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Language, Discourse & Society

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The editorial board will consider proposed articles based on clear methodological and theoretical commitment to studies of language. Articles must substantially engage theory and/or methods for analyzing language, discourse, representation, or situated talk.

Note for contributors:

This is the last issue of *Language, Discourse & Society* in its current format. *Language, Discourse & Society* is going to shift from a miscellaneous format to thematic issues, still including a small varia section.

Please check the website (<http://www.language-and-society.org/journal/index.html>), RC25 Facebook page (https://www.facebook.com/ISARC25/timeline?ref=page_internal) and RC25 newsletter periodically for the announcement of the new call for articles, and authors' guidelines.

**For any information please feel free to email:
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Language & Society
Research Committee 25 of the
International Sociological Association

MESSAGE FROM THE EDITOR

I am glad to introduce the sixth issue of *Language, Discourse & Society*. This is the last issue before a new editorial board will take in charge the exciting task of supporting the development of the scholarly debate on language in society. With the new editorial board please expect some substantial changes in the journal. Further information and announcement will be posted both in the RC25 Website and Facebook Page.

This issue includes six articles. The first article, from Fakuade, Fadahunsi, Rafiu and Adekeye is titled ‘The sociolinguistics of compound surnames among some educated Yoruba married women’, and discusses argues that some of the social factors which are found to be responsible for the use of compound surnames by married women include education, religion and exposure to western culture. With the Second article, Taylor offers a perspective on the way in which a number of professional women, active in the legal domain, utilize their IT-based work calendars to create nominal entries concerning their respective primary group (family) members’ activities and events, which are directed exclusively to themselves. The article is titled ‘High-level professional women in the legal domain and their unique utilization of their professional it-based work calendars: a sociological perspective’.

The author of the third article in the collection, Omoniyi Friday-Otun, present a research on the language situation in Africa, revisiting the concepts of lingua franca, Pidgin and Creole, and paid attention to the use of Pidgin in Nigeria and Ghana. The article debates on the suitability, or otherwise, of Pidgins as national languages in some African countries. The title of the article is ‘Pidgins as national languages in some african countries: the hurdles and the way forward’. Chusna And Wahyudi offer new methodological insights by applying ‘appraisal theory’ on X-Factor judges’ commentaries, in the article ‘Appraisal devices on the “X Factor Indonesia” Commentaries’, while Adéṣùn discusses the results of a research on how two poets used their texts to accentuate their views on different political and social events in the country. The poems for the analysis are selected from Àjànàkú’s *Orin Ewúro* (1998) and Olúnládé’s *Ewì Igbàlódé* (2002) and discussed within the theoretical framework of socio-semiotics. The article is titled ‘Socio-political discourse in contemporary Yorùbá written poetry: a socio-semiotic appraisal of Àjànàkú’s *Orin Ewúro* and Olúnládé’s *Ewì Igbàlódé*’.

The sixth and final article, ‘The challenge of sociology of language: beyond sociolinguistics; towards discourse analysis’ is authored by Moulène, and develops a series of crucial epistemological and methodological questions arising by the debate between the advocates of

Sociology of language as an independent discipline and the ones who argue that sociology is inevitably a sociology of language.

Leaving my role as Editor after three years I leave the management of the Journal in good hands. The new Editor, Stéphanie Cassilde, is a committed member of the RC25 board, a well respected scholar and an enthusiastic colleague. It will be a pleasure for me to work with her and to offer her my support as the new RC25 vice-president. Stéphanie will not be alone: she will be supported by the whole RC25 Board which was elected last March and officially nominated in occasion of the ISA world Congress in Yokohama back in July. Our president, Amado Alarcón, Tour treasurer, Nadezhda Georgieva-Stankova, our newsletter editor, Trinidad Valle and our webmaster, Keiji Fujiyoshi, will join me in offering Stéphanie all the help she will need.

Please let me spend a few words to express my deepest gratitude to the RC25 executive board 2010-2014 that constantly supported the journal since it was proposed at the 2010 ISA World Congress in Gothenburg. Thank you Marie-Celine Pascale, Melanie Heath, Amado Alarcón, Taiwo Abioye, Daniela Laendert. I would also like to thank Marta Soler, who served the vice-editor of *Language, Discourse & Society* in the last four years. A special thank you goes to Kali Michaels, who was the most reliable and the best language editor I could have worked with. And, last but not least, a big thank you to all the contributors and reviewers (see the list at the end of the issue), without your dedication the Journal simply would not exist.

Federico Farini, Editor

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MESSAGE FROM THE INCOMING EDITOR IN CHIEF

Created four years ago under the leadership of Federico Farini, *Language, Discourse & Society* collected six issues with 42 articles covering a broad range of topics and languages, from theoretical to mainly applied research, across various languages and geographical areas. To my point of view, this diversity represents well the richness of the Research Committee 25 “Language and Society” of the International Sociological Association, and serves well RC25’s objective “to advance sociological knowledge concerning language, face-to-face interaction and language-related phenomena” (by-laws). Being RC25’s journal does not imply that *Language, Discourse & Society* is closed on itself: the wide majority of the published articles were written by scholars who are not members of RC25. I consider this supports also RC25’s objective.

Amado Alarcón and Federico Farini offered me to pursue the development of *Language, Discourse & Society* as editor in chief in order to publish thematic issues, coordinated by editors, who are specialized in the chosen thematic. I thank them for their confidence to entrust me with this challenge. I am looking forward serving RC25 and *Language, Discourse & Society*.

With my best regards,

Stéphanie Cassilde, incoming Editor in Chief
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CALL FOR EDITORS FOR E- JOURNAL LANGUAGE, DISCOURSE AND SOCIETY

Language, Discourse & Society is an international peer reviewed journal published twice annually (June and December) in electronic form. The journal publishes high-quality articles dedicated to all aspects of sociological analyses of language, discourse and representation.

All interested editors are invited to submit a proposal (a call for papers) in order to edit a thematic issue. The editor in chief will consider proposed call for papers based on clear commitment to studies of language. *Language, Discourse & Society* cannot publish proceedings. Editors are free to choose the thematic of their issue proposal. *Language, Discourse & Society* accepts electronic submissions year round. Please send your proposals to: journal@language-and-society.org

The role description of *Language, Discourse & Society* editor is as follow:

Each (co-)editor is responsible:

- for writing the call for articles: within the framework of *LD&S* editorial line and tacking into account that *LD&S* cannot publish proceedings, (co-)editors are free to choose the thematic of their issue proposal.
- for all communications with authors
- for the evaluation process of articles, which includes:
- finding additional reviewers so that each article is peer-reviewed.
- taking a decision regarding the final selection of articles in accordance with the editorial line of *LD&S*
- for keeping the deadline to submit the whole issue to the editor in chief of editing. This includes to take care that minimal requirements are met (front, front size, space, margin, accuracy of references)
- for basic editing regarding the form and the style of each article: the (co-)editor should check whether the references within the article are mentioned in the bibliographical part, whether the references listed in the biographical part are all quoted within the article, and whether the template of *LD&S* is respected (letter font , size, etc.)

The (co-)editor cannot publish an article in *LD&S*, neither as principal author, nor as co-author. His/her name is indicated as follow: “this issue of *Language, Discourse and Society* about {here the final title of the thematic issue} is edited by {here the name of the editor(s)}”.

The position of (co-)editor is unpaid.

THE SOCIOLINGUISTICS OF COMPOUND SURNAMES AMONG SOME EDUCATED YORUBA MARRIED WOMEN

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Abstract

This article discusses the sociolinguistics of compound surnames among some Yoruba married women in Nigeria. The study establishes the fact that some married women still retain their fathers' names after marriage due to some social reasons or factors. The need for easy recognition, the desire to avoid problems of official documentation in the offices after marriage, efforts to guard against the extinction of family names, and to protect ancestral roots, among others, are found to be responsible for this practice. The paper argues that some of the social factors which are found to be responsible for the use of compound surnames by married women include education, religion and exposure to western culture. The paper argues further that this practice among educated Yoruba married women is indicative of erosion of this aspect of Yoruba tradition as a result of contact with Islam and the West. The paper recommends a similar investigation among illiterate Yoruba married women and also among other ethnic groups such as Hausa, Igbo, Tiv, Efik, Fulani etc, to determine other reasons, if any, for this practice. Two main methods were used to collect data for the study: questionnaire and oral interview. The data collected were presented in tabular form, using descriptive statistics.

Keywords: Compound surnames, Yoruba, marriage, lexemes, onomastics, anthroponomastics, naming

1. Introduction

Names are essential mediums of communication in every part of the world. However, Africans and the Yoruba in particular attach a great importance to the use of names. Names are what people are known with and are called by; they communicate and tell stories about people and circumstances surrounding their birth.

In Africa, once a child is born, he/she is christened and this is called naming, the act of naming children in Africa often involves ceremony, the ceremony could be seven days or months after the child is born. This varies from culture to culture, however, in fact, naming is a specific linguistic act, intimately linked with values, traditions, hopes, fears and events in people's lives. Names reveal the many preferences of their owners (or givers) in terms of real life objects, actions, features and beliefs (Rosenhouse, 2002). In naming a new baby and consciously choosing a word to refer to a new person, that word has enormous symbolic power: it will identify the person, and at the same time the name can send a message, express a hope or prayer, perpetuate a cultural or religious tradition (Alford 1987:51).

When a child is christened, he/she is usually given a personal name along with other names in addition to his/her family name. The family name is what is referred to as the surname or last name. It serves as a family identity; usually, this is the name a woman drops when she has been married, as this is the tradition in many parts of the world, especially in Africa where this is seen as a symbol of respect, submissiveness and love from a woman to her spouse (Fadahunsi, 2013).

However, many women in contemporary Nigeria, for different reasons, have failed to embrace this tradition, instead they retain their fathers' names and merely 'celotape' their spouses' names as appendages, thereby bearing compound names. Some women are believed to have combined their maiden names with their husbands' names for different kinds of patronages derivable from their maiden names. Some women have claimed that they bear compound surnames out of their overwhelming love and loyalty to their fathers: some women who have made their marks in their various professions/disciplines long before marriage are also fond of using compound surnames as they have been known in their careers by their maiden names. People have expressed different opinions or views concerning the use of compound surnames by married women. Thus, this study investigates why married women bear compound names. It also seeks to investigate and gauge the attitude of their spouses and the society towards this practice. The study also addresses the morphological processes in the formation of these 'double-barreled' surnames.

2. The Yoruba People and Marriage

The Yoruba people of south-western Nigeria are a nationality of approximately 50 million people, the vast majority of whom are concentrated primarily within Nigeria, but who are also spread throughout the entire world (Fani-Kayode, 2013).

They are believed historically to have migrated from the Middle-Eastern part of the world during the medieval period. They are a religious group of people who are mainly Christians, Muslims or of Traditional beliefs. The Yoruba people have different stories about their origin, but they all relate to the same ancestor “Oduduwa”

The Yoruba people take their culture seriously; greetings form an important part of daily life. While greetings are exchanged, it is important for the people to smile, and when asked about the wellbeing of someone, time is given to respond as this is considered to be polite. The Yoruba greet their elders with a lot of respect, the boys prostrate to greet their elders, while their female counterparts greet by kneeling on one or two knees depending on the tribe.

These people also have a very rich cultural background; there are different forms of dance, arts, music, dressing and philosophy. The Yoruba people occupy the following states: Lagos, Ondo, Oyo, Ogun, Osun, Ekiti and some parts of Kwara, Kogi and Edo States. They have a general language called “Yoruba” (Yooba) which is the form that is taught in schools in the South Western zone of Nigeria (Bamidele 2013). There are other dialects of the language from different places such as Ondo, Ijebu, Isale-Eko, Oyo and Ekiti, etc.

The family is the most sacred and significant institution to the Yoruba, who are child-centred, ruled by the elderly, and controlled by adults. The family is an effective unit of political control, religious affiliation, resource allocation, and assurance of safety. Thus marriage for the Yoruba man or woman is a necessity as noted by Fadipe (1970); cited in International Encyclopedia of Marriage and Family (2003):

For a man or a woman who has reached the age of marriage to remain single is against the mores of the Yoruba

Marriages in Nigeria take place under three legal systems (Centre for Reproductive Rights, 2003): Civil (Statutory Law), Islamic (Maliki School of Law), and Customary (tribal/traditional law) (Denmark 2005, Research Directorate 2006). Even when couples marry under statutory law, customary law generally prevails in personal matters. Customary law tends to vary from one ethnic group to another, from state to state and more often from one town to

another (Ewelukwa 2002). It is important to indicate that the three marriage types mentioned above are practised among the Yoruba of Nigeria.

Ideally, marriage should establish the foundation of the family. When it does, marriage is a union not only of the two spouses but the two extended families to which they belong. Marriage itself is the proof that both spouses are good products and ambassadors of their families. By successfully going through the demanding steps to the Yoruba marriage, the spouses are a good reflection on the quality of character of their families. It indicates they have shown restraint as people who are well brought up, focused, enduring, reliable, disciplined, and also as people who are able to defer gratification until they are ready for the responsibilities of adulthood. In other words, the ability to satisfy the hierarchy of human needs was critical to the Yoruba evaluation of the spouses' readiness to be united in marriage. They ought to be able to provide food and shelter and safety. They ought to have the level of commitment and patience needed to inculcate a sense of belonging and self esteem in their children (Babatunde, 1992; cited in International Encyclopedia of Marriage and Family 2003). All these, commitment and patience, are a reflection of the Yoruba philosophy which is based, according to Sotunde (2009), on a fulfilled life which consists of personal freedom, relative comfort, reproductive existence, conformity with communal values.

As soon as the marriage ceremony is completed, the woman must drop her father's name and take her husband's name in line with the existing tradition. Whether the wife takes the husband's name as tradition dictates, or hyphenates his father's name to her husband's, a certified copy of marriage certificate or sworn affidavit for change of name is sufficient for her.

3. The Yoruba people and Naming

All over the world, names function as means of identification. Several authorities on naming agree with this view (Doob1966; Olusanya and Olurode 1994, Akpabio 2003). They argue that more than for identification, names communicate and provide a lot of information about their owners such as the bearer's position in the family; the circumstances surrounding the birth of the bearer; parental/family situation; family hopes, desires, expectations and aspirations; financial situation; links with departed family members; and a way of keeping records (i.e. historical accounts) .

Among the Yoruba, it is generally believed that names are like spirits which would like to live out their meanings, therefore parents do a thorough search before giving names to their babies. Naming ceremonies are performed with this in mind. According to Ogunyemi (2009), the eldest family member is given the responsibility of performing the ceremony. Materials used are symbols of the hopes, expectations and prayers of the parents for the new baby. These include honey, kola, bitter kola, alligator pepper, water, palm oil, sugar cane, salt and liquor. Each of these has a special meaning in the world-view of the Yoruba. For instance, honey represents sweetness, and the prayer of the parents is that their baby's life will be as sweet as honey.

After the ritual, according to Johnson ((1997), the child is named and other extended family members are given the honour to give their own names to the child. They do this with gifts of money and clothing. In many cases, they would want to call the child by the name they give him or her. Due to this, a new baby may end up with more than a dozen names. Therefore, a name is, in a sense, the ultimate vehicle of the whole range of a person's identities. Apart from just referring to a person, names, in countless unspoken ways, express a person's ties to his or her gender, family, ethnic group, and religion, and are therefore a kind of condensation of all that person's identities. Thus names are carriers not of meaning, but of associations of personal and cultural significance: a great difference from lexical elements.

4. Lexeme, Onomastics and Anthroponomastics

The terms lexeme, onomastics and anthroponomastics are not only very useful to the discussion and understanding of the topic of this paper, they constitute an indispensable tripod for our theoretical discourse. Therefore, it is important to have a clear understanding of what these terms mean. In a broadest sense, a lexeme is the term used in linguistics to refer to a minimal unit of language (a word) with a semantic value (distinctive meaning) and often a specific cultural concept attached to it. Lexemes are the basic elements of a language. They are made up of one or more form- meaning composites called lexical units. For example, in the English language, *give*, *gives*, *gave*, *given*, and *giving* are forms of the same lexeme, *give*. Lexeme can be divided into single-word lexeme, double-word lexeme and multi-word lexeme which by extension forms single-word name, double-word name, and multi-word name in Yoruba, e.g. Aina, Adeolu, and Oluwarantinmi, respectively.

Looking at lexeme from the perspective of onymic motivation (onymic motivation answers the question why a proper name is a proper name. It explains the function of a lexeme and of a proper name as to individualize, identify and differentiate a unique referent) ,Olostriak (2009) defines lexeme as the proper name because it reflects the communication need of respective speech community, namely to denote a given object of an extra-linguistic reality as a unique one and only entity.

Onomastics is the study of proper names and their origin, as well as the changes they undergo as a result of long use in the source language or in connection with their borrowing into other languages. Proper names are divided into anthroponymy (study of personal names), toponymy (study of place names), Zoonymy (proper names of animals), astronmy (names of stars), cosmonymy (names of the zones and part of universe), theonymy (names of gods), etc. From above definition, one can therefore define anthroponomastics as a branch of onomastics which studies the names of human beings: given names, surnames, clan names, matronyms, patronyms, teknonyms, nicknames, ethnonyms (Coates 2005, Vikameln 2013).

5. Theoretical Model

The study of names is a multidisciplinary field that has occupied the attention of philosophers of language, anthropologists, sociolinguists, linguists and ordinary people. Personal names can best be analysed by a combination of both philosophical and anthropological notions. In logical and philosophical sense, a name refers to a different element of human experience i.e. to an individual or collective entity, which it designates or denotes.

One branch of onomastics that deals with the study of proper names including their forms and use is anthroponomy (Algeo 1992). Lexemes found in anthroponomastics bear witness to the values and ideas of the society concerned, revealing details about people's origins and professions, tradition and fashion, social rank, etc. Anthroponomastic studies are based on the theory that there is a strong interface between a people's language and their cultural practices. It mirrors on how language is used as cultural practices and how language is used as a powerful tool to view and understand the world view of a particular society. One can therefore use language as a microscopic lens to view and understand the social practices and day-to-day activities of a society. The language of the people is therefore the exit valve through which their beliefs and thoughts, cognition and experiences are articulated (Farb 1993).

The language is a manifestation and description of the complexity and diversity of people's way of life and practices. The language of the people is manifested in their naming

systems and practices, marriage, family, kinship, politics, economics, occupation, health systems, religious beliefs and practices, law, funeral activities, etc. The language of the people also depicts the social stratification of the society (Agyekum, 2006).

The theoretical concerns of contemporary linguistic anthropology as enunciated by Duranti (1997) have to do with three interconnected analytical notions that help to understand the function of language in culture. These are (i) performance, (ii) indexicality and (iii) participation. All the three are important to our discussion of use of compound names.

Indexes are signs that have some kind of existential relation with what they refer to either spatial, temporal, social or personal (Silverstein 1976). In indexicality, according to Duranti (1997), cited in Agyekum (2006), language is used as a tool through which our socio-cultural world is constantly described, evaluated and reproduced. If we say that words are indexically related to some objects and reality of the world it implies that words carry with them a power that transcends beyond mere identification and tagging of people, objects and properties. The maiden names and surnames of married women in Yoruba community both have different socio-cultural reference and interpretation.

Performance refers to a domain of human action where special attention is paid to ways in which communicative events are carried out. Women that bear compound names are operating within the framework of purposive function of socially constituted behaviour. Such names therefore perform certain socio-cultural functional actions.

Participation sees communicative events as belonging to a bigger class of social activities that go beyond the linguistic expressions and utterances to the socio-cultural domains. Compounding father's name with husband name by married women conforms to both performance and participation for such compound names may indicate how such women assess themselves in the society and how they function in social activities.

6. Method

This section of the paper discusses the methods used in the collection of data, the methods of data analysis, the subjects/respondents, etc. It is important to state the central focus of this study, which is: to investigate the use of compound surnames by married women. To achieve

this aim, the study made use of two groups of subjects; (i) married women who bore compound surnames (Group A Respondents), and (ii) Men and women who were either married or single and did not bear compound surnames (Group B Respondents).

The number of women in group A was 50, while group B also had 32 respondents (twenty men and twelve women). There was no particular age grade for the respondents to attain. The criteria used in selecting subjects in group A were: (i) they must be females, (ii) they must bear compound surnames, and (iii) they must be married or must have been married before. Group B was meant to gauge or measure the reaction or feelings or attitude of the society towards the use of compound surnames by married women. They were randomly selected based on two criteria: (i) they must be adults and (ii) they must not bear compound names.

Two main methods were used to collect data for this study: questionnaire and oral interview. Two types of questionnaire were used: the first one contained thirteen questions and it was administered among married women who bore compound names, the second questionnaire had eleven questions and it was administered among group B respondents. The total number of questionnaires administered was 50 for group A and 32 for group B as indicated above. The study also made use of oral interviews. It combined structured and unstructured interviews to authenticate or corroborate the responses got from questionnaires. It is important to indicate that 50 respondents who completed the questionnaires were the ones who provided us with verbal information on the use of compound surnames by married women. The data collected were presented in tables, using descriptive statistics.

7. Data Presentation and Discussions

A Respondents

Table 1: Distribution of Respondents by Age

Age	Number	%
20-29	12	24
30-39	18	36
40-49	14	28
50-59	6	112
Total	50	100

This table indicates that 36% of group A respondents are between 30-39 and that 28% are between 40-49 years of age, 24% fall between 20-29 years, and 12% are between 50-59 years of age.

Table 2: Distribution of Respondents by Religion

Religion	Number	%
Islam	29	58
Christianity	21	42
Others	-	-
Total	50	100

Table 2 shows that the practice cuts across both Islam and Christianity: 58% of the respondents who bear compound surnames are Muslims, while the remaining 42% are Christians.

Table 3: Distribution of Respondents by Educational Qualification

Educational qualification	Number	%
Bachelor's degree	28	56
Master's degree	15	30
Doctorate degree	7	14
Others	-	-
Total	50	100

The table above shows that 56% of the respondents have bachelor's degree, 30% have master's degree and 14% have doctorate degree.

Table 4: Reasons for Bearing Compound Surnames

Reasons	Number	%
Easy identification	24	56
Prevention of extinction of family name	6	12
Family tradition	6	12
Love for family name	6	12
Avoidance of problem of academic documentation in the offices	4	8
Safeguarding the ancestral roots	4	8
Total	40	100

Table 4 summarizes the reasons given by married women who use compound surnames for their choice of surnames. 56% of the respondents claim that the desire to continue to be identified by their father's names is the main reason for answering compound surnames.

Table 5: Structural Order of Compound Surname

Order	Number	%
Husband's name before father's name	14	28
father's name before husband's name	36	72
Total	40	100

Table 5 shows that 28% of the respondents compound their surnames by putting their husbands' names before their fathers', while the remaining 72% compound theirs by putting their fathers' names before their husbands'. The 72% who put their fathers' names before their husbands' claim it is because their fathers were the first men they knew, the remaining 28% who put their husbands' names before their fathers' claim that they do so to show that they are married to their husbands and that the tradition is that once a woman is married, her husband comes before any other man.

Group B Respondents

Table 6: Group B's opinion on the use of Compound Surnames by Married Women

Opinions	No of Respondents	%
Women bear this name for fame, recognition and affluence	12	37.5
There is nothing wrong with bearing this kind of name	8	25
It is a sign of pride	3	9.37
Some women bear this name because they have no male sibling	3	9.37
Lack of submission to husband	3	9.37
To avoid problem of academic documentation	3	9.37
Total	32	100

Table 6 shows the opinions of group B respondents on the use of compound surnames by married women. The table shows that married women use compound surnames for fame, recognition and affluence.

Table 7: Disadvantages of Using Compound Surnames

Disadvantages	No of Respondents	%
Discord in the family	6	18.75
Lack of total submission to husband	6	18.75
Lack of respect for husband	6	18.75
Continued attachment to family	3	9.38
None	3	9.38
Husband's insecurity	3	9.38
Problems with husband's family	3	9.38
Name might be too lengthy	2	6.25
Total	32	100

Table 7 shows some of the perceived disadvantages of using compound surnames.

Findings

In table 1-7, we presented our data with a brief analysis. In this section, the interpretation of the data, and oral interview findings in relation to the central objectives are presented. Tables 1, 2 and 3 show the general information about the demographic attributes of married women who bear compound surnames: their ages, religions, education and qualifications were presented in percentages. Women between the ages of 30-39 are the highest as they constitute the largest part of respondents which is 36%. Women between 40-49 years of age are the second largest, they form 28% of the respondents, 24% of the respondents are between the ages of 20-29 and 12% are between the ages of 50-59, thus the study shows that the practice is commonest among middle-aged women. It is important to indicate that 58% of the women are Muslims, while 42% are Christians. The least educational qualification is Bachelor degree (56%). This was corroborated by the women's responses during the oral interview.

Table 4 provides answer to the first research question, which asked why the married women bear compound surnames: 56% of the women claimed they use compound surnames to retain the existing easy identification through their fathers' names. Other reasons given include prevention of extinction of family names (12%), love for family name (12%), maintaining family tradition (12%), guiding against problem of academic documentation in the office (8%), safe guarding ancestral roots (8%).

It was noted during the oral interaction that all the women discussed the use of compound surnames with their husbands before they got married to them i.e. they bear the compound surnames with the consent of their husbands. It was further noted that 70% of these women's husbands were in support of their wives, however 30% were indifferent. During the interview we gathered that only educated women are fond of using compound surnames. It is not a common practice in Yoruba society.

When asked whether their children bear compound surnames, 50% of the women answered in the affirmative.

Table 5 shows the order of compounding the surnames: 72% of the women allow their fathers' names to precede their husbands', while the remaining 28% put their fathers' names after their husbands'.

Table 6 shows the opinions of the public on the use of compound surnames by married women: 37.5% of the selected respondents were of the view that women bear compound surnames for fame, recognition and affluence, especially those with influential fathers, 25% said there was nothing wrong in a woman compounding her husband's name with her father's after marriage, 9.37% believed it is a sign of pride, another 9.37% claimed that some women bear compound surnames because they have no male sibling to keep the family name alive, another 9.37% were of the view that women who bear compound surnames are arrogant and non-submissive to their husbands, the remaining 9.37% believe that some women bear compound surnames to avoid problems that could stem from total change of names. Going by the figures and our analysis of table 6, it is clear that most people do not support the use of compound surnames by married women.

Table 7 shows the perceived disadvantages that the society believes that the use of compound surnames by married women could bring, 18.75% were of the view that use of such names could cause disharmony or discord between the woman and her husband; 18.75% claimed it could bring about lack of total submission to the husband; 9.38% believed that the use of compound names is not indicative of the woman's attachment to her family lineage, it shows further that this kind of surname could make the husband feel insecure as it will seem the woman can just drop her husband's name and move on at any time to marry another person, 18.75% said that such women would not respect their husbands.

8. Conclusion

We have, in this paper, established that some educated Yoruba women use compound surnames for different reasons or social factors. The reasons given by these married women include, among others, the following: guarding against the extinction of family names, avoidance of problems of academic documentation, protection of ancestral roots, easy identification, etc. The study also found out during oral interaction with the respondents that the use of compound surnames is common among the educated, particularly those who have influential fathers, who are business tycoons, and politicians. Furthermore, it was established that women that bear compound surnames do so with the consent of their husbands, even though the society at large does not support and encourage these women to retain their fathers' names after marriage as most people believe that a woman should change her name completely to her husband's after marriage. Thus this study is a pointer to erosion of Yoruba tradition, i.e. the tradition that demands a married woman to answer her husband's name after marriage, as a result of contact with Islam and the West. The study further shows that Yoruba tradition is not static.

Some of the social factors which are found to be responsible for the use of compound surnames by married women include education, exposure to western culture and religion (some of these respondents who are Muslims claim that their religion gives room for the use of compound surnames).

Finally, since the focus of this study is the use of compound surnames among the educated Yoruba married women, it is recommended therefore that future research on this subject be conducted among uneducated Yoruba married women. A similar study should also be conducted among other ethnic groups such as Igbo, Hausa, Fulani, Kilba, Efik, Tiv, Berom, etc. to determine whether there are other reasons for this practice.

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**HIGH-LEVEL PROFESSIONAL WOMEN IN THE LEGAL DOMAIN AND THEIR
UNIQUE UTILIZATION OF THEIR PROFESSIONAL IT-BASED WORK
CALENDARS: A SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE**

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Abstract

This paper provides an empirical examination into a particular way in which a number of high-level professional women in the legal domain utilize their IT-based (onscreen) work calendars. The study, spanning just over a 10 year period, covers North American and British law firms and in-house legal departments of private sector companies.

To start, the IT-based (onscreen) work calendar is the 'lead' medium and discourse focus point where much of the professional legal women's daily, weekly and monthly work 'life' is fixed and maintained in written form. Added to this information, can be a significant amount of information regarding activities of primary group (family) members.

This author analysis the choice of discourse and images inherent to the IT-based (onscreen) work calendar of a significant number of high-level professional women in the legal domain over the decade-long study. It draws on a number of principle analogies and concepts brought to light in Geser's study (2004) on the *Sociology of the Mobile Phone* (and the numerous findings of authors which Geser draws on within the same work).

The IT-based work calendar enables 'fits' or 'matches' of work flow, interface and organization within the work time and physical space as well as visualization of such information according to selected time frames. Nevertheless, in applying an interpretivist approach, the study aims to reveal subjective meaning and motivation as to why the high-level professional women's perception and operation of their respective IT-based work calendars within the legal domain differ in some fundamental ways to how this IT calendar tool is utilized. In this context, the paper will also apply Goffman's "presentation of self" in relation to how these professional women perceive their status set within the professional environment.

The focus of the paper will not be on the utilization of IT-based work calendars for professional purposes (such as setting up meetings, discussions, reminders) with secondary group members or for personal reasons in order to effectuate mutual activities or engage in bilateral communication with primary group members. Rather, the paper

will reveal the way in which a number of professional women, active in the legal domain, are involved in a unique utilization of their IT-based work calendars: they create and maintain nominal entries in their IT-based work calendar concerning their respective primary group (family) members activities and events, which are directed exclusively to themselves during their working time.

Through nominal entries in the IT-based work calendar, these professional women have devised an effective method on an emotive level, to allow their professional status to run parallel and as a complement to their maternal status. Consequently, they are able to harmonize their status set and roles (as both lawyer and mother). Moreover, this unique supplementary way of utilizing the IT-based work calendar, i.e. for *nominal* entries exclusively linked to primary group (family) members and their activities, enables these professional women to overcome, on a psychological level, tensions between statuses as well as role conflicts in relation to their professional and personal lives.

Keywords: gender communication differences; status expectations; social roles; role conflict; computer mediated communication; virtual communication; legal profession gender bias and gender schemas.

1. Technical aspects of the IT-based work calendar

Professional IT-based work calendars allow for the transfer of work responsibilities and activities into a tangible mode, i.e. on the computer screen. Individual work time and interchange or collaboration with others, activities and events can be framed within a set time and space. Indispensable and ubiquitous, the IT-based work calendar is operational both within and outside of the physical confines of the work environment. The professional IT-based work calendar uses can range from setting simple reminders, to organizing meetings and affirming meeting attendance, verifying (or even checking) on others to ascertain their availability, cancelling events, noting ideas to reflect on, or indicating tasks to undertake later.

Indeed, as with the professional mobile phone, the primary purpose of the IT-based work calendar is an instrumental one.¹ While both are indispensable in the professional environment to promote communication, socialization, interaction and synchronization of work procedures and activities, the IT-based work calendar has added advantages. Firstly, like the mobile phone, the IT-based work calendar is a “private space”.² Yet, unlike the characteristics of the mobile phone which can be intrusive,³ the IT-based work calendar has a wholly inconspicuous

¹ Geser (2004), *Towards a Sociological Theory of the Mobile Phone*, p. 6.

² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 6, 18, 36-38.

presence, where even its calendar reminder ‘*bing*’ does not disturb any flow of work, conversation or thought-process.

In addition, the IT-based work calendar can offer ‘proof’ of work activities, events, whereabouts of others, work schedules, and actions involved in coordinating discussing and collaborating on specific projects, themes or issues. In contrast, phone interactions for the most part do not leave a fixed trace (unless filming or recording), hence bilateral communication effectuated over the phone remains ephemeral.⁴ With the IT-based work calendar, however, activities and interface can be created, fixed and maintained to generate actions such as individual or team collaboration, meetings and client calls, which in turn consolidate individual and group positions. Here, through the IT-based work calendar, individuals and groups can initiate, accept or cancel activities, and can transfer either directly or indirectly messages to others linked to the same scheduling or network organization. While the phone reveals social interactions within a present ‘live’ situation, the IT-based work calendar shows both the past ‘lived’ and the future ‘live’ interactions, be they once occurring or repeated events.

In addition, the IT-based work calendar is an integral part of the interrelations and power structure of many work organizations. Professionals are, to a greater or lesser extent, expected to maintain a certain IT-based work calendar presence in relation to secondary group members within the same organization. As a result, the IT-based work calendar can reflect the way in which the organization operates on a hierarchal basis. Those on upper management, VP and CEO levels might wish to maintain a symbolic distance to lower management figures in the company. Hence, their respective IT-based work calendar availability cannot be accessed through the calendar’s scheduling assistant mode when company employees on a lower hierarchal status desire to set up meetings with company representatives on a higher one. This results, for example, in the need for lower level representatives to contact directly the executive assistants of the company’s higher management for any scheduling requests. A similar process is inherent to the mobile phone, as Geser (2004) notes, whereby receivers are able to “maintain certain control over their accessibility” by filtering names in mobile phone contact lists or by intentionally not answering calls.⁵

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 3. (Geser cites Aronsen (1977), p. 32)

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

2. Setting the ‘professional status’ and the ‘maternal status’ in the IT-based work calendar

The organization of the IT-based work calendar can be interpreted as enabling a “presentation of self” (Goffman, 1959) to others; yet it can also realize a “presentation of self” to oneself. Thus, while the telephone is used in terms of “bilateral discourse”⁶, the IT-based work calendar fulfils a dual function: it can connect with other parties directly, for example by setting up, accepting or declining meetings or by allowing a shared calendar view; it can also function as a link to the *self*, such as a reminder to the individual user regarding ideas or activities, manually entered in the IT-based work calendar at a certain point in time, to appear at a future point in time for action. The latter feature is of significance as discussed later on, when examining professional women’s use of the IT-based work calendar.

As Geser points out in the *Sociology of the Mobile Phone* (2004), mobile phones are crucial in enabling social integration regardless of geographical mobility, distance and time difference⁷; emails and IT-based work calendars also operate on this basis. While all this technology has the ability to connect the individual with others, only the IT-based work calendar has a particular use over these other forms of technology (such as phones, emails, texts). Here, the IT-based work calendar can be used as an indispensable organizational tool to visualize activities and events over days, months and years regarding the professional self’s involvement. Moreover, the IT-based work calendar can trace over time the professional self’s interactions with secondary group members (meetings, discussions, conference calls). In sum, the IT-based work calendar is programmed to allow for visualization and assessment of work progress and interaction over the short-term and the long-term. In the course of work time, the individual can set secondary group interaction on a regular and an irregular basis throughout the IT-based work calendar. In this, the individual has considerable flexibility in the IT-based work calendar settings to undertake actions, which can influence the schedules of others, such as by initiating, accepting or declining events, or by postponing events to a later date.

While the IT-based work calendar functions to fix in time particular events for future realization, such as a meeting or a conference call which involves a form of bilateral communication, it can set an idea to be converted into individual action at a certain time and

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

date, such as a task to initiate or finish. Above all, the IT-based work calendar is programmed specifically to transfer written discourse into a form of 'live' action at future point in time, whether on an individual or collaborative basis.

Taking the above features into account, a number of professional women utilize their IT-based work calendar for an additional purpose. Here, the professional woman must consciously override (in other words, ignore or deliberately overlook) the in-built automatic mechanism of the IT-based work calendar, which is set to indicate planning conflicts when users inadvertently juxtapose double entries (running parallel to each other). Indeed, the IT-based work calendar of these professional women reveal multiple calendar entries pertaining to the whereabouts and/or activities of primary group (family) members which these professional women have *consciously* juxtaposed (placed side by side and hence in time 'conflict') with other calendar entries relating to their professional activities.

Of added interest, is that the information in these specific IT-based work calendar entries, regarding primary group (family) members (many of which are set at the same time as professional work calendar entries) are purely *nominal*. In other words, the keywords do not act as reminders to ensure that the professional woman (who has entered the information in her IT-based work calendar) break her work flow to undertake specific actions in relation to her primary group members. Furthermore, these nominal calendar entries do not demand any reciprocal action from the primary group members indicated in the keywords. In short, the presence of this nominal information in the IT-based work calendar is counter to the calendar's logical utilization which exists as a 'live' connection, notably to initiate, or engage in, a certain action or process, either on an individual basis or with others, at a set point in time.

The keywords which these professional women use for their IT-based work calendar nominal entries make direct reference to the professional women's maternal status and roles. Hence, a lead lawyer's recurring block entry for her daughter's after school music and dance classes, along with her daughter's every Friday late afternoon hairdressing appointment – notably all at times when this particular professional woman is due in meetings or otherwise very occupied, and confined in space and time to her professional responsibilities. The situation ruled out any possibility for contact with her daughter – and in fact contact or any follow-up on this entry regarding her daughter's activities was neither desired nor undertaken by the professional woman.

Why do these professional women indicate in their IT-based work calendar the activities or whereabouts of their primary group (family) members which do not demand any interruption on their work rhythm, responsibilities or duties? In fact, why do these professional women note nominal IT-based work calendar entries, which, in the end, are often neither read nor even noticed by them when these nominal reminders (exclusively relating to their respective primary group members) show up on their computer screen while they are most likely busy with calls, in meetings or reviewing documents? Of interest in this context, is the significance behind this particular management of the IT-based work calendar, undertaken by a number of professional women in the legal domain, as an effective mode by which they can connect on an internal basis to their maternal status.

3. Use of the IT-based workplace calendar to discourse with the ‘maternal status’

Geser (citing Puro 2002) notes that “mobile phones amplify pre-existing differences in social participation and integration”.⁸ An individual’s lack of modern technology would be interpreted as the individual’s (either desired or not) social marginalization, stuck in an anachronistic situation, out of time and out of place. The mobile phone therefore ensures that the individual can constantly remain within a “closed social field of familiar others: thus reinforcing a unified, coherent individual identity”.⁹

While Geser explains the “sociology of the mobile phone” in terms of Goffman’s “presentation of self” (Goffman, 1959) and “behaviour in public places (1963), whereby individuals use the mobile phone to convey specific impressions of themselves to others,¹⁰ this illustration can be drawn upon to understand the way in which numerous professional women customize their IT-based work calendars. Here a particular “presentation of self” (s. supra) emerges through the written discourse in their IT-based work calendars, wherein keywords relating to multiple statuses and roles - both professional and personal - run parallel to each other. In this way, through the medium of the IT-based work calendar, the professional woman connects on an emotive level to her maternal status, whose existence is brought into relevance within her work time and space, and her daily work interactions.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 8. (Geser cites Puro (2002), p. 28)

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 95. (Geser cites Goffman (1963), 83; 85-86)

Geser affirms that the mobile phone conveys the ability for individuals to “reduce role strains and role fragmentations, typically generated by social environments and societal conditions”.¹¹ Citing Palen/Salzman/Youngs (2001), Geser points out that the mobile phone represents a technical “umbilical cord”, enabling mothers who are geographically separated from their children to contact them.¹² Geser furthermore draws on Rakow and Navarro (1993), to highlight the power of the mobile phone which allows individuals “to exist in their domestic and work worlds simultaneously ... women are now working ‘parallel shifts’ rather than what has been described as the ‘double shift’”.¹³

Similarly, a number of these professional women in the legal domain utilize their work calendars as a type of indirect ‘umbilical cord’ to their children. Whereas the mobile phone has the potential, as a hand-held tool, to aid the individual to implement in real time “parallel shifts” (s. supra), the IT-based work calendar equally has the ability, as an on-screen software tool, to be utilized by these professional women in facilitating internal dialogue with the maternal status. Here, as empirical analysis in this study has shown, through their respective IT-based work calendar entries, these professional women combine emotive and cognitive processes to realize “parallel shifts” (s. supra), in which they link their professional status to their maternal one.

The use of double (or parallel) entries in the IT-based work calendar, wherein children’s activities are set next to professional duties and responsibilities, allows for a harmonious and non-intrusive integration of the maternal status within the work environment. Although the IT-based work calendar will automatically show a ‘conflicting’ entry when two or more appointments are scheduled at the same time, the warning ‘flag’ of the IT-based work calendar does not ‘invade’ work space, work concentration or secondary group member interaction (contrary to the mobile phone ring which, Geser points out, can have a particularly intrusive effect on people’s interactions and conversations).¹⁴ These IT-based work calendar parallel entries (wherein the professional related entry is active and the primary group related entry is nominal) have a dual function for the professional woman: they maintain her work rhythm, interaction, activities and focus; they also represent a self-reaffirmation of her ability to maintain multiple statuses and roles during her daily work experience.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 12. (Geser cites Palen/Salzman/Youngs (2001))

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 14. (Geser cites Rakow and Navarro (1993), p. 153)

¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 36.

As the nominal entries of these professional women are exclusively focused on primary group members, often juxtaposed to professional entries (for example, an active entry indicating a client meeting set in time parallel to the nominal entry of a child's dancing lesson), they can be interpreted as effectively enabling professional women to discard potential daily discordant feelings. Here, the maternal status and role of mother re-emerge from the marginalized shadows and become symbolically integrated into her daily professional responsibilities and routine. This is not a 'balancing' act of opposites in which two spheres are 'juggled' against each other in the course of a work day or week. Rather, this process enables the realization of harmoniously integrating the primary group sphere into the secondary group professional environment, through the medium of information technology, namely the IT-based work calendar. This conscious dual-purpose management of the IT-based calendar can help the professional woman overcome feelings of dissipation and fragmentation towards primary group members, while remaining wholly focused on her professional responsibilities and secondary group interactions within her physical work space.

4. Applying 'impression management' in 'heroic' versus 'unheroic' work input

In many professions, long hours have become a type of pseudo-proxy for business operational success; in other words, there is often a misconception that overtime input is evidence of productive work methods. While this is not gender-related, but rather a general work issue, a gender-related association can nevertheless be found between these nominal entries featured in the professional women's IT-based work calendars (exclusively relating to their respective primary group members) on the one hand and the professional requirement to put in such so-called 'heroic' work hours on the other.

Applying Piwinger's et al concept of impression management, whereby a person intentionally creates and maintains a set of specific characteristics or impressions aimed at how the said individual wishes to be perceived and understood by the external environment,¹⁵ this study notes that some professional women in the legal domain operate the IT-based work calendar for this purpose. Here, however, impression management" is created and maintained in written discourse (keywords) directed to the internalized maternal status rather than externally, at

¹⁵ Manfred Piwinger, Helmut Ebert (2001), "Impression Management: Wie aus Niemand Jemand wird". In: Bentele, Guenther *et al* (Ed.), *Kommunikationsmanagement: Strategien, Wissen, Lösungen*. Luchterhand, Neuwied.

individuals or for bilateral communication. Daily or weekly activities of the professional woman's children (set in her IT-based work calendar as running parallel to her professional activities) represent emotive links to her primary group members. Through this specific use of the IT-based work calendar, the professional woman can connect to the maternal status during her work time and within her physical working space. Accordingly, the professional woman is able to promote a unique impression management to her 'self' whereby her principle status sets - as professional and as maternal (including her role as mother) - all coexist to form her holistic and self-governing identity.

The IT-based work calendar is thus an instrument which can be activated by the professional woman to discourse on an emotive level with her maternal status. Even if the ability to communicate with primary group members is not possible or not desired, and the manual entry of primary member activities in the IT-based work calendar is purely nominal in form, the professional woman can satisfy her continual desire to provide care and nurture to her primary group (family) members as well as ensure for herself a sense of serenity in her capacity to combine multiple status sets and roles. Hence, the presence of nominal entries in the IT-based work calendar of a professional woman concerning primary group members (for example, a child's award event, a child's dancing competition or a child's dentist appointment) which can run at the same time as engagement in professional activities (for example, a commitment to a client call, meeting or conference, or an application to certain professional tasks) enables her to overcome feelings of physical, emotional and cognitive dislocation. While the professional woman's 'heroic' time input can convey 'heroic' impression management towards her secondary group, there is nonetheless a latent effect, namely prolonged physical separation from primary group members. Here, the presence of nominal entries in her IT-based work calendar concerning her primary group (family) members provides the professional woman with the required emotive link which mitigates the way in which she might feel that her 'heroic' overtime work could be contradictory and 'unheroic' towards her primary group members.

5. Ensuring emotive sense of control and fulfilment of primary group needs

Professional women can have a number of entries in the IT-based work calendars which relate to primary group (family) member events or issues that entail real interruption in their professional lives, such as early departure from work to pick up a child from school, or late

arrival to work due to taking a child to a doctor's appointment or absence from work due to a child's illness. Male professionals also utilize their IT-based workplace calendar in the same way, namely as a reminder to break work rhythm for external obligations towards primary group (family) members, such as taking a child to a sport's game or picking a child up from school. Yet, in no instance has this particular research revealed one case of a male professional in the legal domain utilize the IT-based work calendar for nominal 'reminders' regarding primary group member events, activities, whereabouts, responsibilities or tasks, which demand no action or intervention on the part of the male professional, and which exist merely as a non-intrusive IT work-based calendar feature, popping up at specific set times during a given work day or week.

In addition, this study gathered evidence that professional women often do not pay much attention to the nominal information in the IT-based work calendars which deal exclusively with primary group (family) members. In fact, the keywords are rarely noticed by these professional women when they appear on the computer screen as 'reminders' at the scheduled times (for example, *Clara's dance lesson*, *Dylan's sport's workout*). They can be highly involved in their professional duties, such as conference calls, meetings or otherwise absorbed, during which their immediate focus and field of concentration is removed from their IT-based calendar attention when their primary group members and related activities appear in written form.

Taking the above points into account, professional women can sense separation from their maternal status in two fundamental ways. Firstly, daily professional responsibilities and duties separate them (in physical distance and in ability to communicate) from their respective primary group members. Secondly, at the specific times, when certain activities of their respective primary group (family) members take place, professional women are in a way marginalized by those 'other women', with different statuses and roles, who, as nannies, caretakers, or as members of their extended families etc., ensure that the daily needs and activities of the professional women's children are taken care of. An interesting feature in the course of this decade long study, is that none of these professional women's IT-based work calendars acknowledges these 'other women' (who tend to the child's needs in different ways) in terms of keyword(s) or description(s) (such as the *nanny* who drives the child to the events, the *sister* who picks the child up from school, the *live-in housekeeper* who prepares the children's dinner, the after-school *dance teacher*, or the *hairstylist* etc.). Rather, the nominal

entries in the IT work-based calendar only indicate the child's name and activity or event taking place. Hence, these nominal calendar entries give the impression that the professional woman directly fulfils the tasks herself and is 'present' in the realization of these particular activities and events in relation to her primary group (family) members. In fact, there is no difference in the written discourse regarding primary group (family) members between those 'nominal entries' which require no action for the professional women (and which are at times effectuated by other women) on the one hand, and on the other hand, those 'active entries', which require action from the professional woman, for her to break her work rhythm and attend to a child's needs. Both entries are indicated in the same way (for example, *Clara dentist* or *Dylan sport's practice*).

While these professional women have achieved a leading position in their occupation, which allows for significant power and control over work processes and secondary group members, they remain nevertheless so to speak captive within their work space and time. The professional woman has lost a certain amount of control of her maternal status and of her role as mother during her working time which have been yielded to 'other women' with different status sets and roles, who in turn have specific direct or indirect responsibilities regarding the professional woman's children. Moreover, the professional woman cannot determine the realization of on-going activities of her primary group's (children's) activities during her work time. She is not able to exert the influence which she might desire at a given moment in time in relation to the external activities and whereabouts of her primary group (family) members; therefore, on a lingering conscious level or in the background of her mind, she might ask herself during her daily work activities, whether her child's hair cut was right, whether her child was taken on time to sport's training, or whether her child took a proper outfit for an after-school dance class.

By virtue of ensuring that family activities appear as nominal features in the IT-based work calendar during the day to day professional activities, these professional women (while physically apart from family members and focused on professional responsibilities) are able to maintain unbroken emotive interactive connections to primary group members and their respective activities. The professional woman's conscious omission in the IT-based work calendar of the personal names and roles of the 'other women' (nanny, caretaker, aunt, sister etc.) - who are nevertheless physically present and responsible for ensuring the smooth running of certain activities of the professional woman's children - reinforces the professional woman's

efforts and ability in establishing and maintaining her clear, unbroken and direct emotive control on actual undertakings and outcomes of her primary group (family) member activities or events.

6. Realizing the ability to *get around* within the confined professional space

High-level professional women can be under considerable scrutiny within their working time to avoid spending too much (or any) time on primary group (family) members and issues. In the legal profession, “time is money” - time is of the essence in both the ability to maximize capital intake and in the capacity to ensure legal deadlines are met (if not, penalties are incurred such as fewer clients, less remuneration or considerable work overload). Unlike some professions, where a higher professional status allows for significantly more leeway to plan and manage one’s work time and activities, it can often be the reverse in the legal profession. The higher the professional legal status, the higher the responsibility to ensure capital for example, and in turn, the less flexibility to undertake activities which are not directly related to the professional responsibilities.

In similar manner, the higher the woman’s professional legal status, the less likely she can devote time to family issues. Contacting primary group members during work time could easily give the impression to colleagues that there are issues with her ability to uphold an exceptional level of professional competency. The success of many legal companies or departments is very much based on relations with clients (this in turn determines to a large extent opportunities for promotion), and high-level professional women in the legal domain can be more sensitive than their male counterparts not to interrupt work time with primary group (family) member issues which cannot be billed, cannot generate networking potential, or which otherwise, from secondary group members’ perception, cannot provide tangible benefits for a legal firm, legal department or company.

Palen/Salzman/Youngs (2001) (as cited by Geser) have noted the importance of the mobile phone usage in “‘grooming calls’ which have primarily (or even exclusively) a non-instrumental, socio-economical function: e.g. showing concern, solidarity and commitment, and articulating nearness, compassion, sympathy and love”. As with their male counterparts, high-level professional women in the legal field often have IT-based work based calendars on constant overflow and are hard pressed to find even a few moments time to connect with

family members. These professional women without doubt strive to be fully engaged and integrated, and endeavour to convey to secondary group members, through their interface, work methods and competencies, that they are comfortable with the physical and socio-emotional distance towards primary group (family) members. Nonetheless, the nominal entries in the IT-based work calendars of a number of these professional women, regarding primary group (family) whereabouts and activities, reveal their desire to overcome the constraints of time, freedom and space which they can experience on a daily basis. These nominal entries function like the “grooming calls” of the mobile phone (s. supra), and convey what Licoppe/Heurtin (2002) (cited by Geser, 2004) show with short mobile phone calls to close individuals - “nearness, compassion, sympathy and love” (s. supra).

On a similar note, Geser refers to Bautsch et al (2001) that “if you are without mobile phone (...) means no one depends on you for urgent direction; no one wants to get in touch with you at all times (...) in short, not get-ting [sic] around all that much.” Professional women in the legal domain are, for a good part of their work time, without much opportunity to use the ubiquitous technological gadgets and tools for bilateral communication to primary group (family) members. Even if readily available and visible on the office desk or computer desktop (mobile phone, social networking, texting, face time etc.), the restriction is due not only to a considerable lack of time but also to potential negative perceptions from secondary group members. As a professional woman’s engagement and commitment can be questioned, if for example seen connecting with primary group members within work time and space, the professional woman’s aim is to minimize – if not wholly remove – differences to male counterparts in the heavily competitive and mentally demanding legal profession.

Differences can be interpreted by secondary group members as ‘stigmas’, according to Yoshino’s study (2006), and subsequently Yoshino and Smith’s study (2014) “Uncovering Talent” (2013). Here, Yoshino and Smith affirm that the “concept of covering” in the workplace is an effective technique to eliminate any noticeable difference, effectuated in usually one of four ways: “appearance-based”; “affiliation-based”; “advocacy-based” or “association-based”. Specifically, Yoshino and Smith define the concept “affiliation-based” as an individual’s conscious avoidance of specific behaviours and actions (which are linked to an aspect of the individual’s identity) in order to deflect potentially damaging stereotyping by secondary group members. Yoshino and Smith’s example highlights that “a woman might avoid talking about being a mother because she does not want her colleagues to think she is

less committed to her work.” Hence, the professional woman’s exclusive use of nominal entries in her IT-based work calendar concerning activities of primary group members can be a form of compensatory behaviour in lieu of entering into direct contact with primary group members while in her work environment. At the same time, the professional woman can reinforce effective impression management, regarding her ability to focus and commit herself to the work load and responsibilities, on the level of her secondary group members, and perhaps more so, vis-à-vis her male counterparts.

As can be deduced, the place of high-level professional women in the legal domain can be an extremely lonely one. She cannot easily get in touch with her primary group (family) members and her demanding professional responsibilities encroach on her personal scope and time. Through the daily, weekly and monthly flow of nominal entries in the IT-based work calendar, these professional women can ‘beam’ themselves into a myriad of emotive links to their respective primary group (family) members at fixed calendar times and dates. Again, in many cases, the professional woman does not necessarily consciously notice the nominal entries as they pop up as calendar reminders at a particular scheduled time, being preoccupied on a client call, or participating in a meeting, or meticulously reviewing a document. Nevertheless, in manually ‘placing’ keywords concerning primary group (family) members in the form of nominal entries into her IT-based work calendar, the professional woman creates and retains ‘snapshots’ of her activities through this written discourse at hand. As a result, she is now “getting round” to use Bautsch’s et al term (s. supra).

The professional woman’s emotive experience to primary group members’ activities can exist in a two-sequenced time frame: first, the present moment, both through the manual action of entering the nominal keywords into the IT-based work calendar and of setting the time at which the activity or event is due to occur; second, the result later on, conveyed by the IT-based work ‘reminder’ on-screen pop up. In both former and latter scenarios, the four office walls can give way to the emotive and internally visualized image of the child tapping in the dance class, or sitting in the hairdresser’s salon, or training at the sport’s arena. This time-fixed imaging of the whereabouts and activities of primary group (family) members, conveyed by written entries in the IT-based work calendar, imbues the professional woman with an inner sense of empowerment: she is able to get around, to be with her family and become a part of their activities, while nevertheless remaining within the confines of her physical work space, work time, work interaction and activities

7. Promoting parallel statuses and roles

Whereas the mobile phone has been shown to reinstate “fluid, casual modes of informal communication”,¹⁶ so the IT-based work calendar can be programmed to ‘bing’ in activities of close individuals, thereby re-establishing flexibility of communication, movement and connection among status sets and roles. Drawing on his own work and that of others, Geser details the diverse ways in which “cell phones help individuals to reduce role strains and role fragmentation, typically generated by highly complex social environments and societal conditions”.¹⁷

The professional woman’s operation of her IT-based work calendar functions in the same manner. Indeed, she can control her IT-based work calendar in such a way to reduce – if not eliminate - conflict among statuses and roles by manually setting on parallel time lines both active professional-based entries (which require physical presence, bilateral communication or task completion) and personal entries linked to her primary group (family) members. Some of these primary group related (personal) entries can function as active entries, requiring for example a physical or cognitive break in her work rhythm (such as leaving work early to take a child to the dentist, or needing to call a child). Other primary group related (personal) entries can be purely nominal in form with no requirement to break her work flow, simply indicating in keywords, for example a child’s activity. In using the IT-based work calendar for active entries (on professional and personal levels) as well as for exclusively primary group related nominal entries, the professional woman transforms her office area into a multi-functioning sphere wherein professional and personal activities and events run side by side. Her impression management to her *self* is complete: hence, she creates and maintains her holistic identity - as a lawyer and as a mother – to co-exist within her work environment.

Drawing on Gillard’s research, Geser remarks that:

each role demands one’s physical presence at a specific place (workplace, private apartment, church, school etc.), reconciling different roles usually means: sequencing role involvements diachronically and taking the burden of frequent time-consuming locomotion. By providing the opportunity for flexible role switching without changing location, cell phones facilitate the harmonization of different role duties, because diachronic role change can be

¹⁶ Geser (2004), p. 11. (Geser cites Fox (2001))

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

substituted by (almost) synchronous roles involvement and because frictional costs associated with time-consuming locomotional activities can be avoided (Gillard 1996). Thus, women can engage in 'remote mothering' at work or 'remote home' at work."¹⁸

Professionals in the legal domain must devote a considerable time on a daily basis on individual, colleague and client-focused work. The use of any interruptive tool for "bilateral communication" to facilitate a type of "synchronous roles involvement" (s. supra) with primary group members within the work environment can be extremely disruptive. Plant (2000) notes the same effect of the mobile phone which can "siphon concentration".¹⁹

The professional woman utilizes nominal entries in her individual IT-based work calendar as an emotive connection to primary group (family) members by consciously placing primary group activities parallel to her professional actions and tasks. In choosing this unobtrusive method to connect with primary group members, she can deflect secondary group members' potential negative analysis of her engagement with her primary group members, such as work place deviancy, incompetence or an inability to focus on the demands placed in the professional sphere. Moreover, a disruption of work rhythm (by engaging in direct bilateral communication with a primary group member) could compromise both the way in which she is *conducting* her own impression management and the way in which her secondary group (work) members are individually, and as a group, *interpreting* her impression management.

For the most part detached on a daily working basis, both physically and in terms of bilateral communication, from primary group (family) members, the professional woman can operate the IT work-based calendar to serve as a cathartic tool. Here, nominal entry reminders in the IT work-based calendar affirm the professional woman's involvement in events and activities of the primary group (family) members. The pre-programmed warning device in the IT-based work calendar to denote conflicting events is reduced to an irrelevant (obsolete) function. The child's weekly sport's game, the child's Friday afternoon hairdressing appointment, or the child's Thursday afternoon dance classes are set parallel to a Board meeting to attend, a task to complete, or a client call to make. Here, an emotive connection representing the maternal status and intrinsically linked to her primary group (family) members joins her physical professional status and roles within her office environment. In this way, the

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 14. (Geser refers to Gillard (1996).

¹⁹ Plant (2000), The effects of mobile telephones on social and individual life, p.30.

professional woman realizes a type of virtual “synchronous roles involvement” (s. supra), similar to Gillard’s description in relation to mobile phone use.

While the mobile phone promotes “primary bonds to be continued during periods of spatial separation”²⁰ and is effective in “empowering moving individuals to connect to any distant partners at any point in time, regardless of location and speed”²¹, the nominal entries in the IT-based work calendar of professional women serve also to maintain bonds, although without necessitating time spent on contact with their respective primary group (family) members. Hence, the professional woman is able to fulfil a particular impression management in which she creates and maintains a holistic image of her *self*, that is conveyed exclusively to herself, and wherein she can experience on an emotive level multiple statuses and roles within her professional environment.

In many professions, women are perceived as, on the one hand too soft and, on the other hand too assertive to be considered for a lead role or leadership position, and hence “gender bias can give rise to double binds and double standards”.²² Yet, taking gender politics of earnings into account, the legal profession has made great strides in overcoming inequalities. Women in the legal domain can be higher placed and can easily earn just as much, if not more, than many of their male counterparts. In essence, the legal domain displays significant flexibility towards enabling professional women to evolve, as the organizational structures of law offices and in-house company legal departments are significantly less gendered than in many other specialized domains, such as in the fields of the sciences, engineering or technology.

A professional woman in the legal domain can excel in her area of speciality without depending on a team organization or team achievements; she can acquire a significant number of her own clients, bill according to her own estimations, and function to a highly independent degree from both her male and female counterparts who specialize in either similar or different areas of law. Prescriptive stereotype is nevertheless present, whereby women legal professionals need to maintain certain behaviours and norms to avoid derogatory or harmful

²⁰ Geser (2004), p. 18. (Geser cites Gergen (2002), p. 237)

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

²² Robin J. Ely, Herminia Ibarra, Deborah Kolb (2011), Faculty & Research Working Paper. Taking Gender into Account: Theory and Design for Women’s Leadership Development Programs, p. 31. (Ely et. al., cites the following authors: Frankel (2004); Bowles, Babcock & Lai (2007); Heilman & Parks-Stamm (2007))

remarks from secondary group members. In this sense, she might feel the need to do the same (if not more) ‘heroic’ hours as her male counterparts and, at the same time, she could also be more sensitive to showing herself to be engaged in any significant or overt primary group (family) member contact during her professional time.

Through nominal entries into her IT-based work calendar, the professional woman sets up and maintains a bond with her primary group, just as one function of the mobile phones is, as Plant (2000) affirms, to “keep established relationships alive”.²³ Hence, the professional woman’s entries in her IT-based work calendar relating to primary group members (such as, a child’s singing lesson, a child’s sport’s game or a child friend’s birthday party) maintain her ‘live’ and emotive link to “established relationships”. Furthermore, unlike the mobile phone which “disrupts the natural boundaries between public and private”²⁴ (Plant, 2000), the IT-based work calendar nominal entries allow the professional woman to transcend the confines of physical work space, and to place both private and professional spheres parallel to each other, without the interruption or disruption of work focus and activities, which using a mobile phone would involve.

8. Creating multiple spaces as a form of ‘retaliation’ and ‘protection’

Office photos of family members remain ‘fixed’ in time, and while they are able to convey a subconscious intention of the individual to affirm a stable and happy married / family and social life, office photos remain a static object confined to a specific moment in the past. This study’s empirical findings show that higher placed professional women in the legal field tend to make considerably more efforts to enhance their offices with photos of their spouses/partners and/or children as opposed to their counterparts on a lower professional level whose personal office photos are usually fewer in number, and at times non-existent. Of note is the fact that women in the legal domain can and do stand at the helm of the firm (as law firm partners) or of the company (as senior in-house legal counsel or legal vice-president), and in the latter case, side by side with other VPs and the CEO involved in the dynamics and the steering of the organizational structure as a whole. In most cases, these professional women will be unique in their position not only in terms of their professional status, as legal

²³ Plant (2000), p. 30.

²⁴ Geser (2004), p. 69.

representatives of the company but also in terms of their gender, in a mainly male-dominated structure.

Lasen's study (2002) as cited by Geser, describes the mobile phone as a "symbolic bodyguard"²⁵ which serves as a type of protection for a woman to fend off unsolicited or unwelcome attention directed at her²⁶. In the same context, Geser draws on Goffman that "women especially often don't like to show themselves alone in public places, because this may indicate that they are without relationship: a condition which (1) provides a bad impression of their social status and (2) leaves them in an unprotected situation (...)."²⁷ The mobile phone, whether placed on the café table by a women sitting alone in a café, or clasped in her hand when alone outside, acts as "barrier signals"²⁸ to convey that she is nevertheless "not isolate and alone (...) [but remains] embedded in [her] (...) social setting".²⁹

In similar manner, office photos of primary group members can add value to the overall standing of professional women, in particular to those professional women who find themselves numerically fewer when in the boardroom, a committee meeting, or on a conference call. Here, the presence of these office photos, like the mobile phone, can serve to enhance the professional woman's social profile, to quote Plant (2000) as "not isolate and alone" (s. supra). Rather, through discrete placement of the office photos on her office desk or otherwise near to her working area, the professional woman can convey a successful image of herself outside of her work environment. By this, she facilitates positive impression management in which secondary group members perceive her as successful within a specific social environment and able to maintain stable primary group relationships.

Office photos are nonetheless limited in what they can convey. As 'snapshots' of past moments, they cannot reveal the manner in which family members evolve through activities, events and situations on a daily basis, and they cannot convey the professional woman's present involvement with primary group (family) member activities. In short, office photos do not facilitate the creation of "two spaces"³⁰ in the present moment, which, as Geser points out,

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 9. (Geser cites Lasen (2002), p. 27)

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 9. (Geser cites Haddon (2000); Cooper (2000))

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 9. (Geser alludes to E. Goffman (1963), p. 83ff)

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 9. (Geser cites Fox (2001))

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9. (Geser cites Plant (2000))

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.23. (Geser cites Palen/Salzman/Youngs (2001))

the mobile phone can do – by creating both “the physical space” and “the virtual space of the conversation”.³¹

The IT-based work calendar has, however, the in-built versatility of creating multiple spaces; all of these multiple spaces are at set times and dates which can be activated by the individual: the *physical space*, set within specific tangible boundaries (such as scheduled meetings and conferences); the *activities area* (such as reminders to actions or tasks to be accomplished), and the intangible *emotive sphere* where nominal entries can feature (on primary group members’ whereabouts, events and activities). Indeed, in the latter case, this information is neither intrusive nor does it interrupt any on-going work flow or concentration. As a result, the professional woman can easily *feel* herself to *be* in multiple statuses and roles within the confines of her work space and activities. In setting up *physical*, *activities* and *emotive* areas in the IT-based work calendar, the professional woman has immersed herself within ‘parallel’ worlds, in which she can experience the various spheres simultaneously.

9. Conclusion

Professional women utilize the IT-based work calendar both for its intended purposes, such as to harmonize organization, interaction and communication among secondary group members (work colleagues, superiors and clients), and to a lesser extent for activities which usually denote a break in work rhythm, notably in relation to primary group members (such as, a reminder to leave work early to take a child to the doctors).

Yet, this study reveals that high-level professional women in the legal domain also use the IT-based work calendar for a purpose which the IT-based work calendar was not intentionally designed, namely to create and maintain *nominal* entries. The presence of nominal entries does not demand any action on the part of the professional woman to engage in bilateral communication or activities regarding the individuals represented in these nominal entries, which act as an internal reinforcement of the professional woman’s bonds to primary group (family) members.

Through the conscious action of manually entering nominal information into the IT-based work calendar, usually in short keywords relating to primary group (family) member

³¹ *Ibid.*, p.23. (Geser cites Palen/Salzman/Youngs (2001))

events or activities, these professional women can ensure an emotive 'transfer' of their primary group member sphere into the professional one. In this context, the use of the IT-based work calendar to set primary group related activities parallel to professional secondary group related activities can also be seen as a compensatory action to reinstate harmony within the work place, by relegating the maternal status to the same level as that of the professional.

The professional woman's manipulation of her IT-based work calendar, whereby she consciously overrides the IT-based work calendar automatic system that warns of double, or parallel running, entries (such as a client call set at the same time as her child's sport's lesson) can be interpreted as a form of her internalized 'retaliation'. Through this action, she regains a sense of 'control' and 'power' against an organizational operation and structure which can be seen to suppress her maternal status over her professional status. Nominal entries regarding primary group member activities restore the equilibrium of two statuses (hence, the Board meeting set at alongside the child's sport's game, the client conference call set alongside the child's hairdressing appointment). This in turn reflects the way in which the professional woman feels, perceives and experiences her holistic identity within her daily working environment.

The deliberate juxtaposing of two 'incongruent' and conflicting events, representing professional and personal spheres, indicates the way in which a number of professional women are utilizing and successfully controlling work place technology to assume their multiple statuses and roles which co-exist within the work environment. In short, professional women's nominal IT-based work calendar entries of activities and events of primary group (notably family) members can be perceived as a way to reduce a feeling of social distance and separateness. Moreover, the professional woman's experience role conflict and role strain in the work place can also be mitigated through this unique utilization of the IT-based work calendar.

In consciously not opting for any visually recognizable or intrusive tools (such as mobile phones or on-screen social networking options) which are readily available in the working area, the professional woman ensures optimum concentration, productivity and time management within her working environment. In short, her thought processes, activities and work flow remain constant, without interruption which could affect her impression management. By such adept management of the IT-based work calendar, the professional

woman is also able to shield herself from possible harmful stereotyping from secondary group members.

Indeed, this distinctive way in which the professional woman in the legal domain utilizes her IT-based work calendar, through nominal entries regarding her primary group (family) members, reflects a remarkable and innovative style of impression management: she can convey to her secondary group members a sense of complete physical, cognitive and emotional presence and engagement to her professional responsibilities, including her ability to be fully involved in secondary group interaction and to maintain 'heroic' time input, if required. At the same time, in creating and maintaining nominal entries regarding primary group (family) members, which are directed *to* and *for herself*, she sets into motion and upholds a form of self-empowerment, affirming her multiple status sets and roles. Here, she is effectively transforming her IT-based work calendar to reflect and enhance her daily rhythm. By setting her professional (secondary group) activities and events parallel to her personal (primary group) activities and events in her IT-based work calendar, the professional woman provides a narration of the daily interconnectivity of her status sets which she experiences. In essence, the professional woman succeeds in affirming *to* and *for herself* a holistic stable identity, within multiple spheres, where both primary and secondary group members co-exist parallel to each other.

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PIDGINS AS NATIONAL LANGUAGES IN SOME AFRICAN COUNTRIES: THE HURDLES AND THE WAY FORWARD

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Abstract

The debates on the suitability, or otherwise, of Pidgins as national languages in some African countries are robust and on-going. The advocates and critics of Pidgin as national language are inundating the literature with information, views and suggestions. This paper aimed at lending more weight to the efforts of the Pidgin positivists. The study reflected on the language situation in Africa, revisited the concepts of lingua franca, Pidgin and Creole, and paid attention to the use of Pidgin in Nigeria and Ghana as models of its briefs. The study further reviewed some hurdles peddled against the adoption of Pidgin, such as, the issues of stigmatization, attitudes, cultural base, indigenous status and low-level development in terms of corpus and status planning. However, this article contends that with the widespread use of Pidgin at the grassroots level, the increasing functions and domains of its use in many sectors of the society, the gradual and positive attitude being garnered, especially among the literate populations, all the hurdles are surmountable. The paper concluded by calling upon national governments in the respective African countries to officially recognize Pidgin and plan for its corpus and status development in order to enhance its official use. It also called upon all the positivists and other stake holders to mount up aggressive awareness, conferences and programmes in all the concerned African nations for the purpose of sensitising governments and the literate populations on the need to develop Pidgin.

Key words: National language, Pidgins, Lingua franca, Language situation, African countries

1. Introduction

The controversy trailing any discourse on Pidgin as lingua franca in Nigeria or in some other heterolinguistic African countries is better imagined than real. A launch to the net on this controversy is vivid. See some of the people's views, especially in Nigeria, from the web site of the Nairaland Forum:

Comment 1: What are the short comings of Pidgin English as a common language in Nigeria? Already, it is the unofficial lingo... why are we deceiving ourselves with queens English that is only well spoken by (a) few?

Comment 2: The language is a way of life. It is an integral part of our culture and heritage. Thus, removing it will amount to deleting some part of history.

Wetin we go come tell our children say happen to the language that we once used to express ourselves, chase our women and generally mess around with. "The choice medium of expression for most of our up and coming musical star and even our dear and beloved president 'Uncle Sege'

"Weting una dey yarn sef? Make una no try am oo. Still dey hail."

Comment 3: Pidgin is a caricature of the original English, so, I don't see it as our invention or making. It is neither our original tongue before we were colonized, we had our own language and dialect and it wasn't this Pidgin.

If we had been colonised by France, we would have been speaking French.

If we believe we don't want to copy anymore, let's drop all we copied including democracy. Pidgin, to me, is degrading and abuse of English"

It is not our original tongue. We only bastardise the one we copy.

Comment 4: Not true friend, Pidgin English is pure (queen's) English in broken down version. So, please do not look at it that way. It is something that has come to stay and there is absolutely nothing anyone least of you can do about it.

Comment 5: We should restructure our educational system around Pidgin English, a language spoken and understood by the majority, in place of Queen's English. Should we just improve (upon) the quality of English Language Education? Will it be a step in the right direction or a terribly misguided step?

Comment 6: Simply, Pidgin means adulteration of the original. We have Pidgin in every form of language – French, Yoruba (modern day Yorubá with so many English words). Every society have (has) an unofficial lingo. The widespread of it does not replace the original. Otherwise, maybe we replace classical Yoruba and other Nigerian language with modern Yoruba which is a mixture of Yoruba, English, and whatever you can imagine.

Few comments are provided above to reflect the debates surrounding the candidature of Pidgin as an official language in Nigeria. In Ghana, the story is similar. Mauler (2002) opines that though educated English-speaking Ghanaians frown upon Pidgin, believing it to be an inferior” form of “true” or “educated” language, it survives in mix-tribe schools and among lower-class people who have less access to formal English training, because Ghana is homes to several tribes with mutually unintelligible languages, and at times, Pidgin is the only way to communicate with someone.

In this study, Nigeria and Ghana, and in some cases, Cameroon are used as case studies in Africa because these countries are quite representative of the African linguistic situation in many respects. First, most African countries are multilingual in such a way that the carving out of countries, sequel to colonialism, created the merging together of many tribes and tongues for political administration by the colonialists. In West, East, North and South Africa, regions

were merged together for ease of administration and this phenomenon triggered the introduction of colonial languages. Secondly, imperatives of exploration and trade have caused populations to come into contact with each other. Thirdly, the languages changed in these African countries to reflect such interactions, and sometimes ethnic groups in contact develop lingua franca and Pidgin, thus accounting for why Hudson (1990:62) stresses that “each Pidgin is, of course, specially constructed to suit the need of its users, which means that it has to have the terminology and constructions needed in whatever kinds [sic] of context”.

The foregoing has been put forth as issues underscoring the increasingly embedded nature of Pidgins in some African countries. Africa as a continent, with a few countries in exception, is faced with the albatross of the lack of an indigenous official language with which the affairs of their nations can be articulated (Bodomo, 1996; Adegbija, 1994). With the multilingual status of most African countries, the search for lingua franca has been met with complacency, especially with the popular use of colonial languages. However, this paper intends to discuss the need for lingua franca for African countries, and the consideration of Pidgin as a viable option in most of these countries, as well as the challenges of developing them to meet the exigencies of corpus and status planning. Many works have been done, and are still on-going on the suitability of Pidgin as lingua franca in some African countries (Mauler, 2002; Ihimere, 2006; Ofolue, 2011; Ginsberg, 2012). This paper is aimed at consolidating the views of positivists on Pidgins, and at sensitizing all the relevant agencies to be more aware that Pidgin has not only come to stay, but needs to be developed to meet the linguistic needs of the Africans.

2. Language Situation in Africa

For the purpose of this study, Lodhi's (1993) discourse on language situation in Africa seems far-reaching. According to him, all African languages compete with metropolitan/colonial languages, as well as with Pidgins and Creoles. It is true that today's

national boundaries of African countries, which were drawn in Europe by the colonial powers at the turn of the century, did not pay any regard to the cultural, linguistic or historical affinity of the Africans. This is against the background that African boundaries were carved out at the whims and caprices of the colonialists. Lodhi divides the linguistic map of Africa into Anglophone, Francophone, Luzophone, Amabiphone and Swahiphone. He gives the statistics of African countries per the kind of official language in use as follows:

English:	19 countries
French:	22 „
Portuguese:	5 countries
Arabic:	7 „
Spanish:	1 country

Countries with an African language as the first or second language are Ethiopia (Amharic) East Africa (Swahili), Somalia (Somali) and Malawi (Chichewa).

In another way, Abdulaziz (Lodhi, 1993) describes the typology of language situation in Africa in four groups. The first group refers to countries that have African languages spoken by the vast majority of the population. This group sub-divides into two. The first sub-division is characterized by those countries that have one African language as their mother tongue. They are Botswana (Setswana), Burundi (Kirundi), Lesotho (Sesotho), Rwandan (Kinyarwanda), Somalia (Somali) and Swaziland (SiSwati).

The second sub-groups is depicted by countries that have one African language as their lingua franca. They are Central African Republic (Sango), Kenya and Tanzania (Swahili), Mali (Bambina), Senegal (Wolof).

The countries that have one predominant African language constitute the second group. They are Dahomi (Gee), Malawi (Chichewa), Niger (Hausa), Burkina Faso (Mossy) and Zimbabwe (Shone). The third group is reflected by countries that have several dominant indigenous African languages competing with one another. They are Nigeria (Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba and others).Ghana (Akan, Twi), Sierra Leone (Mende, Temme), Zaire (Chilubd, Kikonso). The last group is consisted of African countries with no predominant African language. They are Cameroon, Ivory Coast and Mozambique.

The language situation described above has led to the use of metro-languages, as well as the adoption of both endoglossic and exoglossic language policies for the continent. The countries with an endoglossic language policy which promotes one language are Cameroon, Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda and Somalia, while those with an exoglossic language policy are Angola, Guinea Bissau, Mocambique and Liberia. The exoglossic countries which promote more than one indigenous language are Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria and Zaire. However other exoglossic countries with endoglossic tendencies are Botswana, Burundi, Central African Republic, Cameroon, Lesotho, Malawi, Rwanda, Swaziland and Uganda. From the foregoing, the choice of a suitable lingua franca poses no problem among the countries in group 1, but countries in groups 2, 3 and 4 are faced with rivalry among various language groups. Even in group 2 where there are predominant African languages, the minority languages are contending with the dominance of the prominent languages.

However, the dominance of metro-languages in most African countries is believed to be detrimental to the overall development of Africa and Africans. According to Lodhi (1993: 4):

The dominance of the metro-languages deprives the majority of Africans (the) access to knowledge, and hinders them from participating in national politics and the decision-making process. It slows down national integration and development of a nation-state with a national culture, creates insecurity and (the) feeling of inferiority among those who have to operate in the foreign language of the ruling class. This has led to ethnic unrest, political instability and rural violence from time to time in several parts of Africa, where the main political problems are not really ideological but rather ethnolinguistic.

The heterogeneous language situation in Africa is suggestive of the reason for lack of lingua francas in many African countries. This albatross has been linked with development problems in Africa. Bodomo (1996) stresses that if development is seen as the sustainable socio-cultural, economic and technological transformation of a society, then language becomes an important variable in the development process. He argues that language has a symbolic function which contains and processes the indigenous beliefs structure in terms of socio-cultural, political, economic and technological system native to the people. According to him, new belief systems are immediately related to these existing systems in developing community initiative indigenous knowledge, and popular participation. By implication, a relevant conceptualization and implementation of societal transformation can be achieved through the use of mother tongues or languages indigenous to the society.

3. The Terms ‘Lingua Franca’, ‘Pidgin’ and ‘Creole’ and the Theories of Origin.

These key concepts need to be explained in examining the issues characterizing any discourse on solutions to the linguistic heterogeneity in Africa, especially where it has become difficult to arrive at a common or acceptable language that is native to users for official or national purposes. Briney (2012) describes a lingua franca as a language used by different populations to communicate when they do not share a common language. Economic, social and political activities have made populations or different people come in contact with one another. Communication would definitely be difficult since these people are of different cultures, languages and nationalities. As products of necessity, lingua francas, pidgins and creoles evolved as natural solutions to language barriers.

Briney claims that the term ‘lingua franca’ was first used during the Middle Ages when crusaders and tradesmen in Mediterranean came into contact for business, and official interaction. According to him, Arabic, Italian, French, Portuguese, Malay etc. were early lingua francas, while English, French, Russian and Spanish were United Nations’ official languages. Today, English is a world lingua franca because of its use in commerce, internet and other spheres of life.

In today’s Africa, many languages compete with metropolitan colonial languages, as well as with Pidgin and Creoles. According to Lodhi (1993), the organization of African Unity (otherwise known as African Union) has recommended 50 languages to be supported by Arabic and Swahili as the only native African working languages. However, in this paper, African countries using non-African languages as official /national languages are regarded as having no lingua franca, with the exception of the Arabic language users. For such countries, the consideration of Pidgin as their lingua franca becomes the concern of this discourse.

According to Adegbija (1994), the emergence of Pidgins and Creoles is one of the sociolinguistically significant outcomes of European contact in Africa. Briney (2012) opines that although, the first lingua franca that developed during the Middle Ages was first considered a Pidgin, the term developed originally out of contact between Europeans and people in the countries they visited in association with trade, plantation agriculture and mining. Mufwene (2002) asserts that some Pidgins have expanded into regular languages, especially in urban settings, and are called ‘expanded Pidgins’. Examples include *Bislama* and *Tok Pisin* in Melanesia, Pidgin English in Nigeria and Cameroon.

In the view of Mufwene (2001), Creoles and Pidgins developed in separate places in which Europeans and non-Europeans interacted differently, i.e. sporadically in trade colonies which produced Pidgins, but regularly in the initial stages of settlement colonies where Creoles developed. The term ‘Pidgin’ was coined in 1807, about two years after the term ‘Creole’ was used in reference to a language variety (Akhimien, 2004). Creole was originally coined in Iberian colonies, apparently in the 16th century, in reference to non-indigenous people born in the American colonies. It was adopted in metropolitan Spanish, then in French and later in English by the early 17th century. By the second half of the same century, it was generalized to descendants of African or Europeans born in Romance colonies (Ihimere, 2006). This, perhaps, accounts for the description of Creole as nativised Pidgin which descendants of Pidgin speakers have as first language.

Among the various theories put forth on the origin of Pidgin are the following:

(1) The baby – talk theory which discussed the China coast Pidgin English as having many similarities with the speech of children such as the following features:

- (a) high percentage of content words with a corresponding low number of function words;
- (b) little morphological marking;
- (c) word classes more flexible than in adult language (free conversion);
- (d) contrasts in area of pronouns greatly reduced;
- (e) number of inflections minimised.

However, Bloomfield (1933) maintains that the characteristics of Pidgins result from incompetence in English mastery by imperfect learning methods.

(2) Independent parallel development theory which emphasized that similarities between world’s Pidgin and creoles arose from independent and parallel lines due to the fact that they all derived from languages of Indo-European stock.

(3) Nautical paragon theory which spotted the possible influence of nautical jargons on Pidgins, resulting from voyages of the developing world’s discovery. Many nationalities were often represented among the crews of the ships.

(3) Monogenetic/relexification theory which stressed that a single proto-Pidgin of the 15th century Portuguese Pidgin probably relics of the medieval lingua franca, which was also known as ‘Sabir’ from the Portuguese word ‘know’. Sabir was the common means of communication among the crusaders and traders in the Mediterranean area.

(4) Universalist theory which maintained that the origin of Pidgins has elements in common with the other theories. The distinguishing mark of this theory is that it sees the

similarities as due to universal tendencies among humans to create languages of a similar type, i.e. an analytic language with simple phonology, an SVO syntax with little or no subordination or other sentence complexities, and with a lexicon which makes maximum use of polysemy, and devices such as reduplication, operating from a limited core vocabulary.

4. Developmental Stages of Pidgins and Creoles

The developmental process of Pidgins and Creoles are reported as possessing some stages Mufwene (2012). Pidgins are generally characterized as restricted and extended. Pidgins are, at first, used in marginal contact as restricted language variety for minimal trading purposes. From this original modest outset, a Pidgin may develop into an extended type. This implies the extension of the social functions of a Pidgin. A recent social situation of Pidgin development is in West-Africa where it is used as a means of communication, not just among the black and white speakers, but among the native speakers themselves who, however, have very different native languages. In West Africa, the function of Pidgin is that of a lingua franca because it is a common means of communication between speakers who do not understand their respective native languages.

In many African countries where lingua franca is in place, the process of pidginisation to creolisation is a possibility. Creoles develop on two basic situations: (i) where speakers of Pidgins are put in a situation in which they cannot use their respective mother tongues. This arose during the era of slave trade, especially in the Caribbean and the Southern United States, where speakers were deliberately kept in separate groups to avoid their plotting rebellion. They were then forced to maintain the Pidgin which they had developed up to then. They passed it on to future generations as their mother tongue, thus, forming the transition from a Pidgin to Creole.

(ii) Where a Pidgin is regarded by a social group as a higher language variety and deliberately cultivated. This is the kind of situation which obtained in Cameroon and which does still to some extent on Papua New Guinea. The outcome of this kind of situation is that the children of such speakers which use Pidgin for prestige reasons may end up using the Pidgin as a first language, thus rendering it a Creole language with the attendant relinquishing of the native language of their parents, as well as the expansion of all the linguistic levels for the new Creole language to act as fully-fledged language. If Pidgins are given the opportunity to thrive as official languages in the concerned African countries, their creolisation is then an inevitability for the on-coming generations.

We are quick to add that though some elites have expressed their prejudice on Pidgin as a possible lingua franca in Nigeria in particular, and in some African countries in general, arriving at a common choice of any indigenous language as lingua franca in these exoglossic nations remains a mirage. As earlier mentioned, the ‘attack’ on the candidature of Pidgin as a national language in some African countries, especially among the literate community is still severe. For instance, this researcher has witnessed seminars, workshops and symposia where some academics frowned at Pidgin as a possible solution to the lingering lingua franca search in Africa. However, this paper believes that with focused works by the positivists, coupled with its continuous use in the society, the attitudinal attack on it will fizzle out.

5. The use of Pidgin in Nigeria and Ghana

Space and time make it impossible to give a detailed study of Pidgin situation in each African country. Hence, we wish to do the case studies of Pidgin situation in Nigeria and Ghana, and in some cases, Cameroon. These countries fully well serve as points of reflection for other similar African countries. A few among such African countries are the Republic of Benin, Malawi, Niger, Togo, Burkina Faso, Zaire and Ivory Coast.

According to *Wikipedia* (2012) Nigerian Pidgin is an English-based Pidgin and Creole language spoken as lingua franca or general language across Nigeria. It is often referred to as “Pidgin”, “Broken” or “Naija”. The term “Naija” was adopted in one of the conferences held on Pidgin in Nigeria. The use of the term “Creole” for Nigerian Pidgin is provisional because it has not been nativised, though some Nigerian children learn it early in life. Nigerian Pidgin with its variants attracts a large number of speakers. Ihimere (2006) claims that about three to five million people speak Pidgin as their first language, while about seventy-five million used it as second language.

Obiechina (1984) recognizes five variants of Nigerian Pidgin: Port-Harcourt, Calabar, Bendel, Lagos and Kano/Maiduguri. This suggests popularity along the North, West and South zones of Nigeria. It should be noted, however, that the use of Nigerian Pidgin is also prominent in Aba, Owerri, Enugu, Onitsha and in other Eastern cities of Nigeria. Based on register, context and purpose of communication, Idiagbon (2007) describes and classifies the Nigerian Pidgin into three:

- (i) ordinary Nigerian Pidgin spoken by the vast majority of Nigerian people.
- (ii) wafy-ranky special variety which is popular among the Nigerian students and some Nigerian musicians; and

- (iii) hooligans' version popularly associated with the "area boys" or hoodlums in Nigeria.

On the variations of the Nigerian Pidgin, *Wikipedia* (2012) reports that each of the Nigerian ethnic groups converse in this language, but with the additional words of their own. *Wikipedia* gave the example of Yoruba users that often add *Sé* or *Àbí* as intonated sentence or question when speaking Pidgin. For example, "You are coming, right?" becomes *Sé you de come?* Or, *You de come àbí?* An Igbo example was also given with *Nna* added at the beginning of some sentences to show camaraderie. A sentence like 'Man, that test was hard' becomes *Nna, that test hard no be small.*

Based on the use of Pidgin in Nigeria, Jowiff, in *Nigerian English Usage: an Introduction* (1991) opines that Nigerian Pidgin has attained the feat of dignity, not only among the illiterates, but also the literate members of the society. Also, in his work, *The Candidature of Nigerian Pidgin as a National Language* (1994), Adegbija sees the Nigerian Pidgin as a possible national language because of its widespread use at the grassroots level, its cultural neutrality and ease of acquisition. However, he believes that the problems militating against its adoption as a national language are precarious. Among the problems enumerated by Adegbija are stigmatisation, lack of cultural base, some doubts about its indigenous status, threat to the use and mastery of standard English and low language development status. Some of these issues will be revisited later in this paper.

Nonetheless, Ofulue (2011) in her work on the use of the Nigerian and West African Pidgins, discussed from a sociolinguistic perspective, vehemently puts to flight the skepticism of some scholars on the workability of Pidgin as a national language in Nigeria and in some other African countries. According to her, the demographic factors surrounding the Nigerian linguistic background reveal that Nigeria has about 514 languages. With the population of about 141,356,000 people, population of an area per square kilometre is 923,768, and the population density of persons per square kilometre is 153, while the language-population ratio is 1:275,000, and the complexity index is put at 3.5. Ofulue gives the implication of the findings above on the Nigerian language terrain as follows:

- (i) that the population density in Nigeria is high, and the number of languages is high, hence the linguistic landscape is complex;
- (ii) the ratio and complexity index in Nigeria show that Nigeria is complex and highly multilingual; and
- (iii) high population density within multilingual contexts promotes the spread of lingua franca like Pidgin.

- (iv) the linguistic situation in Nigeria favours the adoption of lingua franca like Pidgin.

She claims further that the Pidgin speakers in Nigeria stand at 30 million including L1 and L2, while the language has a widespread use in informal and formal settings with increase in use by literate speakers and writers, and that Pidgin also features in news broadcasts. In terms of book length publications, there are dictionaries, grammar books and Bible portions with the Bible translation in progress. Also available are literacy primers, Naija language academy and online teachings.

Ofulue further reports that the domains of Pidgin use in Nigeria are high. For instance, the Nigerian Pidgin is used in an informal education setting by students and staff. The case is similar in mass media, political campaigns, radio and TV programmes, including advertisements – promos, jingles and bill boards. The Nigerian Pidgin is active in informal aspects of administrations, national, state and local government assemblies. The language also makes impact on users in the domains of religion, commerce, literary works and entertainments. With increasing functions for the Nigerian Pidgin, positive attitudes towards it are growing fast with the stigmatization rate declining. Though there is no official recognition or standard orthography yet for Pidgin, its long history of literary efforts has aided general adoption of some writing formats with its functions expanding. According to Ofulue, the Nigerian Pidgin is undergoing expanded use in formal domains of the media (news broadcast and production programmes), while its use by the literate population in both speaking and writing formats is on the increase. We need to add that the use of Nigerian Pidgin commands high popularity in military and para-military domains. It has become one of the major spoken or oral medium of expression among the army, air force, navy, police, customs, prisons, immigration, civil defence and road safety corps, national youth service orientation camps, and so on.

At this juncture, a look at the use of Ghanaian Pidgin English is essential. *Wikipedia* (2012) states that Ghanaian Pidgin English (GhPE) is a variety of West African Pidgin English spoken in Ghana, predominantly in the Southern towns and the capital, Accra. According to Mauler (2002), GhPE evolved from the trade language which was developed by West African merchants in the 17th and 18th centuries in order to communicate with each other and with English slaves, ivory and gold traders. Mauler further observes that nowadays, educated English-speaking Ghanaians frown upon Pidgin believing it to be an “inferior” form of “true” or “educated” English. In Ghana, children are often forbidden from speaking Pidgin, and teachers usually try to uproot it out of their students. In spite of this ‘brutality’ on Pidgin, it

survives in mixed-tribe schools and among lower-class people who have less access to formal English training. This, according to Mauler, is because Ghana is a home to several different tribes with mutually unintelligible languages. In this situation, Pidgin is the common way to communicate with someone.

Wikipedia (2012) divides GhPE into two varieties: the ‘uneducated’ variant and the ‘educated’ Pidgin which emerged from student classes. It further states that although other languages are available to them, students, particularly males, use Pidgin as a means of expressing solidarity and intimacy. Ginsburg (2012) in his own reports states that on Ghana university campuses, most of the males speak Pidgin. According to him, the Pidgin language changes according to different regions visited. The Pidgin spoken in the university campus is different from the type spoken in the North. He further stresses that in Legon, the Pidgin spoken includes some Ga. For instance some Ga words include *gbekeh* (night) *hia* (need), and some Twi words like *joras* (at all). Other words like *ebola* (big) *barb* (understand) *chop* (eat) stem from no language but Pidgin. Ginsburg gives a few illustrations of GhPE structure and rules. Take a look at some of them.

Tenses:

Present: *dey* (to be)

Examples: I dey chop (I am eating)

I dey go baf (I am going to shower)

Future: *_go* (will)

I go call you (I will call you)

We go jam at party (We’re going to meet at the party)

Commands:

Make I come plus you? (Can I come with you?)

Make we link up (Let’s meet up)

Make we go mall (Let’s go to the mall).

On the Ghana’s geographic and demographic information, Ofulue (2011) reports that with a population of about 22,353,000, the population area per square kilometre is 238,500, while the population density, i.e. persons per square kilometre stands at 95. With 79 languages in all, the ratio of language per population is 1:285,253, while the complexity index is 0.8. Though the ratio and complexity index in Ghana is less than those of Nigeria, the population density vis-à-vis the multilingual complexity in Ghana also promotes the spread of lingua franca like Pidgin.

The number of Pidgin speakers in Ghana is put at 5,000,000, and though the two varieties of Pidgin in use were restricted in domains and functions, their use among the students, and their development in term of grammatical description are on the increase. But the two varieties were rarely used in mass media, political campaigns, literary works and entertainment. However, their use in commerce is prominent, thereby reflecting more of a diaglossic situation with standard Ghana English

4. The Hurdles and the Ways Forward

This work kicked off with the comments for, and against the status of Pidgin as a national language in Nigeria and Ghana. No doubt, the “educated” or the elites regard Pidgin as ‘impure’, ‘bastard’, ‘inferior’, ‘dangerous’ and threatening to the good mastery of English language. Adebija (1994) sees no reason why Pidgin cannot be chosen on linguistic grounds as a national language in Nigeria, but he expresses a strong reservation on its adoptability due to ‘gargantuan’ and ‘bedeviling’ hurdles. At this point, we want to revisit the hurdles, as well as consider the ways forward.

4.1 Stigmatisation and Negative Attitude

Stigmatisation, as one of the issues arising on the status and attitudes towards Pidgin, has been highly contended in view of its functions and domains of use in some African countries. This status of Pidgin in relation to official languages, on the one hand, and indigenous languages on the other has improved. According to Ofulue (2011), Pidgin now functions second to official languages at national level, while it is in parallel function with indigenous languages at local levels in Nigeria and Cameroon. For instance, Pidgin’s domains of use in Nigeria spans mass media, political campaigns, Radio and TV programmes, advertising, religion, commerce and entertainment. This trend is similar in Cameroon, but not in Ghana. Ofulue opines further that the level of stigmatization is now low for Nigerian Pidgin because of its increasing functions, but still high in Ghana. It is our belief that massive efforts at sensitizing the populace in Nigeria Ghana, Cameroon and other concerned African countries by all stake holders on the need to give Pidgin more prominence in official circles will promote and boost positive attitudes towards it, as well as minimize the stigmatization syndrome.

4.2 Cultural Base and Bonafide Indigenous Status

From the foregoing discussion, it is obvious that the cultural base of Pidgin, and its command of linguistic loyalty have been doubted in some quarters. However, Idiagbon (2007) opines that Pidgin language accommodates substrate language's contributions to its form and meaning. For instance, it is clear that the cultural bases of Pidgin speakers in Nigeria are demonstrated according to regions as reflected in the Benin/Delta, Calabar, Lagos, Port-Harcourt and Kano/Maiduguri classifications (Idiagbon, 2007: 205-207). In other words the regional accents of Pidgin speakers mark off their cultural base, not just only in Nigeria, but in all other African countries. For instance, A Yoruba Pidgin speaker is distinguished from, say, an Igbo or Hausa speaker of the same Pidgin due to the influence of the regional accent. Hence, the cultural neutrality of Pidgin is seriously doubted.

Another issue is the doubt of its bonafide indigenous status. This belief is probably anchored on the doubt of its command of any ethnic loyalty. But the fact that it has a widespread use at the grassroots level readily renders this factor unimportant. In some parts of Nigeria, for example, some children acquire Pidgin as L1. This trend is bound to increase in Nigeria and in other countries as its spread continues in the society. In the words of Ofulue (2011:9):-

The continued expansion of the (Pidgin) into more formal domains, in the face of stigmatisation, lack of codification and official recognition, illustrates the power the users possesses to overcome these limitations. An increase in population of young and educated speakers has been noted for (Pidgin), a factor reflecting current developments, and an indicator of future spread and expansion.

4.3 Threat to the Mastery of Standard Official Language

As stated earlier, 'broken' language or Pidgin is a product of necessity based on the indispensability of the needs for communication among interlocutors whose languages of communication are not mutually intelligible. The perfect mastery of any adopted official language is a delusion to any nation, and the strife for competence by second language users is a matter of degrees in a continuum of usage and learning. In multilingual settings like we have in many African countries, Pidgin can only be a threat to the mastery of 'imported' languages for the shallow conclusion that the indigenous languages are also a threat to the so-called standard official languages. Put differently, if languages that are indigenous to Africans are not

threats to the mastery of ‘imported’ languages, Pidgin should not be. In our own opinion, if Pidgin is accorded recognition and eventual adoption, mastery of standard official languages become less relevant.

4.4 Low Language Development Status

Ofulue (2011), in her analysis of the sociolinguistic factors influencing current developments in the attitudes, functions and domains of use of Pidgin, observes that the Pidgin varieties spoken in Nigeria, Ghana and Cameroon are undergoing different stages of corpus developments that portends favourable future for the emergence of Pidgin as national language in those countries. Right now, only a few domains are exclusive to standard English varieties in Nigeria and Cameroon, and though, there is no official recognition or standard orthography, more literary efforts are aiding the expansion of its status and functions. For instance, dictionary, grammar publications and Bible portions are available in Pidgin in Nigeria and Cameroon. More expansive works are on-going on Nigerian Pidgin in grammar, serial verbs, quotes, insults, phrases and English sayings. Wazobia FM 95.1, established in Nigeria in 2007, is boosting the status and functions of the Nigerian Pidgin. Greeted with wide acceptability, two other radio stations have been established in Abuja and Port Harcourt. This development has moved the use of Nigerian Pidgin into more formal contexts of news broadcasts and social media networks. Also, a writing system has been devised for Nigerian Pidgin with both literate and non-literate as target audience. In fact, the literate users post a lot of comments on the net. The opening comments of this work attest to this fact.

Furthermore, far-reaching strides are on-going to promote the study and development of Pidgin, especially in Nigeria, through the conference of the West African Language Congress that took place in July 2013 at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria. At this conference, several papers bordering on Nigerian Pidgin development in terms of emerging orthographic practices, corpus development, tones, standardization, codification and communicative competence were presented. Besides, a Nigerian Pidgin panel was set up to work on the strategies and means of promoting the use and study of the Nigerian Pidgin, as well as the sensitization of governments and the societies at large on Pidgin. All these are positive developments in not just raising its status, but in making Nigerian Pidgin a language of study like English or any other language.

The stereotypical representations of Africa, Africans and Asians in Western Modernity led to the creation of other important stereotypes: the white woman being the embodiment of beauty, desire, preciousness and purity, there had to be an opposite to those values, which were

dear to the West and a feeling of insecurity and danger had to be created around the traits of the Western woman in order to justify her qualities, and the black man was the exact character who could play that role. Previously portrayed as a docile and innocent child, the black man is finally stereotyped in modern writings as the dangerous one, who was always longing for the virginity of the white woman. The black man therefore becomes a phallic symbol, as Frantz Fanon writes in *Black Skin White Masks*.

5. Concluding Remarks

This paper has added weight to the on-going debate on the viability or suitability of Pidgin as the national language for some African nations. The widespread use of Pidgins at the grassroots level, the increasing functions and domains of their use, the increasing literate populations and the positive attitudes being garnered are ensigns of brighter future for the qualification of Pidgins as official languages in some African countries.

The so-called stigmatization and the negative attitude towards Pidgin should not be perceived as permanent features. This is against the background that Pidgin has been discovered to be the most suitable bridge for intra- and inter-ethnic communication gap among interlocutors of differing political, socio-economic and cultural backgrounds. After all, some languages that are now celebrated as world languages once suffered from stigmatization, low-language development status and from negative attitudes from the then literate segment of the speakers. But all these hurdles were overcome as unfolding events began to favour their use and development.

Another considerable edge that Pidgin has over some other languages is the ease of acquiring it. This makes Pidgin amenable to rapid expansion in the number of speakers, and thus, boosts its indigenization status among the users. We see indigenization process, in this paper, as a way of making a language native and adaptable to the need and use of its speakers. Pidgin is the most suitable in this regard due to its sporadic emergence feature. Even, English language has been regarded as being indigenized or “domesticated” in Nigeria because of the emergence of the Nigerian English (Adegbija, 1994, Bamigbose, 1998). Why then is the query on the status of Pidgin as a bonafide indigenous language? We now have the Nigerian Pidgin (NP), the Ghanaian (GhP), the Cameroon Pidgin (CamP) and so on, which are more native to the people than the Nigerian English (NE), Ghanaian English (GhE), Cameroon English (CamE) or Togo French (TogF).

However massive challenges lie ahead in order for Pidgin to see the light of lingua recognition in some African countries. I wish to state that Pidgin scholars, positivists and advocates should stop at nothing to get governments and stakeholders in concerned African countries see the light at the end of Pidgin's tunnel. Much needs to be done for elaborate works on Pidgin to emerge. A lot of works need to be done for the development of general systematic study of Pidgin. In Nigeria, the three varieties of Pidgin have benefited from the structural and socio-linguistic research. But the same cannot be said of Pidgin in Gambia, Guinea, Sierra-Leone, Ghana, Cameroon and a host of other African countries. Even in Nigeria, no official recognition has been accorded to Pidgin. Again, no standard orthography has been devised, but elaborated, codified and modernized Pidgin is highly desired in order for it to attract higher status and functions.

Governments at national and regional levels should give Pidgin serious recognition by encouraging the use and teaching of Pidgin in schools. The school curriculum should be revised to include Pidgin language. Before this, however, a high powered committee should be set up to devise standard orthographies for Pidgin in the affected African countries in such a way that its teaching can be facilitated. We are aware that the issue of language cannot be handled with the military fiat because of the social implications involved. But with the dimensions of popularity the Pidgin language is assuming, efforts of governments in this direction will meet with accession. The current Pidgin Development Committee set up at WALC 2013 conference should not die with the end of the conference. It should be funded, functional, undaunting, stable and steady.

More significantly, Pidgin materials need to be produced and made available. It is obvious, that, even in Nigeria, where a little effort has been made to bring Pidgin up shore, published materials are difficult to come by. Pidgin positivists, researchers and scholars need to converge, brainstorm and work assiduously for the production of Pidgin materials for pedagogical, legislative and societal needs. These materials should include texts, primers, manuals, dictionaries, audio and visual aids on pronunciation, lexicon, grammar, reading and writing comprehension. Also, the media should include Pidgin as part of their education programmes as it is being done now at WAZOBIA Fm 95.1. Pidgin, as a language of broadcast, should be introduced in radio and television stations. Newspapers should devote columns and pages to the Pidgin language. The task is quite enormous, but "where there is will, there is a way", goes the popular saying.

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APPRAISAL DEVICES ON THE “X FACTOR INDONESIA” COMMENTARIES

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Abstract

One of the unique phenomena in the linguistics field is the ability to apply Appraisal theory to the commentaries within modern shows such as X Factor Indonesia. This employs qualitative and quantitative research approaches to explore X Factor judges' commentaries as a phenomenon. This article further investigates the existence of 'appraisal theory' on X-Factor judges' commentaries. Appraisal theory invokes “attitude”, “graduation”, and “engagement”, which concerns the evaluation of commentaries (Martin & White, 2005). By analysing the findings from these commentaries, differences in how the judges operate the appraisal devices can be monitored through percentage acuity according to the following eight elements: affect-attitude (12, 71 %), judgement-attitude (44, 91%), appreciation-attitude (42, 37%), force-graduation (91, 67%), focus-graduation (8, 33%), mono-gloss-engagement (0%), Dialogic contraction-engagement (62, 68%) and Dialogic expansion-engagement (40, 29 %).

Keywords: *Appraisal theory, affect, graduation, engagement.*

1. Introduction

X Factor, a televised singing contest held in over forty countries (www.xfactorindonesia.com), was recently aired in Indonesia from 28 December 2012 - 24 May 2013 and obtained consistently high ratings (detiknews.com, tabloidbintang.com). However, the conversation interaction between judges and contestants provides a key platform for analyzing communication through a commentary lens. Commentary is a spoken description of an event as it happens (Hornby, 1995, p. 227). It is also defined as the expressed opinion of an individual composed by authoritative resources (Wang, 2008, p. 361). Read & Carrol (2012) argue that an opinion can be analyzed by using the appraisal theory of systemic functional linguistics. In this sense, the judges' comments are based on their own knowledge in evaluating a contestant. Also, this article tracks the patterns of the judges' commentaries. Overall, this article aims to identify and highlight the patterns of the commentaries in the X Factor Indonesia commentaries.

2. Literature review

Appraisal theory was propounded and further developed by Martin (2000a), as cited in Martin (2003), to research various discourses which relate to the evaluation. In the early period, linguists focused on studying appraisal in relation to interpersonal feeling, emotion, and social function of those scopes, and stance (Martin, 2003). In accordance with the brief definition, appraisal draws on systemic functional linguistics as "discourse semantics which regionalized of three interacting domains; attitude, engagement, and graduation" (White & Martin, 2005, p. 35). For Hood's (2010) point of view, Appraisal deals with the hearer's feeling, judgement, and the value position on the particular phenomena. Read & Carroll (2012) define Appraisal theory as a means to analyze emotion and opinion. In this light, appraisal concerns an examination of the word's meaning by implementing the appraisal's categorizations (attitude, engagement, and graduation). The following descriptions are the explanation of the appraisal devices.

- **Attitude**

The evaluation of emotion is defined as Attitude. It concerns the system of meaning (Martin & White, 2005). It deals with affect, judgment, and appreciation. In general, 'affect' is concerned with the expressing of negative or positive feelings in evaluation, 'judgement' investigates the evaluation of behaviour, and 'appreciation' deals with the evaluation of the quality of such

things (Martin & White, 2005). Moreover, Martin (2003) postulates that ‘affect’ is identified by the construction of the phrase “I feel.....”, ‘judgement’ can be seen by the phrase “It was ‘x’ of/ for her/him to do that”, and ‘appreciation’ can also be detected through the phrase “I consider it ‘x’” (p.3).

- **Graduation**

The graduation operates in grading a system of meaning. It also deals with the ‘gradability’ in which it measures the strength and the weakness of a feeling (Martin, 2003). Martin & White (2005) define the graduation value concerns on two scalability systems: grading intensity or amount (force) and grading the ‘prototypicality’ or the preciseness (focus) of something.

Martin & White (2005) categorize ‘force’ in graduation as two main terms: intensification and quantity. Intensification can be graded by seeing on its quality and process. “Qualities (as realised by adjectives and adverbs) are very generally scalable by means of grammatical intensifier (e.g via slightly, rather, very)” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 145). In other words, those dictions aim to inform the intensity grade of the adjective or adverb. Furthermore, the quantity can be construed by number, mass, and extent. Quantification is the measurement of the amount, extent, time, and space in the text (Martin & White, 2005). Additionally, Martin & White (2005) categorize the pattern of quantification into ‘isolated’ and ‘infused’. The term “isolated” stands for the quantification Lexis which “acts as a modifier as graduated quantity” (p. 151). Eventually, the term “infused” denotes the quantification categorization which consists of a metaphorical meaning, exemplified in Martin & White (2005) as “mountain of a man” and “a profusion of pink” (p. 152).

‘Focus’ according to graduation explicates “phenomena scaled by reference to the degree to which they match some supposed core or exemplary instance of a semantic category” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 137). ‘Focus’ consisted of ‘sharpen’ and ‘soften’. “‘Sharpen’ indicates ‘upscale’ prototypicality such as the phrase ‘*real father*’ ”(Martin & White, 2006, p. 138). “‘Soften’ shows the down scaling type indicates only marginal membership in the category (e.g. *They are sort of playing jazz, they are kind of crazy, it was an apology of sorts*)” (Martin & White, 2006, p. 138).

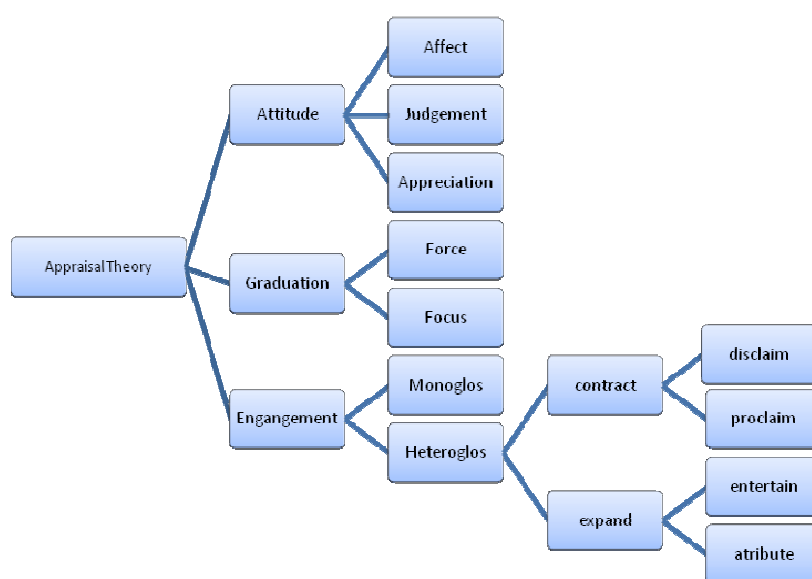
- **Engagement**

Martin & White (2005), cited in Bednarek (2009), claim that ‘engagement reveals to [sic] the individual feelings, including emotional reactions, judgements of behaviour and evaluation of things’ (p. 2). Moreover, Hoods (2004) mentions that engagement refers to the personal state or commitment. Thus, engagement tends to explore the opinion.

Mono-gloss and hetero-gloss are the two sub-types of engagement. Mono-gloss deals with the ‘bare-assertion’ in which there is no reference to another voice (Martin & White, 2005). In contrast, Hetero-gloss deals with the reference to another voice. Hetero-gloss further classifies into two main branches: “Dialogic expansion” and “Dialogic contraction” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 102).

Dialogic contraction is the act of refusing another voice. As Martin & White (2005) stated, “Dialogic contraction alternatively acts to challenge, fend off, or restrict the scope of such” (p. 102). It is divided into ‘disclaim’ and ‘proclaim’. Disclaim is the refutation of the previous opinion (Martin & White, 2005). However, proclaim denotes positive state in which Martin & White (2005) mention it as the limitation action purposed to restrict ‘Dialogic alternatives’ (p. 121). Proclaim may indicate the state of agreeing with the previous assertion.

Dialogic expansion is the existence of allowance for the dialogistic alternatively positioned in the utterance which is categorized as ‘entertain’ and ‘attribute’ (Martin & White, 2005). Entertain draws on acknowledging the internal voice (*in my view*) (p.105), the modality pattern via modal auxiliary, modal adjunct, modal attributes, evidence based postulation (p.108), modals of probability (p.109), pseudo-question (p.110), modals of permission and obligation (p.111) (Martin & White, 2005). In another line, attribution is the composition that enacts to ‘the external voice’ (Martin & White, 2005, p. 111). It means that attribution refers to the external voice beyond the writer or the speaker. Attribution can be construed through “communicative process verb (e.g.said), mental process verb (e.g believes, suspect), adverbial adjunct (according to)”(Martin & White, 2005, p.111).



Graph 1: an Overview of Appraisal Theory adopted from Martin & White (2005, p.38, p. 122)

This conducted research has been widely studied (Page 2003; Painter 2003; Mei & Allison 2003; Hood 2004; Hood & Forey 2005; Fletcher & Patrick 2005; Arrese & Perucha 2006; Wang 2008; Xinghua & Thompson 2009; Caldwell 2009; Pascual & Unger 2010; Liu 2010; Bock 2011; Soepriatmadji and Vidhiasi 2012; Read & Carroll 2012; Liu 2013).

In the narrative discourse, Page (2003) examines 23 oral childbirths' experience narratives of nine pairs of woman and men. Following the gender approach (Labov, 1972, as cited in Page, 2003) and appraisal framework (Martin, 1996; 2000 as cited in Page, 2003), the result reveals the woman's greater tendency to involve their interpersonal feelings in construing 'affect' and 'appreciation' than men.

Moreover, Painter (2003) investigates the early child's language using Appraisal theory. The object being studied is the researcher's two sons, aged between nine months and four years. The conducted study mainly concerns the exploration of the language development and monitors the emotion's expression. In this context, attitude emerged as the representation of causal relation and generalization.

In accordance to the study of appraisal theory, some researchers conduct their studies on academic discourses (Mei & Allison 2003; Hood 2004; Hood & Forey 2005; Xinghua & Thompson 2009; Liu 2010; Pascual & Unger 2010; Liu 2013). Some linguists focus on investigating the role of appraisal theory in the students' argumentative essays (Mei & Allison 2003; Hood 2004; Xinghua & Thompson 2009; Liu 2013). Mei & Allison (2003) discover the similar amount and various trends of the appraisal devices in the 40 National University Singapore (NUS) undergraduate students' argumentative claim's essays. In one line, Hood (2004) studies "the multidimensional and dynamic explanation of evaluative stance in the context of academic argument (p. 11)". Here, the researcher explores the existence of appraisal devices in the introductory theses of undergraduate students and published articles in order to gauge the writers' stances. Appraisal theory, as proposed by Martin (2000), is employed to examine those texts. Further, the conducted research finally proves that appraisal theory is significant in the investigation of the writer/speaker stance by explicating the appraisal sub-system as Hood (2004) mentions:

"Appraisal theory provides an innovative approach to explaining the construction of evaluative stance in the context of academic writing, and a functional alternative to pragmatically motivated analyses of interpersonal positioning, such as that offered in modelling stance as 'hedging' ". (p. 228)

In addition, Hood & Forey (2005) then track the research on papers' presentation in the academic conference. They focus on exploring interpersonal meaning constructed in that

register. The result finally indicates the speaker's complexity of rhetorical strategies and the speaker's position as "more or less open to negotiation" (Hood & Forey, 2005, p. 15). Additionally, Xinghua & Thompson (2009) compare appraisal subsystem of attitude on English and Chinese student's argumentative essay. A distinctive feature is seen as the existence of a high percentage of judgement in the English essay and the presence of a high percentage of appreciation in the Chinese argumentative essay. Additionally, Liu (2010) applies appraisal theory to teach English reading to 100 Herbing Engineering students. Experimental design approach is employed and the result further reveals that appraisal theory is beneficial to the students' comprehension. Furthermore, 'heteroglossic' is marked by the high frequency use of 'engagement' features in the grant proposal of two Argentinean researchers who write the Physics and Chemistry proposal (Pascual & Unger, 2010). The data are further analyzed by a qualitative method. Also, Liu (2013) examines Chinese university EFL students' argumentative articles. The researcher focuses on examining how the students express their voice in their claims. Liu's (2013) finding further reports the student's tendency of using appreciation.

In the computational linguistics field, Fletcher & Patrick (2005) examine a sentiment analysis (an analysis to classify a negative and positive text) on movie reviews. Using an experimental design within the perspective of appraisal theory, the result reports that a small benefit is seen from conducting sentiment analysis of appraisal categorization with a computational procedure. During the term of news media discourse, Arrese & Perucha (2006) studied the organization of engagement (Appraisal device) on the English and Spanish news report and journalistic commentaries. The research finding reveals that the news report tends to attach an external voice, while journalistic commentaries frequently use the subjective evaluation. In the same framework, Wang (2008) finds the high frequency use of 'explanatory micro genre with unidentified external sources' in the Chinese newspaper commentaries on the event of 11 September 2001. Genre theory is applied to gain deep analysis of this study. Hence, the researcher finds that the news writer tends to avoid the aspect of 'subjectivity'. Also, Soepriatmadji and Vidhiasi (2012) conduct their study to analyze the appraisal devices and the reader's position toward the Jakarta post online newspaper article of "THE ASEAN CAGE" on July 20th, 2011. In this sense, the researcher finds the different percentage of appraisal subsystems. Also, the study amplifies that the readers are positioned as the government supporting team as they accept the government's policies. Indeed, appraisal theory is seen as significant in explaining the reader's stance.

During the term of the media discourse, Caldwell (2009) studies the play of appraisal system in the post-match interview of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) journalist and the

Australian Football League (AFL) on the ABC radio (774 Melbourne). By applying appraisal theory, the study investigates the evaluative language used by AFL footballers. The research further finds that both ABC journalists and the AFL footballer manage their neutral stance by two main indicators: (a) conveying the equal proportion of positive and negative attitude and (b) utilizing engagement and graduation. Moreover, a 'neutral stance' is manifested in the post-match interview of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) journalist and Australian Football League (AFL) by delivering a positive attitude with a negative attitude (Caldwell, 2009).

In one line, appraisal theory on Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) examines the field of testimonies. In that context, negative judgment is uttered as a strategy by the use of code switching in the testimonies given by South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Bock, 2011). The testimonies are taken from the TRC's official website (www.doj.gov.za/trc) and the South African Broadcasting Corporation's (SABC) (<http://www.sabc.co.za>) Furthermore, Read & Carroll (2012) try quantitatively robust computational analysis in investigating appraisal typology. The finding displays the instances in researching Appraisal to print the best quality standard corpus for future investigation.

Addressing the gap in previous studies, this article will focus on exploring the appraisal devices in the X Factor Indonesia judges' commentaries.

3. Methodology

Research questions

Based on the research gap above, this article is trying to answer the following questions:

- 1 What are the appraisal devices in the judges' commentaries?
- 2 How are the appraisal devices employed in the judges' commentaries?

Purpose of Study

This conducted study investigates the appraisal devices manifested in the judges' commentaries. Therefore, this article aims to identify and highlight the patterns of the commentaries in the X Factor Indonesia commentaries.

Method

A descriptive case study is employed in the research approach due to “the object being studied” (Stake, 1995 as cited in Heingham&Crocker , 2009). Here, the writers select the descriptive type to provide the specific phenomenon portrayed in that case (Heingham& Crocker, 2009). Moreover, Quantitative and qualitative methods are combined to analyze the text (Bednarek, 2006). The quantitative approach is used to count the number of appraisal devices while a qualitative approach is employed to describe the existence of “discourse function” in the text by operating both manual and automatic analysis (Bednarek, 2006). In addition to the data analysis approach, “large-scale corpus analysis” is used to examine X Factor Indonesia transcriptions by operating software (Bednarek, 2009). In this context, Bednarek (2009) explicates large-scale corpus analysis aims to help the writers to find the frequency of each word, the occurrences of words and cluster, the pattern, and etc.

Sample / Participants

The data, downloaded through youtube.com use the Indonesian language. The participants - the judges and the contestants of “X Factor Indonesia” - consist of two well-known female judges (Anggun. C. Sami and Rosa), two well-known male judges (Bebi Romeo and Ahmad Dhani), and three contestants (NovitaDewi (female), FatinShidqiyah (female), and Dicky (male). The following description is the profile of the judges:

- **Ahmad Dhani**

Ahmad Dhani is the famous singer in Indonesia. He is Javanese as he was born in Surabaya, East Java. He is the child of a Sudanese father and a Jewish mother. Also, he is Muslim. Therefore, Ahmad Dhani might have a hybrid culture. As a judge on X Factor, his role is to mentor some of the contestants.

- **Anggun C Sasmi**

Anggun C. Sasmi is an international singer. She was born in Indonesia. She is the daughter of Javanese parents. She decided to move to France in 1994 to achieve her international career. Her song lyrics are mostly written in English and French. Her role on X Factor is also as a judge and mentor.

- **Rosa**

Rosa is a Muslim woman and she is a well-known pop singer in Indonesia. When she was a teen, she moved to Jakarta to study at the University of Indonesia (see Wikipedia.org). Rosa is a judge on Indonesia X Factor and she is the mentor of Fatin (the contestant’s name).

- **Bebi Romeo**

Bebi is also one of the most famous singers, musician and song's writer in Indonesia. He was born in Jakarta and still lives there today. He has also become a judge on the Indonesia X Factor Show and he mentors Novita and Alex Rudiart.

Instrument

Observation is the writers' instrument to gather the data. In this light, the writers observe and examine the judges' comments. For Cresswell's point of view, "observation is the process of gathering open-ended, firsthand information by observing people and places at a research site" (Cresswell, 2012, p. 213). Also, the writer is included in "non-participant observer" (Cresswell, 2012, p. 214) as the writers are not X Factor Indonesia judges.

Data collection and analysis

The data was collected from seven X Factor Indonesia judges' commentaries taken from youtube.com. To analyse the data, the writers use several steps. Firstly, the writers transcribe seven X-Factor Indonesia videos. Second, the writers translate the transcript into English. In examining the appraisal devices, the writers process the data with the help of (Antconc) corpus software. After gaining the total words in wordlist column, the writers match the appraisal words categorization with the existed word in the wordlist column. To gain precise context, the writers re-check the data by looking into the column 'concordance' (in the Antconc software). After that, the writers select some of the appraisal utterances to be investigated. Finally, attitude will be analysed as the data consist of 'affect' (concerns with the expressing negative or positive feeling in evaluation), 'judgement' (investigates the evaluation of behaviour) and 'appreciation' (deals with the evaluation of the quality of such thing) (Martin & White, 2005).

4. Results and discussion

Based on the theoretical framework aforementioned above, appraisal theory was chosen to analyse the X Factor judges' commentary as it analyses the type of individual emotions (affect), grading the system of meaning (graduation), and examining the opinion (engagement).

Attitude

No.	Appraisal System	Sub- system		F	%		
1	Attitude	Affect	15	Positive	12	10,17%	12,71%
				Negative	3	2,54%	
2		Judgement	53	Positive	47	39,80%	44,91%
				Negative	6	5,08%	
3		Appreciation	50	Positive	40	33,90%	42,37%
				Negative	10	8,47%	
Total		118		118	100%	100%	

Table 1: Attitude totals on the judges' commentaries

Table 1 illustrates the total numbers of expressions, positive and negative adhered on affect, judgment, and appreciation in the judges' commentaries. The finding shows the frequency of judgement: 44, 91%, appreciation: 42, 37%, and affect: 12, 71 %. Also, the data revealed more positive than negative findings.

The data above imply that the judges tend to use the attitude system of judgement. It can be viewed by the highest percentage of the judgement which is 44, 91%. This finding explicates that the judges often use the appraisal sub-system of "judgement" as their main work to assess the contestant's singing behaviour rather than expressing the emotions (attitude) and appreciating the contestant (appreciation). In addition, the judges are often seen to comment by applying the judgement of social esteem in which they assess the capability of the contestant. Martin & White (2005) assert that judgement of capability measures how capable someone is. The following extract is indicative of the kinds of judgement frequently expressed in the judges' commentaries:

Extract 8:

01 Bebi :Komen(h)kumalamin*u*, kamu:: bi:sange::rokba::gus?

My comment tonight is you can sing a rock song well.

In this example, the judge Bebi comments on the contestant's singing performance. The word "can" indicates the particular contestant is capable of singing in a rock music genre. Moreover, the word "well" is a positive attitude which might aim to emphasize that the

contestant is capable of singing the rock song. Indeed, the whole utterance signifies the positive judgement.

Moreover, the appreciation is seen to be used by the judges as having 42, 37% of the total system. It indicates that the judges also frequently deliver appreciation. In this context, the judges often employ the appreciation which deals with the appraising on certain points. The following extract illustrates the appreciation which frequently exists in the comment:

Extract 9:

01 Bebi :malamini (.) Malaminisayamelihatseorangpenyanyi professional yang sedang
Tonight, tonight, I see a professional singer who is
 02 menyanyikansebuah?aransemen yang professional
Singing very professional (17) arrangement.

In the instance above, the appreciation is uttered to the contestant based on his/her singing performance. Bebi, as the judge praises the contestant who had performed well. The appreciation above is inscribed on the term of positive valuation. The word “professional” is attributed to the contestant as the appraising toward the high capability of him/her.

The judges employ 12, 71% attitude system of affect. This finding might infer that the judges prefer to avoid the evaluation based on their emotions which are constructed by negative or positive feeling. It may address that the judges tend to avoid the subjectivity aspect in judging the contestant. However, the most frequent affect used by the judges is the expression of their feeling as the form of ‘reaction’ (Martin & White, p. 57). The following extract illustrates the form of affect:

Extract 10:

Anggun: Sayasa(.)ngat se::nangsekali? melihatkamu. Sayasangatsenang?.
I am very happy (2) to see you. I am very happy (3).

Above, the positive ‘affect’ is uttered by Anggun. It is construed by the existence of the word “happy”. It indicates that Anggun is satisfied with the contestant performance. Also, the repetition of the utterance *I am very happy* in that context emphasizes Anggun’s positive emotion which deals with happiness.

Moreover, the positive utterances are highly used by the judges as the data shows 10, 17% “affect-positive”, 39, 80% “judgement-positive”, and 33, 90% “appreciation-positive”. It

indicates the judges tend to deliver positive utterances rather than negative utterances as ‘the effectiveness of positive comment’ in evaluating contestant’s performance (Fishbach et al, 2010). The judges may also avoid to do a ‘face threatening act’ in which Paltridge (2006) defines it as the action which treats someone else. In addition, it may be altered to give an impression to the audience as an Indonesia X Factor Indonesia has the best contestants. Also, those reasons may be an X Factor Indonesia strategy to increase the TV-rating.

Graduation

No.	Appraisal System	Sub-system	F	%
1	Graduation	Force	44	91,67%
2		Focus	4	8,33%
Total			48	100%

Table 2: Graduation totals on the judges’ commentaries

The data above denotes the graduation system of ‘force’ is 91, 67 % while ‘focus’ is 8, 33%. It is seen that the judges more frequently use the sub-system of ‘force’ than employing the sub- system of ‘focus’. A higher frequently use of force indicates that the judges tend to use a grading system based on ‘amount’ or ‘intensification’ (Martin & White, 2005). The following excerpt exemplifies the work of graduation sub-system ‘force’ in the judges’ commentaries:

Excerpt 11:

Rosa: Kamu(.) se?lalucur (.)dasmencariimpro:visasi yang luar::::: biasa.

You are always smart to search for incredible improvisation

Above, Rosa seems to assess the quality of the contestant as being highly competent in their singing performance. In this sense, the Lexis ‘always’ reveals the intensification marker. According to Hood (2009), the use of graduation marker here is not to determine the values of certain actions, but to denote relatively high, medium, and low intensification. The representation of the graduation marker here is accompanied by positive judgement. It might note that the intended contestant is intensively singing with an incredible improvisation. Indeed, it implies that that positive attitude is intensively attributed to the contestant.

Instead, the sub-system ‘focus’ has a minor role in the judges’ commentaries as having 8, 33%. It indicates that the judges tend to avoid the ‘prototypicality’ and the ‘preciseness’ as

Martin & White (2005, p. 137) stated. In addition, the following transcript illustrates the use of ‘focus’ in the judge commentaries:

Excerpt 12:

Bebi: Du::et (0,5) du:et?, inibeneran duet yang membuat se(.)tiap orang iri::.

Duetduet. A real duet which makes everyone envious

The above text denotes the judge Bebi’s comment on the duet contestant’s performance. In this context, the judge Bebi assesses the ‘prototypicality’ of duet performance quality. The duet performance might be attributed as incredible; therefore the judge Bebi praises them as well. Also, the word ‘real’ in this context explicates as the ‘focus’ marker as Martin & White (2005) categorized it in the term of ‘sharpen’. In other words, the word ‘real’ might aim to give high appreciation.

Engagement

No.	Appraisal System	Sub- system			F		%	
1	Engagement	Mono-gloss			-			
2		Hetero-	Dialogic contraction	Disclaim	24	62,68%	35,82%	
				Proclaim	42		18	26,86%
3		Gloss	Dialogic expansion	Entertain	18	40,29%	26,86%	
				Attribute	27		7	10,44%
Total					67		100%	

Table 3: Engagement total on the judges’ commentaries

Based on the data above, the judges totally used the engagement system of hetero-gloss. It means that the judges refer to another voice in commenting on the contestant. Also, the judges are seen to employ 42 Dialogic contraction markers (62, 68 %) and 27 Dialogic expansion markers (40, 29%).

During the term of Dialogic contraction, the judges tend to use ‘disclaim’ marker. It is seen as 24 (35, 82%) disclaim markers are existed in the commentaries. Again, ‘disclaimer’ is the state of refuting, countering, and denying other voices. It seems to signify the frequent use

of disclaim markers aim to negate the preceded assertion which is in contrast to the speaker's view. The following extract illustrates how the judge applies the 'disclaim' marker in the commentaries:

Extract 13:

Anggun :Kamuitu::sangat west style, tapiaku:nye::selbeberapapointentang mentor kamu.

You are very west style. But I regret some points about your mentor.

The above instance exemplifies the existence of disclaim in the judge's commentaries. The 'disclaim' marker is represented by the Lexis 'but'. It may aim to counter or refute the preceded view as Martin & White (2005) categorize it as disclaim marker. In that sense, the judge Anggun seems to utter positive attitude. However, the presence of Lexis "but" might counter the preceded argument. In the first clause, Anggun seems to praise the style of the contestant. However in the second clause, Aggun states her contradictory position toward the contestant's mentor by saying "*I regret some points about your mentor*"

However, 18 (26, 86%) proclaim markers are used in the data above. The finding shows that the sub-system of 'proclaim' plays a minor role in the judges' commentaries. It might indicate that the judges tend to open alternative dialogues as minimized 'proclaim' markers. Again, Martin & White (2005) states that 'proclaim' are the state by limiting the Dialogic alternative. In addition, the 'proclaim' marker is illustrated in the following excerpt:

Excerpt 14:

Rosa :Tidak (.) tidak (.) sayatahubahwa Alex mampu?mengambilitu (lagu).

no, no. But for me, I know that Alex is definitely capable to take it (the song).

In the above excerpt, the judge Rosa seems to initiate the commentaries by asserting a disclaimer. It might be seen as the existence of the repeated Lexis "*no,no*". However, the next utterance indicates the judge Rosa employs a proclaim utterance by saying '*I know*'. It might denote that the judge Rosa assesses the contestant with positive attribution as well as the presence of the attitude system of capability (*the word 'capable'*).

During the term of Dialogic expansion, the engagement system of 'entertain' shows 26, 86 % of the total system. It indicates that the judges are less frequently acknowledged themselves as 'the internal voice' (Martin & White, 2005) in their commentaries. In addition, the judges often employ this term as illustrated in the following:

Excerpt 15:

01 Anggun :Penampilankamu:: ba::gus:: banget (.) ada recording itemnya. Me(.)nurutku (0,3)

Your performance is very good, there is a recording item. I think

02 ini? Adalahsebuahketidak(.)adilan.

this is unfairness.

In extract 15, the judge Anggun seems to appreciate the contestant. Instead, she further asserts the contrasting opinion with the preceded assertion. She is seen to complain about an unfairness which exists in the contestant's performance. In particular, the utterance "I think" is the 'entertain' marker used to inscribe the speaker voice or internal voice. Indeed, this 'entertain' marker aims to contrast the positive attribution in the preceded assertion with the negative attribution which followed by the word "unfairness".

In the one hand, the sub-system of attribute has a minor percentage as 10, 44%. It might imply that the judges avoid inscribing the external voice in their commentaries.

Excerpt 16:

01 Dhani :Beneranloh, kare:nasem::muapesantren di JawaTimur, Jawa Barat, memintamu

Absolutely, because all Islamic foundations in East Java, West Java, demand you

02 dengansangatuntukmelakukannya.

to do qiroah (read the koran).

In excerpt 16, the judge Dhani is seen to assert an external voice's demand. In this context, a demand seems to come from an external voice which is presented by 'all Islamic foundations'. In addition, the utterances 'all Islamic foundations' and 'demand' are employed as the attribution marker aims to reference to the outer voice excluded the speaker's voice.

5. Conclusions

The commentaries in this study are constructed with some appraisal features; attitude, graduation, and engagement. During the term of attitude, 118 attitude systems are discovered in the commentaries' text consists of fifteen (12, 71 %) affect system, fifty-three (44, 91%) judgments system, and fifty (42, 37%) appreciation system. Moreover, the graduation system in the text reveals 44 (91, 67%) force system and 4 (8, 33%) focus system. In addition, the

engagement system of hetero-gloss is totally used in the judges' commentaries which consist of 42 (62, 68%) Dialogic contraction and 27 (40, 29 %) Dialogic expansion. The percentages of 'Dialogic contraction' divisions are 24 (35, 82%) 'Disclaim' markers and 18 (26, 86%) 'Proclaim' markers. Additionally, the amount of 'Dialogic expansion' divisions explicates 18 (26, 86%) 'Entertain' markers and 7 (10, 44) 'attribute' markers.

This study reveals the judges frequently use the attitude system. It may denote the judges tend to more frequently assess the behavioral aspect than expressing the personal emotion (affect) and the quality (appreciation). In addition, the most frequently used positive evaluation may be manifested as the strategy to enhance the TV-ratings.

In the grading system, the judges are seen to use sub-system of force which deals with the amount and intensification. Moreover, the judges seem to mostly avoid the use of mono-gloss system while employing more on the hetero-gloss aspect.

In contrast with this study, the attitude system of appreciation is used dominantly in the post-match interview of the Australian Broadcast Corporation (ABC) journalist and Australian Football League (AFL) (Caldwell, 2009). Moreover, there is a minor difference between the percentage of positive and negative attitude. The graduation system 'focus' is highly used in the grading system of meaning. In the term of engagement, the speakers are seen to employ 'entertain' aspect by uttering '*I think*'.

The distinctive features are mostly due to the context of Indonesia show's conversation. For instance, in giving a comment, the judge plays indirectness in giving a comment. This finding confirms Sukanto's (2012) study that Korean and Indonesian people tend to operate indirectly unless to the closer people (relatives, family, or sibling).

In accordance with the commentaries, positive and negative commentaries have an impact for the contestant. Positive commentaries (praise or criticism) can enhance self-confidence and encourage people to pursue the intended attainment (Fishbach et al, 2010). Otherwise, negative commentaries lead to diminished self-confidence and enervate enthusiasm in achieving success (Fishbach et al, 2010). In addition to the negative comment, Baumeister, Bratslavsky, Finkenauer, and Vohs (2001) posit that negative or bad matter has important impact on human.

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Appendix I

Attitude

Attitude		
Affect	Positive	<p>Rosa: <i>You looked happy</i> (1) as insulting her. Anggun: <i>I am very happy</i> (2) to see you. <i>I am very happy</i> (3). Dhani: <i>You are really happy</i> (4) as the beginning contest. Tonight <i>you're really excited</i> (5). Anggun: Nudi, <i>I definitely love this song</i> (6). Also, <i>I love</i> (7) El's commitment to change his hair. Anggun : Alex I was shocked tonight you look so cool. <i>I do prefer</i> (8) and agree if your hair is like that, isn't it? Dhani: Because, you were chosen by Mrs. Anggun in "just on visit". Actually, <i>we prefer</i> (9) to choose Adi, instead <i>Anggun prefers</i> (10) to choose you and <i>she believes</i> (11) on you so much. Anggun : <i>I like</i> (12) the way the tap dancer performs.... So, <i>I like</i> (13) your performance tonight,</p>
	Negative	<p>Anggun : Those who Mika's fans <i>will hate</i> (1) Fatin. And those who Fatin's fans <i>will hate</i> (2) Mika. Anggun: <i>My heart was broken</i> (3)</p>
Appreciation	Positive	<p>Rosa : The most <i>important</i> (1) part song is at the beginning. Rosa : ...the ending was the most <i>important</i> (2). Dhani: Ha? Fatin: I'm not so ambitious; the only <i>important</i> (3) thing is doing the best. Rosa:So far as we heard it, it is also <i>important</i> (4) for the audience, Rosa: You are always smart to search <i>incredible</i> (5) improvisation. Bebi : I will not comment, I want us to comment with my <i>new</i> (6) slogan. Dani : And now please welcome the <i>new</i> (7) look of Alex. Anggun : Your dress is really <i>ok</i> (8). Anggun :However, tonight, <i>your performance is ok</i> (9). Anggun : So, I like your performance tonight, <i>it is ok</i> (10). Rosa: Fatin ,<i>That's ok</i> (11) . Anggun : For me, your performance is <i>okay</i> (12) as you are established group. Anggun : For me, you are okay as you are <i>established</i> (13) group. Dhani :and <i>that's okay</i> (14) , isn't it? Bebi: tonight, tonight, tonight, I see a <i>professional</i> (15) singer. Bebi : I see a <i>professional</i> (16) singer . Bebi : who is singing very <i>professional</i> (17) arrangement . Anggun : For Mika fans and Fatinistics, the most <i>suitable</i> (18) thing is watching Mika and Fatin. Bebi : Your way is <i>true</i> (19), Anggun : tonight, your performance <i>is ok</i> (20). Anggun : ...as the Indonesia <i>best</i> (21) tap dancer performs with you in the stage. Bebi : enough time to prepare this, but he had done the best with the <i>awesome</i> (22) concept, Rosa : the only <i>important</i> (23) thing is doing the best. Rosa : Criticism <i>is good</i> (24) because I'm sure he will be better. Bebi : Because you have <i>good</i> (25) voice. Anggun : You had have a <i>good</i> (26) voice.</p>

Attitude	
	<p>Anggun : Your dress is very <i>good</i> (27). Anggun : There is a <i>cool</i> (28) heatis necklace. Dhani : That was good (29). Anggun : I think your style is <i>pretty good</i> (30). Bebi: ok, I praise your arrangements, it is good (31), good (32). Anggun : But, you all guys have <i>special treatment</i> (33) as your mentor owned the studio. Anggun : because they had less <i>glamorous</i> (34) clothes. Dhani : You should ask the same <i>glamorous</i> (35) dress to Rosa. Bebi: Next week, you should ask the <i>glamorous</i> (36) dress. Bebi: Next week, you should ask the glamorousdress for this <i>typical</i> (37) song. Anggun : He e, that's really amazing (38). Bebi : . For me, you don't need anything; you only need <i>high</i> (39) pitch voice and fit song. Rosa : o agree with Dhani assertion. This stage provides <i>high</i> tension for all singers (40).</p>
	<p>Negative</p> <p>Anggun : I told you last week that you are not the most <i>serious</i> (1) rival of the constestants. Bebi : Because, first, this song needs a <i>strong</i> (2) soul. Rosa: hahahhah , your image is <i>bad</i> (3)on Anggun's view. Anggun: Both of you are in <i>the burdened</i> position (4). Bebi : soul, <i>it is difficult</i> (5) to sing well. This song is a <i>great</i> song (6), Anggun : the tap dancer performs, which is impressed as not <i>free</i> dancer (7). Rosa : it's <i>disturbing</i> (8) comments. Bebi : This song is a great song, with a <i>heavy</i> (9)burden. Bebi : El, you have to diet, your thigh is <i>bigger</i> (10).</p>
Judgment	<p>Positive</p> <p>Rosa : He will receive that and he is <i>able</i> (1) to do that. Rosa: You are <i>always</i> (2) <i>smart</i> (3) to search incredible improvisation, Rosa : hahahahahha , Indeed Fatin has tried it , we are <i>always</i> (4) trying rather hard , but she's will try to, Dhani: Ha? Fatin: I'm not so <i>ambitious</i> (5); Rosa :I think you and Agnes are the only singer who <i>can</i> <i>conquer</i> (6) this song. Dhani : I think you <i>can</i> (7) go on next week. Rosa : It does not mean that you are not good because you <i>can</i> (8), Rosa : So, I know you <i>can</i> (9) sing better. Anggun : Mika, I just know that you <i>can</i> (10) do moonwalk. Bebi : My comment tonight is you <i>can</i> (11) sing a rock song well. Anggun : You <i>can</i> (12) sing with any kind of musical style. Anggun: Oh no, I know they <i>can</i> (13) sing awesomely. Rosa : for me, I know that Alex definitely <i>capable</i> (14) to take and manage a critic. Bebi : Oca said that Alex is <i>capable</i> (15) to sing this song, Anggun : Alex, I was shocked tonight <i>you are looked so cool</i> (16). Rosa : But, but if you <i>could</i> (do) (17) it, you will be perfect tonight. Rosa : She <i>could</i> (18) sing better, Dhani : She <i>could</i> (19) join the X Factor.</p>

Attitude	
	<p>Rosa : It <i>could</i> (20) be the best of you. Rosa: Dicky, you <i>could</i> (21) do well in bringing some notation. Anggun: For me, <i>you are okay</i> (22) as you are <i>established group</i> (23). You <i>can</i> (24) sing with any kind of .. Anggun :<i>the way you see</i> the camera, your hands, really, <i>good</i> (25). Bebi: <i>You're good</i> (26), <i>you're really good shena</i> (27) Dhani : However, <i>you're lucky Alex</i> (28) , Anggun : <i>they</i> had less glamorous clothes and <i>should wear your dress</i> (29) Anggun : It <i>should</i> (30) be the closing coda which is when you give..... Dhani : you <i>should</i> (31) be proud. Dhani : You <i>should</i> (32) thank to god. Rosa: You <i>should</i> (do) (33) it fatin, keep spirit. Dhani : You <i>should</i> (34) not change your ways. Dhani :Robi's way of walking instead <i>should</i> (35) be changed. Bebi: You did, you <i>should</i> (36). Dhani : You <i>should</i> (37) ask the same glamorous dress to Rosa. Dhani : Next week, you <i>should</i> (38) ask the glamorous dress for this typical song. Dhani : Keep it; you <i>should</i> (39) not change the genre. Anggun : We <i>should</i> (40) be entertained. Rosa: She <i>should</i> (41) be a <i>winner</i> (42). Dhani : Actually not only papa bebi's child whose <i>smart</i> (43) in robbing, Dhani : Alex <i>sings</i> (44) <i>very well</i> (45) at all . Anggun ;The dancer doesn't look as <i>sticker</i> (46), Anggun :<i>you are not the most serious rival of the contestants</i> (47).</p>
	<p>Negative</p> <p>Bebi : Many Indonesians <i>can't</i> (sing this song) (1). Sorry, I did not mean it. Rosa: It is ordinary; he is the <i>traitor</i> (2) of the nation. Anggun :<i>you are not the most serious rival</i> (3)of the contestants. Anggun : Instead, <i>you are our</i> (the judges) <i>rival</i> (4). Dhani: Oh <i>jealous</i> (5)? Bebi: you are <i>silly</i> (6) dhan,</p>

Graduation

Graduation		
Force	Intensification	<p>Rosa: You are always (1) smart to search incredible improvisation, Rosa : hahhahahahaha , Indeed fatin has tried it , we are always (2) trying rather hard , Rosa : I would not blame papa, because it is completely (3) the responsibility of the singer. Bebi : Well, I completely (4) agree. Anggun : No, the selecting song is also rather (5) shocking me because I don't imagine that.... Rosa :hahhahahahaha , Indeed fatin has tried it , we are always trying rather (6) hard . Anggun: you are really (7) awesome. Anggun : Your dress is really (8) ok? Who is owned that?</p>

Graduation		
		<p>Anggun : He e, that's really (9) amazing. Anggun : For me, you are really (10) incredible tonight. Anggun: really (11) good, next week we have another challenge, ok? Anggun : the way you see the camera, your hands, really (12), good Bebi: You're good, you're really (13) good shena. Rosa: all do agree if you are really (14) wonderful. I'm sure. Dhani: You really (15) happy as the beginning contest. Dhani : Tonight you're really (16) excited. Dhani : The music is too loud, so I hear slightly (17) unclear.... Bebi :Mrs.Anggun, your arrangement is very (18) cool. Anggun: incredible, it is very (19) cool, I proud of you tonight. Anggun :It was very (20) different between who sing by recorded item.. Anggun : Your dress is very (21) good. Anggun: I am very (22) happy to see you sing as you enjoy your show, Rosa : I am very (23) happy. Rosa: ha? That's very (24) long. Bebi : I see a professional singer who is singing very (25) professional arrangement. Dhani : I see a professional singer who is singing very (26) incredible arrangement. Dhani : Alex sings very (27) well at all. Bebi : Your style is very (28)west style.</p>
	Quantification	<p>Dhani :which will be lack (29) of budget. Anggun : because they had less (30) glamorous clothes and should wear your dress. Anggun :a lot of (31) missing such something which is less high. Dhani : because many (32) people ask you to do this. Bebi : For you, papa is number one (33) and the first. Bebi: My contestant is number one (34) (the winner). Dhani : next week you must (read) six (35) chapters, only six (36) clauses. Anggun : Can I add something before? It's just a little (37) (.) hehehe you have too glamours clothes. Rosa : There was little (38). But, but if you could (do) it, you will be perfect tonight. Rosa : it's a little (39)..it was likely. Dhani : although there was a little (40) missing. Rosa: A little (41) missing does not mean that you... Rosa : You do well in bringing some notation, only there is a little (42) missed notation. Dhani : usia girls wear those kinds of clothes, there are four (43) persons. Anggun: so cut them into four (44) pieces hahahahah.</p>
Focus	Sharpen	<p>Bebi: duet ..duet. A real (1) duet, which envies everyone. Bebi : Your way is true (2), your religion is Islam. Dhani :how to steal every show and it turns out you to truly (3) understand.</p>

Graduation		
	Soften	Anggun : You can sing with any kind of (4) musical style.

Engagement

Engagement		
Mono-gloss		
Hetero-gloss	Disclaim	<p>Anggun : No (1), the selecting song is also rather shocking me</p> <p>Rosa : No (2).. I think the critic is not to insult each other</p> <p>Rosa : no, no (3). But for me, I know that Alex definitely.</p> <p>Anggun : no, no,no (4)</p> <p>Bebi: No nono (5). Is it a new arrangement song?</p> <p>Anggun: Oh no (6), I know they can sing awesomely.</p> <p>Bebi : Even though (7) there is strong soul singer, it is difficult to sing this song.</p> <p>Bebi : Even though (8) you lose, you will be something on music.</p> <p>Anggun : The dancer doesn't look as sticker, but (9) it is looked such a kind of illustration that.....</p> <p>Rosa : But (10) if you could (do) it, you will be perfect tonight.</p> <p>Bebi : but (11) he had done the best with the awesome concept,</p> <p>Rosa : But (12) when he was training, I was there, and she could do it.</p> <p>Mr.Dhani : But (13) to reduce the voter that he has.</p> <p>Bebi : Sorry, I did not mean Indonesians. But (14), this song is not looked like a clever song.</p> <p>Dhani : But (15)I like the way she is , your path is correct .</p> <p>Rosa : we are always trying rather hard , but (16) she's will try to improve it.</p> <p>Bebi : the ending was the most important. Remember this, but (17) I'm sure next week you're still here.</p> <p>Dhani: Dicky, you must thank to Mrs.Anggun, but (18).</p> <p>Anggun : You are very west style. But (19) I regret of some points belong to your mentor.</p> <p>Anggun : But (20), you all guys have special treatment as your boss owns his own studio.</p> <p>Anggun: Oh no, I know they can sing awesomely. But (21) there is recorded thing,</p> <p>Dhani: But (22) I never record it.</p> <p>Dhani : although (23) there was a little missing .</p> <p>Dhani : I disagree (24) to change your style.</p>
	Proclaim	<p>Anggun :I do prefer and agree (1) if your hair is like that, isn't it?</p> <p>Rosa : no, no. But for me, I know (2) that Alex definitely capable to take..</p> <p>Bebi : Well I agree (3) with Mr.Dhani .</p> <p>Dhani : I completely agree (4).</p> <p>Anggun : I just do not agree (5) the way you walk; you have to practice next..</p> <p>Rosa: The point is I do agree (6) with Dhani assertion.</p> <p>Rosa: all do agree (7) if you are really wonderful.</p> <p>Novita: Of course (8) Mr.dani thanks.</p> <p>Dhani: Oh jealous? Anggun: Of course (9).</p>

Engagement	
	<p>Rosa : no, no. But for me, I know that Alex definitely (10) capable to take and manage a critics. Mr .Bebi : Definitely (11), I mean it, I mean. Anggun: Nudi, I definitely (12) love this song. Rosa: Yes (13) , now he is looked like Ari Laso Anggun: Oh I know (14) it. It seems a recorded music samples. Rosa: Yes (15) indeed. Anggun: Oh no, I know (16) they can sing awesomely. Dhani: but, do not (read) al-fatehah. Fatin : I yes (17), Rosa: yes (18), her way walking is changed when she walks.</p>
Entertain	<p>Anggun : I think (1) hehehhe I want to be your manager whahahh. Rosa : I think (2) you and Angnes are the only singer who can.... Anggun : I think (3) you must borrow them to the ilusia girls. Bebi : I think (4) you can go on next week. Bebi : he had done the best with the awesome concept, so I think (5) you have to take easy.... Rosa : No.. I think (6) the critic is not to insult each other. Fatin : I think (7) the lyrics. Anggun : um , I think (8), I also do not want to , Rosa : I think (9) is at the ending, and the ending was.... Dhani : I think (10) your style is pretty good, you just need to.... Anggun : I think (11) this is unfairness. Bebi : Alex, may be (12) what is said by Rosa, Anggun : Just it that I notice here. May be (13) it is difficult to walk by singing. Rosa : You might (14) remember it next. Bebi : However, they might (15) just want to see your performance as they Anggun : I might (16) regret this, if there might be recorded back vocal... Bebi : In my opinion (17), next, you do not need , Anggun: impossible (18).</p>
Attribute	<p>Dhani : Absolutely, because all Islamic foundations (1) in East Java , West Java , demand you to sing Rosa: all (2) do believe if you are really wonderful. Bebi : Alex, may be what is said by Rosa (3), actually you don't need to.... Bebi : As aunty Oca said (4) that Alex is capable to sing this song, Rosa :Dhani said (5) to not (reading) al – Fatehah. Bebi: Mr.Dhani (6) actually ever said that he intends you to sing a rock song. Rosa: hahahhah , your image is bad on Anggun's view (7).</p>

**SOCIO-POLITICAL DISCOURSE IN CONTEMPORARY YORÙBÁ WRITTEN
POETRY: A SOCIO-SEMIOTIC APPRAISAL OF ÀJÀNÀKÚ'S *ORIN EWÚRO* AND
OLÚNLÁDÉ'S *EWÌ ÌGBÀLÓDÉ***

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Abstract

Nigeria's political and social experience has been the main issue that have attracted the attention of the Yorùbá poetry writers in the recent time. This study examined how two poets used their texts to accentuate their views on different political and social events in the country. The poems for the analysis were randomly selected from Àjànàkú's *Orin Ewúro* (1998) and Olúnládé's *Ewì Ìgbàlódé* (2002) and discussed within the theoretical framework of socio-semiotics. This entailed employing context of situation (that is, field, tenor and mode of discourse) and context of culture. Among the findings in the work were that the poets' field of discourse centred on the insensitivity of the political leaders to the problem of the poor, horrible experience of Nigerians during the military regime, bribery and corruption among law enforcement agents and the generality of the people. The tenor of discourse portrayed hatred and unfriendliness between the political leaders and the masses. The mode of discourse was characterized by highly rhetorical confrontational, incantatory expressions laced with satirical metaphorical devices and parallelism. The context of culture exhibited the use of folktale song and cultural symbols. The study concluded that the deployment of both the contexts of situation and of culture to analyse the poems paved way for an intensive study of Yorùbá written poetry, thereby making their meaning embellishments more readily accessible.

1. Introduction

There are few critical works on Yorùbá written poetry which address political and social discourse. Among these are Fólórúnṣọ (1989), Adéyẹmí (2001), Adéjùmò (2005) and Olújìnmí (2005). Fólórúnṣọ (1989, pp. 194-209) examines semiotic features in Ọlábímtán's poems. He employs a part of Peirce's classification of signs, i.e. icon, index and symbol, and submits that out of these three signs, it is only the symbol that he believes is prominent in Yorùbá literature. Thus, he uses symbol as a semiotic tool in analyzing Ọlábímtán's poems in *Àádọta Àròfò*, especially in "Òtító pẹ̀lú Èké", "Èní daḗ", "Ìjà Ìlara" and "Ìjà Ọ̀ṣùpá pẹ̀lú Oòrùn". Fólórúnṣọ (1989) opines that Ọlábímtán wrote these poems on the political intrigue between the leader of the party in control of the old Western Nigeria Government and his deputy between 1960 and 1966. These poems are couched in imagery and symbols. For example, in "Òtító pẹ̀lú Èké" he refers to the leader of the party as 'Òtító' (The truth), while his deputy is 'Èké' (Falsehood). Similarly, in "Ìjà Ọ̀ṣùpá pẹ̀lú Oòrùn", the poet employs the symbols 'sun' and 'moon' to represent both the leader and his deputy. As remarked by Fólórúnṣọ (1998, p. 97), the whole account is a scene of an eclipse which in Yorùbá mythology is a fight between two heavenly bodies – the sun and the moon. However, in the real sense, the strife between the two leaders under reference and which the eclipse symbolizes, sets in motion a chain of events that culminated in the first military coup in Nigeria on January 13, 1966. The 'triumph' of the sun over the moon in the poem, as reasoned by Fólórúnṣọ (1998, p. 98), is perhaps the death of the deputy leader of the party, Chief S.L. Akíntólá in the military coup of January 13, 1966; and the subsequent release of the leader of the party, Chief Ọbáfẹmí Awólówò from prison in August, 1966. Fólórúnṣọ's (1989) adoption of semiotics as one of the tools for the study makes the work important to our present study which analyzes selected poems from a socio-semiotic perspective. Another important work worthy of review is that of Adéyẹmí (2001), which investigates political commitment and poetic utterances in Jíbólá Abíódún's *Àlọ n lọ...Ewì*. Adéyẹmí observes that the text contains forty-three poems out of which fifteen are devoted to Nigerian politics under the Military. The fifteen political poems in the collection are the focus of his critical analysis. Adéyẹmí (2001, p. 82) emphasizes that the poet is opposed to the culture of silence which pervades the society. People keep mute and remain silent under the tyrannical rule of the Military. Thus, the poet negates the option of muteness and proposes a revolutionary reaction. He charges the masses to react and not mind the consequences. The poet, according to Adéyẹmí (2001, p. 83), maintains that if the masses are afraid because of guns, the end result is disastrous. He thus describes Jíbólá Abíódún as a committed poet in the

progressive and revolutionary camp. However, Adéyemí (2001, pp. 90-91) identifies some weaknesses in the collection, among which is the title, *Àlọ n lọ...Ewì*. He comments that the title is odd considering that it is an uncompleted Yoruba proverb. He, therefore, suggests “*Àlọ n lọ*”, which will attract readers, and it is the readers’ responsibility to find out what is in the book. One agrees with Adéyemí (2001, p. 90) on this position. Another observation raised by Adéyemí that attracts our attention is the poet’s advocacy for metaphysical or magical means to deal with the Military. Adéyemí condemns this option in its totality; instead, he suggests the following underlined option:

We are in the age of scientific empiricism, an age of critical consciousness, an age of computer, an age of rational approach to issues with vigorous prayer...What we think we need is mass mobilization, proper political education for all and sundry which will eventually lead to mass opposition against Military coups in Nigeria instead of invoking magical power on them (Adéyemí, 2001, p. 91).

It is noteworthy that the option of prayer, as suggested by Adéyemí, must have brought the masses out of the military rule. God’s intervention must have brought about the mysterious death of the late military despot, General Sanni Abacha, an incident that facilitated the enthronement of democracy in Nigeria on May 29, 1999.

Another work that relates to our study is that of Adéjùmò (2005) which appraises Àtàrí Àjànàkú’s *Orin Ewúro*. Adéjùmò analyses some of the poems in the text using the sociological approach. Adéjùmò claims that the poet, in an attempt to comment on issues in *Orin Ewúro*, makes use of satire as one of its weapons. She notes that in both the classical and African satire, invective is one of the weapons satirists employ to wage verbal attack on their target. Hence, the use of invective is prominent in Àtàrí Àjànàkú’s verbal ‘missiles’ at the ruling class and people who abuse their leadership position at all levels of the society. In other words, the poet, according to Adéjùmò (2005, pp. 38-39), advocates for a change of power and also predicts a reversal of fortune for looters of the people’s wealth. There will be a tragic end of all evil doers and there will definitely be retributive justice. Adéjùmò stresses that to show the seriousness of the desire to see a change of power as a satirist, the poet calls on the gods to reject the ruling class. On the other hand, the poet suggests the probable physical solution out of lack and poverty to the masses. He directly attacks the idea that robbing the ruling class by the masses,

or begging, is the solution to oppression. The way out of poverty and oppression is hard work (Adéjùmò, 2005, p. 42).

Adéjùmò succeeds in appraising the poems in *Orin Ewúro*, but fails to give her own judgement on the work. It would seem that she agrees with everything the poet says. If her work is compared with Adéyemí's (2001) work, they are similar, except in the area of theoretical framework. Adéyemí points out the weaknesses in his data and also suggests some solutions. Another weakness noticed in Adéjùmò's work is its structureless pattern. The whole work runs in prosaic form from the beginning to the end, without any sub-heading. It should have been divided into sections to make it logical and scholarly.

Another author whose work is relevant to this study is Olújìnmí, (2005, pp. 101-117) who examines the works of two female authors (Adébòwálé and Adéjùmò) and assesses the image of the woman in their works. He is of the opinion that male writers, who promote the experiences and interest of men over women alongside the patriarchal school of thought, had dominated Yorùbá literature, hence the need for women writers to rise up to redeem the image of the woman created by male writers. Olújìnmí (2005, p. 115) submits that the authors are able to portray the woman through their personal and creative experiences as a regenerative symbol of motherhood, procreator and the child-bearer. The woman is also depicted as a nurturer, comforter and homemaker. Olújìnmí says further that the woman is portrayed as sustainer, helper, supporter and a faithful wife. She is a defender, protector and guardian of both her husband and children. The woman also possesses the image of a precious jewel, an indispensable person and that of a deity, who deserves to be worshipped.

On the contrary, as observed by Olújìnmí (2005), Adébòwálé and Adéjùmò did not conceal the frailties of their fellow women (p. 101) as women who are wolves in sheepskin among the flock are also painted. There are women whose portraits suggest them as anti-womanists. They are the women who are promiscuous, child-abusers, indolent and abortionists (p. 115). However, this present study takes a departure from the earlier studies by employing a socio-semiotic approach in examining socio-political discourse in Àjànàkú's *Orin Ewúro* and Olúnládé's *Ewì Ìgbàlódé*.

2. Theoretical Framework

The socio-semiotic approach is the framework adopted for this study. Socio-semiotics is a branch of the field of semiotics which investigates human signifying practices in specific social and cultural circumstances, and which tries to explain meaning-making as a social practice. It expands on Saussure's founding insights by exploring the implications of the fact that the "codes" of language and communication are formed by social processes (Wikipedia, 2010). Social semiotics is thus the study of the social dimensions of meaning, and of the power of human processes of signification and interpretation (known as semiosis) in shaping individuals and societies. Social semiotics focuses on social meaning-making practices of all types, whether visual, verbal or aural in nature (Thibault, 1991). Social semiotics, as noted by Hodge and Kress (1988), can include the study of how people design and interpret meanings, the study of texts, and the study of how semiotic systems are shaped by social interests and ideologies, and how they are adapted as society changes. The main task of social semiotics is to develop analytical and theoretical frameworks which can explain meaning-making in a social context (Thibault, 1991). Social semiotics is currently extending this general framework beyond its linguistic origins to account for the growing importance of sound and visual images, and how modes of communication are combined in both traditional and digital media (Kress and Leeuwen, 1996), thus approaching semiotics of culture (Randviir, 2004).

Harris (2006) posits that socio-semiotics is an approach inspired by Halliday's systemic functional linguistics, which emphasizes the importance of context, both context of situation and context of culture, in reconstructing the meaning of a text. The socio-semiotic approach views language as the embodiment of the social process in a society. This view consequently shows that context is very important in the understanding and interpretation of a text. All texts written in language are context dependent. There is no text which can stand alone. Therefore, to understand a text, the context of the text must be reconstructed.

The most important part of the socio-semiotic approach is the dynamics of the interrelation of language and social context; which ensures that, in the micro-encounters of everyday life where meanings are exchanged, language not only facilitates and supports other modes of social action that constitute its environment, but it also actively creates an environment of its own, so making possible all the imaginative modes of meaning. Context plays a part in

determining what we say; and what we say plays a part in determining the context (Halliday, 1978, p. 3).

The level of context, therefore, is the phenomenon which determines the ‘contextualization’ of a text. That is, any text will be principally governed by any one of the levels of context, context of situation, context of text and context of culture. The selection of linguistic structure depends on the predominating level of context, which in turn is strongly motivated by language medium (Leckie-Tarry, 1995, p. 3).

2.1 Context of Situation

The context of situation is the immediate environment in which a text is actually functioning. This notion is used to explain why certain things have been said or written on this particular occasion, and what else might have been said or written that was not.

The term ‘context of situation’ originated from the anthropologist Malinowsky in his essay “The Problem of Meaning in Primitive Languages” (1923/1935 cited by Halliday and Hasan, 1989, p. 5). To Malinowsky, language usage has a context. The ‘textual’ features enable the discourse to cohere not only with itself but also with its context of situation. He, therefore, analysed the context of situation into three components, corresponding to the three metafunctions. These components serve to interpret the social context of a text, the environment in which meanings are being exchanged. The three components are the field, tenor and mode of discourse.

These are certain principles that we can use for choosing an appropriate way of describing the context of a situation of a text. Therefore, in this study, Malinowski’s three components of interpreting the social context of texts are employed because they are all-encompassing for and relevant to our analysis.

2.2 Field, Tenor, and Mode of Discourse

Field is the total event in which the text is functioning, referring to inherent features of the situation and the events taking place with the emphasis on institutional areas of activity and function. The physical setting and its inherent features and activities, participants, world

knowledge and semantic domain constitute both variable and invariable elements of the field of discourse (Halliday and Hasan, 1976, p. 22)

Arena/activities refers particularly to the locations of the interaction, both in terms of their inherent features, and in terms of the social institutions which determine them. The arena and the activities which take place are the most basic elements of context, motivating the possible range of selections in other elements of field, and in elements of tenor (Leckie-Tarry, 1995, p. 36). "Participants," according to Leckie-Tarry, refers to inherent features of the participants, that is, their physical and mental attributes and the knowledge they bring to bear on the setting and events. Such attributes include characteristics such as race, gender, class, wealth, age, appearance, intelligence, cognitive and educational level, occupation, etc., and also the background knowledge which the participants bring to bear on the situation: cultural knowledge, including intertextual knowledge, linguistic knowledge, situational knowledge and textual knowledge.

Semantic domain refers to the broad domain, the general subject matter or content of the specific language event. The two variables of arena and participant will have a considerable predetermining effect on semantic domain. The arena/activities will tend to narrow the range of possible events/subject matters, which will be further constrained by the participants.

Tenor refers to the participant in the social event, the characteristics of the participant, the status as well as the social role which he/she holds (Harris, 2006, p. 3). Halliday and Hasan (1976, p. 22) define tenor as "the type of role interaction, the set of relevant social relations, permanent and temporary among the participants". The elements of the category of tenor are related to and motivated by aspects of field. While field refers to the inherent characteristics of the situation, tenor refers to the non-inherent features – elements which vary according to the social interactions taking place. Wales (2001, p. 388) posits that tenor involves the relationships between participants in the situation, their roles and status. This will affect the kind of language chosen, particularly in respect of the degree of formality. Formality, according to Leckie-Tarry (1995, p. 39), refers to the degree of formality associated with activity, particularly from the degree of institutionalization involved. Where settings are highly institutionalized, a higher degree of formality will tend to prevail. Where the institution involved is more in the nature of a social practice rather than a formally constituted institution within the society, levels of formality will tend to be lower. It is apparent that the field has a primary influence on this tenor variable; however, the interaction of all field variables constrains the degree of formality. Levels of formality are motivated by the schematized background knowledge of the participants derived from the context of culture, that is

knowledge of cultural mores which establish a relationship between areas of interaction, types of participants and semantic domains to levels of formality, and situational knowledge as to role assignment (Leckie-Tarry, 1995, pp. 39-40). Mode refers to what part the language is playing, what it is that the participants are expecting the language to do for them in that situation: the symbolic organization of the text, the status that it has, and its function in the context, including the channel (is it spoken or written or some combination of the two?) and also the rhetorical mode, what is being achieved by the text in terms of such categories as persuasive, expository, didactic, and the like (Halliday and Hasan, 1989, p. 12).

2.3 *Context of Culture*

The context of culture is a large and complex knowledge system spread among the various members of a particular culture, and hence consisting of many sets of knowledge, including, in particular, the institutional and ideological. In any given interaction, that is, a particular context of situation, the context of culture is accessed by means of the knowledge systems which the various participants bring to bear on the situation, where the knowledge is triggered by aspects of the context of situation.

Halliday and Hasan (1989, p. 46) posit that the context of situation, however, is only the immediate environment. There is also a broader background against which the text has to be interpreted: its context of culture. Any actual context of situation, the particular configuration of field, tenor, and mode that has brought a text into being, is not just a random jumble of features but a totality – a package of things that typically go together in the culture. People do these things on these occasions and attach these meanings and values to them: this is what a culture is. All these factors constitute the context of culture, and they determine, collectively, the way the text is interpreted in its context of situation. It is helpful to build in some indication of the cultural background, and the assumptions that have to be made if the text is to be interpreted in the way poets intend.

3 **Analysis of Data and Discussion**

3.1 *Socio-political discourse in Àjànàkú's Orin Ewúro (The bitter Songs)*

Orin Ewúro is written by Àtàrí Àjànàkú. The text contains twenty-six poems and four were randomly selected for analysis. The four poems selected from Orin Ewúro are “Níbo Là N

Rè?” (Where are we heading for?), “Ìjankúkujàn” (folktale song), “È fahán Pere Mèkúnnù” (Speak good of poor) and “Àdáàkó Àjọ” (non-refundable contribution).

Field of Discourse

The field of discourse of “Níbo Là N Rè?” (Where are we heading for?) is the confused state of Nigeria’s socio-political condition. The arena the poet refers to as the location of interaction is Nigeria. The participants are the political leaders and the masses who constitute the victims of bad leadership. The poet expresses concern on the pitiable condition which the crop of Nigerian leadership has turned the country to. The idea is presented in the rhetorical questions as thus:

Níbo layé dorí kọ?
 Níbo là n rè?
 Níbo layé dorí kọ?
 È máa gbọ o
 Níbo là n rè ò?...
 Ìyà yí mà pọ o eee
 Èyí mà le ooo... (p. 12)

(Where is the world heading for?
 Where are we going?
 Where is the world heading for?
 Listen to me
 Where are we heading for?...
 This suffering is much
 It is so difficult...)

The subject matter of the poem is a revelation of the poet’s state of mind towards the hardship being expressed by the masses. In “Ìjankúkujàn” (folktale song), a similar field of discourse is observed:

Ló bá òjankúkujàn
 Ìjankúkujàn
 Mo ló òjankúkujàn
 Ìjankúkujàn

Kí ló janmọ́lọ́ya mọ́lẹ̀ níjànkujàn

Ìjànkúkujàn

Tápá fi di kánndá

Ìjànkúkujàn

Tésè fi di kọ̀ndọ̀

Ìjànkúkujàn

Téyìn fi di gulutu

Ìjànkúkujàn... (p. 59)

(It has turned absurd

Ìjànkúkujàn

I say, it has turned absurd

Ìjànkúkujàn

What was it that defeated the child of ‘ọ́lọ́ya’

Ìjànkúkujàn

That made his arm broken

Ìjànkúkujàn

That made his leg dislocated

Ìjànkúkujàn

That made his back bent

Ìjànkúkujàn...)

The extract above refers to how the socio-economic system of the country had collapsed, and its citizenry helpless. In the same vein, “È fahán Pere Mèkúnnù” (Speak good of the poor) creates a similar semantic domain of suffering being experienced by the poor masses. The two groups of participants in the poem are the poor masses and the insensitive leaders.

Apart from political issues that are generally discussed in Àjànàkú’s collections, there are other social vices which the poet laments. Such thematic preoccupations are bribery and corruption, which have continued to threaten the continuous existence of Nigeria. The ‘cankerworm’, called corruption, has eaten deep into the fabric of all aspects of the society. Àjànàkù espouses this idea in “Àdààkó Àjọ” (non-refundable contribution). The degree of corruption among the Nigerian law enforcement agents that are entrusted with the responsibilities of protecting the lives and properties of the citizens, is emphasized. These

agents have turned themselves into road side ‘tax collectors’ extorting money from the motorists. Àjànàkú puts it in this way:

Awakò lójú pópó
 È kú àmúmọra
 È kúu sùúrù
 Nítorí àjọ àdáàkó
 Tẹ ẹ n dá fáláṣọ ọfọ nírònà:
 Àjọ tipátipá
 Àjọ àfẹlẹgbà
 Bí ọ tilẹ tóndá lórùn (p. 41)

(Motorists
 What perseverance
 What patience
 For the non-refundable contribution
 That you always pay to the men
 in mourning uniform along the roads:
 A forceful contribution
 That the contributors are not pleased with).

This extract captures the atrocities committed by the law enforcement agents, especially the police, on the Nigerian roads. The poet thus equates them with armed robbers on the highways

Àtàwọn, àtìgára
 Tó n fòru dúdú bojú dánà, ẹgbara (p. 41)

(They, and the armed robbers
 Who rob in the night, are same)

According to the poet, the police are not alone in the practice. Other law enforcement agents such as mobile police, soldiers, and the road safety officers are inclusive. He says:

Naira márùn-ún kò tó mùkọ
 Mẹwàá ni taláṣọ dúdú lásán
 Múrí ni tapani-má-rosẹ...
 Bó o bá róníkakí láàrin wọn

Mò pé Wàsóbìà lo ó fi jura.
 Májámájá pàá ò kèrè
 Irúkìírú ni gbogbo wọn...(p. 42)

(Five naira is worthless
 It is ten naira for the police
 Twenty naira for the mobile police
 If you sight soldiers among them
 Be sure that you will part with fifty naira
 Road safety officers also are not left behind
 They are all same)

The subject matter of the poem is a strong condemnation of the gross indiscipline and corruption among the officers.

Tenor of Discourse

The social relations in “Níbo Là N Rè?” is confrontational and directed at corrupt leaders who have squandered the resources that are meant for the well-being of the generality of the people. The poet writes that:

È yígbà padà
 Omàsùwà Onílẹ̀ẹ̀wàrà
 Káyé lè dorí kobi ire
 Ká wáá máa gòkè... (p. 15)

(Turn a new leaf
 You leaders of this country
 So that we can have a right direction
 And be progressive...)

Similarly, the social relations highlighted in “È fahán Pere Mèkúnnù” is an indication of mutual hatred between the two classes. This is why the poet warns that if these leaders fail to think of better life for the masses, the consequence may be grave. Considering the field of discourse espoused in “Àdààkó Àjo”, the corresponding tenor of discourse is predictable. This

poem castigates the corrupt law enforcement agents who have become thorns in the flesh of the motorists on the highways. The kind of interpersonal relationship that an extract like this would generate, especially between the subjects (Police and their accomplices) and the readers (public), would be influenced by such images as ‘aláṣọ dúdú’ (policemen), ‘apani-má-rosẹ’ (mobile police), ‘oníkakí’ (soldiers), and ‘májámájá’ (road safety officers). The participants’ social relations in these lines is an indication of mutual hatred between the corrupt law enforcement officers and the public.

Mode of Discourse

Owing to the fact that “Níbo Là N Rẹ” is directed towards bad leadership, the rhetorical mode is inciting (?). At a point, the poet charges the oppressed to hold their destinies in their hands and fight for their rights. The idea is presented thus:

Nítorí ìgbà ò lọ bí òréré;
 Ìyà yí kò lè tọ lọ bí ọpá ìbọn
 Àmọ ọ́ ọ, Iṣẹ Alátíṣe ni
 Kálátíṣe ó fọwọ ara rẹ
 Tún gèlè orí ara rẹ wé o
 Kó fẹnu ara rẹ ko iwọ... (p. 14)

(No condition is permanent
 This suffering cannot last for ever
 However, it is one’s own determination
 One should determine
 To hold one’s destiny
 And resist oppression...)

The poet is not well disposed to bad leadership and its attendant hardship, hence his call for change. He charges the masses thus “Kálátíṣe ó fọwọ ara rẹ tún gèlè orí ara rẹ wé o,” meaning that the masses should not keep quiet or mute; rather, they should stand up and challenge the oppressors of the land. The rhetorical mode in “Ìjankúkujàn” is satirical – condemning the insensitivity on the part of the leaders which characterizes the poor state of the country. For instance, a picture of a forty year old person, who is still a toddler, is drawn to depict Nigeria at forty which still remained undeveloped in the following:

Omọ ogójì odún
 Ìjankúkujàn
 Tí kò lé dá mùkọ
 Ìjankúkujàn
 Tí kò lé dá gbésẹ̀
 Ìjankúkujàn
 Tó wá ya àràrá kalẹ̀
 Ìjankúkujàn... (p. 60)

(A forty year old ‘child’
 Ìjankúkujàn
 Who cannot feed himself
 Ìjankúkujàn
 Who cannot walk
 Ìjankúkujàn
 Has eventually become a dwarf
 Ìjankúkujàn...)

This is intended to paint a picture of a failed state which after forty years of independence could not sustain itself. The zig-zag graphological structure of the poem is indicative of the situation of the country.

The mode of discourse i.e., rhetorical mode in “È fahán Pere Mèkúnnù” is incantatory. At certain points, invocative and incantatory apparatus are used as radical ways of achieving the ultimate goal of having a better life for the masses as captured in the following extract.

Àmọ́ bó ẹ̀ tawọ̀n ọ̀jẹ̀lú
 Àwọ̀n afigègè ré báá sí lára mèkúnnù:
 Kílẹ̀ wọ̀n ó gbóná girigiri
 Kẹ̀ẹ̀dẹ̀ wọ̀n ó pò pò gùdùgùdù.
 Bó ẹ̀ tawọ̀n agbórígbẹ̀-dìgára ilẹ̀ yìí
 Tí wọ̀n n fẹ̀ké ẹ̀tẹ̀tẹ̀
 Tí wọ̀n n fÀlàbá wòDòwú:
 Èrè lobìnrin n jẹ̀ lábọ̀ ọ̀jà
 Èrè tó tó ilọ̀po mẹ̀wáá
 Báá sí ẹ̀ran Àlàbá tẹ̀ ẹ̀ ré kéDòwú;

Lonílé oríta ó ʃu sẹ̀èdẹ̀ tẹ̀yin... (p. 24)

(In respect to the looters

Those siphoning the money meant for the masses:

May their homes be terribly hot

May calamities visit them and their families.

The bad leaders of this country

Who are governing with lies

Who are cheating on others

Profits abound for women on return from market

Profits in ten folds

The portion of Àlàbá's meat you gave to Ìdòwú

Will 'èṣù' (Yorùbá god of justice) repay you

and your household)

The poet employs the euphemism “òjẹ̀lú” (treasury looters) to replace “òṣẹ̀lú” (politicians) as they are commonly called. This device is deliberately used to bring the corrupt politicians to a state of disrepute. He invokes the spirit of “onílé oríta” (èṣù, Yorùbá god of justice) to deal with the treasury looters and their household. Furthermore, the mode of discourse in “Àdáàkó Àjọ” is both accusative and confrontational. Since the trust of the common citizens in the law enforcement agent that is supposed to defend and protect them has been dashed, the poet is poised with leaving no stone unturned in expressing his view in the following lines:

Ìdigunjalè kan ò jùyí

Gbogbo yin ló yẹ̀ kò fẹ̀yìn tàgbá.

Àtògá tó wà nínú oyé

Àtòmọ̀ọ̀ṣẹ̀ tí n bẹ̀ nínú òdòrùn

Alágbèédá ni gbogbo yin porogodo;

Gbogbo yín ló tọ̀ kó ẹ̀wà.

Àmọ̀, níbo lagbófinró òhún tún kù sí?

Ta ló tún lè múrúu wọ̀n jófin? (p.42)

(There is no armed robbery that is greater than this

You are all supposed to face the firing squad

Both superior officers seated in the air-
 conditioned offices
 And the subordinate ones standing in the sun
 You are all thieves
 You are all supposed to be imprisoned.
 But, where can the so-called law enforcement
 agent be found?
 Who can bring such offenders to justice?)

The rhetorical questions raised in the last two lines portend hopelessness about the present crop of Nigerian law enforcement agents. The poet is desirous of having a society where the people would handle the issue of their security themselves and not rely on the law enforcement agents.

He presents this in the following as:

Àwa ló yẹ́ ká ọ́sara gírí
 Ká jára gbà
 Lówọ́ jẹ́gúdú-jẹ́rá...
 Agbófinró kan kò sí
 Tó ju ará ìlú lọ...
 Onínú funfun ló lè gbófin ró o jàre,
 Kí ọ́e dánàdánà (p. 42)

(We have to brace up
 And liberate ourselves
 From the corrupt agents...
 There is no law enforcement agent
 That is greater than the people themselves...
 It is a plain-hearted person that can enforce laws
 Not armed robbers).

Context of Culture

The context of culture deployed in the poem “Ìjankúkujàn” (folktale song) is located in one of the Yorùbá folktales which has a musical refrain, “àlùjannjánkújan”. The folktale is centred on ajá (dog) and other animals. There was a severe famine in the land which made all

animals to agree that they kill their parents, one after the other for food. After this arrangement, dog, being a clever animal, took his mother to heaven while he joined other animals to eat their parents. In no time, they exhausted the available parents for food, yet the famine persisted. However, prior to this time, dog was visiting his mother in heaven via a long rope which descended from heaven. He usually ate to satisfaction before he returned home. While other animals were becoming thin, dog was growing fat. One day, tortoise visited the dog and pleaded with him to tell him the secret of his well-being. After much persuasion, dog took the tortoise to his mother in heaven and they both were fed well. Meanwhile, each time dog wanted to see his mother, he used to sing a song which would alert his mother. The song goes thus:

Ìyá, ìyá takùn wálẹ̀ o
 Àlùjannjankíjan
 Gbogbo ayé pa yèyè rẹ̀ jẹ
 Àlùjannjankíjan
 Ajá gbé tirẹ̀ ó dọrun
 Àlùjannjankíjan...

(Mother, mother let down the rope

Àlùjannjankíjan
 Everybody killed his mother
 Àlùjannjankíjan
 Dog carried his to heaven
 Àlùjannjankíjan...

On hearing this song, his mother would let down the rope and he would climb the rope to reach his mother. The same procedure was followed as he invited tortoise to join him. Tortoise, in his usual characteristic manner, told other animals how he and dog had been feeding. He later took the animals to the place and started singing as dog usually did. When dog's mother heard the song, she let down the rope thinking that it was her son, dog. As they were climbing the rope and singing, the mother realized that it was not her son, therefore, she cut the rope, tortoise and his cohorts fell down. Some of them died instantly. Although the tortoise escaped death, the shell on his back cracked. That was the incident that made tortoise's shell looks cracked till today. It is this folktale narrative that the poet transforms to a poem.

The cultural import of this folktale in which the dog loved and cared for his mother, negates the feelings of the crop of Nigerian leaders, who, through their actions have turned the

country to a pitiable condition despite the huge natural and human resources the country is endowed with. The poet is of the opinion that one of the problems of this crop of leadership is non-commitment to the principles of loyalty and love displayed by the past heroes to fight for the independence of the country. They ignored words of reasoning and embarked on their personal agenda. The result of such an attitude is the killing, jailing and going on self-exile of some prominent Nigerians during the military rule.

3.2 *Socio-political discourse in Olúnládé's Ewì Ìgbàlódé (Modern Poems)*

Táíwò Olúnládé is a contemporary Yorùbá poet whose selected poems reflect on the social and political happenings in the society. Forty poems are contained in *Ewì Ìgbàlódé* and four were randomly selected for analysis. The four poems selected from *Ewì Ìgbàlódé* are “Abájọ” (No wonder), “Odù Ìrọwọpọnlá” (Game of corruption), “Awo” (Cult of unity) and “Múra síṣẹ” (Be diligent).

Field of Discourse

In “Abájọ” (No wonder), the subject-matter, i.e., the field of discourse, centres on the Nigerians’ experience during the military regime. The poet is of the view that no military government can give its citizens the desired benefits, since it is not accountable to the people. He accuses the military rulers of high-handedness and insensitivity. The idea is developed in the following:

Ṣàngó la ní ní Balógun
 Abájọ tá ò fi lè faraya
 Olúkòso la ní lẹgbọ̀n-ọ̀n
 Abájọ tá ò fi lè pèròpò... (p. 60)

(‘Ṣàngó’ is our warlord
 No wonder we cannot react
 ‘Olúkòso’ is our brother
 No wonder we cannot reason together...)

The extract attests to the fact that people were incapacitated by authoritarian rule of the military, and that they could neither talk nor protest against inhuman treatment meted out to

them. The semantic domain in “Odù Ìrọ̀wọ̀pọ̀nlá” (Game of corruption) reflects on the issue of corruption. The poet describes corruption as the bane of Nigeria’s development. Corruption, has become a cankerworm that has eaten deep into the fabric of every system and individual. This, according to the poet has hindered the progress of the country. Olúnládé espouses the idea of the circumstance in which and for which this poem is composed in the following lines:

Gbogbo ohun tá a mọ̀ láyé ijọ́sí
 Ni wọ̀n ti yí bìrì mọ̀ wa lọ̀wọ̀
 Wọ̀n láyé ohun tó tọ̀ kọ̀ la wà
 Wọ̀n láyé ọ̀wọ̀ pípọ̀nlá ló nìgbà
 Wọ̀n lóun a bá fẹ̀ jẹ̀ làgbà oun a fẹ̀ ẹ̀... (p. 40)

(All we knew in the past
 Have turned awkward
 They said this is not the age of righteousness
 They said this is the age of corruption
 They said what we stand to gain supersedes what
 we intend to do).

To the poet, both the leaders and the followers, i.e., the participants, are guilty of this allegation. The poet is of the opinion that in the past, people discharged their duties with a sense of commitment and dedication, without requesting gratification. Today, at every level of the Nigerian system, people request gratification before giving what one duly deserves. This is the primary source of corruption. The poet identifies some features of corruption, namely, title giving to undeserving people, giving positions on ethnic basis and document manipulation.

Babaláwo wo ló kifá fún wọ̀n níjọ́sí?
 Afipòdánìlọ̀lá awo ilú
 Afàyèàtàtà jàbúró awo Ìran
 Agbáratáàfíṣolóri awo Èlẹ̀yàmẹ̀yà
 Gbogbo wọ̀n ni wọ̀n jọ̀ n ọ̀sawo pọ̀...
 Wọ̀n ní kí làwọ̀n lè ẹ̀ táwọ̀n fi lè tètè rí ẹ̀
 Wọ̀n ní kí wọ̀n ó rúbọ̀ ifọ̀gbọ̀nẹ̀kọ̀rọ̀ wápọ̀
 Wọ̀n ní kí wọ̀n ó mète iwé yíyí... (p. 42)

(Who was the ‘babaláwo’ that divined for them?)

One-who-bestowed-position on others, the cult of the land
 One-who-bestowed-juicy-potfolio on younger ones, the cult
 of ethnicity
 They all belonged to same cult group...
 They inquired what they could do so that they could
 quickly enrich themselves
 They were asked to prepare a sacrifice so that they
 would be favoured with exalted positions
 They were asked to employ the tricks of manipulation...)

The extract above attests to the claim that ethnicity, in Nigeria, promotes corruption in public service as regards the issues of appointment and promotion, favouritism, nepotism, award of contracts, manipulation of constitution, racial / ethnic discrimination and the likes.

However, in “Awo” (Cult of unity), the field of discourse, i.e., theme is erected on unity as a panacea for national development in Nigeria. The poet emphasizes the need for the people of Nigeria to be united in order to lift the country to a greater height. He carefully selects some creatures which by their natural endowment have a feature of moving as a team. Examples of these creatures are “ikán” (termites), “èèrà” (ants), “ègà” (palm-birds) and “tata” (grasshoppers). These creatures, as used by the poet, symbolize the unity which he wants Nigerians to emulate.

In “Múra síṣé” (Be diligent), the subject matter is the dignity in labour. The poet condemns the act of indolence in its entirety. He posits that achievement in whatever respect, is not attained without hard work. This view corroborates a biblical verse which says “The soul of the sluggard desireth, and hath nothing; but the soul of the diligent shall be made fat” (Proverbs, 13:4). The idea is summed up in the following:

Iṣé takuntakun níí mú
 Kéniyàn ó le kéṣejárí
 Iṣé níí múni gbón
 Àṣiṣé níí múni gò ju taṣutaṣu lọ
 Èní bá ṣiṣé á lówó lówó... (p. 2)

(It is hard work
 That makes one to be successful
 It is work that makes one wise

Indolence makes one to be stupid
 One who works will be financially independent...)

Tenor of Discourse

In relation to the tenor of discourse, i.e., social relations in “Abájọ” (No wonder), the participants are the military leaders and the people of Nigeria. The relationship between these two groups can be said to be unfriendly due to the high-handedness of the military. People’s opinion did not matter since they assumed power through the gun. It can also be said that the poet aligns himself with the feelings of the oppressed, by identifying with them when he uses the collective pronoun ‘a’ (we) in “tá ò lè faraya” (that we cannot react) as is evident in the following:

Şàngó la ní ní Balógun
 Abájọ tá ò fi lè faraya (p. 60)

(‘Şàngó’ is our warlord
 No wonder we cannot react)

The theme in “Múra síşẹ” (Be diligent) exhibits the role-relation that exists between elderly people and young ones. The tenor of discourse in the poem (Múra síşẹ) is a way of foregrounding the way and manner the Yorùbá advise the young ones or somebody perceived to be lazy by saying ‘işẹ lòògùn işẹ’ (work is an antidote to poverty).

Mode of Discourse

The symbolic organization of “Abájọ” (No wonder) is the use of parallelism made up of very short lines. Also, the symbols which permeate every interval of the poem have been used to convey the ‘emotional feeling’ of the poet to the audience. The symbols are “Şàngó” (god of thunder), “Olúkòso” (another name for Şàngó), “Ọya” (Şàngó’s wife), “Olúẹri” (Şàngó’s in-law), “ejò” (snake), “adití” (a deaf), “kòlòkòlò” (fox), “ẹgún” (thorn), “yèrèpè” (nettle) and “ẹgbẹjí” (a herbalist). All these symbolise the military leaders and their hard posture to the issue of governance. The poet deliberately selects “Şàngó” among other Yorùbá deities to represent the high-handedness of the military rulers. “Şàngó”, the god of thunder and lightning, is the most powerful god of the Yorùbá and a warrior. It is well known that “Şàngó” is subject

to frequent outbursts of ungovernable temper, during which he hurls down stones at those who have given him cause for offence. He was king of old Ọ̀yọ́ in Yorùbá land, and became so unbearable through rapacity, cruelty and tyranny. He also had certain mystical abilities to command and control great storms of varying sizes. This device has proven to be a most effective medium of making a goal-ended presentation in Yorùbá poetry. The effect of this device, therefore, is to attack the oppressors (military) and their government. The rhetorical mode in the poem is condemnation of military rule.

Moreover, the channel of delivery of “Odù Ìrọ̀wọ̀pónlá” (Game of corruption), is imbued with ‘ẹ̀ṣẹ̀ ifá’ (a genre in Yorùbá oral poetry) – an effectual strategy for influencing the behaviour of the readers in support of the poetic arguments. This is borne out of the fact that ‘ẹ̀ṣẹ̀ ifá’ is a corpus where words of wisdom in Yorùbá tradition reside. The rhetorical mode in the poem is advising. This is an attempt to enable all individuals, groups and tribes that comprise Nigeria to have a rethink and work towards building a virile nation which is currently at the verge of decay. In “Awo” (Cult of unity), words and expressions which engender unity are frequently used. Examples like Ikán ɣawo tíń, àwọ̀n èèrà ɣawo tíń, àwọ̀n ègà ɣawo tíń, àwọ̀n tata ɣawo tíń, (termites, ants, palm-birds, grasshoppers, engage in cult of unity) reinforce our perception of the context. The poet deliberately selects these creatures by their natural endowment of moving as a team. The unity and sense of oneness that bring these creatures together to achieve a common goal is what the poet foregrounds. Also, an expression like àwọ̀n ejò ɣawo tíń, awo wọ̀n ò gún (snakes engage in cult of unity, yet they are not successful) is employed in the poem to depict the consequence of not being united. The uncooperative attitude of snakes makes them to suffer. The effect this has is to create awareness on the significance of living in harmony as a united nation.

The mode of discourse, i.e., rhetorical mode in “Múra síṣẹ̀” (Be diligent) is the condemnation of the habit of laziness and indolence, especially among the youth. The message is made more enduring with short and direct lines as shown in the concluding lines:

Ìṭeramọ̀ṣẹ̀ níí mágbẹ̀ ɣeun kánú
 Ìṭeramọ̀ṣẹ̀ níí sọmọ̀ èkọ̀ṣẹ̀ dọ̀gá
 Ìṭeramọ̀ṣẹ̀ níí fàgbéga lẹnu iṣẹ̀
 Ìṭeramọ̀ṣẹ̀ níí mú màjèsín dépò àgbà (p. 2).

(Hardwork makes the farmer reap bountifully

Hardwork makes an apprentice a master

Hardwork brings promotion

Hardwork propels the young to attain the position of the elderly).

Such directness in the mode of delivery coupled with the recurrent use of repetition “*ìtẹramọṣẹ*” (hardwork) and parallelism captures the stance of the poet against the perceived lazy ones.

Context of Culture

The meaning of the symbols ‘*Ṣàngó*’, ‘*Olúkòso*’ and ‘*Ọya*’ used in the poem “*Abájo*” (No wonder) could be further explained from the perspective of Yorùbá culture. For example, ‘*Ṣàngò*’ is a god of thunder in the Yorùbá tradition, and he is very powerful. He is always appeased so that one does not incur his wrath. Also, ‘*Olúkòso*’ is an appellation used for this god while ‘*Ọya*’ is his wife; hence the saying, “*Ṣàngó Olúkòso ọkọ Ọya*” (*Ṣàngó Olúkòso*, husband of *Ọya*). Other symbols in the poem such as; ‘*ejò*’ (snake), ‘*adítí*’ (deaf person), ‘*kòlòkòlò*’ (fox), ‘*ẹ̀gún*’ (thorn), ‘*yèrèpè*’ (nettle), and ‘*ẹ̀gbẹ̀jí*’ (a herbalist) are used to symbolise the military leaders. ‘*Ejò*’ (snake) is a dangerous and poisonous creature which everyone avoids. ‘*Adítí*’ (deaf person) does not easily hear what other people around him are saying. ‘*Kòlòkòlò*’ (fox) is a wild animal fond of eating other creatures like chicken. ‘*È̀gún*’ (thorn) is a sharp pointed part on the stem of a plant which inflicts pains if one mistakenly comes in contact with it. ‘*Yèrèpè*’ (Nettle) is also a wild plant with leaves that stings one’s skin if one touches it. ‘*È̀gbẹ̀jí*’ (a herbalist) has magical power that makes people fear him. The poet, on the one hand, equates the powerful nature of the military with that of *Ṣàngó*. The military was ‘worshipped’ like a god. On the other hand, he describes the military as, being dangerous and poisonous as a snake. The military turned deaf hear to the cry of the masses. Its men stole and looted the treasury. They were unreliable and wicked.

Conclusion

This study has discussed the political and social themes in the poems of *Àtàrí Àjànàkú* and *Táíwò Olúnládé*, using socio-semiotic tools of field, tenor, and mode of discourse, as well as the context of culture. The poets’ field of discourse addressed insensitivity of political leaders to the suffering of the people, horrible experience of Nigerians during the military regime, bribery and corruption, as well as unity and dignity of labour as panacea for national development. The tenor of discourse exhibited hatred and unfriendliness between the political

leaders and the oppressed. The poet's role-relation in the poem that emphasized the dignity in labour is the one that exists between elderly and young ones. The mode of discourse was confrontation, incantation, satire, and condemnation through the use of metaphor and parallelism. The context of culture was the use of folktale song and cultural symbols. It is evident from our analysis that socio-semiotics has proven to be worthwhile in the analysis of Yorùbá written poetry.

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THE CHALLENGE OF SOCIOLOGY OF LANGUAGE: BEYOND SOCIOLINGUISTICS; TOWARDS DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

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Abstract

Nowadays, the sociology of language is explicitly identified among I.S.A. research committees, although we do not find a national equivalent in many other sociological associations all over the world. Alongside, this domain of sociology has an uncertain situation within the majority of the university systems (and notably in the English, American and French cases on which we focus): few scholar jobs and chairs, research programmes, articles and books are clearly dedicated to the sociology of language. The cause is probably that it is difficult for sociologists to work on language per se whilst there is already linguistics as specific disciplinary field aimed at investigating language. Moreover, linguists have developed their general framework from the canonical principles of Saussure for whom language has to be studied beyond the social context; it is significant that a scholar as influential as Chomsky still follows the saussurean dichotomy and considers speakers as basically identical and interchangeable. For their part, sociologists usually keep language questions out of from their study domain. Thus, they forget that society is spoken by individuals and with all the words they have learnt by living and doing. Moreover, since Austin, we have known that it is often as long as certain things are told that they can perform, change the reality. So, knowing that each science tends to consider its object of study as its exclusive preserve, the sociology of language is an academic challenge. However, it is worth the effort because social reality is always something we reach with language (that is socially constructed) – how could we do things to each other without words? Indeed do we need an autonomous sociology of language indeed? Or should we try to persuade the sociologists that all sociology is inevitably a sociology of language (the same way that, for Labov all linguistics is necessarily social)?

Keywords: Sociology of Language - Sociolinguistics – Interdisciplinarity – Epistemology – Discourse Analysis.

Introduction

It is never harmless to consider how scientific knowledge is divided into different fields even if several disciplines may share some objects of study and “a common epistemic space” (Berthelot, 2001: 204; author’s translation). To what extent, sociologists use to distinguish for several decades some domains as traditional as the sociology of work, the sociology of education, the political sociology among others: this “social division of scientific labour” which lies at the origin of an artificial fragmentation of knowledge (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; author’s translation) seems obvious and dominant at each step of the research process. Therefore, some other potential subfields have strong difficulties to be admitted as ones in their own right. The Sociology of language is a remarkable example. On the basis of five years of research that would need to develop further, we suggest that this domain has an uncertain status in the academic systems all over the world : few positions in the university are clearly dedicated to the sociology of language and this is true for research and as well as for editorial projects as well. It is also significant that this domain is hardly ever explicitly identified in the research groups of sociological associations (as set out further the brief review of the situation in different countries). In such a context, we must pay tribute to the original initiative of the International Sociological Association which introduced a special Research Committee devoted to the Sociology and Language in 1968. However, this endeavour has yet not been sufficient to ensure the recognition of a new subfield and give it a decisive impetus all over the world. The main cause is certainly that it is difficult and maybe illegitimate too for sociologists to work on language even though by definition, as linguistics is the official disciplinary field aimed at investigating language. Indeed, language is by no means a peripheral problem (as is the case with knowledge, culture and other great issues of concern to humankind): on the contrary, it is so involved in whatever area of human activity that no social science can avoid it and this is particularly true for sociology: beyond usual conversation, the most of social interactions would not be conceivable without speech. John L. Austin underlined that speaking is doing: asking and answering somebody, establishing and enforcing a rule or a law, spreading a piece of information, etc (Austin, 1962). Therefore a remarkable paradox still remains: if language is pervasive and consubstantial with any social phenomena, why is it not at the heart of the sociological focus? This is the point that we want to investigate with a particular focus on the scientific literature from the English-speaking world and France. We will first review the epistemological issues between sociology, linguistics and language, and then we will show the obstacles of a genuine sociology of language, and its deep opportunities.

The scientific specialization process and its consequences on the sociological approaches of language

Sociology and linguistics became autonomous from philosophy for both philology and anthropology (as regards linguistics) after a long process in the second part of the nineteenth century. Sociology appeared in the French university curriculum in 1877 within Law colleges and the *Revue Internationale de Sociologie* was launched in 1893; the first chair of sociology was created in Chicago in 1895 and held by Albion W. Small, eighteen years before Emile Durkheim in La Sorbonne. In these times, modern linguistics owed much to the key role of Ferdinand de Saussure, who got a chair in Geneva in 1891, when the first journals of the discipline had first been published two decades earlier (*Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* in 1852; *Bulletin de la société de linguistique de Paris* in 1869).

The scientific revolution was in progress and moved our knowledge of society from a speculative approach to a methodological one. At the same time, it increased the specialization within the different social sciences (Gusdorf, 1974: 344). Thus, linguists and sociologists developed separately their own research programs. This situation of non-communication between them both is perceptible since the seminal works of each one.

Modern linguistics drew its canonical principles in Saussure's lectures (1916) which gave the scientific priority to the internal linguistics over an external one although the latter is relevant. By this way, linguistics is firstly internal: it refers to the language system in itself and excludes everything (the external one) that has to do with the individual variation in the use of language (speech). This perspective was very closely linked to the foundation of a new field which is not related to the influence of the other sciences, in particular anthropology that usually considers language as a social and cultural material (Zemmour, 2008: 18-19). Basically, this position has been dominant in linguistics from Louis Hjelmslev (1943) up to André Martinet and Noam Chomsky as they consider speakers as basically identical and interchangeable:

“To simplify our analysis, we shall assume that the language in process of evolution is that of a strictly monoglot community, perfectly homogeneous in the sense that observable differences represent successive stages of the same usage and not concurrent usages.” (Martinet, 1964: 164)

“Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected” (Chomsky, 1965: 3).

For its part, sociology is far from avoiding language: the real problem is rather that the focus of our discipline takes language issues into account but does so just “circuitously” (Leimdorfer, 2010: page; ; author’s translation). This has been a deeply-rooted trend since the foundation of sociology:

“The sociologists of the 19th and the early 20th centuries developed some theories in which ideology, class consciousness for Marx, beliefs, collective consciousness and morality for Durkheim form fundamental notions and both gave a prominent place to categories of thought. Language is certainly considered but even more circumvented in favour of philosophical, sociological and psychological categories.” (Leimdorfer, 2010: 35; author’s translation)

Thus, if Durkheim did not explicit the contribution of words and discourses to social life, he showed how collective representations regulating the norms could never come out without language (1991: 720). More precisely, as social facts are “manners of acting or thinking, distinguishable through their special characteristic of being capable of exercising a coercive influence on the consciousness of individuals” (1982: 43), it does not seem improper to include the forms of talk which lead someone to do something or change their attitude and their speech in a certain way. In a Marxist perspective, language is a part of superstructure – see N.Y. Marr & V.B. Aptekar (Alpatov, 2011), therefore speeches have to be seen as “reflections” of material reality (Achard, 1993 : 16-17; ; author’s translation), but the latter are effective, able to support, legitimate and intensify the strength of the established order (Marx & Engels, 1846). This is the domain of ideology and notably the dominant one that manifests itself through the parliamentary debate controlled by the upper-class, the conservative press, free trade advocacy among classical economists, the Old Hegelian's philosophy. Lastly, let’s point out the theoretical overview by following Max Weber and Georg Simmel who regarded language as a reciprocal action in which conversation (and communication by extension) fuels, strengthens and spreads out representations orienting human activity (Weber, 1992: 13). Thus, what is usually called society has to be seen as the product of this action (Simmel, 1971: 23-35). Thus, the high specialization of the disciplines, notwithstanding its remarkable contribution to the advancement of knowledge production, has caused significant harm to the interdisciplinary

dialogue. Linguistics was developed by focusing on the internal structures of language, and has sometimes been driven by the ambition of finding unity among diversity (e.g. Chomsky's Universal grammar). But it has been done at the price of renouncing many great issues: how language may change with societal evolutions? How to deal with the various forms of talk knowing that any population is more or less heterogeneous and potentially marked by inequalities? How do these diverse individuals and groups use language in the different social contexts and how does language contribute to their relations with each other? All these questions would be the cornerstone of the sociology of language, but have sociologists seized this opportunity?

The sociolinguistics revolution and the debate about its sociological vocation

Sociolinguistics was born out of the increasing charges against the canonical principles of linguistics by many linguists themselves. Although we can trace their roots to pioneering scholars – from William D. Whitney (1867) to Uriel Weinreich, who was one of the very first to use the term “sociolinguistics” in 1953, just after Haver C. Currie (1952), as well as Antoine Meillet (1905) and Edward Sapir (1921) – sociolinguistics is considered as having been established from the late 1950s to the 1970s by a new generation of researchers: Charles Ferguson (1959), Joshua A. Fishman (1968), John J. Gumperz and D. Hymes (1972), W. Labov (1972). We focus here on Labov's position, which is symptomatic to the general state of mind of all these researchers. He consistently criticized what he called the classical linguists' disability to consider language as a social fact. He emphasised the paradox of linguistics: it would have failed to integrate the social dimension of language even though its underlying principles were very suitable for it (e.g. the external linguistics principle). According to Labov, linguistics is basically and inevitably sociolinguistics. The common point between all these researchers is the willingness to find “a comforting antidote to anti-sociolinguistics theory that Chomsky was establishing” (Spolsky, 2011: 12) and to take into account all the objects of study deliberately overlooked by standard linguistics: social determinants of linguistic variation (Labov, 1972), of conversation (Gumperz and Hymes, 1972), child language acquisition and impact on educational success (Erven-Tripp, 1973).

The expression “sociology of language” came firstly in the field of linguistics, even if “there is originally no preference regarding the choice of terms, between sociology of language or sociolinguistics” (Canut, 2000: 90). The same process occurred on the both sides of the Atlantic

and at the same time. In 1956 Fishman taught a course in sociology of language in the University of Pennsylvania and the French Marcel Cohen, linguist as well, published his remarkable *Matériaux pour une sociologie du langage*. But if these linguists agreed with each other to study language in the social context, the sociological dimension of the project was far from being unanimous and it is probably the reason why “both terms [sociolinguists and sociology of language] became rival afterwards” (Canut, id.), some scholars using them interchangeably (Paulston and Tucker, 1997), some other distinguishing them thoroughly (Gumperz 1971; Bright 1992). In this way, Ferguson, who created his review *Language in Society* in 1972 (its French equivalent), *Langage et société* was launched in 1977) did not support Fishman who wanted to go further into the sociological way by founding *The International Journal of the Sociology of Language* one year later and in accordance with his plea *The Sociology of Language: An Interdisciplinary Social Science Approach to Language in Society* (1972). Besides, a lot of linguists, even among the most involved in sociolinguistics, were at least “hesitant” to engage in such a project: Labov intended to reform linguistics, not to send back the social approach of language to a sociological subfield. After having stubbornly tried to impose his views in the 1970s and 1980s, Fishman regretted sociolinguistics’s failure in “progressing firmly on two legs [the linguistic one and also the sociological one]” by “trying to move ahead primarily on the linguistic front” instead of giving “social more prominence” (1991, 128).

The debate surrounding the potential sociological perspective of sociolinguistics is highly epistemological. Indeed, linguists are in a bad position: they are strongly interested in keeping the study language in the area of their discipline, which explains their reluctance to proclaim themselves “sociologists of language” (Varro, 1999) and their insistence on using rather the term “sociolinguistics” in the scientific literature. This fact goes so far that we can find some handbooks of sociolinguistics without finding the terms “sociology of language” in the subject index, nor some fundamental sociological concepts such as “social classes” or even “norms” (se Moreau (1997) for example). This means that sociolinguists are surely able to “socialize” language but it is not probably enough to establish a genuine sociology of language. Moreover, “even when sociology of language is mentioned, it is reduced to linguistics” (Varro, id.: 96; author’s translation). The distinction between sociolinguistics and the sociology of language offered by certain sociolinguists (Hudson, 1996: 4; Coulmas, 1997: 2) is symptomatic of what we could call a “disciplinary imperialism” because the sociology of language (“the study of

society in relation to language” according to R.A. Hudson, 1996) is seen as a “macro-sociolinguistics”, while the “pure” sociolinguistics would be “micro-sociolinguistics”.

The sociologists on the difficult and winding way to the sociology of language?

Faced with this willingness of sociolinguists to keep the social dimension of language in the parent discipline perimeter, the sociologists are poorly placed ??? as well:

“By excluding de facto the terms “sociology of language” from linguistics, the conditions for the emergence of this subfield are denied, as are also the legitimacy of its potential specialists. And if the latter do not or cannot want to be sociolinguists, they may risk to be isolated or lost in an unknown area without name nor object of study.” (Varro, *ibid.*: 97)

“Sociology, too (as linguistics), although far less messianic in its promise, is chained and waiting, somewhere in its own disciplinary provincialism, waiting to come to sociolinguistics, to broaden and deepen it somewhat and to enable it to live up to its name” (Fishman, 1991: 67)

To our point of view, the harsh criticism of Pierre Achard who wrote that “the most usual position of sociology in front of language is indifference” (1986: 6; author’s translation) is still relevant. Thus, we are not surprised to note that the sociology of language is not to be found in the lists of contents of the main handbooks of sociology at least in English (Giddens & Sutton, 2013; Haralambos & Holborn (eds), 2013; Bilton & al., 2002) nor in many dictionaries of the discipline (Scott, 2014; Abercrombie, Hill & Turner, 2006 . The French case goes in the same way (Riutort, 2014; Durand-Weil, 2006; Boudon & Bourricaud, 2011) and even though we cannot generalize our findings to every country, it seems that the majority of them follow this trend. It might be objected that language is addressed through “mass and communication” but on this indirect way, the question of language has been very little dealt with: for an example, this literature provides very few details about the relations between the linguistic resources of an individual (or a group) and the way in which these details are being used in order to reach its purpose. The situation is similar on the academic scale. We find no trace of “sociology of language” in the sociological associations of USA (ASA), Canada (CSA), Europe (ESA), Great Britain (BSA), France (ASF), Italy (AIS), Scandinavia (NSF), Switzerland (SSS), and India (ISS). Only the German one (DGS) devotes a group to “Sprachsoziologie/Wissenssoziologie”

(“sociology of language/sociology of knowledge” while the Spanish one has a group called “Sociología de la Comunicación y del Lenguaje” (“sociology of communication and language”). At the global level, the case of the Research Committee 25 “sociology and language” within the International Sociological Association (ISA) is particularly praiseworthy and dynamic (almost 80 papers have been submitted to the 18th congress in 2014) although its name just points out the link between the field and the object of study instead of clearly identifying the scope: however the RC25 name is a remarkable demonstration of its ambitious project to unite the scholars from different disciplines around the problem of language. On the basis of our explorations, we would assert that the Working group 16 “sociology of language”, within the AISLF (International Association of French-speaking Sociologists, with a vast majority of scholars from Europe, Quebec, Northern and Western Africa) is a notable exception and goes further on this point of view. In general, we can see that the sociology of language has an uncertain position at the university all over the world: regarding other fields, few scholar jobs and chairs, research programmes, articles and books are clearly dedicated to the “sociology of language”. We can add that every sociolinguist is coming from linguistics while the subfield – socio(logy)+linguistics - firstly allowed an interdisciplinary domain.

We assert that one constant problem is that many sociologists are still too intimidated when they consider language in the sociological perspective. The first reason lies in the pervasive nature of language in society, that refers to the notion of “centrality of language in human existence” (Hertzler, 1965; Valverde Zabaleta, 1969; Achard, 1993; Leimdorfer, id.) and what it involves for sociology:

“Sociology of language is not a well-defined sociological subfield well defined and is not the subject of scientific works clearly identified. And it is probably not a coincidence because, as remarks Pierre Achard, every social relation, whatever, involves language.” (Lahire, 1994: 144; author’s translation)

“There is no social practice whose activity excludes language – language is always part of the action (...) Why? Because social action involves communication, hence language and other types of semiotic activity. (...) So, discourses are an inherent part of all social practices.” (Fairclough, 2000: 156)

“Out of many diverse sources and interests, sociology of language is emerging as a speciality with a high potential of generalizability. Because of its many angles and because it seems to be involved in all human actions, it promises to become a center

of fructifying observation and analysis. Its frontiers are uneven and wide and largely unexplored.” (Barnes, Becker and Becker, 1940: 895)

This huge challenge can explain why so few sociologists are engaged in research on language. When the pioneering linguists were founding sociolinguists, Basil Bernstein (1971) was probably one of the few sociologists to participate to this endeavour. Yet, he dealt with language as with any sociological object, potentially determined by social mechanisms (regarding the consequences of restricted/elaborated language codes on educational achievement) and we may wonder why few of his colleagues did not follow his strong example. The double difficulty in the relations between, firstly, language and society and, secondly, linguists and sociologists is at the origin of numerous obstacles. Today, only specialists know sociologists like Chester L. Hunt (1966) or Allen D. Grimshaw (1971). And Spolsky notes that “with rare exceptions, the topics that interested the linguists did not interest the sociologists, and vice versa” (ibid.: 16). Nevertheless, the rich interdisciplinary dialogue within the groups such as RC25 and the journals linking language and society is genuinely promising if we want to shift the lines.

However, many opportunities have been missed for fifty years: in 1965, nine years after the linguist Cohen, Joyce O. Hertzler proposed his own handbook entitled *A sociology of Language* but few colleagues from his own branch did work on this basis. Nevertheless, the paradox is that the innovative sociologists in matter of language helped the linguistic work. Labov ever acknowledged that sociology was way ahead of linguistics in taking into account the social essence of language. For him and many of its colleagues, the progress of sociolinguistics would have not been possible without sociologists like Harvey Sacks (1972) and Emanuel A. Schegloff (1968), two of Erving Goffman's students who exported Harold Garfinkel's ethnomethodology (1967) in the domain of conversational analysis:

“It is a matter of some interest that the most significant advances in this field have not been made by linguists, but by sociologists (...) Linguists have been handicapped in their approach to this field by their inability to utilize essential social constructs involving the roles of speaker and listener, obligations, power relationships, memberships categories and the like.” (Labov, 1972: 257).

It is obviously the case of interactional sociolinguistics too. Gumperz (2001) also paid tribute to Goffman (1959, 1981) as “sociological predecessor” because the author of *Forms of Talk*

highlighted not only face-to-face interactions but also the central dimension of language in these one: social facts are seen as the result of practical actions in which verbal communication has an utmost importance. Today, sociolinguists are unanimous to acknowledge their debt of gratitude to these sociological frameworks (see Matthiessen & Slade, 2011: 380).

The contribution of P. Bourdieu to the reflection in *Language and Symbolic Power* (1991) does not propose a way to sociology of language but emphasizes the limits of (socio)linguistics to understand how society determines language and how the individuals use their language resources in their daily discourse knowing these resources are more or less legitimate. Bourdieu's charge against Labov is really relevant: for the first, the American sociolinguist does not see the importance of distinction effect through language and its consequence on power relation:

“Though superfluous in terms of a strict economy of communication, they (the verbosity and verbal inflation of bourgeois speech) fulfill an important function in determining the value of a way of communicating.” (Bourdieu, 1991: 85)

Thus, we have to consider the added value of a sociological approach of language. It is not related to the distinction micro-sociolinguistics/macro-sociolinguistics (Coulmas, 1997): a sociology of language (which would have a “macro” and “quantitative” perspective) investigates in the same time the impact of social structure on our speech (as Bernstein did) and as well, as sociolinguistics (“micro” and “qualitative”) how the language resource are mobilized by the individuals in front with each other (as Goffman did). Therefore, sociology of language proceeds by a feedback movement: from society to language and from language to society because language contributes and strengthens to the social determination. The distinction language/society does not make sense in sociology because “language is the key social link” (Leimdorfer, *ibid.*: 252; author’s translation): it is absolutely not conceivable to separate language from society (language is everywhere in society), “even though language has its own principle, different from social relationships” (*ibid.*). This is even more true that social reality would not appears out from language (Berger-Luckmann, 1966).

Conclusion

Our purpose was to underline the conditions of emergence and stabilisation of sociology of language. Two obstacles have been identified. Firstly, linguistics offers a dynamic branch especially devoted to the study of language in the social context (sociolinguistics) but the majority of its specialists have been reluctant to go further towards sociology (a remarkable exception is given by Fishman). Secondly, knowing that language is pervasive in any social activity, sociologists may feel overwhelmed by the extent of this challenge: some of them have let the study of language to linguists, some other has dealt with it on an indirect way, circuitously (language as a verbal form of social representation and social interaction). We perfectly understand these attitudes but we do really not consider them as sufficient. Indeed, a large part of sociolinguistics achievements would have not been possible without sociological innovations. Moreover, the criticism endeavour of linguistics (even in its socio- version) by P. Bourdieu is still relevant: sociology is potentially able to provide us a highlight on language that (socio)linguistics cannot. The consequence is that sociology is basically legitimate to approach language. However, too many sociologists continue, from their part, to work on language data as some external, peripheral, by-product elements, which form may be neutralized by a simple content analysis. The Discourse Analysis (D.A.), based on the opposed principle (the signifier as never separable from the signified) brings us the opportunity to unite sociologists, linguists and the specialists of other social sciences around the question of language, its social determination and its potential power on society. But hitherto, linguists are at the lead of DA - the most of its concepts are coming from linguistics, see P. Charaudeau & D. Maingueneau (2002) - and sociologists have an opportunity to seize in this new domain.

We must be ambitious for the future of sociology of language in social context. Rather than to let sociolinguistics alone in the area (scenario 1: withdrawal), to work separately from the linguists (scenario 2: isolation) or to maintain the utopic project of a definitive merge between the two discipline (scenario 3: reunion), we think more relevant to consider that every sociology is inevitably a sociology of language. It would be the equivalent process of the "labovian revolution" (every linguistics necessarily is sociolinguistics).

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