administration and as such has been domesticated in Nigeria. Achebe (1965) believes that English has the capacity to carry the weight of his African experience, though it will have to be a new English, which is in full communion with its ancestral connection but transformed to suit its new African context.

For instance, Igbo English has spread via many prolific Igbo writers who have engaged in creative writing. An interesting context for domesticated English is Nigerian literature where Nigerian writers transfer some of the cultural nuances of the indigenous Nigerian people into English (Banjo, 1996; Igboanusi, 2018). This trend has become a ready source of fervency for this variety of English.

Nigerian English, being a largely domesticated form of English, has been argued to possess some peculiar phonological features such as no aspiration; absence of the dental fricative; absence of the voiced palatal-alveolar fricative /ʒ/, which is replaced with sounds like /s/, /z/ and /d/; absence of vowel reduction (schwa); and operation of peculiar rhythmic pattern (syllable-timed rhythm against stress-timed rhythm in SBE); unavailability of syllabic consonant [l], [n] which perform the role of syllable, etc. These features characterise Nigerian accent of English.

Scholars (e.g. Jibril, 1982; Adetugbo, 1987; Banjo, 1977, 1996; Igboanusi, 2001; Udofot, 2004, Akinjobi, 2004) believe that there are various dimensions to the differentiation of Nigerian English. There are varieties of Nigerian English along the lines of education/competence as well as the geo-tribal configuration of the nation. Banjo (1977, 1996) favours a four-level differentiation while
Jibril (1982) and Akinjobi (2004) provide a geo-tribal differentiation. Banjo (1977, 1996) claims that varieties of English in Nigeria depend on the level of education, exposure to a world standard English and the extent of mother tongue (MT) transfers. His varieties I to IV exemplify these criteria. Using education as the criteria, Udofot (2004) provides 'Non-Standard', the 'Standard' and the 'Sophisticated' varieties, with the 'Non-standard' and 'Standard' varieties corresponding to Banjo's (1971) varieties 'one' and 'two', and the 'sophisticated' variety corresponding to Banjo's 'variety three' and Jibril's (1986) 'sophisticated variety'. Jibril's (1982) dichotomous differentiation considers Nigerian English in two broad categories of the northern and southern varieties. From this kind of consideration, one could talk about Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba English. This was the principle that governed Akinjobi's (2004) study on Yoruba English. What is clear from these studies is the possibility of differentiating Nigerian English along the line of other ethnic groups like Edo, Ibibio, etc.

In line with the claims of Jowitt (1991) that ethnic group configurations are important dimensions to Nigerian English, ethno-tribal/geo-tribal varieties of Nigerian English become viable areas of research concentration. This research agenda has been pursued by scholars like Udofot (1993), Akinjobi (2004), Igboanusi (2006), Akindele (2008), etc. These scholars have focused on the rhythm and intonation of Ibibio English, vowel weakening and syllable obscuration in Yoruba English, pronunciation features of Igbo and Yoruba English and word stress in Edo English respectively.

From the highlights of the focus of these studies above, it is evident that word stress in Igbo English has not received any specific scholarly attention. Even Igboanusi (2006) was basically concerned about the segmental features of Igbo English in comparison with those of Yoruba English. This means that the prosodic features of Igbo English have largely been neglected in previous studies. Hence, the need for the current study which seeks to utilise the basic principles of Optimality Theory (OT) such as GEN, CON, and EVAL to account for the mental processes that determine how educated Igbo speakers of English assign stress to words. Therefore, the paper specifically
accounts for the (re)ranking of constraints by educated Igbo English speakers in the assignment of stress to English words.

Methodology
Fifty educated Igbo Speakers of English who were postgraduate students of various departments at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka were randomly selected as the participants for this study. The selection of this category of students is based on Banjo's (1996) differentiation of spoken Nigerian English into four varieties (variety I, variety II, variety III and variety IV) and Udofot's (2004) three varieties (non-standard, standard and sophisticated varieties) respectively. The participants are considered to be speakers of neo-variety 3, which combines Banjo's varieties II and III and Udofot's standard and sophisticated varieties of Igbo English. In the same vein, Plotnicov (1970) and Adegbite (2009) categorise farmers and artisans as part of the masses who speak uneducated NE while the elites are classified as educated speakers of Nigerian English, though leaving the possibility of some uneducated Nigerians being able to attain Standard Nigerian English depending on their exposure. So, the participants are individuals who already have various university degrees and are now enrolled either a second degree or a third one.

A specially prepared normative text, which contained nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs, was read by the participants and tape-recorded. The productions of the participants were analysed perceptually and theoretically. The most common patterns of stress assignment were taken as the norm. Tokens of these common patterns were counted and converted to simple percentage using the formula below:

\[
\frac{\text{Number of tokens}}{\text{Total number of participants}} \times 100
\]

The mental processes that govern the assignment of stress by the participants were then discussed using OT.
Stress in Nigerian English

Word stress in Nigerian English has attracted the attention of scholars like Atoye (1991) and Fajobi (1998) who have described word stress patterns of some words in Nigerian English as either ‘deviant patterns’ or ‘outright errors’. This categorization stems from their employment of linguistic and contrastive approaches using the British English (BE) notion of ‘correctness’ in their assessment of word stress patterns of this variety. The findings from these studies were based on a sociolinguistic fallacy that all Nigerians, irrespective of their educational and linguistic backgrounds, have homogeneous stress placement patterns that are uniquely Nigerian. This fallacy occurred because these scholars disregarded Tagliamonte’s (2006) cautions that the English language should be defined based purely on the group of people who speak it.

The phonological rule of the Igbo language which is also known as the law of vowel harmony says that in word formation, all the vowels in a word must come from the same class of vowels; stressing that there should be no mixture of vowel classes in a word. Meanwhile, the vowels in the language are divided into light and heavy vowels. Vowel harmony involves words which are either built up of a combination of syllables with i, e, o or u vowel or on the other hand, a combination involving syllables with a, i, ô or ù vowel for ezi (pig), anú (meat, animal) and ülo (house). (Udemmadu, 2012)

Igbo language is one of the three major languages in Nigeria and has grown to the status of national language but not a lingua franca, if we go by certain provisions of the Nigerian constitution. Lexical categories in Igbo include nouns, pronouns, numerals, verbs, adjectives, etc. The linguistic features of Igbo, being a syllable-timed language, are usually transferred into English, a stress-timed language by Igbo speakers of English. Timing in English depends on the stressed words. That is, much time will be spent on the stressed words. But in Igbo, every syllable is given its own time. Many a time, Igbo speakers of English apply syllable-time to English speech rather than stress-time. This is the influence of tone (high or low) in Igbo.
Stress is largely a difficult phenomenon to L2 speakers of English whose mother tongues (MTs) are tonal languages. This is the situation with Nigerians who have acquired their MTs before learning English (target language). In a description of the suprasegmental features of NE, Jowitt (1991) claims that, at word level, the difference between the prosodic features of NE and that of SBE is most salient in the area of primary stress placement. The placement of primary stress in NE is significantly different from SBE (Adesina & Oyatokun, 2016; Jolayemi, 1958, 2006).

Kujore (1985) argues that there are certain features which are peculiar to Nigerian English in the area of stress; he gives a list of the features of NE pronunciation, some of which are presented below:

i. The tendency for forward stress in NE for example:
   col'league, pe'trol and sa'lad. (RP: 'colleague, 'petrol, 'salad)

ii. Recurrence of forward stress in words with final syllable [n] and [i], for example,
   bulle'tin, car'ton, jave'lin (RP: 'bulletin, 'carton, 'javelin)

iii. Shift of stress in words with [i] in the final syllable, including
    Bap'tist, bis'cuit, ta'xi (RP: 'Baptist, 'biscuit, 'taxi)

iv. The recurrence of final stress in verbs with final obstruents, for example:
    to boy'cott, to eli'cit, to in'terpret, to hi'jack, (RP: to 'boycott, to e'licit, to in'terpret, to 'hijack)

v. The recurrence of forward stress in compounds with final obstruents, for instance:
    proof'read, bed'room, (RP: 'proofread, 'workshop, 'bedroom)

Jowitt (1991) asserts that “at word-level, the difference between the suprasegmental phonology of PNE (Popular Nigerian English) and that of SBE is most salient in the area of primary stress placement.”
PNE exhibits a tone-influenced stress placement on English word. Jowitt gives the following examples of the stress patterns in PNE:

i. Dissyllabic words or compounds: **acute, broadcast, challenge, firewood, plantain, teaspoo**n

ii. Single words of more than two syllables
   a. Verbs (including regularly inflected parts), and nouns and adjectives derived from them by a suffixed -or, -er, -ive:

iii. Verbs ending in -ate, -ize or -ise: **congratulate, investigate**, adver**tise**

iv. Verbs ending in -y: **modify, occu'pies**

v. Verbs ending in -ish: **distingu**ish, estab'lished
   b. Nouns ending in -ism: **capitalism, nationalism, ne'potism**

Hyphenated and open compounds of more than two syllables: **sitting-'room, eye 'hospital, grammar 'school** (RP: 'sitting-room, 'eye hospital, 'grammar school).

Akindele (2008) also investigates stress in Edo English. Edo English is a sub-variety of Nigerian English. From her assessment of one hundred Edo speakers of English using disyllabic, trisyllabic, polysyllabic and compound words, she opines that word stress patterns in Edo English are different from SBE word stress patterns because out of 3500 test items, the participants were able to appropriately stress 709, which constitutes 19.2% of the expected performance.

**Optimality Theory**
The Optimality theory, according to Alan Prince (1993) and Paul Smolensky (2004), retains the underlying abstractions invented in generative phonology (GP) but added a constraint-based approach as an alternative to Chomsky's derivational approach, to account for
underlying and surface representations. OT conceptualises that constraints are universal to all languages (which is one of the aims of the theory) and that the differences that exist among languages are visible by the varying degrees of importance they attached to the various constraints. This informs invention of an inventory of violable constraints as tools for measuring the well-formedness of the output forms in different languages.

Constraints in OT are quite numerous but can be classified broadly into three families known as Markedness, Faithfulness and Alignment constraints which in turns subsume other sub-constraints. While faithfulness requires different degrees of symmetry between the input and output forms, markedness only requires fulfilment of the unmarked condition (naturally possible) in different languages while alignment considers the organization of the candidates.

Subsequently, EVAL juxtaposes the candidates, in order to select the optimal candidate among them, based on the language-particular constraint hierarchy. Any candidate that crucially violates a high-ranked constraint is eliminated as ill-formed while the one that survives the checking is taken as the optimal (well-formed) output of the input. Constraint violations are recorded with the mark (*) while crucial violation (total failure) is indicated by the marks (*!). The emerging candidate is referred to as the optimal candidate and is indicated with a pointed index finger, ☞ (McCarthy, 2007). This process marks OT out as a constraint-based linguistic theory in contrast with the derivational approach of the Generative school.

Constraints that are relevant for the analysis of the data for this study are highlighted and discussed below:

i. **PARSE-SYL** or **PSYLL** (markedness constraint): Feet are parsed by feet, i.e. a demand that syllables be footed. It simply provides for the best syllabification of the segments. It allows us to model the judgement of syllabic well-formedness.

ii. **TROCHEE** or **Ft-TYPE TROC**: Assigns one violation mark for every foot that is not left-headed (Prince & Smolensky, 1993; McCarthy & Prince, 1993).
iii. **WEIGHT-STRESS PRINCIPLE (WSP):** Heavy syllables are stressed. It assigns one violation mark for every heavy syllable that is unstressed; that is, every heavy syllable is stressed (prominent positions.)

iv. **ROOTING:** The root of the content words must be stressed (Hammond, 1997, p.44).

v. **FT-BIN:** Feet are binary at some level of analysis (moraic or syllabic). This constraint demands either that a foot contains two moras as in monosyllabic and disyllabic, or two syllables, regardless of their weight (Kager, 1999, p.161; McGarrity, 2003, p. 21).

vi. **ALIGN-L or ALL FT-LEFT:** Align (Ft, Left, Pr Wd, Left): Every foot must stand at the left edge of the Pr Wd. This constraint states that the left edge of every foot must tally with the left edge of every prosodic word (Kager, 1999, p.163).

vii. **NON-INITIALITY (NON-INI):** Assigns one violation mark for every foot that is word-initial (Alderete, 1995).

viii. **MAX:** All input segments must be pronounced i.e. deletion is not permitted.

ix. **NONFINALITY:** Bans stress from falling on a final syllable.

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**Word Stress Patterns in Educated Igbo English (EIE)**

The socio-demographic profile of the participants is presented first in the Table 1 below. The table captured the distribution of the participants and their states of origin within the south-eastern geopolitical zone of Nigeria.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>En</th>
<th>An</th>
<th>Eb</th>
<th>Ab</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 1: Socio-demographic information on the Participants**

Keys: E= Enugu  A= Anambra  E= Ebonyi  A= Abia  I= Imo  T= Total

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**Stress Patterns of Words**
The following words: hospital, educated, pistol, scheduled, unemployment and vice president were tested. Only pistol had a uniform stress pattern among all the 50 participants who stressed the first syllable. With the other words, however, there were variations.

**Stress Pattern of pistol and little**
The stress patterns of pistol and little were also tested. All the participants stressed the first syllable of pistol and little.

h

**Stress pattern for Pistol**
In pistol, the primary stress was placed on the first syllable by all participants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidates</th>
<th>WSP</th>
<th>ROOT</th>
<th>TROCH</th>
<th>ALIGN R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ˈpis.tәl</td>
<td>!</td>
<td>!</td>
<td>!</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pis.'tl</td>
<td>!</td>
<td>!</td>
<td>!</td>
<td>!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2: Emergence of /ˈpistol/**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Constraint ranking:</th>
<th>WSP&gt;&gt;TROCH&gt;&gt;ALIGN R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Optimal candidate:</td>
<td>/ˈpis.tl/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The position of WSP>>TROCH in relation to the competing constraint explains why the violation of these constraints by candidate (ii) is fatal. Candidates (i), however, did not incur a fatal violation of this constraint. Though it violated ALIGN R, which was of a lesser relevance to the analysis because its low-ranking status, it still emerged as the optimal candidate. Therefore, despite its violation of this lower-ranked constraint, candidate (i) was the most harmonic in relation to the constraint ranking, and thus it emerged as the optimal candidate. This pattern is in consonance with the general pattern in EIE as 100% of the participants assigned their primary stress to the first syllable of the word pistol.
**Stress Pattern of Hospital**

Assignment of stress to *Hospital* by the participants displayed some inconsistency, entailing that few participants stressed the second syllable, while the majority stressed the first syllable. A total percentage of 86% of the participants assigned primary stress to the first syllable and 12% of the participants assigned stress to the second syllable. Despite the slight inconsistency in the pronunciation of the word by educated Igbo Speakers of English, no gender variations were observed.

**Table 3: Emergence of /hɔspɪtɑl/**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidates</th>
<th>WSP</th>
<th>IDENT I.O</th>
<th>NON-FIN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɪˈhɔspɪtɑl</td>
<td></td>
<td>!</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hɔˈspɪtɑl</td>
<td>!</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hɔspɪˈtɑl</td>
<td>!</td>
<td>!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Constraints ranking: WSP>>IDENT I.O>>NON-FINALITY

Optimality candidate: /hɔspɪtɑl/

This tableau shows that in the Standard British English pronunciation of *hospital*, the first syllable is stressed. Forty-three out of fifty (50) participants had a pattern similar to what is obtained in SBE; this population stressed the first syllable of ˈhospital. This brings the percentage to 86% for candidate (i) while 12% assigned stress on the second syllable for candidate (ii). This connotes that EIE speakers are close to SBE in pronunciation of certain words, which is in consonance with Banjo’s (1977) position that educated speakers of English in Nigeria are close to SBE.
Stress Pattern of *Unemployment*

INPUT: /n.im.ˈplɔi.mənt/ → OUTPUT: /n.im.ˈplɔi.mənt/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidates</th>
<th>ALIGN R</th>
<th>TROCH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>„n.im.ˈplɔi.mənt</td>
<td></td>
<td>*!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>œr, „n.im.ˈplɔi.mənt</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>„n.im.ˈplɔi.mənt</td>
<td></td>
<td>*!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>„n.ˈim.ˈplɔi.mənt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 4: Emergence of /n.im.ˈplɔi.mənt/**
Constraints Ranking: TROCH>>ALIGN L
Optimal candidate: /n.im.ˈplɔi.mənt/

There are four distinctive syllables having a vowel as its peak in the above. In candidate (ii), the first syllable had a peak and consonant at the prefix position; this made it to violate ALIGN R, which is non-violable because of its ranking. Candidate (iv) incurred fatal violation for TROCH which is a violable constraint by reason of its low ranking; while candidate (iii) violated only TROCH. However, SBE has its stress for 'unemployment' on *ploy* which is in contrast to how EIE speakers assigned stress to this word, as 68% of the participants assigned stress to the first syllable which is a prefix; while 12% placed their stress in consonance with SBE. In view of this result, candidate ii still emerged the winning candidate in EIE which may be as a result of inconsistency of stress pattern in the English language as well as the application of some determinants of stress assignment which are always complex. Prefixes and suffixes are extrametrical in nature and emphasis should be on root word(s), but in Nigerian English where every syllable may be stressed, the extrametrical element may pose problems to these speakers of English.

Stress Pattern of *Showcase*

The placement of stress to *Showcase* by the participants revealed some inconsistency, implying that some of the participants stressed
the second syllable, while majority stressed the second syllable. For this word, 64% of the participants assigned stress to the first syllable, but 22% placed it on the second syllable. Despite the inconsistency in the pronunciation of the word by EIE speakers, no gender variations were observed.

Table 5: Emergence of ‘showcase’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidates</th>
<th>NON-FINALITY</th>
<th>TROCH</th>
<th>ALIGN R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʃәu.ˈkeis</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td>!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʃәu.ˈkeis</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5 indicates that stress was placed on the first syllable when it is used as a noun. The ranking on the tableau indicates that candidate (ii) and (iii) violated two constraints. However, the second and third violations were fatal, eliminating them from being the optimal candidate. From the foregoing, it appears that, in EIE, most of the primary stress patterns are similar to SBE patterns.

**Stress Pattern of Referee**

It is reported in the literature that Nigerian speakers do not realise schwa sound (vowel Number 12). Adetugbo (1977) posits that the sound /ә/ (schwa sound) and /e/ are clashed as /e/ in bread, egg, leg. However, in Standard British English, syllables that contain schwa sound are usually not stressed and regarded as unstressed vowel sound owing to its quality and quantity. It is often seen at the initial and final position of words, though sometimes it may occur at the medial position. From the data collected, 88% of the participants assigned stress to the first syllable (REferee), while only 10% assigned stress to the third syllable which is in conformity with the
Standard British English. The inconsistency of stress placement will continue to pose threat to non-native users of English. For instance, referee is a French word and most French words have their stress at the right hand (Right-Headed-Language). But words like Paris, Peugeot do align with process as the stress placement lie on the first syllable. In Turkish and French, the last syllable usually receives stress, though stress in English is unpredictable and it is said to be free; thus, English stress may be predictable for noun/verb and adjective/verb pairs where the first syllable is assigned the primary stress in the noun or adjective and the second syllable in the verb form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidates</th>
<th>WSP</th>
<th>ROOT</th>
<th>TROCH</th>
<th>ALIGN R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ˈrefәri:/</td>
<td></td>
<td>*!</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re.ˈfәri:</td>
<td>*!</td>
<td>*!</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re.fәˈri:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Emergence of /ˈrefәri:/
Constraint ranking: ROOT >> WSP >> TROCH >> ALIGN R
Optimal candidate: /ˈre.fәri:/

Considering the above tableaux, respondents that placed stress on the first syllable emerged optimal as they satisfied the constraints except the ALIGN R which is a low rank constraint when compared to other participants that stressed second and third syllable. Candidate (ii) fatally violated ROOT which is the highest ranked constraint in EIE with the emphasis that any syllable that must be stressed should have vowel, whereas for the participants, there is no unstressed vowel sound in their vowel charts. It fatally violated TROCH since the stress is on the right and its states that any candidate that receives stress on the right hand should be disqualified and WSP indicates that the strong syllable should be stressed. Candidate (iii) would have emerged optimal, except that it fatally violated TROCH. This shows that EIE speakers share some similarity with the SBE, though variations exist. Although OT is applicable to all languages, the
language of consideration will determine the arrangement of constraints on the tableaux.

**Stress Pattern of Educated**
The word *educated* did not pose any threat to EIE speakers as 84% of the participants assigned primary stress to the first syllable, which is in consonance with the SBE. From the data, it was discovered that the educated Igbo speakers of English do not have challenge(s) with the words that have their primary stress on the first syllable, but the problems lie with a word that has its stress placement on the second or third syllable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidates</th>
<th>WSP</th>
<th>TROCH</th>
<th>NON-FIN</th>
<th>IDENT I.O</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ˈeʤukeɪtɪd/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ˈeʤukeɪtɪd</td>
<td>*!</td>
<td>*!</td>
<td>*!</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ˈeʤuˈkeɪtɪd</td>
<td>*!</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Emergence of /ˈeʤukeɪtɪd /
Constraint ranking: NON-FIN >> TROCH >> WSP >> ALIGN R
Optimal candidate: /ˈeʤukeɪtɪd/

From the tableaux, candidate (i) satisfied all the constraints without incurring any violation; however, note that any candidate that must emerge optimal should not fatally violate any of the higher constraints. Candidates (ii) and (iii) fatally violated TROCH which is one of the higher ranked constraints. It is to be noted that the prefixes and suffixes do not receive stress in SBE and any candidate that violates this constraint cannot emerge as the optimal candidate.

**Stress Pattern of Vice-president**
Going by the stress rules of Chomsky's Generative Phonology that in a compound word that is written together or linked by hyphen, stress should be placed on the first syllable, or when such words are written apart, the second syllable should be stressed, vice president should
have been stressed on the first syllable. But the word is stressed on the second syllable because of stress shift. Some of these inconsistencies could hamper second language learning. Regarding this word, 94% (47 of 50) of the respondents assigned stress to the first syllable as against 4% (2 of 50) of the respondents who assigned same to pre, that is, the second syllable. From the data, it can be concluded that EIE speakers are not aware of the concept of stress shift, which make them to assign stress to the first syllable instead of the second syllable. The cognitive process that produced candidate (ii) as the optimal candidate is explained below:

\[
\text{INPUT: } /\text{vais-}ˈ\text{prezidәnt}/ \quad \Rightarrow \quad \text{OUTPUT: } /ˈ\text{vais-}\text{-prezidәnt}/
\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidates</th>
<th>TROCH</th>
<th>ALIGN L</th>
<th>IDENT I.O</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vais-ˈprezidәnt</td>
<td>*!</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ˈvais-prezidәnt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 8: Emergence of /vais-ˈprezidәnt/**
Constraint ranking: TROCH>>ALIGN L>>IDENT I.O
Optimal candidate: /ˈvais-prezidәnt/

Candidate (i) fatally violated TROCH which is a higher ranked constraint; so, it is knocked out. So, the optimal candidate for EIE is candidate (ii).

**Summary and Conclusion**
In all, though there are areas of similarities in the placement of stress by EIE speakers and SBE, there are significant areas of differences. From the data, it was observed that EIE speakers do not have problem(s) with English words that generally have stress on first syllable, 87.7% (43.6 of 50) of the participant correctly assign stress to words as in SBE. However, it was discovered that 83.3% (41.6 of 50) of the participants wrongly place stress on words with stress on the second syllable. EIE speakers’ articulations of these words:
referee, unemployment and vice-president were different from SBE. For instance, in referee where the ultimate syllable from the back bears the stress assignment, 88% (44 of 50) of the participants assigned stress to the antepenultimate syllable from the back. In the same vein, EIE speakers who were the participants of this study assigned stress to ‘un’, which is a prefix in unemployment while in SBE, stress is placed on play /ˈplɔi/.

The development above foregrounds Banjo’s (1977) assertion that only 10% of educated Nigerian speakers of English could attain SBE because of the colouration from the linguistic environment. Jowitt (1991) also affirms that ‘at word-level, the difference between the supra segmental phonology of Popular Nigerian English (PNE) and that of SBE is most conspicuous in the area of primary stress assignment.’ He says that PNE displays a tone-influenced stress placement pattern. This is evident in the ranking of constraints by the participants. EIE has ROOT as its highest ranked constraint because every syllable peak must be occupied by a vowel, since EIE is influenced by the tonal nature of the participants’ mother tongue. Constraint ranking for the words are steady: ROOT>>TROCH>>NONINI>>WSP>>PSYLL>>ALIGN L>>FTBIN. The highest ranked constraint is ROOT, which is strictly inviolable. Next in ranking is TROCH, which demands that a foot be left-headed and others align in the order above. This ranking of constraint is applicable in the emergence of the winning candidate in all cases; thus it sufficiently accounts for the observable stress patterns of EIE speakers.

References


APPENDIX

Word Stress Patterns in Educated Igbo English

TEXT FOR DATA COLLECTION

Kindly mention your state in the Eastern Part of Nigeria before reading the below text LOUDLY.

i. Hospital

ii. Showcase

iii. Little

iv. Pistol

v. Unemployment

vi. Referee

vii. Educated

viii. Schedule
ix. Naturally
x. Peugeot
xi. Vice president

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION
Abstract
Language is a product of its society. It is unique in nature but shared in application. It is unique in the sense that it gets born in the society with a given speech community as its product, where a child in that speech community has the ability to learn it by birth. It is also shared in application because other people who are non-native to such a given speech community aspire to learn it, and they do so with a certain level of competence, or as argued by linguists, performance. It is the uniqueness and diverse applications of language that the linguistic sub-fields such as sociolinguistics set out to investigate. This paper thereby attempts a conceptual exploration of the given terms in the title.

Introduction
Before going into details of whether a language is primary, secondary, foreign, official or semi-official, it is important to briefly look at the main concept itself, which is language. Various linguists have given many definitions of the term language, but for this paper, we shall consider just a few of these definitions:

According to Sapir (8), “Language is purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires by means of voluntarily produced symbols”. In their outline of linguistic analysis, Bloch and Trager (5) cited in Lyons (3), view language as “a
system of arbitrary vocal symbols by means of which a social group co-operates”. Similarly, Hall (158), in his essay on language, considers language as “the institution whereby humans communicate and interact with each other by means of habitually used oral-auditory arbitrary symbols”. Generally speaking, language could be seen as both phatic and phonic medium through which humans communicate meaningful thoughts, ideas, desires, etc. to each other.

**Primary Language**

Primary language in the linguistic circle may be seen as first language (L1). It is the language one is first exposed to in life. It is often said by linguists that primary language is the language a person acquires at a critical period and that the person is most proficient at, without necessarily being culturally affiliated to the linguistic community of that language. Thus, it often forms the basis for sociolinguistic identity even without native affiliation.

However, while the description above may not have been comprehensively established to clear all questions about the term primary language, it is hoped that the following disambiguation will give a clear view of the term when considering other concepts that operate on close relationship with the term primary language. Such mappings include, but are not limited to, native language, first language and mother tongue. Let us take a turn about them.

**Native Language**

Native language is sometimes used synonymously to mother tongue, first language or arterial language. It is used in most cases to refer to the language a person "acquires in early childhood because it is spoken in the family and/or it is the language of the region where the child lives" (Nordquist, online). The term native language is used to indicate a language that a person is as proficient at as a native individual of that language’s community, or that he is as proficient as the average person who speaks no other language but that language (Nordquist, www.thoughtco.com/native-language).

It follows therefore that if, for example, a Hausa-based speaking school advertises that all its teachers are native speakers of Hausa language, we could raise complaints if we later discover that
although the teachers do have some vague childhood memories of the time when they talked to their mothers in Hausa, but they, however, grew up in a Yoruba-speaking community and are now fluent in Yoruba rather than in Hausa language.

However, in some countries where native languages are characterised on the basis of ethno-cultural lineages, the term native language as construed could mean the language of one’s ethnic group rather than one’s first language.

A comprehensive discussion of such categorisation can easily be found in Alan Davies’ text, *The Native Speaker: Myth and Reality*. Davies here creates the native speaker from different perspectives, arguing that the native language is both myth and reality. The book is purely a linguistic review whereby linguists and applied linguists turn to for reference. The book argues in a way that primary or native language is a myth where the native speaker is himself a myth; that is, a person who acquires the language from birth or that he shares ethnic affiliation with the language even if he does not speak it the most. This is the case where native language begins to answer the name of heritage language. In his definition of heritage language (which assumes universal recognition), Valdes sees heritage language as:

> the language someone learns at home as a child which is a minority language in society, but because of growing up in a dominant language, the speaker seems to be more competent in the latter and feels more comfortable to communicate in that language (375).

The other aspect being reality; that is, native speaker as a reality. This means a native language must not necessarily be the person’s ethnic language. It means the language one is first exposed to and that he speaks it the most even if there is no ethnic affiliation. This view justifies the analogy made by some linguists that when, for example, a Nigerian by birth (i.e. having Nigerian parents) but born and bred in Britain, and therefore speaks English the most, even without ethnic affiliation to it. Such a person may be prompted to identify English as his ‘native language’, and that is native speaker as a reality. This can hence be likened to the situation of first or primary language.
First Language
First language (L1) is the language one first knows how to express himself best in it than in any other language. The situation of first language covers whether the language is indigenous to one or not, in so far it is the language one is first exposed to in his early life and that he maintains the contact and usage through adulthood. This therefore likens first language to primary language, because the two share intrinsic conceptual connection. First language is mostly used linguistically in direct opposite to second language.

Whereas the first language technically presents a situation of “acquisition” as upheld by many linguists, second language presents a situation of “learning”. That is why in this paper, we reservedly restrict ourselves to the diction of first language, primary language, native language or mother tongue as acquired while second language, on the other hand, as being learnt. This is built on the basis that scholars generally agree upon the fact that a language, whether first, native, primary or mother tongue gains access into one's cognitive domain at a very "critical period"; which is said to be right from the child's birth through his adolescence and, for most adulthood.

Mother Tongue
The term mother tongue (MT) denotes not only the language one acquires from one's mother, but also the dominant and home language. This demonstrates the fact that mother tongue does not only refer to the “first language according to the time of acquisition, but the first with regard to its importance and the speaker’s ability to master its linguistic and communicative aspects” (Nordquist, www.thoughtco.com/mother-tongue-language).

In fact, in his 2005 analytical review of the term mother tongue, Pokorn puts that “the vagueness of the term has led some researchers to claim...that different connotative meanings of the term ‘mother tongue’ vary according to the intended usage of the word and that differences in understanding the term can have far-reaching effects on political influences” (quoted in Nordquist, on mother tongue, net).

In view of the above, the term mother tongue, though may have been coined from mother's language due to the perceptive frequency of the time shared between a mother and her child, but as
construed, is not interpreted to mean the language of one's mother. This is because in many societies, Nigeria inclusive, the wife moves in with the husband, and of course, they may have different native languages each. In this kind of situation, the child may have one of the two possibilities: either growing up with only one mother tongue (in which case the father's first and dominant language prevails) or growing up with two languages, having a proportionate native-like proficiency in both (i.e. the interplay of both the mother and the father's first languages). This evidently points to the fact that a child may grow up with two mother tongues, meaning a bilingual child.

To justify this claim further, we would like to draw an example from one individual who is a cross-bred of Hausa and Gwandara parentage (both from paternal and maternal sides respectively). While growing up, he acquired Hausa from his father's town, and at the same time acquiring Gwandara language from his mother's town in the neighbouring environment where the two languages are spoken separately. He is therefore proficient in both languages; i.e. he can speak both languages with approximately the same proportion of competence. This means that neither Hausa nor Gwandara is a second language to him, but the two could boldly be called his mother tongues. This is the case where sociolinguists would call such an individual bilingual.

More so, it could also be that a child acquiring one language from his mother or parents at home and learning another language in school or through social contact with other children in the environment: such as a Yoruba child by birth living in Kaduna with his Yoruba parents; it is most likely that the child is exposed to Yoruba by his parents at home, but outside home he is exposed to the general language of the city, which is Hausa among other children. Such a child may grow up with proficiency in both languages. That is the situation described above.

Nevertheless, in some cultures mother tongue is directly linked to the cultural and historical backgrounds rather than giving it just linguistic consideration. Tulasiewicz and Adams, in their 2005 treatment of culture and mother tongue, observe that:

It is the language community of the mother tongue, the language spoken in a region, which enables the process of enculturation, the growing of an individual into a particular system of linguistic perception of the world.
To conclude our discussion of the term mother tongue in this paper, the researchers are tempted to redraw the mother tongue summary featured in one of Bloomfield's most widely read and popular text, *Language*. While defining mother tongue from different angles, it is summarised as follows:

**Mother Tongue Defined**

- Based on origin: the language(s) one learns first (the language(s) in which one has established the first long-lasting verbal contacts), i.e. like native language;
- Based on internal identification: the language(s) one identifies with/as a speaker of;
- Based on external identification: the language(s) one is identified with/as a speaker of by others;
- Based on competence: the language(s) one knows best;
- Based on function: the language(s) one uses most.

**Second Language**

Second language (L2) is any language learned after the acquisition of the first language or mother tongue. Some researchers have established the proposition concerning the defining differences between a first language and second language to be the age proportion at which a person learns the languages each. In fact, some linguists, including the linguist and neurologist Eric Lenneberg used second language to mean a language consciously learned after puberty. In most cases, people hardly attain the same level of competence in L1 and L2. This is what the critical period hypothesis (CPH) discovered (Vanhove, www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/article/).

Linguists have however observed that in learning an L2, the age of six and seven seems to be the cut-off point for bilinguals to achieve a native-like proficiency. After that age, L2 learners could get near-native-likeness but their performance in the target language would exhibit some errors enough to set them apart from the L1.
group of that language. This inability of the L2 learners to achieve a native-like proficiency is said to be in relation to the age of onset (AO) by applied linguists. “The age of 6 or 8 does seem to be an important period in distinguishing between near-native and native-like ultimate attainment. More specifically, it may be suggested that AO interacts with frequency and intensity of language use” (Hyltenstam 364). This, in effect, posits that there is a constant L1-L2 interference (what linguists have always been concerned with in their treatment of learner interference theory) which often haunts the L2 learners.

**Official or Semi-Official Language**

According to the *Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary of the Current English*, an official language is that language which is given a special legal status in a given nation. Clearly, a nation’s official language is the language that attains a prestigious position in that nation; it is used in all formal and official spheres of that nation, such as court, governmental administration, education, inter and intra-governmental affairs and diplomacy. Note that an official language may be one of the indigenous languages developed and legalised to the official status even if it is not the language of the majority. For instance, the Maori language in New Zealand has the official status under the Maori Language Act of 1987 even though it is spoken by less than five percent of the New Zealand’s total population.

Again, Hindi has been spelled out in the National Constitution of India since independence to be the principal official language despite all arguments by member indigenous languages, such as Urdu, Bengali, Punjabi, etc. to attain such a national official language status. Mandarin is also playing the same role in China.

Meanwhile, an official language may also be a formerly foreign language which has now gained acceptance in the society, and which has been legalised by law to be the official language or what may be referred to as semi-official or secondary official language. Now, Nigeria is a major example of this situation. English language is absolutely playing an official role with all the status of national recognition, without any competition. But in other former British colonies such as India, there is no outright saying that English has assumed an absolute official role since it is used side by side with
Hindi as declared in the constitution of Indian people. Here, we may observe the situation of semi-official language in this context.

**Foreign Language**

A foreign language, according to *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (online), is a language indigenous to another country. It also adds that foreign language is a language not spoken in the native country of the person referred to; i.e. an English speaker living in Japan, for instance, can rightly say that Japanese is a foreign language to him. However, for the most, the two possibilities established above cannot exhaust the concept of foreign language, as some further explanations are needed. This is because sometimes the model is applied in ways that appear misleading and confusing. For example, some children, on very rare occasions, acquire more than one language from birth or at a very tender age (i.e. at the so-called critical period); they automatically become bilingual or multilingual. These children can be said to have two or more mother tongues, since they can exhibit levels of proficiency in each of the languages almost equally. Neither or none of the languages is foreign to such children even if one of the languages is foreign for the vast majority of the people in the children’s birth country.

Basically, a distinction has to be drawn again between foreign language and second language. It is to be noted that while second language is being learned and used in a country where it is widely spoken, foreign language is learned and used, for most, in the country where it is not often spoken. French and Arabic may therefore be called foreign languages in the context of their use in Nigeria.

Moreover, the term foreign language also differs from auxiliary language. By linguists’ account, an auxiliary language may be local minority or any of the indigenous languages which has reached some levels closer to that of lingua franca and that performs an auxiliary function of being medium of exchange among diverse ethno-lingual communities, but which does not have legal recognition as official or national language. However, this is also different from the term vernacular. A clear distinction is hereby necessary as a way of disambiguating the aforementioned terms.

**Vernacular**
According to *Merriam Webster’s Encyclopaedic Dictionary* (online version), the term vernacular was brought into the English language as early as 1601 from Latin *vernaculus*, “native”, which had been in figurative use in classical Latin as “national” and “domestic”, having originally been derived from *vernus* and *verna*, a male or female slave respectively, born in the house rather than abroad. The figurative meaning was later broadened from the diminutive extended words, *vernaculus* and *vernacular*; Varro (the classical Latin grammarian) vocabula vernacula terms “de la langue nationale” or “Vocabulary of the National Language” as opposed to foreign words (*www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/vernacular*).

In general term, vernacular is the native language of a population in a country or in an area defined on some other bases, such as locality, community, society or the most appropriate term, speech community. Many of great or most influential languages of today were at one point in time considered vernaculars. English for example, was termed vernacular in its olden days during the Norman conquest of the British isle. Because the language of the colonisers, French (which was more or less Latin) was given an official status (as language of the court and politics), thus enjoying all the prestige of superiority over the indigenous language, English was only spoken among the commoners, thus relegated to the vernacular status.

Similarly, in general linguistics, a vernacular is also opposed to lingua franca, which is a third-party language in which persons speaking different vernaculars not understood by each other may use as communicative vehicle that has ‘unifying force’. For instance, in Western Europe until the 17th century, most scholarly works had been written in Latin which was the then lingua franca, while works written in Romance languages were said to be in the vernacular. In the same vein, the role English is currently playing in Nigeria, apart from being official language, is no doubt that of the lingua franca. This is because it is the language which easily brings together diverse ethno-lingual and multi-regional nationalities from within Nigeria under one linguistic umbrella to communicate with perfect understanding among themselves. In fact, it is this realisation that makes us to refer to our indigenous languages as vernacular when spoken (in place of English) in formal situations such as the schools, offices and other formal occasions.
Another good example is the Hindu culture. In the Indian peninsula, traditional religious or scholarly works were written in Sanskrit (long after its use as a spoken language) or in Tamil, in Tamil country. As further explained in *Collins Dictionary and Thesaurus* (online version), Sanskrit was a lingua franca among the non-Indo-European languages of the Indian sub-continent, and became more as a spoken language that was most respectably orthographic with its generated name *Prakrits*, and had spread across different regions. It was not until the 12th century with the rise of the Bhakti movement that religious works began to be created in other languages: Hindi, Kannada, Telugu and a host of others which were initially considered vernaculars.

Finally, on vernacular, from the socio-linguistic point of view, the term vernacular has been applied to several concepts. However, those varying concepts can be deduced to match the saying that vernacular is an informal register. According to variation theory pioneered by William Labov (in Mesthrie 77-85), language is a large set of styles or registers from which the speaker selects according to the social settings of the moment. The vernacular is “the least self-conscious style of people in a relaxed conversation”; that is, casual varieties used spontaneously rather than self-consciously (informal talk used in intimate situations). This view has even escalated to mean that vernacular is a non-standard dialect, as opposed to standard (though abhorred by Labov). The parameters of this concept have been construed to be defined as dialects which are to be identified as complexes of factors, such as "social class, religion, ethnicity, situation, and so forth". It is also added, based on this theory, that the standards are written whereas the non-standards are only spoken with "socially disfavoured" structures. An example of a vernacular theory given here is “African American vernacular English” (Wolfram and Natalie 13-16).

**Auxiliary Language**

The term auxiliary language is a language which is not the primary or native language of a community. It may refer to:

- an international auxiliary language, i.e. a planned artificial language constructed for international communication, such as Esperanto;
- a local minority language such as Latin, Sanskrit, or old Church Slavonic used in religion services;
• a professional trade or otherwise secret language such as Kallawaya among Andean herbalists;
• an initiation language such as Damin in Australia;
• a language of ethnic identity, such as eskayan in the Philippines (Word Finder, www.findwords.info /term/ auxiliary/language)

However, while we have been busy trying to disambiguate the terms under study, it is pertinent to note that meaning is one tricky phenomenon. It is not surprising, of course, when Bloomfield observes that “the statement of meanings is therefore the weak point in language study, and will remain so until human knowledge advances very far beyond its present state” (144).

Conclusion
In conclusion, Bloomfield's position above justifies the facts on the diverse behavioural conceptions on the term meaning. Since time immemorial, linguists and semanticists have been battling with the term meaning, theorising and postulating upon what should constitute a universally-accepted model of explicating meaning, but until today no theory has been able to claim that perfection. That is why a word or term today has far-reaching entries of explication. It may mean this or that, or yet another thing, bringing context into use. So, when we gave different perspective meanings of a term in this paper, we did so bear in mind the different interpretative, scholarly construed or contextually explored explanation of the term in question.

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National Transformation and African Literature: A Study of Okpanachi’s “They are the Eaters of the Living” and Barlow’s “Building the Nation”

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Abstract
Literature has become a veritable tool for national reinvigoration and transformation. African poets have taken the position of catalysts to achieve national transformation since the independence of most African countries as they are completely weighed down by various socio-political problems wrecking the citizenry and the continent. Therefore, African literary artists and specifically the poets have become noble warriors who fight against slavery, injustices, tyranny and other forms of belligerence on their African continent. This particular exploration examines how two African poets, Musa Idris Okpanachi, a Nigerian and Henry Christopher Barlow, a Ugandan in their poems, extricate the evils in African society, thus showing themselves as social and concerned poets who are mindful and responsive to the happenings in their environments. Using he sociological theory of literature, the textual analysis reveals that these poets use irony, satire and metaphor at length to satirize and reveal the hypocrisy of top government officials with the aim of building a flourishing and virile continent. This inquiry concludes that most of the African poets are visionary heroes who want to reform their continent through their poems so that there will be equality of all regardless of their backgrounds.

Introduction
Literary works often focus on the prevailing circumstances of the age, which they represent. As a result, literature reflects the society that breeds or gives substance and impetus to it. So, literature mirrors the
stage of development and measures the artistic success of each era. The leadership of most African countries since 1960s has remained wobbly, under weak and near dead institutions ravaged by massive acts of corruption, looting of public funds, restiveness, examination malpractice, drug trafficking, child abuse, slavery, inequality, bribery, embezzlement of public funds, robbery and the like. This failure could be largely due to the presence of corrupt leaders, whose aim is to dominate the people, enrich themselves and create an ethnocentric atmosphere. In this regard, Ogbuja (2014) maintains that no country can move forward in the presence of such leaders because a contemptuous attitude towards someone or a country encourages abuse and misuse of power and public funds. He regrets vehemently that the present leaders of African society cannot hold the ideals of transparency, communality, accountability and selflessness, which are typical of the cultural etiquettes obtainable in Nigeria and by extension, Africa.

Without mincing words, Olawole (2018) gives a list of top ten social evils ruining the African continent especially Nigeria as poverty, corruption, inequality, terrorism, high child mortality rate, high unemployment rate, poor standard of education, tribalism, domestic violence and others. In order to sanitize the African society, he gives the following remedies: job creation, security, sensitization, increase in educational standard, justice and fairness. Chisom (2018) is of the view that there has been great immoral decadence in Africa – the youth are insatiable in the desire to get rich quick; bribery is the order of the day while embezzlement of public funds by government officials is prevalent.

Taking the stance of religiosity in his article, “Religion, National Transformation and the Nigerian Society: Some Reflections”, Raphael (2014) supports the need for national transformation in Africa. He insists that necessary programmes, projects and policies (3Ps) have been put in place to achieve transformation, yet they all seem to prove futile and unproductive due to lack of continuity, consistency and commitment (3Cs) on the part of both the leaders and the led who are supposed to be the vanguard of transformation. He mentions some of the nagging problems facing the continent as insecurity, poverty, corruption, false spirituality, leadership
challenges among others. He therefore concludes that through religion true and workable national transformation can be achieved by way of character transformation, through religious values, tenets and teachings. He therefore advocates raising of leaders and followers who are agents of transformation by the way of building patriotic citizens who will be committed to the African dreams, policies, programmes and projects. He subsequently concludes that transformation is very possible if the religious adherents, organizations and leaders can practice their religious values.

Going through the musical lens, Falz (2018) takes up the sad realities and hardship of the Nigerian society up in his song “This is Nigeria.” He describes Nigeria as a country where criminal cases are settled in the police station, politicians who loot the country’s wealth do not go to prison, rather they contest elections, religious leaders take money from the church to build universities that members cannot attend, police stations close at 6 pm because of insecurity, medical facilities are poor and others. These lead to poverty, fraud, exploitation, looting and killings. This is Falz’s own little contribution to nation building and national transformation.

"This Is Nigeria"

Extremely Poor. The medical facilities are poor. We operate a predatory, neocolonial capitalist system, which is founded on fraud and exploitation and therefore you are bound to have corruption.

Many criminal cases are settled in police station.

Ehee, Ehee Ehee ee ewo
Ehee, Ehee Ehee ee ewo
Ehee, Ehee Ehee ee ewo

This is Nigeria
Look how I’m living now
Look how I’m living now
Everybody be criminal

This is Nigeria
Look how we living now
Look what we eating now
Everybody be criminal

This is Nigeria
Just because I’m on TV now
Person wey get no work
Is checking to see
If my watch is original

This is Nigeria
Wey da Madam Philomena
Money vanish from your office
36 million
You talk say na animal

This is Nigeria
Never end the recession o
When looter and killers and stealers are still contesting election o
Politicians wey thief some billions and billion no dey go prison o
Police station dey close by 6
Security reason o

(Babaa, oche o, Babaa, Oche o Babaa)
My brothers and sisters I want you to put your hands up right now
because your miracle is coming this week. If you believe let me hear
you say Amen.

This is Nigeria
Praise and worship we singing now
Pastor put his hands on the breast of his members
He’s pulling the demons out
This is Nigeria
No electricity daily o
Your people are still working multiple jobs
And they talk say we lazy o
This is Nigeria
There is plenty Wahala sha
Fulani Herdsmen still they slaughter
Carry people they massacre
This is Nigeria
Works in my area
This is democracy
Political hysteria
Yahoo yahoo don’t tear everywhere
Now we act like it’s so cool
Casting the P being castigated just by trying to noble
This is Nigeria
Look at my nation o
SARS stop me for road any explanation you go talk am for station o

(Sir am, Sir look am sorry, am just a student. Am a student of the
University of Lagos. We are just coming from the club. Ok so my
friend and I. No sir I had my ID to prove.)

Ehee, Ehee Ehee ee ewo
Ehee, Ehee Ehee ee ewo
Ehee, Ehee Ehee ee ewo

This is Nigeria
Look how I’m living now
Look how I’m living now
Everybody be criminal
This is Nigeria
Look how we living now
Look what we eating now
Everybody be criminal

(This is breaking, transmission of ah, transmission eh, transmission.)

But what happens every day is that, the system has allowed it. For
instance, there is no law that allows you to take money from the
church, invest in business, and privatize it. No. It is only in Nigeria
where you can take money from the church, money contributed by
poor congregation members. You go and set up a university that the
members cannot attend. Cannot send their children to. It’s against
the rule and the law of God. It’s against the constitution.

From the ongoing, the need for national transformation cannot be
over stressed especially as corruption, greed, incompetence, lack of
vision and commitment of some of African leaders have enormously impeded the continent’s institutions. But the literary artists, particularly the poets believe that they could make a meaningful intervention in their societies using their poems, thus, they dwell on the immediate social problems of their continent (Edegbe, 2015). It is against this backdrop that this examination intends to look at the commitments of some African poets towards inculcating ideals in their poems in a bid to enhancing national transformation. Particularly, poetry is a compelling mechanism for projecting transformational necessities in a continent such as Africa. As a result, Anase and Kaan (2015, P.26) believe that:

Literature depicts the human society and the society will necessarily therefore get the kind of literature it deserves. If it is hostile environment like we had in South Africa for example; it will be tackling the issues of fair play, justice and freedom.

**Literature and National Transformation**

Transformation and National questions are constant issues of nation building. Literature has brought about super-colossal changes in various societies. Sami (2011) asserts that many stories have caused major and minor legal, political and economic changes particularly in the United States. For instances, after the American senate read Melville’s “White Jackal”, they outlawed flogging on the navel vessels while Uncle Tom’s "Cabin" triggered the Civil War and the abolition of slavery in America but Sinclair’s “The Jungle” was influential in obtaining passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act. Kingsley’s play, ‘Dead End’ raised awareness about poverty and the inadequacy of housing in the slums of New York City. This makes it imperative to look at what literary artists say in order to create a better society as literature brings about changes in society. Palmer in Sami (2011: 137) describes this as the “educative power of literature.” Lawrence in Palmer (1994) concludes that readers of stories educate themselves
in the feelings of other fellow human beings. As a result, Satre in Sami (2011, P.136) argues that

    Writers commit themselves to a cause and condemn the old theory of arts for art's sake. They give society a guilty conscience and are constantly in a state of antagonism towards the conservative forces which maintains the balance they want to upset.

This concurs with the words of Pound in Sami (2011: 137) “As there are in the medicine the art of diagnosis and the art of cure, so in the arts, there is the art of diagnosis and there is the art of cure.”

Therefore, literature becomes a revolutionary discourse and literary artists assume that to reveal social ills is a step towards correcting them. Therefore, the literary artists reform society by bringing into public view problems and experiences which might have been invisible. Consequently, literature could be educative, reformative or revolutionary depending on the contemporary concerns of the people, and this is what Machery in Sami (2011, p.137) calls a “distinctive fiction effect.” So, writers move towards practical aspects of life and they contain something useful. They are rooted in the people and have advice for their readers, thus reading results in great social and political change because writers are moved by the suffering of their fellows and consequently force authorities to ameliorate the conditions of life in society as their stories reveal untold tales about the miseries of human conditions.

    So, the freedom of writing means the freedom of the citizens, an instrument of self-awareness and emancipation. In a nutshell, Sami believes “literature can start a war, free serfs, break up marriage, drive readers to suicide, close factories, bring about raw change, swing elections, and serve as a weapon for national and international struggle” (2011: 138).

**African Literature and National Transformation**

African writers are usually seen as the emancipators of the African masses. They offer critical appraisal of existing political situations in their societies so as to mould and redirect their actions towards betterment of their continent. Therefore, African literature influences
African people’s opinion about politics and how to effect a political transformation. African Literature then becomes the mirror of the African society as artists compose their works to reflect the events and happenings in their African society.

In support of the above, Ken Sarowiwa in Amase and Kaan (2014) maintains that literature must serve its society and writers must play an interventionist role. They therefore view literature as dynamic because it serves the purpose of the society and the society produces the kind of literature it deserves. For instance, during the apartheid regime in South Africa, her literature dwelt on issues of fair play, justice and freedom. African literature concerns itself with the fight for independence. African Literature can be divided into three categories: pre-colonial literature, colonial literature and postcolonial literature. Pre-colonial literature is the literary works done before the white men came to the African continent. Colonial African Literature is also that which is written during the colonial period or that which speaks about it and of European colonial period. The literary works of this period (before 1960) addressed the horror of slavery and the slave trade, colonialism and occupation and its tone was venomous and rancorous.

Thus, some colonial literature stemmed from the necessity to respond to the colonial masters’ description of the black as primitive. Some examples of colonial African Literature are Joseph Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness*, Achebe’s *Things Fall Apart*, *Weep Not Child* by Ngugi Wa Thiongo. With the attainment of independence by most African countries, attention was shifted to issues of governance and corruption. Postcolonial era can be said to have started in the 1960s when many African nations gained independence from their colonial rulers. Bad governance then became a nagging problem in Africa, occasioned by corruption and greed. So, the masses generally feel disillusioned and betrayed. All these are the concerns of African literature; all in a bid to make better the African society and her people. Consequently, Otagburuagu (2016, p.11) concludes that “National Literature evolves in stages and the need for a literature of one’s own changes according to political situation.”

**African Poetry and National Transformation**

African poetry is an authentic instrument for transformational agenda. African poets therefore do not believe in the notion of arts for
art’s sake. They subsequently see art as a tool for the emancipation of the proletariat, (Amase and Kaan, 2015). It therefore behoves the writer to tell the truth about society, people and leaders. On the contrary, Amase and Kaan believe that the writer is a collaborator, manipulating the symbols, just like the political leaders do to the detriment of the people. African poetry provides the people with the needful inspiration and the necessary insight. Rao and Visakhapatmam (2002) put the role of African Poetry in this manner:

To the African poets, poetry becomes a powerful medium through which they convey to the world audience, not only their despairs and hopes, enthusiasm and empathy, the thrill of joy and the stab of pain, but also a nation's history as it moved from freedom to slavery, from slavery to revolution, from revolution to independence and from independence to tasks of reconstruction which further involved situations of failure and disillusion.

So, truthful and fruitful human experience forms the basis for African poetry. For instance, the unforgettable African colonial past comes angrily alive in a poem by the Kenyan Joseph Kareyaku in this manner:


It is not as you suppose, your lands, your cars, your money, or your cities I covet...It is what gives me most that in my own house and my very own home you should eye me and all that's mine with that practiced, long-drawn, insulting sneer.

Richard Ntiru depicts the much-brutalized dark African continent in this sense:

i. Like an arrested breath
ii. when breathing makes silence imperfect
iii. and the ear cannot differentiate
iv. between the conspiratorial whispers and the winds singing.
Wole Soyinka ironically conceals anger at the racist attitude in his “Telephone Conversation” thus:

HOW DARK?... I had not misheard
... ARE YOU LIGHT
OR VERY DARK?”

It is not only dark in Africa, the phase of Negritude founded by Aime Cesaire of Senegal glorified Africa while depicting anger as shown in David Diop’s poem “Africa”

Africa My Africa
Africa of proud warriors in ancestral savannahs.
Is this you, this back is bent.
This back that breaks under the weight of humiliation.
This back trembling with red scars
And saying yes to the whip under the midday sun...
That is Africa your Africa
That grows again patiently obstinately
And its fruit gradually acquires
The bitter taste of liberty.

The African poets demonstrate proficiency and productivity most in the 21st century. Specifically, Onukaogu and Onyerionwu (2009, p.137) affirm that this may not be because it takes less time to write poems but because:

The contemporary situation with all its exegesis has driven the African creative writer to the genre that grants him/her the ambience to interiorize and mediate about his place and role in the scheme of things.

The 21st century African poetry has captured African socio-political, economic and cultural experiences with striking sense of duty and commitment. Though they do not sound as angry and aggressive as
their older generation writers, they exhibit their responsibilities to their societies. The new generation poets have taken their quest for the uniqueness of craft especially their linguistics fad. They make all-encompassing creative uses of the oral traditions even more than their older generation poets such as Okigbo, Okara, Soyinka and so on. Typifying these characteristics are the Nigerian 21st century poets as depicted by Ezenwa Ohaeto in Onukaogu and Onyerionwu (2009, p.142)

On the contrary modern Nigerian poetry is expanding through the adoption of varied elements of orality and it is narrowing the gaps between it and the oral poetry. In fact, what the Contemporary Nigerian poet is striving to achieve is the reflection of this range of oral poetic compositions in the written modern poetry.

Apart from the creative uses of language of the modern poets, they look at the oddities and fragmentations in their various societies. The Nigerian Ifeanyi Ogbonna criticizes the contemporary Nigerian politician lawmakers in his “Pigs shall become House cleaners.” He does not hide his disdain for the Nigerian politicians. He stresses here that when legislators give impeachment signals or sit on bills, it is clear that they are demanding for pregnant purses. Onukaogu and Onyerionwu (2009) add that Ogbonnaya in his poem “With Which Conscience” lashes out to politicians generally who hijack political positions as he asks rhetorically in the poem:

With which voice
Shall you sing anti-graft chorus
When you tutored a presidential place
From the fugitive Taylor
Whose image is woven
By crime-against-man?

With which bills
Shall your transform our lives
When your senses are polluted
By bags of notes
With which mouth
Shall you pronounce just judgment
When the chambers of your law
Speaks volumes of favour
For the sponsors of your seat?

"Psalms to all Godfathers" written by J.D.J Nwachukwu-Agbada frowns at the godfather syndrome in Nigeria. Tunde Adeniran’s "Tyrannies" describes Nigerian leaders as "Messengers of darkness on rampage "who have mortgaged Nigeria's future for their greed..."

From the few exemplifications, it is noteworthy that the African literary artists in general and poets in particular are socio-political, economic and cultural watchdogs, who are conscious and sensitive to the happenings in their environment and their sole aim is to bring about constructive remarkable changes in the societies.

**Theoretical Framework (Sociological Theory of Literature)**


of literature. It studies the work of art as determined by social forces and it has dialectical impact on society. Using the sociological theory in literature, an analyst examines literature in the cultural, economic and political context in which the literary text is written or received. The indication is that he looks at the society in which the text was written or read or seen or heard. He subsequently wants to know the impact of the text to the writer’s society.

Therefore, he looks at the culture, such as “the standards of behaviour, etiquette, relationship between parents and children, the rich and the poor, men and women; religious beliefs, taboos and moral values.” The analyst may decide to study the economy and politics of the society, the system of government, the rights of the citizen, wealth and power distribution. In summary, the analyst is in search of the admirable and the contemptible traits of the society of the literary artist. Appropriately, this theory captures this investigation as the poems under study capture what happens in African society. They x-ray the hypocrisy, immorality and the self-centredness of our political leaders and it aims at fostering an egalitarian society.

Methodology
This exploration is concerned with the duty of the poet as the mouthpiece of his people. The sociological theory of literature is appropriately employed to unearth the contemptible traits of the rulers in the African countries to make way for admirable society. It also employs the descriptive method of data analysis as the study is textual while the primary and secondary data collection methods are used as the poems were adequately studied and analysed with relevant information collected from journals, books, literary texts, magazines, theses, and the internet.

“The Eaters of The Living” and National Transformation

Ours is a nation of eaters
They eat everything and everyone
They eat like the termites
They eat like the locust
They eat like cancer cells
They eat like acids
They eat the festering sores of the people
They eat our phlegm
They eat our corpse
They eat names and reputation
They eat our money.

In this poem, Okpanachi presents the present-day Nigerian politician as inglorious, unjust, corrupt, and insatiable (Onukaogu and Onyerionwu, 2009). Ihenyen (2006) describes the nation as “a carnival of carnivals” since the nation is ravaged by anomie, corruption, violence and inordinate quest for power. He uses satire, paradox, irony, complex repetition and parallelism, to create a musical quality, which gives the poems rhythm and unity, and reinforces his intended meaning. Okpanachi is disappointed because though Nigeria has got her independence and the military has relinquished power to the civilians, the country still faces instability and corruption. He demonstrates that democracy has been no less horrifying than military despotism. He describes the abysmal political leadership in Nigeria and indeed Africa.

In the poem, “The Eaters of the Living”, the poet uses the verb “eat” as a metaphor for the selfishness of the state. The refrain “they eat” is used as a rhetorical device to underline the complete greed of politicians who consume everything and everyone as witnessed in the following lines:

They eat like termites
They eat like locusts
They eat like cancer cells

The animal imagery inflates the cruelty of the state.

In the “Eaters of the Living”, he maintains that he tries to capture the immorality in the Nigerian society. The nation and the masses have been eaten by the colossal index of corruption and the masses are collectively hurt and the do or die games of the desperate legislators play in the national houses seen in their pretentious patriotism to protect the interest and the mandates of the masses.

“Building the Nation” and National Transformation
"Building the Nation" is written by the Ugandan poet, Henry Christopher Muwanga Barlow. The poem according to Yuvinusm (2015, p.20) x-rays the life style of the African bourgeoisies who came into power after colonialism instead of salvaging their people and nations replace the colonizers and he puts it in this manner:

There is need for African leaders to create hope for those they lead, but they are caught up in the same evil lifestyles of their predecessors. What they promised at the end of colonialism is nowhere in sight and aspect of nation building which were supposed to dominate public and political policies have been thrust to the periphery of human thought.

So, the persistent theme of the poem is disillusionment. The type of disillusion which Africans have towards their leaders who have adopted the very tenets of the colonizers from whom they got power from and unfortunately, they got leaders who cannot implement policies.

**Stanza One**
Today I did my share
In building the nation
I drove a permanent secretary
To an important urgent function
In fact to a Luncheon at the Vic.

The poem is built on series of ironies, which are based on the hypocrisy of the ruling class represented by the Permanent Secretary. The poem begins with an ironic twist as the driver (persona) drives the Permanent Secretary to what is expressed as an "Important and urgent state function" but it is hardly significant in terms of building the nation as it turns out to be a luncheon.

**Stanza Two**
The menu reflected its importance
Cold bell beer with small talk,
Then fried chicken with niceties
Wine to fill the hollowness of the laughs
Ice-cream to cover the stereotype jokes
Coffee to keep the Permanent secretary awake on return Journey.

Yuvinusm (2015) continues that what was published as a meeting where delegates would discuss issues to do with nation building ironically turned out to be a feast function. The driver (persona) stresses his disillusionment by enumerating the food items, which are said to reflect the importance of the duty, but food items ironically reflect the triviality and irrelevance of the meeting as the 'laughs' are hollow and the 'jokes' stereotyped where in essence, serious issues were supposed to be discussed.

**Stanza Three**

I drove the permanent secretary back.
He yawned many times in the back of the car
Then to keep awake, he suddenly asked,
Did you have any lunch friend?
I replied looking straight ahead
And secretly smiling at his belated concern
That I had not, but was slimming!

Again, the permanent secretary who should be fagged out by genuinely working hard is fagged out ironically by over-feeding at the expense of the nation he pretends to be building. Consequently, he drank coffee to keep him awake on return journey. Also, the Permanent Secretary asked the driver if he had lunch not out of sympathy, which should be the logical attitude but rather for the purpose of keeping awake, Egudu. (1985). The driver’s answer is also ironical for a hungry man has nothing to do with ‘slimming’. This stanza bears the irony of state and political affairs where leaders have nothing for the people they lead except to satisfy their own selfish desires.

**Stanza Four**

In stanza four, the permanent secretary lies to his driver that he did not have any meal just as did the driver, yet he treated himself to a lot of feasting. This is evident in this quotation:
I drove the Permanent secretary back
He yawned many times in the back of the car
Then to keep awake, he suddenly asked!
Did you have any lunch friend?
I replied looking straight ahead
A secretly smiling at his belated concern
That I had not, but was slimming...
So two nation builders
Arrive home this evening
With terrible stomach pains
The result of building the nation
Different ways.

This stanza best describes the hypocrisy of the Permanent secretary. Everything he expresses is the opposite of what is meant. The matters of state, which he describes as highly delicate diplomatic duties are nothing but sumptuous luncheons. The pains he takes in building a nation are no pains but are pleasures of eating and drinking and “building the nation is nothing but ironically squandering the Ugandan money and time.” Egudu (1985).

The PS typifies African bourgeois who use their subordinates to further their own causes and the fact that the Permanent Secretary lies that he did not eat anything because he attended to “highly delicate diplomatic duties” indicates that he can watch his subordinate die of hunger when he has plenty, Yuvinusm (2015). In the final clash, the Permanent Secretary talks about two nation builders, while actually there is only one – the driver, who has done his duty for which the nation pays him but ironically drives the Permanent Secretary who destroys the nation. They represent the two ‘strands’ of nation builders found in most African states – the local masses, represented by the driver and the politicians, represented by the Permanent Secretary, who squander public funds, which would have been used in building the nations. The masses work hard and their benevolence is taken for granted by those in power, who eat extravagantly but the masses eat nothing at all. All the same, the personae seems to have some hope in the fact that the African bourgeoisie and proletariat have their points of vulnerability – they both suffer in one way or another – the driver becomes sick as a result.
of hunger but the Permanent Secretary is sick because of eating too much.

In other words, in most African States, there are the middle class and the lower class. Both classes are supposed to mutually benefit from the nation's wealth; but unfortunately, the middle class represented by the Permanent Secretary exploits the lower class who most often involved in the production as the driver drives the Permanent Secretary to where he feasted but he does not partake in the feast. The poet therefore uses irony to satirize the hypocrisy of the leaders.

Yuvinusm (2015, p.4) concludes that

The role of both classes is to build their nation, but the middle class Africans simply become parasites who feed on the national resources at the expense of the masses. They are not building the nation at all; rather they are busy building their own stomachs.

**Conclusion**

Poetry is a true voice of opposition against anything that works against human rights, freedom and humanity. Consequently, the poet identifies himself as a politically conscious writer, which enables him to engage with issues that condemn as well as indict the state. Accordingly, Musa Idris Okpanachi of Nigeria and Henry Christopher Barlow of Uganda articulate a sarcastic commentary of Africa by marshalling their creative energies to light up the political moments of their time. It is the penchant of their political class to destroy rather than to nurture and salvage that they have captured. So, through the use of ironical, satirical, metaphorical and cynical tone, they unravel the ills perpetuated by the political class of the post colony in a bid to make a better and glorious Africa and indeed the society. Thus, their poems attempt to unmask the antithesis of human existence not only in Africa but in the whole world. The poets are therefore social crusaders and evangelists who use their poems to reawaken not only the awareness of the masses but to restore the society from its decadence.
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A Pragmatics Analysis of Selected Political Speeches of Nelson Mandela

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Abstract
The paper discusses a pragmatic analysis of selected political speeches of Nelson Mandela. The research adopts Austin's Speech Acts Theory with special reference to Searle's taxonomy of illocutionary acts and Grice's co-operative principles which incorporates the maxims of quantity, quality, relation and manner. This is to ascertain if Mandela's speeches conform to Austin's felicity conditions, to explain the meaning of Nelson Mandela’s political speeches and to determine whether they obey Grice's co-operative principles. Purposive sampling technique is used for the selection of data. The findings of the study indicate that Nelson Mandela's speeches met J. L. Austin's felicity conditions and they are, felicitous. In the sincerity condition, Mandela fulfilled all the promises he made. In preparatory condition, it indicates that these speeches are felicitous because they are made by Mandela who is the leader of his people. In the executive condition, these speeches were properly executed as a result of Mandela’s communicative competence. Nelson Mandela's felicitous speeches also meet Grice’s co-operative principles which a speaker in any communicative event is expected to adhere to. Mandela’s language use in terms of his communicative competence was part of the key to South African's freedom from the apartheid.

Keywords: Speech Act Theory, Co-operative Principles, Speech Acts, Felicity Conditions, Political Speeches and Nelson Mandela
Introduction
Language is essential to politicians because ‘politics is inherently dependent on language, hence the notion that language is an instrument of power” Nyachae, (2013:1). It is obvious that language has been and is still a powerful tool in the hands of political leaders as they manipulate the tool to suit their purposes. This assertion supports the importance of speech writing and its delivery in politics. Every utterance in such a speech communicates meaning and to be able to appreciate the meaning of any speech in a more appropriate way, there is the need to apply the approach of pragmatics to show how it is that language can be used to communicate information that is not directly related to the additive value of the raw linguistic forms in use. Language can be structured in such a way that it will help to realize the various functions and at the same time, achieve one’s intention and desired effect.

Communication is a lifelong process which is learned and developed throughout one’s lifetime. To pass across some message, language must be structured in such a way that our intended meaning is passed across. In doing this, we have to put the information in a systematic set of symbols which are then transmitted through some medium. This systematic set of symbols is identified as language and the medium of transmission can be identified as spoken or written.

Also, in communication, there must be some shared knowledge between those involved which helps them arrive at the message or meaning of what has been communicated. Searle supports this assertion in his book: Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language, (1978:89) when he states, “if communication involves an acoustic blast between at least two persons, then there must be some underlying principles guiding each understanding”. It is clear, therefore, that every communication process involves at least two parties, the encoder – who is the speaker, or writer and the decoder – who is the listener or reader. The speaker creates the communication text, while the hearer tries to make some meaning of the text, falling back on shared knowledge and experience between him and the speaker. Such knowledge enables him to understand the text, whether spoken or written. Communication is a process that occurs in a variety of situations or contexts. It takes place between participants –
speaker/hearer – at some specified time and place, under specified circumstances or mood according to Brown and Yule (1996:50).

At this point, it is important to describe Nelson Mandela. Nelson Mandela was an anti-Apartheid activist. He fought for those who were disadvantaged by the system of racial segregation. Mandela was a civil rights leader. He led many against the Apartheid government. Apartheid was a system of racial inequality which kept all races separate from one another. He spent twenty-seven years in prison. In 1994, Mandela was of key importance in negotiating the freedom and equality of all South Africans. He then became South Africa’s first democratically elected president.

This present study is, therefore, to analyze the selected political speeches of Nelson Mandela using Speech Act Theory and co-operative principles. This study seeks to investigate the meanings and the intention of Nelson Mandela. The main purpose of this study is to find out how Nelson Mandela succeeds as a communicator and indeed a politician. Specifically, the objectives of the study are to:

(i) ascertain whether the speeches conform to felicity conditions as enumerated by J.L. Austin (1962);
(ii) explain the meaning of Nelson Mandela’s political speeches;
(iii) determine whether Nelson Mandela’s speeches obey Grice’s co-operative principles;

Review of Related Literature

A speech is a kind of discourse which normally and expectedly exhibits power relationship Hardy, (2002:3), transmits knowledge or information, cultural values and identity Ayodele, (2006:65) as well as achieves specific communicative goals. Political speech is political rhetoric usually delivered by a politician through the medium of the radio, television, newspaper or magazine. According to Jonathan Charteris-Black, “Political Speech is a coherent stream of spoken Language that is usually prepared for delivery by a speaker to an audience for a purpose on Political occasion” (xiii). It is intended to influence people and it is the skill of using language in speech or in a special way that influences or incites people.

Some scholars have examined different political speeches through different linguistic perspectives. Agbedo (2008) embarked on a speech act analysis of political discourse in Nigerian print media.
Agbedo subjected the utterances of two journalists, Bayo Onanuga and Mr Yakubu Mohammed, to speech act analysis using Austin's (1962) Felicity Condition, and Grice (1975) co-operative principles. He examined the illocutionary force of the speech act in light of their particular types of journalism practice as evidence in the News Magazines. His finding shows the illocutionary acts deriving from their individual speech acts fail to meet Austin’s felicity condition. Their infelicitous speech acts equally fail to meet Grice’s co-operative principles which participants in any communicative events are expected to adhere to. Consequently, the maxims of quality, quantity, relevance, and manner are equally violated thus giving rise to conversational implicature. Agbedo paid attention to the study of speech act analysis of political discourse in Nigeria print media while the current study is a pragmatics analysis of selected political speeches of Nelson Mandela.

Ayeomoni and Akinkuolere (2012) conducted a pragmatic analysis of victory and Inaugural speeches of president Umaru Yar’Adua. They contributed to the study of the language of politics, particularly political speeches, and the speech act analysis which basically follows pragmatic approach is employed to do justice to selected speeches of Umaru Musa Yar’Adua. It focused on the pragmatics of locution, illocution and perlocution acts of the speeches. The data were analyzed following the speech act theory of Austin (1962) and Searles (1969). The overall relative frequency percentages (ORFPS) showed Umaru Yar’ Adua relied heavily on sentences that performed assertive acts than others. Sentences that were expressive had the last ORFTS; it was observed that the president exploited less of sentences which were meant for indicating the sincerity of his intentions. This reviewed study is different from this current research in that, it examined the overall relative frequency percentages of the sentences used in the victory and Inaugural speeches of president Umaru Yar’Adua.

The research of Obitube (2014) conducted the discourse analysis of the Independence Day speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan during the celebration of Nigeria’s Independence in 2012, 2013 and 2014. It studied the structure of these speeches; the ideologies of the president reflected through them, their information strength and their contemporary relevance.

The work adopted Grice co-operative principles which include the maxims of quantity, quality, relation and manner for
analysing its data. The study observed that the speeches were structured into five sections which include greetings and introduction of the occasion; incorporating every Nigerian as contributing to Nigerians history and current status; highlighting the achievements made, the challenges facing Nigeria and effort being made to handle them; messages of hope and promises and call for collective responsibility, conclusion with compliments. It showed that these five sections fulfilled the co-operative maxim of quality, quantity, relation and manner. The ideological analysis showed that the president gradually realised the extent of his power and autonomy. He preferred collective responsibility of the nation's affairs. Finally, the researcher recommended the use of discourse analysis for the president for analysing and assessing his speeches before delivery and that Nigerians should pay attention to Independence speeches in order to take adequate advantage of the information in them. This reviewed research is different from the present study in that, it adopted the discourse analytical approach while this one is on pragmatics analysis.

Moyi (2018) did a pragmatic analysis of President Goodluck Jonathan's democracy day speech 2012. The speech was selected to examine the use of language by some political class in Nigeria to win the confidence of their electorate. The analysis used speech acts and politeness theories and explored the various illocutionary forces that were used by the speaker. Out of 71 paragraphs of the whole speech, 30 paragraphs were selected. Ten paragraphs were selected at the beginning, middle and end of the speech. The study found out that the speech was marked by the preponderant use of representative acts at the beginning; representative and commissive acts at the middle while at the end, commissive and directive were seen. This work was not quite similar with the current research in the sense that they both use speech acts theory but the present work did not use politeness theory.

From the literature reviewed, no work has been done on the pragmatic analysis of selected political speeches of Nelson Mandela using speech acts theory and co-operative principles. This makes this work different from other studies and this gap is what this present study fills.
Methodology
The researcher used a purposive sampling technique. The selections of the representative speeches were based on the chronology of the speeches. He made the first speech in 1964 and was imprisoned for 27 years. After his long stay in prison, he made three other speeches in 1990, 1994 and 1994 respectively in his continued battle against apartheid. As such, the representative speeches used for the study are listed below:

1. “I am prepared to die” - 1964
2. “Nelson Mandela’s address to the Rally in Cape Town on his release from prison” - 1990
3. “Nelson Mandela’s address to the people of Cape Town, Grand parade, on the occasion of his inauguration as state president” - 1994

These selections are based on the fact that these speeches are chronological and designed to break the solid rock of apartheid for the peaceful transfer of power in the harshly segregated nation. The researcher made use of documented speeches of Nelson Mandela, especially those that concern politics. These speeches are harnessed from the internet. The researcher exploited this medium for accuracy.

To achieve the objectives of this research, these four samples of speeches of Nelson Mandela were subjected to analysis using a qualitative analytical method. The utterance is used as the unit of analysis, which deals with speech acts: locutionary acts, illocutionary acts and perlocutionary acts. The selected speeches vary in length and number of utterances. The specific portions of the speeches are extracted and analyzed. The utterance acts by Nelson Mandela are subjected to analysis to see how he uses his utterances to perform the required actions. This is because we know that utterances are categorized as speech acts which play a very prominent role in communication. The analysis of these speeches is done using Austin’s speech act theory with special reference to Searle’s (1976:17-23)
taxonomy of illocutionary act and Austin's Felicity Conditions. Also, Grice's (1975) co-operative principles are also used in analysis to determine whether Nelson Mandela's speeches obey Grice's co-operative principles. This is find out if he succeeds as a communicator, and indeed as a politician.

Theoretical Framework

Speech Act Theory

This study adopts Speech act theory and Grice's co-operative principles. Speech act theory attempts to explain how speakers use language to accomplish intended actions and how hearers infer intended meaning from what is said. Speech act theory was first defined by Austin (1962:30) in the first edition of the book "How to Do Things with Words". He did not use the term 'speech act', but 'performative sentence' or 'performative utterance' which indicated that the issuing of the utterance is the performance of an action' (1962:6). The term itself was first used by Searle in his Speech Act: Essay in the Philosophy of Language where he claims that "talking is performing acts according to rules" (1978:22) and that, "Speech acts ... are the basic or minimal units of linguistic communication (1978:16).

Meanwhile, according to Yule (1996:47), "people perform an action through utterances when they attempt to express themselves. Actions they perform through utterances are generally called speech action". He also states that the term 'speech act' covers action such as requesting, questioning and performing (1996:100).

Austin in Levinson's Pragmatics (2000:236) recommends three basic acts in presenting an utterance. Among them are locutionary act, illocutionary act, and perlocutionary act. These are the three levels of analysis that project the meaning of utterances. The locutionary act is the utterance of a sentence which determines its sense and reference. It is performing the act in saying something. The illocutionary act is the making of the statement, offer, promise, and so on. It is the purpose behind making an utterance. It is the function we want our utterances to perform. Perlocutionary act provokes the effects on the audience by means of uttering a sentence. Such effects are special to the circumstance of utterance. Perlocutionary act, is the actual effect, such as enlightening, persuading, convincing, inspiring,
scaring, or otherwise getting someone to do or realize something, whether intended or not.

There are also conditions that should be fulfilled for the proper realization of illocutionary acts. These conditions are called felicity conditions. Felicity conditions refer to conditions necessary for the success of a speech act. The name is derived from a Latin root 'Felix' or 'happy'. They are conditions necessary for the fulfilment of a performative. Ndimele (2007:139) has it that the concept of felicity condition was proposed by Austin as those criteria which must be satisfied by a speech act if it must be termed successful to achieve its communicative purposes. These requirements which are necessary for the accomplishment of any illocutionary act, are what Austin (1962) refers to as felicity conditions. According to Searle, there is a general condition for all speech acts so that the hearer must hear and understand the language. The speaker must not be pretending or play-acting, Cutting's Pragmatics and Discourse (2001:15). An illocutionary act is adjudged felicitous if it meets felicity conditions spelt out by Austin. These felicity conditions are given below:

Sincerity Condition shows how sincere the speaker is with a particular illocutionary act. A mother who says to her child "I'll buy you a big toy tomorrow" may mean to do exactly that and the speech act is said to be sincere, hence felicitous.

Preparatory Condition indicates how appropriate the participants are in speech act as well as the circumstances of the speech act for the successful performance of the speech act. If they are appropriate, the illocutionary act is felicitous. Executive Condition shows whether the speech is properly executed. If yes, then it is felicitous on this ground. Fulfilment Condition shows the perlocutionary effect of the speech act. If it has the desired effect, then it is also felicitous. When these felicity conditions are met by an illocutionary act, then, it is said to be felicitous.

Grice’s Cooperative Principle and maxims of conversation
Philosopher Paul Grice (1975) brought the idea of cooperation in relation to language and linguistics. He has coined the phrase cooperative principle. Being cooperative means speakers use such language that can be understood by the hearer without creating problem to his or her culture, psychology and physiology and so on. Basic idea of this principle is that the participants cooperate, help and
assist each other in the process of communication. Grice’s idea about being cooperative means one should contribute in the communication not less or more; as is required for the current purpose of communication; one should be simple and truthful in conveying the message and the participants expect that each will make a conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange. It consists of four maxims; we have to follow in order to be cooperative and understood:

**Maxim of quality**: As speaker we have to tell the truth or something that is provable by adequate evidence.

**Maxim of quantity**: We have to be as informative as required, we should not say more or less.

**Maxim of relation**: Our response has to be relevant to the topic of discussion.

**Maxim of manner**: We have to avoid ambiguity or obscurity; we should be direct and straightforward.

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**Presentation of Data/ Results**

**Felicity Conditions and the meaning of the Selected Political Speeches of Nelson Mandela**

One major focus of this paper is subjecting the utterances of Nelson Mandela to the felicity conditions as spelt out by J. L. Austin. Austin's felicity conditions include (i) sincerity condition, (ii) preparatory condition, (iii) executive condition, and (iv) fulfilment condition. We must recall that the intention of the speaker was to galvanize the listeners to provide the necessary support to pursue the change they so much desired.

**Sincerity Condition**

The sincerity condition is an important felicity condition for the speeches to provoke the necessary reaction needed in the circumstances. The fact that the speaker was “prepared to die” for the course he was pursuing showed great commitment and sincerity of purpose.
The information here constitutes some promises from Nelson Mandela's speeches in the South African Apartheid government. These utterances are performatives because they are speech act of a special kind where the uttering of the right words by the right person in the right situation effectively accomplishes the social act. In the speech I am prepared to die, Nelson Mandela made this promise.

**Extract 1**

We hope that we will bring the Government and its supporters to their senses before it is too late so that both the Government and its policies can be changed before matters reach the desperate state of civil war."

Again, in text 3: Nelson Mandela's address to the people of Cape Town, grand parade, on the occasion of his inauguration as state president, Nelson Mandela made these promises:

**Extract 2**

And change is what they will get.

**Extract 3**

While we are and shall remain fully committed to the spirit of a government of national unity, we are determined to initiate and bring about the change that our mandate from the people demands.

In text 4, Statement of the President of the African National Congress Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela at his Inauguration as President of the Democratic Republic of South Africa Union Buildings, this promise was made.

**Extract 4**

We enter into a covenant that we shall build the society in which all South Africans, both black and white, will be able to walk tall, without any fear in their hearts, assured of their inalienable right to human dignity - a rainbow nation at peace with itself and the world.

In extract 1, Nelson Mandela fulfilled this promise by making sure that he and his political group brought the government to their senses.
before it was too late so that both the government and its policies were changed. In extract 2, above, the speaker promised that change is what they will get. The use of the verb phrase “will get” has a future implication. There was the need for a change in South Africa which is a common knowledge to the Africans in the context and so, Nelson Mandela who was the leader of his people was promising them this change in government. The deictic pronoun “they” is implicative. “They” in this context means his people.

Mandela was emphatic about the negative effect that will result should the desired changes be delayed. Mandela was clearly aware of the socio-political situation in South Africa. He knew that the continuation of Apartheid policy will likely to provoke negative reactions. Besides this, the situation was already charged and the only solution was the desired change.

Secondly, he and his comrades remained fully dedicated to the spirit of the government of national unity which will bring the change the people demand. Lastly, Nelson Mandela fulfilled the promise to build the society in which South Africans, black and white, walk tall, without any fear in their hearts. In such a society, the people are sure of absolute rights for the human dignity - a rainbow nation at peace with itself and the world. Apartheid came to an end in the 1990s, and in 1994, Mandela was elected as the first black chief executive of South Africa in the nation's first democratic election. Nelson Mandela fulfilled all these promises and therefore, these speeches are sincere and hence, felicitous on this ground. Besides, the conditions under which the speeches were made are sincere and real.

**Preparatory Condition**

Preparatory felicity condition seeks to determine the appropriateness of the participants in the discourse as well as the circumstances for the successful performance of the speech act. These political speeches are felicitous because they were made by the leader of South Africa and also, because of the South African's socio-political history. The white South Africans instituted the policy of apartheid to guarantee their continued domination over the country and its resources. The rights of the black South Africans were systemically taken away and they were deprived of residency and were made to live in a poor and rural area.
The South African activist Nelson Mandela helped bring an end to apartheid and was willing to die for this course by making the sacrifices to achieve that. He committed himself to the struggle to obtain equality for everyone in South Africa, stating that he would be "willing to die" for "the idea of a democratic and free society." He spent 27 years in prison at Robben Island after he was convicted of conspiracy to overthrow the South African government during his years spent fighting for racial equality. He could easily have been released from jail many years earlier but he stood firm in his beliefs. He knew what needed to be done to achieve his ultimate goal and remained steadfast until he got there.

Nelson Mandela became South Africa's first black president in 1994 after his release from the prison. The Participants in Text1: “I am prepared to die” are the Pretoria Supreme Court, freedom fighters, the South African white minority and international English-speaking audience. The speech served as Mandela's defence statement at the trial. His secondary purposes of the speech and in fact the ultimate purpose is to explain, and defend the ANC in a nearly five-hour address by presenting an appeal for democracy, by challenging the current governing system; and laying the groundwork for the forthcoming fight against apartheid. The speech and the situation provided adequate preparatory conditions for the anticipated freedom.

The participants in Text 2: The Cape Town release speech is his loyal followers, international countries and organizations, and South African white minority. The primary purpose for this speech was to make his first public address after his release from a 27-years imprisonment. His secondary purpose was a bit more extensive and involved. With this speech, Mandela wanted to show the continuation of the goals to end Apartheid completely. He reiterated both the need for national unity and reformation in the ongoing struggle. Finally, Mandela's speech was also an outpouring of praise and gratitude for the past and continued support for the cause.

The participants in Text 3: Nelson Mandela's Address to the People of Cape Town, on the occasion of his Inauguration as State President were the Master of Ceremonies, Members of the Diplomatic Corps, and his fellow South Africans, all guests of and participants in the Grand Parade celebration. Nelson Mandela' primary intent was to recognize the election victory and to outline the next phase of governmental progression. Mandela both challenged his fellow South
Africans and informed the international interests of South Africa's future plans.

The participants in Text 4: Grand Parade celebration, "comrades and friends," including his international and intercontinental audience. Nelson Mandela's purpose here was to accomplish four important tasks: to accept and respond to his presidential election, to speak (directly) on behalf of South African people, showing gratitude for the progression, to inspire, to ask for continued support and encouragement as South African redefined itself as a true democracy. Mandela's inaugural speech at Pretoria was a highly sensational address. The participants in these speeches were appropriate and the speeches were made under the right circumstances hence the illocutionary acts are felicitous, having fulfilled the following conditions.

**Executive Condition**

Executive Condition shows whether the speeches were properly executed. These speeches were properly executed because Mandela's communicative competence was a key part in eradicating apartheid. Nelson Mandela was a great communicator. He used the power of language to explain, advice, express his psychological state and made promises for future actions. The following taxonomy of illocutionary acts of John Searle manifests in the speeches.

**Representatives/Assertives**

These are utterances in the speeches that made assertions about the state of affairs in the world, with particular reference to the South African socio-political context. The assertive/representative acts in our data are for explaining, informing, proving, asserting and stating of facts. The following assertive acts are extracted from text 1: I am Prepared to die and they support the argument.

**Extract 5**

I am the First Accused,
Extract 6
I hold a Bachelor's Degree in Arts and practised as an attorney in Johannesburg for a number of years in partnership with Oliver Tambo,

Extract 7
I have done whatever I did, both as an individual and as a leader of my people, because of my personal experience in South Africa and my own proudly felt African background, and not because of what any outsider might have said.

Extract 5 is an assertive statement that reveals the status of the speaker. Mandela explained to the court that he was the first accused. This puts in perspective the intention of the speaker to be seen as the one whom the rope of accusation is tied around his neck. The pronoun 'I' reveals the speaker's intention to foreground his personality as that of the accused. In the utterance act in extract 6, the illocutionary act contained in the utterance seeks to present the personality of the accused. The speaker tried to represent himself properly by the use of the deictic pronoun "I" through which he described himself as a good politician with a personal quality and one with a bachelor's degree. This he does before a trial judge for adequate recognition. Extract 7, Nelson informed the audience that he alone was responsible for what happened. He was responsible because he took the action both as a leader of his people and as a person out of his personal experience in South Africa.

Directive Acts
Again, in the directive acts the speaker tried to get the hearer to do something. It includes the act of request, commanding, advising, condemning, warming, urging and disagreeing. The following directives are requests made by Nelson Mandela

Extract 8
Let there be justice for all.

Extract 9
Let there be peace for all.
In extract 8, Nelson Mandela appeals for justice for all but in extract 9, the speaker requests for peace for all and in extract 10, he requests for better living conditions such as work, bread, water, and salt. In extracts 8, 9, and 10 the speaker makes requests with the use of the verb *let*.

**Extract 11**

There **must** be an end to white monopoly on political power and a fundamental restructuring of our political and economic systems to ensure that the inequalities of apartheid are addressed and **our** society thoroughly democratized.

In the extracts above, Nelson Mandela makes attempt to get the addressees to engage in certain actions. In extract 11, the speaker insists that there must be an end to white monopoly and political supremacy and subsequent reorganization of the political and economic systems to ensure that the apartheid policy is addressed and their society carefully democratized. The use of the modal auxiliary verb "must" emphasizes the necessity of bringing to an end these ugly situations in their country.

**Commissive Acts**

In commissive acts, information is supplied regarding the participants' intention to carry out a future action. Commissive acts perform such acts by promising, pledging, offering, vowing and swearing.

Text 3: Nelson Mandela's address to the people of Cape Town, grand parade, on the occasion of his inauguration as state president. The commissive speech acts in this speech are shown below

**Extract 12**

And change is what **they will get**.
Extract 13
We will tackle the widespread poverty so pervasive among the majority of our people.

In extract 12 above, the speaker promised that change is what they will get. The use of the verb phrase “will get” has a future implication. There was the need for a change in South Africa which is a common knowledge to the Africans in the context and so, Nelson Mandela who is the leader of his people is promising them this change in government. The deictic pronoun “they” is implicative. “They” in this context mean his people. In extract 13, the speaker promised that they will tackle the extensive poverty among their people. The element of prediction is in the use of verb phrase “will tackle.” The modal auxiliary “will” capture the futurity of the speaker’s action or intention. Thus, in this extract, Nelson Mandela performs the illocutionary act of promising to do something, the effect of which will be felt in the future. The use of “we” here is to show common institutional identity.

Expressive Acts
Expressive acts reveal the psychological state of the speaker about the state of affairs which the illocution presupposes. Expressive acts are often used to communicate the speaker’s intention in relation to the situation.

In text 2: Cape Town release speech - 1990, the following expressives are present:

Extract 14
I greet you all in the name of peace, democracy and freedom for all.

Extract 15
On this day of my release, I extend my sincere and warmest gratitude to the millions of my compatriots and those in every corner of the globe who have campaigned tirelessly for my release.

In extract: 14 and 15 above, the attitude of Nelson Mandela is not hidden. He explicitly expresses appreciation to the cause (i.e.
campaign against apartheid) and these are the outpouring of praise and gratitude for the past participation in their struggle. This is his first public address after his release from 27 years imprisonment.

In these extracts, the use of deictic pronoun “I” describes the speaker as a good politician. In extract 13, Nelson Mandela uses explicit performative verb “greet” to express his inner state of mind. Also, in extract 14, he expresses happiness for his release to his comrades and others elsewhere that have campaigned tirelessly for his release. He uses the adjectives “sincere and warmest” to describe the kind of gratitude he experiences at his release.

**Fulfilment Condition**
Here, we state the effect of these speech acts on the participants. Nelson Mandela enlightens, persuades, convinces and inspires his audience to accept his own opinion. Based on the effect of these speeches, the speeches can be said to have the desired effect on the participants. All these speeches are made to break the solid rock of apartheid and ensure a peaceful transfer of power in the harshly segregated nation. Mandela's speeches achieve these desired purposes because they fulfil the necessary felicity conditions.

**The Perlocutionary Acts**
**Representatives/Assertives**
In the above in extracts 5 and 6, the speaker makes assertion about himself. He states that he is the first accused and that he holds a bachelor's degree in arts. He also, states that he practiced as an attorney in Johannesburg for a number of years in company of Oliver Tambo. These explanations have the perlocutionary act (or intended effect) to enlighten the audience about himself especially his status as a practicing attorney. These explanations confirm his personality and his commitment to the course. Extract 7, the speaker informs the reason he did what he did. He did what he did as a result of his personal experience in South Africa and not as a result of what the outsiders might have said.
Directive Acts
In extract 8 and 9, Mandela appeals for justice for all and also request for peace for all. Through this appeal, Mandela persuaded his audience about the genuineness of the cause they are pursuing and he also inspired the audience for peace and absolute rights for human dignity. In extract 10, he requested for a better life in general in such areas as work, bread, water, and salt. Through this, he encouraged his audience to believe and have confidence in him. In extract 11, Nelson Mandela advised the government to bring an end to white monopoly on political supremacy and a basic reorganization of their political and economic systems to ensure that Apartheid is addressed in order to carefully democratized their society. The perlocutionary act (or the effect) is that Mandela actually persuaded the audience to take necessary actions so that the Africans will achieve their aims.

Commissive Acts
In extract 12 and 13, above shows that Nelson Mandela promises that change is what they will get. There was a need for a change in South Africa and this is a common knowledge to the Africans. Nelson Mandela as the leader of his people is promising them this change in government. He further promises that they will tackle the problem of poverty among people. In so doing, Nelson Mandela convinced his audience to believe in him which is the intended effect of this utterance.

Expressive Acts
In extract 14 and 15, Mandela expresses his psychological state of mind and he expresses great happiness for his release to his comrades and others elsewhere that have campaigned tirelessly for this. The speaker greets the people of Cape Town, where he lived for almost three decades. The effect is that Mandela inspired and persuaded his audience to continue in the fight. Being a human right activist and freedom fighter, he fought against Apartheid by utilizing his communicative skills to make effective speeches that helped in eradicating apartheid. Mandela properly executed his speeches and these speeches are, therefore, felicitous on this ground.
B) Co-operative Principles in the selected Political Speeches of Nelson Mandela

Grice’s co-operative principles are incorporated in the analysis which includes: quality, quantity, relation and manner.

Maxim of quality

This maxim expects the speaker to be truthful. It expects the speaker not to provide false or unjustified information. Also, the speaker should not use such language that does not have satisfactory evidence.

In extracts 5, 6 and 7 of these speeches, Nelson Mandela spoke the truth with adequate evidence. This is as a result of his personal experience in South African as a citizen.

**Extract 5**

I am the First Accused,

**Extract 6**

I hold a Bachelor's Degree in Arts and practised as an attorney in Johannesburg for a number of years in partnership with Oliver Tambo,

**Extract 7**

I have done whatever I did, both as an individual and as a leader of my people, because of my personal experience in South Africa and my own proudly felt African background, and not because of what any outsider might have said.

Nelson Mandela spoke the truth by informing the court that he was the first accused and that he held a bachelor degree and he practiced as an attorney in Johannesburg for many with Oliver Tambo. Nelson Mandela also said that whatever he did was as result of his personal experience in South Africa. He further explained that his actions were not as a result of what outsiders have said but because of his own personal involvement. Thus, all these statements were truth and he also, justified them with adequate evidence. These utterances fulfil the maxim of quality since they are true rather than false statements.
Maxim of Quantity
This maxim stipulates that the speaker has to be as informative as required and must not provide too much or too less information. The speaker who provides too less information can create risk to the hearer or speaker who provide more than necessary information lead hearer towards boredom. In extract 11 and 13, Nelson Mandela fulfil the maxim of quantity.

Extract 11
There must be an end to white monopoly on political power and a fundamental restructuring of our political and economic systems to ensure that the inequalities of apartheid are addressed and our society thoroughly democratized.

Extract 13
We will tackle the widespread poverty so pervasive among the majority of our people.

Looking at this extract 11 above, it is clear that Nelson Mandela was informative as required. This shows the fact that Nelson Mandela insisted that there must be an end to white monopoly and supremacy. He also, emphasized subsequent reorganization of the political and economic systems to ensure apartheid was addressed and society carefully democratized. Also, Mandela did not provide less information too. In extract 13, Mandela was informative as was required as promised his people that change is what will get. There was the need for a change in South Africa which is a common knowledge to the Africans in the context and so, Nelson Mandela who is the leader of his people was promising them this change in government. Mandela was not less informative based on this he fulfilled the maxim of quantity.

Maxim of Manner
This maxim wants the speaker to be brief and orderly in arranging the message. In other words, it expects the speaker not to be obscure, ambiguous and avoid wordiness and to be direct and straightforward.
Nelson Mandela observed this principle. The following extracts from the speeches are not obscure or ambiguous rather they are clear, brief and orderly arranged in the speech.

**Extract 8**
Let there be justice for all.

**Extract 9**
Let there be peace for all.
These extracts 8 and 9, are clear, straight to the point and well ordered. They are not ambiguous and therefore, fulfilled the maxim of manner.

**Maxim of Relation**
The speaker should be relevant to what s/he said before. It talks about logical connection of one utterance or sentence to another, previous paragraph to next and so on.

**Extract 5**
I am the First Accused,

**Extract 6**
I hold a Bachelor's Degree in Arts and practised as an attorney in Johannesburg for a number of years in partnership with Oliver Tambo,

Nelson Mandels's speeches has logicality. In Extract 5 and 6, he reveals his status as the speaker. Mandela explained to the court that he was the first accused. In the utterance act in **extract 6**, the illocutionary act contained in the utterance seeks to present the personality of the accused. This he did before a trial judge for adequate recognition. Based the logical arrangement these speeches fulfilled the maxim of relation.

**Discussions**
Pragmatics and its proponents are interested in the context of a speech event. This implies that context will inform the word choices of a speaker. The context of the chosen utterances has evolved several
illocutionary acts. Austin’s Speech Act theory with special reference to Searle’s taxonomy of illocutionary acts, Austin’s Felicity conditions and Grice’s co-operative principles were applied to the study of the speeches. He uses language effectively to enlighten, persuade, convince and inspire the people to accept his own opinion. Through this, the meanings of his speeches are known and his intentions were achieved. Nelson Mandela’s communicative competence enhanced the eradication of Apartheid in South Africa.

The findings show that Nelson Mandela’s speeches met Austin’s felicity conditions and they are therefore felicitous. These utterances are performatives because they are speech act of a special kind where the uttering of the right words by the right person in the right situation effectively accomplishes the social act. The study also discovers the meaning of these speeches by analyzing these speeches based on their contexts. Also, these speeches fulfilled Grice’s co-operative principles and there are no conversational implicature. Through this Nelson Mandela’s intention was realised. That is, breaking down the walls of Apartheid in South Africa.

Conclusion
Language is a powerful weapon in getting to the political thoughts and ideologies of politicians; hence the language of Nelson Mandela is studied through the selected speeches in order to get to his thoughts. In this study, Nelson Mandela’s speeches met Austin’s felicity conditions and they are therefore felicitous. The researcher also presented the meaning/intention and the effect of the selected speeches through speech acts theory. The linguistic and non-linguistic factors such as speech acts, socio-political context and deixis are considered so that good accounts of how they help in meaning interpretation are appreciated. Also, the principles of co-operation in communication are not violated and therefore, there are no conversational implicature in the selected speeches.
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A Pragmatic Assessment of the Features of Nigerian Pidgin Used in Broadcast Media Advertisements

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Abstract
The changes that result as L2 users make conscious attempts to express their perceptions and cultural peculiarities in English often extend beyond the usual features of transfer to pragmatic dimensions of use. Nigerian Pidgin (NigP), an ensuing product of the contact between the English language and indigenous languages in the non-native environment, has crept into virtually every area of endeavour with its peculiarities. This paper makes a pragmatic assessment of the features of NigP used to embellish electronic media adverts. The objectives of the study are to ascertain the linguistic strategies used in the pidgin adverts to appeal to the socio-cultural, encyclopedic knowledge of the audience; the types of speech acts employed in the adverts to advance the advertisers’ discourse goals; and the potential perlocutionary effects induced by the linguistic manipulations in the adverts. A qualitative design was employed. Data were drawn purposively by recording ten adverts in NigP aired on television and radio, four of which were randomly chosen for analysis. The findings reveal that NigP is deliberately manipulated in the adverts using different communication strategies to pursue nationalistic, illocutionary goals and to evoke cultural affinity, which ultimately redound to the desired perlocution of patronage of goods and services. The study concludes that the use of NigP in adverts reflects Nigeria’s cultural idiosyncrasies and peculiarities, which is indicative
of the inextricable nexus between language and culture. This practice fosters a communal sense of togetherness and national integration, which is better interpreted pragmatically as copiously demonstrated. **Keywords: Pragmatics, Nigerian Pidgin, Broadcast Media, Adverts**

**Introduction**

Nigerian Pidgin is an outcrop of the language contact between the English language used as a second cum official language in Nigeria and the multifarious indigenous languages. The language contact occasioned by the global spread of English via British colonialism has led to the emergence of varieties of English, the ‘older plant’, to borrow Jowitt’s (1991) term, in places where English is spoken as a second language or a foreign language. According to Hudson (1981), “when speakers of two or more languages come in contact, the languages influence each other in proportion to the extent of the contact, the social relations between the speakers and the practical benefits of such influence for the speakers (p.339). This observation presupposes that when two languages come in contact, the existing language of the user tends to influence the new language being learnt, as the user makes conscious attempts to learn how to express his cultural peculiarities in the new language. This inevitably paves the way for a new variety of the new language to evolve.

As observed by Ajani (2006), such designations as world Englishes, new Englishes, modern Englishes, West African Englishes, South African English, Australian English, Indian English, among others, lend credence to this worldwide phenomenon of language contact, variation and change. Jowitt (1991) avers that the adaptation of the term ‘New English’ to mark a new era in synchronic studies is by no means an academic felony.

Thus the term legitimately designates the new varieties of English springing up in non-native environments. Sebba (1997) considers the emergence of new Englishes a product of the usual sociolinguistic chemistry that takes place when two or more different languages and cultures come in contact. The change that results from such contacts often comes in form of a diglossic situation, or language shift, attrition or even language death. At other times it can lead to the
that language contact leads to language change and variation is a global phenomenon and English is not an exception. This fact is in evidence in Nigerian Pidgin (NigP for short). NigP is a variant of the larger group of English-based Pidgin and Creole languages which developed in West Africa as a result of contact with British colonialists. Nigeria shares this linguistic history with other multilingual British colonies in West Africa such as Ghana, Cameroon, Gambia and Sierra Leone (Durodola, 2013).

In line with global realities the English language exists alongside its pidgin variant in Nigeria. NigP draws it lexicon and structure from the English language as the superstrate and the indigenous languages as the substrate. Topmost among the substrate stratum are Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba. The recognition of these three as Nigeria's major languages distinguishes them from the other 450 or more Nigerian languages. In addition, NigP also flourishes in other minority languages in the Niger Delta such as Ijaw, Itshekiri, Urhobo, Edo, among others (Durodola, 2013). Thus, NigP is viewed as a product of the socio-linguistic chemistry between English and Nigeria's multifarious indigenous languages and is used basically in Nigeria for intranational and interethnic communication (Bamiro, 2006).

The diversity of linguistic pool that feeds the NigP has contributed to its vast lexicon. Its stock of vocabulary items is potentially unlimited. New lexical items are created through reduplication, nativisation through phonological adaptation, extension of the meaning of English words, and creation of new lexical items from popular events that occurred within and outside the country, etc. (Mafeni in Durodola, 2013; Elugbe & O'mamor, 1991). A syntactic description of NigP shows that it lacks subject-verb agreement, inflection for plural possessives or derivational types and grammatical categories like gender, person, mood, number and voice,
but it has its syntactic pattern, which is a reduced form of English inflections and derivations (Ugot & Ogundipe, 2011; Onuigbo, 1999).

To Elugbe and Omanor (1991), NigP is no longer considered a makeshift language that is used for limited communication needs. Its use has permeated every conceivable aspect of daily life or area of endeavor (Romaine, 1988). NigP used to be associated with people with no formal education (Agheyisi, 1971), but times have changed; the current reality is that NigP is increasingly spoken by highly educated persons in society (Deuber, 2005; Elugbe & Omanor, 1991). For the latter, its use is highly deliberate in informal domains, being controlled by some socio-linguistic factors. NigP thrives among comedians, musicians, police, soldiers, drivers, traders, and students. Among university students, NigP is often preferred to Standard English as the former gives a sense of solidarity and camaraderie. The language has also found popular expression in literature as many Nigerian writers have demonstrated their stylistic sensitivity to their cultural backgrounds in their authorial assignments using pidgin English and readers who share the same culture with these writers undoubtedly understand their works deeper than ‘outsiders’.

The works reviewed so far are indicative of the fact that a number of studies have been done on Nigerian Pidgin, which provide copious evidence to underscore the interest of linguists in the phenomenon. Among this avalanche of scholars who have worked on the Nigerian Pidgin are Agheyisi (1971), Elugbe and Omanor (1991), Durodola (2003), Ugot and Ogundipe (2012), Endong (2015), Bamiro (2009), Deuber (2005), Onuigbo (1999), and Romaine (1988). This array of scholars depicts that the spotlight on the phenomenon of NigP has spanned over four decades, though with varied focus.

The media industry is one of the domains in which pidgin has enjoyed monumental popularity. The prolific use of pidgin seems to have dominated the use of indigenous languages and even standard English in both print and electronic media (Endong, 2015). Besides its use in news broadcasts, drama, media campaigns, and public service announcements, NigP is profusely used in media advertisements.

Advertisement is the engine that drives consumer purchase. It is designed to manipulate customers’ product preferences using emotive and persuasive language. The language appeal which characterizes adverts is further accentuated by the wonderful display of images in the visual media to validate the often exaggerated claims of the advertisers. Research on advertising in culture and society
studies (MacRury, 2009) and social discourse (Crichton, 2010; Cook, 1992) as cited in Qadafi and Wahyudi (2014) shows that “a majority of the society tends to choose advertisements which are more likely to be in line with their own heritage and local culture, because heritage and local culture are inherited, and become the identity of almost everyone in this country” (p.3).

This paper therefore explores the pragmatic strategies employed in broadcast media advertisements to reflect Nigeria’s cultural peculiarities and idiosyncrasies with a view to garnering more patronage of goods and services.

Objectives of the Study
The objectives of the study are to:

i. ascertain the linguistic strategies used in the pidgin adverts to appeal to the socio-cultural, encyclopedic knowledge of the audience;

ii. examine the types of speech acts employed in the adverts to advance the discourse goals of the advertisers; and

iii. examine the potential perlocutionary effects induced by the linguistic manipulations in the adverts.

Conceptual Clarification
Pragmatics is concerned with “variable aspects of meaning which are derivable from utterances within contexts of use” (MacMahon, 2009, p.1051). It therefore gives room for the hearer to expand or alter semantic meaning by taking into account the contextual variables that impinge on meaning – these variables being all the resources at the disposal of the hearer in the discourse context that enable him to construct the communicative meaning intended by the speaker. The communicative meaning of an utterance is the speech act it is meant to perform in the definite social context. As observed by Leech (1983), “When we try to work out the meaning of an utterance, this can be thought of as an attempt to reconstruct what act, considered as a goal-directed communication, was it a goal of the speaker to perform in
producing the utterance” (pp.14-5). He believes that the meaning of an utterance, in this regard, is its illocutionary force.

The theory of speech acts is inseparable from this study as the study’s preoccupation is examining how Pidgin English is employed as speech acts in adverts to appeal to the audience for patronage of goods and services. Huang (2007) observes that “the central tenet of speech act theory is that the uttering of a sentence is part of an action within the framework of social institutions and conventions” (p.1000).

Giving credence to the focus of this study, Levinson (1983) says that “in linguistic pragmatics, speech acts remain, along with presupposition and implicature in particular, one of the central phenomena that any general pragmatic theory must account for” (p.236).

Austin (1962) professes that all utterances, in addition to meaning whatever they mean, perform specific acts via their specific communicative force of an utterance. Austin identifies three facets of a speech act: Locutionary act, Illocutionary act and Perlocutionary act. In the first, the speaker says something; in the second, the speaker signals an associated speech act – that is S does something by uttering U; in the third, the speech act causes an effect on the listeners or the participants (Mey, 2001).

Scholars differ considerably in their classification of speech acts (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969; Levin, 1977; Levinson, 1980; Allan, 1986). However, Leech’s taxonomy of speech acts employed in this study is congruent with Searle’s (Cutting, 2002). The assertives, which include such acts as stating, suggesting, boasting, complaining, claiming and reporting, commit the speaker to the truth of the proposition made. The directives refer to speech acts such as commanding, ordering, requesting, advising, and recommending, which are aimed at producing some effect in the hearer. The impositives are illocutions such as ordering, asking, demanding, and begging. The commissives commit the speaker to some future action; they include acts like promising, vowing, and offering. The expressives show the speaker’s psychological attitude towards a situation. Such illocutions include thanking, congratulating, pardoning, blaming, praising and condoling while declaratives cause a change of state when uttered by an authorized person. Examples of
declaratives are christening, naming, resigning, dismissing, 
appointing, sentencing, and excommunicating.

As language users, we talk because we aim to achieve an 
illocutionary goal. Thus advertisers also promote their products with 
an aim of soliciting and sustaining patronage. This paper therefore 
argues that the motivation that underlies the choice of pidgin as the 
language of adverts often extends beyond reaching out to a wider 
audience to include subtly persuading them to believe that the 
products being advertised emanate from their local culture and ought 
to be inherited (patronized) as part of their culture. These adverts 
often latch on to some cultural beliefs and encyclopedic knowledge 
they share with the audience to advance their discourse goals.

Methodology
A qualitative research design was employed. Data were collected by 
recording ten adverts in Nigerian Pidgin English aired on Nigeria 
Television Authority (NTA), Plateau Radio Television (PRTV), and 
Radio Nigeria using purposive sampling as the method of data 
collection to ensure the germaneness of the data. Four adverts were 
randomly selected from the corpus for analysis: two from the 
television medium and two from the radio. The data were transcribed 
by listening carefully to the tapes repeatedly. The transcribed data 
were labeled Text 1 to 4 to enable easy cross reference in the analysis. 
The paper employed textual analysis using relevant pragmatic tools. 
Frey, Botan and Kreps (1999) define textual analysis as the method of 
communication which researchers use to describe and interpret the 
characteristics of a recorded or visual message with the purpose of 
analysing and describing the content, structure, and functions of the 
messages contained in texts.

Data Analysis/Discussion
Text 1: Dettol Soap
Eh! Make we dey bath with Dettol soap, Dettol soap, Dettol soap. Make we dey bath with Dettol soap, pursue nyama nyama comot. Mama, mama, Dettol soap na #100 now O. Buy Dettol soap – ogbonge protection for #100.
The speech acts performed in Text 1 predominantly belong to the class of directives. The locution is aimed at advising the consumer audience to use a certain product being promoted and adducing strong reasons while the product is being recommended. The only illocution that performs a different act in the text is ‘Mama, mama, Dettol soap na #100 now O’. As a direct speech act, this utterance belongs to the class of assertives in which the speaker is informing the hearer the current price of the product.

However, the communicative meaning of this utterance goes beyond what is explicitly stated. Considered as an indirect speech act, the utterance belongs to the class of expressives as it subtly reveals the attitude of the speaker to the proposition. The attitudes of excitement and surprise are captured in the repetition of Mama and the use of O at the end of the sentence respectively, the latter being enabled by Pidgin English. According to Leech (1983), “Speakers often mean more than they say” (p.9).

Thus, the speaker hinges this indirect speech act on some background knowledge shared with the audience as members of society. A vast majority of Nigerians will pick interest in a product not just because it is of good quality but because it is cheap and affordable. The utterance is therefore covertly emotive and persuasive. It is targeted at inducing a positive perlocutionary effect on the hearer, which is patronage of the product.

To further situate the discourse in the socio-cultural background of the audience and give them inclusive recognition, Text 1 is rendered in Pidgin English. As is characteristic of pidgin, words are borrowed from indigenous languages to drive the discourse goals of the speaker. Examples of the borrowing and coinage in text 1 are nyama nyama, ogbonge, and comot. These are used as noun, adjective and verb respectively. The reduplicated term nyama nyama is a pidgin expression for dirt or disease-causing germs depending on the context. The term is possibly derived from the Igbo verb nyaa, which means to smear or to rub.

Thus, adding a suffix to nyaa and reduplicating it to form nyama nyama seem to intensify the action of smearing and give it a very negative connotation which is presumably best captured in an indigenous word. Ogbonge in Niger Delta parlance means something superior or superb while comot is coined from the English word ‘come’ and ‘out’. So, the communicative meaning of the advert is to persuade consumers to purchase Dettol soap as a holistic, effective
protection against disease causing germs. This illocutionary force can easily be lost if the meanings of the pivotal terms *germs* and *protection* are not placed in the foreground. An effective way of ensuring this is to give the concepts extra anchoring in indigenous language to reduce the processing efforts of the consumer and ensure assimilation of the message. The nativisation of the key words induces an extra-textual appeal of cultural solidarity and fellow feeling. In addition, the stylistic use of the lexeme *pursue* in preference to *fight* in the context gives the advert an additional communicative meaning that portrays the superlative power that Dettol wields over germs as opposed to what *fight* portrays. "Knowing that their listener will flesh out their utterance with inferences gives speakers the freedom to imply something rather than state it" (Saeed, 2003, p.204).

**Text 2: Rambo Paper**

*Rambo paper you too much eh. All the mosquito for my room dey don run eh. Paper Rambo na you be the helele. Chikili money na #20 o. Na you be the helele. Na so you dey make my room dey scent o. Make una make sure close the door, make una make sure close the window, make una make sure off the fan o. Na there mosquito go enter trouble eh. Na so na so mosquito don enter trouble. If una continue to dey use Rambo paper for just small chikili change of #20 and your room go scent wella. Enjoy your sleep. No wein wein for your ear. Go get your own paper Rambo mosquito killer....*

Text 2 advertises Rambo Paper insecticide. To achieve a perlocutionary effect of convincing the audience about the efficacy of this product, the speaker employed more of speech acts in the assertive class.

Many assertions are made in the text each of which contains a truth value. The speaker is stating, boasting, and claiming that Rambo paper is awesome in killing and repelling mosquitoes enabling the user to sleep soundly undisturbed. Also claimed is that it has good fragrance and is extremely cheap. However, the truth value of such generic claims can only be proven by purchasing and using the product on promotion, which the speaker aims at. Having made many convincing claims, the speaker rounds off with a directive speech act ordering or advising the hearer to take action, that is to make an informed choice.
The illocutionary force of this advert could have been rendered more succinctly in standard English. Levinson (1983) makes a pertinent observation: “… whenever I avoid simple expression in favour of some more complex paraphrase, it may be assumed that I do not do so wantonly, but because the details are somehow relevant to the present enterprise” (p.109). The lengthy and repetitive nature of the advert is not accidental, but is a linguistic contrivance aimed at convincing the audience beyond any shadow of doubt. Given that a radio advert lacks the accompaniment of visuals, the only bargaining tool at the disposal of the speaker is language.

Furthermore, recourse to non-English coinages and creative nativisation is made. Helele in NigP means ‘praiseworthy’, ‘the best of its kind’, or ‘of inestimable quality’. The closest English word to this coinage is ‘hail’. Its use portrays the topnotch quality of the product. Chikili, a blend of the Hausa word chingili and the Igbo word kili kili, both of which mean very small or minute, is used to project the affordability of the product. Drawn from two major indigenous languages, its use is more likely to appeal to a wider audience and foster cohesion among members of society. And for those outside these linguistic backgrounds, the surrounding texts small chikili change of #20 and Chikili money na #20 o help in determining the meaning. The foregrounding of chikili is deliberate.

Since background knowledge arms the speaker with the fact that Nigerians are known to like very cheap products probably because of the outrageous rate of poverty in the nation, this encyclopedic knowledge is employed to bait the hearer. Thus, the use of pidgin in this advert is manipulative; it is aimed at the perlocutionary goal of patronage. Also, the use of a pidginized two-syllable word wella in place of the standard English lexeme well is emphatic and emotive. There is also a semantic shift in the meaning of change in the context. Yule (1997) attests to the fact that “users of a language do not inherit a fixed pattern of use. They inherit the ability to manipulate and create with a language in order to express their perceptions” (p.248).

**Text 3: Bigi Drink**

*Wetin be Bigi?*

*Sheh na ordinary drink with six ogbonge flavour?*

*No! Bigi na brand made proudly in Nigeria by Rite Foods Limited wey dey fulfil im role to take build our economy. Bigi na quality wey dem*
produce inside number one world class facility and dem no dey ever compromise on their value. *Bigi na refreshment wey everybody want, wey everybody love. Bigi no be ordinary drink o but na brand wey dem make for all of us.*

Text 3 takes a different pattern: it begins with a question belonging to the impositives, which include illocutions such as asking. The communicative goal of the opening question is to bring to the fore the notion of the advertised product held by consumers in order to change it.

Therefore, the response also given in a question form paves the way for the confirmation that the product is not just like any other similar brand on the market. The negative locution "No" that follows vehemently debunks the preconceived notion of 'ordinariness' and paves the way for assertive speech acts which commit the speaker to the truth of the ensuing four propositions that encode the implicit 'extraordinariness' of the product. The illocutionary goal of the entire text is to subtly condemn the patronage of foreign drinks by Nigerians and to underscore the fact that a locally made drink like Bigi is a good if not a better option. This is done by drawing some subtle but striking contrasts between the advertised product and other drinks with a view to showcasing the edge the former has over the latter.

Prospective consumers are therefore indirectly persuaded to believe that the uniqueness of *Bigi* derives from its being 'proudly made' in Nigeria without its quality being compromised. This interpretation is licensed by background knowledge of the deplorable attitude of many Nigerians to locally made products – an attitude which has become a topical issue and which undermines the serious efforts at revamping the Nigerian economy. According to Saeed, sentence meaning under represents speaker’s meaning and requires that the hearer must enrich meaning to get an interpretation (211).

Given this scenario, a lot of energy is employed to highlight the unappreciated quality and benefits of homemade products using some linguistic strategies. As observed by Mey (2001), 'no' is conveyed with a lot of information to back it up, which makes the sentence structure more complex. Other potential features which Mey associates with 'no' are wordiness, pauses, hesitation, repetitions, prosodic features and even extralinguistic features such as flushing and trembling.
The preceding observations are evident in Text 3. The syntax of the last four sentences shows some wordiness, repetition, prosodic features and parallel structures which are all targeted at foregrounding the message. In the contrastive pair “Sheh na ordinary drink…? …. Bigi no be ordinary drink o, the repetition of ‘ordinary’ emphasizes the special features of the advertised product. The Pidgin lexical item ‘o’ has no semantic meaning attached to it; rather, it is a prosodic feature from indigenous languages often used to intensify or underscore a point. Thus, ‘Bigi no be ordinary drink o presumably sounds more persuasive and emotive than Bigi no be ordinary drink. Furthermore, sentences two to end of the six-sentence text show some striking parallelism and repetition:

Bigi na brand ... wey dey fulfil ...
Bigi na quality wey dem produce
Bigi na refreshment wey everybody want, wey everybody love.
Bigi ... na brand wey dem

The repetition employed in the Pidginized syntactic and lexical choices is deliberate, evoking a rhetorical effect. This use of elaborate repetitive patterns has the illocutionary force of foregrounding the message in the mind of the hearer to underscore the potential benefits derivable from patronizing the advertised product. This meshes well with Leech’s (1980) claim that repetition is a fundamental device of intensification which underlines a message and lends it force. It may also suggest a suppressed intensity of feeling for which there is no outlet except for a repeated hammering at the confining walls of language (pp. 78-79). Furthermore, these lexical and syntactic choices have some stylistic and pragmatic implications. The repetition creates the rhetorical effect of placing the message in the foreground of the hearer’s mind.

The repetition of Bigi consecutively instead of using the conventional pronoun substitute ‘it’ is targeted at foregrounding an associative meaning of the term. Bigi, the name of the product, is derived from the English word big, a monosyllabic word. However, it is noteworthy that this word is given an extra syllable. What then is the significance of the extra energy dissipated in creating the new and longer lexical item where a shorter one could have served? It could be said that the speaker’s communicative intention here is more pragmatic than semantic. The two-syllable Bigi is additionally
suggestive of the extra content of the product being emphasized. This interpretation leverages on the background knowledge that Nigerians like 'big' but cheap things. Widdowson (2004) underscores this line of thought: "Meaning is a function of the interaction of code and context so that the significance of what people say transcends the signification of the words they use to say it" (p.45).

**Text 4: Mr Chef Seasoning Cubes**

*Join me get Mr Chef seasoning cubes. 10 jara cubes dey inside 100 cube packet and 5 jara cube dey inside 50 cube packet. Go buy your own before the jara them finish. Mr Chef, the jollyment you no go forget.*

Text 4 employs the directives in requesting and advising the hearer to join the speaker in using Mr Chef seasoning cubes. The fundamental bases for the recommendation of this product are the inclusion of *jara* cubes (free, extra cubes) in the packs and the enjoyable (*jollyment*) culinary experience that results. A foreigner may not really appreciate the magic wand-status conferred on the indigenous lexical item *jara* (a corruption of the Hausa word *gyara*) to lure the buyer into expediting purchasing action before the expiration of the *jara* period. "More than just a common language is required to enable the hearer to identify the speaker's communicative intentions on the basis of the speaker's utterances. A shared system of beliefs and inferences must be operating, which function in effect as communicative strategies" (Akmajian, Dermers, Farmer, & Harnish, 2010, p.369-370).

It is customary for Nigerians to ask for *jara* after purchasing food items from a trader. This request is usually obliged in varying degrees to retain customers. *Jara* is repeated three times in the precise text to foreground the speaker's communicative meaning. The preference of an indigenous term to an English word portrays that the speaker wants to draw a close connection between the text and the background knowledge of the audience to reflect cultural peculiarities and idiosyncrasies, given that world knowledge and beliefs are inseparable from language users' interpretative faculties.

**Conclusion**

The study concludes that the use of NigP in adverts reflects Nigeria's cultural idiosyncrasies and peculiarities, which is indicative of the inextricable nexus between language and culture. The communicative
strategies employed are use of directive and assertive speech acts, recourse to background knowledge, and creative nativization in form of corruption of English syntax, use of culture sensitive vocabulary, semantic shift, pidgin derivations, among others.

The analyses show that the penchant for pidgin in broadcast media advertisements has pragmatic motivation. The use of NigP attracts a larger, inclusive audience giving the uneducated a sense of belonging in the discourse. The creative manipulation of English words to form new ones, the incorporation of culture sensitive vocabulary, the syntactic manipulations and other forms of nativisation of English draw attention to the discourse and create aesthetic effects on the text recipients. Such use of language induces fun and makes the message to linger more on the minds of the hearers, which can propel them to patronize the goods and services advertised. Furthermore, nativisation of key concepts in the adverts invokes some cultural beliefs and background knowledge shared by the advertiser and the audience as members of Nigerian society into the discourse. These findings underscore the utility of Nigerian Pidgin as binding designs on Nigeria's multilingual garb. This notion is affirmed by Romaine (1988): "Pidgin is instrumental in providing cohesion in heterogeneous groups" (p.138).

References


Linguistic and Extra-linguistic Correlates of English Palato-Alveolar Fricatives in Educated Nigerian English

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Abstract
This study examined the linguistic and extra-linguistic correlates of palato-alveolar fricatives in Educated Nigerian English (ENE) with a view to determining the influence of orthography, gender and phonetic training on the realisations of the English palato-alveolar fricatives /ʃ/ and /ʒ/. The data for the study were generated from the reading performance of one hundred Nigerian university undergraduates (46 males and 54 females) conveniently sampled from two universities in Osun State. They were stratified into professional and non-professional groups based on their exposure to training in phonetics. Findings revealed that graphological representations had huge impacts on how speakers perceived and subsequently pronounced /ʃ/ and /ʒ/, as some graphemes aided the realisations of both variables while some constrained them. Results further showed that speakers’ gender had no significant influence on the realisations of both the /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ variables; whereas, a significant relationship was established between phonetic training and the variable /ʒ/, as the professional group performed significantly better than the non-professional group. The study, thus, underscores the importance of exposure to phonetic training in overcoming the graphophonemic challenges of non-native speakers of English.

Keywords: Palato-alveolar fricatives, educated Nigerian English, phonetic training, gender, orthography
Introduction

Nigeria is a multilingual nation with more than 500 different local languages (Simons & Fennig, 2017), out of which Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba are regarded as major languages. Over and above this myriad of indigenous languages is English, a colonial legacy, which now occupies a prime place in the country's national and international affairs. It functions as a language of inter-ethnic communication and the official language in education, governmental administration, law courts, business and commerce, and the media amongst others (Adetugbo, 2004; Awonusi, 2004). In view of its co-habitation with native languages and cultures, it has been subjected to marked interference and severe changes (Akindele and Adegbite, 1999), resulting in a local variety of world Englishes known as Nigerian English (henceforth NigE), which is different at all linguistic levels (syntax, phonology, lexical, discourse and pragmatics) from Standard British English, her model variety.

However, the systematic difference is much more pronounced at the level of phonology where the Nigerian English accent is often coloured and spiced with interference phenomena at segmental, suprasegmental and sub-segmental domains. Studies have highlighted some of the features involved in the phonological domestication process as a reduced vowel system, a reduced intonation system, vowel insertion, the substitution of alveolar for inter-dental fricatives, and so on (Awonusi, 1986; Akande, 2004; Udofot 2004). Added to these are the features of non-rhoticity, spelling-induced pronunciation and absence of velar nasal (Jibril 1982, Jowitt, 1991; Gut, 2004, Akinjobi, 2013).

Existing studies on the status of palato-alveolar fricatives in the Nigerian English accent have established the presence of voiceless palato-aveolar fricative /ʃ/ in the Nigerian English consonantal inventory, except in few instances of accent-specific phonological interference in some northern accents (Simo Bobda, 2007) and among some Yoruba speakers of English from the Ibadan and Ogbomoso axis of Oyo State who do substitute /ʃ/ for the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/, such as cushion, show and sure pronounced as /kʊsɪŋ/, /səʊ/ and /suə/ (Awonusi, 2004; Igboanusi, 2006).
On the other hand, the voiced palato-alveolar fricative /ʒ/ is said to be absent in the Nigerian English accent except in the repertoire of sophisticated speakers of English in Nigeria (Jibril, 1986). However, while previous studies have established the occurrence or otherwise of these sounds in the Nigerian English phonemic inventory, attention is yet to be paid to linguistic and extra-linguistic influences on them. This, no doubt, limits our insight into the behaviour of palato-alveolar fricatives in the Nigerian English accent. It is against this backdrop that the present study investigates the linguistic and extra-linguistic correlates of palato-alveolar fricatives in the speech of educated Nigerian English speakers. The goals of the study are to determine the effects of orthography, gender and phonetic training on the realisations of the English palato-alveolar fricatives /ʃ/ and /ʒ/. The research will attempt to answer the following questions:

1. What is the general occurrence rate of the English palato-alveolar fricatives /ʃ, ʒ/ amongst educated Nigerian English speakers?
2. Do graphological representations affect speakers' recognition and realisations of palato-alveolar fricatives /ʃ, ʒ/?
3. Do gender and phonetic training have any significant influence on the realisation of the English voiceless palato-alveolar fricatives /ʃ/ when represented with different graphemes?
4. Do speakers' gender and exposure to phonetic training influence their recognition and pronunciation of the English voiced palato-alveolar fricatives /ʒ/ when represented with different graphemes?

The Palato-Alveolar Fricatives in English

Fricatives are continuant consonants characterised by escape of air through a narrow passage and hissing sound (Roach, 2000). The English palato-alveolar fricatives, also post-alveolar fricative (Roach, 2000), are of two types - voiceless /ʃ/ and voiced /ʒ/ - with different occurrence rates and distribution patterns. Generally, both sounds are said to be rare in many languages. It has been reported that in spite of the similarity in the babbling of children from different linguistic backgrounds, the palato-alveolar fricatives /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ are among the sounds they rarely exhibit in their utterances (O'Grady & Cho, 2001).
However, /ʃ/ is found to be more common and broadly distributed than /ʒ/. The voiceless palato-alveolar /ʃ/ is commonly found in initial, medial and final positions of English words, whereas /ʒ/ is rarer and mainly occurs medially and less at the beginning and end of words (Cruttenden, 2014; Roach, 2000). The /ʒ/ variable is claimed to be one of the imperfect sounds in child language. Winitz (1969), in this regard, reports that its occurrence is less than 1% at the age of 17 and 18 months old. Studies have further revealed that the sound is not fully mastered even after age 6 (McLeod et al, 2003) and that children do not get to pick it up until they reach the age of 7 (Templin, 1957).

In his comparative study of the acquisition of the palato-alveolar Fricative /ʒ/ in L2 English and Jamaican Creole, Mousa (2015) reveals that his subjects did not have mastery of the sound as they naturally substituted it with the voiced palato-alveolar affricate /dʒ/ which is the closest alternative.

According to Cruttenden (2014), there was initially no distinction between sounds /ʒ/ and /ʃ/ in English, until in the seventeenth century when /ʒ/ got imported into English through a coalescence of /z+/j/ or /i/ in such words as occasion, measure, treasure and usual. Before then, it was largely regarded as a foreign sound derived from French /dʒ/ in words such as prestige, rouge, beige and bijou. Generally, /ʒ/ rarely occurs at the beginnings of English words (only in a few foreign words, e.g., Zsa Zsa and recent French loans, e.g., gigolo, gigue, jabot, genre); it alternates with /ʃ/ medially (e.g. Asia, version) and can be replaced with the anglicised form /dʒ/ in word final position of French loanwords (e.g. garage, rouge).

Both sounds are usually represented with various forms of orthography at different word positions (see Table 1) due, mainly, to their diachronic derivations and widespread borrowings from many other languages. Diachronically, for example, sound /ʃ/ evolved from a variety of sources which include Old English [s]+[k] or [c] (e.g., ship, shadow), Old French palatalised [s] (e.g., cushion, finish), a coalescence of /s+/j/ or /i/ in the seventeen century (e.g., sure, sugar, ambition, special), and from French /ʃ/ after the transmutation of earlier /tf/ to /ʃ/ (e.g., charlatan, chic, machine, mustache) (Cruttenden, 2014).

Added to the diachronic evolution of /ʒ/ and /ʃ/ is the fact that a great number of loanwords were imported into English with different graphemes and varied pronunciations from many other languages, such as Latin, Italian, Greek, German, Dutch, Spanish, etc.
For instance, the *ch* diagraph which is pronounced /ʧ/ in Old English words (e.g., *church, coach*) is rendered as /k/ in words of Greek origin (e.g., *character, chasm*) and as /ʃ/ in French loans (e.g., *chalet, chic*), while *sch* is uttered as /ʃ/ in German and Dutch loanwords (e.g., *schwa, schnapps, schedule*) (Simo-Bobda and Mbangwana, 1993).

A combination of these factors underscores the unpredictability of the pronunciation of /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ sounds (as exemplified in Table 1) and the attendant difficulty encountered by L2 learners of English in their bid to master how to pronounce the sounds in their different spelling forms. This study, therefore, attempts to investigate the selected subjects' mastery of the pronunciation of these sounds in different words, given their years of exposure to the learning of English, coupled with the fact that a number of them have received substantial training in phonetics and phonology of English.

Table 1: The graphological representation and distribution of the palato-alveolar /ʃ/ and /ʒ/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Word position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Initial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʃ/</td>
<td>Sh</td>
<td>ship, shame,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>shadw, shell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s. ss + u</td>
<td>sure,</td>
<td>censure,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti, si, sci, ci, ce</td>
<td>sugar</td>
<td>assure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sc, sch, sj</td>
<td>schedu</td>
<td>crescendo,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>le, sjamo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʃ/</td>
<td>ch, chs</td>
<td>chef, challe, charade, chic champagne, brochure, sachet, machine; fuchsia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʒ/</td>
<td>g, ge, gi, j,</td>
<td>genre, gigolique, jabot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s, z + u</td>
<td>measure, unusual, treasure, visual, casual, closure, leisure, pleasure, seizure, azure, barricage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si, ss</td>
<td>occasion, vision, allusion, decision, conclusion, confusion, scission</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Adapted from: Cruttenden (2014:204))
Methodology

The Subjects

The data for the present study were sourced from 100 Nigerian university undergraduates (46 males and 54 females) of two universities in Osun State, South-West Nigeria - Ladoke Akintola University College of Health Sciences, Osogbo and Redeemer's University, Ede. They represent a set of speakers that scholars agree should serve as model for Standard Nigerian English, being educated speakers (Banjo, 1996; Udofot, 2003). The subjects, who are students of English, Mass Communication, Medical Laboratory Science, Medicine and Nursing Departments in the institutions, are believed to have achieved minimum mastery of English that is socially acceptable and international intelligible (Banjo, 1996).

Besides, a number of them have had substantial exposure to phonetic training for 2-3 years, having taken at least three courses in phonetics and phonology. The subjects were, therefore, stratified into professional and non-professional groups based on their exposure to training in phonetics. The professional group comprised 52 students (200-400 levels of the English and Mass Communication Departments, Redeemer's University), representing 52% of the total sample of 100 subjects, while the non-professional group comprised 48 students of the Departments of Medical Laboratory Sciences, Medicine and Nursing, Ladoke Akintola University, representing 48% of the total sample (see Table 2). The disparity in the sample sizes within the levels of the independent variables was due largely to the fact that Redeemers' University, where members of the professional group were selected from, is female dominated; whereas, male students outnumber their female counterparts in Ladoke Akintola University.

Table 2: Distribution of subjects by gender and exposure to phonetic training

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Professional</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Research Instruments and Elicitation Procedure
The research instruments consisted of a structured questionnaire and a reading passage. One hundred copies of the questionnaire were administered to the subjects in order to ascertain their social and linguistic backgrounds while they were asked to produce into a digital recording device the reading passage which contained the test items for the study. Before being recorded, they were given ample time to read through the test passage as many times as they wanted until they were convinced that they could read same fluently.

Test Items
The test items embedded in the reading test comprised 24 different words: *ship, cushion, slash, sugar, ensure, assure, pressure, patient, nation, aspersion, pension, conscious, luscious, appreciate, acacia, ocean, schedule; schmoozed, crescendo, sjambok, fuchsia, chalet, sachet* and *crèche* which were expected to be produced as voiceless palato-alveolar fricative /ʃ/, and 14 words: *genre, bourgeois, prestige, gigolo, gigue, jabot, bijou, occasion, decision, casual, measure, visual, seizure* and *azure* constructed to be realised as voiced palato-alveolar fricative /ʒ/. The passage was purposively designed to investigate the subjects' ability to successfully recognise and articulate the English palato-alveolar fricatives when they occur in various orthographic forms amongst other words.

Data Analysis
The recordings were played back and the variants of the subjects' renditions of palato-alveolar fricatives /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ in the embedded test items were identified and analysed statistically, using

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Phonetic Training</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Professional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Professional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-Professional</th>
<th>Professional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
percentages and Factorial Analysis of Variance (ANOVA). Each variant as produced by the subjects was allotted one (1) mark and the total score for each was converted to percentages. In order to test for the level of significance between the categories of extra-linguistic factors, the subjects' overall score for the appropriate rendition of each sound was subjected to Factorial Analysis of Variance (ANOVA).

Data Analyses and Discussion of Findings
This section is divided into three major sub-sections which show various analyses of the renditions of the English palato-alveolar fricatives /ʃ, ʒ/ examined in this study. A total sum of 3800 tokens, comprising 38 different words produced by 100 subjects, was analysed (38 x 100 = 3800). Out of the 38 test items, 24 were expected to be rendered as /ʃ/ while the remaining 14 were to be realized as /ʒ/ as in the native English accent. In other words, the data consisted of 2400 tokens of /ʃ/ and 1400 tokens of /ʒ/.

General Occurrence Rates of the English Palato-Alveolar Fricatives /ʃ, ʒ/ in ENE

Table 3: Realisations of the English palato-alveolar fricatives /ʃ, ʒ/ in ENE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Variant</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ʃ/</td>
<td>/ʃ/</td>
<td>1,817</td>
<td>75.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>7.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ʒ/</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>6.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ʒ/</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>4.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ʤ/</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>2.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ʧ/</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/z/</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*/sk/</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>2.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*/sk/</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*/kʃ/</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,400</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʒ/</td>
<td>/ʒ/</td>
<td>532</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ʤ/</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>22.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ʃ/</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Table 3 reveals the subjects’ general performance in their renditions of the English palato-alveolar fricatives /ʃ/ and /ʒ/. The speakers were able to recognise and appropriately produce the voiceless alveolar /ʃ/ in 1,817 of 2,400 cases, which translate to 75.71% appropriate articulation. This suggests that they had appreciable mastery of the pronunciation of the /ʃ/ variable, especially when represented with graphemes <sh>, <su>, <ti>, <si>, <ci> and <ce> (see Table 4) in words they are already familiar with. However, in the instances of other spelling forms, the sound was variously substituted with /s/ (174 tokens, that is, 7.25%), /θ/ (157 tokens, that is, 6.54%), /ʒ/ (104 tokens, that is, 4.33%), /ʤ/ (68 tokens, that is, 2.83%), /k/ (5 tokens, that is, 0.21%), /z/ (4 tokens, that is, 0.17%) and some deviant sounds, such as */sk/ (68 tokens, that is, 2.83%), */sdʒ/ (2 tokens, that is, 0.08%) and */kʃ/ (1 token, that is, 0.04%) depending on the graphemes. For instance, the grapheme <ch> in *chalet, creche and sachet was predominantly rendered as /θ/, the <sch> in schmooze was, most part, pronounced as */sk/ or /s/, the <sj> spelling in sjambok was considerably realised as /ʤ/ while the <ssu> grapheme in pressure was articulated as /ʒ/ due to over generalisation of the <su> grapheme which is usually realised as /ʒ/ in native English (e.g. pleasure /pleʒə/).

A look at Table 3 also shows that only 532 of 1400 (38%) tokens of the voiced palato-alveolar /ʒ/ were appropriately realised by the subjects. This occurred in measure and visual which contain grapheme <su> and in seizure with the <zu> grapheme (see Table 4) whose pronunciations the subjects are fairly accustomed to. In many other cases, different pronunciation variants were used as substitutes for /ʒ/ as guided by the spellings. There were 318 (22.71%) tokens of /ʤ/, 252 (18%) cases of /ʃ/, 234 (16.71%) of /g/, 60 (4.29%) instances of /z/ and 3 (0.21%) occurrences of /s/. Specifically, the graphemes <j>, <gi> and <ge> in jabot, bijou, gigolo, gigue, genre, prestige and bourgeois were predominantly rendered as /g/ or /ʤ/.
<su> and <si> in casual, decision and occasion as /ʃ/ while <zu> in azure was uttered as /z/. Over all, the results show a higher rate of /ʃ/ than /ʒ/, which suggests that the subjects found it easier to recognise and produce the voiceless palato-alveolar fricatives /ʃ/ than the voiced palato-alveolar /ʒ/ when represented by different graphemes. This corroborates the earlier position of scholars that the voiceless palato-alveolar /ʃ/ is more common than its voiced counterparts (Roach, 2009), and that /ʒ/ is an atypical phoneme in NigE (Jibril, 1986; Jowitt, 1991). Besides, the subjects' realisations of the sounds were generally guided by graphological representation of the words, and close substitutes of their native sounds. Both situations have been reported to be common features of the L2 pronunciation (e.g. Cruz-Ferreira, 1987; Akinjobi, 2013; Akande and Fajobi, 2018).

In order to clearly show the difference in the subjects' mastery of both sounds, the overall results of subjects' articulation of the palato-alveolar fricatives /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ are plotted on the pie chart in Fig. 1 below:

![Pie chart showing the overall realisation of /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ by ENE](image)

**Figure 1:** Overall realisation of /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ by ENE
Influence of Graphology on the Realisations of the /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ Variables

This section examines the linguistic influence of graphological representations on the realisations of the /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ variables. As earlier reported, various graphemes are often used to represent variables /ʃ/ and /ʒ/; this often makes it difficult for L2 speakers of English to easily recognise which sound should be pronounced per time. In view of this, the present study investigates the extent to which graphological representations influenced the subjects’ identification and realisation of the palato-alveolar fricatives /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ in different word items. Specifically, an attempt is made to identify the spelling forms that aided or constrained the speakers’ realisations of both sounds.

Table 4: Effects of orthography on the realisation of the /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>/ʃ/</th>
<th>/ʒ/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Orthography</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Occurrences</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of appropriate rendition</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of appropriate rendition</td>
<td>55.6</td>
<td>99.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orthography</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Occurrences</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of appropriate rendition</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of appropriate rendition</td>
<td>85.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 continued:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>/ʃ/</th>
<th>/ʒ/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Orthography</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Occurrences</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of appropriate rendition</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of appropriate rendition</td>
<td>63.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Results in Table 4 show that graphological representations exerted huge impacts on how the subjects perceived and subsequently pronounced /ʃ/ and /ʒ/. The /ʃ/ variable was recognised and appropriately pronounced when represented, at different word positions, with graphemes <ti> (100%), e.g. *patient, nation*; <sh> (88.7%), e.g. *ship, cushion, slash*; <si> (99.5%), e.g. *aspersion, pension*; <su> (99%), e.g. *sugar, ensure*; <ce> (99%), e.g. *ocean*; <sci> (98.5%), e.g. *conscious, luscious*; <chs> (93%), e.g. *fuchsia*; and <ci> (88%), e.g., *appreciate, acacia*. This suggests that the above-listed spelling forms aided the realisation of /ʃ/.

On the other hand, the participants recorded an average performance when the /ʃ/ variable was spelt as <ssu> (50%), e.g. *assure, pressure*; and below average performance in graphemes <ch> (47.66%), e.g. *chalet, sachet, crèche*; and <sch> (38.5%), e.g. *schedule, schmoozed*. The spelling forms that placed the greatest constraint on the subjects’ pronunciation of /ʃ/ are <sj> (17%), e.g. *sjambok*, which they overwhelmingly pronounced as /ʤ/; and <sce> (9%), e.g. *crescendo*, rendered as /s/. This is understandable considering the fact that they are uncommon words and the subjects had to rely on spellings to pronounce them.

The analysis of the subjects’ rendition of the /ʒ/ variable in Table 4 reveals their general lack of mastery of the sound when represented by different graphemes. It was only in graphemes <zu>, e.g. *seizure, azure* and <su>, e.g. *measure, visual* that they were able to score 63.5% and 77% respectively. Their performance was far below average when the /ʒ/ variable was represented with the graphemes <ge> (35%), e.g. *genre, bourgeois* and *prestige*. They had the greatest difficulty with graphemes <j> e.g. *jabot, bijou*; <si> e.g. *occasion, decision*, and <gi> e.g. *gigolo, gigue* where they scored 17.5%, 12.5% and 4% respectively.

Over all, this section has established the significant impact of graphological representations on the realisation of the /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ variables.

**Influence of Gender and Phonetic Training on the Realisations of the /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ Variable**

This section evaluates the effects of extra-linguistic factors, such as gender and exposure to phonetic training on the realisations of the English palato-alveolar fricatives /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ when different spelling forms are used. In order to achieve this, a factorial ANOVA was
conducted separately on the subjects’ realisation of the two sounds. The two independent variables had two levels each (gender: male and female and phonetic training: professional and non-professional). The subjects’ mean score in variant /ʃ/ was the dependent variable for the voiceless palato-alveolar fricative while the mean score in the /ʒ/ variant served as the dependent variable for the voiced palato-alveolar fricative. The subjects composed of 46 males and 54 females, and 52 professionals and 48 non-professionals. A factorial ANOVA was found to be the most suitable analytical tool since the focus of the study was to simultaneously examine the two independent variables (gender and professional training) and one dependent variable (the /ʃ/ or the /ʒ/ variant) per time. In the following subsections, we analyse the effects of both extra-linguistic factors on each of the variables.

**Influence of gender and phonetic training on the realisation of the /ʃ/ variable**

The following null hypotheses were tested in order to evaluate the influence of gender and phonetic training on the realisation of the /ʃ/ variable:

(a) there is no statistically significant difference on the mean of the subjects’ score in the /ʃ/ variant based on gender,
(b) there is no statistically significant difference on the mean of the subjects’ score in the /ʃ/ variant based on phonetic training

**Table 5: Descriptive statistics for the /ʃ/ variable by gender and phonetic training (N = 100)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonetic Training</th>
<th>Professionals (n = 52)</th>
<th>Non-professionals (n = 48)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>18.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column means</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>18.44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5 shows the subjects' mean and standard deviation scores in the appropriate rendition of the /ʃ/ variable in the test items. The results suggest that female speakers on average performed better in the realisation of the voiceless palato-alveolar fricative /ʃ/ ($M = 18.26, SD = 1.83, n = 54$) than males ($M = 18.07, SD = 1.10, n = 46$), while performance based on exposure to phonetic training reveals that professionals on the average had higher scores ($M = 18.44, SD = 1.78, n = 52$) than non-professionals ($M = 17.88, SD = 1.18, n = 48$). However, as Table 6 reveals, the $p$ values of gender ($p = .476$) and that of phonetic training ($p = .080$) were above the significance level of 0.05. Therefore, we accepted the two null hypotheses that there is no statistically significant difference on the mean of the subjects’ score in the pronunciation of the /ʃ/ variant based on gender and phonetic training. This indicates that neither speakers’ gender nor phonetic training had any significant influence on the realisation of the English voiceless palato-alveolar fricatives /ʃ/ when represented with different graphemes.

**Table 6:** The ANOVA table for the /ʃ/ variable by gender and phonetic training

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tests of Between-Subjects Effects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dependent Variable: Voiceless Palato-Alveolar Fricative /ʃ/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Type III Sum of Squares</th>
<th>Df</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
<th>Partial Eta Squared</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Corrected Model</td>
<td>15.222</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.074</td>
<td>2.225</td>
<td>.090</td>
<td>.065</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>17077.072</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17077.072</td>
<td>7489.67</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>1.170</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.170</td>
<td>.513</td>
<td>.476</td>
<td>.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic_Training</td>
<td>7.153</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.153</td>
<td>3.137</td>
<td>.080</td>
<td>.032</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender * Phonetic_Training</td>
<td>5.481</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.481</td>
<td>2.404</td>
<td>.124</td>
<td>.024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Error</td>
<td>218.888</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>2.280</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>33249.000</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corrected Total</td>
<td>234.110</td>
<td>99</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. R Squared = .065 (Adjusted R Squared = .036)
**Influence of gender and phonetic training on the realisation of the /ʒ/ variable**

In order to evaluate the influence of gender and phonetic training on the realisation of the /ʒ/ variable, the following null hypotheses were also tested:

(a) there is no statistically significant difference on the mean of the subjects’ score in the /ʒ/variant based on gender,

(b) there is no statistically significant difference on the mean of the subjects’ score in the /ʒ/variant based on phonetic training.

The mean and the standard deviation scores of the subjects in the pronunciation of the /ʒ/ variant according to the extra-linguistic factors are displayed in Table 7 below.

**Table 7: Descriptive statistics for the /ʒ/ variable by gender and phonetic training (N = 100)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonetic Training</th>
<th>Professionals (n = 52)</th>
<th>Non-professionals (n = 48)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>6.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6.57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The subjects’ mean scores in the appropriate realisation of the /ʒ/ variable presented in Table 7 reveal, on average, a higher score for females (M = 6.04, SD = 2.10, n = 54) than males (M = 4.48, SD = 2.07, n = 46). In terms of exposure to phonetic training, professionals on the average performed considerably better (M = 6.35, SD = 1.99, n = 52) than non-professionals (M = 4.21, SD = 1.91, n = 48). As shown in Table 7, the ANOVA results indicate that the p value of gender (p = .779) and that of the interaction of gender and phonetic training (p = .447) were above the significance level of 0.05, while the p value of phonetic training (p = .000) was lower.

Therefore, the null hypotheses (a) was accepted, while the null hypothesis (b) was rejected. This implies that there was, indeed, a statistically significant difference on the mean of the subjects' score
in the /ʒ/ variant based on phonetic training. In other words, subjects' exposure to phonetic training significantly influenced their recognition and pronunciation of the English voiced palato-alveolar fricatives /ʒ/ when represented with different graphemes.

Table 8: The ANOVA table for the /ʒ/ variable by gender and phonetic training

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects
Dependent Variable: Voiced Palato-Alveolar Fricative /ʒ/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Type III Sum of Squares</th>
<th>Df</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
<th>Partial Eta Squared</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Corrected Model</td>
<td>116.812</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>38.937</td>
<td>10.077</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>1553.182</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1553.182</td>
<td>401.957</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>.306</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.306</td>
<td>.079</td>
<td>.779</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic_Training</td>
<td>56.055</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>56.055</td>
<td>14.507</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender * Phonetic_Training</td>
<td>2.252</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.252</td>
<td>583</td>
<td>.447</td>
<td>.006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Error</td>
<td>370.948</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>3.864</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3318.000</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corrected Total</td>
<td>487.760</td>
<td>99</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. R Squared = .239 (Adjusted R Squared = .216)

Conclusion
The present study was undertaken to determine the effects of orthography, gender and phonetic training on the realisations of the English palato-alveolar fricatives /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ in Educated Nigerian English. The results of the occurrence rate of both sounds are generally consistent with previous research which established a higher incidence of the voiceless palato-alveolar /ʃ/ over the voiced palato-alveolar /ʒ/ (Roach, 2000; Cruttenden, 2014), and a rarity of /ʒ/ in NigE phonology (Jibril, 1986; Jowitt, 1991).

The findings of the linguistic influence on the sounds showed that graphological representations had huge impacts on how the subjects perceived and subsequently pronounced /ʃ/ and /ʒ/. Some graphemes aided the realisations of both variables; hence,
participants in the study were able to identify and appropriately pronounce such sounds. On the other hand, certain spelling forms constrained the subjects’ realisations of the variables; therefore, resulting in spelling-induced pronunciations. This, again, confirms previous claim that L2 speakers tend to use close substitutes of their native sounds to replace sounds in the target language which are not available in the phonemic inventory of their native language (Cruz-Ferreira, 1987; Akande and Fajobi, 2018). Hence, for example, the substitution of the /ʒ/ variable with /ðʒ/, /ʃ/ and /ɡ/.

The results of the extra-linguistic factors further revealed that speakers’ gender had no significant influence on the realisations of both /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ variables; whereas, a significant relationship was established between phonetic training and the /ʒ/ variable, as those who were exposed to phonetic training (professional group) performed significantly better than others who were not (non-professional group). This underscores the importance of adequate exposure to pronunciation teaching and drills in mastering the sounds of English. This presupposes that if the teaching of pronunciation is given adequate attention in Nigerian schools and learners are provided with adequate exposure through non-enculturation sources, such as the electronic media, internet sites and links for English drills and exercises, social networking sites and audio aided books and dictionaries amongst others as Akinjobi (2013) suggests, chances are that they would overcome the challenges posed by problematic English sounds, such as /ʒ/, /θ/, /ʃ/ and many English vowels.

The study, thus, affirms that adequate exposure to phonetic training is germane to overcoming the graphophonemic challenges of non-native speakers of English. In essence, the difficulties experienced by non-native speakers in coping with the vagaries of English spelling can be surmounted if appropriate exposure to and training in the pronunciation of English is provided. After all, as Collins and Mees (2013, p. 110) opine, 'English spelling is really far less chaotic than might at first be thought. In fact, the vast majority of words are pronounced according to definable rules'.

References


War Metaphors in the Spoken Commentaries of the
2017/18 Edition of the English Premier League

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Abstract
This paper analyses the use of war metaphor in the reports of soccer matches on radio and television. The data were collected from live radio and television soccer reports and analyses of the matches within the first two months of the 2017/2018 Season of the English Premier League (EPL). The analyses identify the kind of war metaphors that are typically used in these live reports and how certain metaphors interact with each other within the discourse and argues that the players, their emotions, their character traits, actions on the pitch, the spectators’ behaviour and the description of results translate into a war scenario as a result of the use of metaphor.

Keywords: Language, War Metaphor, Soccer Commentaries, News Reports and Analyses, English Premier League (EPL)

Introduction
Football is a very popular and globalised sport in terms of the number of fans (Milanovic, 2006). The growth of the football industry and the wide spread of the English Premier League to every part of the world is overwhelming, as individuals interested in the game go to the extent of forming alliances with different EPL club sides from different parts of the world. This development is significantly enhanced by the relationship between soccer and the media, which allows the fans to access football matches played in distant lands easily. Today, soccer in Nigeria has further been strengthened by the greater awareness of the English football league among Nigerians.
There is an undeniable theme of war in soccer due to its competitive nature where there is normally a clear winner and loser, strategic thinking, team work, preparedness, spectator behaviour, glory of winning and shame of defeat. Both sports and war have a long history. As observed by some scholars, one of the most distinctive features of soccer language (and of sports language in general) is the prevalence of war metaphor (cf. Beard 1998; Charteris-Black 2004; Kövecses 2005). A major reason why sports, especially soccer, are often conceptualised as war is that the participants of both activities should have physical fitness and courage, which are also essentially needed in war situations. In fact, football is a physical contest and this makes it almost inevitable for professional commentators to make allusions to war and use metaphors of battle when commenting on, reporting or analysing sports events.

Professional sports reporters who work in conjunction with analysts give information on matches on radio and television. The analysts are primarily former players, similar in background and function to the retired generals and colonels who tell the audience how about the matches. To make a match interesting and exciting, very vivid language full of metaphors is used. The present study is motivated by the desire to establish more information about the war metaphors used specifically in the live broadcast analyses of the 2017/2018 edition of EPL.

A study of this nature is significant, considering the fact that in spite of the popularity of football, studies in sports discourse in Nigeria have centred mainly on style in sports commentaries, match reports and match analysis of Nigerian Football League, while studies of the EPL, especially the use of metaphors in them are almost non-existent.

**Theoretical Framework**

**Cognitive Metaphor Theory**

The cognitive metaphor approach, which essentially regards metaphor as a conceptual and linguistic phenomenon, derives from Lakoff and Johnson's famous publication, *Metaphors we live by*. The scholars argue that most of our ordinary conceptual system are metaphorical in nature. Thus, metaphors are integral and not peripheral to language and understanding. Metaphoric processes are
defined as “understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another” (p.50). What we think, what we experience everyday and what we do is much a matter of metaphor. Communication is based on the same conceptual system we use in thinking and acting and language provides the evidence for what that kind of system is. Conceptual metaphor has two domains: source domain and target domain. Source domain refers to the conceptual domain used to help understand another conceptual domain. Target domain refers to the conceptual domain which we try to understand through source domain (Kövecses, 2002). Usually speaking, an abstract concept is used as target, while a more concrete concept is employed as its source. In other words, abstracts like life, argument, love, sports (soccer), etc are talked about when concrete terms like war, building, food, plant, etc are used.

Following Lakoff and Johnson’s main conceptual metaphor, ARGUMENT IS WAR, it is necessary that further clarifications are made within the context of soccer, hence SOCCER IS WAR is herein used as the target conceptual metaphor. Here, war is the source domain while soccer is the target domain. Using the expressions from war terms like strikers, massacre, battle, hitman, shoot, deadlock, etc., to talk about soccer is no accident, because some part of conceptual network of battle characterise the concept of soccer. There are three basic types of conceptual metaphors which are structural, orientational and ontological metaphors. Another way to classify metaphors is based on its conventionality. Conventional metaphors are deeply entrenched which are used by ordinary people for everyday purposes.

**Structural Metaphors**

Structural metaphors, are by far, the most common type where there is a comparison of concepts, thereby requiring the hearer to transfer one basic domain of experience to another basic domain. In the context of the current research, we shall think in terms of war domain vis-a-vis soccer domain. The classic example given is that of argument as war metaphor which entails reframing the argument discourse in terms of physical conflict or war. Structural metaphor brings to the
fore the notion that metaphors are not merely linguistic, but relate our experiences of different concepts, making all metaphors a result of how we view the world. Fundamentally, selection of metaphors we live by, consciously or unconsciously entails choice and creation of reality. Other often quoted metaphorical examples are *Life is a journey*, and *Time is money*, where sense is made out of what goes on around us by thinking metaphorically.

**Orientational Metaphors**

The orientational metaphors are based on orientation in space. There is no structuring of concepts in terms of another here. Instead, there is organisation of the whole system of concepts with respect to one another, for instance, health is up whereas illness is down. There is, of course, no logical reason why ‘up’ is positive and ‘down’ negative. The metaphors are culture dependent. They show a spatial relationship between the human subject and something in the world. In the world of soccer, there are a variety of orientational metaphors which mainly serve to rate and judge a particular performance of a footballer’s strength in general, success, mental or even physical fitness at a particular point in time.

**Ontological Metaphors**

Abstract experiences such as events, activities, emotions and ideas are revealed in terms of concrete substances and processes by means of ontological metaphor. Intangible entities become entities which makes it possible to categorise, group and quantify them. They are also characterized as container metaphors in that something is presented as having an inside and an outside. Activities, actions and emotions which are otherwise non physical objects are transformed into physical objects with definite boundaries. Animating objects otherwise known as personification is also an example of ontological metaphor. In the context of this paper, we shall think in terms of the ball as focal point of events unfolding on the field of play and how this object is animated.

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**Conventional Metaphors**

Metaphors can also be classified in terms of their degree of conventionality. Conventional metaphor is a metaphor well-worn or deeply entrenched in everyday use by ordinary people for everyday purposes. Citing Kővecses (2002), Lundmark (2005) gives examples of conventional metaphors as follows:

ARGUMENT IS WAR: *I defended my argument.*

LOVE IS A JOURNEY: *We'll just have to go our separate ways.*

IDEAS ARE FOOD: *I can't digest all these facts.*

From the foregoing, one understands that the expressions above are highly conventionalised, that is, they are well worn. It is not uncommon to hear speakers make use of *defend* in terms of argument, *go our separate ways* when talked about love and *digest* to talk of ideas.

**War Metaphors**

Metaphors of war conceptualise most kinds of sport. War metaphors are not only used as far as description of players, their emotions and the actions on the football pitch are concerned although, these are, of course the dominant focus in the game of soccer. It can be argued that the whole tournament, footballers, their emotions, their characteristic traits, actions on the pitch and activities of spectators are transformed into a war scenario through the commentary, report and analysis. There are literally hundreds of war or military metaphors used in everyday speech and writing. Lakoff and Johnson note that these metaphors have become part of language over a hundred years since people tend to draw upon experiences in one area of life in order to fire fresh insight and understanding into experiences in another. Examples are given of sailors who have brought language from the sea to the land and farmers have also adapted language from the land. Soldiers have also had vivid, sometimes, traumatic experiences during military duty that they have then applied that language and expressions to non-military situations. The use of militaristic language helps to make communication more colorful and precise.
This study therefore, investigates the conceptual metaphors employed in the spoken commentaries of the 2017/2018 edition of the English Premier League.

Methodology
The study covered English Premier League matches involving Chelsea Football Club between August 12, 2017 and September 30, 2017. Data for this study consist of recorded live commentaries, brief match analyses and post-match analyses of match highlights only made via television and radio. After each recording, the recordings were carefully listened to several times to guarantee objective analysis. In all, data were collected from seven EPL match commentaries, reports and analyses.

The participants in soccer are the footballers, the referee and the assistants. This can be broadened to include coaches, since they have a direct bearing on proceedings on the sports field and spectators as well whom the researcher believes enliven play through motivating and strengthening the players’ resolve. Football fans create the atmosphere of tension through dance, song and skirmish. It is hard to imagine a match played in the absence of fans yet accompanied by vivid commentary rife with allusions to war. The object of play, which is the ball, determines the events. What the participants, who occasionally function as the subject, do to the ball and instances of ball (object) animation, create the critical event component. Place addresses the various parts of the playing field and the entire stadium. Time component captures aspects relating to when the game of football is played and how long it lasts. This component also includes the comments, predictions and perceptions with a time bearing. The results dimension shows the outcome of matches. These five basic components constitute the general components within which the researcher proposes to qualitatively analyse war metaphors in EPL fixtures within earlier specified period.

It should be made abundantly clear that data were gathered specifically from the live broadcasts on radio and television. The researcher deliberately ignored press reports on the matches. Although press reports provide useful information on soccer in general, the research concentrates exclusively on what was happening on the field of play, what reporters and analysts said on
radio and television about them and specifically the language characterising it. This was done in order to provide an objective analysis as far as possible. Incidences of violence or otherwise which are not cited by the professional commentators on the respective matches are beyond the scope of this study.

Discussion of Findings
The use of war metaphors in the commentaries of the 2017/2018 edition of EPL matches under study are hereby analysed according to participants, events, time, place and result.

Participants
Footballers are the first set of participants whose character traits, namely, emotions and attitudes, are presented in a way that makes soccer a serious and aggressive activity. Some of the data reflecting war metaphors in describing the footballers are:

*Crystal Palace lacks a gunman to put away the chances.*
*Everton players have enough ammunition to put away chances.*
*Chelsea need venom and arsenal to perform a giant killing act.*
*The club hitman is a huge disappointment.*
*The marksman is injured.*
*That was from Everton’s predatory striker.*
*The club’s brave defender’s action is superb.*
*The Chelsea legion of supporters is wonderful.*

Sentences 1, 4, 5, 6 and 7 use structural military metaphors for players who are meant to lead their respective teams in scoring goals. Football is valourised as warlike although in reality, footballers do not possess weapons or ammunition. They do not explode, and they are not enemies at all who kill each other as suggested in Sentence 3. By using the metaphors, the analysts are giving martial qualities to players who presumably work on the pitch with the lethal precision and ruthless efficiency of professional soldiers. Examples 2 and 3 allude to availability of enough depth in terms of gifted players and with the obvious suggestion that their role on the pitch is more of combatants than footballers. Example 8 portrays the fact that spectators, otherwise known as fans, are a critical dimension of the participant
categorisation. They usually root behind their teams with fierce zeal and passion. In one of the EPL matches studied, they rendered the atmosphere war-like through dance, songs and skirmishes and were referred to as ‘legion’ of supporters. Examples 1 – 8 above are guided by structural cognitive metaphor as they reflect the idea that “soccer is war”.

Events
The ball determines the events on the field of play. While the participants function as the subject and only occasionally as the object, what participants do to the ball or to one another on the field of play creates events as the second component. Data got within this component are:

He really launched the ball to the striker after shielding the ball.
Diego Costa strikes the ball across to William.
The bullet nearly pierced the net.
That was a speculative shot!
And the ball ricocheted against the right post.

In the EPL matches studied, commentators and analysts used ‘shield’ as a transitive verb. In the case of Sentence 9 above, a player in a typical military combat protected the weaker part (the ball) from being exploited by the opponent. After shielding the ball, the player who happened to be the defender in a typical military fashion had to send the ball to his team’s striker. Sentence 10 depicts another common war metaphor used in the commentaries to express the interaction between players and the ball. The ball unleashed ferociously and subsequently travelling at a devastating speed is said to have too much ‘firepower’. Such a ball was referred to as ‘bullet’ as in Sentence 11. The ball owing to its speed and power, is said frequently to be bullet and proceeds to assume human qualities in that it flew and nearly pierced the net. With reference to the Cognitive Metaphor Theory, the ball and bullet comparison are within the realm of structural metaphor with bullet animation transcending into the ontological metaphor terrain. It is a war metaphor cutting across types of conceptual metaphors. Sentence 12 and 13 were made by two commentators when a badly positioned striker took a speculative shot and in typical military combat, bullets frequently ricochet when
intended targets are missed. Interaction between a player and the ball is equated to that of a soldier and bullet, thereby reinforcing Lakoff and Johnson's assertion that 'the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another' (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980 p.5).

One interesting observation in the language of soccer is the use of certain words (nouns) that are derived from corresponding verbs of which shot, strike and battle are common examples. These words (metaphors) are used more frequently as nouns than verbs. The possible explanation for this is that the metaphors can be pre-modified. For instance, 'shot' is pre-modified by words such as ferocious, thunderous, blistering, instinctive and speculative. 'Strike' is pre-modified by lethal, incisive and awesome. Battle is pre-modified by epic, Herculean, explosive and private with "mother of battles," which is used in high profile encounters discussed, above. In all situations, the pre-modifiers make the respective war metaphors more precise and colourful. Emphasis on the use of nouns instead of verbs provides the opportunity to use the subjective kind of language in that the words express the opinion of the commentator on an event in the match. A comparison of different commentators' evaluation of the same event would certainly be revealing, for allegiance or otherwise to specific clubs may explain commentator's discourse.

Place
There is a group of words frequently used in relation to the various parts of the playing field. Sport is free time entertainment but commentaries paint a gloomy picture of soccer, an otherwise outdoor sport that takes place on the sports-field. Below are some expressions depicting the place class of analysis:

*Chelsea now invades the enemy's territory.*
*Oh! That went into no man's land.*
*Stamford Bridge appears to be an impregnable fortress for Chelsea.*

In typical military formation, strikers frequently venture into the enemy zone in search of goals as seen in Sentence 14 above. In football, defenders under immense pressure from marauding strikers occasionally blast the ball into 'no man's land'. Soldiers on the western front during the First World War had experiences of the trench
warfare where, in between, there was the no man’s land, that is, territory not belonging to either of the combatants. Bitter memories of the catastrophic war are evoked in an otherwise social encounter. Sentence 15 describes how disappointed the commentator was when a ball was shot almost off the pitch. Sentence 16 was made when a commentator expressed himself on advantage of Chelsea playing on their home ground, Stamford Bridge. ‘Impregnable fortress’ in soccer means a stadium where a particular team rarely loses a match.

**Time**
The use of vocabulary items dealing with time describes how long the game lasts. There are normally two equal halves of 45 minutes. The goal was reserved for the dying minute. That was a last gasp from Manchester City. There are normally two equal halves of 45 minutes. Sentences 17 and 18 imply that intense competitive struggles normally take place towards the end of the second half referred to in the commentaries as the “dying minutes” in which teams score “last gasp” equalisers.

**Results**
Outcome of soccer matches are usually described. From the data collected on this study, the following expressions showed up:

That was a Herculean battle.
The match between Manchester City and Chelsea was an explosive battle.

‘Battling’ in football highlights intense competitive spirit, the fighting spirit between clubs which underscores the observation that ‘many of the things we do in arguing (competing) are partially structured by the concept of war’ (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980 p. 4). Sentence 19 was used by an analyst to describe a particular match which was a tough one. Manchester City and Chelsea are part of the EPL leading clubs which clashed in September 30, 2017. As a result of the fact that the clubs have experienced teams who displayed their talents and techniques during the match, it was reported that the match was indeed an ‘explosive battle’.

Other data used in describing the outcome of EPL matches under study are:
Arsenal team really massacred Chelsea Football Club. The encounter showed that Everton smashed Chelsea to smithereens. That was indeed a giant-killing act.

Sentences 21 and 22 refer to comprehensive defeat of opposition teams by the use of military metaphors: 'massacre', 'smashed to smithereens', etc for the teams to emerge and play other fixtures, thereby highlighting the notion of hyperbole in metaphor use. Sentence 23 portrays one of the Chelsea FC performances in the ongoing premier league season in which an analyst described less widely known teams, Porto, which beat Chelsea, as to have performed a 'giant-killing act'.

An analyst could not hide his feelings as a result of series of poor results by Chelsea, a former champion, within the period of study when he said:

The lately performance of Chelsea can be said to be a fall of a dynasty. The king of draws will meet Newcastle in the next fixture.

'Fall of dynasties' and 'kings' in soccer lend credence to the argument that there is an undeniable theme of war in soccer.

The war metaphor permeates sports discourse and this carries a number of connotations. In the literal world, war ideally ends in the death of the enemy. In the world of sports (soccer) discourse, however, the people who die in war are not enemies but the players themselves. Are heroes really found on the field of play? Towards the end of the soccer season, teams at the bottom of the log can be said to "fight bruising battles" against each in a desperate bid to avoid the "dreaded chop" with celebrations erupting on the sports-field after some of these teams "survive" relegation by producing favorable results. There is frequent allusion to the need for the losing teams to go back to the drawing board if they are to avoid being "casualties" in subsequent fixtures.

It would appear there is confusion between war and football, for teams do not skirmish, convene hostilities or engage in a conflict, but simply play competitive games. There is normally a clear winner and loser, a clear end to the game, strategic thinking, team work,
preparedness, spectator rowdiness in the terraces, glory of winning and shame of defeat, which are, indeed, the necessary ingredients for an ideal war. War metaphors reflect the competitive, serious and aggressive nature of this sport.

Conclusion
The research draws mainly from the conceptual approach to metaphor whose types were given as structural, ontological and orientational metaphors. It was established that the language of soccer is rife with allusion to war. The undeniable theme of war in football is attributed to the intense competitive spirit between the contestants which leads to one side triumphing over the other.

Footballers’ emotions, character traits, actions on the pitch, strategic thinking by technical departments, activities of the ball, glory of winning and shame of defeat; spectator behaviour on the terraces and description of results were transformed into a war scenario through the use of language. An otherwise simple social activity is transformed into a battle by means of language. The impression created and fostered by the commentators, alongside analysts throughout the first seven weeks of the 2017/2018 season of the English Premier League, was that soccer is formalised war on a small scale. Battle of battles, fortresses, position fortifying, marauding strikers, invasion of territories, missiles and massacres are some of the references drawn from martial terminology which reflected the aggressive nature of the sport. In reality, it was observed that while the proliferation of war metaphors in soccer heightened the electric atmosphere in particularly high-profile matches, they tended to gloss over complexities and largely exaggerated the social contests. Frankly, in soccer, there are no combatants and no massacres as dramatised eloquently by the professional commentators and analysts. War metaphors in football tend to go overboard in terms of their description.

References


English in Nigeria: Britishisms, Americanisms or Nigerianisms

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Abstract
This paper appraises the use of the major world varieties of English: the British and American English of English as well as the Nigerian English in Nigeria. It observes that while the British Standard has largely remained the model in the country, several Americanisms have crept in, probably as a result of America’s global influence, and increased links between the country and America. The study observes that there are some linguistic items in Nigerian English that seemed to have emanated from the amalgamation of British and American English lexicons, as can be seen in words like torchlight. This paper has therefore been able to systematically isolate the lexical items in Nigerian English with distinctive features of the amalgamation of British and American English, and peculiar lexical items that are either British or American. This has been observed to be the source of confusion to second language learners and users of English in Nigeria as many find it difficult to isolate and distinguish between British and American English lexical items. The paper recommends that users’ consciousness be awakened to the correctness of use of each of the varieties and efforts be continuously made by teachers to inculcate appropriateness in usages since the two varieties (British and American) are recognisable models in Nigeria and her educational system.

Keywords: Britishism, Americanism, Nigerianism, lexico-semantics, phonology, spelling

Introduction
Nigerian English is a variety of English that is peculiar to Nigerians. It is a domesticated variety of English, functioning within the Nigerian
linguistic and socio-cultural setting as a second language (ESL). It manifests the linguistic (phonological, syntactic, lexical, semantic, pragmatic and socio-cultural) characteristics of the Nigerian environment. Nigerian English is based on British English, but in recent years, because of influence from the United States of America, some words of American English origin have made it into Nigerian English. Some new words and collocations have also emerged from the language, which come from the need to express concepts specific to the culture of the nation in order to meet their communicative needs. Achebe (1965, p. 18) says this in defence of the then emerging Nigerian English variety:

I feel that the English language will be able to carry the weight of my African experience. But it will have to be new English, still in full communion with its ancestral home but altered to suit its new African [Nigerian] surroundings.

According to Voorman and Gut (2008), the process of compilation of Nigerian English involves gathering of raw data which consists of samples of language in forms of handwritten, printed and electronic texts as well as audio and video recordings. They also include non-linguistic factors like age, native language, addressee, event, time and date. When new lexical items are coined from the existing lexical items or borrowed ones from the local languages or even pidgin, they consequently attain new meanings. Words like *dress* (to close gaps so as to create space for other people), *chase* (womanizing) and *escort* (to see a visitor off) have all undergone special structural usage in the Nigerian English. More examples of such words are *father, mother, chief, uncle, aunty, brother*. The fact is that new lexical items owe their origin to the complex dynamics of language contact phenomena such as borrowing and code switching. It is also not an uncommon occurrence for errors and idiosyncrasies to become standardised. For example, the word *trouble shooter* used to mean peacemaker but has acquired a new meaning of *trouble maker* in the Nigerian context.

Teilanyo (2001, p. 4) observes that ‘until recently, and even with a minority segment of observers at present, any deviations from
British features were considered as errors, vulgarities or marks of incompetence or incomplete learning. Those "infelicities" included Americanisms, coinages, and features of interference from the local languages. Some of these features are elements from American English (AmE), infusions from the local languages and products of Nigerians’ linguistic creativity. The two principal factors for the importation of Americanisms into Nigeria are the increasing interaction between Nigeria and the US at personal and governmental levels, and America’s role as a global pacesetter and model in politics, economics, science and (information) technology. These Americanisms in Nigerian use constitute a "dialect continuum" between the two geo-national varieties of English. The existence of the Standard Nigerian English has been severely argued. Oluikpe (1997, p.18) supports the existence of a standard of English usage that is characteristically Nigerian. However, Oji (1997, p.164) is vehemently opposed to any standard of English that can be called Nigerian. However, the truth remains there exists a distinct variety of the English Language known as "Nigerian English".

Adedimeji (2007, p.4) observes that the question of what Nigerian English is and what it is not has pitched scholars into two camps: the deviation school and the variation school. The deviation school maintains that Nigerian English does not exist and what is referred to by the term is just a concatenation of errors underpinning the superficial mastery of the Standard British English (SBE) by Nigerians. To the members of this school, Nigerian English is anomalous and the banner of the Standard British English is upheld as the existing form, “even though their own speech and usage provide ample evidence of its (Nigerian English) existence” (Bamgbose, 1982: 99). The variation school represents the contemporary viewpoint and scholars like Banjo, Bamgbose, Awonusi, Odumuh, Adetugbo and Adegbija belong here. This school affirms the existence of a distinct variety or dialect in Nigeria, with its own subtypes along basilectal (non-standard), mesolectal (general, almost standard) and acrolectal (Standard Nigerian English) lines. Interestingly, what is incontrovertible is that the use of English in Nigeria is characterized by the idiosyncratic norms reminiscent of the Nigerian linguistic ecology (Adedimeji, 2007, p.4).

There have been quite a number of studies on Nigerian English. For instance, Kaan, Amase and Tsavmbu (2013) examine Nigerian English in the light of its unique characteristics and assert

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that the semantic use of Nigerian English lexicon poses a challenge to international intelligibility and acceptability. Robert (2016) examines the semantic features of Nigerian English (NE) and indicates in his analysis that the variety of English spoken in Nigeria addresses the sociocultural realities of the country which distinguishes this variety from other world English varieties. The above scholars in their studies, however, did not isolate the lexical items that are British, American or Nigerian based origins which this present study attempts to establish.

Kperogi (2010), in his article on “Divided by a Common Language: A Comparison of Nigerian, American and British English”, does a comparison of Nigerian, American, and British varieties of the English language and identifies four main fountains of Nigerian English: linguistic improvisation, old-fashioned British expressions, initial usage errors fossilized over time and incorporated into the Nigerian linguistic repertory and a mishmash of British and American English. Kperogi's study is relatively similar to this study because of the comparison of the three varieties but different in the sense that this study did a systematic analysis of lexical items that are British, American, Nigerian and an amalgam of British and American English origins including the phonology and spelling in Nigerian English.

Opara (2016) in his study on “Lexical Deviations and Intelligibility in Popular Nigerian English” does an extensive research on the national and international intelligibility of lexical peculiarities in popular Nigerian English and determines the factors responsible for the peculiarities. The study reveals that popular written Nigerian English deviates from SBE at the lexical level and are intelligible both nationally and internationally at the lexical level when examined in contexts. According to Opara (2016, p. 28) in the above study, ‘the forms which emerged were as a result of the socio-linguistic realities of the Nigerian environment and culture’. Ojetunde’s (2013) study examines the issue of the Nigerian English to determine and explain the extent of its differences at the grammatical and lexical levels from the Standard English and how these deviations have affected the English language pedagogy and academic performance of Nigerian students.

By orientation and colonisation, British English is the acceptable variety in Nigeria. However, with exposure to the spoken and written forms of American English as found in text books, public media, electronic gadgets including computers and phones containing
American English dictionary and verbal communication in society, learners are seemingly confused as to which is correct to use between the BrE and AmE aside the situation of most times not being sure if the words they know are BrE or AmE. Although, this problem may not seem obvious in other disciplines, it comes up often in the English language classroom. Also, it is important to note here that the curriculum planners of Nigerian Schools and teachers have both British and American educational backgrounds (Okpe and Onjewu 2016, p.277).

**Theoretical Thrust**

**Sociolinguistics**

Sociolinguistics is the link between language and society, of language variation, and of attitudes about language (Spolky, 2010). It is a study of language in relation to socio-cultural context (Van Dijk, 2009). Sociolinguistics can also be seen as “the study of the effect of any and all aspects of the society including cultural norms, expectations and contexts on the way language is used” (Trudgill, 2000). As a concept, it is concerned with how language use is a determinant of a given society's linguistic requirements. Sociolinguistics focuses on language use, that is, on what can be said in a particular language, by whom, to whom, in whose presence, when and where, in what manner and under what social circumstances. Trudgill asserts that the sociolinguistic research helps in getting a better understanding of the nature of human language by studying language in its social context. It also provides a better understanding of the relationship between language and society (Trudgill, 2000, p.4).

As languages come into contact with new realities and experiences, their stocks of words and meanings change. It is evident that English use in Nigeria has some linguistic features of emerging Britishisms, Americanisms, and Nigerianisms especially at the level of lexico-semantics, phonology, and spelling. Findings in this study point in the direction of a growing use of the British and American English norms in Nigeria. It also observes that Nigerian English users now face challenges in identifying and differentiating between British and American English in use in Nigeria even in formal documents and presentations. This study recommends that conscious effort be
The Statement of the Research Problem

Research, so far appears not to address the problem and confusion faced by L2 learners and users of English in Nigeria when challenged with effective writing and speaking where examiners and teachers observe an admixture of British, American or Nigerian English norms by these users. The major challenge is that most users of English in Nigeria find it difficult to pinpoint the difference between British and American English lexical items to the extent that some lexical items in Nigerian English usage have resulted from the amalgamation of British and American English words and feature in these users formal writing without their knowledge that they are inappropriate usages. For instance, a common lexical item in use like “kerosene” has not occurred to Nigerian English users that the word originates from America as against its equivalent “paraffin” that is British which is hardly used here. Words like colonisation /colonization, and centre/center are used interchangeably without taking cognisance of their origin (either British or American). Knowledge of the variety in use will, however, help users become consistent in a particular variety in their presentations during formal occasions without unconsciously mixing them up.

Researchers like Kperogi (2010/2017), Goncalves (2018), Okpe and Onjewu (2016) among others have either written about or made passing references about the existence of these varieties in the use of English in Nigeria. They, however, have not systematically addressed the problem of confusion exhibited by these users of English where they ignorantly mix up the use of British and American English lexical items which hampers effective and appropriate learning and presentations during formal occasions which this research attempts to examine. It also identifies the use of another category of lexical items that have been observed to be an amalgam of British and American English which users are neither aware of their
origin nor their wrongness in application. There is a big problem here. Nigerians have confused both varieties and therefore use them in pari passu. This study is a clarion call for teachers and users of English; that their consciousness be awakened and efforts be intensified to master the differences in these varieties in order to avoid mixing them up in formal writings and usages since the admixture of these two varieties are usually penalized during examinations.

Objectives of the Paper
This paper primarily examines some of the Americanisms, Britishisms and Nigerianisms found in present-day Nigerian English use at different levels of linguistic organisation: lexicosemantics, phonology, and spelling; that have been a matter of confusion for learners and users of English in Nigeria. It systematically attempts to:

i. examine those British and American lexical items that feature in the use of English in Nigeria which users and learners use interchangeably without cognisance of the variety and
ii. isolate and examine the lexical items that result from the amalgamation of both British and American English lexicons which are used by some learners and users of English in Nigeria without the consciousness of their appropriateness of usage and root.

Method
Lexical items that have been traced to British, American, and Nigerian English; some of which are found to be amalgamation of British and American English lexicons have been sources of confusion for many English users and learners in Nigeria because of their inability to appropriately place their origin (whether British or American). However, where they thought the lexical itemsthey use are British English (which the country accepts as the official language), they have actually been American English lexical items in most cases. They often mix them up during usages in formal documents and presentations. These identified lexical items were selected through a stratified random sampling technique from the English expressions of Nigerians from school environments through observations and note
takings and analysed qualitatively using the descriptive survey research method which allows one to describe the items selected for analyses. These lexical items also include among other elements identified by the writer, those mentioned by Bamgbose (1995, pp. 23-24), Kperogi (2010), and others identified by Teilanyo (2001 pp. 7-8), Okpe and Onjewu (2016, p 276), and dictionary examples as guides.

**Britishisms and Americanisms in Nigerian English**

The English language is not just a second language, but the most important official language in Nigeria; the language of the legislature, administration, the judiciary, national broadcasting, commerce, the press, literacy and for the bulk of the literature, the language of education (both as compulsory school subject and the medium of instruction through the educational ladder), a requirement for school certificate, employment, admission into tertiary education and the language of communication among inter-ethnic groups. The original model has been the British RP standard which was that of the colonial masters and promoted in the educational system, and in the foreign media patronised by Nigerians such as BBC (Teilanyo 2001, p.4).

For quite some time now, however, there has been a more liberal attitude accompanied by scholarly postulations about Nigerian English (NigE), which accommodates non-British features. Some of these features are elements from American English (AmE), infusions from the local languages and products of Nigerians’ linguistic creativity. While Americanisms were rejected particularly for pedagogical purposes, they have now been accepted even in standardised educational assessment. In the following subsections, some of the Americanisms, Britishisms and Nigerianisms found in present-day Nigerian use at different levels of linguistic organization will be identified and examined.

**Lexico-semantics of Nigerianisms**

In Nigeria, there is now the prevalence of American English alongside British English although with proof of their distinction according to Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (2006) who document that as early as 1735, British people complained about the distinction of American
words and word usage. Awonusi (1990) observes that Old-fashioned British English is a robust resource for Nigerian English. Such expressions as "bad eggs" to mean bad people, "men of the underworld" to refer to criminals, "harlot" as a synonym for prostitute, "parastatal," to denote an autonomous sub-unit of a government ministry, "trafficator" to mean indicator or blinker (what Americans also call turn indicator or turn signal), "trafficate" to mean "use the indicator," "vulcanise" to mean repair a puncture and "vulcaniser" to mean someone who "vulcanizes", have lost currency in Britain Kperogi (2010 p. 57). Today, British English has become so thoroughly Americanised that one has to be really careful when differentiating between the two varieties of English. However, it is still possible to isolate expressions that are distinctive of American and British. And there are instances when Nigerian English users bring these two old varieties in a creative manner which makes them distinctive of the non-standard Nigerian English in linguistic conversation.

In the course of the growth of English in Nigeria, English has had to manifest some changes at different levels of linguistic organisation namely phonology, orthography, grammar, lexico-semantic and pragmatics and discourse. Among the different levels of linguistic organisation in Nigerian English, the lexico-semantic level has received more innovations and evolution. This has given rise to different categorisation processes. For instance, Bamiro (1994) categorised Nigerian English in terms of loanshift/semnantic shifts and extension, coinages, analogy, clichés, blends, backformation, direct borrowing, acronyms and translation equivalents. These categorisation processes in Nigerian are discussed below.

**Loanshift**

Bamiro (1994, p. 7) describes “loanshift” as a situation in which the meaning of a word or a phrase from the target language is extended to cover a new concept. Loanshifts convey many kinds of cultural meanings which add to, transform, or manipulate the denotative senses of English words. For instance, *gallop* (potholes), *drop* (alight), *branch* (stop over), *chase* (to woo a lady), *sort/sorting* (bribe)
**Coinages**

Coinage is the act or process of inventing words or neologising an invented or newly created word or phrase. Coinages reveal the underlying conceptual systems that help to construct the reality or worldview of Nigerian users of English. As in other varieties of English, coinages constitute the most productive process of lexical evolution in Nigerian English. Examples are, *area boys* (street urchins), *cash madam* (wealthy woman), *go slow* (traffic jam), *brown envelop* (bribe), *black market* (illegal transactions), *snake lizard* (skink).

**Analogy**

In Nigerian English, the force of analogy is seen at work in the formation and use of some words. Word formation processes in English such as affixation and compounding are also very productive analogy models in Nigerian English. For instance, *reoccur* (recur), *gateman* (gate keeper), *upliftment* (uplift), *indigenes* (aborigines), *cunny* (cunning), *opportuned* (opportune).

**Clichés**

Clichés are trite, stereotyped expressions. A sentence or phrase, usually expressing a popular or common thought or idea, that has lost originality, ingenuity, and impact by long overuse is said to be a cliché. In Nigerian English, a number of words or phrases are constantly being indigenised by way of semantic modification. These include clichés of formal and informal styles like *bad eggs* (evil people), *talk less of* (let alone), *brain behind* (instigator), *men of the underworld* (criminal).

**Blends**

Blends are near compound words which involve bringing parts of two or more words together to arrive at new information. In Nigerian English, we have such blends as *tear rubber* (brand new), *Aso Rock* (the presidential complex), *bride price* (dowry).
Backformation/Clipping
The phenomenon of "backformation" involves clipping. The term clipping, 'denotes the subtraction of one or more syllables from a word which is also available in its full form' (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, & Svartvik, 1972, p. 1030). Examples of backformation/clipping in Nigerianisms are, matric (matriculation), television (television set), video (video set), gut (guts), congratulation (congratulations), condolence (condolences).

Direct Borrowing
The commonest influence of languages in contact is borrowing and it is commonly restricted to the lexical items. Nigerian English borrowed extensively from Nigerian languages, such as the Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba to form part of its lexicon. These words almost and always retain their linguistic integrity (their indigenous spelling, in particular) when they enter into English. Among these items, cultural borrowings such as consumables, personal appellations, religious beliefs, and cultural implements dominate words that carry specific cultural meanings for which Standard British English has no equivalent. For instance, agbada (flowing gown), oga (one's boss), shakara (showing off), omugwo (after birth care).

Acronyms
The formation of new lexical items by the use of the initial letters of existing words has produced typical Nigerian English acronyms. Examples are NEPA (National Electric Power Authority), JAMB (Joint Admission and Matriculation Board), TDB (Till Day Break), ITK (I Too Know).

Transfer/Translation Equivalents
Transfers are words used to express the ideas originally conveyed in the indigenous languages. They represent what some ethnolinguists have referred to as the affective associations in language use. Such affective associations with one's mother tongue are common. Lexical
items that fall into the category of transfer in Nigerian English are, *house girl* (house help), *son of the soil* (native), *bush man/woman* (unpolished/rustic man or woman), *screen touch* (touch screen).

The categorisation processes and the examples discussed above in Nigerianisms are clear indications that Nigerian English has come to stay and many of the expressions are likely to stabilise as permanent features of the Nigerian English. In the tables below are lexical items which show the evidence of the variation in names of lexical items in British, American and Nigerian English with Nigerian English tilting towards the adoption of American English against the British English. The other tables below feature the amalgamation of British and American English lexicons in Nigerian English, the phonology of Nigerian English and spelling being influenced by the British and American English words.

**Data Presentation**

**Table 1: Variation in names of lexical items in British, American and Nigerian English**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/No</th>
<th>BrE</th>
<th>AmE</th>
<th>NigE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Boot</td>
<td>Trunk</td>
<td>Boot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Canteen</td>
<td>Cafeteria</td>
<td>Canteen/Cafeteria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Normality</td>
<td>Normalcy</td>
<td>Normalcy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>College</td>
<td>University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Hostel</td>
<td>Dormitory</td>
<td>Hostel/Dormitory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Ground floor</td>
<td>First floor</td>
<td>Ground floor/First floor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Guard</td>
<td>Conductor</td>
<td>Conductor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Immersion heater</td>
<td>Water heater</td>
<td>Water heater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Raincoat</td>
<td>Mackintosh</td>
<td>Rain coat/Mackintosh (though in different sense)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Flex</td>
<td>Electric wire</td>
<td>Electric wire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Generator</td>
<td>Dynamo</td>
<td>Generator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Semidedatched</td>
<td>Duplex</td>
<td>Duplex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Paraffin</td>
<td>Kerosene</td>
<td>Kerosene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Want to</td>
<td>Wanna</td>
<td>want to/wanna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Holiday</td>
<td>Vacation</td>
<td>Holiday/Vacation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S/No</td>
<td>BrE</td>
<td>AmE</td>
<td>NigE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Torch</td>
<td>Flashlight</td>
<td>Torchlight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Knickers</td>
<td>Shorts</td>
<td>Short-Knicker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Extreme</td>
<td>End</td>
<td>Extreme end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Salon</td>
<td>Barber Shop</td>
<td>Barb ding Salon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Bend</td>
<td>Corner</td>
<td>Bending corner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>So</td>
<td>Therefore</td>
<td>So therefore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Tell me the reason</td>
<td>Tell me why</td>
<td>Tell me the reason why</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Amalgamation of BrE and AmE lexical items in NigE
### Table 3: Phonology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/No</th>
<th>BrE</th>
<th>AmE</th>
<th>NigE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Either /aiðə/</td>
<td>/iːdə/</td>
<td>/aiðə/ and /iːdə/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Data /deɪtə/</td>
<td>/dætə/</td>
<td>/dætə/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Focus /foukəs/</td>
<td>/foukəs/</td>
<td>/foukəs/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Food /fuːd/</td>
<td>/ʃud/</td>
<td>/ʃud/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Eat /iːt/</td>
<td>/ʃt/</td>
<td>/ʃt/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Task /tɑːsk/</td>
<td>/tæsk/</td>
<td>/tæsk/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Law /lɔː/</td>
<td>/lɔ/</td>
<td>/lɔ/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 4: Spelling

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/No</th>
<th>BrE</th>
<th>AmE</th>
<th>NigE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Humour</td>
<td>Humor</td>
<td>Humour/Humor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Behaviour</td>
<td>Behavior</td>
<td>Behaviour/behavior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Centre</td>
<td>Center</td>
<td>Centre/center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Litre</td>
<td>Liter</td>
<td>Litre/liter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Metre</td>
<td>Meter</td>
<td>Metre/meter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Colonise/Colonisation</td>
<td>Colonize/Colonization</td>
<td>Colonise/Colonisation:Colonize/Colonization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Realise</td>
<td>Realize</td>
<td>Realise/Realize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Organise</td>
<td>Organize</td>
<td>Organise/Organize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Mould</td>
<td>Mold</td>
<td>Mould/mould</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Smoulder</td>
<td>Smolder</td>
<td>Smoulder/smolder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Foetus</td>
<td>Fetus</td>
<td>Foetus/fetus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Manoeuver</td>
<td>Maneuver</td>
<td>Manoeuver/maneuver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Encyclopaedia</td>
<td>Encyclopedia</td>
<td>Encyclopaedia/Encyclopedia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Anaestesia</td>
<td>Anestesia</td>
<td>Anestesia/Anestesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Enquire</td>
<td>Inquire</td>
<td>Enquire/inquire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Counsellor</td>
<td>Counselor</td>
<td>Counsellor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Programme</td>
<td>Program</td>
<td>Programme/Program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Cheque</td>
<td>Check</td>
<td>Cheque/Check</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Discussion

Even though by orientation and colonisation, BrE is the acceptable variation in Nigeria, from the Table 1 above, it is eminent that
Nigerians have lost grip of the variation of the English language to use between the two international standard dialects, with AmE often bringing the shift in reference. The major problem becomes that even when they tilt towards AmE, they are no longer aware of the variety they use as they find it difficult to even differentiate between BrE and AmE in many of the lexical items in use. From Kperogi’s (2010) observation for instance, the word “vacate” is a popular word used in educational institutions in Nigeria to mean take a long, formal break from school. It is a back-formation from “vacation,” the American English word for what British speakers call holiday. In British English, vacation is only used to indicate the formal, temporary closure of universities and courts of law, not primary or secondary schools. Many native speakers of the English language will find the Nigerian semantic extension of “vacate” strange, even incomprehensible. In Standard British and American English, vacate usually means one of three things: to leave a job, post, position, voluntarily, that is, to resign (as in: he vacated the job when he got a better offer elsewhere); to abandon, to leave behind empty, or to move as in: “you must vacate this house by tomorrow”; to rescind, to reverse, to cancel officially as in: “the president vacated the death sentence on the political prisoner”.

Also, Nigerian L2 users of English use such AmE words - the BrE equivalents are in brackets - like normalcy (normality), dormitory (hostel), conductor (guard), water heater (immersion heater), mackintosh (raincoat), electric wire (flex), duplex (semidetached), kerosene (paraffin), vacation (holiday), lawyer (solicitor), expressway (motorway), toilet (restroom), assignment (homework), among many others which are not captured in table 1, without the knowledge that the variety they are using is AmE and not BrE. Suffice it to say that the notion of “kerosene” according to Kperogi (2017) is chiefly American English, Australian English and New Zealand English. But British and East Africans prefer “paraffin” than “kerosene”. It is not clear why most Nigerian English users are not even familiar with the British “paraffin” even though Nigerian English is derived from British English. The current situation, therefore, is that their exposure to AmE lexicon has confused them between the two international standard dialects.
varieties of the English language resulting to AmE becoming equally adopted alongside BrE.

In Table 2, it was observed that some words in BrE and AmE are amalgamated to form new words in Nigerian English which of course fall under the non standard NigE words. What is however, important to note here is that most of the Nigerians who use such words never realised that they are amalgamation of British and American English words. Kperogi (2012) observed that such words as, "torchlight," which most Nigerians use to denote a small portable battery-powered electric lamp has the British word for the same object as simply "torch" and the American name as "flashlight." So Nigerians extracted the British "torch" and combined it with the American "light" to produce a unique word that is both British and American and neither British nor American. Even though "torchlight" also exists as a separate word in both British and American English, but it only refers to the light produced by a flashlight or a torch. Also, the word "short-knicker" is also derived from mixing American and British English. "Shorts" is the preferred American word for trousers that end at or above the knee. The British prefer "knickers,". American English usage is now so widely spread in Britain that these distinctions are sometimes meaningless. But the important point to note is that Nigerian English users formed this word when it still made sense to talk of distinct American and British English.

In the same vein, "barb" is a verb in Nigerian English. It is used to denote cutting or shaving men's hair, as in: "I went to the barbing saloon to barb my hair." In no other variety of English is the word used in this sense. Related Nigerian English formations are "barbing" and "barbing saloon." They are all clearly extracted or extended from "barber". In Standard English, "barb" is chiefly used as a noun to denote a metal arrow or hook that is curved backwards, among other meanings. It is also used figuratively to connote an aggressive remark directed at a person like a missile and intended to have a telling effect, as in: "his parting barb was 'drop dead!'"

In American English, however, it is usual for "barber" to be used as a verb to mean "cut the hair and/or beard of," as in "he barbers the president" and to mean "work as a barber" (as in: he barbers for a living) (Kperogi 2012). Other lexico-semantic items that are amalgamation of BrE and AmE as presented in the table 2 above in Nigerian English are merging the BrE "bend" and AmE "corner" of the same meaning to coin "bending corner"; "So" (BrE) and "therefore"
(AmE) to create “so therefore”, and the phrase “tell me the reason” (BrE) and “tell me why” (AmE) to have the Nigerian “tell me the reason why” as in the sentence “tell me the reason why you are here”. Even though the above amalgams can be classified under the non standard variety of Nigerian English, many Nigerians have appropriated their use without knowing that they are words from the combination of BrE and AmE.

In phonology in table 3 above, the primary target is British RP rather than American English. However, certain American versions of pronunciation now co-exist with the British and local variants. There are also a few differences in consonants and vowels of the BrE and AmE which are used interchangeably in Nigeria. For instance, the English word “either” which is phonetically transcribed as /aiðə/ in BrE and /i:ðə/ in AmE is articulated in both AmE and BrE in Nigeria. They however do not seem to realise whether the variety they are using is either British or American English variety. Also, “data” /deita/ (BrE): /daɪə/ (AmE) is articulated in Nigeria in both British and American variant. In “focus” /foukəs/ (BrE): /fʊkəs/ (AmE), Nigerian English users tend to prefer the American pronunciation of the word still, without the consciousness that they are tilting towards the American variety of English. For “food” /fuːd/ (BrE), /fʊd/ (AmE), and “eat” /iːt/ (BrE), /iːt/ (AmE), the long vowels /uː/ and /iː/ in both words are pronounced as short vowels by Nigerian English users which is the American English variety. This also speaks resoundingly the obvious fact that Nigeria is gradually adopting in full sense the American English both consciously and unconsciously.

In table 4, spelling of English words with preference to the AmE variety in Nigeria, although condemned earlier as being non-standard (even sub-standard) are now featuring in Nigerians’ writing. They involve the deletion of u as in humor, behavior, mold, smolder; the deletion of a or u as in fetus, maneuver, encyclopedia, anesthesia; the substitution of i for e as in inquire; the use of –er instead of –re as in center, meter, liter; the use of z in place of s in the verb suffix as in colonize/colonization, realize, organize; and the use of a single consonant rather than double as in counselor, program. It is important to state that the area of lexico-semantics in Nigerian English will continue to witness the most notable innovations in this new millennium. Linguists like Teilanyo believes that for objects and concepts for which there are BrE and AmE words, the two variants will persist...with the probability of the Americanism...
ultimately triumphing over the Britishism... in Nigerian usage, particularly with the technological explosion that will intensify in the millennium (Teilanyo 2001, p. 18).

The Nigerian users will task their linguistic faculties, their creative genius even more, both in incorporating lexical items from the indigenous languages into English and in conditioning existing words (idiomatic) expressions to suit Nigerian English phenomena and events. Hence, the vocabulary of Nigerian English will broaden and shift in reference, and sense will continue unabated.

The resilience of unique Nigerian lexico-semantic features is encouraged by its promotion in the Nigerian (and African) literature as preached by Achebe in his assertion that 'the price a world language must be prepared to pay is submission to many different kinds of use' (1965, p.29). In the same regard therefore, issues validating the existence of Nigerian English are summed up in Eka's (2005) assertion that 'the questions of “correctness” or “wrongness” have vanished into the annals of history and that “acceptability”, “intelligibility” and “communicativeness” are the binding forces for all Englishes and for their projected existence as variants of the English language' (p. 53).

Conclusion
In this paper, it has been established that there are certain lexical items that are used by Nigerian users of English which are of AmE origin but they use them without the realisation that they are AmE words. They simply are not aware of their BrE equivalents. For instance, paraffin (BrE) - kerosene (AmE), guard (BrE) - conductor (AmE), among others as presented in table 1 in this paper. It has also been established in this paper that there is a group of AmE words for which Nigerian L2 users of English have a high preference notwithstanding their knowledge of the British equivalents like, full stop (AmE) - period (BrE); kiosk (AmE) - booth (BrE) among others as presented in table 1. Similarly, there are some other BrE lexical items and AmE lexical items that Nigerian L2 users of English use freely like, queue (BrE) - line (AmE), rubbish (BrE) - garbage/trash (AmE).

This paper also examined some of the lexical items in NigE that are amalgams of British and American English varieties like, short-knickers, torchlight, among others. It went further to identify those
phonological features in NigE which are made up of features from both British and American English. This paper makes a clarion call to the observation of a shift in sense and reference to the AmE variety at the expense of the BrE by Nigerians. Spelling differences in Nigerian English were also examined and it was observed that there is an increasing preferential choice to AmE variety whether consciously or unconsciously at the expense of the BrE equivalents. In all, the dialect in English in Nigeria at present is an admixture of Britishisms, Americanisms, and Nigerianisms at different levels of linguistic organisation. The Nigerian English variety however has the potential of evolving an amalgam of both British and American English varieties with AmE having an edge over BrE because of the current economic world power of America.

**Recommendations**

In view of the confusion by Nigerian L2 users of English over which variety is British or American since both appear in admixture in some formal written and spoken scholarly discourse; it is recommended that:

Teachers of English as a Second Language in Nigeria should avoid mixing up the varieties of English themselves and where possible give clear explanation of the origin. They should learn the strategies to improve the situation including organising workshops that should enlighten students on these irregularities and inconsistencies so as to abate their confusion in the use of both varieties.

In the area of phonology and errors in pronunciation, students’ pronunciation errors must be traced to their roots in other to nip it to the bud. It therefore behooves all teachers of English as Onuigbo and Eyisi (2008, p. 66) assert “to be acquainted with the strategies of contrastive and error analysis and thus make constant recourse to them as indispensable tools in the battle for a high level of competence in handling pronunciation difficulties of the learners.

Teachers of English should also insist on consistency in whichever variety that a student is using in both written and spoken presentation since both the British and American varieties are now acceptable varieties in formal education unlike previously when BrE was the only acceptable variety in Nigeria in official matters.
References


Discursive Construction of Identity in Online Nigerian Newspapers' Settler/Indigene Discourse

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Abstract
This paper examines citizens' discursive construction of the in-group and others on online Nigerian Newspapers' websites. This is done with a view to unveiling Nigerian citizens’ calculated struggle for access to state resources on the basis of settler/indigene status. Data for the study comprise purposively selected 1000 feedback comments posted on some online Nigerian newspapers’ websites between 2016 and 2018. This period shows significant increase in farmer-herder crisis under President Muhammadu Buhari’s administration. The data are analysed drawing on insights from Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and notions from Sociolinguistics and Computer Mediated Discourse (CMD). The study reveals that commenters employed discursive strategies in form of categorization of social groups, justification, polarization among others in constructing identities. Viewed against Nigeria's age-long inter-ethnic struggle for resource control, it could be argued that the challenge of settler/indigene dichotomy in the country entrenches unequal power relations among the citizenry and raises further questions on the effects of ethnic discourse on Nigeria's national integration.

Key Words: Identity, Critical Discourse Analysis, Computer Mediated Discourse, Newspaper, Indigene, Settler, Nigeria

Introduction
The struggle among Nigeria’s diverse ethnic groups for possession of territories is an age-long phenomenon (Alao, 2008). However, with continued desertification of the northern parts of the country and the resultant increase in migration among the citizens, the nation in
recent years has witnessed more violent clashes arising from settlers'/indigenes' struggle for access to and control of state resources. The North Central region of Nigeria, with its rich vegetation, water bodies and vast mineral resources poses as an attractive destination for herders from the North in search of pastures and security for themselves and their herds. Some of the consequences of increase in migration in Nigeria are the growing struggle for land resources among its citizens, bloody clashes between farmers and herders and mass destruction of lives and properties particularly in Benue, Kogi, Plateau and Taraba States of the Middle belt (2016 Strategic Conflict Assessment of Nigeria). As would be expected, these crises have generated a lot of media discourse in and outside the country.

Access to state resources is a major source of contention among Nigerian citizens. Researchers (Suberu and Agbaje, 2004; Adejo, 2012; Nwanegbo, et al., 2014; Olowojolu, et al., 2016) trace the root of this challenge to the indigeneity clause of Nigeria’s Constitution. Although, Section 25, 26 and 27 (sections 33 – 43) of Nigeria’s Constitution accords citizen status to all Nigerians no matter where they live in the country, yet it emphasizes indigeneity as a criterion for appointment of ministers of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. In this way, the right of ethnic groups is placed above the right of individual citizens on the basis of federal character. At the lower tier of government also, the Constitution accords the right for access to land, schools and jobs to the local government area. The overall effect of this is that non-indigenes are often marginalised and prevented from accessing social resources including political power in their state of residence no matter how long they have been residing there.

Land as a resource is germane to Nigerians. Indeed, ethnic identity among the citizens is tied to land which is seen as a major inheritance passed down from one generation to another. The loss of geographical areas is often viewed as the loss of identity. Therefore, different groups in the country hold strongly to the ownership of geographical areas and lay claim to the resources of those areas largely on the basis of the factor of descent. Thus, typical discriminatory discourse such as “Trace your roots before it is too late”, “Because we gave you a chance to stay here doesn’t mean you
have a say”, “We are the REAL owners of Lagos” are common in exchanges between indigenes and settlers which centre around resource allocation and access to state power (Oamen, 2018).

With the advent and rapid growth of the Internet in Nigeria, many of the country’s newspapers such as *The Guardian*, *The Punch*, *Daily Trust*, *The Sun* among others have created websites where the online versions of their printed editions could be read by users. Some other Nigerian newspapers also exist as purely online based. Both forms of online newspapers are relevant to this study. Online newspaper websites are mainly asynchronous in nature. In this form, users can access the stored news contents and readers’ feedback comments even after an appreciable time of publication and also contribute to the discussions (Crystal, 2004).

Unlike conventional newspapers where the editor plays the role of regulating readers’ feedback comments usually placed in the Letter to the Editor page, online versions of newspapers offer a freer space for active users to post unedited comments as feedbacks to news. In some instances, these comments reflect ethnic sentiments and citizens’ struggle for access to state resources. This study therefore employs the critical approach to the investigation of the ways Nigerian Internet users exploit online newspapers in expressing their views on the farmer-herder crisis in the country. The research particularly focuses on citizens’ discursive construction of ethnic identity via their robust interaction with the government and other citizens on online Nigerian newspapers’ platforms.

**Discourse and Identity**

The term discourse is used with different meanings in different contexts. For example, Yule (2010:142) describes discourse as ‘language beyond the sentence’, van Dijk (1997) notes that it is a form of language use while Jorgensen and Phillips (2002:1) explain discourse as ‘a particular way of talking about and understanding the world’. Jorgensen and Phillips’s definition implicates discourse as playing an active role in creating and changing our world, identities and social relations rather than being a neutral reflection of situations and events. In line with Jorgensen and Phillips’ view of discourse, one could argue that identities are reproduced by social practices and especially by discourse.
The term identity has been described by Oyibor (2016) as people’s conscious or unconscious portrayal of themselves, their ethnic, social, geographical or ethical affiliations. He explains further that individual identity refers to the identifying characteristics of a person that are unique to her/him while social identity is linked to group behaviour influenced by sources such as nationality, class, ethnicity, sexuality, etc. Blommaert (2005), drawing from submissions from research in the broad field of identity studies, however, posits that people do not necessarily have identity but that rather identities are outcomes of socially conditioned forms of significations such as textual genres, symbols and narratives. Similarly, Cornell and Hartmann (1998 cited in Kang, 2004), note that a population may simply be an ethnic category until the people begin to subjectively see themselves in ethnic terms, perhaps in response to the identity outsiders assign to them. When that happens, the population becomes an ethnic group.

Over the years, Nigeria’s ethnic heterogeneity has posed a challenge to its national cohesion and citizens have continued to align as regional and ethnic cleavages since its independence (Iyibor, ibid). Ifidon (1999) notes that Nigeria’s ethnic groups have sub-state status which generates intense competition and power among the various groups. Sometimes this competition is manifest in citizens’ media discourse of domination and discrimination produced to enact or resist group assertion or suppression of ethnic identity. This study therefore critically investigates the ways Nigerians construct identities through the feedback comments posted on some Nigerian newspapers’ websites in response to news on farmer-herder crisis in the Middle Belt.

**Online Newspapers as Computer-Mediated Discourse**

The number of Internet users in Nigeria has increased significantly since the 1990s when former president Olusegun Obasanjo deregulated the communication industry (Taiwo, 2017). This has invariably encouraged the emergence of online versions of most newspapers in the country (Ajiboye, 2013). Compared to the print version, online newspapers offer the advantages of accessibility, free of charge reading in most cases and frequent update of news throughout the day. This seems to have encouraged a growing traffic
One of the ways the Internet has influenced newspaper media discourse is in the shift from being a one-way communication medium to an interactive one (Oyero, 2007). Online newspaper platforms encourage interactivity through their comment boxes and discussion forum. In addition, they offer a freer space for readers to post comments and engage in conversations which are usually presented in their unedited form. This is in contrast to the conventional print newspapers’ letters to the editor in which readers’ feedback comments are regulated, and in some cases censored by the editor. Thus, the feedback comments posted on Nigeria’s newspaper websites are useful for a critical investigation of citizens’ explicit and implicit construction of settler/indigene identity particularly because most web-based interactions (though technologically mediated) manifest users’ behaviours that are similar to attitudes exhibited in daily face-to-face discourse (Taiwo, 2015).

The study of online newspaper discourse falls within the purview of Computer-Mediated Communication (CMC) and Computer-Mediated Discourse (CMD). CMD is a specialisation within the broader interdisciplinary study of CMC. Studies in CMD have focused appreciably on language and language use in computer networked environments (Herring, 2004; Lisecki, 2013). However, Herring (2001) argues that despite the earlier perception of CMC as a purely neutral medium for the transfer of data and information, the genre actually exhibits influence of social conditioning based on discourse topic and activity type. Indeed, she notes that research has shown that computer-mediated interaction is sensitive to a variety of technical and situational factors. In the light of Herring’s observation, one could argue that although activities on newspaper websites centre mainly on reading, sharing and reacting to news posted on the platform, the discourse produced for socio-political issues such as farmer-herder crisis in Nigeria could manifest structuring and strategies which are not neutral but ideological and intimately linked with the ethnic sentiments and beliefs of the text producers (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002). This study adopts the critical discourse analytical (CDA) approach to Nigeria’s online newspaper readers’ construction of identity in order to examine the ideological
underpinnings of citizens' struggle for access to state resources via settler/indigene discourse.

Fairclough (2001) posits that discourse is a form of social practice. In other words, discourse does not neutrally reflect our world, social identities and relations but is conditioned by other non-linguistic parts of society. This article is interested in the social conditioning of Nigeria’s settler/indigene discourse produced to construct varied identities. The CDA approach to the study of online users’ construction of identity is useful for unveiling citizens’ struggle for state resources which underlies the structuring of some of the comments posted on newspapers’ websites in response to farmer/herder crisis in Nigeria. Thus, the specific objectives of this study are:

(a) Identify the discursive forms of Nigeria’s online newspapers’ settler/indigene communication;
(b) Critically discuss the construction of identity in the discourse; and
(c) Relate the discourse to the socio-political realities of their production.

**Review of Literature on Nigeria’s Online Discourse of Identity**

The discourse produced within Nigeria’s cyberspace has attracted scholarly interests for many years. Idenhen and Taiwo (2016) investigated the structural and functional sentence types used in online forum comments on politics, religion and culture. They found that on issues relating to civic engagement in asynchronous platforms, Nigerian online commenters consciously produce sentence forms that are typical of written communication in order to communicate their ideas clearly. It would then appear that the factors of activity type and subject of discourse could influence the structuring of language in online communication where brevity and speed influence language features (Herring, 1998).

The influence of social media on citizens’ involvement in active governance in Nigeria is the interest of Ifukor’s (2010) study of the linguistic construction of textual messages in the use of blogs and twitter in Nigeria’s 2007 elections. The findings of the study showed that there is a dialectal relationship between social media discourse and the process of political empowerment.
Some other researchers have paid attention to the study of identity in online discourse. The different perspectives which researchers have adopted in the investigation of identity construction in online discourse reflect a common submission – individual and social identities are not stable characteristics of an individual but rather are dynamic phenomenon (Talamo and Ligorio, 2000). In his study of cyber behaviours of sub-African internet users, Taiwo (2012; 2017) studied users’ manipulative and deceptive discourse produced to scam innocent citizens.

Drawing from insights from Michael Halliday’s (1985) metafunctions, he argued that scammers construct identities through politeness strategies, ignorance and vulnerability for criminal purposes. These findings are in consonance with his observations (Taiwo, 2015) that the cyberspace though useful for its speed and easy access to people and information has also become a vulnerable space through which criminal behaviours are discursively enacted.

Chiluwa (2014) provides insights into the ways Nigerians use the social media to project their ethnic identity as a means of in-group preservation. He observed that members of the Biafran Campaign Group deployed language strategies of code switching, proverbs and labels to assert their ethnic uniqueness via online discourse. The present study is also preoccupied with Nigerians’ use of online discourse in constructing group identity. However, the point of divergence is in the fact that the present study is concerned with the critical investigation of the discursive construction of identity in discourse produced to enact or resist access to state resources in the Middle Belt of Nigeria.

Methods
The data for this study were drawn from Nigerian newspapers’ websites comments posted from 2016 – 2018. This period is considered to be significant in the farmer-herder crisis in the Middle Belt states of Nigeria. One thousand (1000) feedback comments were purposively selected from newspapers online websites. The newspapers include The Guardian, The Punch, This Day, The Vanguard, Premium Times, Business Day, The Nation and Sahara Reporters. These online newspapers were selected because they are considered to be sites that have gathered significant readership and robust
conversations among their active users on news contents posted on these platforms. Thus, these sites offer research opportunity to investigate overt and covert discursive construction of identities in Nigeria’s multi-ethnic socio-political domain. Data is however delimited to only comments which demonstrate citizens’ struggle for access to social resources. For ease of analysis, the data samples are labelled FC (representing Feedback Comments). A qualitative analysis of the data was carried out using van Dijk’s Socio-cognitive approach to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

CDA is an interdisciplinary and emancipatory research enterprise. It is primarily interested in the critical investigation of veiled ideological and power relations which are latent in naturalised everyday discourse (Wodak and Meyer, 2009). The preoccupation of most CDA research is in the unveiling of unequal power relations which are constituted in discursive practices. Studies in ideology, manipulation, discrimination, social identities, ethnic and racial discourse are areas which researchers of CDA focus on. This study follows van Dijk’s approach to CDA who argues that control of power is linked to a group’s effective and manipulative use of discourse to influence the minds of people (van Dijk, 1993: 2009). A group’s power is therefore closely tied to how much it can control the shared beliefs and knowledge of its members and others in specific social representations. van Dijk further observes that a group’s shared beliefs or ideologies usually consist of important social and political issues that are relevant to their existence. This study is therefore interested in investigating the ways in which online newspaper readers construct settler/indigene identities in their feedback comments on newspaper news content on the farmer-herder crisis in the Middle Belt of Nigeria.

Findings and Discussion
Analysis of discursive construction of identity in Nigeria’s settler/indigene discourse follows van Dijk’s socio-cognitive approach to CDA. Thus, the interest of the research is in the study of shared ethnic groups’ beliefs and representations expressed in online comments produced in Nigerian citizens’ struggle for access to state resources (van Dijk, 2009). In analysing comments posted on some
Nigerian newspapers’ websites on the farmer-herder crisis, it was observed that group identity was enacted following the typical WE-THEY in-group/out group polarizing discursive strategy patterns. For the reason of space, some samples of the comments posted by online users are discussed below to investigate the ways commenters deployed strategies of categorization of social groups, justification and polarization in constructing settler/indigene identities among Nigerian citizens.

Categorisation of Social Groups
Discursive strategy of social categorization deployed in some of the comments in response to newspapers’ news reporting of farmer-herder crisis in Nigeria reflects citizens’ particular ways of constructing ethnic group identities in Nigeria. It should be noted that these online comments which are presented in form of ‘everyday talk’ are important forms of social action which could affect the ways citizens view themselves and others (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002). The comments below (FC1 – FC7) for instance, portray the ways in which settler/indigene dichotomy is strategically constructed and legitimized in Nigerian online discourse through the use of labels. The labels are deployed to depict herdsmen who are non-indigenes or settlers in the Middle Belt as dangerous, a threat, a burden and people of a foreign culture in these communities.

FC1: FRED
WHO WILL POLICE THESE SAVAGES, WHOSE THIRST FOR BLOOD IS UNMATCHABLE BY ANY BEAST IN THE WILD? NIGERIANS MUST REMEMBER THAT THE HAUSAS WERE ONCE NORMAL AFRICANS UNTIL THE FULANIS CAME TO THEIR VILLAGES WITH CATTLE AND GRADUALLY ATTACKED THEM AND IMPOSED AN EMIR IN ALL GAUSA LAND. AND TODAY, THE ORIGINAL HAUSAS HAVE BEEN FORCED TO COMPLY AND NOW CONSIDER THEMSELVES PERPETUAL PARTNERS OF THE FULANIS, THEY DO NOT EVEN REMEMBER THEIR HISTORY ANYMORE. ALL THEY CAN TELL YOU IS ABOUT HUSMAN DAN FODIO THE FULANI
MAN THAT CONQUERED THEM. GO TO YORUBA COMMUNITIES IN KWARA STATE TODAY - THEY ARE BEING RULED BY A FULANI EMIR—AND THE HOST COMMUNITY IS RURAL AND HELPLESS.

FC2: Excisionist •
Nigerians feel helpless in their own homes and their farms as invaders sanctioned by Buhari destroy their farmland, their cash crops and their home.

FC3: Omotolaaraujo •
The Fulani are Terrorists. They should not be roaming the countryside.

FC4: CHARLES FREDERICK:
As if the havoc being caused by Boko Haram in Northern Nigeria is not enough, now we have this tsetse fly infested travellers coming to south and south-eastern Nigeria with their murderous campaign?

In the extracts above, adjectives such as: tsetse fly infested, invaders, terrorists, savages, beasts, primitive, nominal: travellers and material processes: destroy, forced, imposed, kill are deployed to project negative traits of Fulani herdsmen as threats to Nigerian agrarian host communities. These labels which construct the Fulani group as inherently destructive are employed as tacit justification for the argument that they should be banned from grazing in the Middle Belt rural communities. In addition, words like travellers and invaders delegitimise herdsmen’s rights over the resources of states in the North Central part of the country on the basis of descent. Conversely, Middle Belt farmers are constructed in FC5 and FC6 below as victims of Fulani herdsmen’s oppression with adjectives such as: rural, helpless, victims while their farming activities are described with material process: dig and noun phrase: the year-long toil to emphasise injustice and severity of herdsmen’s dominance of Nigerians living in rural communities.

FC5: Rominiyis Dazmillion
Ask your brothers to get a ranch and settle down to do it right. They will be better off in a ranch. If they sell some of the cattle,
they can buy land and grow grass especially in areas they are used to. The have been in Nigeria for few hundred years and have acquire lands in the north but refused to grow grass on it. Farmers dig well and find a way to grow crop, grass is not as difficult to grow, instead they prefer to destroy the year long toil of the farmer because some special interest gave them guns to kill the natives.

FC6: Barrister Ogunade
The question is what has these Governors done for their citizens that were victims of these heinous crimes perpetrated by the herdsmen?

The strategic use of labels: 'natives', 'original Hausas', 'normal Africans' deployed to describe indigenous citizens indirectly project the Fulani group as foreigners, intruders and illegal residents. This discursive move tacitly suggests that non indigenes do not have a right to the resources of host communities in the Middle Belt and by extension, the country at large. According to Human Rights Watch report (2006), although Nigeria is a nation of more than 130 million people, the fear of domination is rife among its citizens, particularly those from small ethnic communities who fear losing their identities to larger populations in the country. From some of the data gathered, it could be observed that ownership and attachment to portions of land resource in the country is perceived as a symbol of ethnic identity. This is portrayed in feedback comments which contested herdsmen's opaque ethnic identity on the basis of their itinerant nature. In the extract below (FC7), the commenter employs rhetorical questions and time adverbials to deride the Fulani ethnic group's predilection for mobility and thus, to imply their lack of identity based on their nomadic characteristic.

FC7 umolu Ayobanna Ikeanumba
Where is their ancestral land? Every Nigeria tribe small or large has ancestral home, where is fulani herdsmen nation? Do they know the concept of nationality? Today they may be in Jos, tomorrow they are in Jebba. Now they are in Damaturu ,next day they are in Douala.Yet the elected president of Nigeria would rather protect them than all other Nigerian tribes. Why? Because he is one of them.
Conversely, some of the commenters projected the nomadic nature of herdsmen in Nigeria as a source of power and right to state resources. Most of these commenters situated their discourse against global and historical contexts in order to portray the Fulani ethnic group as more powerful and influential than the host communities due to their wide spread nature (Baidoo, 2014). According to history, the Fulani race is not only widely spread across most states of West Africa but have retained their independent characteristics; often remaining aloof from the host communities and speaking their own language (Agbegbedia, 2014). This has invariably helped them to retain some form of exclusiveness. The extracts in FC8 and FC9 below therefore reflect commenters’ strategic projection of Fulani herdsmen as indomitable. In addition, they serve as typical discourse of Nigerian citizens’ tacit resistance of settler identity.

In FC8 for example, the writer projected Fulani herdsmen’s power and ethnic superiority on the basis of their origin and spread as a form of legitimisation of Fulani’s domination of Middle Belt indigenes: ‘This action reverberated across all Fulani people in the whole of West Africa’. In FC9, the combatant nature of the Fulani ethnic group and their ability to resist oppression are hinted at in form of a mild threat issued to Middle Belt indigenes through the material process ‘challenge’.

**FC8:** A prominent Fulani leader, Ardo Madaki, was invited to the palace of the district head of the area on the grounds that a solution was being sought to the problem. However, the Agatu militia beheaded Ardo right in front of the district head. This action reverberated across all Fulani people in the whole of West Africa and the clamour for revenge began to grow strong. He comes from a very well respected clan and the Agatu sent the Fulani a chilling message with his murder (Mayah, 2016).

**FC9:** Jakadiya  
We were born free • 3 years ago
I challenge you to kill a Fulani man and see what happens to your community. We may overlook it now but revenge must come even after 1,000 years. Take my words.
In FC 10 and FC12 below, the Nigerian traditional belief in communal life is manipulated to project unequal power relations between Fulani herdsmen and indigenes of the North central states of Nigeria. This is achieved through the use of family discourse in which Nigeria's traditional kinship system is employed to enact inclusive/exclusive discourse. For example, by repeatedly referring to the herdsmen as Buhari’s (Nigeria’s incumbent president) ‘tribesmen’, ‘brothers’, the commenters manipulatively extended the progeny of the referents beyond the biological sense in order to keep ethnic identity in view while discussing the oppressive domination of Nigerian Middle Belt rural farmers by Fulani herdsmen. This invariably helps to suggests that the Fulani herdsmen’ dominance is connected to their ethnic affiliation with president Buhari and by extension projects him as an oppressive leader.

**FC10**: FieldMarshal
Buhari's armed tribesmen killing innocent indigenes...this is why Buhari must lose 2019 besides the economic hardship occasioned by his mis-governance.
#DoanldDuke2019

**FC11**: Igbo kwenu
But can't something seriously be done to deal with these herdsmen? This thing is becoming too much. It’s everywhere. This is evil.

**FC12**: Alex Write
Buhari’s body language towards the herdsmen does not suggest that he is supportive of anybody taking any drastic measures about them. In fact, he asked people to accommodate them as brothers so how do you expect people to take to the streets to fight an enemy we know is seen as our "brother" by Buhari.

**Justification**
In some of the comments, the texts producers attempted to justify the varied identities constructed in their support or resistance of citizens’ access to resources on the basis of settler/indigene dichotomy in the country. These discursive reflect the argument that language when
used to express users’ belief in the source of power, status or worth is largely influenced by perspectives on what the world looks like (Gee, 1999). Thus, it could be observed that commenters’ perspectives on the farmer/herder crisis in the country did not necessarily reflect what is regarded as ‘normal’ for an individual or a group but rather what is acceptable to citizens as far as the issues of access to state resources is concerned. For example, material processes such as ‘murder’, ‘burnt’, ‘stealing’ were deployed in FC14 and FC15 below as response to FC13 to construct herdsmen as victims whose reprisal actions on indigenes of Benue state were necessitated by the need to survive as settlers in the Middle Belt. Thus, in this regard, the commenters foreground the notion that the herdsmen were the sufferers rather than the aggressors/oppressors.

**FC13: Julius • 3 years ago**

This sort of things shouldnt be happening in a civilized country. The government must step up both State and Federal government. By the way, I didnt read anything about the state government doing anything to resolve this and bring the perpetrators of this barbaric murderers to Justice.

**FC14: Iskacountryman Julius • 3 years ago**

YES... the government **failed** to deal with the **murder** of abdullahi and the **stealing** of his cows...

**FC15: amazing2012**

Check the youtube you will see the video in which Agatu's **burnt** Fulanis alive!

In some cases, the argumentative strategy took the form of *argumentum ad populum* or pathetic fallacy. This strategy was deployed by some of the commenters to appeal to the emotions, opinions and convictions of social groups about the despotic nature of herdsmen in Nigeria. For example, in FC16 and FC17 below, the writers exploited Nigerian citizens’ predilection for ethnic sentiments and affiliation to delegitimize Fulani herdsmen’s rights to state resources. The force of logic was deployed in the extracts to portray
herdsmen as ‘outsiders’ and to justify the argument that they should be alienated from the Middle Belt.

**FC15:** ‘Buhari is a Fulani. All Fulanis are killers’.

**FC16: Rominiyis Dankasa**

Until fulani started showing up in this rural western Nigeria it is the most peaceful place you can imagine. **Everywhere they show up the peace of the place is destroy.**

The arguments in FC15 and FC16 reflect the influence of ethnic groups’ perception on citizens’ mental models of other social groups in the country. Ethnic prejudice is often reflected in entrenched negative stereotypes which Nigerian citizens have about members of other ethnic groups and which they pass down from one generation to the other through processes of socialization and discourse (Agbakwuru & Opara, 2013). For instance, in the extracts FC17 and FC18 below, historical allusion, material processes: ‘unable’, ‘driven’ and code mixing: ‘You people with Oladipo Diya spirit’ are employed to portray Fulani ethnic group's power identity and conversely to depict the Hausa and Yoruba indigenous people as weak and dominated ethnic groups.

In FC 17, the commenter represented Hausa people who are indigenes of northern Nigeria as the dominated group based on historical evidence of their defeat by Fulani in the early 19th century. The Fulani invasion and conquest of the northern parts of the country (the Middle Belt inclusive) seems to have created a myth of perpetual dominance in the minds of some Nigerians and this mental model is sometimes reflected in citizens’ public discourse (Umameh, 2018). For example, Professor Labdo Muhammad of Yusuf Maitama Sule University, Kano in 2018 insisted that the Fulani are the rightful owners of Benue State and indeed all parts of the Middle Belt region of Nigeria:

A large chunk of what is today's North Central or what some people prefer to call Middle Belt today were actually territories belonging to Sokoto Caliphate. If you agree that Abuja used to be part of Sokoto until 1975 or 76 when Niger State was carved out of Sokoto, you begin to understand.
Benue is part of Bauchi Emirate” (https://www.concisenews.global.)

**FC17: thusspokez • 2 years ago**

Fulani herdsmen attacking Nigerians are from Senegal, Mali – Northern governors
But who owes the cattle that they are raring. Did they also bring them from Senegal and Mali too?

**The Hausa is a weak African ethnic group. Why does it always allow foreigners, particularly the Fulanis, to come to its land and take over?** The Fulani is 4% of the Nigerian population but use the Hausa to swell its number and influence.

Once again, Hausa land is being invaded by new wave of Fulanis from the North and the Hausas are unable to do anything about the marauding invaders.

**FC18: HAMZAT GWONG thusspokez • 2 years ago**

See your life? "The Hausa is a weak African ethnic group."
Haba! Oremi Oloye!!!

How dare you call the Hausa a 'weak' ethnic group? Come on! Is it the Hausa who owns Ilorin in Kwara State and had their Oba (King) driven from throne with a Fulani taking over? **You people with Oladipo Diya spirit** will never cease to amuse me. Do you even realise that there are students and Professors of History on this forum? **I don't have to mention the weak and cowardly ethnic group. All Nigerians living and dead know who they are.**

Professor Labdo’s perception of the subjugation of northern indigenes by the Fulani is portrayed in the use of the adjective ‘weak’ used to describe the Hausa ethnic group. Similarly, the strategic use of code mixing in: **'You people with Oladipo Diya spirit’** as a form of naming in FC18 serves as a clue to the referent of the fallacious assertion: ‘I don't have to mention the weak and cowardly ethnic group. All Nigerians living and dead know who they are’. Within Nigeria’s shared socio-cultural context, naming as a discursive
strategy helps activate the reader’s mental model because names are significant and closely linked with ethnic identity, experiences and perception of the world (Chiluwa, 2010). The name ‘Oladipo Diya’ therefore indirectly suggests that the referents of the comment (FC18) are the Yoruba people.

**Polarisation**

In constructing in-group and out group identities, some of the commenters deployed pronouns to (re)produce inclusive and exclusive discourse. It is useful to note that pronoun is a useful linguistic resource for expressing ideological values and portraying citizens as insiders or outsiders (Beard, 2000). This is because one of the functions of pronouns in discourse is to mirror relationships of solidarity or exclusion between participants (Inigo-Mora, 2013). FC19 and FC22 below show the ways in which commenters employed pronouns in the typical ‘we’/‘they’ polarising discourse in solidarity expressions produced for Middle Belt indigenes. In FC19 for example, the land resource of the Middle Belt is strategically described as ‘our pristine and peaceful rural abode’. The pronominal ‘our’ inclusively establishes ethnic group affiliation between the commenter and the indigenes of the Middle Belt.

In addition, the comment intertextually draws upon traditional Nigerian communal life discourse which permits an individual to refer to other people’s properties as if they owned them. The writers of FC20 and FC21 also deployed the pronoun ‘our’ to create a common ‘victim’ identity for all southern Nigerians rather than the rural dwellers of the Middle Belt only. The overall effect of this persuasive move is that Fulani herdsmen are excluded from Nigeria’s citizenry.

On the other hand, the pronominal ‘they’ deployed as referent for the herdsmen strategically excluded and represented Fulani ethnic group members as outsiders. In FC20, the use of the pronominal ‘his’ connects President Buhari, who is from the Fulani ethnic group with herdsmen, thereby implicating him in the criminal activities of herdsmen in Nigeria. In FC21 and FC22, the first person singular and plural pronouns ‘I’ and we’ are also deployed for similar inclusive and exclusive purposes. In FC22 for example, the deictic
'these' and 'we' are used to polarize Nigerians into herdsmen as 'outsiders' and other Nigerians as legitimate members of the Nigerian society. In addition, the pronounal 'I' was used repeatedly in FC22 to demonstrate the writer's personal commitment to his threat to kill herdsmen in Nigeria. This invariably gives force to his call for a united joint action among Nigerian citizens to eliminate herdsmen from the country through violent means.

**FC19: Rominiyis • 3 years ago**

This part of the country use to be peaceful for every Nigerians and even none Nigerians of all race and tribe. **The Fulani Drovers** have import violent into our pristine and peaceful rural abode. When people cannot farm for a living it is dangerous. This is a threat to our existence as a people. If they would not listen to citizens they should at least listen to the Governor. Do not invite anarchy by inaction and incompetence or bias. We have not hears a single Fulani drover standing trial for killing an indigenous Nigerian farmer nor why they have the legal power to carry guns.

**FC20: Chain Jee •**

two things
1 *buhari* is feigning ignorance because he is enjoying the atrocities perpetrated by his gang of dirty animals
2 southern nigerians are all cowards
how else will we be eating meat when it has been soaked in the sorrow tears and blood of our brothers and sisters?

**FC21: Arogbo • 2 years ago**

Well, if these herdsmen are from Senegal and Mali as claimed by the Northern Governors Forum, we as a bonafide citizens of Nigeria have every right to kill them anywhere we lay eyes on them without no question asked, period.

**FC 22: Senator D. Arogbo • 2 years ago**

100% correct! I wonder why DSS is after Apostle Johnson Suleiman who said we should kill these "foreign" fulani herdsmen who have invaded our communities to kill US. Why is the Nigerian Police and Secret Police worried if we kill these "foreigners"?... I'll kill them all I promise. "Foreigners"
since our government can't protect us from you guys then we will kill you guys ourselves!

Conclusion
In this study, a critical investigation of discursive construction of identity on online Nigerian Newspapers’ websites was carried out. This was done with a view to unveiling Nigerian citizens’ calculated struggle for access to state resources on the basis of settler/indigene status. The critical discourse analysis approach was adopted in the study of feedback comments posted on these websites between 2016 and 2018. The findings reveal that discursive strategies of social categorization, justification and polarization were adopted by online commenters to (re)produce settler/indigene identities in discourse which relate to citizens’ access to state resources. The study also shows that linguistic resources of pronominal, deictic and code-mixing help to (de)legitimize citizens’ rights to social resources. Viewed against Nigeria’s age-long inter-ethnic struggle for resource control, it could be argued that online newspapers’ feedback comments on farmer/herder crisis have the potential of (re)producing unequal power relations among the citizens and widening the social gap created by settler/indigene dichotomy in the country. Considering the growing influence of Internet based discourse in Nigeria, it could be suggested that online newspapers’ interactions will continue to play a significant role in the country’s political communication. This therefore raises some concerns for the effects of settler/indigene discourse on the country’s national integration.

References


Effect of Repeated Draft Method on Senior Secondary II Students’ Ability to Write Expository Essay

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Abstract
This paper investigates the effect of Repeated Draft Method on Senior Secondary School students' writing of expository essays. The work sampled 100 pupils from two secondary schools in Pankshin, Plateau State. Quasi experimental design was used. The conventional method of teaching expository writing was used for the control group. The Repeated Draft Method, which is an offshoot of the cognitive writing process was used for the treatment in the experimental group. The results revealed that there was no significant difference between pre-test and post-test scores of the participants in the control group. However, in the experimental group, there was significant difference in performance scores of pre-test and post-test. The paper recommends the Repeated Draft Method of teaching and learning writing for both teachers and learners in secondary schools in Nigeria.

Introduction
Writing is one of the skills of language learning and its relevance cannot be underestimated. Career Addict an Organisation (2016) says writing is crucial in every profession because it is a means of communication. Therefore, different forms of writing are observed in different fields. For instance, doctors write reports for their patients. Information are written through emails and others communicate through the use of memorandum and so on. Career Addict, a body of an organisation emphasized that good writing skills are valued...
especially when there are good writers. It said that the writers appear to be more capable, intelligent, responsible and credible than those who send emails and letters with poorly constructed sentences and grammatical errors.

It has been observed that students’ writing are marred with irregularities in form of poor sentence construction, loose cohesion and coherence (Oyetunde, 2018). Others are mixed tenses, wrong concord and prepositions and direct translation from L1 to L2 (Oluwole, 2008). These challenges stimulated linguists to embark on thorough research in order to explore ways of tackling students’ problems in writing. The traditional approach was used in teaching writing but it didn’t yield positive results because it was teacher centered. However, the cognitive process approach of teaching writing was originated by Linda Flower and John R. Hayes in the 80s. The cognitive writing approach recognizes writing as a process embedded in stages; pre-writing, drafting, reviewing, editing and publishing.

The repeated draft method is an offshoot of the process approach of teaching writing. It gives students the opportunity to write and receive feedback from the teachers and co-learners. At the starting stage, students' works are bound to have irregularities in form of errors. However, there are opportunities given to them to correct the errors by the instructor or co-learners (Kolade, 2013). The numbers of revisions are aimed at improving their ability to write and to offer them better achievement (Othman & Mohamad, 2007). At the pre-writing stage, students think, plan, organise, draft and go through the stage of revision until the comments are effected. It is based upon this fact about the relevance of repeated draft method in teaching writing that the researcher embarked on the study, "Effects of Repeated Draft Method on SS II students’ ability to write expository essay.

Background to the Study
Composition writing was first discovered by Montaigne Eugene. He initiated it when he made use of his long diary. He organised the
events and situations into thoughtful and sensible message to the readers, (Nkwocha, 2008). Actually that was how writing originated. Writing is not in isolation because it cuts across curriculum. Everybody in his field of specialization needs it for official correspondences especially academic writers. In any academic writing, standard is a priority and not a matter of choice, (Jowitt, 2018). Composition writing has sprung into different types and aspects; for instance, report writing, minutes writing, memorandum, curriculum vitae, etc. The most common ones are narrative, descriptive, argumentative and expository writing which are also termed essay writing because they have central messages in them.

Expository essay is an aspect of writing that demands the student to investigate an idea, evaluate evidence, expound on an idea and present the idea in a clear and concise manner (Baker, Brizee & Angeli, 2013). The main purpose of writing an expository essay is to explain a familiar concept. Explanation can take many dimensions: you can expound a demonstration, give directions, clarify a process, define an unknown element or instruct a reader about something. Expository writing consists of modalities, techniques and steps on how something is done. One of the binding rule of writing expository is to explain in a logical and straight forward manner about a thing. Without ringing bells and blowing of whistles, this type of essay presents a plain and balanced analysis of a topic based on fact, with no references to the writer’s opinions or emotions (Thomas, 2016). Therefore, students and academic writers in different fields need it for concise presentation of happenings and new discoveries.

Haven expounded on the reality of writing, suffice it to say that its importance to our daily lives cannot be measured. Writing is the main source through which effective communication takes place. Being it record keeping, memo, restaurant menu, poetry, letter writing of both official and personal, they are aimed at passing information. Writing is vital to today’s society because the most important agreements are written, signed and approved on paper. Writing is a part of creative project, whether is a film or any of the literary works of art, (Gustafson, Tran & Buck, 2018). Moreover,
writing enhances the usefulness of the brains because it works more than the computer. After all, the brain was used to invent the computer and the formula was written and strictly following on paper. Through writing, we preserve memories, histories and important documents that may otherwise lost (Rosenfeld, 2013). In agreement to that assertion on the importance of writing, Benton-Neylon (2016) says that you can easily impress your boss when you write well and it helps you to collect your thoughts together. Despite its relevance it has its challenges.

The problems of writing range from general to specific and technical challenges. It is observed generally that it is common to find such common errors like: circumlocution, tautology and Euphemism. Others are errors in the content of writing in form of poor cohesion, lack of centrality of theme, poor logical presentation of items and scanty point to back a topic. In writing for organisation, it is glaring to identify poor relationship of thoughts by the use of sentences and paragraph linkers (Alaoye, 2009). In the area of expression, errors such as slangs and clichés are used even in formal writings. Other errors are run-ons and fragments. Under mechanical accuracy, spelling errors and poor use of punctuation marks are noticed. To overcome these challenges, Alaoye advised that writers must practice writing constantly and they must be willing to engage in revised drafts in order to get it right.

Gone were the days when writing was based on the final product. There is a paradigm shift to multiple drafts and stages to correct irregularities in writing (Wikipedia, 2018). The repeated draft method of teaching expository writing is more purposeful because students’ writings are checked and they received clear comments as teachers’ feedback, (Nakanishi, 2007). The repeated draft method has its origin from process approach of teaching writing because writers go through a process of plan, revise, rearrange, delete where necessary, re-reading and producing multiple drafts before establishing the finished document. Research has emphasized that feedback between drafts is more useful than when it is done at the end of the process because it has done little in improving students’ writing
(Stanley, 2011). Moreover, there is a shift from the idea of the teacher as a marker but a reader whose responses and feedback are essential. The skills involved in repeated drafts are numerous but let the students have it at a start that they are going through a process of drafting and repeating draft and not writing the finished product. Therefore, students should waste no time to stop writing in order to make corrections and improvements until when they start another draft. For repeated draft to be effective, the writer must have a focus of what to do at each stage of a draft as university of Lecester (2010) puts it:

1\textsuperscript{st} Re-Draft – Editing for Academic Rigour
2\textsuperscript{nd} Re-Draft – Reducing Redundancy
3\textsuperscript{rd} Re-Draft – Editing for Consistency
4\textsuperscript{th} Re-Draft – Signposting and Linking
5\textsuperscript{th} Re-Draft – Proof Reading

Between the drafts, the supervisor’s comments are essential; the strengths and weaknesses are meant to encourage students to sustain writing. The strengths should first be the comments of the supervisor because it makes writers please and happy his encourage them to write more. Students are encouraged to take every weakness serious so that they should create time and improve on them. Apart from the supervisor (teacher), friends and experts can be good sources of feedback and can offer general advise on tone, phrasing and structure as well as suggestions to improve the observed weaknesses. Moreover, writers are discouraged not to waste time on a particular draft with similar problem overtime. It should never deter writers to stop writing; therefore, students must develop the mindset to what to expect in the process of multiple drafts whether positive or negative comments.

The positive effects of the repeated drafted method cannot be underestimated. It offers students the opportunity to plan and re-plan, organize and re-organise to the point of the first draft. The content is checked and irrelevant points are replaced by more meaningful items. In the organisation, the repeated draft assist
learners to present concise, coherent and chronologically based essay satisfactory to the readers (Flower & Hayes, 1980). Expression on the other hand allows learners themselves clearly on paper. They are guided on how to make use of words and sentence linkers to effect understanding. The right sentences are taught and students use them in their writing. This is to avoid any error in sentence construction like run-ons and fragments. Students are also exposed to adopt to relevant mechanics of writing like punctuation, correct spellings and word diction.

In spite of the opportunities offered by the repeated draft method, many teachers are still using the traditional approach and if at all it is taught; it has been observed that teachers make use of wrong methods to teach writing, (Oyetunde and Muodunogu, 1999). Teachers are urged to explore more through study and self-development to ensure the current methods of teaching is practiced.

The repeated draft method is not a new discovery in writing because other researchers in other countries and some parts of Nigeria, have tested it and have experienced its positive impact; especially in the areas of planning, organization, drafting and editing. It has been in existence since the 80s. Of recent, authors like Shamshad Othman and Dr. Faizah Mohammed have streamlined the effects of teacher feedback on multiple composition to include its pedagogical reward. It is outstanding and reliable in the development of writing skills. Students develop interest and there is higher performance between pre-test and post-test rather than post-test. That is their findings, so, to generalize the findings to every context is wrong; that is why this study is being conducted in Pankshin Local Government of Plateau State, North Central of Nigeria at the Senior Secondary in two Day Community schools. The findings could perhaps be similar to other conclusions or entirely different because experimentation will be conducted in community day schools.

**Statement of the Problem**
Over the years, it has been observed that students hardly express themselves on paper because of diverse errors and irregularities
committed by learners in form of spelling mistakes, faulty sentence structure, mixed tenses, wrong use of linkages and transition (James, n.d). Others are wrong use of punctuation marks and abbreviations are introduced in formal writing because of the effect of social media text. Again, students’ writings have been confirmed to have poor and loose coherence and cohesion (Oyetunde, 2018). All of these irregularities can be noticed in different levels of writing; vis-a-viz content, organization, expression and mechanical accuracy.

The causes of these problems can be linked to poor linguistic background because of insufficient exposure to reading and speaking which are likely to affect the use of English in writing. Another problem could be first language interference which can be observed in spelling and pronunciation and eventually it can affect sentence constructions at different levels; and most especially students practice direct translation of sentences from L1 to L2. Some others are unfamiliarity with the topic, poor knowledge of the purpose of different types of writing and bad reading culture (Okotie, 2010).

On their study of the challenge students face in practicing writing, Kenboi, Andiema, M’mbone (2014) say that students have complained that teachers do not discuss difficult concepts; the teaching is boring; lack of regular practice; inability to express themselves and some of the topics are difficult to attempt. It is tempting to conclude that teachers are still using the traditional approach of teaching writing which is characterized by giving the students topic which is geared towards the finished product rather than the process approach.

Teachers’ attitude in teaching writing is a big setback to students’ performance generally in writing and across curriculum. This has affected learners’ performance in West African Examination Council (WAEC) and National Examination Council Organisation (NECO). Again, it has been observed by Okotie and Kemboi, Adiena & M’mbone that teachers’ problems of teaching writing is poor approach. In the study, teachers’ frequency has shown that they do not know the right technique to use in teaching writing. Also, teachers have complained of large classes with many lessons to teach.
Moreover, there is no enough time allocated to teach and assess writing.

Many researchers have given suggestions on how to tackle the observed challenges in teaching and learning writing. In tackling errors of spellings, Kama (2010) says students should be exposed to reading in order to get large knowledge of vocabulary of both native and non-native words. Students should be acquainted with rules and principles of spellings, for instance, words ending in –ne are dropped at the suffix level; for example, manage –managing. There are exceptions in words ending with –e but at the suffix level they are retained e.g. hoe –hoeing.

In regard to large class issue, especially when it comes to teaching writing, Aloaye (2009) says teachers should systematically place students in groups. Give them time to make presentations of their composition. Afterwards, let them exchange the essays and sort out problem areas and different ways of solving them. Research has observed that students have responded positively to this method because errors were solved at the class level and as they kept writing in drafts it made them better writers.

For this study, repeated draft method will be used on senior secondary II students. Its aim is to curb the irregularities in writing and enhance better performance in writing. The repeated draft is a process of continuous writing during which ideas and information are planned and organized into proper sentences and paragraphs for clarity and purpose. At this level, the specific number of draft is not written as suggested by an anonymous writer and he say the process is maintained until the students get them right. However, this study intends to use three repeated drafts, at the end, it is believed that students’ writing will improve. The study urges teachers to remain determined in order to assist students by giving them clear comments accompanied by specific task.

Methodology
The experimentation was conducted in two Community Day Schools located at Tambes and Bwarak of Pankshin Local Government Area.
One hundred participants were randomly selected from SS II classes of both schools. The controlled group was kept intact in Tambes Community Day School while the experimental group was in Bwarak community Secondary School. The teaching lasted for a period of three weeks. The repeated draft method was used in teaching expository essay in the experimental group while the conventional product was used in the controlled group. Topics were selected by the students in the experimental group while topics were given in the control group. Some were randomly selected and treated in the class. Some of the students’ topics are: my favourite food; how to locate my house in Bwarak; making a clay pot; building a dog house; locating the tomato market from Tambes/Bwarak to Pankshin, etc. Individual and group works were given. At the beginning, pretest was administered for the two groups and assessment comments were based on content, organization, expression and mechanical accuracy. Participants had engaged in multiple drafts to effect the correction of comments given by the instructor. Afterward, a post-test was conducted and the results were thus:

Findings

Table 1: Scores of the Pre-test and Post-test of 10 Participants in the Control Group

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-test score</th>
<th>Content 15mks</th>
<th>Org 10mks</th>
<th>Exp. 15mks</th>
<th>M/A 10mks</th>
<th>Total 50mks</th>
<th>Post test Conventional</th>
<th>Cont. 15mks</th>
<th>Org. 10mks</th>
<th>Exp. 15mks</th>
<th>M/A 10mks</th>
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In table one which is the analysis score of the controlled group; it has shown that there was no significant improvement in the post test. Specifically, the highest score in the pre-test was number one (1) who scored $\frac{15}{50}$ and when converted to percentage was 30%. Again, in the post test, number 1 scored $\frac{18}{50}$ which is 36%. Similarly, the lowest in the pre-test is number 8 with the score of $\frac{04}{50}$ and when converted to percentage is 08%. In the post-test, the candidate scored $\frac{08}{50}$ and 16%.

Table 2: Scores of the Pretest and Posttest of 10 Participants in the Experimental Group

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<th>Pretest score</th>
<th>Content 15mks</th>
<th>Org 10mks</th>
<th>Exp 15mks</th>
<th>M/A 10mks</th>
<th>Total 50mks</th>
<th>Posttest Conv. 15mks</th>
<th>Org 10mks</th>
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<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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In table 2, the analysis revealed that there was tremendous improvement in the post-test compared to the pretest. For instance in the pretest of the experimental group, the highest score was number four (4) with the score of $\frac{17}{50}$ which is 34%. The participant's posttest score is $\frac{40}{50}$ which is 80%. The participant with the lowest score in the pretest is number 10 with $\frac{6}{50}$ which is 12%. Similarly, the same participant scored $\frac{29}{50}$ which is 58% in the post test.

Discussion

In table one (1) of the controlled group, results have shown that there was no significant difference between the post-test and the pre-test scores. This was because the conventional method of finished product method was used to teach them expository essay. The instructor gave them topics to write on, afterward the scripts were assessed using the assessment parameters of content, organization, expression and mechanical accuracy. Clear comments were written on scripts and given to students once. There was no reference to those scripts except the pretest. Other different topics were given and assessed. It has been noticed that the comments were not taken serious and were ignored by the participants.

Table two, the results have revealed that there was tremendous improvement in the post test scores compared to the pretest scores. This was possible because the instructor used the repeated draft method to teach expository essay. The participants were allowed to select topics of their choices and it was discovered that they were familiar with those topics and they showed interest in writing them. Assessment parameter of content, organization, expression and mechanical accuracy was used. Participants engaged in multiple drafts to ensure that comments were taken care of. In between the pre-test and post-test, participants were grouped and
topics were given to them to write. Each group has a secretary to do
the writing. Afterwards, papers were exchanged in the various groups
of five. After the assessment, the instructor re-assessed and reviewed
and they were given back to the groups; afterward presentations were
made. The post-test assessment was based on individual
performance.

In table one (1) and two (2) of the controlled and
experimental groups, the scores were similar because the context was
before the treatment. But in the results of the post-test of the
controlled and experimental group, there was significant difference in
the scores. The highest and lowest results of the experimental group
scored above average while in the controlled group, the post test
revealed that the highest and lowest participants scored below
average.

The study is related to the multiple drafts and peer response
on revision studies of Kolade (2013), 0zkul (2017) and Othman &
Mohammed (2009). The impact of their research has shown that draft
method was pedagogically rewarding, revealing and reliable in the
development of writing skills; students showed interest in in-class
activities; students' performance is higher between pre-test and post-
test and results of post-test.

Conclusion
The research aimed at experimenting the effect of repeated draft
method on senior secondary II students' ability to write expository
essay. The study was conducted in two Community Secondary Schools
in Pankshin Local Government Area of Plateau State, Nigeria. The
results revealed that there was no significant difference in
performance between pre-test and posttest in the control group
because the conventional method was used. However, there was
tremendous improvement in performance scores of the participants
in posttest in the experimental group because the repeated draft
method was used. Therefore, the researcher recommends teachers
and students to adopt the Repeated Draft method in order to improve
the teaching and learning of writing, especially at the senior secondary level of education in Nigeria.

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Information Packaging in Selected Nigerian Testamentary Wills

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Abstract
This study analyses the thematic patterns in testamentary wills using ten purposively selected wills of Nigerian men. Systemic Functional Linguistic theory provides the theoretical framework and the data were subjected to both quantitative and qualitative analysis. Findings revealed that unmarked topical themes make up 84% of the 367 clauses analysed while the marked ones which served as linkers thereby playing dual functions, amount to 16% of the clauses analysed. Interpersonal themes also featured in the data analysed and amount to 12% involving comment adjuncts and terms of affection, but they are not as many as the textual ones which make up 13%. These two helped to link the messages in the texts thus, easing the understanding of wills, contrary to existing views on legal texts as a complex genre. The study concluded therefore, that, irrespective of the style of the legal practitioner, the presence of unmarked, marked, interpersonal and textual themes as well as their patterns found in the analysed texts, made the messages in the wills easy to comprehend. Also because the testator has more influence on the content of the document and its eventual interpretation, it is a lot more accessible than other legal documents which have more of the lawyer's influence.

Keywords: testamentary wills, topical, interpersonal, textual themes, legal texts
Introduction

Language is the means for formulating legal documents and the greatest instrument for social control. Laws are coded in language, and the processes of the law are mediated through language (Gibbons, 1999). Legal documents are formulated using specialised linguistic forms and the law profession is generally described as a profession of words that cannot be practiced in a vacuum (Melinkoff 1963, Gibbons 2006). The winsome nature of the legal profession accords it a chance into almost every aspect of the society as there is no aspect of the society that has no legal undertone, which are borne through spoken and written language. Legal language, which was originally oral, conceded to the written form at the advent of printing. In the written mode, the language of law could sometimes be described as esoteric. Confirming this, Crystal and Davy (1969) posit that the legal language is conservative and makes use of the established formulae, which have been tested before courts for years and therefore employed by law professionals with safety. Tiersma (1999) attributes this conservatism and technicality to its position in the society where the law plays an important role. Typically, legal language has been described as having distinct and recognizable features like long and complex sentences, technical, archaic words and expressions, unusual sentence structure, nominalisation, passives, impersonal constructions and many others which have been found obscure and complex by non-professionals.

The unique nature of the legal language has ignited several interests in the language of law. Linguistic studies of the language of law have investigated it mainly from the stylistic point of view (Crystal and Davy, 1969; Alabi, 211; Cruz & Parina, 2015) identifying the lexical and structural peculiarities of the genre. However, adequate attention has not been paid to the texture of testamentary wills and how the sequential ordering of information in the texts contributes to its overall meaning. The present study focuses on the texture of written wills, paying attention to the thematic relations in this legal document. This is the gap this paper sets out to fill in the linguistic studies of legal documents in Nigeria.
Literature Review

Earlier studies on the legal texts have focused on the general features and nature of the language, such as the linguistic and stylistic peculiarities of the written legal texts (Crystal and Davy, 1969; Tiersma, 1992, Trosborg, 1999; Garner, 2002, Gibbons, 2014). However, much later, scholars started focusing on specific genres within the larger legal discourse, such as courtroom cross-examination (Cotterill, 2002; Opeibi 2008; 2012), police-suspect interrogation (Farinde, 2008; Farinde, et al, 2011; Ajayi, 2014); investigative public hearings (Unuabonah, 2015; 2017; 2018, Tiersma 2010). Others scholars have concentrated on legal documents such as wills, deeds and motions (Opeibi 2008), arbitration (Vazquez-Orta 2013), Supreme Court opinions (Sanni 2016). These and many others have studied the language of law using linguistic theories such as speech acts, stance, lexico-semantics and pragma stylistics.

Adopting a purely linguistic approach, Opeibi (2008) examines the syntactic and pragmatic properties of legal documents in a non-native English context. The study primarily aims at establishing the extent at which legal documents such as Wills, Deeds and Statutes are accessible to lay persons. At the syntactic level, features such as complex sentence structure, redundant expressions, technical jargons, use of conjunctions to link words/ phrases, impersonal/passive constructions, prepositional phrases in unusual positions were found. Discourse acts such as, declaratives and directives are found to be more prevalent in most of the analysed legal documents. He concludes by interpreting some obscure structures in the documents. This attempt at analysing wills and other legal documents provides a background to the present study but has not paid attention to the organisation of information in wills, which is what this study aims to examine.

Coming closer to the present study are studies that investigate the study of legal documents from discourse perspectives (Trosborg, 1997, Niemi-Kiesiläinen, et al, 2007). Specifically, some authors come closer to investigating the logical ordering of textual elements by looking at the deictic and anaphoric features that work together to give the text its texture – the overtly semantic category which contributes to the coherence of the text. Garner (2002: 65) stresses
the importance of cohesive devices in terms of paragraphing and is of the opinion that drafters of legal documents should ensure that paragraphing shows the progression from one idea to another in order to orient the reader with the connective or signposts (Gocic, 2012).

Meng (2017) did a discourse analytic study of the American Constitution, focusing on the thematic progression. The author was able to explicate how the Constitution reflects the features of legal English, such as: accuracy, rigour, clarity, coherence and logicality. While this study is related to this present one in the sense that it is also an attempt at understanding the textual organisation of legal document, it is different because of its focus on the progression of Theme and Rheme in the American Constitution, a public document. The present study looks at the patterns of thematic features in testamentary wills written by private individuals.

The present study therefore, seeks to investigate how information is packaged in Nigerian testamentary wills and how patterns of theme and rheme in the texts contribute to the overall understanding of the said legal document. In this study, wills, classified as private legal texts are analysed using the systemic functional theory.

A Brief Overview of Testamentary Wills

There are two views to the term ‘will’: the first is the testator’s (will writer’s) wishes on his death. the second is the document in which such wishes are written. The latter is the subject of discuss in this research. When a will is based on the testator’s personal properties, such as real estates, it is called a testament. However, the more popular name of the document that contains both real and personal estate is last will and testament (Oniekoro 2007). A will is called the ‘last will or testament’ if it is the last written by the testator before his demise. In a generic sense, a will is an indication of an intention which is testamentary in nature and therefore written in a prescribed form by anyone with a sound mind and memory and of a statutory age. It becomes a testament when it is written and it is the last one prepared by the testator usually through a lawyer.

This study seeks to advance existing knowledge on will as a legal text. It aims at exploring the manner in which information is
organized or packaged in wills. The objectives of this study therefore are to identify the types of themes and rhemes in wills, and describe the patterns of the identified themes and rhemes and the place of these patterns in the overall understanding of the legal text.

**Theoretical Framework**

**Thematic Structure**

Thematic organization of texts has been the thrust of several textlinguistic (Adegbite 2009), discourse analysis (Unuabonah 2010) and syntactic studies (Khediri 2012). This signals the import of the concept in the organization of texts. In the words of Halliday and Mathiessen (2004:105) ‘the thematic organization of the clause is the most significant factor in the development of the text’ and by analyzing the thematic structure of a text, clause by clause, insights can be gained into its texture which helps in the understanding of a writer’s underlying concerns. In other words, to understand a text in terms of the information contained therein or its content, the concept of thematization cannot be overlooked. In fact, it has been said that the thematic structure gives the clause its character as a message in English and plays a major role in organizing the message thus, enabling it to be communicated and clearly understood. Bloor and Bloor (1995) see the thematic structure as the second system of analysis involved in text organization which involves constituents that are labeled: theme and rheme. These two, form the major system within the textual metafunctions and are described in the following sections.

**Theme**

The universality of the concept of theme accords it a key role in almost all languages, as a means of identifying what the clause is about is. Halliday (1985:39) defines theme as the ‘element which serves as the point of departure of the message and what the speaker has in mind to start with. It is the element in a particular structural configuration which is taken as a whole, and organizes the clause as a message’. He explains further that the theme ‘extends from the beginning of the clause and up to (and including) the first element that has a function in transitivity’ (1994:53). So, the theme in a clause ‘ends with the first constituent that is, any of participant, process or circumstance’
The remainder of the message is called the rheme (Halliday 1994).

Theme in English can be unmarked or marked. A theme is unmarked when it is a nominal element functioning as the subject in a declarative clause. It is marked, if other elements such as an adverbial group or a prepositional group occupy the subject position in a declarative clause (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). A major determinant in the choice of the theme-rheme element is mood. As explained by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), a main clause is ‘either indicative or imperative in mood; if indicative it is either declarative or interrogative; if interrogative, it is either ‘yes/no’ or WH-interrogative’ (72). These elements of the mood system, determine the position of themes in each clause type. In declarative clauses, the subject is the unmarked theme; in WH-interrogatives, the group which contains the WH-word, is the unmarked theme; while in ‘yes/no’ interrogatives, the finite and subject make the unmarked theme. In imperatives, the predicator element is the unmarked theme. Halliday (1985) further classifies themes into topical, interpersonal and textual.

**Topical Theme**
All clauses in English must have at least one topical theme. It is always realised by any of the Subject, (S), Predicator, (P), Complement, (C), or circumstantial Adjunct, (A) and it is always the first of these constituents in the clause (Bloor and Bloor 1995).

**The Interpersonal Theme**
It is used by the speaker to address the listener(s) directly by using a name, a term of affection, unfused finite, mood adjuncts and comment adjuncts (Taiwo 2003). Bloor and Bloor (1995) posit that an interpersonal theme is one which draws attention to the relationship between the interactants in the discourse, or one which expresses the attitude or commitment of the speaker. Two types of interpersonal theme are identified. The first type involves a speaker or writer addressing the hearer or reader directly by name or title or by some other term, such as one showing status or affection.
The other type of interpersonal theme has to do with beginning a clause with an adjunct that comments on the substance of a proposition. For instance, words like, *graciously, funnily, interestingly*, can reveal the attitude of the speaker, the speaker's commitment to the truth, certainty, or strength of a proposition can be deduced with words like *sincerely, probably, or undeniably*. These all signal interpersonal themes in major clauses.

**Textual Theme**

A theme is textual when it serves as a link between a speaker/writer's words and what has been previously said. Taiwo (2003) opines that the textual theme may be used in a conversation to indicate an argument. It relates the clause to its context. Continuity adjuncts and conjunctive adjuncts are identified as two main textual element types. The former, indicates the relevance of the speaker/writer's contribution to what has been previously said or written with examples like *well, anyway, but or so*. Conjunctive adjuncts on the other hand, point endophorically to a previous section of text and involve such words as *nevertheless, besides, in other words, however, etc.*

**Multiple Themes**

Clauses with only one thematic constituent, whether the thematic constituent has more than one part to it or not, are said to have simple themes. Some clauses however, have more than one theme. In this case, they are said to have multiple themes. Where a clause has only a topical theme, it is said to have a simple theme, where there are more than one theme in a single clause, such is a case of multiple theme. In this study, the types of themes discussed above shall be examined in the text as well as their patterns of occurrence to ascertain the functions they perform in the overall understanding of wills.

**Methodology**

Wills are strictly confidential legal documents, hence the limit to the number available for analysis in this research. This study therefore purposively selected ten (10) wills for the analysis. The ten wills...
selected are those written by men, not because women do not write wills, but for the simple fact that the data is a highly confidential one and such are not readily available. Also, this is a purely linguistic investigation, hence the silence on the gender variable. In line with research ethics, each of the texts is coded and numbered. These codes are used instead of the names of the writers, other sensitive information in the data too are coded in order not to compromise the identities of the people involved.

Each of the documents is between three to five pages with subtopics. Each subtopic has between two to four clauses and a total of three hundred and sixty-seven main clauses (367) have been selected for analysis aside minor clauses, which are excluded because they ‘lacked independent speech functions’ (Halliday and Mathiessen 2004:100). These clauses were analysed for their marked and unmarked themes. Three other types of themes were examined, alongside functions that these themes perform in the overall understanding of the text. The next section features the analysis of the themes in the selected texts and relates patterns of themes found in the text to the meaning of the text.

Findings and Discussion
Table 1 shows the overall distribution of themes in the 367 clauses selected for analysis from the data.

### Overall Distribution of Themes in the Selected Nigerian wills

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Codes</th>
<th>Clauses</th>
<th>Textual Theme</th>
<th>Interpersonal Theme</th>
<th>Topical Theme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Unmarked</td>
<td>Marked</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W1</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W2</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W3</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W4</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W6</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W7</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W8</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W9</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W10</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The table shows the frequency of theme types in the major clauses selected for analysis. It shows that out of the 367 clauses analysed, 308 of them are unmarked themes, while 59 are marked. Also, using Halliday’s three classification of themes (topical, textual and interpersonal), the findings reveal that the three types of themes are present in almost all the wills. Of the 367 clauses analysed, the unmarked topical themes are more prominent (84%) than the marked topical theme (16%). The least number of themes are the interpersonal themes (12%) while the textual themes amount to 13% of the overall themes found in the texts.

**Topical Themes in Wills**
The most prominent of the thematic elements in the data is the topical theme, which is unmarked or marked. In the selected texts, all the clauses analysed have topical themes, in other words, a total of 367 topical themes featured, out of which 308 were unmarked and 59 marked. Among the wills analysed, the one with the code number W4 has the highest number of clauses and the highest number of topical themes. In W4, there are fifty-seven (57) clauses with topical themes, and 50 of them were unmarked and 7 marked. This particular text is lengthier than others and this may be the reason for the relatively high number of topical themes.

At the other end are texts W5 and W9 which have the least number of clauses and topical themes. W5 has a total of 20 clauses, 17 are unmarked and 3 marked. W9 has a total of 23 clauses, 17 of which are unmarked and 6 marked. In all the texts analysed, unmarked topical themes are more than the marked. The possible reason for this could be that the writers are primarily concerned with the intended messages, so they placed premium on the subject, that is, the nominal element. The tables below show examples of topical themes from the texts.

**Unmarked and Marked Themes in the Selected Wills**
The topical themes in the table two are unmarked because the subjects in the sentences (*I, Records of document* and *The above mentioned property*) are nominal, in the theme (initial) position.
However, in cases where elements other than the subject are given prominence, they are identified as marked themes, which function as adjuncts (adverbial groups) as exemplified in table three with expressions like (At the time of writing this Will and Save as aforesaid and subject to specific bequest in schedule 1,2,3 of this Will). Just as it had been observed, the marked topical themes in the wills also performed textual functions as they helped to link clauses with previous ones, thereby reducing the possibility of misinterpretation or ambiguity. This is particularly crucial in legal documents, because they should be clear and devoid of ambiguity. Connectives help them to achieve this important feature.

The first expression in the two examples cited, is an adverbial group, which refers anaphorically to the earlier sentences in the declaration section of the text. The second points both anaphorically and endophorically to sections in the same text, thereby giving the text its texture, that is making the text meaningful.

**Table 2: Examples of Unmarked Topical Theme from the Text**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Rheme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>have a landed property of two plots at XXX town in YYY Local Government, ZZZ (W4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Records of document</td>
<td>will be found in my files (W4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The above-mentioned property</td>
<td>contains 3 Nos. room and parlour (W9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3: Examples of marked topical theme.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Rheme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>At the time of writing this Will, I</td>
<td>own the properties listed in schedule 1 of this Will. (W7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Save as aforesaid and subject to specific bequest in schedule 1,2,3 of this Will, I</td>
<td>bequeath all my real properties whether in my name or in the name of any company in which I have interest to my wife and children. (W2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Interpersonal Theme

This type of theme usually precedes the topical theme. In the texts analysed, interpersonal themes are found to be less than the topical themes and even the textual ones. Out of the 367 clauses analysed, interpersonal themes were only 12%, and they were mainly comment adjuncts, mood adjunct, as shown in examples from W1, W6 and W2. *Please* as a mood adjunct shows the attitude of the testator to the content of the clause, *generally* and *consequently* show the strength of the proposition presented in the clauses. Other interpersonal themes in the text are represented by terms of affection which involve the use of names of the testator's family members as shown in examples in W2 (*my beloved daughter, my beloved wife*). Generally, in the data, W1 - W5 have the highest occurrence of such themes, with W2 having a total of 10 instances of interpersonal themes, the highest of them all. Examples from the texts are shown in table 4.

Table 4: Example of Interpersonal themes in the text

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Themes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>W1) <em>Please</em> remain Christians, attend your church services regularly.</td>
<td>Mood adjunct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W6) <em>Generally</em>, I leave the management of the said property in the hands of my eldest child.</td>
<td>Mood adjunct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W2) <em>However, when my beloved daughter gets married.</em></td>
<td>Terms of affection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W2) <em>At the old age and final exist of my beloved wife.</em></td>
<td>Terms of affection</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Textual Theme

The third type of theme in a clause is textual theme. Textual themes show the link between a speakers’ or writers’ words and those that have been previously said. A total of 46 textual themes, made up of continuity and conjunctive adjuncts, were found in the data, used to enhance coherence and cohesion of the text. In other words, 13% of the 367 clauses analysed, contained textual themes. In the texts analysed, W2 has the highest number of textual themes, W5 and W6 have none, W8 has one, while the rest have between five to nine textual themes.
Table 5 shows some examples of textual themes found in the data. In the first example, *as soon as*, in W2 is a continuity adjunct, while *but until then* is a conjunctive adjunct together with a temporal adjunct. The first, furthers the message in the clause before the one with the adjunct, thereby linking the messages in preceding clauses to the present one, so that none will be lost. The other adjunct, also a linker but in a conjunctive capacity, links the second clause to the first within a particular time frame, thereby completing the message. As has been noted, all textual themes in the wills, are also marked themes, with majority functioning as continuity adjuncts. These are used in the text, to relate the messages in the clauses to the preceding or next ones, thus making the text coherent.

**TABLE 5. Examples of Textual Themes in the Data**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Textual Theme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>W2) As soon as any of them moves out of the compound to his own family house, he ceases to enjoy uninterrupted occupation of the family compound. But until then they should be permitted to reside in their current accommodation within the compound until any of them decides on his own to move out and found his own.</td>
<td>Continuity adjunct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W1) As aforementioned, XXX has been disowned on the pages of the newspaper.</td>
<td>Conjunctive adjunct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W7) In the unlikely event that my said son should die without having a child to succeed him, then, all the properties given him shall revert to my Trustees for distribution between the children of my wives.</td>
<td>Temporal adjunct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W3) My wife should not dispose of all the shares, can enjoy dividends accruing therefrom for life. After the demise of my wife, all my stocks and shares should be sold and the proceeds shared equally amongst my obedient children.</td>
<td>Conjunctive adjunct</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Discussion**

The investigation into the thematic patterns of wills revealed that the three types of themes are present in the text. Among these three, topical themes were found to be more than the two others. Unmarked topical themes are more than the marked themes. In essence, the patterns of themes used, helped to project the messages the testators set out to pass across. The key issue in the texts, that is, the property distribution was projected through the topical themes and most especially, via the unmarked themes, obviously to avoid confusion.
The textual themes helped to link the previously mentioned issues in the wills to the next ones, thus they occurred more than the interpersonal ones. They give the text its texture, making wills easier to understand. Interpersonal themes helped to create a picture of the relationship between the testator and the beneficiaries. Also, they served to project the attitudes of the testators, as well as their commitments to the issues raised in the wills to the beneficiaries.

**Conclusion/Recommendation**

This paper has attempted a study of the thematic patterns in selected Nigerian testamentary wills. It has been found that the texture of the texts is premised upon the theme types and their patterns. The analysis reveals that there are more unmarked topical themes in wills, due largely to the nature of the text as an expository one, with many declarative sentences. It has also gathered that elements of marked topical themes perform textual functions in the text. The interpersonal themes found in the wills analysed, were found at the marked theme positions and were more of adjuncts. The terms of affection, which show the relationship between the beneficiaries in the wills, also appeared in the text but sparingly. In other words, only the unmarked topical themes stand distinctively apart. Others were embedded in the marked variants of topical themes in multiple theme clauses.

It has been found also, that some of the wills with a good number of textual themes were more coherent than the others, as there was a free flow of the ideas the writers were out to pass across, therefore confirming the import of cohesive devices in text development (Halliday 2004). Moreover, contrary to existing claims that legal documents are difficult to understand, because they have complex structures (Tiersma, 1999, Opeibi 2008, 2012), testamentary wills stand as exceptions to this claim. It was gathered in the course of the study though, that the influence of the testator is more in the writing process than the lawyer’s. The counsel or legal practitioner merely collates the testator’s thoughts as instructed and has little or nothing to do with the message per se, which consequently accords the text its exceptional status.

Findings in this study may be of importance to legal practitioners, in drafting other legal texts whose first consumers are the non-professional. They should prioritise comprehension rather than the jargon of their profession. Beyond the legal text, it should be...
noted that, not only is writing an essential part of human existence, writing well is of more importance, so in English pedagogy, the structural organization of the piece should be emphasized if communication is to be achieved. A written piece cannot be said to be well written if the required tools are missing, as has been rightly asserted by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:105), ‘the thematic organization of the clause is the most significant factor in the development of the text’. Legal practitioners should therefore adopt these tools for better coherent and cohesive texts and a departure from the rigidity ascribed the profession texts.

References


