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Editorial Advisory Board

contents

#1 by Doug Lauvstad.....6

EDITORIAL.....7

#2 by Doug Lauvstad.....9

Language Policy in Selected Igbo Families in Lagos, Nigeria by Osita Gerald Nwagbo.....10

A Confusion of Marys by Rupert Loydell.....44

#3 by Doug Lauvstad.....45

Nigerian Hip Hop and the Anti-ọmọlúàbí Subculture among Nigerian Youth by Temitope Michael Ajayi and Ganiu Abisoye Bamgbose.....46

ANNUNCIATION MANIFESTO by Rupert Loydell.....67

#4 by Doug Lauvstad.....68

CULTURAL REPRESENTATION IN OBIDIYA: A POST-COLONIAL LITERATURE by Adaora L. Anychebelu.....69

CUT-UP ANNUNCIATION by Rupert Loydell.....94

#5 by Doug Lauvstad.....95

A VOYAGE INTO THE STREET by Kolawole Adeniyi.....96

KINDRED SPIRITS by Rupert Loydell.....112

#6 by Doug Lauvstad.....113

contents

AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPRAISAL OF THE PLACE OF WOMEN IN IGBO MATERIAL PHILOSOPHY by Chiamaka Ngozi Oyeka.....114

KEEPING IT IN PERSPECTIVE by Rupert Loydell.....144

#7 by Doug Lauvstad.....146

Turn Management Strategies in Police-Suspect Interaction in Ibadan, Nigeria by Temidayo Akinrinlola.....147

WHAT HAVE I DONE? by Rupert Loydell.....179

#8 by Doug Lauvstad.....181

Endangered Indigenous Skills and Endangered Indigenous Vocabulary Items: Evidence from Igbo Indigenous Agentive Nouns by Ogbonna Anyanwu and Joseph Atoyebi 182

#9 by Doug Lauvstad.....206

CONTRIBUTORS.....207

#10 by Doug Lauvstad.....210

CFP MOSAIC.....211

SUBMISSION.....212

GUIDELINES.....212

CALL FOR PAPERS.....212

#1 Doug Lauvstad

EDITORIAL

This special issue of *the quint* showcases articles from the fields of linguistics and linguistic anthropology. Our collection begins with Osita Nwagbo's "Language Policy in Selected Igbo Families in Lagos, Nigeria." The author explores the language situation among Igbo-speaking families who reside in a predominantly Yoruba community, and the conscious efforts made by the economic migrants to ensure the survival of their language in an otherwise linguistically predatorial environment. The second article by Temitope Ajayi and Ganiu Bamgbose takes the reader on a journey into the world of pop culture with the title "Nigerian Hip Hop and the Anti-ọmọlúàbí sub-culture among Nigerian Youth." Adaora Anyachebelu's article "Cultural Representation in Obidiya: A Post-Colonial Literature," uses content analysis and the Maxists theory to study aspects of the Igbo cultural experience based on Akoma's "Obidiya". Chiamaka Oyeka, in her article "An Anthropological Appraisal of the Place of Women in Igbo Material Philosophy," undertakes a critical analysis to study how economic considerations influence the way the girl-child is viewed by the community. The article "Turn Management Strategies in Police-Suspect Interaction in Ibadan" by Temidayo Akinrinlola comes from the field of Forensic Linguistics. The author provides an analysis of data taken from police-suspect-interrogation (PSI) discourses using turn-taking techniques. Ogbonna Anyanwu and Joseph Atoyebi's coauthored article "Endangered Indigenous Skills and Endangered Indigenous Vocabulary Items: Evidence from Igbo Indigenous Agentive Nouns," is a study of how terms used for describing some occupations/professions are rapidly disappearing from Igbo.

Accompanying each article is a stunning image of the North by photographer Doug Lauvstad; designed for bird-watchers, this stunning selection of flora and fauna transmits he astonishing variety of winged wildlife and area around The Pas.

This issue of *the quint* also contains a selection of poems from Rupert Loydell's "A Confusion of Mary's." 'A Confusion of Marys', a sequence of poems and prose poems in progress, considers, writes back to, and reimagines the religious myth of the angel Gabriel appearing to Mary, in terms of re-versioning, accumulation, variation, and *ekphrasis*. Many paintings and photographs depicting the annunciation were used as research and inspiration, including works by Fra Angelico, Andy Warhol, Eija-Liisa Ahtila, Francis Picabia, Lino Mannocci and Rose M. Barron. "The Confusion of Marys" is part of an ongoing exploration of this material and associated themes such as colour, religious art,

Renaissance art, spiritual/alien intervention and intrusion into the human realm, symbolism, and contemporary art. Loydell's previous publications centred on these topics include *Dear Mary* (Shearsman, 2017) and *Impossible Songs,* a collaboration with Sarah Cave (Analogue Flashback, 2017). Kolawole Adeniyi's short story, "Voyage Into The Street"revisits the plight of the destitute, especially street urchins in a Nigerian slum.

Every article in this issue is entertaining, rewarding, and contributes to the conversation ongoing in its discipline. I look forward to the discussions that this issue will generate and the opportunities for further study of their ideas.

Joseph Atoyebi
Guest Editor

#2
Doug Lauvstad

Language Policy in Selected Igbo Families in Lagos, Nigeria

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Abstract

Parents' tendency to formulate home language policies to control certain languages competing for space is sometimes resisted by external forces. This study examines the language policies of Igbo parents in Bariga, Lagos with a view to delineating the parents' language ideologies, actual language practice, and language management strategies. Spolsky's Family Language Model was employed as guide. A mixed method incorporating quantitative and qualitative approaches was adopted to achieve a more reliable result. A total of 100 Igbo bilingual parents resident in Bariga, Lagos participated in the study. A questionnaire and semi-structured interviews were used to elicit data in relation to four dominant languages in the Bariga speech community (English, Yoruba, Igbo, Nigerian Pidgin). It was found that the dominant language policy in the sample was an Igbo and English policy. Although all the parents had reported a pro-Igbo ideology, actual language practice did not wholly reflect those ideological leanings. The dominant language of the home was English; in some families, children acquired English first and Igbo later. Additionally, despite the effort of parents to check the intrusion of Yoruba into the Igbo family, a significant number of children had acquired Yoruba, and in some cases at the expense of Igbo. The parents exhibited three language management styles: explicit management whereby a significant number banned the use of Nigerian Pidgin and Yoruba to favour the promotion of Igbo; implicit management whereby a number of families provided incentives like sweets, biscuits, toys, etc, and punishments like flogging, pulling the ears, kneeling, etc, to encourage the use of desired languages and discourage the use of unwanted ones, as the case may be; *laisez-faire* management whereby a number of parents allowed their children to use any language that suited their fancy. On the whole, the result shows no linear relationship between language ideology and actual practice.

Keywords: Igbo, family language policy, Lagos, Yoruba, Nigerian Pidgin

Introduction

In terms of population, Lagos is one of the largest cities in Africa, boasting of more people within its minimal coastal land mass than some countries in West Africa like Togo, Republic of Benin, Gambia, etc. One of the significant factors responsible for the upsurge in urban conglomeration is internal or national migration. That is, the movement of people within and around the same country. Internal mobility is the reason for the phenomenal numerical status of Lagos, as people from across the six geo-political zones move in droves to the former capital of Nigeria in search of mainly economic opportunities and a better life. A major outcome of this transition is that the migrants move in equipped with their linguistic and cultural baggage, thus making Lagos a multi-cultural and multilingual entity. Vertovec (2007) terms this situation as super-diversity; that is, urban regions or cities with a large number of transcultural groups resulting from immigration.

One of the internal migrant groups that has changed the linguistic landscape and ecology of Lagos is the Igbo, of the south-east political extraction. Apart from the Yoruba who are the host community, the Igbo represent the most dominant ethnic group in Lagos, accounting for more population than other ethnic groups. They are conspicuous in the national civil service, in educational institutions, but most prominently in trade and commerce. Igbo traders are found in virtually every nook and cranny of the state particularly the big markets such as Alaba International, Trade Fair, Idumota, etc. Few Igbo live in close settings like Okota and Opebi where they are the majority, but a majority live in open settings with their Yoruba hosts and other ethnic groups.

Igbo children in Lagos attend schools where they are not only taught in English, but they also learn English as a subject. Additionally, they learn Yoruba as a subject (especially in government schools) in keeping with the requirement of the language policy, as enshrined in the National Policy on Education (2004). The policy stipulates that every student in primary and post-primary school should learn the language of the immediate environment; in this instance, Yoruba. Learning Yoruba as a language in school is further strengthened by the fact that Igbo children's social networks include

mainly Yoruba children from whom they pick Yoruba and interact in it. Consequently, whether they learn Yoruba in school or not, their frequent encounters with their Yoruba friends and acquaintances aid in the acquisition of Yoruba. In some marked cases, Igbo children have acquired Yoruba as a first native language at the expense of their own heritage language. The assimilation of such Igbo children to the Yoruba culture is a major concern to parents and Igbo linguists, due mainly to issues of ethnic identity. Aside the educational system, a language of wider communication, Nigerian Pidgin (NP) is commonly used in the streets, markets, transport systems, and even in schools, among school children. It is therefore evident that the Igbo child in Lagos is exposed to at least three different languages apart from his/her native Igbo language. These are English, the official language of Nigeria, Yoruba, the host community language, and NP, the language of the streets.

In light of these facts, this study investigates the bottom-up or family language policy of selected Igbo families in Lagos. The position of the paper is that parents (who are proficient in the native language) are responsible for transmitting same to their offspring. If the children failed to acquire their native language, it is because the parents failed to transmit it to them. Consequently, this study examines language policies in the Igbo family in Lagos, not from the perspective of children but from the angle of the parents. According to Revis (2017), the management of home language use involves decision making about the means in which language contact situations are reflected and expressed in family communication. Such decisions are taken by parents. Based on the foregoing, this study aims at evaluating the language ideologies, practices and management strategies operated among selected Igbo families in Lagos, Nigeria. For the purpose of properly contextualizing the research, the conceptual background of Family Language Policy (hence FLP) is provided in the next section.

Family Language Policy (FLP)

As globalization introduces super diverse constellations of multilingual speakers and families, the study of family language policy is receiving burgeoning interest around the world. Curdt- Christiansen (2009:352) defines family language policy as "a deliberate attempt at practicing a particular language use pattern and particular literacy practices within home domains and among family members." The word "domain" popularized by the American Sociolinguist Joshua Fishman (1965) is used to describe the social context of an interaction. In the case of the family domain, the family members are apparently the main participants: the home is the setting and common topics would encompass everyday matters (Berardi-Wiltshire, 2017). It is posited that the home domain is the best place to acquire the heritage language (Rowland, 2014); therefore, in the absence of external stimulus like mother tongue education, the onus of ensuring maintenance of heritage language is on the family (Schwartz 2008). Due to its critical role in forming the child's linguistic environment (Schwartz, 2010) the family is the main domain for intergenerational transmission of heritage languages. According to Spolsky (2012:7), FLP focuses on the efforts of parents to "preserve heritage languages by modifying their children's language development." On the whole, FLP research seeks to understand why some children grow up to become either monolinguals or bilinguals and how this experience is connected to the ways in which parents promote a certain language at the expense of the other, or the way parents discourage children's use of a particular language (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013).

As a result of its critical role in forming the child's linguistic environment (Schwartz, 2010), the family is considered the main domain for intergenerational transmission of heritage languages, as well as a very important domain for studying language policy. Fishman (1991:94) opines that despite the fact that the modern urban family has lost much of its socialization power, it is still "the most common and inescapable basis of mother tongue transmission, bonding, use and stabilization." He maintained that the most vital aspect of intergenerational language transfer is the use of the heritage language at home because the family is critical for the maintenance of the home language (Fishman, 2000).

Schwartz (2010) suggests that there are several demographic, socio-cultural, and psychological factors that are found to be directly related to family background that could

drive family language policy. First, family structure, particularly the role of older children in intergenerational L1 transmission. In some findings, the older children undermine the heritage language by bringing the majority language into the home, while some studies found them assisting the mother in preserving the heritage language. Second, the level of the parents' education was found to affect, either positively or negatively, the maintenance of the heritage language. Third, the parent's acculturation to the host culture is seen as an important factor driving heritage language maintenance as the age of the migrants' arrival was found to correlate with linguistic habits and behavior. Furthermore, cultural adaptation/identification with the host community and the country of origin are significant factors in the formation of FLP among immigrants. Finally, family cohesiveness and emotional relation point to the tendency among certain immigrants to psychologically alienate themselves from their (unpalatable) past by acquiring the host community language.

Ordinarily, language policy takes a top-down approach meaning that it stems from national or regional agencies to the citizenry, but it is bottom-top when it stems from the citizenry, such as individuals and families with each family influencing or directing language practice in its domain. However, FLP is not formed in a vacuum; it is influenced by top-down policies, such as government and community policies, educational institutional policies, and also the de-facto policies of the immediate environment (Kayam and Hirsch, 2013). On the whole, it is seen that the decision of parents on language choices in the family is not arbitrarily done but are contingent on a number of experiences some of which are socio-political, cultural, and historical.

Empirical Studies

Several empirical studies have been carried out in the field of family language policy across the world with varying results. Kayam and Hirsch (2013) examined FLP among 13 Israeli-Arab students enrolled in an institution of higher education in Israel and found the FLP of the home and between the family members was mainly monolingual Arabic. Early Planning of FLP for most of the family members had shifted to a desired bilingual Arabic-Hebrew FLP in their future families, away from the monolingual condition in which they grew up. The reason for this shift and the desire for Hebrew was solely instrumental. The students recognized the need for higher-level Hebrew in order to reach their own educational and professional objectives.

Revis (2017) investigated family language policy among Ethiopian and Colombian refugees' families in New Zealand. Findings about FLP varied significantly between Ethiopian and Colombian families in the sample. In the Ethiopian community, a majority of the families had an impact belief and used explicit home language management techniques. Caregivers provided an environment for their children to be proficient in Amharic. The children in Ethiopian families with a minority-language-only policy were more likely to use their minority languages in the home. Conversely, in the Colombian community, the families had a strong tendency to use *laissez-faire* management techniques, and so children in these families tended to speak Spanish. Their recent migration and the hitherto dominant socialization in Spanish accounted for the children's language choice. However, the younger children tended to use English as caregivers introduced English in the home, mainly to provide practice for their children to benefit from opportunities in an English-language dominant environment.

Bezcioglu-Goktolga and Yagmur (2017) investigated the family language policy of second-generation Turkish immigrant families in the Netherlands through the exploration of the language ideologies, practices and management techniques. They found that several individual and societal experiences influenced parents' language ideologies; hence, there were diverse patterns regarding language ideologies and practices. The families exhibited explicit management strategies in terms of the use of Turkish, as speaking the Turkish language was related to preserving their ethnic identity and values. However, parents had language management strategies for both Turkish and Dutch. Whereas Turkish management activities were mostly restricted to the home environment, parents relied on environmental support for Dutch management. The major management strategy is the conscious use of Turkish until children reached school age. Incidentally, contrary to strong Turkish maintenance ideologies, not all of the families were explicitly involved in

Turkish management. Language practices varied according to the language preference of family members, interlocutors, and the context of the conversation.

Lidilem (2011) studied the language policies and practices of an Indian migrant family in Finland. He found that the Indian community was reluctant to learn Finnish since the language at work places, daycare or schools for children is usually English. And the tendency is for migrants to preserve their native languages and use English at the expense of the host community language. Consequently, the family FLP favoured a bilingualism in English and their native language, Urdu. This is mainly because English is regarded as the new lingua Franca in the Nordic countries. However, there was a variation in the language choices and practices found by different members of the family. The father and the elder son used mainly English in interaction, work and communication with the locals while the mother and the second child interacted mainly in Finnish with their Finnish friends. Evidently, the second generation was found to have developed a balanced identity, acquiring the language of both the host country and of the country of origin.

The Model of FLP

Over the years, Spolsky's (2004) model of language policy has been widely used in the treatment of FLP (Kopeliovich, 2010, Schwartz, 2008) and will be adopted here. It is a three-component model of language policy consisting of language beliefs, language practices and language management. Spolky's (2007: 1) language management framework expansively focuses on language policy and postulates that "language policy is all about choices" and that a language policy theory should aim to account for "the choices made by individual speakers on the basis of rule-governed patterns recognized by the speech communities of which they are part". It is for the purpose of achieving this end that he proposes a three component model of language policy in a speech community: the community's language practice, the ideologies that influence such practices, and language management techniques in the speech community. Implemented at the family level, this model presents a vital analytical abstraction for categorizing the complex relationship

and practices that develop in the course of describing language dynamics at home (Revis, 2017).

Language ideologies include the beliefs that people hold about the language(s) used in their environment, which may have an influence on their attitude towards the language(s). It is widely postulated that all choices regarding the use of language in the home are bound to be influenced by parents' belief about language coupled with the elements of the linguistic ecology of which the home is a part, and this is irrespective of the particular language policy operating in the home (Berardi-Wiltshire, 2017). Consequently, the role that language ideologies play in the choices made by bilingual or multilingual families have received a great deal of attention by FLP researchers (King and Fogle, 2006; Kirsch, 2012; Ó hifearnain, 2013;). Research have identified various ideologies that operate in some families. For instance, some parents might highly estimate their heritage language and regard it as a major marker of ethnic identity which is to be passed on to the next generation (King and Fogle, 2006). In contrast, some parents might undervalue their heritage language due to its non-utilitarian status and as a result deem it unnecessary to be passed on to the children or might regard it as not useful due to its social and geographical restrictions (Schupbach, 2009). Other macro and micro factors that shape parental language ideologies include parents' socio-cultural and educational background (Kirsch, 2012), parents' personal experiences (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009), official policies on minority languages (Spolsky, 2012), the media (King and Fogle, 2006), etc.

In terms of micro factors, it is evident that parents' perceptions and practices have a great deal of influence on the attitude of children towards their heritage language as well as on their bilingual development (De Houwer, 2007; King and Fogle, 2008). In his research with 1,899 families in Belgium, De Houwer (2007) illustrated that children's bilingualism was determined by parents' linguistic input. In the same vein, King (2001) found that children chose Spanish alone because their parents believe that using both languages at home will inhibit their children's learning. In terms of macro factors, Luykx (2005) found that the school mounted pressure on Quechua-speaking families in Bolivia

to use Spanish only. Yagmur (2009) stated that in the Netherlands, teaching of immigrant languages at primary and secondary schools between 1974 and 2004 created positive attitudes towards the use of immigrant languages in immigrant families. According to King et al., (2008), three main categories of parental ideologies capable of influencing language practices in bilingual families are, the choice of languages for specific purposes, code-switching and language attitudes.

Language practice is used to refer to people's actual and observable language behavior (Revis, 2017), or according to Spolsky (2004:5) as "the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire". Spolsky's use of the word "habitual" is powerful as it suggests the language that is consistently used among all other options available. Spolsky (2004:9) further defines language practice as "the sum of the sound, word and grammatical choices that an individual speaker makes, sometimes consciously and sometimes less consciously, that make up the conventional unmarked pattern of a variety of language." The use of the terms "conscious" and "less conscious" are related to overt and covert disposition of parents in a bilingual situation. In other words, family language practices refer to the patterns of language choice and preference in a family. Such choices may mean that in an immigrant setting, parents may use the heritage language alone when interacting with children, or they may use it alongside the majority language (Kayam and Hirsch, 2012). In terms of consistency, several research have shown that children practice the languages laid down by parents up to a certain point in their social development. Spolsky and Shohamy (2000) illustrate that when children start to socialize outside the family, they tend to bring the mainstream language home, despite their parents' disposition (also Caldas and Caron-Caldas, 2002), while some children resist the language practices of their parents (Fogle, 2013; Palviainen and Boyd, 2013). A point to underscore in this consideration is that language practice is not solely driven by parents; the children sometimes play a crucial part and upset the linguistic norms in the family.

Language management refers to attempts to modify the existing language practices in the speech community. According to Spolsky (2004:11), it is "the formulation

and proclamation of an explicit plan or policy usually but not necessarily written in a formal document." Specifically, family language management involves deliberate efforts to influence language practices and focuses on strategies adopted by parents to boost the maintenance of favoured languages and the extinction of unwanted languages. Consequently, such language management strategies may contribute to ethnic language maintenance or not, depending on parental linguistic ideology. Among the various management techniques adopted by families in bilingual contexts, Schwartz (2010) identifies two general tendencies. The first tendency relates to efforts to control aspects of the socio-linguistic environment by cultivating ties with the heritage language community within and outside the family. The second tendency relates to efforts to control the home language environment through the establishment of rituals, customs and traditions associated with the heritage language and culture. Some of these strategies include having regular contacts with other speakers of the heritage language (Borland, 2006), frequent visits to the country of origin (Pauwels, 2005), using printed materials and media in the heritage language (Borland, 2006). In some cases, language management strategies also include system of rewards and punishment for using specific languages in the home (Schwartz, 2010).

Three types of language management have been highlighted and they are explicit management, implicit management and *laissez-faire* management (Revis, 2017). Explicit management is seen as overt, verbal interventions demanding the use of a particular language (Spolsky, 2009). The strategy involves parents telling their children the specific languages to use and the languages they should not use. It is a proactive means of ensuring the maintenance of the minority language in the immigrant family. On the contrary, implicit management is not based on verbal instructions, but on activities that are amenable to the maintenance of a particular language. Such activities include book-reading, story-telling, and games in the language (Tamis-Lemanda and Rodriguez 2008). Although this is a reactive means of language maintenance, in some cases it has proved effective. In her study in Israel, Kopeliovich (2009) found that a father who attempted to introduce Russian to his children through literary activities such as reading poems and

books in Russian achieved more than the mother's verbal directives to the children to speak Russian. Curdt-Christiansen (2013) uses *laissez-faire* policies to describe the disposition of parents who did not interfere with their children's language choice resulting in the tendency of the children to prefer the mainstream language rather than their heritage language. This is a free world situation where members of the family spoke whatever language that appealed to them, with the parents exerting no pressure on the children both verbally or activity-wise. In her study with Singaporean-Chinese families, Curdt-Christiansen (2013) found that mothers did not interfere with their children's choice of language while assisting them in home work and eventually the children spoke English.

It is essential to note that, although ideology influences practice and management, there is no lineal relationship between parents' beliefs and home language practice and management. Berardi-Wiltshire (2017) posits that research in family language policies has often shown mismatches or asymmetry between beliefs about one's heritage language and home language practices (King, 2000, Kopeliovich, 2010; Schwartz, 2008). For example, minority language families usually hold positive beliefs about their languages, but such beliefs do not always translate to heritage language maintenance. In some cases, such families have been absorbed by the mainstream language(s).

Method

A mixed method consisting of quantitative and qualitative approach was used in the study for the purpose of gathering sufficient and reliable data on the subject matter.

Participants

A total of 100 Igbo from Bariga area of Lagos, participated in the study. The setting (Bariga) is a multi-ethnic area that boasts of Yoruba, Igbo, Hausa and so many minority groups. The languages commonly used in the streets are Yoruba, Igbo, and Nigerian Pidgin (NP). The mean age of participants was 30.0 years, and a majority of them had attended secondary schools and a minority primary school. The target population of the study was second-generation Igbo families with children who were in nursery school, early years of primary school, and early years of secondary school.

The limitation to these levels of education is predicated on the fact that these are the formative years when children are under the control and influence of their parents. For the sample size, purposive and snow-ball sampling techniques were employed and participants were selected based on the following criteria: Both parents must be Igbo who were born in South-East Nigeria before relocating to Lagos, or born in Lagos and spoke Igbo as a native. This is to ensure that the parents are proficient in Igbo which is the major indigenous language in South-East Nigeria. The second criterion is that the couple must be married and have at least a child in the nursery school. All the parents that participated in the study spoke at least, two languages. By second generation we mean Igbo who were born in Lagos, and Igbo between 25-45 years who settled in Lagos and had children, irrespective of whether their own parents lived in Lagos or not. In other words, we are talking about second generation by birth and age.

Instruments

A questionnaire and a semi-structured interview were used to collect quantitative and qualitative data from participants. The questionnaire was used to elicit responses from participants on demography, language information, and language ideology. Also, the A-part of language practices in the family and the A-part of language management strategies in the family. The questions were both Likert-scales, closed questions, and Yes/No questions that sought to know what languages were used in the homes in different role relations, ideologies on language, and languages that are banned in interaction at home between different family members. The semi-structured interview was conducted in English (and in some cases, Pidgin English), and the FLP interviews were used to elicit information on the B-part of language practice and management which consists of the reasons behind language choice and management strategies in the home. 135 questionnaires were distributed but only 100 were found useful for the study.

Data and Analysis

This section showcases the results and findings on actual language practices in the selected homes, parental ideologies, and societal factors that influenced language practices

in the homes, and language management strategies adopted in the studied families.

Language Practice in the Family

The data on language practice in the selected families shows that, a combination of languages were used in different role relationships. This result is presented in the table below.

Table 1: Language Practice

	Languages in use					
Role relations	**English only %**	**Igbo only %**	**Igbo/ English %**	**Igbo/ English/ Yoruba %**	**English/ NP/ Yoruba %**	**Total %**
Father Mother	---	48.0	32.0	20.0	---	100
Parent Children	5.0	20.0	70.0	5.0	---	100
Children Children	21.0	---	34.0	32.0	13.0	100

From the result above, it is evident that language practice is influenced by role relations; that is, participants in the home. In parental interaction, there is no English only interaction but a majority 48.0% reported a sole Igbo interaction. This is followed by a dual Igbo/English-based interaction (32.0%) and a triple Igbo/Eng/Yoruba based interaction (20.0%). Interaction involving English/NP/Yoruba was absent. In parent-children interaction, a different result emerges; a majority of parents (70.0%) reported speaking to their children with a mixed Igbo/English while a fair number used only Igbo

(20.0%). A minority of the parents used English only (5.0%) while English/NP/Yoruba was absent. In this role relation, a majority of the parents used the same language(s) to talk with the children irrespective of age, while a number of parents used different languages to talk to different age grades of children. For example, some parents used Igbo only or Igbo/English to talk to the older children while they used only English to talk to the younger children. One parent (P4M) explained this dichotomy thus.

> I want my older children to learn Igbo and English to further explain things that they might not understand if only spoken in Igbo. But, my younger children are still growing up and so I want them to learn the general language (English).

This sentiment is expressed by another parent (P15F)

> For now my younger children speak only English because they show no interest when I speak Igbo to them, so I speak only English but I hope in the nearest future, they will learn and love the native language. For my older children, I speak Igbo and English with them".

In the families with an asymmetrical disposition to parent-children discourse, there is an English-First, Igbo-later practice probably to give the children a head start in the official language. In children-to-children role relation, the result shows no Igbo-only interaction but a predominant Igbo/English (34.0%), Igbo/English/Yoruba (32.0%), and English only (21.0%) interaction. This is an indication that the children used less Igbo among themselves than they used with their parents; more Yoruba among themselves than they used with their parents, and more English among themselves than they used with their parents. However, a minority of the children used English/NP/Yoruba in this role relation; in other words, they used a combination of English/NP/ Yoruba at the expense of their heritage language.

Reasons for Language Choice

The interview data shows that the choice of languages in the studied families was not arbitrary but was based on certain considerations. The data shows that out of the

four languages used in the inquiry (English, Igbo, Yoruba, NP), three were predominantly used in these families (English, Igbo, Yoruba). The parents in the study all accented to the use of Igbo in their homes for several reasons. These reasons are presented in the table below.

Table 2: Reasons for Igbo Language use

	(n)	Total f (%)
Mother Tongue Preservation	45	45.0%
Igbo identity Preservation	37	37.%
Igbo culture preservation	6	6.0%
Cultural exclusivity	8	8.0%
Ethnic intimacy	3	3.0%
Back-migration challenges	1	1.0%
	100	100%

The preservation of the Igbo language and projection of Igbo identity in the home ranked highest in the estimation of the participants. Several parents expressed their reasons thus:

> Igbo is my mother tongue, and as a family who came from the Eastern part of Nigeria, it is compulsory to speak the mother tongue (P7M)

> Igbo is my native language and I believe I should be able to always use it in communicating with my loved ones. It brings oneness and unity in the family (P3F)

> *I wan mek dem (children) know my language (Igbo) becos now wey we dey Lagos, too much Yoruba full everywhere and I no wan mek dem go forget their own language (P20F)*

> "I want them (children) to understand my language (Igbo) because as we are in Lagos, Yoruba is prevalent and so I don't want them to forget their own language" (P20F)

> We are Igbo and we must know how to speak our language. I don't want my children to lose sight of where they came from (P30M)

> I am Igbo man, and so I want my children to know how to speak Igbo, because if I take them to the village and they are unable to speak Igbo language, I will be insulted by my kinsmen. (P12M)

Obviously, most of the participants related language to ethnic identity; language is a means of showing who they are and where they came from. Other reasons advanced include preserving the Igbo culture, cultural exclusivity, ethnic intimacy and the possibility of going back home in the future.

Reasons for English Language use

English is like a default language used in the studied families across all role relations, and is the language competing with the use of Igbo in the homes under study. All the parents agreed that English is maintained at home for several reasons. These reasons are presented in the table below.

Table 3: Reasons for English Language use

	(n)	Total f (%)
International language	34	34.0%
Language of schools	50	50.0%
Ease of communication	8	8.0%
Inter-ethnic communication	8	8.0%
	100	100%

The utilitarian status of English was the main reason advanced by parents for the use and dominance of English in their homes. The status of English as an official language in the country and its use across all levels in the education sector accounts for its dominant presence in the homes. This is elaborated by a parent thus:

> We use mostly English because at the end of the day, this is the 21st century; this is the language they will speak to relate with their peers; this is the language they are taught in school; also, the language they are using to learn in school (P21M).

This is an external factor that influenced language practice in the homes under study. The children bring into the home the dominant language used in the school and the parents cannot control that. Rather than check the influx of English into the home, the parents not only allow it, but see it as a welcome intrusion. A parent (P17M) reasoned that "the children need English to survive in today's world". Especially, in a third world economy, English is seen as a means of upward social mobility, a passport for success, as without it, job opportunities (which is a major reason for going to school) is limited. Other reasons advanced for the use of English include the fact that English is an international language. It eases communication and comes in handy in inter-ethnic interactions. Two parents expressed their comfort with English thus: "English is a universal language which I believe everyone should know the language" (P11M). "It is the one they (children) understand better and they flow using English language…Their exposure to English language in school and its environment also makes it easier for them to make use of the language with ease" (P19F). Apparently, the reason provided by parents for using Igbo language in the home is internal while those of English are external.

Reasons for Yoruba Language Use

Yoruba is the language of the host community and is a native language of the Yoruba people. Table 1 on language practice shows that apart from English, Yoruba has also occupied a space in the Igbo family in Lagos. This is evidence in the use among parents and among children; although it is not commonly used in parent-children interaction.

The reason given by parents for the use of Yoruba by themselves and especially by the children in their homes is accident of birth (n=20). A number of parents attests to acquiring Yoruba due to the fact of birth in Lagos: "I was born and brought up in Lagos and so I speak Yoruba, and the language has been a part of me" (P16M). "My children are born here and they mix up with other Yoruba children and so they tend to speak Yoruba" (P7F). "I speak Yoruba well well because I was born in Lagos here" (P9F). The reasons stated for the intrusion of Yoruba in the Igbo homes is purely environmental. Constant exposure and association with the host community results in the spontaneous learning of the language.

Ideology behind Language Practice

The beliefs of parents regarding the languages in their repertoire as well as the prevailing languages in the environment were tested. Precisely, the inquiry was based on the four major languages operating in Lagos (English, Yoruba, Igbo and Pidgin). The questions were posed to the parents on a four Likert-Scale question ranging from Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Strongly Disagree (SD), and Disagree (D). Ideological statements or propositions bordering on belief were postulated to evaluate the opinion of respondents on these languages. The result is presented in the table below.

Table 4: Beliefs on languages

Ideological statements	**SA (n)**	**A (n)**	**SD (n)**	**D (n)**	**TOTAL (n)**
The native language is a strong ethnic maker	78	20	1	1	100.0
Every person should speak his/her native language	60	29	4	7	100.0
Settlers/migrants should speak host community language	15	30	40	15	100.0
Citizens should speak the official international language in the country.	72	10	6	12	100.0
Pidgin is a city language and should be used by city dwellers	2	3	80	15	100.0

The table above shows the different positions of respondents on the four languages

in question. The first two statements were used to test the belief of respondents on the status of their native languages. On the postulation that the native language is a potent index of ethnic belonging, all the respondents, except two affirmed. In other words, speaking a native language implies projecting oneself as a member of the ethnic group that speaks the language. On the statement that every person should speak his or her native language, a significant majority (n = 89, 89%) affirmed, while an insignificant minority (n = 11) did not share the belief. The affirmation to the statement suggests that every person is under obligation to maintain his or her native language. The third ideological proposition is anchored on the relationship between settlers/migrants and their host community. The statement sought to know if the respondents believe that settlers and migrants should speak the language of their hosts. The result shows that a slight majority (n=55) strongly disagreed and disagreed, while a significant minority (n = 45, 45%) strongly agreed and agreed. The discrepancy in this result shows that some respondents were positively attuned to Yoruba while some were not. Respondents' belief on English, the official international language in the country showed a symmetry whereby a significant majority (n = 82, 82%) strongly agreed and agreed that every citizen should speak English while an insignificant minority (n-18) disagreed and strongly disagreed to the statement. This result attests to the high-profile status of English as a second language (L2) to most Nigerians. The last statement in Nigerian Pidgin (NP), a language of wider communication in Nigeria indicates that nearly all the respondents did not believe they should use Pidgin simply because they are city dwellers. A significant majority (n = 95) strongly disagreed and disagreed to the ideological statement, while an insignificant minority (n = 5, 5%) accented to the statement. On the whole, it is apparent that, to a great extent, parental beliefs influenced language practices in the families investigated.

Language Management Strategies in the Family

In this study, two language management techniques were used to judge the management style operated by the selected family. The two techniques are language banning and rewards, and punishment for using or not using the preferred languages in the family. In the first technique, the families were asked to name the languages they out rightly banned from being used in the family, in different role relations. The result shows that most families in the study barred only one language while few families barred two languages out of the four presented. The result of this inquiry is presented in the table below.

Table 5: Barred Languages

Role relations	Igbo (n)	Yoruba (n)	Pidgin (n)	English (n)	Yoruba/ Pidgin (n)	No Ban (n)	Total (n)
Father – mother	-	7	54	4	6	29	100.0
Parent – children	-	16	44	6	5	29	100.0
Children – children	-	14	48	2	7	29	100.0

In the table, Nigeria Pidgin (NP) is the language barred by most of the families across role relations. In parental interactions, a majority (n=54, 54%) barred NP while 6% barred Yoruba/Pidgin. An insignificant minority (n = 7, 7%) and (n = 4, 4%) barred Yoruba and English respectively. In interaction involving parents and children, a similar picture obtains whereby a majority (n= 44, 44%) and (n=5, 5%) barred the use of NP and Yoruba/NP respectively. A minority (n= 16, 16%) and (n=5, 5%) barred Yoruba and English respectively. In interaction involving only children a majority (n= 48, 48%) barred NP and Yoruba/NP (n= 7, 7%) while a minority (n= 14, 14% and n= 2, 2%) barred Yoruba and English respectively. The result shows that a significant minority (n = 29, 29%) did not ban any language in their family across role relations. It is noteworthy that no family barred the use of Igbo, which suggests that it is the language most favoured by the families.

A number of reasons were advanced by respondents for barring some languages in the family. This reasons range from the status of the language, the speakers, and the relationship with other languages as well as issues of ethnic identity. The result is presented in the table below.

Table 6: Reasons for barred languages

Reasons	NP (n)	Yoruba (n)	English (n)
It is street language	25	-	-
It corrupts English	24	-	-
It is for uncultured people	11	20	-
We are not Yoruba	-		
To make room for Igbo	-	-	9

The table shows varying reason for barring the three languages (NP, Yoruba, and English) among the families. In regards to NP, the status of the language given the perception of the parents, is the major reason why parents barred its use in their family. The parents related the worth and value of the language to the main setting it is used in the neighborhood. Among families that barred languages, a majority (n = 25, 25%) reported that NP is a street language; that is, a language used in the streets and not worthy to be used at home or school or in official settings. A parent (P71F) said "pidgin is a language spoken by street people". Another parent (P99M) affirmed that "pidgin is barred in my family because it is a street urchins' language."

Other parents barred NP due to its relationship with other languages like English. Consequently, a majority (n= 24, 24%) reported that NP was barred in their family because of its capacity to corrupt the English used by the children. This judgment is based on the fact that the grammar of NP, in terms of morphology, syntax, phonology and semantics, is quite different from Standard English, and therefore, the use of the former will retard or limit developments and proficiency in the latter. A parent (P51M) said "I ban Pidgin because it will greatly and negatively affect the quality of their [children] English." Other parents (P22F) enthused "Generally, Pidgin is barred in my family because I believe it is a corrupt form of proper and excellent English language." *I ban Pidgin becos I no like am; e dey corrupt their English. I wan my children to dey speak correct English* (P66F). "I banned Pidgin because I don't like it; it corrupts their English. I want my children to speak good English always" (P66F). "If they get used to pidgin, it will affect their essay writing in school" (P91M).

A third reason provided for the barring of Pidgin is related to the speakers of the language; that is, the value of the language is related to some of the people who use it. A minority (n= 11, 11%) reported that they barred NP because it is used by uncultured people. In other words, Pidgin is not used by responsible people. A parent (P80F) said "We don't allow pidgin in my family because it is a language for touts." Two other parents suggested that "The language is for area boys [urchins], so I don't want it here" (P49M). "It [Pidgin] will make my children look uncivilized, so it is not good" (P77F). This negative perception of pidgin is anchored on the ignorance of the parents that Pidgin has native speakers among some speech communities in Warri, Sapele, and other areas in the Niger Delta of Nigeria (Elugbe & Omamor, 1991).

In terms of the reasons for barring Yoruba, the host community language, the parents based their position on ethnic identity. All the parents that barred Yoruba (n = 20, 20%) reported that "we are not Yoruba," thus correlating language with ethnicity and stating that they belonged to another ethnic group. The sole reason cited by parents (N = 9, 9%) for barring English in their family was to create room for the children to speak the native language Igbo. It is obvious that the use of English is so widespread in these families that created the need to prohibit its use so that the native language can thrive.

It bears repeating that a good number of parents (n= 29, 29%) did not ban any language in their family. In other words, there was freedom for every member of the family to use the language he/she liked. The parents provided different reasons for not prohibiting the use of any language in the family. A parent (P86M) cited the children's need to move to a region where another language is spoken, "There is no banned language because it's a free world; they can travel or visit any country or state, so it's open for them to speak any language…especially if they go for youth service in other states." Another parent (P53F) simply cited her love for multilingualism "I don't ban any language; I want them to learn all languages, if possible."

Rewards and Punishment

The second language management strategy investigated was the practice of giving

rewards and punishment for using or not using the approved languages in the family. The inquiry was made about the languages whose use attracted favour from parents and the languages whose use earned the user punishment from parents. The result of this inquiry is presented in the table below.

Table 7: Rewards and punishment **Parental Disposition**

Languages	Rewards (n)	Punishment (n)	None (n)	Total (n)
Igbo	36	-	64	100.0
Yoruba	-	7	93	100.0
English	23	8	69	100.0
Pidgin	-	32	68	100.0

The result shows that a minority of the sample awarded favours and punishment to their children who used the preferred languages and the prohibited languages, as the case may be. A majority did not give awards or punishment to their children on the use of any language. The result shows that Igbo and English were the two languages whose use attracted rewards from parents; whereas, a good number of parents (n = 36, 36%) rewarded their children for using Igbo. None punished their children for using Igbo in the family. However, a significant majority (n = 64, 64%) gave neither reward nor punishment for using Igbo in the family. The rewards and punishment given by parents were of different shapes and colours, ranging from the physical to the psychological. A parent (P70F) said "Every last day of the month, we go to Shoprite [mall]. If you want to go to Shoprite, speak Igbo. Otherwise, no Shoprite." Another parent (P42M) said "Any of my children that want any favour from me must use Igbo to request it" (P56M). "Sometimes, I reward them with chocolates and toys when they speak Igbo" (P23M): "I want them to speak Igbo, especially the younger kids so when they speak Igbo I motivate them in the form of sweets and treats or just words of encouragement. But when they fail, I can punish them by telling them not to speak English for some time and speak only Igbo" (P72M). The first observation in this result is that the issue of rewards and punishment for using a language is limited to parent-children and children-children interaction. The second observation is that the parents in the sample above marked their desperation by using material and non-material incentives to encourage and boost the morale of their children to use the Igbo language.

In the case of English, the result shows that there are rewards for speaking English and punishment for speaking English in different families. A number of parents (n= 18, 18%) reported giving their children favours when they spoke good English, as follows *if they (children) speak correct English. I go buy dem sweet, buy dem biscuit* (P75M). "If they (children) speak good English, I used to buy sweets and biscuits for them" (P75M). "I usually give my kids hi-five when they speak English exceptionally" (P68M). "I buy them cartoon, video and toys when they speak English very well" (P57M). Aside these rewards, some parents (n= 13, 13%) reported punishing children who spoke English. This is a marked result given the status of English. A parent (P45M) said "If you fail to use Igbo, and instead use English to ask me a favour, there is a chance that the request will not be granted." Another parent (P28F) said: "when my kids do not speak Igbo to me but speak English, I seize their toys as punishment". In this case, although there is no punishment for speaking Igbo, there is punishment for not speaking it. A withdrawal of the incentive which is another form of motivation. It should be stated that the case where use of English is punished represents a situation where the use of English is so pervasive at home that some control measures need to be applied to cushion and moderate its dominance.

The result also shows that there are no rewards for speaking Yoruba and Pidgin, but punishments among the families. An insignificant minority (n = 7, 7%) reported punishing children who spoke Yoruba. Some of the punishments meted out include scolding and threats as narrated by some parents: "I just scold them by reminding them how much I don't like the use of Yoruba when they are with me" (P61F). "Even though I speak Yoruba, I don't want my children to speak it, so anytime they speak it, I warn them or make empty threats" (P42M). On the contrary, a significant majority (n = 32, 32%) reported punishing children that spoke Pidgin in their families. The punishment for speaking Pidgin was related to its informal status vis-à-vis the language of schools as

reported by some parents. Some of the punishments for speaking NP include beating, flogging, wringing of ears, as reported by some parents: *why you go speak pidgin for my house? I dey waste my money on top your head be dat. No, I go beat dem so dem no go do am again, finish!* (P20F). "Why would you speak Pidgin in my house? That means, I am wasting my money training you. No, I will beat them so that they will not do it again. Finish!" (P20F) "If they speak pidgin, I flog them so that they will know they broke the law, because I pay for them to go to school" (P75M). *Pidgin? Nooo! I dey draw their ear make dem feel the pain as I dey feel for inside hot sun where I dey try find money for their school fees* (P65F). "Pidgin? Nooo! I wring their ears so that they will feel the pain I feel inside the sun in my effort to find money for their school fees" (P65F). "When they speak Pidgin, I always tell them to kneel down and raise up their hand for like 20 minutes, and beat them sometimes because I don't like it (P92F).

In spite of the usefulness of incentives, the result also indicates that a significant number of parents did not use any rewards or punishment in their families. 64 parents provided neither rewards nor punishment for speaking Igbo, while 93, 69, and 68 parents provided no incentives for the speaking of Yoruba, English and NP respectively. Overall, the result reveals an asymmetry in the two language management strategies investigated. With the exception of Igbo, most families barred Pidgin while a minority barred Yoruba and English for various reasons. Only the use of Igbo and English attracted rewards for parents while the use of Pidgin and Yoruba attracted punishments in varying degrees.

Discussion

Given the ideological predisposition of the parents, the prevalent language policy in the sampled family is a bilingual Igbo and English policy. The parents were more Igbo oriented due to their beliefs in the worth and value of their native language as a marker of ethnic identity. A pro-Igbo policy was strengthened by the fact that the parents either were nurtured in the mainstream Igbo culture or groomed in an Igbo (L1) environment. An orientation of this nature provides fertile ground for the vitality of the heritage language. Transition and residence in another ethnic linguistic group does not necessarily translate to a modification or renegotiation of heritage identity. The retention of a heritage language is a product of cultural rootedness and consciousness that is difficult to lose due to physical relocation. These micro dynamics helped in no small measure in forming the language policy of the families investigated.

Macro factors are also implicated in the language policy of parents. The belief of the parents on English is predicated on the utilitarian value of English and a reflection of the fact that English is an official language in Nigeria. As a matter of fact, English is a second language (L2) to most Nigerians. An awareness of the prestige of English as a language of the school and government, promotes a family policy favourable to its maintenance. Since the national policy favours the use of English (as a subject and instructional tool) in schools and the socio-political echelons, Igbo parents were correspondingly inclined to acknowledge and accept the dominance of English in their homes. Although a native language like Igbo enjoys official status in Nigeria, English is granted higher diglossic status than the local languages. The understanding of the fact that Igbo has limited functions than English must have influenced the tendency to entrench English in the families. This is akin to Curdt-Christiansen's (2014) finding in China where Chinese parents succumbed to the pressure of the school and the political environment and accepted the dominance of English in their families.

Parental beliefs about Yoruba and Nigerian Pidgin influenced the non-promotion of these languages in the family. As a result of their fundamental belief that language is an ethnic marker, the parents associated Yoruba with ethnic identity; hence, speaking Yoruba translates to being Yoruba. With the exception of a minority, most of the parents did not favour the use of Yoruba due to ideological leanings, notwithstanding the fact that Yoruba is the host community. In other words, the parents enunciated that living in another person's house does not provide sufficient ground to use the person's language. Thus, evincing non-identity with Yoruba is an indirect suggestion that they did not belong, although they are physically present. It is also an indirect way of underlining their own ethnic distinction. Equally, parental beliefs about the low status of NP are the reasons it is not favoured by policies in the family. Both micro and macro factors

are responsible for the negative evaluation of Pidgin, ranging from the idea that it is not a home language, its corruptive influence on English, to the fact that the speakers come from the low classes and so not suitable for civil society.

In terms of actual language practice, there is an observable discrepancy between language ideology and practice. The parents did not wholly reflect their language beliefs in their language use at home. Firstly, instead of Igbo, the most dominant language in the family is English. Whereas, a number of children used English only, no child used Igbo only in interaction with fellow siblings. Secondly, it seems that parents did not reflect their own language experiences in the past on their own families. All the parents had acquired Igbo as a first language (L1) and learnt English later in school. But in some of the families, the order is reversed; the children acquired English first (L1) and learnt Igbo later. It is evident that the parents in the study deliberately exposed their children to English first because of the school factor where English is the language of instruction. It is also possible that the intention is to give the children a head-start in the language related to their success in school and upward social mobility later in life. Luykx (2003) states that family language policies are often shaped by external factors and so parents tend to form policies in anticipation of the language policy of the school. The parents know that a working knowledge of the school language is a great advantage to children entering school or already in school. Thirdly, although language ideology and policy did not favour the use of Yoruba, a significant number of children used Yoruba in the home, nevertheless. The entrance of Yoruba into the Igbo family in Lagos is a macro factor occasioned by the social network of the children which includes Yoruba peers. It represents an unavoidable language contact situation that consists of inter-ethnic contacts in the neighbourhood, schools and other social spaces. The language behavior of the children is unmarked (expected); it is difficult to socialize with host community friends in their formative years without achieving some level of proficiency in their language. Bringing the language home is a spontaneous tendency and in some cases runs against the linguistic tide at home, even though the parents may be opposed to it. Luykx's (2005) study in Boilivia confirms the fact that in a migrant context, exposing children to a new language variety places them in a linguistically subordinate position

and also weakens the role of parents as linguistic authorities in the family. Consequently, after identifying with the new language, the children may ignore or challenge aspects of their parents' language policy. This is a strong indication that children's linguistic experience is usually different from their parents, especially in a migrant setting. It is also a sign that the children may not retain and replicate their parents' language policy in their own families in the future. A marked result (unexpected) in the inquiry is that despite the avowal and inclination towards the Igbo identity, a number of parents used Yoruba in parental interactions.

The inquiry on language management mainly focused on internal control mechanisms adopted by parents to encourage the use of favoured languages and discourage the use of unwanted languages. Efforts to boost the use of the preferred languages (Igbo and English) resulted in the three management strategies: explicit, *laisses-faire* and implicit. A majority of the parents banned the use of the unwanted languages (mainly Pidgin, and to a lesser degree Yoruba) in order to make room for the fluorescence of the desired languages (mainly Igbo, and to a lesser extent, English). The implication of this is that the banned languages (especially Yoruba) had already gained some grounds in the family; hence, the ban. This assumption is based on the theory that you cannot ban what is not in operation. The ban of unwanted languages is an explicit and proactive strategy used by parents to enforce their authorities to make the children comply with their favoured language policy. However, a number of parents did not use such control mechanisms but rather granted liberty to family members to use any language of their choice in any context. This *laisses-faire* disposition of parents denotes the absence of a conscious and knowledgeable FLP as asserted by Spolsky (2007). This is a marked (unexpected) result, because it does not reflect the pro-heritage language ideological predilection of the parents. It is a demonstration of the fact that the *laisses-faire* parents are not really knowledgeable about the symbiotic relationship between language, identity and ethnicity and correspondingly are not concerned about what image they or their children projected when they used particular languages.

Implicit management style was seen in the approach of parents to introduce system

of rewards and punishment for using particular languages at home. Rewards for using the favoured languages (Igbo and English) and punishment for using the unwanted languages (mainly pidgin) were indirect attempts at promoting the preferred languages and discouraging the use of the unwanted ones. Such reactive strategies have been found to be very effective by earlier research and in some instances more effective than verbal enunciations. Kopeliovich's (2009) study in Israel found that a father who attempted to introduce Russian to his children through literary activities such as reading poems and books in Russian achieved more than the mother's verbal directives to the children to speak Russian. On the whole, the findings of this study prove that the selected second generation Igbo families in Lagos operated a bilingual policy that favoured the promotion of Igbo and English above other languages. However, there is no linear relationship or correspondence between language ideology, practice, and management.

Conclusion

Family language policy represents the efforts made by parents to establish a rule about language use in the home in a multilingual space. Due to competing languages, questions of identity and language experience, it becomes necessary for parents to make choice for and on behalf of the family. However, choices are influenced by factors both within and without the family. Parents' past language experiences and the socio-political environment have a huge impact on these choices. These pull and push factors imply that decisions about language use do not represent the free will of parents or family members. The study echoes the fact that, although the family is a unit of the society, it is not an isolated unit, but an integral one. Family language policy is like a Janus, with one face inwards and the other face outwards. The internal face takes cognizance of values of the native language hinged on parental past experiences, while the external face seeks to gauge the socio political environment. In the final analysis, the languages favoured by policy represent the overall interest of the parents.

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A CONFUSION OF MARYS

‘With your long blonde hair and your eyes of blue
The only thing I ever got from you
Was sorrow, sorrow’

– David Bowie, ‘Sorrow’

as if
a true portrait
sorrows known sorrows shared
solitude

swords in shoulders
seven sorrows
seven moments of despair
venerated images
statues carried everywhere

a madonna in the window
graffiti on the wall
neon halo in the twilight
shadows in the square

a confusion of stories ideas and myth
stone tears moving eyes

as if as if

everyone else is a non-believer

—Rupert Loydell

#3
Doug Lauvstad

Nigerian Hip Hop
and
the Anti-ọmọlúàbí Subculture among Nigerian Youth

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Abstract

Nigerian hip hop genre (NHHG) is a force to be reckoned with within the Nigerian entertainment industry. Existing works on NHHG have focused on code alternation, and the deployment of pronominal system by Nigerian hip hop artistes to create different identities for themselves. However, little attention is paid to the influence of NHHG on the emergence and widespread of certain traits and subculture considered atypical of the African socio-cultural practices among Nigerian youth. This study attempts an ethnographic examination of the linguistic and non-linguistic contents of selected Nigerian hip hop artistes' songs within the purview of Yoruba *ọmọlúàbí.* Findings reveal that NHHG is characterised by anti-*ọmọlúàbí* ideological stances and subcultural pratices: get-rich-at-all-cost, gangsterism and instigation of violence, semi-nudity and sensual appearance, and (un)veiled reference to sex and sexual activities. These subcultural practices have a great tendency to perpetually weaken the cultural foundation of *ọmọlúàbí* among Nigerian youth.

Keywords: Nigerian hip hop genre, Yoruba *ọmọlúàbí,* Nigerian youth, anti-*ọmọlúàbí* ideological practices

'Ọ̀gẹ̀dẹ̀ ń bàjẹ́ a ló ń pọ́n, ilé ayé ń burú a ló ń dára si'

The rottenness of the plantain is erroneously taken as a sign of ripeness; the world is getting corrupt, yet we claim it is getting better.

(A Yoruba Proverb)

INTRODUCTION

The proverb above aptly describes the present situation in Nigeria, particularly among the youths. With the prominence of the Nigerian hip hop music genre (NHHMG) which has technically displaced the American hip hop (AHH) music in the country, there have emerged some traits and lifestyles that are atypical of the African values and practices in general, and the Yoruba ideological world view in particular. It is now commonplace to observe a high rate of avarice desire for material things, gangsterism and violent acts, indecent dressing, and ultimately a high sense of immorality among Nigerian youths, which unfortunately, many individuals who are culturally indifferent, have termed signs of trendiness. There are attitudinal expectations within different cultural milieus and the Yoruba are not exempted in this well-defined cultural framework. The extent to which the youths still serve as repertoire of the African cultural heritages and the Yoruba core cultural values is an issue worthy of scholarly enquiry. In essence, a critical appraisal of the influence of the NHHMG subculture on the Nigerian youths raises some fundamental questions on the future of the African value system and culture in view of the subculture of unbriddled avarice for 'material things' and obscenities that permeates the songs of Nigerian hip hop artistes. This subcultural practice, weighed on the scale of the Yoruba *ọmọlúàbí*, which is the core value and the mark of identity of the people, can be described as anti-*ọmọlúàbí*. This has a lot of implications for the Nigerian society in particular and the African world in general. This is a phenomenon which extant literature has glossed over, hence the vacuum identified in this study.

NIGERIAN HIP HOP: THE JOURNEY SO FAR

Contrary to the opinion of Gbogi (2016) that NHHMG has not enjoyed

much scholarly attention like its counterparts such as Juju, Highlife and Afrobeat, the NHHMG has received tremendous attention from scholars around the globe. Omoniyi (2005) examines the linguistic landscape of NHHMG and concludes that it is a reflection of the complex linguistic situation in the country. In particular, he observes that code mixing and code switching feature prominently in NHHMG. He sees these linguistic phenomena as a means by Nigerian hip hop artistes to resist the much dominance enjoyed by American hip hop music and culture on Nigerian hip hop music. Omoniyi (2006) examines the linguistic strategies Nigerian hip hop artistes employ to perform what he terms 'glocal selves rather than 'other'. In this regard, he notes that Nigerian hip hop artistes employ language to create, establish and maintain their identities that make them different from other hip hop artistes found in other climes. He essentially argues against the widely held notion by scholars such as Charry (2012) that NHHMG is a copycat of AHH, and '(re)locates the roots of hip hop in pre-Slavery African cosmic space' (Gbogi, 2016: 172). Furthering his position, Omoniyi (2009) submits that hip hop in Africa can only be read as a *re*-appropriation, not appropriation or imitation.

Omoniyi *et al* (2009) examine language use in NHHMG and conclude Nigerian hip hop artistes make light reference to sex in their songs. This submission is further reinforced and accentuated by Ojoawo (2016) who observes that Nigerian hip hop artistes make preponderant reference to sex, and in a bit to escape being censored for the obscenity projected in their songs, these artistes employ what she calls escapist strategies in negotiating the rendition of their 'obscenity-coated' songs. Ajayi and Filani (2014) delve into the pragmatic function of pronouns and pronominals in Nigerian hip hop songs. These scholars observe that Nigerian hip hop artistes employ pronouns and pronominals to identify with their fans and followers on the one hand, and draw boundaries and polarity between them and their rivals on the other. Gbogi (2016) interrogates some of the linguistic elements Nigerian hip hop artistes employ in creating sub-identities and a new subculture within the Nigerian society. Some of these linguistic elements include indirection, ambiguity, circumlocution, language mixing, pun, double meaning, and inclusive pronominals.

He concludes these devices are mainly used to veil sexual discourse in their songs. These studies, among others, have however glossed over the influence of NHHMG on the emergence and widespread of certain traits that are atypical of the African socio-cultural practices among Nigerian youth. This forms the crux of this paper.

ỌMỌLÚÀBÍ AS AN IDEOLOGICAL CORE VALUE AMONG THE YORUBA

The concept of *ọmọlúàbí* can be described as an ideological-cum-identity construction phenomenon among the Yoruba all over the world. It is a philosophical concept that defines the core value(s) of the people. Dasylva (2016: 65) defines an *ọmọlúàbí* as an "ideal persona". In the submissions of Ogundeji (2009), Iṣola (2009) and Faleti (2009), some of the moral values that define an *ọmọlúàbí* are selflessness, hospitality, avoidance of wickedness, truth and rectitude, kindness and generosity, due respect and honour to parents, elders and those in authority, chastity in sexual matters, avoidance of stealing, avoidance of hypocrisy, dependability in keeping covenants and bonds, straightforwardness, protection of women as the weaker sex, among others. As such, any individual that lacks any of these virtues and traits is considered a deviant, hence he/she is being considered as 'anti-*ọmọlúàbí*'; a nomenclature that does not go down well with any good Yoruba person (Ajayi, in press). Odebunmi (2015: 2) describes the phenomenon of *ọmọlúàbí* as 'a high-context cultural phenomenon which encapsulates the idea of a good Yoruba person, and is thus impactful in determining the Yoruba identity'. In Ogundeji's (2009:73) opinion, *Ọmọlúàbí* implies "ọmọ- tí olú ìwà- bí/ ọmọ tí ó ní ìwà ìbí (rere) meaning ‹a person born and raised by someone with good character and, by implication, a person with good character himself or herself" (Adejumo, 2017: 6). Faleti (2009:113) shares Ogundeji's (2009) position by adding that *ọmọlúàbí* is "the golden attribute of a Yorùbá man".

Awoniyi (1975) cited in Odebunmi (2015) opines *ọmọlúàbí* leans on the principles of good behaviour, social harmony and integrity, and socially appropriate manners. These principles manifest in all aspects of their socio-cultural lives, including their eating habits, marriage, system of governance, dressing, and language (as evident in their linguistic

expressions of politeness), morally-induced encounters and socially ingrained exchanges (Odebunmi, 2015: 2); and interestingly, their conflict resolution system. Ajayi (in press) adds that *ọmọlúàbí* is the bedrock of the peaceful coexistence of people in the Yoruba society, as it is a veritable tool that guides their daily interaction, even in periods of conflict.

The concept of *ọmọlúàbí* can also be captured within the educational framework as Professor Babatunde Aliu Fafunwa, a one-time Minister of Education in Nigeria, who once defined the informal education as the knowledge of *ọmọlúàbí*. Education has, among many definitions, been seen as the acquisition of knowledge, skills, attitudes and values which make one a functional member of any society. The aspects of attitude and value in the definition above are within the ambit of informal education which can be captured within the *ọmọlúàbí* framework. We can safely posit therefore that the virtues and expectations of an *ọmọlúàbí* as listed by Ogundeji (2009), Iṣola (2009) and Faleti (2009), constitute an integral part of the education of the Yoruba.

METHDOLOGY

All the songs employed as data in this paper were listened to, transcribed and translated by us (where necessary). We identified volumes of Nigerian hip hop songs and purposively selected seven songs that best depict the contemporary state of Nigerian hip hop. Besides, the artistes whose songs have been selected in this study are those who have made remarkable marks in the Nigerian entertainment and music industry. They are artistes whose rise to fame within the Nigerian hip hop circle cannot be divorced from the features that form the thematic focus of this study. Although it could be argued that the features that informed the selection of these songs are preponderant in several of the selected artistes' other songs, we have chosen to limit the scope of our selection to those we consider as hit-songs, released either as hit singles or tracks which have made them popular and acceptable among Nigerian youths. The artistes and their selected songs are 9ice (Living thing), Kelly Handsome (Maga don pay), Olamide (Awon goons mi), Olamide and Phyno featuring Lil Kesh (Ladi), Oritsefemi (Redi), Davido (Fans mi), D'banj (Don't tell me nonsense), and Runtown (Bend down Pause). Data are subjected to ethnographic analysis within the purview of the principles of Yoruba *ọmọlúàbí* ideology. However, for elegance and space, we have decided to present only those lines of the songs considered relevant to this study.

DATA PRESENTATION

The data are grouped under different ideological headings which can be described as anti- *ọmọlúàbí*. Illustrative excerpts are presented and discussed under each of the headings.

Get-rich-at-all-cost syndrome

The songs of many Nigerian hip hop artistes have strongly entrenched the *get rich by all means* syndrome as seen in the excerpts below:

Excerpt 1 (from 9ice, *Living Thing)*

As a living thing
I want to be doing things
I want to be controlling things
I want to be enterprising

K'émi ṣá ti lówó	*I just have to have money*
olè ló bọmọ jẹ́	*stealing is not a commendable practice*
Kí n ṣá ti lówó	*I just have to have money*
wire wire	*wire wire*
Kí n ṣá ti lówó	*I just have to have money*
money order	*money order*
Kí n ṣá ti lówó	*I just have to have money*
Ó lè jẹ́ come and marry	*It could be come and marry*
Kí n ṣá ti lówó...	*I just have to have money*

Among the many phenomena Nigerian hip hop artistes sing about and reiterate

in their songs are money, sex, women (for male artistes), materialism, and a lifestyle of splendour, to mention but a few. They often demonstrate their unbriddled quest to be rich, influential and famous, at all cost in the lyrics of their songs. The singer-persona, 9ice (Abolore) expresses his desire to be rich all at cost and by all means in this song. In negotiating this ideological stance, he makes reference to the Yoruba *ọmọlúàbí* ideological view *olè ló bọmọ jẹ́* 'stealing is not a commendable practice'. As a people, the Yoruba condemn stealing and thieving, hence the prayer *Ọlọ́run máà jẹ́ n bí olé lọ́mọ,* 'May God never allow me give birth to a thieving child'. However, a critical appraisal of the other lines of the song shows the anti-*ọmọlúàbí* ideology reinforced therein. From lines 4 to 12, 9ice discloses he does not care about how the money comes but all he desires is to be rich, even if it means being involved in anti-*ọmọlúàbí* practices of defrauding others, and essentially *yahooing*. This conclusion is compelling in view of the lexical choice of the singer-persona in the stated lines of the song. He projects himself as one that does not care even if the source of his money is the yahoo business that has become a major mainstay and subculture for many Nigerian youths. In this illegal business, some of the regular anti-language expressions employed include *money order, wire wire* and ***ṣáṣẹ́*.** As observed by Chawki (2009), cyber scam, particularly *yahoo* in Nigeria is a phenomenon that has constituted a major security and economic threat to the global community.

Through this illicit business, many Nigerian youths, who under the guise of being unemployed, have scammed thousands of unsuspecting foreigners, mainly Whites, defrauding them of their hard-earned resources. This anti-*ọmọlúàbí* subculture is what 9ice is promoting in his song. This notion becomes more apparent in the excerpt below as captured in the singer-persona's song under study:

Excerpt 2 (from 9ice, *Living Thing)*

Àwọn t'èmi ń ṣáṣẹ́	*my people are surfing the Internet*
wọ́n ṣáṣẹ́ lóru mọ́jú	*They surf the Internet overnight*
Àwọn t'èmi ń ***ṣáṣẹ́*** oo	*my people are surfing the Internet*
Laì fojú korun	*without giving their eyes to sleep*
Ọ̀lẹ ń sùn ọ̀lé ò mọ google	*the lazy sleep, they do not understand*
Ọ̀lẹ ń sùn kò lè *kaku*	*google* *the lazy sleep, they cannot strategise*

In the excerpt, 9ice appears to be commending the efforts of the Nigerian yahoo boys who stay awake in the night, surfing the Internet and strategising how to dupe their 'clients'. While the Yoruba *ọmọlúàbí* ideology commends hard work and being industrious, it condemns, in unequivocal terms, the anti-*ọmọlúàbí* practice of being hardworking and industrious in doing the wrong thing, including scamming. It is particularly worrisome to even see this anti-*ọmọlúàbí* practice taking its toll on toddlers and urban children in the country. For instance, in a Youtube video that went viral on the social media earlier in 2017, a young boy of about four years was asked what his future ambition was; disturbingly, the little boy responded: *Tí n bá dàgbà, mo fẹ́* **máa *ṣáṣẹ́*** which means, when I become a grown up, I want to be an Internet fraudster/ cyber scammer (*htt://go2l.ink/1j09, https:www.youtube.com/watch?v=z5-qPeWlzjE*)

The anti-*ọmọlúàbí* subculture projected in 9ice's song above is also reinforced in Kelly Handsome's song titled 'Maga don pay'. In the song, the singer-persona expresses his excitement and happiness, having hit the jackpot, hence the affluent lifestyle that follows. Our focus here is not the fact that the artiste hits the jackpot but the fact that the money he has made, as evident in the lyrics of the song, is made through scam and fraud, an anti- *ọmọlúàbí* practice that the Yoruba culture and value system frown at. The Yoruba people believe it is inappropriate to earn one's living through fraudulent means, hence the popular proverbial adage of the people '*Ẹní bá t'ajà erùpẹ̀*, á gbowó òkúta' one who is dubious/fraudulent cannot escape being paid back in their own coin. This explains the reason the people, ideologically and culturally, extol working hard and earning one's living in a decent manner. The following lines in Kelly Handsome's 'Maga don pay' speaks volume of the culture of 'get rich at all cost' that Nigerian hip hop artistes promote among Nigerian youths.

Excerpt 3 (from Kelly Handsome, *Maga don pay*)

...Too much money

the problem is how to spend it

Plenty dollar

straight to aboki to dey start to dey change it...

Stanza 1

...Maga don pay	*Maga has paid*
shout halleluyah	*shout halleluyah*
oooo owo	*ooo money*
Mugu don pay	*Mugu has paid*
shout halleluyah	*shout halleluyah*
eeeee	*eeee*
Halleluyah	*Halleluyah*
owo	*money*
halleluyah	*Halleluyah*
ego	*money*

Hennesy...Mouwe, palmy.....

In the first stanza of the song, the singer-persona announces his major breakthrough which is good news. His account has been credited with a huge amount of dollars, hence the need to visit the *aboki*[1], parallel market operatives to convert it to naira. However, in the chorus, he discloses how he has made the money: yahoo business. How do we know? The singer-persona keeps making reference to his *maga* and *mugu* (duped clients) as those who have credited his account with the said amount of money. The expressions *maga* and *mugu* are anti-language coinages employed by cyber scammers otherwise known as *yahoo boys*[2] in Nigeria to refer to their unsuspecting victims. While *maga* refers to a male victim, *mugu* refers to a female victim. This illicit business is an anti-*ọmọlúàbí* practice that has attracted the attention of different law enforcement agencies such as the Nigeria Police and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) who have been fighting tooth and nail to curb it.

1. A Hausa man that specialises in helping people convert dollars to local currency in Nigeria.
2. These are Nigerian youths who have taken to the illegal business of employing different strategies, including projection of false identity, email hacking or bombing, among others as a means of earning their living.

Gangsterism and instigation of violence

Gangsterism is the practice or act of perpetrating violent criminal activities. It also invloves instigation of violence and every other peace-shooting vice including street fighting, thuggery and public peace disturbance. This negative phenomenon is given prominence in Nigerian hip hop music, perhaps as part of the influence of American hip hop culture, whose history is laced with gangsterism and violence, on the Nigerian hip hop music culture. As ardent followers of American hip hop music, we recall the 1990s was a period marked with hooliganism and gangsterism among the leading hip hop artistes in the United States of America. Among the famous American artistes involved in this were Tupac Shakur and Notorious BIG as well as their fans. During this period, unhealthy rivalry and public tantrum was the order of the day among American hip hop artistes. In fact, it was and is still believed among the followers of American hip hop music that this untoward development was what led to the death of these two famous artistes (Tupac and BIG). This act, as observed by us, is gradually establishing its foothold in the Nigerian hip hop music. This is evident in Olamide's song 'Awon goons mi' in the excerpt below:

Excerpt 4 (from Olamide, *Awon goons mi*)

Shout out s'áwọn goons	*Shout out to my fans/followers*
àwọn ẹrúku mi	*my die-hard fans/followers*
awon lo ni ki ma para to ni keeping cool mi	*they ask me to relax*
so bi gobe sele ninu hood mi	*so if there is violence around me*
Te ba gbo bajinotu e ma rawon goons mi	*when you hear a gunshot, you will see my goons*
poka	*poka*
Bajinotu kan fawon goons mi	*one gunshot for my goons*
poka	*poka*
Bajinotu meji fawon goons mi	*two gunshots for my goons*

poka poka...	*poka poka*
...Olopa o le mawon goons mi	*Police cannot arrest my goons*
e ma sa teba ri Mopol[3]	*do not run if you see Mopol*
Awon lo n silekun f'ole...	*hey are the ones opening the door for thieves*

In the excerpt above, the singer-persona, Olamide, subtly shows his identification with gangsterism. This becomes apparent in the title of the song 'Awon goons mi', with particular focus on the word *goon.* According to Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary (third edition), the word 'goon' means 'a violent criminal who is paid to hurt or threaten people'. Oxford Dictionary defines 'goon' as ...an awkward foolish person, an aggressive and violent young criminal or a thug hired to eliminate or terrorise opponents'. Olamide employs the word goon here to refer to his 'thugs' to whom the song is dedicated (as evident in the first line of the song: shout out s'awon goons mi). In the song, the singer-persona shows the level of confidence he has in his 'violent supporters' who would do anything to defend him. The slangy word ẹrúkú, a Yoruba word derived from the noun phrase *ẹrú ikú* (death's slave), refers to the same set of people that Olamide calls his 'goons'. A brief etymological description of the expression *ẹrú ikú* becomes apt here. *Ẹrú* in the Yoruba language literally means slave, while *ikú* means death. The combination of the two implies death's slave, one who is called upon by death to carry out its bidding whenever it (death) is set to claim anyone's life. Because of the status of *ẹru*, according to Yoruba culture, s/he is bound to do the bidding of their master, death, whenever the latter so wishes.

This same notion is what is projected by Olamide in this song, particularly as evident in his words: *Te ba gbo bajinotu, e ma rawon goons mi* 'if you hear a gunshot, you will see my goons (coming to his rescue). He makes this statement to express his unflinching trust and confidence in his 'thugs' and violent supporters to defend him whenever there is trouble or violence '*gobe*' around him. Similarly, the onomatopoeic word 'poka' stands for the sound of the gunshot Olamide verbally employs to celebrate his 'goons'. In the latter part of the song, Olamide projects his 'goons' as those that are intractable for the security agencies, Nigeria Police (NP), and Mobile Police (Mopol), for instance. These acts of gangsterism and instigation of violence are anti-*ọmọlúàbí* tendencies forbidden by Yoruba value system.

Olamide is not the only artiste whose song(s) is/are replete with elements of gangsterism. For instance, D'banj, in the excerpt below also projects his identification with the phenomenon.

Excerpt 5 (from D'banj, Don't tell me nonsense)

...it's D'banj you already know	
don't tell me nonsense	
when you see me in the club	
with champagne, never tell me nonsense...	
I no care if you be chairman,	*I don't care if you are the chairman*
you dey talk nonsense...	*You are talking nonsense*
Chorus	
Ṣùgbọ́n ẹni tó bá ta félefèle	But whoever misbehaves
Ẹni tó bá sọ rádaràda	whoever behaves anyhow
Ẹni tó bá ṣe réderède, wánranwànran	whoever acts anyhow
what I will do?	
Ẹ̀yin boys, ẹ gbá ojú ẹ̀	You boys, slap them
óyá (4ce)	
Ẹ̀yin boys, ẹ gbá ojú ẹ̀	You boys, slap them
óyá (4ce)	

3. Mobile Police.

Ẹ̀yin boys, ẹ gbá ojú ẹ̀	You boys, slap them
óyá (4ce)	
Ẹ̀yin boys, ẹ gbá ojú ẹ̀...	You boys, slap them

In the lines above, D'banj apparently is directing his hate speech at an undisclosed rival, perhaps in the music industry. To him, the personality of the fellow does not matter and as far as he is concerned, all the person is talking is nonsense. In the chorus of the song, D'banj instructs his 'boys' to 'attack' whoever misbehaves or says nonsense (to him). This is a practice Ajayi and Filani (2014) note characterise the Nigerian hip hop music industry. Although, this could be argued to be statements of hate by D'banj directed at a particular fellow he considers a personal enemy, the act of calling on his boys (who could be his thugs and goons) to attack the fellow with a slap portends gangsterism and violence, particularly when examined within the purview of the dispute or conflict resolution practice of the Yoruba that is guided by the principles of *ọmọlúàbí.* Ideologically, the Yoruba approach conflicts and disputes from the view point of *ọmọlúàbí.* The Yoruba believe in peace and as such train their young ones to be law-abiding and peaceful. They encourage their young ones to eschew violent and criminal practices, which they believe, are destructive. One of such proverbial statements that are of employed by the people to preach against violent acts is 'alágẹmọ tó ń tẹ lẹ̀ jẹ́jẹ́, ikú ń pa à, ábèlètàsé ọ̀pọ̀lọ́ tí ń jan ra rẹ̀ mọ́lẹ̀' 'the chameleon that walks gently attracts death to itself, let alone the frog that hits itself against the ground boisterously' which carries the message 'a practice that exposes one to life-threatening and violent tendency is desctructive, hence should be avoided.

(Un)veiled reference to sex and sexual activities

As stated earlier, another predominant thematic preoccupation in the songs of Nigerian hip hop artistes is sex and issues bothering on humans' private parts, especially females. The artistes sometimes refer to these private parts directly and at other times metaphorically as depicted in the excerpts below:

Excerpt 6 (from Olamide, "Story for the gods")

Take it to the left

To the right
And to the left
To the right
Oh my God

Oh my God
And deep it low
And deep it slow

And deep it low
And deep it slow

In the African socio-cultural milieu, a verbal description of sex and sexual acts, especially in open discussions is frowned at and considered as taboo mostly among Yoruba people. Although some sexual organs are found to be adopted in many Yoruba proverbs, (see Fakoya 2007), these are only deployed for their pragmatic relevance. Issues concerning sex and virginity are held in high esteem in the Yoruba culture that evidence of a lady's virginity is even expected to be displayed by the groom on the night of their wedding by flagging off a blood-stained white cloth to confirm that the groom newly deflowers the bride (meets the bride at home). This is why virginity is described among the Yoruba as ìbálé which literally means a lady is 'met at home' and connotatively means 'met as a virgin'. The lyrics of most Nigerian hip-hop artistes as exemplified by Olamide's song work in contrary to this cultural heritage as he vividly describes the activities involved in a sexual act with sharp imperative sentences such as *deep it low; deep it slow.* An instance of a Yoruba proverb which cautions against fornication, especially on the part of the lady is *b'idi b aba je, t'oni di ni da.* This implies that when a lady messes up her private part, she would have the consequences to bear. Such proverb metaphorically alludes to the undesired consequences of pre-marital sex such as pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases.

Excerpt 7 (from by Olamide, Phyno and Lil Kesh's Ki n ma ladi)

She say Kesh you want to sample me	
Igba ti mo gbe ponron jade owa,	When I brought out *ponron*[4]
o ni Kesh this your thing	she said Kesh this *thing* of yours
Is bigi o jare.	is very big
Ejo mi ko Oluwa lo da mi lare	It is not me, God has just blessed me with it

This excerpt also creates a vivid picture of sexual organs and the performance of sexual acts. This excerpt is particularly worrisome as the singer was himself a teenager at the time he sang this song and was, and still is, enjoying a large fan base among Nigerian youth. His mentioning of sexual organs like *ponron* (which refers to the male reproductive organ) and how this is sexually deployed works against the sexual sanctity promoted in the Yoruba culture.

Semi-nudity and sensual appearance

Two popular Yoruba proverbs about dressing become apt here: *Ìrínisí ni ìsọnilọ́jọ̀* 'The way you dress is the way you will be addressed', *B'a ti rìn,* là á *ko ni* 'the way one appears determines how one will be treated'. These proverbs emphasise the fact that the Yoruba culture places premium on dressing and appearance. It is the tradition of the Yoruba to dress decently and neatly to be considered well dressed (Iyanda, 2016). However, a critical appraisal of the videos of some of the selected artistes portrays a dressing culture that is atypical of the Yoruba *ọmọlúàbí* way of dressing. The plates below are few examples of such videos:

4. A slangy word for penis among youths

Fig. 1: Cleavage display in Davido's 'Fans mi'

Fig. 2: Grinding in Runtown "Bend down Pause"

Fig. 3: Grinding in Oritsefemi's "Redi"

Fig. 4: Penis objectifying in Iyanya's 'Oreo'

Fig. 5: Flirting in Olamide's "Story for the gods"

The plates (Fig. 1-5) above have sexual dispositions which are anti-*ọmọlúàbí* in the Yoruba cultural value and even generally in Africa. The images on the plates have a great tendency to create sexual arousal in the viewers which can consequently facilitate sexual crimes such as rape and sexual harassment. The unfortunate thing, as our observation has shown, is how these semi-nudity and sexual appearances have negative impacts on the dressing and public appearances of young Nigerian females. Ladies are now seen dressed in ways considered indecent within the Yoruba *ọmọlúàbí* cultural framework. Indecent dressing, nudity and sexually arousing postures, as largely propagated by Nigerian hip hop culture is now seen trending among Nigerian youths, an unfortunate trend which must be put under check in the interest of the cultural sanctity of the Yoruba, Nigerians and Africans as a people.

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

This ethnographic exploration of selected Nigerian hip hop artistes' songs, particularly within the principles of Yoruba *ọmọlúàbí* ideological stance, notes that certain anti-*ọmọlúàbí* ideological phenomena characterise the songs of Nigerian hip hop artistes. These include get rich quick and at all cost syndrome, gangsterism and instigation of violence, (un)veiled reference to sex and sexual activities, semi-nudity and sensual appearance(s), among others. Since the teeming fans of these artistes are largely youths who consider them as celebrities and role models, one cannot but conclude that the many anti-*ọmọlúàbí* social practices such as *yahooing,* thuggery and violence, indecent dressing, particularly among young ladies, money rituals, to mention but a few noticed among Nigerian youths are traceable to the hip hop subculture espoused by Nigerian hip hop artistes. This is because, as shown in our data analysis and discussion, Nigerian hip hop artistes, either knowingly or unknowingly, promote these vices in their songs, a development that portends moral breakdown in the society (Ojoawo, 2016) and has a great tendency to perpetually weaken the cultural foundation of *ọmọlúàbí* among Nigerian youths. This paper therefore recommends that the appropriate censor agencies ensure strict and proper scrutiny and screening of the songs of Nigerian hip hop artistes so as to make sure their contents conform to our socio-cultural values as Africans, Nigerians and Yoruba. Similarly, parents and guardians have a great role to play in ensuring that children and youths are taught the African value system, as it is a saying in Yoruba *'Ilé l'ati ń kó ẹ̀ṣọ́ ròde,* charity begins at home. The teaching of this African value system should also be reinforced in the educational system as was the practice in the past.

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ANNUNCIATION MANIFESTO

(Rose M. Barron's 'Madonna Tableaux')

'We cannot live in a world that is interpreted for us
by others. An interpreted world is not a home.'

– Hildegard von Bingen, *Selected Writings*

Outside boundaries of faith and spirituality,
the process of performing is important.
I am interested in symbols of excess,
the handcrafted construction of sets,
superficial and cultural constructs,
unexpected moments, imperfection
and humanness juxtaposed with
religious and sacred iconography.
I am re-inventing and reclaiming,
examining my identity as a woman
and twisting expectations of
what a woman represents.

—Rupert M. Loydell

#4
Doug Lauvstad

CULTURAL REPRESENTATION IN *OBIDIYA*: A POST-COLONIAL LITERATURE

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Abstract

Cultural elements abound in Africa that could serve as sources of thematic exploration, plot narratives, same as means to the documentation of such cultures. Some Igbo writers as part of African writers have appropriated the use of cultural elements in their works. This study is therefore; set to examine Igbo cultural representations in Akoma's Obidiya and aims at examining how much of the cultural elements reflected in the text are still applicable in the contemporary Igbo society. The content analysis is employed in the analysis of this study and the Marxist theory of literature is employed as the theoretical model for the study. The study reveals that Akoma is able to reflect so many Igbo customs, beliefs and traditions, such as belief in 'Chukwu' God, 'Ịgbaafa', divination, 'ịlọụwa' reincarnation, 'nrọ' dream, 'ohu' slavery, 'Ndịichie' Ancestary, "Arụsị' deity, *'Ịkwụụdọ'* – suicide, and 'ụwaọzọ' Another world. The study also reveal that some of the cultural practices reflected in Obidiya have gone extinct, such as 'ohu' slavery, 'ihianụ' humans operating through the form of animal. Some of them seem to still be in operation, but under some disguised forms, such as 'ịgbaohu' slavery which operates in the form of domestic/house helps 'ihianụ' operating as witchcraft. The study therefore recommends that Igbo literary authors should borrow a leaf from Akoma by incorporating more of the Igbo cultural elements into their works; especially the very archaic ones as a means of their documentation, preservation and transference to the on coming generations.

Keywords: culture, Igbo literature, post-colonial, representation, *Obidiya*

Introduction

Prior to westernization, the pre-colonial African societies, of which Igbo is a part, had their own cultures which is peculiar to each of the African societies. This is also applicable to the Igbo as part of the African society. This is in line with Park's (1994) view in Anyim (1999, p. 131) that "ancient cultures had their own definition of sacred space that controlled where people went and what they did, and how they did it".

This paper, therefore examines the representation of ancient-contemporary Igbo cultural elements in Igbo post-colonial drama text, *Obidiya*. 'Ancient-cultural elements' as it is used in this paper include the cultural elements that existed in the pre-colonial era, and those of the colonial era as well as the post-colonial period. These cultural elements include the norms, values and belief systems of the people. It is the totality of the people's way of life. Eagleton (2004, p. 1) opines that the concept of culture is etymologically derived from nature; that culture transcends the ordinary by metaphorically transposing the affairs of the spirit. He goes further to explain that, the semantic analysis of culture brings to fore, how human history has shifted from "rural to urban existence, pig-farming to Picasso, tilling the soil to splitting the atom". This is also true of the Igbo culture, where some of the ancient cultural elements seem to have been forgotten as a result of westernisation. Thanks to literary writers and the media that are making conscious efforts at documenting most of the cultural elements.

The Igbo society within pre-colonial times had various practices which include legends, rituals, myths, and taboos. Others include their economic, religious, social, political and agricultural system. It is the historical shift from rural to urban, that aids in the provision of the knowledge of what ancient cultures in contemporary literature will represent. The cultural elements, both ancient and modern serve as a footing for literary authors. The inclusion of cultural elements into literatures offers people the opportunity of viewing the picture of ancient before they came in contact with other forms of cultures, in so doing, aid in the preservation and transmission of such cultural elements. This is because literature has the power to influence individual thoughts to the level of 'acting out' the different activities and ideas which they have read.

In this paper, therefore, we hope to examine the Igbo drama text *Obidiya* written by Akọma, in order to identify the Igbo cultural elements contained in it, and also find out the ancient cultural elements that are still in practice in the contemporary or post-colonial Igbo society.

Methodology

The purposive sampling method is employed in the abstraction of the drama text; *Obidiya* written by Akoma which like another Igbo novel, *Obiefula* contains a lot of Igbo cultural elements. The content analysis is used in identifying the cultural elements contained in *Obidiya.* The drama text is thoroughly read and the cultural representations in it identified.

Theoretical Framework

Marxist literary theory belongs to sociological theory of literature. Following Alaba (1985, pp. 17-20), who applied this theory in his study of oral poetry, Marxist theory has

been a veritable tool for oral literary artists who mirror events within their immediate society with the aim to warn, to eulogise and to condemn. Modern literary artists whose arts are in written form also find the same Marxist theory, a useful tool because they are influenced by their societies and they write to reflect society. Literature reflects society and derives its essential existence and significance from the social situation to which it responds. The works of the modern artists depend to some degree on the oral versions. Thus Emenanjo's (1986) observation concerning the modern artist that "since he draws from the traditional milieu, the modern artist cannot afford the luxury of *art gratis* which means 'art for art's sake".

Marxist scholars base their philosophy and reading of literature on the social and economic theories of Karl Marx and his friend and co-author Friedrich Engels. There appears also to be a consensus among sociological theorists like Wellek and Warren (1985, p. 94); and Kirsner and Mendel (2004) that the literary work cannot be separated from the social context in which it is created. Marxism is a philosophy that is developed to advance the cause of the working class and its allies.

Marxist scholars apply the foregoing views to their analyses of literary works such as drama. The essence of such analysis is to posit all literary works of any particular era as reflection of class antagonism, or networks of concepts that support the interests of the elite and at the same time suppress those of the working class. In the words of Nnabuihe (2010, p. 17) "Every society the world over craves for equanimity, which they seldom enjoy. Marxism as an aspect within the broad spectrum of sociological theory is cognizant of this views literature from the point of class domination and class struggles,

which are prevalent in all strata of every society.

The Marxist theory will help to explicate the various situations within the Igbo milieu which is reflected by Akoma, through the character Oriaku who rejects the verdict of the judge over the portion of land belonging to Onuma. Oriaku, feels that Onumabeing a slave, should not have a life of his own, hence is not permitted to contend with the free born, even when the item under dispute belongs to him, Onuma. This leads Oriaku to employ the services of assassins to kill Onuma. Onuma's wife, in search of justice and equity, retaliates by going through the service of Akakaka the *dibia* to kill Oriaku.

If indeed, the primary concern of Marxism is to mirror dialectics, that is, conflicts or struggles experienced within a particular society in a particular era, and Marxist criticism is about the development of such struggles as reflected in literature, then Marxist critics would certainly look with favour on most Igbo playwrights, Akoma inclusive. Akoma points out the inequality between the free and the bound, which is supported by the Igbo cultural believe in *Ohu* 'slavery'.

Omenala in *Obidiya* 'The Igbo Beliefs, Customs & Tradition in *Obidiya*'

Omenala is that which obtains in a society. It could also be seen as the way the forefathers did their things. *Omenala* "literarily means that which obtains in the land or community, [otherwise referred to as culture]. It refers to what accords to the customs and traditions of the people" (Nwala, 1985, p. 26). Nwala goes further to explain that *omenala*, refers to what accords to the basic beliefs, ideas and mores without which in fact, as the Igbo expresses it, the community would cease to exist because it must

have lost touch with reality and the source of their existence. They are the customs and traditions/beliefs which the Igbo are expected to accept and live up to. It is the totality of the people's way of life.

Akoma reflects most of the *omenala* in his drama book *Obidiya* and they include: *arụ* 'abomination', *ohu* 'slave,' *nrọ* 'dream', *ịlọụwa* 'reincarnation', *Chukwu* 'God' *esisi* 'animism' *ndịichie* 'ancestors', *arụsị* 'deity' and *ịgbaafa* 'divination.'

Arụ 'Abomination'

The Igbo believe that there are certain things that are abomination, what the land abhors. Those things that are seen as abominable 'ihendịalana-asọnsọ' are what are referred to as *arụ* abomination. *Arụ* are things that the Igbo view as evil or abominable before all, the things committed against *ala* 'earth' and *ndịichie* 'ancestors'. The Igbo normally differentiate between *arụ* and *nsọala*. The greater level of *nsọala* is called *arụ*. Both are referred to as abominations in English.

Some of the things that are seen as *arụ* or *nsọala* in Igbo society include: *ịbọjin'ohi* –'uprooting and stealing of yam', *igbuọchụ* 'murder', *ikpansi* 'poisoning another', *nwaanyị igbu akwụ* 'cutting of palm fruit by a woman' and *nwoke na nwa ya maobu onye aru ya inwe mmekọ edina* 'incest', and *nwaanyị ịtụrụ ime mgbe ọ nọ na mkpe di ya nwụrụ anwụ* 'a widow becoming pregnant during the mourning period for her husband'. In Abatete, a town in Idemili Local Government Area of Anambra state, of Nigeria, it is an abomination for a widow that is still in mourning to be seen outside her compound after 6 pm (Nigerian time); this is also applicable to most communities in Igbo society.

The various abominations attract different degrees of punishments, ranging from excommunication, sacrifice, cleansing, to outright banishment. Hence, Okonkwo was narrated as having committed *nso-ani* 'abomination' by beating his youngest wife, Ojiugo, during the week of peace, in which every member of the society is expected to maintain absolute peace with all as narrated in Achebe (1958, p. 25) thus: "This year they talked of nothing else but the *nso-ani* which Okonkwo had committed". Okonkwo is then charged with carrying out a sacrifice in order to absolve himself from the abomination. Ezeani, the chief priest then charges Okonkwo, 'you will bring to the shrine of *Ani* tomorrow one she-goat, one hen, a length of cloth and a hundred cowries' (Achebe, 1958, p. 24). Okonkwo, committed another abomination when his gun exploded and a piece of iron from it pierced the heart of Ezeudu's sixteen year old son which resulted in the instant death of the young boy. This led to Okonkwo's exile. Thus Achebe narrates that,

> The only course open to Okonkwo was to flee from
> the clan. It was a crime against the earth goddess to kill a
> clansman, and a man who committed it must flee from the land.
> The crime was of two kinds, male and female. Okonkwo had
> committed the female, because it had been inadvertent.
> He could return to the clan after seven years (Achebe, 1958, p. 99).

Achebe (1964) alludes to another instance of abomination. It was the action of Oduche in putting the sacred python into his box so that the python can get suffocated and die. It was an abomination to harm the sacred python. Hence Ezidemili sends his chief priest to Ezeulu, Oduche's father to find out what he intended to do concerning the

abomination. "I am sent by Ezidemili'… 'Ezidemili wants to know what you are going to do about the abomination which has been committed in your house" (Achebe, 1964, pp. 53-54).

Anybody that commits abomination is seen as abominable, and until such a person has gone through some kind of cleansing and sacrifice as the case may be for absolution, such a person remains unclean. Nze (2010, p. 71) explains that anybody that commits abomination must die a bad death, except the person undergoes *ikpụarụ*'cleansing/ sacrifice to absolve the offender of his/her abomination. Akoma (1977) in *Obidiya* alludes to the Igbo belief in *arụ* thus:

> *Ihe ọ na-achọimeugbu a bụarụ* (Akoma, 1977, p. 1)
>
> [What he wants to commit now is abomination.]

The above excerpt makes reference to Oriakụ's attempt to murder Ọnụma and to take over his land, in contradiction to the verdict of the judge. This type of action is seen as *aru* in Igbo society.

Ohu 'Slavery'

In his opening speech, Oriaku alludes to one of the ancient Igbo culture, which is *ịgbaohu* 'slavery. An *Ohu* does not own anything, not even him/herself. All that such a person is or has belongs to the master. *Ohu* 'slave' is owned in the same way that fowls and other animals are owned. He or she is only permitted to marry a fellow *ohu* 'slave'. The children of the *ohu* 'slave' are automatically slaves to their fathers' master or owner.

Hence, Oriaku's utterance,

> Oriakụ: *Ka Ọnụma bata n'ala ahụ, m tipịa ya isi na nkume. Onyeziri ya na a na-enwe ala enwe? Nnanna ya bụ ohu. A zụrụ ha azụ. Ebe a ha bi bụ ala enyetụrụ ha enyetu. Ebe ọ na-awaanya, aga m agwa agwụ osisi e jitụa ya. Onyega-ekwu*. (Akoma, 1977, p. 3)
>
> […let Ọnụma step his feet into that land, I will smash his head on a stone, who told him that a land is being owned? His fore fathers were slaves. They were bought. Their residence was lent to them. Since he is not afraid, I will tell him the tree that he was carved from. Who will talk?]

A slave is usually helpless, as he/she has nobody to defend him/her in case of any eventuality. Hence the above boast from Oriakụ. Another instance of *ohu* 'slavery' in the Igbo belief system is also recorded by Achebe (1958, p. 22) through the character Ikemefuna who is taken as a slave to live with Okonkwo as an atonement from the enemy for an Umufia kindred that is murdered.

Nrọ 'Dream'

The Igbo believe in dreams, visions and divinations. They believe that dreams are one of the means of gaining knowledge and having insight into the future. That is the reason, Obidiya forewarns the husband, Ọnụma to be careful, because she had had a bad dream concerning him:

> Obidiya: …Echefula m ịkọrọ gị otu nrọ m rọro nwanne echi
>
> Gara aga (Akoma, 1977, p. 7)
>
> [Obidiya:… I forgot to tell you about the dream I had two days ago.]
>
> Ọnụma: *Ị rọrọ gịnị*? (Akoma, 1977, p. 6)
>
> [Ọnụma: What was the dream?]

Obidiya: …*I nọ na-asaahụ, sachaa, na-abọ isi. Dimkpa mmadụ atọ abata*

Ebe ahụ, bulie okpiri kụọ gị, ị daa n'ala na-agbasịkọsịkọ.

Ha emie ala. (Akoma, 1977, p. 6)

[Obidiya:… You were having your bath, after that, you were combing your hair. Three hefty men came in, hit you with a stick, you fell down and started convulsing. They disappeared.]

This dream is actually a revelation concerning Onuma's murder; because as the drama progresses, Onuma is eventually killed in that manner.

Ịlọ Ụwa 'Reincarnation'

The Igbo are of the belief that when a person dies, if he/she lived good life, such a person comes back to the world in the form a new born baby. A person can come in the body of various persons. At reincarnation, the reincarnated person is able to do or own the things that he/she could not do or own in his/her previous world.

At the end of listening to Obidiya's dream, Onuma, her husband admits that the dream is a bad one, but explains that he has not done anything against anybody that could warrant such a thing being meted to him. Through his expression and later his wife's, we see the reflection of Igbo believe in reincarnation at play, as shown below:

Ọnụma: *Agaghị m ekwere na nnenne m lọro m ụwa mụ enyegbue ya na nri.* (Akoma, 1977, p. 6)

[Ọnụma: I will not because my grandmother reincarnated me, I will then over feed her.]

Obidiya: *Ụwa ụmụnwaanyị. Nwoke nwamgbom alabala ihi ụra ya. Aga m ikwere nkea sị na m ga-alọụwa nwoke n'ụwa ọzọ?* (Akoma, 1977, p. 7)

[Obidiya: Women's world. My man has gone to sleep. Will, I because of this say that I will reincarnate as a man in my next world?]

What Obidiya is trying to say here, is that she will not as a result of the type of stress that women go through reincarnate as a man in her next world. Akoma uses the above excerpts to showcase the Igbo believe in *ịlọụwa*, where by a man can reincarnate as a man or woman in another world and vice versa. This tradition of *ịlọụwa* is almost on the wane because of the Christian religion which has taken over and has greatly influenced the Igbo culture and world-view.

Ndịichie 'Ancestors'

The traditional Igbo believe in ancestors. The ancestors are those that lived good lives while in the physical world, died a good death and received a proper burial. These groups of people continue their lives in the world beyond with the other members of their families. They see to the wellbeing of their living members and come to their aid when the need arises and when they cry out to them. This is why ỤmụNnadi beckons on *ndịichie* 'ancsetors' to prevent the evil death that is about to befall Ọnụma thus:

ỤmụNnadi: …*Ndịichie ukwu, ndịichie nta ụnụ ga-anọ lee ihe nile gajeime?*

O nwere ihe ụnụ na-amaghị?

O nwere ihe ụnụ enweghị ike igbochi?

Ụnụ ga-ahapụ ka o rigide nwaogbenye?

Ka ogbenye nwụọ ọnwụike,

Tinyekwa na ogbenye? … (Akoma, 1977, p. 22)

[ỤmụNnadị: … Great ancestors, small ancestors

Will you watch and see all these things that are about to happen?

Is there anything unknown to you?

Is there anything you cannot prevent?

Will you allow the poor to go like this?

For the poor to die untimely, in

addition to poverty? …]

ỤwaỌzọ 'World Beyond'

Igbo believe that at the end of this physical world, when one dies, the person translates into the world beyond. They believe that death is not the end of a man. Those that have lived right on earth, died a good death and received a befitting burial have a place in the world beyond. In the next world, the wicked will be punished. Everybody will give account of his life. When ỤmụNnadị were consoling and encouraging Obidiya, not to kill herself as a result of the murder of her husband, they tell her that,

ỤmụNnadi: *Nne nwanyị, e kwudila ọzọ.*

Onye kugbue onwe ya maka ihe ụwa,

Oke ajụjụ dịri ya n'ofemmiri (Akoma, 1977, p. 27)

[ỤmụNnadi: Woman, don't talk again.

Anyone that kills herself for the things of this life,

There is a great question/judgement beyond the river.]

The belief in another world is also evident in Obidiya's response to Onye Nweala, as Onye Nweala admonishes her not to avenge the death of her husband.

Obidiya: *Agaghị m ekwe. Yabụrụ mmehie, kaanyị mee ya ot umgbe. Ụbọchị ikpe anyị nile apụta ikpe n'ihu Chineke zaa ajụjụ. Ya bụrụ mkpọrọka ọ tụa anyị nile otu mgbe*. (Akoma, 1977, p. 37)

[Obidiya: I will not agree. If it is sin, let us indulge in it at once. On the day of judgement all of us will appear before the judgement throne of God to answer questions. If it is prison, let Him imprison all of us.]

Nnkwenyena Ḿmụ́ọ́ OnyeNwụrụ Anwụ 'Believe in the Spirit of the dead'

Akọma showcases the Igbo believe that the living members of the Igbo socity have access to interact with the spirit of their dead members. The Igbo believe that the dead have the power to talk to/with their living family members. This is what is referred to as necromancy. They can tender request through them. As Obidiya bemoans the death of her husband, Onuma, we see her imploring Onuma to come to her rescue.

Obidiya: …*Nụrụ olu m di m, di m Ọnụma. Agaghị m ezuike rue mgbe ezinaụlọ ahụ gburu gị jekwara ụdị ijea ijere… Biko, di m ọma, tọpụ agbụ nke ili kulie, du m n'ije. Zi m ụzọ, nye m ike, meeka m ghọọ nwoke buso ndị irogị agha. Zipụta, n'ezie, na di m nwụrụanwụna-ahụụzọ* (Akoma, 1977, p. 28)

[Obidiya: Hear my voice my dear husband, my dear husband, Ọnụma. I will not rest until family that murdered you go the same way that you

went. The abominable knows his/her fellow abominable. Please, my dear husband, untie the cord of death, rise, and be my escort. Show me the way, empower me, and make me to become a man to fight against your enemies. Show indeed that my dead husband still sees.]

On pages 43 to 45, at Akaka's place, the diviner, we see the dialogue between Obidiya and voice of Ọnụma, Obidiya's dead husband. In the dialogue, dead, Ọnụma narrates to his wife, Obidiya how he is murdered, where he is buried and where she can see the hundred naira he left behind, in a cup under the ground, beside an orange tree.

Nnkwenye n'Ịgbaafa 'Believe in Divination'

One of the things that the Igbo believe in and hold in very high esteem, even in the contemporary society is ịgbaafa divination. Divination is one of the media through which they find out certain things that happen to them, what they are passing through, why certain things befall them, and about anything in dispute. Some of the things that engender divination according to Ogwazu (2014) include *ọnwuike* 'sudden death, *agha* 'war', *ụgaṇị/ụnwụ* 'famine', *amụtaghịnwa* 'barrenness'. Nze (2010, p. 72) explains that

> Ịgbaafa' bụ ụzọ ndị Igbo si achọpụta ihe miri emi n'etitindị dị ndụ na ibe ha maọbụ n'etiti ndị dị ndụ na ndị nwụrụanwụ. Ọ bụ site n'ịgbaafa ka esi achọpụta nsogbu dịịrị ndịmmadụ nakwa ụzọ a ga-esigboo mkpaahụ. (Nze, 2010, p.72).
>
> [Divination is the medium through which the Igbo discover deepbsecrets among the living; or amongst the living and the dead.it is through divination that the problems of people in the society are discovered and a means of solving such problem.]

Ezeuko (1995, p. 15) opines the same by saying that:

> Ịgbaafa bụ ụzọ e si ebelata ihe nhịaahụ dịịrị mmadụ n'ụwa …N'ihi ya ịgbaafa bụ ụzọ ndị Igbo si eme ka obi dajụọ mmadụ siten'ịmata ebe nsogbu ya malitere, bụ nke ga-enyere ya aka ịmata ụzọ ọga-esi so ya.
>
> [Divination is a means of reducing poverty and troubles that people pass through in this life. As a result of this, divination is the medium through which the Igbo lessen people's problems, by finding out the source of their troubles, which will help such a person to discover a means of tackling the problem.]

Hence, Obidiya's visit to Akakaka, the diviner, to find out the cause of her husband's death. (Akoma, 1977, p. 40-48).

Nnkwenye n'Ịkwụụdọ 'Believe in Suicide'

The Igbo are of the belief that suicide is not acceptable in the society. It is seen as an abomination. Anybody that commits suicide is not given a proper burial; rather, such a person is usually thrown into the evil forest. The person faces judgement in the world beyond. When Ụgadiya receives the news about the death of her first son Chima, in America (a third year medical student) just immediately after the death of her husband (Oriakụ), she wants to kill herself. Ọmasiridiya then quickly reminds her of the Igbo believe concerning suicide as illustrated in the following dialogue:

> Ụgadiya: Ọnwụnke a emekele m obi, m ga-anwụ (Obidiya, 1977, p. 83)
>
> [Ugadiya: This death has opened wound in my heart, I will die.]
>
> Ọmasịrịdiya: Ị nwụọ … ị garue, Chineke ajụọ gị ajụjụ. Ị ga-asa ajụjụ onye kwụgburu onwe ya. Onye na-enweghị ndidi ma ọ bụ ntachi obi. (Obidiya, 1977, p. 84)
>
> [Ọmasịrịdiya: If you die … When you get there, God will ask you question. You will give the answer of someone that committed suicide: one who does not have patience nor long suffering.]

Nnkwenye na Chi/Chineke/Chukwu 'Believe in God'

The Igbo believe in the existence of a supreme being. According to Basden (1983, p. 214),

> Amongst the Ibo people there is a distinct recognition of a Supreme Being – beneficent in character – who is above every other spirit, good or evil. He is believed to control all things in heaven and earth, and dispenses rewards and punishments according to merit. Anything that occurs, for which no visible explanation is forthcoming, is attributed either to Him or His eternal enemy Ekwensu, i.e. the Devil. But Chukwu (as He is called) is supreme, and at is service are many ministering spirits whose sole business it is to fulfil His commands.

The Igbo belief in Chukwu is reflected in almost all their endeavours including their naming system. Hence children are given different names to reflect their belief that God is the giver of all things, the creator, the preserver of life, the judge of all, and the controller of the universe. In all their undertakings and endeavours, if they do not call on their personal 'Chi', they call on 'Chukwu'. In the beginning of the drama text *Obidiya,* the first utterance from ỤmụNnadị is as follows:

> ỤmụNnadị: Ka egbe bere ugo bere
>
> Bụ iwu ziri ezi, bukwara uche Chukwu. (*Obidiya,* 1977, p. 1)
>
> [ỤmụNnadị: Let the hawk perch, let the Eagle perch
>
> [It is the accepted law, and also the will of God.]

The Igbo believe that God is in charge of everything in the universe. That He directs, protects and permits things to happen at His bidding is illustrated through Oriakụ's utterance as he soliloquises over the verdict by the magistrate:

> Oriakụ: Ole ka a ga-esikọọ ya na nwankịta Oriakụ tagburu Oriakụ. Chukwu ekwela! (*Obidiya,* 1977, p. 3)
>
> [Oriakụ…How can that be said, that Oriakụ is beaten to death by his own dog (Ọnụma). God forbid!]

The Igbo also believe that God is the giver of all things.

> Ọnụma: Anyị ga-ekele Chineke maka ọlụ ya nile (*Obidiya,* 1977, p. 5)
>
> [Ọnụma: We will give thanks to God for all His works.]

Ọnụma's response to his wife concerning her barrenness on pages 12 to 13 is also another pointer to the Igbo believe that God is the giver of all things and that He does His own things at His own time and that everything that happens to people is as it pleases God.

> Ọnụma: Agwala m gị banyere echiche nwa ikwere n'ihi ya na-anwụ n'ime obi. … Ebugara m Chineke ihe nile n'ekpere. Otu ọ masịrị Chi. Ewepụla m uche m. chima. Ogechikamma... (*Obidiya.* 1977, pp.12 – 13)
>
> [Ọnụma: I have told you concerning the issue of child bearing that you are killing yourself for. … I have handed everything over to God in prayer. Let Him do as it pleases Him. I have removed my thought from that. God knows. God's time is the best.]

The Igbo belief that protection comes from God alone is portrayed by Akoma through Obidiya during her discussion with Ọnụma her husband about the verdict of the magistrate. Obidiya says:

> Chineke aghaghị iche anyị n'aka onye iro anyị (*Obidiya,* 1977, p 6)

['God will surely protect us from our enemies.']

The belief that it is *Chukwu* 'God' that blesses is seen through ỤmụNnadi's expression.

ỤmụNnadi: N'ihi na ọ na-ewuta mkpụrụ obi. Na ndị Chukwu gọziri agọzi na-ewere onyinye enyere ha megide ibe ha…*(Obidiya,* 1977, p. 22)

[ỤmụNnadi: It pains my heart that those whom God has blessed, use his gift to maltreat others…]

The Igbo also believe that God is all knowing and that His knowledge and wisdom is unsearchable and unfathomable as portrayed on page 23.

ỤmụNnadị… I chere na o nweghị onye ma? Taa, taa, Ọnụma, anyị amaghị uche onye nweanyị, uche chi anyị. Ọbasị dị n'elu biko mee ebere, Ezeigwe mee ebere zọpụta … *(Obidiya,* 1977, P. 23)

[ỤmụNnadị: Do you think that no one knows? Today, today, Ọnụma, we do not know the will of our owner God, the will of our God. God in heaven, please, show mercy, king of Heaven show mercy, deliver us …]

Nnkwenye na Chi 'Believe in Personal God'

The traditional Igbo believe that each individual has his own personal *chi* that guides and directs each person.

Through Oriakụ's first utterance in *Obidiya,* this belief is reflected.

Oriakụ: Agaghị m ekwe! Ụdị ahụ agaghị eme na ndụ nkea anyị nọ n'ime ya. Onyekwe, chi ya ekwe *(Obidiya,* 1977, p. 2)

[Oriakụ: I will not concede! That type cannot happen in this life that we inhabit. If anyone accepts, his/her chi will also accept.]

The Igbo also believe that no one can ever be greater than his/her *chi*. This is seen in the discussion between Obidiya and Ọnụma in their home.

Nnkwenye n'ihe Ngosị 'Believe in Premonition'

It is also the belief of the Igbo that before anything happens, especially evil, there must be a kind of premonition. The revelation could be in the form of one accidentally knocking one's toe(s) on an object while walking, the appearance of lightning, thunder or rainbow, and other kinds of "remarkable" happenings. Hence, before the murder of Ọnụma, Obidiya, his wife got the premonition in the form of a snake appearing in their bed room under their bed. Akoma alludes to Igbo belief in premonition thus:

Ọnụma: Ọ bụ gịnị? Obidiya, ọ bụ gịnị?

[Ọnụma: What is that? Obidiya, what is that?]

Obidiya: Ị hụghi eke dị n'okpuru beedi... (Akoma, 1977, p. 20)

[Obidiya: You did not see the python under the bed.]

IhiAnụ/Esisi Mmadụ 'Animisim'

The traditional Igbo believe that a person can turn into or take on the appearance of certain animals like leopard, tiger or any wild animal to carry out some nefarious activities. Some of the reasons why people indulge in such is to kill their enemies, to go and recollect their stolen items, and to instil fear in their enemies. According to Ogwazu (2012: 67 – 68), some people that embark in this type of transformation may end up

dying if the animal persona which they took up is killed. If the animal is held hostage, such a person will remain in perpetual sleep. Ogwazu further explains that it is usually the elderly people in the community and those that are into occultism have the ability to undergo transformation into an animal.

Ike also alludes to this Igbo believe. According to Ike:

> One belief widely held at Ndịkelịọnwụ which he wanted investigated was the claim that a man with supernatural powers could control the activities of a given live leopard from time to time, after performing the prescribed rituals…. Later to his horror, he learnt from a *dibịa* at Ndikelịọnwu that a deceased uncle widely reputed for his supernatural powers over leopard had transferred his powers to Amobi through reincarnation (1985, p. viii).

More insight on *ihianụ* can be gained through Amobi's mother's explanation of the meaning of *ihianụ*.

> Yes, a few men at Ndikelịọnwụ possessed supernatural powers which enabled them to take the form of leopards whenever they so desired… No. no question of camouflaging himself to resemble a leopard. MaziNwafo – operated through a live leopard, a proper leopard, which he 'possessed' at will and directed to do his biddings (Ike, 1985, pp. 4 – 5)

That is why Ọnụma on page 20, tells his wife that the python that is seen under their bed is not an ordinary snake; rather, it is *ehihi mmadụ* 'spiritual powers which enabled a person to take the form of an animal'.

Ọnụma: Ị ma ihe ọ bụ n'alaanyị.

[You know what it means in our land.]

Obidiya: Eke ọ bụ ihe ọzọ karịa agwọ?

[Is python anything beyond snake?]

Ọnụma: Ọ bụchaghị naanị agwọ. Ọ karịrị agwọ. Ọ bụ ehihi mmadụ.

[It is not only snake. It is more than snake. It is somebody behind it.]

(Ike, 1985, p. 20)

Igbo Culture and Beliefs in the Contemporary Society

Culture, as earlier stated is the people's way of life, of which Kottak (2002, p. 17) says "is the customary behaviour and belief that are passed on through enculturation". Culture rests on the human capacity for cultural learning." The implication of the above is that culture is learned, and that it is handed from one generation to another. If this is the case, one would have expected that all the Igbo cultural elements and belief systems identified in *Obidiya* should have persisted even in contemporary society. But the reverse seems to be the case, as most of the cultural elements are already extinct while some others are operational with some modifications. The reason for the extinction and modification of the cultural elements identified in *Obidiya* in the contemporary society is due to westernisation, which includes foreign education and religion.

In the drama text, Akoma portrays the Igbo believe in *Ohu* 'slavery', *Esisi mmadụ,* 'spirit of the dead' and *Arụsị* 'deity'. All the above mentioned beliefs were operative in the tradtional Igbo society. In the contemporary Igbo society, the belief and practice of *igbaohu* 'slavery' is almost extinct due to Christianity and the evils associated with it. Nobody takes another human to sell in order to enrich him or herself the way it was practiced in the olden days. One pertinent question in this regard is the question of whether slavery has been totally eradicated in the cotemporary Igbo society. One may

wonder where to categorise current developments such as kidnapping, the practice of domestic helps, and the master-servant relationships that still thrive in some places. I think these are 'modernised slavery.' It is on record that most helpless young people that are taken to the cities with the promise of better living conditions are either forced into prostitution or used by their masters or madams for street hawking against the agreement they entered with the parents of such unfortunate children.

Furthermore, the Igbo no longer indulge in the practice of *ehihi mmadụ* 'a person operating through a life animal'; but the practice of witchcraft/wizardry and astral travel could be viewed as another level of *ehihi mmadụ*.

The traditionalists still worship and believe in ancestors, reincarnation, and divination. Some non-adherents of the traditional religion are neither here nor there. The belief in *Chukwu* 'God' is still very much operational, but the medium of worship and communication with *Chukwu* 'God' has been tampered or influenced by westernisation. People still believe in *Nrọ* 'dream' and another world.

In summary, none of these Igbo beliefs that are portrayed in *Obidiya* could be said to have gone into extinction. They are still being upheld to certain degrees, and some of them with modifications to reflect the contemporary age. Others operate under some forms of disguise or under unfamiliar nomenclature.

Conclusion

Akoma portrays many of the Igbo cultural and belief systems in his Igbo drama text, *Obidiya.* Amongst such cultural elements are *ịlọụwa* 'reincarnation', *chi/Chukwu* 'God', *ndịichie* 'ancestry', ehihi mmadụ, *ohu* 'slavery', *nrọ* 'dream', *arụ* 'abomination', *ihe ngosị* 'premonition', *ịgbaafa* 'divination' and *ịkwụụdọ* 'suicide'. Some of the cultural elements and belief systems are still very much operational in the contemporary Igbo society with little or no modifications. That beliefs and practices that seem on the surface to have gone into extinction are still in operation under some other names or disguise.

Recommendation

We recommend in this paper that other literary authors should borrow a leaf from Akoma by incorporating more of the Igbo cultural elements in their works as a means of preserving them and transmitting them to the younger members of the society. This is because the process of writing any literary work is a cultural activity since it is informed by cultural values and the authors are situated within that value system. Meaningful communication can only take place within the context of a particular culture; hence, any meaningful art form is that which is both communal and functional. Therefore, the relevance and usefulness of contemporary writers should be measured based on the degree to which they incorporate social and cultural issues, rather than on their ability to express their individuality in an esoteric personal style. However, caution must be taken in the selection of the cultural elements to be represented because "not every form of cultural and religious diversification is to be celebrated" (Macedo, 2000, p. 2).

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CUT-UP ANNUNCIATION

Mystery is essential,
extremes are essential.

Spirit into matter:
the paradox resolved,

state of grace
the form of the contract,

the distance from faith
a seed of hope planted.

Some of the loveliest paintings
are meditations on absence.

—Rupert M. Loydell

#5
Doug Lauvstad

A VOYAGE INTO THE STREET

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ONE

Barricading the road ahead of me was what used to be the roof of a house in the neighborhood. It had been torn in shreds and then rolled into one single mass of wreckage by the thunderstorm. With no other option, I found my way through the bush and in the process wondered whose house was the victim this time. I wondered whether there were also children in the house when the roof was suddenly folded like a weightless mat and flung yonder in a blaze. Did they have to flee into cupboards and wardrobes? I was not surprised at the thunderstorm though, coming after two weeks of frying sun in October, the month that rain was supposed to be a daily affair, as farewell to the tropics. Only frightened by the magnitude and frequency of its strikes. Every strike sounded so close I thought one might just tear through my roof and expose my whole family to the fury of the god of thunder. And then, just as suddenly as it had begun, the rain stopped and calm returned to the city. I wasted no time in setting out to begin my next investigation.

I got by the bundle of wreckage and returned to the road, only to face a more thoroughly executed barricade. A big tree laid across the road with branches of other trees abandoned all around it by the passing erosion. As if that was not enough, the drainages collected wastes from here and there and lay them all in ridges across the street, sufficiently contaminating the freshness that should have followed such a heavy downpour. And of course making walking almost impossible for me.

I was already running out of time on this investigation and must make immediate progress. So postponement was no longer an option. Besides, my wife had been against it, insisting that it was a dangerous idea, and the more I delay the more likely she wins. She would never really understand my view of work; she would never know why neither danger nor her well-grounded arguments could deter me. I quit the Bar for the Media, and now in a mould hard to define by the conventions of professionalism. My only understanding of the progression is that there is an invisible thread somehow leading me in ways that I fear may never make sense to believers in good life. Which is why I have already fallen out with friends and family alike. Except Joyce my wife. But I fear this may be her turn. I will see this investigation through though.

I slowly picked my way through the debris, with the aid of a small flashlight and a piece of stick, originally held as a handy weapon should a snake came by, but now deployed to clear debris. I met nobody on the way. I wore a pair of blue jeans and black jeans top, with brown leather shoes that had already seen better days. The shoes had not been polished in a long time and their heels had chopped at odd angles, giving them the appearance of the lowest class of *tokunbo* shoes one could have bought from the second hand market. Veterans on Lagos streets knew the wisdom of appearing poor and rugged when keeping late nights. It is the best precaution against robbery, they always say.

But the flip side of that is that the raiding police would not know the difference. Thus, wisdom sometimes earns veterans time out in police nets, as suspects of the very crimes they try so hard not to fall victim of.

In spite of the risk anyway, I ensured that my jeans had razor cuts here and there and hoped that my PRESS card securely kept under my shorts would provide adequate cover in the event of trouble. And now, my thought was shifting to the boy that I hope would be a good start to this investigation.

Although I had only known him from a distance, something always told me that he was of the vulnerable cadre. He always hailed me in diverse styles as I drive by. On a few occasions I had stopped by to give him money. "Buy coke with this," or just "for your Weekend", I had always said to him before driving off. The alms had always triggered more energetic greetings. Of course he did not know that my kindness was informed by the Lagos experience. I was once with a friend who stopped by to give money to a hooligan in his street. "Father! Nothing can hurt you in Lagos," was the young man's expression of appreciation. "I am your insurance in this city!"Later my friend had told me that if the street urchins are not the thieves in their areas, then they always know the thieves. Thus, kind gestures to them meant a form of security. And that I have since practiced.

Although I saw no criminal tendency in this boy, I still sowed that seed of kindness. Without compromising my safe distance. Now with him as the starting point of my investigation, I began to wonder why he in particular had chosen to live his life this way.

TWO

The whiff of cannabis was the first sign that my timing was right. I paused for a moment at the entrance to the rough path and took one deep breath. Then I walked to the little tree that had managed to survive in the middle of a piece of land rendered permanently barren by used engine oil collected from motorcycles over many years. I saw the stumps used as seats and a few motorcycle carcasses around. But there was nobody in sight. By now the smell had enveloped me, so I knew I was not alone; the boy must be around.

"Ẹ nl̀ẹ́ o," I saluted in Yoruba. But there was no response. "Ẹkáalẹ́ n'bí o!"*Good evening here*, I greeted again and got no reply. So I raised my flashlight to survey nearby bushes.

Just then, a hostile voice queried, "Kín lẹ fẹ́ o?"*What do you want?*

"Oh good evening," I greeted again. "I am Joseph, Joseph Meals. I am here to see you."

"That is how you always pretend; now disappear before I open my eyes!" the hostile voice ordered.

I remained where I stood flicking my flashlight to the direction of the voice. "Oh, no," I said calmly. "I'm not here to fight, I am your friend, and we meet frequently. I use the Black Corolla and usually stop by to greet you …" The impact cut the sentence short in my mouth and my stick flew off my grip. The beating then went on for what seemed forever.

THREE

I woke up around noon. I still remembered that I had gone to meet a boy as the starting point of my investigation of the making of the destitute; I remembered that I was talking with a voice in the dark. Yes, I was attacked, and I kept telling my attacker… "*I am here to help you…to help you find a good job…,*""*please don't kill me…*" at the top of my voice. I wonder why I said those words, since I was actually there to gather news. But now, where am I? Groaning from a nearby bed confirmed that I was in a Hospital. As I turned my head, I saw Joyce, fuming beside the bed. I tried to talk to her, but I was too tired. I slept off again. It was six hours later before I woke up. But this time, I felt better. Joyce was still there, but apparently lost in thought.

"Darling?" I called quizzically and she shot up to her feet.

"How are you sir?"

The sarcasm in her voice was a signal for me to keep quiet as precaution against further trouble. But Joyce was going to talk, I know my wife. She was going to interrogate me; she was going to make me realize that she had been right all along. "The boy came again this morning, maybe to finish up the job." She was now facing me, her hands folded across her chest and her voice angrily calm. "Do you know you're rescued by people whose roofs were blown by the storm?" She bent a little toward me so that people around would not hear her. "You would've just killed yourself for nothing. And I warned you, I said he is a criminal, I said he is dangerous." She stood back upright, smiling."Now you know. This wouldn't have happened to you if you'd listened."By now her lips had

gathered speed, and I knew she would fully express her mind before sincerely enquiring about how I felt."I shouted when I saw him outside and he ran away… but I should have called the police to arrest him because I know he didn't mean well. He'll…" The words died off in her mouth as a doctor, accompanied by five young men, all in uniformed thick glasses and white lab coats came into the room.

The doctor picked the x-ray films at the base of the bed, raised them one after the other against the light toward the window and took his time to study them, nodding occasionally as he did. He also mumbled one or two medical terms to the hearing of his companions who were now crowding around him. Then he dropped the films and inquired dispassionately, "How do you feel now, Mr. Meals?"He obviously did not expect a reply as he did not give time for it. He turned to the young man standing next to him, "How will you treat this case?"

The young man strung together an endless list of medical jargons, devoid of any known linguistic structure, which left me wondering whether he had actually communicated. Interestingly, others also spoke in turns, all in similar jargons. And then the doctor touched my bandaged arm, "you'll soon be alright Mr. Meals. Since there is no serious injury, you should go home in a few days.

FOUR

I was discharged after five days in the hospital. Two more days of house arrest followed before I finally gained freedom. It was good though because in the end I gathered sufficient strength to resume my investigation. And then my first port of call was the

very place where I had been assaulted. Somehow, I still wanted to write the story; and I was determined to hear the boy first. Against the warnings of all the stakeholders in my life. As I walked toward the place, I wondered why I should be afraid anymore. I have investigated buried secrets of the most brutal president my country has ever had, and have not died; I have investigated the powers behind the comatose economy of my country and exposed those deliberately manipulating things for their selfish ends, and lived. I have survived stalking by the most heartless snipers around. Why should I be afraid of a destitute that, at least has always appeared sincerely human during the day, when he is not yet under the influence of cannabis? I have become the brass in the ritualist's finger anyway; nobody can pluck me out anymore.

It was still day light when I got there, and finding the boy was straight forward. He is Adeola, who at just twenty-two looked many years older. Surprisingly, he had become sober and cooperative. Astonishingly so.

Sitting on stumps under a solitary tree and enduring the smell of freshly spilt engine oil, I engaged Adeola in discussion. He would not have beating me that night, he pointed out remorsefully. "Of course *igbo* "cannabis" cannot stop me from recognizing somebody who has been kind to me." Again, I thought he was sober. He explained that he had taken the stick I was holding as a weapon and he had realized the error late. He had come to the hospital to apologize, but had been driven away by my wife.

In the relaxed atmosphere and his desperation to restitute, he began to tell me of how his parents and all his siblings had died in a robbery attack. They were on a night journey from Ibadan to Lagos when their car suddenly ran into a blockade erected by

armed robbers and somersaulted. Injured and bleeding, they were still dispossessed of all their valuables by the robbers. Unfortunately, no help came through the night. By the time a passer-by saw them in the morning, Adeola was the only one still breathing. Later he was taken by an uncle who feigned westernization without ever experiencing customs checking. He had only one daughter who came because he had no way of stopping his wife from getting pregnant. That, he always lamented, was already too much burden. The unspoken implication of that was that education was not an option for the orphan. Neither was the learning of handwork. "I ran away from home after seven months," Adeola concluded in a manner that put my objective under threat.

Since the hypothesis underlying my investigation was that people become destitute as a result of laziness, nonchalant attitude to education, negative peer effect, and cowardice, Adeola's story was a shock to me. Now that it was time for me to talk, I had no idea of what to say. Making things worse was my belief that challenges are universal; some have just learnt to endure. And those who refuse to endure also deserve no pity. But even then, I felt that this boy has had more than a fair share of trouble in his short life. For a moment I imagined myself in his shoes, but quickly wished it away. The few seconds of silence between us seemed like days, with so many things racing through my mind, so many ideas none of which seemed appropriate for the moment. But the boy was now looking at me through the corners of his eyes.

I must say something encouraging. I bit my lips a bit, then said, "I'm sorry," as if I was the cause of his troubles. He had shifted his attention to the oil glittering in the evening sun and appeared not to have heard me at all. And then without preamble, I

began, “You may not have a dad or a mum or siblings. Tragic memories may shadow you through life, but you can still make sense of your life.” Although my speaking was atypically slow, I quickly ran out of words. For a brief moment, all I could do was study the blurred reflections on my wedding band as I combed my brain for ideas.

The first idea to come was not even assessed before I let it out. I placed a hand on his lap to draw his attention and said, “I know a number of people who have attained success through traumatizing times.” My hand shifted to his shoulder as I offered to tell him about one of such people.

Konirewa’s mother was a prostitute who dumped him in the gutter when he was just three days old. Passers-by then took him to an orphanage. But tragedy struck when he was two as his two eyes became marred following a bout with measles. Just one year after, an injection went wrong and his right leg became nearly paralyzed. The result was that nobody wanted to adopt him. Left with no other choice, the owner of the orphanage registered him at the community school. Survival in school depended always on charity donations. And even when such donations came, there were always so many more serious needs. But just like the pig on a long journey, through a lot of delay and hunger, Konirewa became a lawyer.

I was not sure whether the story made sense to him because he was just blank. “You see,” I offered, “you will always have opportunities in life. And you must choose what to do with them. But one fact of this life is that a blunt cutlass will always leave its user lagging behind.”

His response, at a time I was not even expecting it, injected a heavy dose of frustration through my veins. “I have no choice; there is no helper… no relative…They’re all dead.” He said this looking away and appearing focused on something in the distance. “Nothing can ever bring them back. It’s already too late.”

I felt like getting up and walking away. But I realized that I had somehow developed a liking for him. “My brother,” I objected with such passion I had never seen in myself. “Something tells me that in spite of what you’ve been through, you’re meant to be better than this. You may not believe me, but I think life is meant to reward you with goodness.” I found myself shifting closer to him, which brought me to the edge of my own stump.“I tell you, if only you can see what I see... with your experience and strength, all you need is a little support, and you’ll see the brighter side of life. Age is still on your side, so the sun still shining is sufficient to dry a lot of clothes.”

Somehow, I was now facing him, though he appeared to have turned a few degrees the other way. It did not matter though since I was already becoming passionate. I struck my palms together once and formed them into two knuckles as my voice became calmer and more emphatic. “It is true that you’ve not gone to school, but that is not the end of life; you can start now! You won’t be the first to do that! And I’m sure that a few years from now, you’ll realise that it doesn’t matter how cruel life has been, the water that a man is destined to drink will not flow past him.” I paused a little as I noticed that he had become thoughtful.

Then I added, “If you are meant to be great, do you want to allow grieves over things you can’t change to stop you?”

"Thank you" he said appreciatively. "But you can't understand." He shifted his focus to nothing in particular on his faded shoes. "I saw the robbers. I saw them. The headlamp of our car was left on and I saw them every time they passed through the front of the car. Their guns had the green, yellow, blue logo. One of them has tribal marks and his nose is almost flat and he walks with a slight limp. I was shocked two days later to find that it was this man with a limp that was assigned to investigate the cause of the incident."Adeola's face was suddenly covered with a smile that told me he was replaying the entire episode on his mind. "The report claimed it was an accident… caused by over speeding." He then looked straight into my eyes, "The man is now a police commissioner."Still looking at me, with the smile of sorrow covering his face, he asked, "Is it possible to ever forget that?" Then he turned the other way again as he said, "That has been my breakfast these nine years."

Suddenly the passion within was overshadowed by his infectious sorrow. I imagined briefly what he must be feeling, but got reminded by the picture of his smiling face that for him it had been a nine-year old reality. Sitting next to him now, I felt that I had refreshed this reality. He appeared focused on something in the distance, but I knew it was nothing physical; it was the replay of dark episodes from his past that still engaged him so deeply.

"I see," was my next expression. At least it was better than silence. Then in a less passionate manner, I began, "Adeola, I understand that it has already taken too much away from you. I understand that you won't forget the sore in your soul because it is reopened every day. I understand that your life is largely defined by all of that. But the

elders also counsel that we leave vengeance in the hands of the one who is capable of adequate execution."

I suddenly rediscovered my rhythm and gave him reason after reason for not living in sorrow over what he could not change. When darkness began to descend, I took him to an eatery where we ate supper together before parting.

Sleep eluded me through that night as scenes from the encounter kept flashing through my mind. Every effort to shift to the business side of things, that I was primarily a reporter, failed. I wanted his story and I had got it. But an insistent voice within refrained me from walking away. The option of giving him some money, perhaps to start a business was equally rejected. "That will amount to curing ringworm in a leprosy patient," explained the voice.

What then could I do at a time like this? Just before dawn a much comforting idea came.

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Konirewa hosted us in his study, where every piece of furniture was of polished oak wood. The walls and floor were also overlaid with the same precious stones. We sat around a small desk which gave us a good view of the garden and swimming pool downstairs. Lunch was served almost immediately, so we ate as he talked.

We spent the first half hour on general discussion about the weather and natural disasters that appeared to be frequent than ever. Then we spent a few more minutes talking about the hopes of Nigeria's economy before turning to privileges and limitations

of our country men. Here Konirewa was quick to point out that those who claim not to have seen hunched-back squirrels are only limited to their localities.

"Which reminds me, *ọ̀rẹ́*," I cut in. "You've been through hard times yourself, and I don't mind if you share your story with my friend here."

"Oh yes. With pleasure." He accepted and for a start addressed Adeola directly. "Ade, Joe told me about you, and I must say that it's a sad story. But, you see, I've learnt in my few years here that it doesn't matter how bitter the cola is, it always helps you in a way."

He then adjusted his sitting position and began to tell us of his journey through the rough roads of life. As he did, he pointed to photographs hanging on the walls: relics of his past. He told us of his growing up days in the orphanage, his bout with measles, and his internal quest for self-esteem. And then just when he began to see his foster mother as real mother, trouble struck again. While he was away at the University, a religious crisis broke out and the orphanage was razed along with a cathedral next to it. None of the people in the orphanage survived. That was how the owner of the orphanage, fondly called "Care mummy" died along with twenty children many of whom had become his siblings.

With assistance from lecturers and class mates, he managed to complete his studies and started a chamber with a friend. Konirewa rose to his feet, walked to a frame having nothing definite as focus and caressed it for a moment. "Friends," hecalled, "Thanks to the shoulder that prevents the cloth from falling off. Thanks to that invisible force that always pulls me up when I am down. I have been through the deepest valleys of life… but I have come this far because that force rescues from every depth."

He walked back to his seat, pulled his trousers a little at the knees and then sat at the edge of the chair, facing Ade directly. "And I also chose to believe." By now he was looking intently at Adeola. "Ade, opportunities to live on the other side of life don't come often, seize yours."

FIVE

As expected, the encounter with Konirewa stirred a revival in Adeola and he began to show willingness to change. Of course this was on the condition that I would always be there for him, which then became my next concern. I was stuck with him. To worsen the whole matter my wife did not see any sense in the venture and had already vowed not to be a part of it.

He now wanted to get educated, but I did not have the means to sponsor him, especially since the best option for him was private lessons. He then needed to engage in a profitable venture. At least by that, I thought, he would be able to fend for himself. But even more serious was the strange interest I had suddenly developed in homeless people. There has been an urge in me to approach every destitute I find, to find out why and how they have come to be destitute, and to assist them find hope. But how? "We take our legs out of the trousers one after the other," I told myself rather too loudly. The result was a barrage of questions from my wife, questions I could not answer. I ignored the questions, apologized that it was only a thought and that I needed to concentrate on my thought still. She let me be, but I knew she would return to the matter.

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I had written the cover story for the next magazine edition and was with members of the editorial board trying to craft an appropriate title for the story. Then the receptionist telephoned and wanted to know whether I was in the news room. According to her, an unfit young man was claiming he had appointment with me.

"Yes, he's my guest," I assured her. I then instructed her to take him to my office. I quickly concluded my part of the editorial business and excused myself. I got to the office just as the receptionist and Adeola were also arriving. I thanked her and waited for her to leave before offering Adeola a seat at the luxurious section of my office.

"We will give you a job at the press," I announced as I sat beside him, thinking it was better than pleasantries. He was just blank and I thought he either did not hear or did not understand me. "Adeola, do you want to work?"

"Yes," he replied, a little hesitantly. "I will work if I find one."

"Ok," I said. "You don't have to look for a job. We will find something for you to do in the press so you can fend for yourself while you attend lessons in the evenings."

Again he was blank and then I realized that he was not expecting the offer. I went on, "We'll also give you a small place to live so that you don't worry about rents." He was blank still, now looking intently beyond me, out the window behind.

"As for your lessons," I went on. "We'll find a way of paying the teachers and buying the books. Just study and do well in the exams." At that point tears began to roll down his cheeks. I then made the mistake of trying to calm him down. It transited to uncontrollable cry. I brought out a white handkerchief from my pocket to offer him. But I realised that I now needed it myself.

As I dabbed at my face, it occurred to me that I had not told him the condition of the offer. It was a probationary appointment and he must merit confirmation in three months. But there was no time for that anymore. I had a feeling however that he was not going to look back. I put my hand on his shoulder, "my brother, you're not alone anymore."

KINDRED SPIRITS

after Chiharu Shiota

To be filled with time, to be filled with time, an empty canvas made from white dreams, her bed warm with spider love and silence, desire and song. A wedding will not take place but the empty past is there for all to see. Tomorrow pours through a slot in time, ready to fill the future, festooned in desire. Her bed is extra large, warm with silence and love; ash hangs in charcoal music. Sleep tight. My nightmare is an abandoned stage: angel long gone, adrift in a boat, Mary's silhouette outlined and full of dreams. My room is filled with breath, pouring down the wall, ready to run away after we have packed small bags and planned our escape. I am knotted tight in the corner, waiting to be filled with air among the shadows, where images pile up. Webs of meaning and association, hidden steps and messages we cannot read, linear shadows and sleeping souls; kindred spirits in a place we are not allowed to visit.

—Rupert M. Loydell

#6
Doug Lauvstad

AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPRAISAL OF THE PLACE OF WOMEN IN IGBO MATERIAL PHILOSOPHY

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Abstract

The Igbo are known to be very diligent. They abhor laziness and work hard to build their economy. In terms of wealth, men and women are viewed from different perspectives by the society. Women are often perceived by the society as consumers of men's wealth. This work sets out to investigate the position of women in Igbo material philosophy with the aim of finding out their contributions and recognition. Mixed research method was employed in carrying out the study. The researcher adopted critical discourse analysis as a theory for analysis of this work. Findings reveal that Igbo women work very hard together with their male counterparts to build their economy. During the Nigerian civil war, when men were in the war front, women upheld the economy of the Igbo nation. There is a bias in language in terms of the representation of women; only their negative sides are projected, and there is silence concerning their positive attributes. The study reveals patriarchy as the reason behind the veiling of women's economic contributions. The work advocates that the role of women should be linguistically visible. The visibility of women in language will encourage them to work harder in supporting their male counterparts in building a formidable society.

Keywords: material philosophy, wealth-based names, Igbo philosophy, critical discourse analysis (CDA), societal attitude, Igbo maxims

Introduction

Igbo is one of the major ethnic groups in Nigeria. Igbo serves a dual purpose for the people, being the name of the ethnic group and the language they speak. The Igbo are known to be very hard working. Onukawa (2016, p. 22) explains that "The Igbo …recognize that it is a virtue to be prosperous and great, and prosperity in the Igbo culture, is a product of hard work and patience." The Igbo abhor idleness and laziness; therefore, they work hard to acquire wealth. The Igbo abhorrence for laziness is expressed in the maxims: *Aka nọrọ nkịtị, agụụ egbuo ọnụ* 'Hunger strikes when the hands are idle'; *Ngana kpuo ute, agụụ ekpughee ya* 'when the lazy covers himself/ herself with a mat, hunger uncovers it'.

Every Igbo man works hard to earn a living. Njoku (2008, p. 47) asserts that "Igbo traditional economy stood on a sectoral tripod that embedded agriculture, manufacture and trade." Whichever sector an Igbo chose to fit in, he works with his full strength to produce results for himself and the entire community. For the Igbo, *akụ rue ụlọ, a mata onye kpatara ya* 'When wealth is felt at home, the community will know the person that made the wealth.' Wealth is only appreciated among the Igbo when the community feels its impact.

On the issue of wealth among the Igbo, Oyeka (2017a), whose study is on wealth-based male names, avers that men have more wealth-based titles and nicknames than first names. The result of her findings reveal that apparent wealth-based first names talk more on numerical increase than money, while the title and nicknames allow the bearers to tell their stories and express their belief on wealth. Conversely, several research works show that women constitute a large percent of the poor in the society (see Nwakeze 2006; Ojiakor 2007; Nwagbara & Ering, 2009; Aguiyi, 2012, & Omenukor, 2013). This work

sets out to examine the place of women in the Igbo philosophy of wealth, with the aim of finding out the position given to women in terms of wealth, the reason(s) behind the position, the attitude of the society towards women and wealth, the effect of the position on women, and the way forward.

Methodology

The participant observation method was used in this study. The researcher is an Igbo who grew up in the Igbo community where she had all but one of her academic qualifications. The researcher vividly recalls some Igbo maxims used in socialization of women. The researcher equally sourced library materials for information on women. The third method that was used for data collection is oral face-to–face and telephone interviews. Thirty women and twenty men were purposively sampled and interviewed. The reason behind the choice of more women for this work is based on the fact that the study has to do with women. They, women, are in a better position to express their place in the society and the way their position affects them. The interviewees are from different parts of the Igbo land. They were equally selected without recourse to educational background and occupation. The same set of questions was posed to the participants. The researcher tried to elicit from the interviewees, the position of women in the Igbo wealth philosophy, the reason(s) behind the position, the way the position affects women, and the way forward. The responses which were in Igbo were carefully recorded and later translated into the English language. Critical discourse analysis theory was used as the theoretical framework for the analyses.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework adopted for the analysis of data in this work is the Critical Discourse Analysis (hereafter CDA). CDA was first developed by the Lancaster school of Linguistics of which Norman Fairclough was the most important figure. Wodak Ruth and Van Dijk are among other contributors to this field of study. Some of the objectives of CDA according to Bloor and Bloor (2007, p. 13) are:

- to analyse discourse practices that reflect or construct social problems;
- to investigate how ideologies can become frozen in language and find ways to break the ice;
- to increase awareness of how to apply these objectives to specific cases of injustice, prejudice, and misuse of power;
- to demonstrate the significance of language in the social relation of power.

CDA has been deployed as a method of analysis throughout the humanities and social sciences. Central to CDA is the understanding that discourse is an integral aspect of power and control. Power is held by both institutions and individuals in contemporary society and any challenge to the status quo challenges those who hold power. CDA investigates how discourse helps to maintain power structures and support discrimination.

Women and Wealth in Igbo Maxims

The Igbo view the girl child as a bird of passage, who would someday leave her father's house for her husband's. Some Igbo maxims buttress the above point thus:

1.*Ụbọsị a mụlụ nwaanyị ka a mụlụ onye ọzọ.*

'When a girl is born, she is born for another person'.

2. *Oke abụọ ka e keelụ agbọghọ, ọ gbaghụ akụ ọ kpụba ara.*

'A maiden has two portions; if she does not grow pubic hairs she develops breasts'.

3. *Agbọghọ kpụba ara, ị mara na ngwọ nna ya adịla*

'When a girl develops breasts, one knows that her father's palm has matured'.

The above aphorisms state the expectations of the society on the girl child. The first expression states clearly that the girl child is not expected to stay and remain part of her father's house. Expression 2 summarizes the position of the girl child. She is expected to reach puberty in preparation for marriage. The last maxim expresses the societal expectation on women. Every father looks forward to drinking palm-wine from suitors and collecting a bride price from a son-in-law once her daughter reaches puberty.

The place of women in relation to wealth in Igbo Names

A look at some female wealth-based first names gives more insight on the woman's place in the Igbo society. Consider the following:

1. Akụmjaeli 'the wealth that I will consume'
2. Akụabịa/ Akụabata 'wealth has come / come in'
3. Akụebeotu 'wealth is not limited to one'
4. Akụmjiaka 'a secured wealth'
5. Akụazam 'wealth has answered me'

The first name brings to fore, a good expectation. The giver of the name bares his mind

that he hopes to consume wealth. The challenge here is who will consume the wealth being referred to in the above context. Onukawa (2016) submits that "In Igbo land and in the culture, the authority to give a name to a child is naturally bestowed on the father of the child…given names are exclusively chosen by the fathers of the bearers." Since the office of name-giving befalls the father of the child, it is here argued that the first names above not only declares a father's aspiration on her daughter but tells the daughter where she belongs in terms of wealth. Ainiala, Saarelma, Sjöblom & SKS (2016) explain that:

> …personal names have, in addition to their practical function, an extremely strong sociocultural function. With personal names, it is, of course, easy to talk about different individuals. However, they function not only as a tool for the social classification of an individual. A personal name therefore tells a community who the individual is and, secondly, lets the individual know what his place in the community is (p.19).

It can be deduced from the above assertion that the Igbo community, as well as the girl child know that wealth will come to the father of a girl when he gives her out in marriage. Similarly, in the second set of names, the name-giver asserts that wealth has come in for the same reason, namely, marriage. The third name is a declaration of the man's expectation of more wealth as he has more than a daughter. Name 4 depicts that the name- giver does not have full confidence in his acquired wealth; he therefore counts his daughter as a secured wealth; having every confidence that he will give her out in marriage. The last name on the list underscores the fact that the name-giver has only male children. Wealth answered him with the birth of a girl child.

It should be noted that among the Igbo, a man does not only get the said wealth

through the dowry paid on his daughter. The in-law is expected to visit the wife's family especially during farming and festive seasons. None pays such visits and returns empty handed. To the Igbo *ije nwaanyị bụ ije mmiri, ọ bụghị ije nkụ* 'marital path is a path that leads to the stream and not to the bush'; *ọgọ bụ ikwu ịtọ* 'an in-law is third in line of relations.' These sayings are based on the fact that it is expected of the in-law to visit as the need arises. For by marriage, he has become an extension of the wife's family. A path that leads to the stream is hardly bushy as people go frequently to the stream. This is in sharp contrast with the path to the bush which is usually rough.

Women and expectation of wealth in Igbo names

Some female names expose the degree of expectancy of wealth from their fathers. Consider the following:

6.	Ebiliọmaawụsaego	'one who is embraced for a fee'
7.	Ndalụakụ	'let me be rewarded/ favoured with wealth'
8.	Ihuakụ	'(beautiful) face that brings wealth'
9.	Ọdịakụ	'it is wealth'
10.	Ụgbọakụ / Obuteakụ	'boat of wealth/ bringer of wealth'
11.	Ubiego	'farm of money'
12.	Akụbuugwu	'prestigious wealth'
13.	Akụdịmma	'beautiful wealth'
14.	Akụdielu	'priceless wealth'
15.	Mmiriakụ /Akụebingwa	'water of wealth/ lasting wealth'

The first name on this list leaves no doubt that the girl is meant for a rich suitor. If an embrace attracts a spree of money, one needs to weigh his inner strongbox before going for her hand in marriage. Some men out rightly give their daughters the name *Ogbenyeanụ* 'not to be married by the poor'. No Igbo needs an interpreter before asking for such hand in marriage. Name 7 exposes the tag on the girl child. She is expected to bring in wealth. Names 8-10 show clearly that the referents are beautiful; hence, the names. It is expected that a beautiful face will bring in beautiful money. The fact that one is worth wealth and the other, a boat of wealth as the last two names depict automatically draws a line on the quality of expected suitors. The wealth comes when the girl marries. The giver of name 11 promotes her daughter by calling her a farm of money. It is true that money comes in at marriage; but the girl's father apparently exhibits more expectations. In a farm, you sow different kinds of seeds: yam, cassava, maize, and different kinds of vegetables. These are harvested in different seasons and the farm remains for the owner, either to cultivate again, lease, or allow it to rest for a better yield when next it is cultivated. Through the name, the giver expresses an unending quality or the usefulness of her daughter. Names 12-14 promote the quality of the girls. Every girl is a wealth but by the names, the society is made to understand that the girls are outstandingly beautiful; hence, their being referred to as prestigious, beautiful, and of higher wealth consecutively. The last names on the list highlight also the quality of the girl, for unending wealth is the expectation.

It is worth noting that in a situation where the man is rich before the birth of the girl child/children, he calls his daughter(s) names like *Ọbịageriakụ,* 'one who has come to consume wealth,' and *Ujuakụ* 'fullness of wealth'. Such names affect the bearers and their outlook in life. For instance, *Ọbịageriakụ* understands by her name that she has come to enjoy wealth. Such a child finds it extremely hard to survive difficulties, having internalized the meaning of her name and more so, by the reason of exposure to luxurious

lifestyle.

The Igbo girl in marriage bears the traditional name *Oriakụ* 'consumer of wealth' which later metamorphosed to *Odoziakụ* 'beautifier of wealth'. Basden (1982, p. 88) throws more light to the life of the Igbo woman by noting that "women have but few rights in any circumstances, and can only hold such property as their lords permit." The woman is taken more like a visitor in her husband's house, hence the saying that:

16. *Nwaanyị dụlụ adụ mana o puhọ epu.*

'A woman 'sprouted' by vegetative propagation and not by 'germination'.

The aphorism reveals that even in her marital home, she is not seen fully as a member of the family based on the fact that she came from another family. The state of the married Igbo woman is further confirmed on land issues. A woman will always say thus:

17. *Mbịambịa ama oke ala; nwaanyị ka m bụ.*

'A visitor does not know the land boundary; I am a woman.'

By this saying, the woman admits the place tradition assigned unto her in the society. She has no full right in her father's house. The story is the same in her marital home. She is completely under her husband's control. From the foregoing, it can be deduced that the girl child transforms from being a bringer of wealth to a consumer or beautifier of a man's wealth. Basden (1982, p. 78) observes among the Igbo that "between boys and girls, the comparison is all in favour of the former, the latter only counts as useful accessory in the life of a man." Basden's observation shows that the Igbo woman occupies a secondary position in the society.

The Maxims and names thus discussed reveal the Igbo wisdom and culture as it concerns women and wealth. The question at this juncture is this: Does it mean that Igbo women live a monotonous life of fetching wealth for their fathers in marriage or consuming his wealth if he is wealthy as the discussed names imply? Does it also mean that they end up consuming or beautifying the wealth of their husbands in marriage? Do they make no meaningful contribution to the economic growth of the Igbo nation? Olawoyin (2015, p. 138) gives an insight, noting that "within the traditional setting, the domain of trade and commerce was mainly the domain of women. The fact that African women were prominent in the informal economic sector is not a recent development but an age long reality." Olawoyin further explains that women tried to combine different sources of income and were constantly imploring ways of diversifying these sources, hence, their ability to buy foodstuff if their husbands did not produce or provide enough. She further elucidates that women accumulated money for hard times so as to pay school and health bills as the need arose. The Igbo society is situated in Africa; therefore, Igbo women are included in the above description of helping their husbands in making provisions for their families and taking complete charge of their family's financial burden as the need arose. They are equally strong and dynamic, thinking out ways to make ends meet.

In her own argument, Ekot (2015, p. 227) avers that "throughout history, women have made major economic contributions to their families and society at large… women engineer most of the economic activities taking place in families." The above explanation reveals that women's contribution to the societal economy is not a recent development as it has been so throughout history. Basden (1983, p. 90) observes that "Practically the whole of the trade in the Ibo country is in the hands of the women, and they are extremely capable." Basden's observation gives credit to the Igbo woman. They do not manage

the markets as mediocre; they do so with competence. From a historical perspective, Ihediuwa (2013) confirms that:

> Women have played a pivotal role in the economic development of Igboland. It is only in very few economic pursuits that they are not found in preeminent position. During the pre-colonial period, the general economy of Igboland enjoyed appreciable support from the domestic angle; and it is here that Igbo women excelled. During the Nigerian civil war, Igbo women exhibited an uncommon feat through their doggedness and resilience – they traded and sustained the markets irrespective of the numerous air raids by the enemy, with this they averted the total collapse of the war economy (p. 163)

The above account reveals the economic contribution of the Igbo women in the pre-colonial period and their tenaciousness in propping up the economy during the Nigerian civil war. Ihediwa reveals further that "… at the initial stage when European forms began to trade at Onitsha, it does appear that the first set of customers they had were women who exchanged palm produce for European imports." From the foregoing, history makes it clear that women had contributed economically before, during, and after the colonial era in no small measure.

Societal Attitude towards Women and money as reflected in Igbo songs

The picture language paints of the Igbo woman and wealth is distorting. Looking at the discussed names and maxims on the Igbo women, it appears that their whole lives revolve around bringing in wealth to their fathers at marriage and enjoying their husbands' wealth. Before the colonial era, her love and commitment to her husband is tied to his making enough provision for her. Maduekwe (1979) captures it thus:

Ji gwụ n'ọba	When there are no more yams in the barn
Nwaanyị azaba oku ike	The woman starts answering in a harsh tone.
Ego kọ n'akpa,	When there is no money in the pocket,
Nna anyị azaba onyeenụụ	Our lord/master is now called that person

(p. 68)

The above assertion posits that when there is lack of food in the house, the man loses respect from the wife. When the man lacks money, the woman distances herself from her husband, and rather sees her as a stranger. The central idea in these statements is that it money endears a man to his wife. In other words, without money, the woman will not be submissive in the house. A look at the surface meaning of the above excerpts brings to the fore some economic contributions of men and women in the Igbo society. Yam, the most valued crop in Igboland is regarded as male, while cocoyam the next in importance, is considered to be female (Afigbo, 1981, p. 127). Continuing, Afigbo explains that "… illustrating the primacy of yam in Igbo agricultural economy, was the institutionalization of the Ezeji (Yam king) title among the Igbo". The Igbo society accords yam and yam farmers other names like Diji, 'great yam farmer', and Ojijiemeọgọ 'one who uses yam to do favour'. The argument here is that yam is the exclusive preserve of men in Igboland. It can be deduced from the above excerpt from Maduekwe that even when the man fails in his economic responsibility, rather than admitting his failure, the woman is blamed.

A very useful explanation from Basden (1983, p. 90) reveals that "In the domestic affairs of life it works out that the men folk hold themselves responsible for the yam supply, whilst the women provide all the extras, fish, oil, peppers, and other luxuries'. From Basden's explanation, it can be deduced that the man does not provide 100 percent for his family. The woman has a share. Respondents reveal that in areas like Eha-amufu, in Enugu State, women cultivate a specie of yam known as *ji abana* 'water yam'. This specie of yam sustains the family during famine. The society through language recognizes only the man as the breadwinner and producer of yam. *Diji* 'a great yam farmer' is reserved for only men. Aside that, there is no equivalent name for the recognized female crop which is *ede* 'cocoa-yam'. It is only the man that is recognised as *ọchịlịọzụọ* 'one who takes and feeds others.' There is no such recognition for the woman.

It is worth noting that even when women engage in serious discussions with fellow women on how to move their families forward, they are considered to engage in gossip. Their discussions and contributions are negatively expressed thus:

18. *Asịrị burụ ego, ụmụnwaanyị niile adachaa ọgaranya*

'If gossip were to be money, every woman would be rich'.

Gossip is considered very cheap, as anyone, literate and illiterate can engage in it. It requires no skills. Riches require skill and hard work hence, the Igbo saying that: *ego dị n'ogwu* 'money is seen among thorns'. The above saying trivializes the activities of women, belittles them, and presents them as a group which concerns itself with frivolities. More so, from the above societal statement on women, there is no hope for them to be rich as they are only equated with gossip which will never translate to money. It is here argued that equating women's discussions to gossip is a way of discouraging them from bonding. Men, knowing the power of women and the position they, men, have placed them, feel insecure sometimes, especially when women are together; hence, the derogatory statement to discourage women's discussions. Belittling activities associated with women is consistent with the concept of dominance under CDA. Dominance is semantically signalled by positive self-representation and negative other derogation.

In contemporary times, Igbo women's love is still seen as tied to the man's money. Jakota, a highlife singer has it thus:

Ada dị mma hụrụ gị n'anya n'eluụwa	Beautiful lady loves you in this world
O lee anya na pọmpụ gị na-agba	When she sees that your pump is rushing (you are wealthy).
Ọ bụrụ na ihe siere gị ike n'ụwa nwanne m,	When things become harder for you my dear,
Ada dị mma achọrọ onye di ya mma.	Beautiful lady looks for someone she likes.
Ya ka m ji tie egwu m tiri n'elu ụwa	That is why I sang my song in this world
Sị na o mere nwaanyị na o mere ukwu nkụ	That anyone who does good to a woman does so to a bundle of wood.

Onye ọ nyịrị n'ụwa zere isi ya.	When the load becomes heavy, let him remove his head.

The song presents women as fair-weather lovers. Here, *pọmpụ* 'pump' is a metaphor for wealth. The song sees women as being out to consume another's wealth. The society hardly considers that it could be the other way round as most women experience in contemporary times. Jakota's stand is further generalized and strengthened by the aphorism that:

19. *A gbara aka rịọ nwunye mmadụ ọyị, ọ sị na di ya gọrọ ya n'arụsị mana e nye ya ego, ọ sị bịa metụ ya aka na ọtụ bụ nke ya.*

"When one (a man) pleads empty handed for friendship with a married woman, she will say that her husband dedicated her to an idol but when she is given money, she would ask the man to come and have coitus with her, that the vagina is hers'.

Women are presented here as being at the receiving end. They are equally projected as ones who are ready to sell their bodies as far as money is concerned. The above picture of women equally corroborates the Igbo saying that:

20. Nwaanyị adịghị acha anya kama ọ chaa ọtụ.

'A woman's power/wisdom is her vagina.'

The above aphorism implies that she does not think out something good that will fetch her a living; rather, her focus is on how to use her body, which her vagina signifies, to meet her needs.

The projection of women and wealth here is also sequel to what happened after the Nigerian civil war. An oral song on some Igbo women's attitude has it thus:

Agwa na ji, agwa na ji	Beans and yam, beans and yam
Agwa na ji ooo	Beans and yam ooo
Sọọsọ agwa na ji oo	Only beans and yam oo
Ya ka nwaanyị ji gbanaa Ugwuawụsa	Led woman to elope to the northern part of the country.

The lyric satirises women who ran after the Nigerian soldiers in order to get food. No one thought it wise to hail the women who exhibited uncommon feat, risking their lives in *ahịa* attack 'attack trade', rather the few that misbehaved were projected as if all the men were saints. It is here argued that language plays a double standard for men and women. Afigbo (1981, pp. 128-129) notes that "Igbo society placed a high premium on hard-work and so not only valued the hard-worker but held him up for admiration. He provided the theme for edifying songs and tales…" It is very clear that the Igbo women are completely excluded from the above assertion. The high feat they attained during the war does not equally worth a theme for edifying songs. Igbo has it that:

21. *Nwata kwọọ aka, o soro ọgaranya rie nri*

When a child washed his hands he joins the rich at the table'

The above maxim did not apply to the women who exposed themselves to different levels

of danger in *ahịa* attack to sustain their families. The women are rather left with the saying that:

22. N*woke nụchaa ọgụ, nwaanyị enwere akụkọ.*

'when a man finished fighting, the woman tells the story'.

The above saying implies that men did the whole work while the women only narrate the events. It does appear that men were omnipresent during the war, being both at the war front and at home feeding the families. A revisit of the above satire on women and the Nigerian soldiers show bravery on the side of women. Those that followed the Nigerian soldiers did not do so because they were harlots. They rather risked their lives with strangers just to put food on the table for their families. Definitely, they did not eat the beans and rice alone. It was more of a sacrifice.

Societal attitude towards women and money as reflected in Igbo maxims

The Igbo society has a negative attitude towards women and money. Their attitudes reflect in popular sayings such as:

23. *A na-eri ego nwaanyị eri?*

'Does one consume a woman's money?'

24. *Ego nwaanyị o zulu gịnị?*

'A woman's money is not worth much?'

History has given an answer to the first saying under this category (23) by proving indeed that: *a na-eri ego nwaanyị* 'a woman's wealth is consumed.' It had earlier been discussed about how women support their homes by providing food for the family; more so is their involvement in marketing to uphold their families' economy. These roles are not given full recognition in language. It is equally worth noting that even in most situations where the woman's contribution to the family is glaring, the society hardly acknowledges it. The response in such situations is reflected in the second maxim (24). From the twenty-fourth expression, the man admits it to be true that the woman contributes to the upkeep of the family but would rather not give her full credit for her contributions.

Interviewees reveal patriarchy as the reason behind the passive recognition of women's economic contributions in the family. Millet (1972) in Onuegbu (2003, p. 321) defines patriarchy as 'a system of sexual relationship institutionalised in human social order whereby males rule females as a matter of birth-right priority." It can be deduced from the foregoing that males are the ones in charge, while the women are subordinate to them. On the effect of patriarchal society on women and finances, Agbaje (2015, p. 167) declares that "In spite of their contributions, African women do not have economic power as compared with their male counterparts. A major factor for this has been that many African societies are dominated and controlled by men." Men's domination gives little or no room for full recognition of women's contribution especially through language. Respondents reveal that the non-recognition of women's contributions make most women feel inadequate, intimidated and too dependent for any positive empowerment.

An Igbo man will do everything possible to maintain his position as the head, and to boost his ego especially in the presence of a woman. He would rather give up the ghost than watch a woman dictate for him, age notwithstanding. He backs his belief

with the following expressions:

25. Chukwu ekwena ka m baa n'ọba e kelụ ede.

'God forbid that I enter a coco-yam barn'

26. Kama nwaanyị ga-enye m nri, ka m nwụọ.

'Instead of a woman to be my breadwinner, let me die.'

It had earlier been noted that yam is associated with male and coco-yam with female in the Igbo society. By the first expression, an Igbo man is bent on not belittling himself to the extent of being relegated to an inconsequential level. The latter expression (26) depicts the length a man would go to assert his authority as a lord. The expressions show that the woman is considered secondary to the man in Igbo society. The man is the superior being and he is fully satisfied with his position and wishes for nothing less.

Sequel to the above point is the bride price the man pays for his wife. By the reason of the dowry he paid, he considers her as his property, hence, the saying:

27. *Nwaanyị so n'akụ di ya*

'A woman is part of her husband's wealth.'

Some men go to the extent of beating their wives when they 'misbehave.' Such men consider their actions proper. They paid the dowry for their wives and there is nothing wrong with their 'recounting their money' *ịgụgharị ego ha*. Beating by implication is a way of instilling discipline into their wives, to see that they get the best for the bride price they paid.

The woman on the other hand is socialised into the knowledge that:

28. O nweghị akụ nwaanyị nwere dị ya mkpa karịa utu di ya.

'A husband's penis is the most important property of his wife'.

By the above expression, the woman does everything possible to satisfy her husband's sexual urge. The society educates the woman early enough to know that:

29. *Nwaanyị mezie ukwu ya emezie, ọ bụrụ ngwaahịa.*

'When a woman packages her waist well, she becomes a commodity (attractive).'

The woman by marriage belongs exclusively to her husband. Based on the above expression, the woman, after child birth, does everything within her ability to get back to a good shape so as to appeal to her husband. The man, who is the lord and master, needs no such exercise.

Discussion

Patriarchal social arrangement is believed to limit and obscure women's economic contributions in the society. Ezenwanebe (2012) argues that:

> All feminists despite their ideological leaning are unanimous in denouncing the low status of women in society. They opine that human society is characterised by gender inequality in which men are privileged to power and dignity while women are subdued to a secondary, powerless and ignoble state, and are therefore oppressed. The social arrangement placed men in power and

> women under them. Every other thing is placed in shape to conform to the social arrangement (p. 63).

Economic power goes a long way in determining the tune in the family and the society at large. The Igbo has it that *onye ji igu ka ewu na-eso* 'The goat follows the one who is carrying the fodder.' To the Igbo, *Ego na-ekwu* 'money talks'. An Igbo man may play with any other thing but his power and authority. It is here argued from CDA point of view that Igbo men assert and maintain dominance over women by enacting and reproducing subtle, routine, and everyday forms of talk that appear true concerning women and wealth.

The girl child is made to understand from birth that she is somebody's wealth. Ogbalu (1979, p. 16) notes 'ọ bụrụ nwoke ka nwaanyị … mụrụ, a na-asị na ọ mụrụ 'tax', ọ bụrụ nwaanyị a na-asị na ọ mụrụ akpa ego'. If a woman gave birth to a male, it is said that she gave birth to 'tax', if a female, it is said that she gave birth to a bag of money.' It has earlier been discussed that the money comes in no other way than when the girl child is given out in marriage. Often times, the girl's father chose her husband for her to fulfil his own dream of getting the so-called "bag of money". The theme of a father choosing a husband for her daughter is prevalent in Igbo fiction. For instance, Emeribe, Adaaku's father, rejects Adaaku's intention to marry Chukwusolu because he (Chukwusolu) is from a poor background and is a jobless graduate. He would rather have his daughter marry a husband of his choosing who must be a person of great means who would be able to restore all the wealth that he "wasted" in training Adaakụ in school, and also support him financially (see Onuegbu, 2003). Here, the focus in marriage is not love and the girl's happiness. It is rather what the girl's father will gain. The names discussed earlier tell the rest of the story.

It is still for the same reason of power and ego that women are not recognised even when they attain a great feat economically. Agbaje (2015, p. 175) bemoans the situation where 'family obligations such as paying school fees often absorbed women's profits and capital.' Men who shy away from their responsibilities are also the ones who retort '*ego nwaanyị o zulu gịnị*? What is the worth of a woman's money? In situations where her contribution is undeniable, her wealth is attributed to have been gotten through her buttocks; that is, by playing harlotry. One wonders who she sells her body to if not men. Downplaying the contributions of women is consistent with the concept of dominance under CDA. Dominance is semantically signaled by positive self-representation and negative other-presentation or derogation.

It is here argued that ownership of land which the woman is denied of in Igbo cultural settings, and the attribution of her love to the man's wealth as discussed earlier are ways of subjugating her and fortifying patriarchy. All these ideologies are expressed through language and they have negative effect on women (see Mojekwu-Chikezie, 2011; Agbaje, 2015). Despite the negative effect of patriarchy on women, some women still keep their heads above the water. Ekot (2015) notes thus:

> … some women not only support their husbands towards the upkeep of their households from their wages, but take full responsibilities for the provision of not only the basic needs but of almost all the other secondary needs while in such cases, the husbands lazy about, drinking, playing draft, running after women or involved in some kind of anti-social behaviour. By taking up many household responsibilities from their wages, employed

> women have impacted not only their household economy but also the community, the nation and global economies (p. 237-238).

In his own contribution, Ritzeer (2012, p.474) declares that "men create and maintain patriarchy not only because they have the resources to do so but because they have real interest in making women serve as compliant tools." A quick look at the three pillars of agriculture, trade, and manufacturing on which the pre-colonial Igbo economy stood, show that women made good contributions. On agriculture, Afigbo, (1981) documents that:

> ...Igbo society was one in which every able-bodied person was actively engaged in farm work. The result was that most people, male and female, did their own farm work. In areas where the land was first tilled before yam mounds were made, that was done by both men and women (p. 129).

The explanation shows clearly that women were involved at every stage of the farm work. In his explanation, Chukwu (2015, p. 39) posits that "some very hard-working and ambitious women equally owned their own yam farms." Continuing, Chukwu explains that women engage in the production of other crops which gave the family not only a balanced diet, but a good source of income for the women sold the surplus of the crops they had, and made money which they used to run other affairs of the family. During the pre-colonial and early colonial times, women dominated the oil palm industry.

Okoro (2006, p.103) notes that "women dominated both the commercialization and the processing of palm fruits." The documentations show that women were very much involved in the agricultural sector of the Igbo society.

In the area of trade, both the local and long distance, women were and are still fully involved. Basden (1983, pp. 89-90) asserts that "they are the most inveterate bargain hunters; indeed, marketing, together with the preparation of food, constitutes the chief occupation - nay, the very life, of the women." Women of Aboh were involved in slave trading along side their male counterparts (see Chukwu, 2015). Igbo women were not left out in the manufacturing industry. They were into soap and mat making, pottery, salt, and weaving industries. The salt industry was the exclusive preserve of women in some Igbo-speaking areas. Mbakwe & Chigbo (2008, p. 152) aver that "Salt producers in Ohaozara were mainly women...The discovery of salt...helped to increase the economic and social importance of women in Ohaozara." Apart from historical documentations, there is no name or title of recognition given to women in all these areas that they excelled. The woman is only left with the name *ukwu nnu* 'salt waist'. The name has absolutely no bearing with her economic contributions. It is rather a pejorative phrase that refers to women with strong sexual passion.

In his judgement on the economic contributions of the Igbo woman, Chukwu (2015) avers that:

> An objective assessment of the contributions of the key players in the socio-economic growth of Igbo land would certainly tilt in favour of the Igbo woman ...Among all the agricultural crops

> produced, only yam was man's (king) crops. The rest were regarded as women's crop which were indeed cultivated by women. In the same vein the majority of the non-agricultural products manufactured were handiwork of women... Because they (women) produced the bulk of the commodities, they played dominant roles in the prosecution of trade and commerce in Igbo land...(p. 45).

The above assessment of women is fair, based on their all-round involvement in sustaining the economy of the Igbo nation. It is here argued that words are potent. They have the ability to destroy, heal, and encourage. With the present economic situation in Nigeria, better naming practices and positive statements on women and wealth will go a long way in encouraging them to contribute more to the society. The Igbo has it that '*e too dike na nke o mere, o mekwa ọzo*' When a hero is praised for a task he accomplished, he does more. Such names as *Akanaemebennu* 'the hand that produces salt,' *Akanaemebeọgọdọ* 'the hand that produces cloth,' *Akanaemencha* 'the hand that produces soap,' *Ideahịa* 'market pillar' could be given to women who have singled themselves out in these areas of industry. There is nothing wrong with converting the title *Ọchịlịọzụọ* 'He who undertakes to cater for many people' to a unisex title. Oyeka (2017b) whose work is on Igbo sexist first names argues that Igbo names are becoming unisex. There is nothing wrong with extending such to title names where the individual and sometimes the society help the bearer to tell his or her own story. It is here suggested that women who have excelled in catering for many people should also be accorded the merit. Language is not static. It changes with time; it has the characteristics of accepting new words and extending the semantic reach of older ones. Because language has some inadvertent mechanisms which enable it to retain its stability. Unisex title names will not destabilize the Igbo language.

Conclusion

This study examined the place of women in the Igbo material philosophy. The work reveals that girls are seen by culture as wealth. The wealth goes to their father when they get married. In their husband's houses, they consume or beautify their wealth. On the contrary, history reveals that women have and are still contributing much to the economy of their families and society at large. Failure to recognise the role of women is due to the societal set up where men have power over the women. Men do all within their ability to prove themselves as bread winners in their homes. In situations where they do not meet with societal expectations, their importance and contributions are downplayed by the society, often ruled by the male folks.

The paper also argued that with the dare economic situation in present day Nigeria, there is the need to further inspire women through positive words and better naming practices. Encouraging women with a positive attitude will help inspire them to work harder, thereby supporting the men in their lives to build the economy for a prosperous society.

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KEEPING IT IN PERSPECTIVE

Art criticism conjectures the snail in Francesco del Cossa's *Annunciation* as a visual balance but also as indicative of 15th Century self-awareness, the flatness of the scene, the knowledge that Nazareth was not at all like this.

Mary cannot even see the angel, her view is blocked by the pillar which symbolises God in the room. The city beyond, painted in detailed perspective, could not be built, but looks impressive.

Architects and planners are discussing new ways to create multigenerational living, or at least offer the possibility to those who may not desire it or perhaps know what an extended family is.

There is no end to the progress of knowledge and science, although funding is hard to come by. Every research meeting I go to interests me and I theoretically relocate my work. But I have been to too many meetings, changed my ideas too many times.

We keep coming back to the fact that arts improve the quality of life although that cannot be substantiated or statistically proven, and I do not want my poetry to work through empathy or ego.

There is no end to the ways this story can be told.

—Rupert M. Loydell

#7
Doug Lauvstad

Turn Management Strategies in Police-Suspect Interaction in Ibadan, Nigeria

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Abstract

Forensic linguistics is an investigative field geared towards eliciting facts, using the contents of law. Police-suspect interaction (PSI) is an aspect of forensic linguistics. Previous studies have examined police discourse majorly from the sociolinguistic and stylistic perspectives. Studies from the discourse angle are scanty. Scholarly investigations are yet to engage the discursive roles of turn-taking in PSI. This paper examines turn management strategies in PSI with a view to describing how the turns of IPOs and suspects engender power relations in PSI. Data for this study were collected at the State Criminal Investigation Department, Iyagankun, Ibadan, Oyo State, Nigeria. Interrogation on cases such as burglary/stealing, kidnapping, murder, rape, felony, arson, robbery, defamation of character, and forgery were tape recorded. Data collected were transcribed into text and for conversations in Yoruba and Pidgin, efforts were made to translate them into the English language. Ethical considerations were also considered. The qualitative method of data analysis was used. Findings reveal that IPOs employed Current Speaker Self Selects (CSSS), Current Speaker Selects Next Speaker (CSSNS) and interruption during interactions with suspects. Suspects, on the other hand, resorted to change of interrogation topics, Current Speaker Continues (CSC) and silence to challenge IPOs' interrogative tactics. Turn-taking is a resourceful linguistic device for negotiating unequal power relations between IPOs and suspects.

Keywords: Language, Turn-taking, Discourse Strategies, Police-Suspect Interaction, Nigeria

Introduction

Turn-taking is an essential feature of human communication. It is a cyclical process; it starts with one person speaking and continues as the speaker gives up control to the next. Two central issues are germane in turn-taking. They are: frequency and control of contribution. Frequency has to do with the amount of turns within a conversation while control of contribution concerns the amount of control a person has over what and how much to say. It is a process of negotiation aimed at achieving some conversational ends. Turn allocation in interaction stems from the cognitive limitation of human beings (Agyekum, 2002; Farinde, 2008; Maat and Heylen, 2009). People find it extremely challenging to talk and listen at the same time. This challenge becomes worse when it involves complex speech interaction. To this end, turns are allocated for a speaker to hold the floor while others listen.

Some scholarly works have been done on police discourse. Luchjenbroers (1997) investigates the import of interrogatives in trial sessions. To him, questions are meant to encourage the interlocutors to continue the action, initiate exchanges, signal cooperation, make request, etc. From the same perspective, Koshik (2003) observes that questions are used in institutional settings to display participants' orientation to institutional goals, norms and roles, showing how the roles can be enacted and accomplished. Commenting on the nature of interaction in the courtroom, Luchjenbroers (1997) argues that the discourse is institutionally organised in adjacency pairs, one part of which is labeled a question and the other an answer. Opeibi (2010) studies interrogatives in courtroom discourse in Nigeria. He studies the nature and roles of questioning. He posits that such questions are used as elicitation strategies. Edu-Buandoh and Ahialey (2013)

investigate the ideological implications of questions in courtroom interaction in Ghana. They conclude that questions perform more of ideological functions than informative. Thomborrow (2007) argues that the police-suspect narrative functions to structure the production of opposing opinion and stances.

On the nature of turn in police interview with suspects, Heydon (2005) notes that police control suspects during the opening and closing phases of interviews. Working on the intricacies involved in police investigation, Nicola (2012) submits that police interrogation is structured and the structured nature enables police to control suspects. While Reid's (2002) study harps on the import of attitude during police investigation, Ayodele (2013) bothers on the significance of communication as an essential weapon of building relationship in policing. On the issue of language proficiency, Terebo (2012) examines the relevance of language proficiency to police officers and their interpreted works. These studies are significant in that the import of questions as controlling device is underscored, the relevance of communication and language proficiency is emphasised, but no mention was made as to the turn management strategies in PSI.

During police interviews, attempts are made by IPOs to ascertain whether suspects are actually guilty of alleged offences. At this level, IPOs hardly resort to manipulative skills in probing suspects. But during interrogation, it is believed that suspects' guilt had been ascertained and IPOs engage a number of strategies to get suspects to confess to a crime(s). Turn management during police-suspect interaction, especially during interrogation sessions has not been researched by forensic linguists. The subject of turn management in PSI becomes outstanding. The goal of this article is to examine turn management strategies in police-suspect interaction with a view to describing how police and suspects' turn reveal unequal power relations. A study of this nature is significant as it will enlighten scholars interested in forensic linguistics on how power is enacted in such institutional discourse. The police as a law enforcement agent will also benefit as the study will reveal discourse strategies of managing the contributions of suspects during interrogation. The study also will broaden the perspectives of IPOs about crime investigation, thereby improving criminal justice system in Nigeria. Apart from contributing to existing body of knowledge in forensic discourse studies, the study will be of significant benefit in language teaching. The paper is divided into six sections. Section one provides the rationale for the study and reviews existing literature on police discourse. While section two presents perspectives on turn-taking, section three describes the methods of data collection. The fourth section presents the findings of the study. While section five presents the area of convergence between turn and power in PSI, the last section concludes the paper.

Turn-taking Phenomenon in Discourse

Turn-taking is central to discourse as a universal feature of conversation which develops in man right from childhood. As a speech feature, it is influenced by such factors as culture, personality, age, sex and professional or occupational variables (Osisanwo 2003). Talking is a social act that is guided by certain norms. These norms could be societal or occupational. Interlocutors observe such societal or occupational ethics in order to have a hitch-free communication. In most communities for example, certain social factors such as age, sex, social status, and occupation influence the way people talk. Such factors also influence how turns are allocated. Turn allocation sets rules for interlocutors during communicative encounters. These rules are set to minimise cases of overlap and

interruption (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974; Schgloff, 2000; Ephratt, 2008; Tracy and Robles, 2009; Hedlner and Edlund, 2010). They note however that, moments of silence, pauses and interruption are communicative in their own right. Turn-taking is restricted to one-at –a-time rule. In spite of this rule-governed procedure, interlocutors may express varying beliefs, ideologies, viewpoints, and this result in clashes in turn-taking. Interlocutors manifest certain turn-taking behaviours during communication. Their conversation may include pauses, hesitations, interruption, and so on. It is important to assert that these turn-taking behaviour support human interaction. Turn-taking is largely influenced by topic of discussion, and its strategies have some effects on the perception of the agents involved (Levinson, 1983; Jefferson, 1984; Schiffrin, 1987; Grammelgaard, 1998; Edlund and Herldner, 2005; Benneworth, 2009; Mclinne and Attwater, 2004).

In police-suspect interaction, the relationship between police officers and suspects are highly asymmetrical. The institutional rules and procedures grant IPOs power over suspects. Since the essence of police interrogation is to secure voluntary confession, IPOs resort to a number of strategies to get suspects to confess to crime. One of the means of achieving this institutional goal is by influencing the turns of suspects during interrogation sessions. Turn allocation takes the form of adjacency pairs. IPOs engage suspects in questioning so as to ascertain their involvement or otherwise in crime.

Turn-taking occurs naturally at some junctions in conversation; such points are referred to as transition relevant place (TRP). A TRP can be exploited by the speaker holding the floor. This may be done directly, for the purpose of allowing the right person to speak to another conversationalist of his or her choice (Mey, 2001). Benneworth (2009) observes that turn-taking in a cooperative dialogue in police interview context is context-dependent. He describes how participants perceive a suspect's stance, rapport, face, and deception when the turn-taking of the subject varies. He makes a case for the role of rapport during police interviews. Rapport building is considered necessary for eliciting confessional statements from suspects. He notes that suspects talk openly in interaction and through this, cooperation and agreement increase. He submits that interactional discomfort is considered as lack of rapport, and this is manifested in interaction through stretches, fillers, and pauses in the speech of the suspect. The nature of interrogative construction is also considered as a pointer to turn management in police interview. For example, close ended questions require a yes or no response from suspect while an open ended question requires a long response. The study surmises that manipulation of turn results in different perception of an agent on personality scale, interpersonal scale, and emotional scale. On the nature of turn in television talk shows, Olutayo (2010) notes that turn-taking functions as a manipulative tool used by participants in talk shows to negotiate certain ideological stances. To her, turn-taking is deployed at the opening and closing of conversations in talk shows, and this accounts for power relations in the interview as participants are interested in projecting their personal ideologies rather than discussing topical issues of national interest. There is the need to investigate how turn-taking influence meaning in police discourse. Existing studies have described, mostly from the non-linguistic angle, the roles of IPOs. Studies have not engaged PSI as a discourse with its own peculiar discursive practices. One of the approaches to the study of police communication is to examine the nature of turns and their contextual significance in PSI. This explains why the study investigates turn management as an instrument of power control in PSI.

The Data and Analytical Procedure

The data for this study was collected at the State Criminal Investigation Department, Iyaganku, Ibadan, Oyo State, Nigeria between 14th May, 2013 to 3rd March, 2014. It is a department of the Force that is saddled with crime investigation. Other criminal cases in the State are referred to this department. Approval to collect data was sought for, and obtained from relevant authorities. Fifty sessions of interrogations were randomly tape-recorded. Interrogations on cases such as burglary and stealing, murder, rape, arson, felony, robbery, defamation of character and kidnapping were tape-recorded. The non-participant observation technique was adopted. IPOs explained the rationale behind the presence of the persons doing the recording to the suspects. The suspects were briefed that the interrogation process will be observed for research purposes. They were reliably informed that the research of the police-suspect interrogation was for academic purpose, and that the results of such research would only be kept in the library for teaching and further research. The purpose of informing and educating the suspects was to address the bias that might arise as a result of the presence of non-police officers and a recording device at the venue of the interrogation. To further enhance objectivity in the entire interrogation process, only police officers were near the interrogation point so as to ensure that the presence of a recording device did not influence the entire interrogation process; the observation was done from a safe distance.

As instructed by the Commissioner of Police of Oyo State, visual recording of the interrogation was not done. For ethical reasons, the permission of the suspects was sought orally and documented by the IPOs. The names and locations of the suspects were also coded. However, sixteen cases were purposively selected because of their relative manifestation of turn negotiation devices. The criterion that determined the inclusion of cases was their manifestation of negotiation tactics. The data collected were transcribed into text, and for conversations in Yoruba and Pidgin, efforts were made to translate them into the English language. The translation process follows a one-to-one process to ensure that meaning is not distorted in the analysis. Instances of turn-taking devices observed in the data were identified and analysed in terms of their discursive significance. Emphasis was on how turn devices of IPOs and suspects serve various contextual functions in the interaction.

Data Analysis

Findings reveal that IPOs and suspects resorted to a number of turn devices to achieve certain institutional goals. The turn devices used in the entire interaction were meant to hold, grab, and yield turns. From the perspective of IPOs, power is instantiated through the use of some turn-taking devices which include the following:

Current Speaker Self Selects (CSSS) / The cautionary phase/bait

One of the strategies adopted by IPOs in their interaction with suspects is the CSSS. Current speaker is the person speaking at a particular point in time. Such speaker also chooses who speaks next in the interaction through the choice of turn devices. IPOs self-selected in their bid to control the contributions of suspects (Koshik, 2003; Farinde, 2008). IPOs dominated the interaction by manipulating linguistic resources to control the positions of suspects. Through the use of CSSS, IPOs technically decided the response of suspects in the interaction. CSSS as a turn management device thrives at the cautionary note given by IPOs at the commencement of interrogation. At the cautionary phase of police-suspect interaction, IPOs cleverly reeled out the legal implication of

the word of caution. This was intended to restrict the contribution of suspects towards the subject of interrogation. At the opening of police interrogation, IPOs relied on the cautionary words to elicit confession and guilt from the suspects. In some cases, the cautionary words were said verbally. The suspects repeated the words even when they did not understand the contents.

Excerpt 1

1. P: I will take you through the cautionary words.
2. S: (ok).
3. P: You (name of suspect) having been duly cautioned in English that you are not obliged to say anything unless you wish to do so, but whatever you say will be taken down in writing and may be used as evidence in the court of law.
4. S: I don't understand sir.
5. P: You didn't understand?
6. S: Yes.
7. P. You were arrested yesterday in connection with a case of burglary. True or false?
8. S. True Sir!
9. P. Listen, you will be released if you confess.
10. S. Ok Sir.

The interaction above is a case of burglary and stealing. The suspect was arrested for burgling the shop of a renowned market woman at XX. The cautionary bait is used as a strategy for eliciting confessional statements from the suspect. The IPO resorts to the use of CSSS in his turn in an attempt to control the contributions of the suspect in question. The IPO begins the entire investigation process with the use of a lexical operator, *will* to express determination to fulfil the obligation of the institutional interaction. The use of *will* in this context places the suspect at the mercy of the IPO's questions. The use of *will* has the pragmatic import of self-selecting the IPO as the next speaker in the interaction.

In line 3, the IPO poses another instance of self-selection in a bid to assert the cautionary words. He introduces the participial phrase, *having been duly cautioned in English*. This phrase is connected to *you* in the sentence. It modifies the *you*. This also serves pragmatic significance in the sense that the vocal point in the IPOs speech is not stressed. In other words, the IPOs words is not complete because of an adjoining clause that is yet to be mentioned. The use of the conditional marker, *unless* also functions as a device used by the IPO to hold turn in the interaction. It specifies the confines of the suspect's right and forces him to remain silent. The IPO's use of CSSS assumes another dimension with the use of the coordinating conjunction *but* to further infringe on the suspect's rights. Another instance of the linguistic tool of CSSS in the interaction is the use of *may,* a verbal hedge. The IPO uses the verbal hedge to select the supremacy of the law and the punishment that awaits the suspect should he fail to heed the IPO's instructions in the interrogation room. The above excerpt justifies the fact that at the cautionary phase of police-suspect interaction, IPOs self-select in an attempt to elicit confessional statements from suspects.

Current Speaker Selects Next Speaker (CSSNS) / The leading questions

Another strategy used to elicit information from suspects during police interrogation was the use of lead-in questions. Lead-in questions were pivotal to finding the facts of the

recorded cases. The questions were carefully constructed by investigating IPOs to achieve their goals during interrogation sessions. IPOs used CSSNS as a turn strategy in order to manipulate suspects with a view to making them confess to crime. Since interaction is between IPOs and suspects, IPOs decided who speaks what, when and how. In the interaction, IPOs, through the nature of their turn distribution, selected who speaks next. An example from the data is given below:

Excerpt 2

1. P: When were you employed?
2. S: I think 2010.
3. P: *(Frowning his face).* Did you learn the job?
4. S: God gave me the talent.
5. P: What do you do?
6. S: I handle all electrical appliances in the firm.
7. P: How much is your salary?
8. S: Seven thousand naira (#7,000).
9. P: What other thing do you do there?
10. S: I also serve as the petrol attendant.
11. P: Do you receive additional pay apart from your salary?
12. S: Not at all!
13. P: *(moves closer to the suspect)* Why were you arrested?
14. S: My boss said we stole his money.
15. P: How? You are deceitful!
16. S: That is what I don't know.
17. P: You don't know what? Do you?
18. S: Yes.
19. P: How much was stolen?
20. S: I think about five million.
21. P: How many of you work in the firm?
22. S: About eight of us...
23. P: How many of you were arrested?
24. S: Just two of us…
25. P: Why?
26. S: My master just hates us.

The case above is that of conspiracy and stealing. The suspect was working as a petrol attendant with one XX Petrol Station. The suspect under interrogation had been employed at the petrol station for four years before his arrest. His primary assignment was to sell petrol to motorists. The said suspect had also learned some ad hoc jobs in the station. He could handle the fuel pumps and effect some repairs on the pumps. With this knowledge of the pumps, he cleverly manipulated the sale of petrol in the station by readjusting the sales meter. This dubious act persisted for quite some time until his mischievous deeds were noticed. He was subsequently arrested by the police. In the interaction, the IPO manipulates the suspect through the use of interrogatives. Questioning is used by the IPO to seek the facts of the case being investigated. The forms of questions used by the IPO are called lead-in questions. They are questions that are used to probe the nitty-gritty of crimes, These questions usually have the WH-words fronted. Since the structure of the interaction is in adjacency pair, IPOs use questions to pursue their institutional goals. In the interaction, IPOs use lead-in questions to select

who speaks next. For example in line l1, the IPO asks other things the suspect did in the firm. This question is framed by fronting a WH-question word so as to ascertain some facts. In line 11, the IPO says, do you receive additional pay apart from your salary? This question is structured by fronting the Do-support. 'How much was stolen in line 19 is also an example of the lead-in questions used by IPOs to select next speaker in the interaction. These question forms, the leading questions have their discursive importance. The questions are close-ended and this enables the IPOs to restrict the contributions of suspects towards the subject of the interrogation. This is in consonance with Farinde (2008) and Akinrinlola (2016). The studies submit that interrogative constructions reveal power asymmetry in police-suspect interaction. In a number of cases, the responses of suspects were already predetermined by IPOs. This turn device is a means of control in police-suspect interaction.

Interruptions/speech overlap

One of the discourse devices used for holding turns by IPOs during interrogation sessions at the State CID, Ibadan was incessant interruption of suspects' stories. The use of such interruptions promoted asymmetrical power relations between police officers and suspects during interrogation sessions. Such asymmetries were contextualised within the dialogue, outside the talk itself, in the institutional setting. Within the context of coercive power, police officers exercised control over the suspects in the amount of talk distribution during the interactions. Interruption was one of the strategies used by police officers to elicit confessions from suspects. It was perceived as one of the manifestations of coercive power in the entire interactions. Different forms of interruption noticed in the interactions are:

Interrogative interruption: This kind of interruption was used in the interactions to get information from suspects; this interruption is in fact a question. An example from our data is seen below:

Excerpt 3

1. P: Where did you get the money?
2. S: *(Fidgeting)* I borrowed it-
3. P: Keep quiet, idiot. You are a rogue.
4. S: My friend gave me.
5. P: Your friend gave you the money.
6. S: That was a long time ago-
7. P: Where does he work?
8. S: He is a petrol attendant, sir-
9. P: You are a thief! How can a petrol attendant get such amount?

The case above is that of stealing. An arrest of two suspects was made in connection with the case in question. One Mr. XX, whose money was stolen, ordered the arrest of the suspects. From the extract above, the IPO deliberately exercise some forms of control over the suspect. The IPO exercise coercive power by forcing questions on the suspect. The suspect has no time to explain his innocence in the crime. Such questions are asked by the IPO to compel the suspect to confess to a crime. The questions are interrogative in nature. The questions in 1, 7, and 9 above are interrogative in nature. The IPO does not give room for the suspect to explain his guilt or innocence in the crime. The suspect's utterances are frequently interrupted. The essence of asking such questions is to seek information relevant to the fact of the case.

Confirmative interruption: This kind of interruption manifested when IPOs asked questions, but not for the sake of getting information; it is for getting confirmation from suspects. An example from our data is seen below:

Excerpt 4

1. P: *Sé amugbó ni bàbá rẹ ni?*

Was your father a hemp addict?

2. S: *Rárá `ọga-*

No sir.

3. P: *Kílówádé to fẹ́ ran igbó mímu?*

Why are you addicted to hemp?

4. S: Ìdák-

Silence-

5. P: *Kílód'ee tí bàbá rẹ ò fẹ́ran igbó mímu?*

Why was your father not addicted?

6. S: *Mùsùlùmí* òdodo *ni.*

He was a faithful Muslim.

The case above is that of burglary. The suspect was one of those arrested in connection with the case. One Mr. XX store was burgled and articles worth millions of naira were carted away by the hoodlums. The suspect being investigated is one of those arrested. From the interaction above, the interrogation is meant to confirm some case-related facts from the suspect. During the investigation, the IPO notices that the suspect concealed some facts of the case. The IPO asks questions about the social background of the suspect in order to establish some facts that would aid the success of the investigation. Some of the questions asked border on whether the suspect in question is addicted to hemp or not. The IPO deliberately asks the question to investigate the suspect's social history. The suspect's utterances are constantly interrupted in a bid to achieve the confirmation of his (suspect) guilt. The IPO also asks question about the history of the suspect's involvement in crime. All instances of interruptions in the conversation are confirmative in nature; they were meant to confirm some facts from the suspect. Such facts are relevant as it would enhance the strength of the interrogation. The cases of interruptions noticed in the interaction are deliberately made to force the suspect to confirm certain facts.

4.3.3 Confess interruption: Another form of interruption noticed in the data derives from the culprit's previous confession. For example:

Excerpt 5

1. P: *How many times wey den don arrest you now?*

How many times have you been arrested now?

2. S: *E don (0.2) reach four times.*

It is about four times now-

3. P: *How many times you don steal?*

How many stealing cases have you recorded?

4. S: *I told you some of dem oga.*

I told you some of them Sir-

5. P: *So, you no fit tell the number?*

So, you don't want to tell me the number?

The above interaction is a case of stealing. The suspect was arrested in connection with house break-in. The interaction above presents the second confession made by the suspect. Having noticed some discrepancies in the suspect's stories during the first and second interrogation sessions, the IPO decides to resort to interruption of the suspect's story as a means of luring him to confess. The IPO had said that the suspect claimed not to have stolen in the first interrogation. This necessitates the deployment of this strategy in the second session of the interrogation. The suspect's story is interrupted to facilitate his confession. In the interaction, the suspect is lured to confess that he had stolen four times. The IPO wants the suspect to repeat the confession again because it would legitimise the suspect's story. Heydon (2005) holds that repetition is a strategy adopted by police officers to erect power over suspects. This explains why the IPO cleverly coerced the suspect to confirm his confession.

Co-operative interruption: This kind of interruption occurred in the data when IPOs wanted to co-operate with suspects with the aim of incriminating them (the suspects). This form of interruption was not necessarily aimed at getting information; however, the exercise might get some. Below is an example:

Excerpt 6

1. P: What is the disease that runs in your family?
2. S: Asthma-
3. P: Is there any cure for that?
4. S: I think so, my doctor asked me to come to the hospital for treatment-
5. P: Have you been vomiting?
6. S: Yes sir, but not always.

The case above is that of felony. One Mr. XX was arrested for planting a fetish substance in his neighbourhood. The said suspect was herbalist. His neighbours alleged that since they suspected the implantation of the substance, tenants in the house had been falling sick of one ailment or the other. The suspect also claimed to have been in the same shoes with other tenants in the house. Here, the IPO decides to co-operate and identify with the plight of the suspect. The IPO is not interested in getting information on the case directly, but his questions could also help unravel some mysteries in the suspect's story.

Corrective interruption

This form of interruption was notice when interrogating police officers wanted to correct their own words. An example from our data is seen below:

Excerpt 7

1. P: *You say na everybody see am.*

You said everybody saw it.

2. S: *Yes Oga*

Yes sir-

3. P: *I mean you sey na every person see you there.*

I mean you said everybody saw you there.

4. S: *Yes (0.2) na only people wey no come work.*

Yes except for those who did not come to work-

5. P: *Wetin com happen after that day?*

Then, what happened the next day?

6. S: *Oga nothing o*

Nothing sir-

7. P: *I mean that Sunday wey den com steal the bag of rice.*

I mean that particular Sunday the bag of rice was stolen.

In excerpt 7, the IPO exercises power by self-correcting his own contributions and that of the suspect. The suspect only responds to the IPO's questions. This form of interruption reveals the institutional power of the IPO during crime investigation. As the sole questioner, IPOs determine the contents of the questions and the required response. IPOs also self-correct in the course of the interrogation.

In PSI in the State CID, Iyaganku, Ibadan, the ultimate goal of the IPOs was to elicit information to convict suspect or force suspects to confess to crime. This reveals the fact that power inequality permeates such institutional discourse as noted by Thomborrow (2007) and Nicola (2012). The IPOs devises a number of strategies that could fasten the realisation of their goal during the interrogation process. To get more turns in their interactions with suspects, IPOs interrupt suspects frequently. It is clear that identification of police interrogative tactics with all constructive elements like interruption and its types can leave an effect on judgment.

Suspects' Turn devices in the Interaction

Having discussed the turn-taking devices of IPOs in the interaction, it is pertinent to also examine how suspects manipulated turn devices in a bid to achieve certain goals in their interaction with IPOs. Findings reveal the following turn devices of suspects:

Topic change as avoidance strategy

The data revealed that suspects changed topics of interrogation during interrogation sessions. Suspects, in a bid to avoid the consequences of their offences, manipulated IPOs through various formulations, inclusion of irrelevant details, narration, and changing the topic of the entire discourse. Suspects exercised power through their awareness of the end result of police investigation and as such, they quickly developed means of frustrating IPOs' efforts. Below is an example from the data:

Excerpt 8

1. P: *Sé o mo Chief XB ?*

Do you know chief XB?

2. S: *Bẹ́ ̀ẹni ̀ọgá!*

Yes sir!

3. P: *Rántí ọjọ́ tí ìs ̀ẹl ̀ẹ yí sẹl ̀ẹ. Èyin mélòó lẹ lọ síb ̀ẹ?*

Remember the day the incident happened. How many of you went there?

4. S: *Miò lè rántí ̀ọgá.*

I can't remember sir!

5. P: Ò *tó ọd'un mélòó tóo tin sisẹ́ lọ́dọ won?*

How long have you been working with him?

6. S: *Ó ti tó ọdún mẹ́ta.*

It is about three years now.

7. P: *Ní alẹ ọjọ́ n*áà, *sé* ìwọ *lo wà lẹ́nu isẹ́ ni?*

That night you were the one on duty?

8. S: *Bẹ́ ̀ẹni sùgbón (.)…*

Yes, but (.)…

9. P: *Wón sì fọ́ il̀ẹkun sọ́ ̀ọbù. Wón sì kó ̀ẹro amúnáwá méjì lọ.*

The shop was broken and two generating sets were carted away.

10. S: *Nkan tí ̀ọgá sọ nìyen.*

That was what my master said.

11. P: *̀Njẹ́ oò sí n b̀ẹ?*

Were you not there?

12. S: *̀ọgá, mo gbọ tí* àwon òsìsẹ *kan sọ ní osù tó lọ pé* ìwa *̀ọgá ò dára rárá.*

Sir, I heard some workers discuss the negative tendencies of our Master the month that preceded the incident.

13. P: Ó *dá o l'ojú?*

Are you sure?

14. S: *Bẹ́ ̀ẹni ̀ọgá́.*

Yes sir

15. P: *Wón n'i ̀ọgá máa n jẹ wá lówó osù gan-an ó sì burú.*

They said our master does not pay us regularly (.)

The case above is that of burglary. The suspect was arrested for breaking into his master's shop and carting away two generating sets which cost One hundred and five thousand naira each (N105, 000) each. In his interaction with the suspect, the IPO makes a clever attempt to involve the suspect in the incident as in lines 1 and 3 above. The suspect also responds by appealing to loss of memory as regards when the incident happened. The suspect cleverly expresses withdrawal. Having known this, the IPO continues again with related incidents that led to the crime. The suspect is aware of the IPO's goal and he (the suspect) has to manipulate the psyche of the IPO by changing the topic of the interrogation. This he does by including extraneous details, relating to the untoward disposition of his master to his workers. The IPO reiterates the theft that is carried out in the shop in line 9 above, but the suspect cleverly expresses innocence by saying 'That was what my master said' in line 10. The suspect's statement implies that the theft may not have been carried out and perhaps his master wants to find an escape route for not paying his staff salaries. In line 12 the suspect completely succeeds in changing the topic of the discourse by commenting on the negative tendencies of his master. This contrasts with Farinde, (2008) stance that power is enacted through institutional rights of IPOs. This study establishes that turn effect a great of control in discourse. The suspect, in the above excerpt, resorts to explanation here by telling the IPO the discussion he hears from the workers the month that precedes the incident. The discussion, according to the suspect, centres on the negative disposition of his master towards the welfare of his workers. The suspect's strategy here is aimed at expressing deflection. It is meant to convince the IPO about their pitiable condition of service and ultimately downplay the severity of the crime committed. Also, it is an attempt to incriminate their master before the law enforcement agents.

Current Speaker Continues (CSC)/Resorting to narratives

One form of responses given by suspects in the data was reliance on narrative. Narratives were given by suspects to explain their roles in crimes committed. When suspects gave narration in lieu of precise responses required by the IPOs, conscious attempts were made to prevent the IPOs' interference in their testimonies. Below is a case between Mr. (XX) and Mrs. (XB) over a land dispute:

Excerpt 9

1 P: I put it to you that one (XP) was appointed caretaker of the land after your uncle's death. True or false?

2 S: Sir,I could remember vividly that my uncle sent for me before he died. He addressed us and put the land in our care. Since he died, Mr. (XX) has been selling parts of the land without my knowledge and this is an asset that belongs to all of us. I almost arrested him the first time he sold part of the land. Some of the land documents are with him while I have some. We can even invite some of the elders in our family to help clarify the truth.

The above case is that of an attempt to commit felony. The suspect was arrested for venturing into a plot of land left for his family members by a late uncle. Having noticed this act, one of the concerned family members alerted the police and the suspect was arrested. The response of the suspect cited above shows that the suspect tries to evade answering the question directly. The question that is asked by the IPO required either a confirmation or denial, but the suspect decides to respond by giving a narrative, perhaps to confuse the IPO, to make him lose track of the main point under investigation. Considering the interaction, it could be deduced that the context of the interaction, which allowed the suspect to answer a question thrown to him by the IPO enables him (the suspect) to resort to narration so as to confound the IPO.

One of the discursive functions of giving narrative as a form of response in the interactions is an attempt by suspects to detract the IPOs. In the course of the interrogation, IPOs give room for suspects to explain their involvement in crimes. This is done to give them (suspects) some leverages and freedom in their interactions with suspects. The suspects avail themselves of such ample opportunities and explain various inter locking web of occurrences in crime events and engage IPOs more than necessary. They (suspects) shift from the close-ended response structure expected by the IPOs and expand the scope of the responses, such that irrelevant details are involved. Below is an example from the data:

Excerpt 10

1. P: Do you live with her?
2. S: No sir.I did not sir.
3. P: How did you take her to your room?
4. S: It was on a Sunday morning. Her parents are Muslim. The father comes to buy things in my shop (0.2) and I saw her. Then I met her on the way. After I discussed with her…
5. P: (threatening him with a baton) Did you have sex with her?
6. S: I left the shop early that day (0.2) and her parents were not around. I used to go to their house to repair their pumping machine. On that day,

I never knew I would see her around.

The above case is that of rape. In the interaction, the suspect, a 38 year old man was arrested for defiling a ten year old girl. In his responses, he cleverly used detraction to try and escape the ugly consequences of his actions. Using shared situation knowledge (SSK), the suspect decides to detract the IPO considering the gravity of the offence he committed. The suspect deliberately avoids the question of the IPO so as to engage his (IPO's) thoughts and attention. The suspect resorts to the use of time deixis, 'then', 'that day', 'Sunday morning' to detract the IPO.

Silence

One of the means through which interaction is negotiated in police interrogation was suspect's recourse to silence. Silence could be described as an element of discontinuity in speech. Paltridge (2006) views silence as part and parcel of any conversation. He notes that speakers make pauses naturally in conversation. Silence could mean absence of speech, meaning or intention. He observes however that silence carries some illocutionary force. When IPOs asked questions from suspects, in a bid to have their way, suspects at times kept quiet and framed responses for IPOs. Example of this in the data is seen below:

Excerpt 11

1.P: Why did you decide to embarrass your friend in public?

2.S: I did not do so sir.

3.P: He said you tore his clothes and beat him.

4.S: *Silence!*

5.P: Talk to me.

6. S: He once cheated me, and he knows. That's why I fought back.

P: Tell me the story.

6.S: (*Facing another direction*)

7.P: You have committed a serious offence. And I put it to you that you are guilty of the offence.

The interaction above is a case of affray. One SS (Secret Service) came to the Police Station to report that on that particular day, one XX attacked and assaulted him at a named street in Ibadan, Nigeria. He stated further that the suspect held him and tore his clothe. The case was referred to Corporal AA for investigation. In the interaction, the suspect in question resorts to the use of pauses or silence to engage his turn. Instead of responding to the questions of the IPO in line 4, he pauses. The use of silence in this context, as a turn management strategy, is aimed at achieving certain interactional goals. Although the suspect does not give a precise response, the silence is communicative in its own right. The suspect uses silence as a form of power in the interaction. Silence as used by the suspect is also informative and serves certain communicative functions. One is that the moment of silence of the suspect is manipulated by the suspect to ignore the IPO and engage in critical thinking as to what to tell the IPO. Also, since suspects are perceived to be pensive and unstable during interaction, the suspect exploits the moment of silence to manage his psychological imbalance and get composed in order to put up a better show before the IPO. In line 9, the suspect is asked to narrate what had transpired between him and his friend before the recent encounter. Instead of responding to the

question, he faces another direction. This paralinguistic act of the suspect is meant to achieve certain goals. Apart from calming the psychological state of the suspect, it is also used to frame the story he would tell the IPO.

Turn Devices and Power Relation in the Interaction

In PSI, asymmetrical power relation is often noticed. The IPOs' membership of the Nigeria Police Force, their knowledge of the law and crime place them above suspects. Since suspects are found to have been involved in one form of misdemeanor or the other, IPOs view them as deviant individuals, and they are treated as such. In the Nigerian context, IPOs usually have a preconceived notion about suspects. They assume that suspects are culprits even when a case has not been established against them. This wrong accusation influences interrogation of cases. IPOs manifest power in the interaction and challenge the stances of suspects. Apart from this, turn-taking is also a good pointer to how unequal power relations are managed in such interaction. During police interrogation, the amount of contributions of the agents involved in the interaction (IPOs and suspects) signal power relation among them. The reason is that police interrogation is a sensitive exercise which involves careful and conscious attempts made to establish suspects' guilt. As such, the interlocutor's contributions could give more meaning other than what is said in the interaction. Since the entire interaction is rendered in question/answer series, IPOs assume the post of the questioner while suspects only answer questions posed by IPOs. This social position granted by the institution to IPOs enabled them to manipulate suspects. The turn taken by IPOs and suspects express unequal power relations. IPOs take control of the floor for a long time, trying to interrogate suspects' involvement or otherwise. Through questioning, IPOs grab, hog, and control the floor. In some cases, their questioning techniques keep them talking and self-selecting. IPOs constantly interrupted suspects' contributions in a bid to erect power over them. Suspects, on the other hand, change topics of interrogation and resorted to silence and narratives in order to avoid incrimination. In the entire interaction, the turns of IPOs and suspects are instrumental to meaning.

Conclusion

This study has undertaken an investigation of turn management strategies in police-suspect interaction. Strategies in this context are described in terms of the techniques adopted by IPOs and suspects in order to achieve their institutional goals. The goal of IPOs was to get suspects to confess to crime, while that of the suspects was to wriggle themselves out of IPOs' traps. In other words, suspects worked towards escaping incrimination in the interaction. The study has established that one of the ways of studying the institutional characteristics of police discourse is by investigating the patterns of turn in such interaction. Such patterns of turn reveal how power is negotiated, contextualized, and domiciled in the interaction. The study has also revealed that unequal power relation is the hallmark of police-suspect interaction. The manifestation of power in such interaction is subtle, especially when investigating turn distribution between police officers and suspects.

While IPOs resorted to the use of CSSS, CSSNS and interruption, suspects changed interrogation topics, appealed to CSC, and silence, in a bid to escape the traps of IPOs. It could be inferred that police-suspect interaction is all about devising strategies with which the goal of such institutional discourse could be reached. Also, turn devices in police-suspect interaction carry certain illocutionary force. This study contradicts that of Nicola (2012) which observes that the structure of discourse only points to meaning

in interaction. There is no gainsaying the fact that structure of discourse is one of the ways of analysing ideology in such discourse, but in police-suspect interaction, power relations are not solely dependent on the structure of the discourse. The turn management strategies are also a pointer to how meaning and negotiations are carried out in such discourse. Besides, the present study contests those of Koshirk (2003), Heydon (2005), Terebo (2012), Farinde (2008), Ahialey (2013), and Ajayi (2016). These studies maintain that questioning only represents ideology in courtroom or police-suspect interaction. It is important to stress that courtroom interaction shares certain similarities with police-suspect interaction and as such, power relations could be viewed from different indicators in the interaction. One of the ways of investigating power relations in such interaction is by considering how turn distribution is used to effect control.

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WHAT HAVE I DONE?

‘I am either owning up to myself as the cause
of such an action, qualifying my causative contribution,
or defending myself against the attribution, perhaps
locating the cause elsewhere.’

– Judith Butler, *Giving an Account of Oneself*

A curious way of tidily containing...

kind of well shaped yet loose, unfinished.

Was it the story you were expecting?

What is Mary’s role in the scheme of things?
We can know ourselves only incompletely,
can never fully choose or understand.

Perhaps we fashion our world view
according to key players we come across
or find. One could certainly look.

The madonna drawn over the bride
drawn over the matador next to the horse
drawn on the poster pasted on the wall:

layers of meaning and memory,
eyes everywhere, looking through.
It's hard to believe for long.

You walk past, disregarding stone looks
and troubled apparitions, choosing
instead your own version of events,

unwilling to take the blame
or accept yourself as damaged goods,
each moment like the first.

—Rupert M. Loydell

#8
Doug Lauvstad

Endangered Indigenous Skills and Endangered Indigenous Vocabulary Items: Evidence from Igbo Indigenous Agentive Nouns

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Abstract

According to a UNESCO's prediction (2012), the Igbo language, in spite of its enviable status as one of the three major Nigerian languages, may be heading into extinction by the year 2025. In light of the endangered status of Igbo, this present paper examines some important vocabulary items used to express indigenous agentive nouns of occupation/ profession. It further examines how a shift in economy is leading to the disappearance of the indigenous words used in describing some professions in Igbo-speaking communities. Data samples for the study were gathered from respondents who were grouped into clusters and chosen from among residents of the study area: Abakiliki, Awka, Enugu, Owerri and Umuahia, which are the capital cities of the five South-Eastern States of Ebonyi, Anambra, Enugu, Imo and Abia respectively, where the Igbo language is spoken by the majority of residents as first language. The findings of the study reveal that there is evidence of indigenous agentive vocabulary attrition and endangerment among the Igbo respondents in the cities surveyed which of course, is impacting negatively on the language. It is also observed that the evidence of the gradual disappearance of the Igbo agentive vocabulary is highest among respondents in the age range of 15 -34 years, and lowest among respondents in the age range of 55-64 years in the study area. The paper concludes that Igbo is fast losing its population of active speakers that will transmit the language to the next generation and may over time be endangered to the point of total extinction if nothing is done to reverse the situation.

Keywords: UNESCO, language endangerment, agentives nouns, language revitalization, language extinction

1. Introduction

Some Nigerian indigenous languages are becoming moribund (Crozier & Blench 1992; Blench, 2012), endangered (Ugwuoke, 1992), and even extinct (Haruna, 2007). The extinction of some of these languages is also the disappearance of valuable sources and important links for linguistic, historical, anthropological, and even social reconstruction and interpretation. Language endangerment was often associated with languages which have few speakers. However, it is now a fact that languages with huge populations may also be vulnerable (Brenzinger & De Graf, 2006). In Nigeria for instance, the three major languages (Hausa, Igbo & Yoruba), and the remaining over three hundred non-major languages, as noted by Emenanjo (2007) cannot be said to be safe when examined under the light of the evaluative factors in the UNESCO (2003) Language Vitality Index listed below.

- Intergenerational transmission
- Absolute number of fluent and committed speakers
- Proportion of speakers within the total population
- Shifts in domains of actual use
- Materials for language use and literary
- Governmental and institutional and language attitudes and policies including

official status and use

- Interaction and social effects between language attitudes and policies
- Nature, type and quality of language documentation.

UNESCO (2012) has warned that the Igbo language, (despite its status as one of the three major Nigerian languages) is endangered and may be heading into extinction in as close as the year 2025 if nothing is done to reverse the situation. Even before UNESCO's warning, several studies (Azuonye, 2002; Emenanjo, 2007; Igboanusi, 2008; Okoye & Onwuegbuchunam, 2011) have drawn attention to the endangerment of Igbo. Although the different studies listed above have dwelt on the different aspects of Igbo language endangerment, one basic finding which all of them have in common is the fact that the Igbo language, including its culture is endangered, and gradually approaching extinction because there is no strong intergenerational transfer of the language.

Igbo is used to refer to both the language and its speakers. It is spoken by over 90 percent of the population of the five south-eastern states of Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu, and Imo. However, in the neighbouring south-south states of Akwa Ibom, Delta, and Rivers, Igbo is spoken by a minority of the population. According to Ethnologue, the estimated number of speakers who speak Igbo as first language is put at twenty-seven million. The language has scores of regional dialects which are mutually intelligible (Anyanwu & Ugo-Ochulo, 2017).

The vibrant use of Igbo is being threatened within its domain among adult native speakers. Most speakers of Igbo despite their level of education have a tendency to either code-mix or code-switch between language expressions during discussions. It will not

be farfetched to claim that there is hardly any sentence rendered in Igbo by most Igbo speakers which is not ladened with chunks of English words or expressions. The code-mixing/switching phenomena are a reflection an unconscious apathy of Igbo speakers towards their indigenous language even when the English words used in the code-mixed expressions have equivalents in Igbo. Again, this practice, which for most times is an unconscious activity, has the negative implication of continuously shrinking the functional domains of Igbo language usage while expanding those of English (Osuagwu & Anyanwu, 2015). Within the youth population of Igbo speakers, there is an apparent lack of interest in speaking the language. This is even worse among students in secondary schools in the South-Eastern states where Igbo was once a compulsory subject for the students, especially at the senior secondary level. A few factors are responsible for the threat of extinction of Igbo in its domain. First is the dominant role that has been accorded the English language in the media, education, and politics. Second is the negative attitude of parents who are not motivated to transmit the language to their children and also do not motivate the interest of their children to speak the language because they believe that English will afford their children better prospects in life. Third is the attitude of the youth themselves who believe that their world views will be highly limited in scope by Igbo. It is their belief that only English will afford them the opportunity of becoming global players.

It is important to note that the extinction of a language is not usually a sudden event, but something that happens over time. In other words, some aspects of a moribund language are more susceptible to disappearing than others. For instance, Atoyebi (2006)

noted that one of the first aspects of a language to disappear is the numeral system. He cited a language like Oko in which its speakers would rather count in English, even while speaking Oko.

This study therefore explores the gradual disappearance of the Igbo indigenous occupational terminologies. We identify two factors that are responsible for the disappearance of indigenous words. The first is connected to the negative attitudes of Igbo speakers towards their language. It is has been observed that the average Igbo speaker would rather refer to indigenous occupations/professions by their English terminologies rather than with Igbo words. Second is the disappearance of the indigenous occupations themselves due to a shift in economic trends. Because this occupations are no longer an everyday feature of the speech community, speakers of Igbo are beginning to forget what they are called.

The remaining part of this paper is organized as follows: in section 2, we describe the methodology adopted for the study; in section 3, we present copious data that support the findings of the study; in section 4, we provide a detailed discussion of the finding, followed by a conclusion in section 5.

2. Methodology

This study was carried out between January, 2018 and March, 2018. We made use of descriptive questionnaires and conducted oral interviews to carry out the survey. The study area for this research comprised of the cities of Abakiliki, Awka, Enugu, Owerri, and Umuahia. The five cities are also the respective capital cities of the five south-eastern states of Nigeria, namely, Ebonyi, Anambra, Enugu, Imo, and Abia. All five states are where the Igbo language is largely and indigenously spoken by over 90% of the residents. The inhabitants of the study area were mostly civil servants, business men / women, students, and other people from all walks of life. Data sample for the study was taken from four hundred respondents that were evenly distributed between men and women. The age range across both genders of the respondents was from ages fifteen to sixty-four. The respondents were grouped into the following age groups: 15-24 years, 25-34 years, 35-44 years, 45-54 years, and 55-64 years. For each age group, 80 respondents, comprising of 40 men and 40 women were randomly selected. All the respondents speak Igbo as their first language, and English as their second language. The respondents were presented with pictures of 20 indigenous Igbo agentive nouns of occupation/profession. The English equivalent of each noun was written under each picture (see appendix). Respondents were asked to recollect and identify the occupations or professions, and provide the Igbo name for it.

3. Data Presentation

The results of the survey are worked out in simple percentage scores as shown in the tables that follow.

3.1 Respondents Percentage Performance Scores Based the Cities Studied

Tables 1-5 represent a comparison of the percentage scores of the respondents (15-64 ages) who produced the correct Igbo words for each agentive noun of occupation from the five cities studied. A summary of the percentage performance scores of the respondents

across the five cities studied is presented over the next three pages in Figure 1.

Table 1: A comparison of the percentage scores of the respondents (15-24 years) who produced the correct Igbo agentive nouns of occupation across the five cities studied

S/N	Igbo Indigenous Agentive Nouns	English Equivalents	Abakiliki	Awka	Enugu	Owerri	Umuahia
1	ọ̀kụ́ázú	fisherman	77	40	41	45	25
2	ọ̀kpụ́úzụ́	blacksmith	82	45	39	43	26
3	ọ̀kpụ́úgbó	farmer	85	59	33	38	51
4	díòchì	palm wine tapper	75	40	28	51	31
5	òténḱwú / ògbúńkwú	palm fruit cutter	74	26	35	48	25
6	ọ̀kwọ́úgbọ́àlà	driver	85	100	70	60	75
7	dím̀gbá	wrestling champion	85	43	40	38	19
8	ọ̀kúékwé / ḿgbaṛimgba	town crier	87	29	23	23	20
9	ọkụ́ekpete	drummer	85	38	28	21	26
10	ọ̀fụ́ọ̀jà	flutist	72	38	31	25	13
11	ọ̀kpụ́ìtè	porter	75	28	30	30	25
12	ónyénḱúzí	teacher	82	100	75	72	89
13	ọ̀kwáákwá	tailor	82	96	65	60	90
14	díńtá	hunter	75	44	28	45	20
15	ọ̀kwáǹkà	carpenter	87	45	26	43	24
16	ọ̀káíkpé	judge	95	55	43	60	85
17	ọ̀kpọ́úbọ́	guitarist	100	39	34	40	26
18	ògbáégwú / òtéégwú	dancer	100	70	39	52	70
19	díbìà	herbalist	70	23	26	38	23
20	òréánú	meat seller	85	27	29	31	35
	Total Average		**82.9**	**49.2**	**38.1**	**43.1**	**39.9**

Table2: A comparison of the percentage scores of the respondents (25-34years) who produced the correct Igbo agentive nouns of occupation across the five cities studied

S/N	Igbo Indigenous Agentive Nouns	English Equivalents	Abakiliki	Awka	Enugu	Owerri	Umuahia
1	ọ̀kụ́ázú	fisherman	75	41	45	45	33
2	ọ̀kpụ́úzụ́	blacksmith	70	45	40	48	31
3	ọ̀kpụ́úgbó	farmer	84	48	45	45	55
4	díòchì	palm wine tapper	76	44	35	57	35
5	òténḱwú / ògbúńkwú	palm fruit cutter	72	36	38	50	38
6	ọ̀kwọ́úgbọ́àlà	driver	87	100	87	62	85
7	dím̀gbá	wrestling champion	87	45	45	40	30
8	ọ̀kúékwé / ḿgbaṛimgba	town crier	89	29	28	25	25
9	ọkụ́ekpete	drummer	86	39	33	25	45
10	ọ̀fụ́ọ̀jà	flutist	76	38	38	28	28

11	ọ̀kpụ́ìtè	porter	82	35	38	31	33
12	ónyénḱúzí	teacher	77	100	87	70	97
13	ọ̀kwáákwá	tailor	90	95	67	62	95
14	díńtá	hunter	95	45	39	48	33
15	ọ̀kwáǹkà	carpenter	72	48	33	56	35
16	ọ̀káíkpé	judge	100	56	45	60	85
17	ọ̀kpọ́úbọ́	guitarist	75	48	39	45	40
18	ògbáégwú / òtéégwú	dancer	86	70	40	57	75
19	díbìà	herbalist	72	28	33	38	30
20	òréánú	meat seller	85	24	35	38	38
	Total Average		**81.8**	**50.7**	**44.5**	**46.5**	**48.3**

Table 3: A comparison of the percentage scores of the respondents (35-44 years) who produced the correct Igbo agentive nouns of occupation across the five cities studied

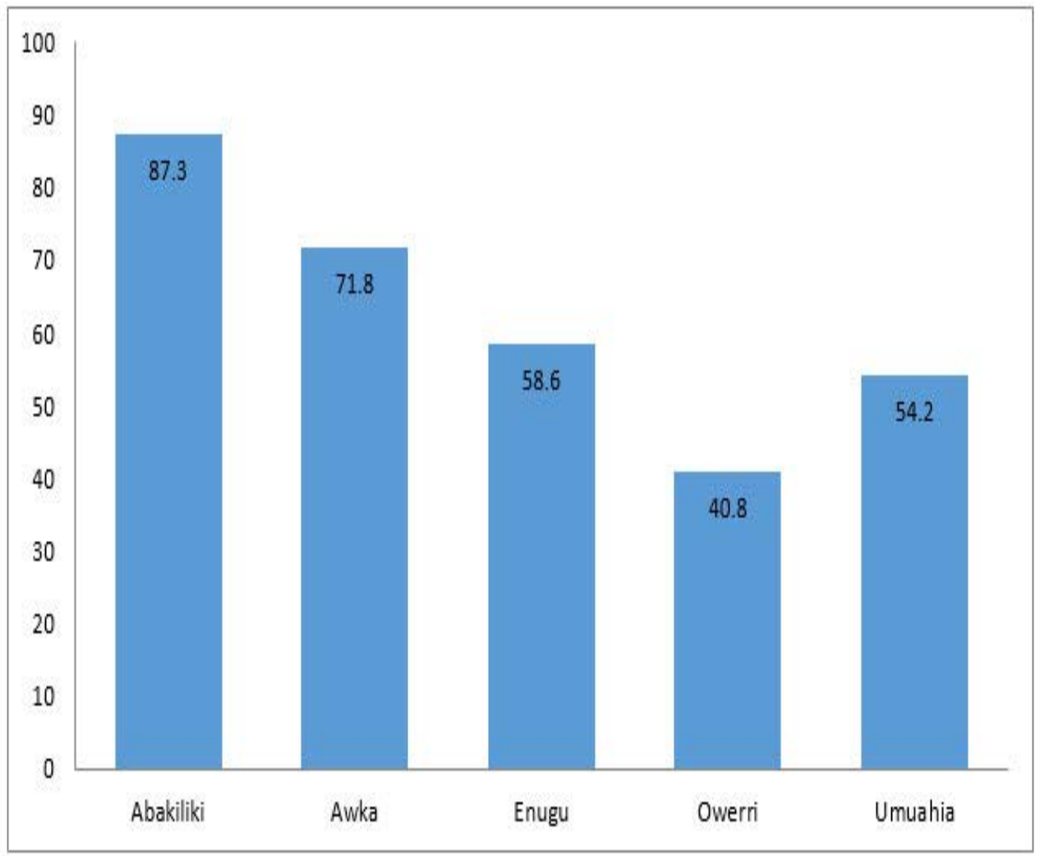
S/N	Igbo Indigenous Agentive Nouns	English Equivalents	Abakiliki	Awka	Enugu	Owerri	Umuahia
1	ọ̀kúázú	fisherman	80	45	48	48	40
2	ọ̀kpụ́úzụ́	blacksmith	72	48	41	51	39
3	ọ̀kpụ́úgbó	farmer	82	52	52	45	65
4	díòchì	palm wine tapper	77	55	43	60	38
5	òténḱwú/ ògbúńkwú	palm fruit cutter	77	50	48	56	40
6	ọ̀kwọ́úgbọ́àlà	driver	85	100	95	82	95
7	dím̀gbá	wrestling champion	90	50	55	52	40
8	ọ̀kúékwé / ḿgbaṛimgba	town crier	92	34	35	45	35
9	ọkụ́ekpete	drummer	91	40	43	30	50
10	ọ̀fụ́ọ̀jà	flutist	85	43	48	35	35
11	ọ̀kpụ́ìtè	porter	85	38	43	33	40
12	ónyénḱúzí	teacher	84	100	97	75	97
13	ọ̀kwáákwá	tailor	92	100	95	76	97
14	díńtá	hunter	97	52	45	55	40
15	ọ̀kwáǹkà	carpenter	77	52	40	62	43
16	ọ̀káíkpé	judge	100	60	50	62	90
17	ọ̀kpọ́úbọ́	guitarist	80	50	45	60	45
18	ògbáégwú / òtéégwú	dancer	90	72	52	62	80
19	díbìà	herbalist	89	40	50	48	40
20	òréánú	meat seller	74	50	45	45	45
	Total Average		**85**	**56.5**	**53.5**	**54.1**	**54.7**

Table 4: A comparison of the percentage scores of the respondents (45-54 years) who produced the correct Igbo agentive nouns of occupation across the five cities studied

S/N	Igbo Indigenous Agentive Nouns	English Equivalents	Abakiliki	Awka	Enugu	Owerri	Umuahia
1	ọ̀kụ́ázú	fisherman	82	55	60	57	28
2	ọ̀kpụ́úzụ́	blacksmith	77	52	51	56	28
3	ọ̀kpụ́úgbó	farmer	82	57	72	52	50
4	díòchì	palm wine tapper	80	60	50	60	33
5	òténkwú / ògbúńkwú	palm fruit cutter	79	63	51	62	33
6	ọ̀kwọ́ugbọ́àlà	driver	85	100	100	75	76
7	dímgbá		90	60	65	60	25
8	ọ̀kúékwé / ḿgbarimgba	town crier	92	50	48	50	21
9	ọkụ́ekpete	drummer	92	83	50	38	28
10	ọ̀fụ́ọ̀jà	flutist	87	80	52	40	23
11	ọ̀kpụ́itè	porter	89	75	48	38	30
12	ónyénkúzí	teacher	100	100	100	100	90
13	ọ̀kwáákwá	tailor	100	100	97	95	90
14	díntá	hunter	97	70	60	62	28
15	ọ̀kwánkà	carpenter	80	75	50	65	26
16	ọ̀káíkpé	judge	99	78	70	65	82
17	ọ̀kpọ́úbọ́	guitarist	85	77	60	62	30
18	ògbáégwú / òtéégwú	dancer	92	80	75	64	71
19	díbìà	herbalist herbalist herbalist	92	75	70	50	21
20	òréánú	meat seller	80	82	85	52	35
	Total Average		**88**	**76.6**	**65.2**	**60.1**	**42.4**

Table5: A comparison of the percentage scores of the respondents (55-64 years) who produced the correct Igbo agentive nouns of occupation across the five cities studied

S/N	Igbo Indigenous Agentive Nouns	English Equivalents	Abakiliki	Awka	Enugu	Owerri	Umuahia
1	ọ̀kụ́ázú	fisherman	84	72	81	75	55
2	ọ̀kpụ́úzụ́	blacksmith	80	75	95	72	75
3	ọ̀kpụ́úgbó	farmer	82	76	97	77	70
4	díòchì	palm wine tapper	84	84	94	72	79
5	òténkwú / ògbúńkwú	palm fruit cutter	85	86	85	81	75
6	ọ̀kwọ́ugbọ́àlà	driver	100	700	100	76	100
7	dímgbá	wrestling champion	95	97	82	72	75
8	ọ̀kúékwé / ḿgbarimgba	town crier	94	87	84	77	70
9	ọkụ́ekpete	drummer	94	90	82	60	87
10	ọ̀fụ́ọ̀jà	flutist	95	89	85	62	77
11	ọ̀kpụ́itè	porter	89	95	82	67	80
12	ónyénkúzí	teacher	100	100	100	100	100
13	ọ̀kwáákwá	tailor	100	100	100	100	100
14	díntá	hunter	97	80	87	75	92
15	ọ̀kwánkà	carpenter	90	82	95	72	95
16	ọ̀káíkpé	judge	100	96	100	84	100
17	ọ̀kpọ́úbọ́	guitarist	90	95	92	64	90
18	ògbáégwú / òtéégwú	dancer	96	100	95	82	100
19	díbìà	herbalist	94	85	95	56	92
20	òréánú	meat seller	90	97	100	60	97
	Total Average		**92**	**89.3**	**91.5**	**74.2**	**85.4**



3.2 Respondents' Percentage Performance Scores Based on Age Groups

Presented over the next three pages, Tables 6-10 present the percentage performance scores of the respondents who produced the correct agentive nouns of occupation/profession based on their age groups. The percentage scores are summarized in Figure 2.

Table 6: Percentage Performance Scores of respondents (15-24) in the five cities studied

S/N	Igbo Indigenous Agentive Nouns	English Equivalents	Total No. of Respondents in the five cities	Total No of Respondents who produced the Correct Igbo Agentives in the five cities	Total % of Respondents who produced the Correct Igbo Agentive Words	Total % of Respondents who did not produced the Correct Igbo Agentive Words
1	ọ̀kụ́ázú	fisherman	400	183	45.6	54.4
2	ọ̀kpụ́úzụ́	blacksmith	400	188	47	53
3	ọ̀kpụ́úgbó	farmer	400	180	53.2	46.8
4	díòchì	palm wine tapper	400	180	45	55
5	òténḱwú/ ògbúńkwú	palm fruit cutter	400	166	41.6	58.4
6	ọ̀kwọ́ugbọ́àlà	driver	400	312	78	22
7	dímgbá	wrestling champion	400	179	45	55
8	ọ̀kúékwé/ ḿgbaṛimgba	town crier	400	145	36.4	63.6
9	ọkụ́ekpete	drummer	400	158	37	60.4
10	ọ̀fụ̀ọ̀jà	flutist	400	143	35.8	64.2
11	ọ̀kpụ́ìtè	porter	400	150	37.6	62.4
12	ónyéńkúzí	teacher	400	335	83.6	16.4
13	ọ̀kwáákwá	tailor	400	315	90.6	9.4
14	díńtá	hunter	400	169	42.4	57.6
15	ọ̀kwáǹkà	carpenter	400	180	45	55
16	ọ̀káíkpé	judge	400	239	67.6	32.4
17	ọ̀kpọ́úbọ́	guitarist	400	167	41.8	58.2
18	ògbáégwú / òtéégwú	dancer	400	273	64.6	35.4
19	díbìà	herbalist	400	143	36	64
20	òréánú	meat seller	400	165	41.4	58.6
	Total Average				**46.38**	**53.62**

Table 7: Percentage Performance Scores of respondents (25-34) in the five cities studied

S/N	Igbo Indigenous Agentive Nouns	English Equivalents	Total No. of Respondents in the five cities	Total No of Respondents who produced the Correct Igbo Agentives in the five cities	Total % of Respondents who produced the Correct Igbo Agentives	Total % of Respondents who did not produced the Correct Igbo Agentives
1	ọ̀kụ́ázú	fisherman	400	191	47.8	52.2
2	ọ̀kpụ́úzụ́	blacksmith	400	187	46.8	52.8
3	ọ̀kpụ́úgbó	farmer	400	210	55.4	44.6
4	díòchì	palm wine tapper	400	198	49.4	50.6
5	òténḱwú/ ògbúńkwú	palm fruit cutter	400	187	46.8	53.2
6	ọ̀kwọ́ugbọ́àlà	driver	400	338	84.2	15.8
7	dímgbá	wrestling champion	400	198	49.8	50.6
8	ọ̀kúékwé/ ḿgbaṛimgba	town crier	400	156	39.2	60.8
9	ọkụ́ekpete	drummer	400	182	45.6	54.4
10	ọ̀fụ̀ọ̀jà	flutist	400	165	41.6	58.4
11	ọ̀kpụ́ìtè	porter	400	175	43.8	56.2
12	ónyéńkúzí	teacher	400	346	86.2	13.8
13	ọ̀kwáákwá	tailor	400	328	81	19
14	díńtá	hunter	400	207	52	48
15	ọ̀kwáǹkà	carpenter	400	195	48.8	51.2
16	ọ̀káíkpé	judge	400	277	66.2	30.8
17	ọ̀kpọ́úbọ́	guitarist	400	197	49.4	50.6
18	ògbáégwú / òtéégwú	dancer	400	263	65.6	34.4
19	díbìà	herbalist	400	160	40.2	59.8
20	òréánú	meat seller	400	180	45.2	54.8
	Total Average				**54.29**	**45.71**

Table 8: Percentage Performance Scores of respondents (35-44) in the five cities studied

S/N	Igbo Indigenous Agentive Nouns	English Equivalents	Total No. of Respondents in the five cities	Total % No of Respondents who produced the Correct Igbo Agentives in the five cities	Total % of Respondents who produced the Correct Igbo Agentives in the five cities	Total % of Respondents who did not produced the Correct Igbo Agentives in the five cities
1	ọ̀kụ́ázú	fisherman	400	248	52.2	47.8
2	ọ̀kpụ́úzụ́	blacksmith	400	201	50.2	49.8
3	ọ̀kpụ́úgbó	farmer	400	238	59.2	40.8
4	díòchì	palm wine tapper	400	218	54.6	45.4
5	òténḱwú/ ògbúńkwú	palm fruit cutter	400	217	54.2	45.8
6	ọ̀kwọ́ugbọ́àlà	driver	400	366	91.4	8.6
7	dímgbá	wrestling champion	400	230	57.4	42.6
8	ọ̀kúékwé/ ḿgbaṛimgba	town crier	400	189	48.2	51.8
9	ọkụ́ekpete	drummer	400	194	50.8	49.2
10	ọ̀fụ̀ọ̀jà	flutist	400	196	49.2	53.6
11	ọ̀kpụ́ìtè	porter	400	190	47.8	41.4
12	ónyéńkúzí	teacher	400	363	90.6	9.4
13	ọ̀kwáákwá	tailor	400	368	92	8
14	díńtá	hunter	400	231	57.8	42.2
15	ọ̀kwáǹkà	carpenter	400	220	54.8	45.2
16	ọ̀káíkpé	judge	400	292	72.4	27.6
17	ọ̀kpọ́úbọ́	guitarist	400	224	56	44
18	ògbáégwú / òtéégwú	dancer	400	286	71.2	28.8

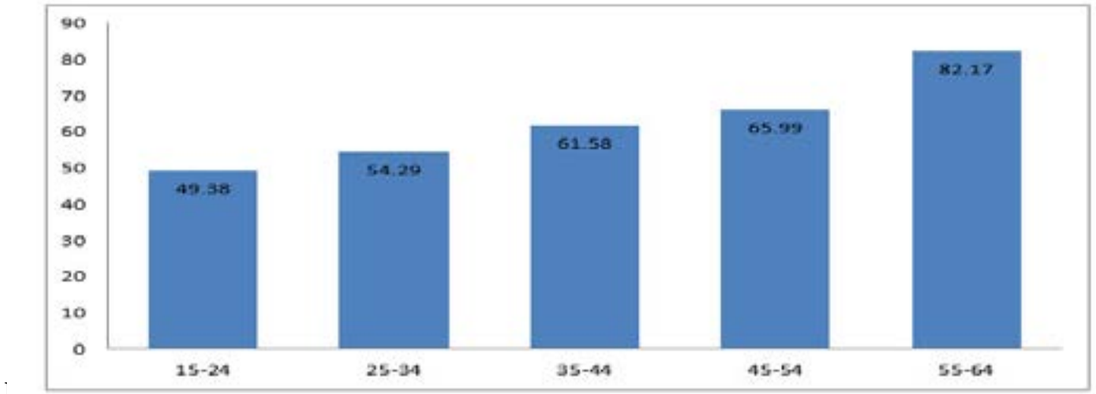
19	díbìà	herbalist	400	213	53.2	46.6
20	òréánú	meat seller	400	207	51.8	48.2
	Total Average				**61.58**	**38.42**

Table 9: Percentage Performance Scores of respondents (45-54) in the five cities Studied

S/N	Igbo Indigenous Agentive Nouns	English Equivalents	Total No. of Respondents in the five cities	Total No of Respondents who produced the Correct Igbo Agentives in the five cities	Total % of Respondents who produced the Correct Igbo Agentives	Total % of Respondents who did not produced the Correct Igbo Agentives
1	ọ̀kụ́ázú	fisherman	400	226	56.4	43.6
2	ọ̀kpụ́úzụ́	blacksmith	400	212	52.8	48.2
3	ọ̀kpụ́úgbó	farmer	400	252	62.6	37.4
4	díòchì	palm wine tapper	400	226	50.6	43.4
5	òténḱwú/ ògbúńkwú	palm fruit cutter	400	231	51.6	42.6
6	ọ̀kwọ́ugbọ́àlà	driver	400	295	87.2	12.8
7	dím̀gbá	wrestling champion	400	241	60	40
8	ọ̀kúékwé/ ḿgbaṛimgba	town crier	400	209	52.2	47.8
9	ọkụ́ekpete	drummer	400	292	58	42
10	ọ̀fụ́ọ̀jà	flutist	400	226	56.4	43.6
11	ọ̀kpụ́ìtè	porter	400	223	56	44
12	ónyéńkúzí	teacher	400	392	98	2
13	ọ̀kwáákwá	tailor	400	836	96.4	3.6
14	díńtá	hunter	400	254	63.4	36.6
15	ọ̀kwáǹkà	carpenter	400	237	59.2	40.8
16	ọ̀káíkpé	judge	400	316	78.8	17.8
17	ọ̀kpọ́úbọ́	guitarist	400	252	62.8	37.2
18	ògbáégwú / òtéégwú	dancer	400	308	77	23
19	díbìà	herbalist	400	249	61.6	37.8
20	òréánú	meat seller	400	268	66.8	33.2
	Total Average		**400**		**65.99**	**34.01**

Table 10: Percentage Performance Scores of respondents (55-64) in the five cities Studied

S/N	Igbo Indigenous Agentive Nouns	English Equivalents	Total No. of Respondents in the five cities	Total No of Respondents who produced the Correct Igbo Agentives in the five cities	Total % of Respondents who produced the Correct Igbo Agentives	Total % of Respondents who did not produced the Correct Igbo Agentives
1	ọ̀kụ́ázú	fisherman	400	294	73.4	26.6
2	ọ̀kpụ́úzụ́	blacksmith	400	318	79.4	20.6
3	ọ̀kpụ́úgbó	farmer	400	323	80.4	19.6
4	díòchì	palm wine tapper	400	322	82.6	19.4
5	òténḱwú/ ògbúńkwú	palm fruit cutter	400	330	82.4	23.6
6	ọ̀kwọ́ugbọ́àlà	driver	400	381	95.2	4.8
7	dím̀gbá	wrestling champion	400	338	84.2	15.8
8	ọ̀kúékwé/ ḿgbaṛimgba	town crier	400	330	82.4	17.6
9	ọkụ́ekpete	drummer	400	331	82.6	17.6
10	ọ̀fụ́ọ̀jà	flutist	400	326	81.2	18.8
11	ọ̀kpụ́ìtè	porter	400	331	82.6	17.4
12	ónyéńkúzí	teacher	400	400	100	0
13	ọ̀kwáákwá	tailor	400	400	100	0
14	díńtá	hunter	400	346	86.2	11.4
15	ọ̀kwáǹkà	carpenter	400	348	86.8	13.2
16	ọ̀káíkpé	judge	400	385	96.2	3.8
17	ọ̀kpọ́úbọ́	guitarist	400	345	86.2	13.8
18	ògbáégwú / òtéégwú	dancer	400	379	76.6	23.4
19	díbìà	herbalist	400	338	84.4	15.6
20	òréánú	meat seller	400	356	88.8	11.2
	Total Average				**82.17**	**17.83**



words based on their age groups

3.3 Respondents' (15-64 years) Percentage Performance Scores for each Agentive Noun

Presented over the next six pages, Tables 11-30 show all the respondents' percentage performance scores for each of the agentive words of occupation studied. Figures 3 and 4, on the other hand, provide a summary of the respondents' performance on each agentive word. While figure 3 provides a summary percentage scores for 13 of the 20 agentive

words, with a performance score that is less than 60% by the respondents, figure 4 on the other hand, provides a summary of the percentage scores for the remaining 7 agentive nouns with a performance score of 60% and above by the respondents.

Table 11

Vocabulary Item (1)	English Gloss	Age Range	Average Number of Respondents	Average Number of Respondents who produced the correct Igbo agentives	Average % of Respondents who produced the correct Igbo agentives	Average % of Respondents who did not produce the correct Igbo agentives
Okuazu	Fisherman	15-24 years	400	183	45.6	54.4
		25-34 years	400	191	47.8	52.2
		35-44 years	400	248	52.2	47.8
		45-54 years	400	226	56.4	43.6
		55-64 years	400	294	73.4	26.6
			400	228.4	**55.08**	**44.92**

Table 12

Vocabulary Item (2)	English Gloss	Age Range	Average Number of Respondents	Average Number of Respondents who produced the correct Igbo agentives	Average % of Respondents who produced the correct Igbo agentives	Aver Resp who prod corre agent
Okpuuzu	Blacksmith	15-24 years	400	188	47	53
		25-34 years	400	187	46.8	53.2
		35-44 years	400	201	50.2	49.8
		45-54 years	400	212	52.8	47.2
		55-64 years	400	318	72.4	20.6
			400	221.2	**55.24**	**44.76**

Table 13

Vocabulary Item (3)	English Gloss	Age Range	Average Number of Respondents	Average Number of Respondents who produced the correct Igbo agentives	Average % of Respondents who produced the correct Igbo agentives	Averag Respon who di produc correct agentiv
Okuugbo	Farmer	15-24 years	400	180	53.2	46.8
		25-34 years	400	210	55.4	44.6
		35-44 years	400	238	59.2	40.8
		45-54 years	400	252	62.6	37.4
		55-64 years	400	323	80.4	19.6
			400	240.6	**62.16**	**37.84**

Table 14

Vocabulary Item (4)	English Gloss	Age Range	Average Number of Respondents	Average Number of Respondents who produced the correct Igbo agentives	Average % of Respondents who produced the correct Igbo agentives	Average % of Respondents who did not produce the correct Igbo agentives
Diochi	Palm wine tapper	15-24 years	400	180	45	55
		25-34 years	400	198	49.4	50.6
		35-44 years	400	218	54.6	45.4
		45-54 years	400	226	50.6	49.4
		55-64 years	400	322	82.6	17.4
			400	228.8	**56.44**	**43.56**

Table 15

Vocabulary I tem (5)	English Gloss	Age Range	Average Number of Respondents	Average Number of Respondents who produced the correct Igbo agentives	Average % of Respondents who produced the correct Igbo agentives	Average % of Respondents who did not produce the correct Igbo agentives
Otenkwu/Ogbunkwu	Palm fruit cutter	15-24 years	400	166	41.6	58.4
		25-34 years	400	187	46.8	53.2
		35-44 years	400	217	54.2	45.8
		45-54 years	400	231	51.6	48.4
		55-64 years	400	330	82.4	17.66
			400	226.2	**55.32**	**44.68**

Table 16

Vocabulary Item (6)	English Gloss	Age Range	Average Number of Respondents	Average Number of Respondents who produced the correct Igbo agentives	Average % of Respondents who produced the correct Igbo agentives	Average % of Respondents who did not produce the correct Igbo agentives
okwougboala	driver	15-24 years	400	312	78	22
35-44 years		25-34 years	400	338	84.2	15.8
45-54 years		400	366	91.4	8.6	
55-64 years		400	295	87.2	12.8	
		400	381	95.2	4.8	
		400	338.4	**87.2**	**12.8**	

Table 17

Vocabulary Item (7)	English Gloss	Age Range	Average Number of Respondents	Average Number of Respondents who produced the correct Igbo agentives	Average % of Respondents who produced the correct Igbo agentives	Average % of Respondents who did not produce the correct Igbo agentives
Dimgba	Wrestling Champion	15-24 years	400	179	45	55
		25-34 years	400	198	49.8	50.2
		35-44 years	400	230	57.4	42.6
		45-54 years	400	241	60	40
		55-64 years	400	338	84.2	15.8
			400	237.2	**59.28**	**40.7**

Table 18

Vocabulary Item (9)	English Gloss	Age Range	Average Number of Respondents	Average Number of Respondents who produced the correct Igbo agentives	Average % of Respondents who produced the correct Igbo agentives	Average % of Respondents who did not produce the correct Igbo agentives
Okuekpete	Drummer	15-24 years	400	158	39.6	60.4
		25-34 years	400	182	45.6	54.4
		35-44 years	400	194	50.8	49.2
		45-54 years	400	292	58	42
		55-64 years	400	331	82.4	17.4
			400	221.4	**55.32**	**44.68**

Table 19

Vocabulary Item (10)	English Gloss	Age Range	Average Number of Respondents	Average Number of Respondents who produced the correct Igbo agentives	Average % of Respondents who produced the correct Igbo agentives	Average % of Respondents who did not produce the correct Igbo agentives
Ofuoja	Flutist	15-24 years	400	143	35.8	64.2
		25-34 years	400	165	41.6	58.4
		35-44 years	400	196	46.4	53.6
		45-54 years	400	226	56.4	43.6
		55-64 years	400	326	81.2	18.8
			400	211.2	**52.28**	**47.72**

Table 20

Vocabulary Item (11)	English Gloss	Age Range	Average Number of Respondents	Average Number of Respondents who produced the correct Igbo agentives	Average % of Respondents who produced the correct Igbo agentives	Average % of Respondents who did not produce the correct Igbo agentives
Okpuite	Porter	15-24 years	400	150	37.6	62.4
		25-34 years	400	175	43.8	56.2
		35-44 years	400	190	47.8	52.2
		45-54 years	400	223	56	44
		55-64 years	400	331	82.6	17.4
			400	213.8	**53.56**	**46.44**

Table 21

Vocabulary Item (12)	English Gloss	Age Range	Average Number of Respondents	Average Number of Respondents who produced the correct Igbo agentives	Average % of Respondents who produced the correct Igbo agentives	Average % of Respondents who did not produce the correct Igbo agentives
Onyenkuzi	Teacher	15-24 years	400	335	83.6	16.4
		25-34 years	400	346	86.2	13.8
		35-44 years	400	363	90.6	9.4
		45-54 years	400	392	98	2
		55-64 years	400	400	100	0
			400	367.2	**91.68**	**8.32**

Table 22

Vocabulary Item (13)	English Gloss	Age Range	Average Number of Respondents	Average Number of Respondents who produced the correct Igbo agentives	Average % of Respondents who produced the correct Igbo agentives	Average % of Respondents who did not produce the correct Igbo agentives
Okwa akwa	Tailor	15-24 years	400	325	90.6	9.4
		25-34 years	400	328	81	19
		35-44 years	400	368	92	8
		45-54 years	400	386	96.4	3.6
		55-64 years	400	400	100	0
			400	449.4	**92**	**8**

Table 23

Vocabulary Item (14)	English Gloss	Age Range	Average Number of Respondents	Average Number of Respondents who produced the correct Igbo agentives	Average % of Respondents who produced the correct Igbo agentives	Average % of Respondents who did not produce the correct Igbo agentives
Dinta	Hunter	15-24 years	400	169	42.4	57.6
		25-34 years	400	207	52	48
		35-44 years	400	237	57.8	42.2
		45-54 years	400	254	63.4	36.6
		55-64 years	400	346	86.2	13.8
			400	241.4	**60.36**	**39.64**

Table 24

Vocabulary Item (16)	English Gloss	Age Range	Average Number of Respondents	Average Number of Respondents who produced the correct Igbo agentives	Average % of Respondents who produced the correct Igbo agentives	Average % of Respondents who did not produce the correct Igbo agentives
Okaikpe	Judge	15-24 years	400	239	67.6	32.4
		25-34 years	400	277	66.2	33.8
		35-44 years	400	292	72.4	27.6
		45-54 years	400	376	78.8	21.2
		55-64 years	400	385	96.2	3.8
			400	301.8	**76.24**	**23.76**

Table 25

Vocabulary Item (17)	English Gloss	Age Range	Average Number of Respondents	Average Number of Respondents who produced the correct Igbo agentives	Average % of Respondents who produced the correct Igbo agentives	Average % of Respondents who did not produce the correct Igbo agentives
Okpoubo	Guitarist	15-24 years	400	167	41.8	58.2
		25-34 years	400	197	49.4	50.6
		35-44 years	400	224	56	44
		45-54 years	400	252	62.8	37.2
		55-64 years	400	345	86.2	13.8
			400	237	**59.24**	**40.76**

Table 26

Vocabulary Item (18)	English Gloss	Age Range	Average Number of Respondents	Average Number of Respondents who produced the correct Igbo agentives	Average % of Respondents who produced the correct Igbo agentives	Average % of Respondents who did not produce the correct Igbo agentives
Ogbaegwu/Otegwu	Dancer	15-24 years	400	273	64.6	35.4
		25-34 years	400	263	65.6	34.4
		35-44 years	400	286	71.2	28.8
		45-54 years	400	308	77	23
		55-64 years	400	379	76.6	23.4
			400	301.8	**71**	**29**

Table 27

Vocabulary Item (19)	English Gloss	Age Range	Average Number of Respondents	Average Number of Respondents who produced the correct Igbo agentives	Average % of Respondents who produced the correct Igbo agentives	Average % of Respondents who did not produce the correct Igbo agentives
Dibia	Herbalist	15-24 years	400	143	36	64
		25-34 years	400	160	40.2	59.8
		35-44 years	400	213	53.2	46.8
		45-54 years	400	249	61.6	38.4
		55-64 years	400	338	84.4	15.6
			400	220.6	**55.08**	**44.92**

Table 28

Vocabulary Item (20)	English Gloss	Age Range	Average Number of Respondents	Average Number of Respondents who produced the correct Igbo agentives	Average % of Respondents who produced the correct Igbo agentives	Average % of Respondents who did not produce the correct Igbo agentives
Oreanu	Meat seller	15-24 years	400	165	41.4	58.6
		25-34 years	400	180	45.2	54.8
		35-44 years	400	207	51.8	48.2
		45-54 years	400	268	66.8	33.2
		55-64 years	400	356	88.8	11.2
			400	235.2	**58.8**	**41.2**

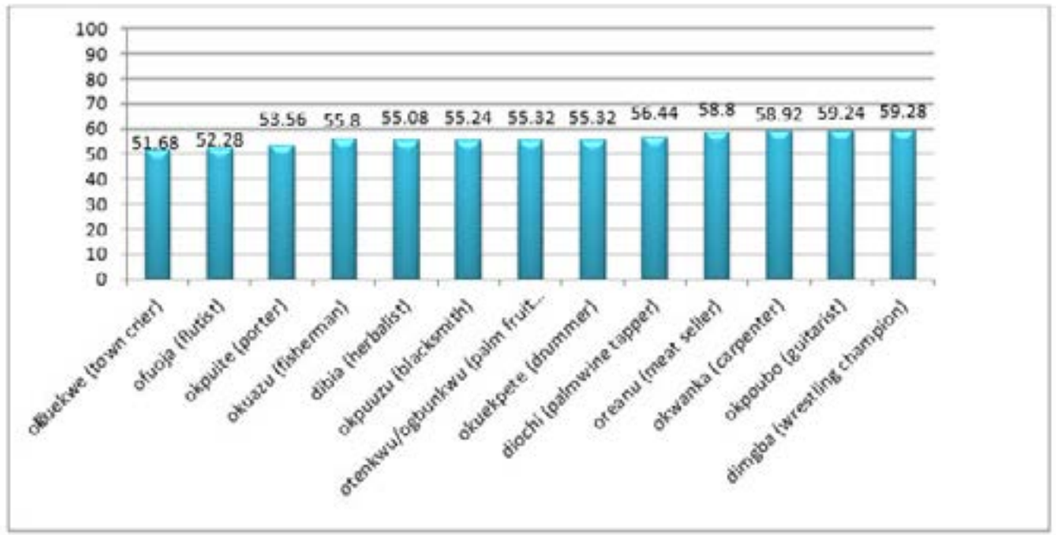


Figure 3: A summary percentage scores for 13 agentive nouns with performance score of less than 60% by the respondents

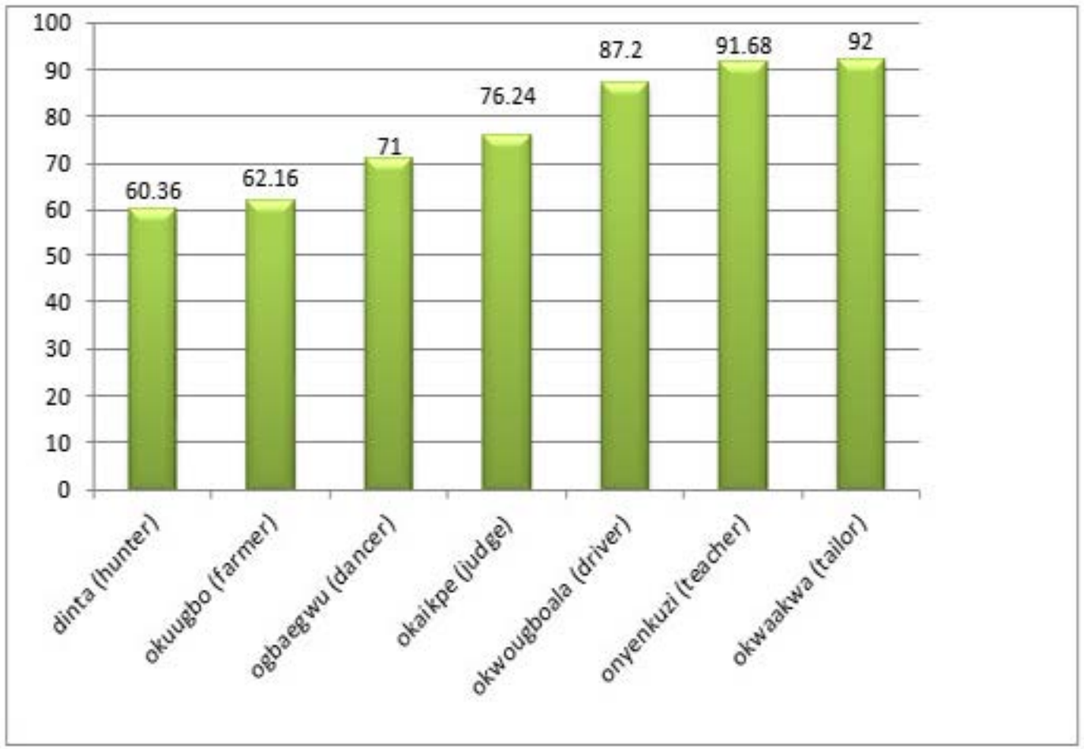


Figure 4: A summary percentage scores for 7 agentive nouns with a performance score of 60% and above by the respondents

Discussions of Findings

In response to the second question, it is general knowledge that older members of any speech community remain the custodians of vestiges of culture, language, and tradition of their people. We observed in our study that respondents' proficiency level in the indigenous expressions in Igbo directly correlates to their age. The oldest generation of respondents (55-64 years) has the highest performance score in the study. The performance score continues to decline as the age group decreases. The reason for the difference can also be associated with the extent of exposure to the English language. The

older generations of speakers have limited exposure to English than the younger ones. In recent years, more Nigerians continue to have access to western education than at any other time in the country's history. Furthermore, as the English language continues to rule the airwaves and the digital world, younger generations of Igbo speakers are joining the English bandwagon, unfortunately, to the detriment of Igbo.

On the question of why some agentive words of occupation/profession are more susceptible to disappearing than others, we can postulate that the 13 occupations that rank under 60 percentile are rapidly disappearing occupations. Two factors are responsible for the disappearance. First, some of the occupations are obsolete. The second factor is the ongoing shift in the economic structure of the communities. For instance, a profession like "town-crier" ranks lowest on the grid because it is obsolete. Gone are the days when town-criers have a prominent status in the village. These days, communities have found better and more efficient ways of disseminating information to groups of people without soliciting the services of the town-crier. Also, professions like "palmfruit cutter", "palmwine tapper", and "wrestler", are also victims of the economic shift. These ways of economic life have been abandoned for the more lucrative commerce-oriented life, namely, buying and selling. The less presence a profession has in a community, the higher the possibility of speakers not using the indigenous terminology that is associated with the profession.

Conclusion

A language is only alive for as long as its users continue to use it in their daily lives. This study of the gradual disappearance of agentive nouns of occupation/profession in the Igbo language further supports our earlier statement that before a language finally goes into extinction, it starts by losing certain aspects of its total structure. In the case of Igbo, with regards to this study, the implication of the disappearance of indigenous agentive terminologies is that the language is gradually losing one aspect of its entire structure; a sure sign that its vitality is being eroded. Future studies on the endangerment of Igbo should explore other aspects of the language that are also disappearing. Perhaps, as more studies such as this one begin to occupy the front burner of research, scholars, policy makers, and government agencies will begin to come up with practical measures towards the revitalization of Igbo.

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#9
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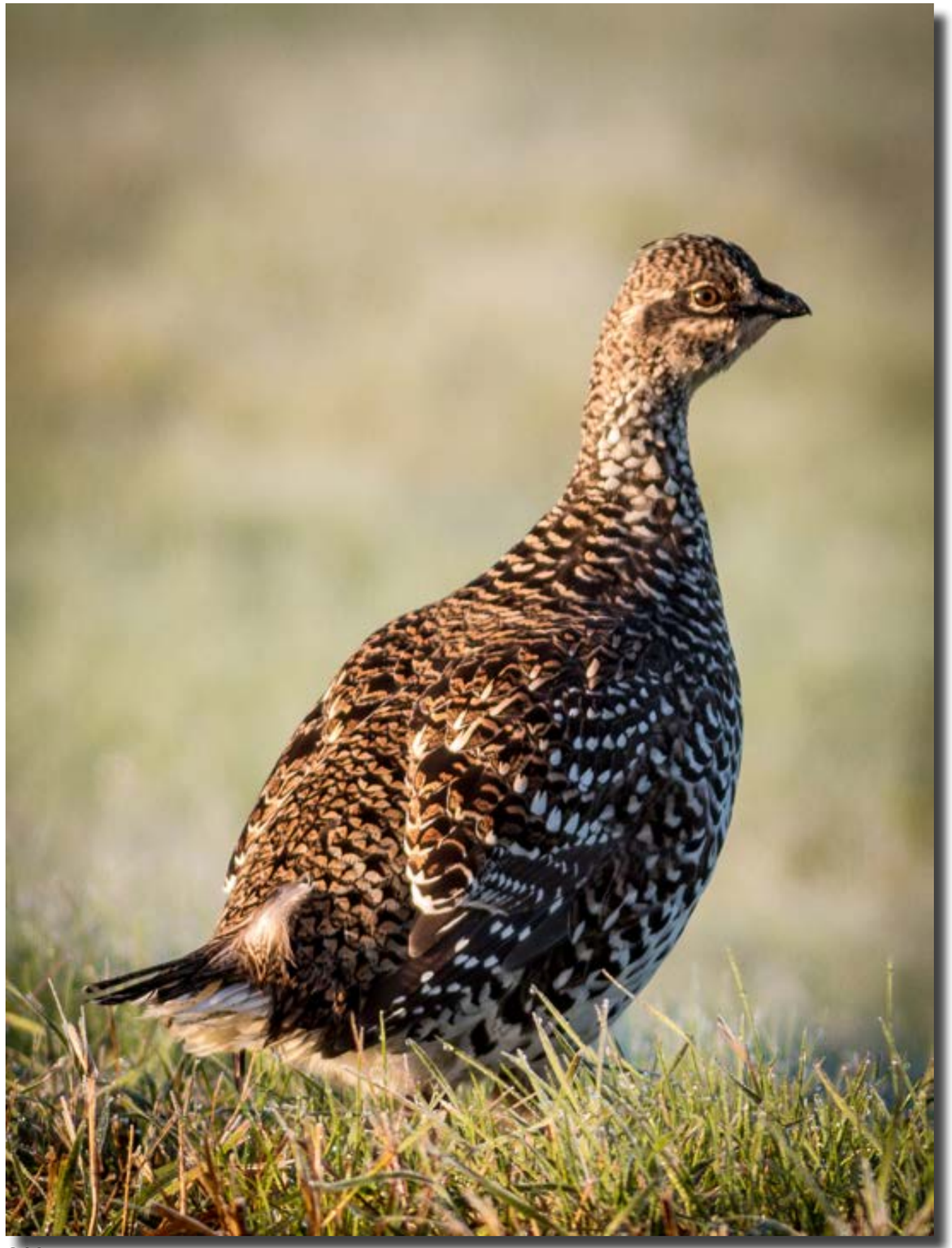

#10 Doug Lauvstad

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Given the scale of such issues as climate change and of factors contributing to it, must theory, too, undergo a transition from local and individual to global perspectives? In what might a global imaginary consist, and how might it relate to existing critiques of globalization as but a label for the hegemony of Western culture? This issue considers "greening" theory, ecocriticism, the Anthropocene, climate change, and environmental and animal ethics.

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