
Pragmatic Act and Force Inherent in the Use of Invectives in Fela Anikulakpo Selected Songs

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Abstract: *A recipient is being criticised in a critical, unreserved, non-euphemistic, and non-attenuating way when someone uses invective. Even though invective is typically regarded as a crude and unattractive form of expression, its potential as the most direct form of satire has also been acknowledged in some situations, such as the music genre. In Fela's songs, the use of profanity as a satirical criticism instrument is axiomatic. This paper explores the potential of invective as an aesthetic form as well as the pragmatic interpretation of Fela's proclivity for using insults to satirically ridicule the regime. To analyse purposefully chosen Fela songs, Alagbon Close and International Thief Thief, some pragmatic tools incorporated into a modified theoretical framework of Mey's (2001) "Pragmatic Act Theory," Brown and Levinson's (1987) "Politeness Principles," and the canonical classifications of context are used. The analysis' conclusions show that Fela overtly attacks the government with some highly disparaging invectives in response to that body's poor policies. According to the analysis's findings, the types of instantiated pragmatic acts used in the chosen songs are assertive, expressive, and directive. The topics of the songs are reflected in these performances. The data also revealed two distinct sorts of face acts: face threatening without restitution and face threatening conduct utilising off-record politeness techniques. These demonstrate that Fela does not soften the propositional message included in his songs.*

Keywords: *Pragmatics, Fela Anikulapo, Language, Invective, Songs.*



1. INTRODUCTION

What was the secret to the success of man? How did he take over whole continents? How did he get established in so many different remote and unusual places so quickly? The debate is still going strong. The element that makes the argument possible is the most likely response: Man has conquered the world. I'm really appreciative of his unique language. Language, according to Cruse (1990), is the practise of using signs, sounds, and written symbols to express oneself and communicate. Thus, language is our primary tool for overcoming the bulk of life's obstacles. Ordu (2022). We can study, fall in love, do business, and even perform mathematical calculations with it. Every area of human life benefits from language.

Each animal has its own unique "language." Even simple creatures like ants and bees have evolved sophisticated communication techniques to exchange information with one another about the whereabouts of food. All ape and monkey species, among others, have vocal languages. Man has a far better capacity for producing varied sounds than green monkeys do, but the abilities of whales and elephants are equally amazing. In addition to speaking as Noam Chomsky might, a parrot can imitate the sounds of phones ringing, doors slamming, and sirens shrieking. If Chomsky had a voice at all, it was no better than a parrot's. So what makes our language so distinctive?

The most frequent answer is that human language is extraordinarily adaptable. Man can link a limited amount of sounds and signs to form an infinite number of sentences, each with a distinct meaning. He is able to absorb, store, and convey a huge amount of information about his environment by doing this. A green monkey may call out to its friends, "Be careful!" the lion! However, a guy living in the present day may tell his friends that he saw a leopard chasing a herd of bison this morning near the river bend. The exact location and several paths leading there may then be specified. The members of his group may discuss their options after learning this and decide whether to reach the river, evade the leopard, or pursue the bison.

According to Harari (2014, p. 33), "the most important information that needed to be conveyed was about humans." Language's social evolution is genuine, according to Harari. Harari believes humans are social animals (Harari, 2014, pp. 33–34). Social cooperation is necessary for survival and reproduction. Individuals need more than lion and bison locations. They care more about who in their band hates who, who is cheating, and who is dishonest.

"Oratio is a Greek word," from whence "invective" is being derived, and it means verbally denouncing, assaulting, and insulting an opponent. It verbalises base emotions like fury, venom, hatred, envy, sadism, and candour. Thus, it is a synonym for verbal abuse, which involves demeaning someone with words. It might be a plain-English insult or profane abuse. According to Olorutoba-Oju (1990, p. 14), invective is critical, unadulterated, non-euphemistic, and non-attenuating. Authorship and reception are endless. He explains that venom may result from real provocation, critical malevolence, or even virulence, unlike moral indignation.

Theoretical Framework

Illocutionary indeterminacy (Leech, 1983) makes it difficult for listeners to understand what speakers intend. Pragmaticians proposed numerous hypotheses to explain a conversation participant's intrinsic meaning. Speech act hypothesis predominates.

J. L. Austin (1962) opposed logical positivism with the speech act theory. Austin believes "truth condition" cannot adequately characterise language. Since 1962, the speech act theory has affected linguistics, psychology, literary theory, and others. It has made language serve more than simply reality. Therefore, this work adopted speech act theory as guiding theory.

2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research analytically surveys the use of invectives in FelaAnikulapo music and the specifics of their rendering in the English language translation with the aim of interpreting these using elements of pragmatics. The goal is to use pragmatic tools to analyse inherent invectives in the selected songs and how aesthetics of invective yields a multiplicity of analytical possibilities. The researcher will make use of both qualitative and quantitative approaches of data analysis. This implies that effort will be made to analyse the linguistic content as well as employ statistical methods to provide a cursory interpretation of the analysed data.

3. RESULTS AND FINDINGS

Pragmatic Acts and Invective Markers in Fela’s “Alagbon Close”

S/N	Linguistic Act	Pragmatic Act	Pragmatic Force	Invective Marker	Face Threatening Act
1.	Now listen Now listen “Now listen Never mind, never mind, never mind I dey do my part I be human being like you like you Now listen eh Now listen ah Never mind, never mind, never mind I dey do my part I be human being like you like you (eh) Now listen”	Directive	Ordering	Low	FTA without Redress: Bald-on-Record
2.	“I be agbepo I dey do my part without me your city go smell like	Assertive	Narrating	Low	FTA without Redress: Bald-on-Record

	<p>sh- Never mind I dey do my part I be human being like you I be civil servant I dey do my part Without me everything go scatter for town Never mind I dey do my part”</p>				
3.	<p>“I be human being like you I be doctor, I be lawyer Without me you go die, you go for jail Never mind I dey do my part I be human being like you I dey sing, I dey dance, I dey paint Without me you no go happy at all Never mind I dey do my part”</p>	Assertive	Narrating	Low	FTA without Redress: Bald-on-Record
4.	<p>“I be human being like you I dey for court, I dey judge your case Without me policeman go lock you for life Never mind I dey do my part I be human being like you Never mind, never mind I dey do my part I be human being like you like you”</p>	Assertive	Narrating	Low	FTA without Redress: Bald-on-Record
5.	<p>“Now listen Now listen Now listen Alagbondey roll Like one ye'ye ball Wey one ye'ye wind dey blow From one ye'ye corner”</p>	Directive/ Assertive	Ordering/ Narrating	Low	FTA without Redress: Bald-on-Record
6.	<p>“For Alagbon Dem go know say you be</p>	Assertive and	Narrating and		FTA Using Off-Record

	<p>labourer o Dem go lock you till you die Magistrate no get eye for back o (na-na-na-na-na-na-na-na-na-na) For Alagbon Dem go know say you be civil servant o Dem go lock you dem no go mind Your lawyer go quench for station o (na-na-na-na-na-na-na-na-na-na)”</p>	Expressive	Lamenting		Politeness Strategy
7.	<p>“For Alagbon Dem no care for Doctor or Lawyer Dem go lock you and charge you for court Magistrate go start talk oyinbo for you (na-na-na-na-na-na-na-na-na-na) For Alagbon You go sing and quench for jail You go dance and paint for cell Before they charge you before you go Ah-ah Yeparipa”</p>	Assertive and Expressive	Narrating and Lamenting		FTA Using Off-Record Politeness Strategy
8.	<p>“For Alagbon, for Alagbon, for Alagbonna-na-na-na-na Dem no get respect for human being Dem no know say you get blood like them Dem go send dem dog to backbite you Dem go send dem dog to backbite you Dem go point dem gun for your face The gun weydem take your money to buy They don't want my help</p>	Assertive and Expressive	Narrating and Lamenting	Low	FTA Using Off-Record Politeness Strategy



	<p>with dem gun The gun weydem take my money to buy Dem go sure take their statement from You”</p>				
9.	<p>“For Alagbon Dem go sure take their statement from you For Alagbon Dem go lock you for months and months and months And they call am investigation Dem go lock you for months and months and months And they call am investigation Dem go lock you for months and months and months and months”</p>	<p>Assertive and Expressive</p>	<p>Narrating and Lamenting</p>	<p>Low</p>	<p>FTA Using Off- Record Politeness Strategy</p>
10.	<p>“Uniform na cloth (na tailor dey sew am) Tell me now nownow Uniform na cloth, na tailor dey sew am Tell me now nownownownow Uniform na cloth, na tailor dey sew am Na tailor dey sew am like your dress Uniform na cloth, na tailor dey sew am Na tailor dey sew am like my dress Uniform na cloth, na tailor dey sew am Nothing special about uniform Uniform na cloth, na tailor dey sew am Nothing special about</p>	<p>Assertive</p>	<p>Mocking</p>	<p>High</p>	<p>FTA Using Off- Record Politeness Strategy</p>



	uniform”				
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Pragmatic Acts Analysis

This song starts with an imperative:

“Now listen
Now listen
Now listen
Never mind, never mind, never mind
I dey do my part
I be human being like you like you
Now listen eh
Now listen ah
Never mind, never mind, never mind
I dey do my part
I be human being like you like you (eh)
Now listen”

This is a directive pragmatic act with the power of command. As he prepares to tell them a narrative that could be of interest to them, Fela orders his audience to lend him their ears. The song's opening words make use of the imperative, which aids in grabbing and holding the reader's attention. There is no insult of any kind in this overbearing. Fela does wish to debunk certain common misconceptions. He provides a few details on what he will be talking about. Lines like "I dey do my part" and "I be human being like you like you" are examples of this. These concepts are further upon and clarified in the second act of language:

“I be agbepo
I dey do my part without me your city go smell like sh-
Never mind I dey do my part
I be human being like you
I be civil servant
I dey do my part
Without me everything go scatter for town
Never mind I dey do my part”

The aforementioned action is aggressive, pragmatic, and narrative. Fela discusses worker respect. He considered himself the whole working class performing an honest job. He started as a nightman, cleaning cesspools, sewers, and urinals at night. Fela claims that "your city go smell like shit" without the nightman, making his role equally important in this pragmatic act. The nightman is a "human being like you" who helps the environment. "Civil servants" are civilian employees at any level of government who are not subject to political appointment or removal and are usually recruited and promoted via competitive exams. The government worker donates because "Without me everything go scatter for town." Pragmatism is not derogatory. Fela continues this elucidation in linguistic acts 3 and 4:

Linguist act 3

“I be human being like you
I be doctor, I be lawyer
Without me you go die, you go for jail
Never mind I dey do my part

I be human being like you
I dey sing, I dey dance, I dey paint
Without me you no go happy at all
Never mind I dey do my part

Linguistic act 4

I be human being like you
I dey for court, I dey judge your case
Without me policeman go lock you for life
Never mind I dey do my part
I be human being like you
Never mind, never mind I dey do my part
I be human being like you like you”

These are narrating's strong pragmatic activities. Fela appreciates labour and sees every worker as himself. Doctors and attorneys are included in Fela's third language act. A doctor is a licenced medical practitioner, whereas a lawyer is a bar-passed legal specialist. Fela's lyrics state that without a doctor or lawyer, "you go die" and "you go to jail." Thus, physicians and attorneys benefit society. Musicians, dancers, and artists are mentioned by Fela. He thinks you can't be happy without these three since they make others happy. NiyiOsundare's "Eye of the Earth" reminds them that they are the planet.

In linguistic act 4, Fela becomes a judge. Fela says, "I dey for court, I dey judge your case," meaning that the police would wrongly imprison you for life if he doesn't fix the matter in court. You and the judge serve society.

Linguistic act 5 has two inherent pragmatic acts. The first is a directive pragmatic act with the pragmatic force of ordering which is evident in the lines:

“Now listen
Now listen
Now listen”

This is similar to the imperative that was used to as the opening lyrics of the track. Fela uses this order to command the total attention of his listener. He wants them to be solely focused on the message inherent in his song. Part of the message is delivered in the next lines:

“Alagbondey roll
Like one yẹ'yẹ ball
Wey one yẹ'yẹ wind dey blow
From one yẹ'yẹ corner”

This is an instanced assertive pragmatic act that uses the power of narrative pragmatically. Fela describes his struggles at Alagbon jail in great detail in this pragmatic act (the specifics of his experience there will be detailed under contextual factors). Fela compares Alagbon in this act to a pointless ball that was blasted by a pointless wind at a pointless corner. It goes without saying that Fela does not see anything admirable in Alagbon. Acts 6, 7, 8, and 9 of the language play follow his shady experience in the jail.

Linguistic act 6 goes thus:

“For Alagbon
Dem go know say you be labourer o
Dem go lock you till you die
Magistrate no get eye for back o (na-na-na-na-na-na-na-na-na-na)

For Alagbon

Dem go know say you be civil servant o

Dem go lock you dem no go mind”

Your lawyer go quench for station o (na-na-na-na-na-na-na-na-na-na)

The first pragmatic act is an aggressive narrative. Fela recalls his awful Alagbon remand jail experience. Fela claims that inmates labour like slaves and do dehumanising duties. They might be imprisoned forever. The magistrate who reduced your sentence to prison does not know what you are experiencing in captivity. Magistrates have minimal legal authority. He reiterated that confinement is inhumane regardless of your status, even if you work for the government. Jail stench may knock out your lawyer when he comes.

Second, grief is a pragmatic act. Fela laments the Nigerian prison's terrible conditions while recounting his prison experiences. He wants to transform the prison into a humane correctional centre where all convicts are treated equally.

In linguistic act 7, Fela continues his in-depth account of his heinous ordeal in the Nigerian prison:

“For Alagbon

Dem no care for Doctor or Lawyer

Dem go lock you and charge you for court

Magistrate go start talk oyinbo for you (na-na-na-na-na-na-na-na-na-na)

For Alagbon

You go sing and quench for jail

You go dance and paint for cell

Before they charge you before you go

Ah-ah Yeparipa”

Additionally, there are two pragmatic actions in this: a declarative pragmatic act with the pragmatic force of telling and an expressive pragmatic act with the pragmatic force of regretting. Similar to the act before it, Fela used the Nigerian penitentiary's Alagbon prison facility as a case study to describe the dehumanising experience there. Fela warns us that the jail guards will treat you inhumanely and bring charges against you whether you are a doctor or an attorney. Due to his preoccupation on repeating some nonsense that would guarantee your imprisonment, the magistrate will not give your case a fair hearing. Once your sentence is reduced, you will continue to sing, dance, and create art in jail until the day you pass away. In his lamentation, Fela describes a horrifying, degrading situation in prison. As a result, he is not only bringing this to light but also advocating for improvements.

Pragmatic Analysis of Fela’s “International Thief Thief”

FelaAnikulapoKuti penned and performed "International Thief Thief" (ITT). The esteemed music public saw this amazing performance in 1980. The song is a 24-minute attack against MoshoodAbiola, the CEO of the worldwide firm and owner of Decca, the record label to whom Fela was bound and with whom he was in full battle because Decca refused to release his albums. Fela publicly shames Abiola for having a colonial mentality and becoming a tool of the white man. The song's lyrics describe how a consenting African sold his people to a white man during slavery.

"Authority Stealing," another Fela song from that year, criticises political

Pragmatic Acts and Invective Markers in Fela's "International Thief Thief"

S/ N	Linguistic Act	Pragmatic Act	Pragmatic Force	Invective Marker	Face Threatening Act (FTA)
1.	"I.T.T International thief I.T.T International rogue"	Expressive	taunting	High	FTA without Redress: Bald-on- Record
2.	"Well, well... Ha! Well, well... Ha!erified Motherfuckers , bastard motherfuckers We yabdem, yeah Hurry up there Say "yeah" Well well! Well well, na true I want talk again o Na true I want talk again o"	Expressive	Mocking	High	FTA without Redress: Bald-on- Record
3.	"If I dey lie o Make Osiris punish me Make Ifadey punish me o Make Edumare punish me o Make the land dey punish me o Make Edumare punish me o I read dem for book ee-o I see so myself ee-o	Expressive	Swearing	High	FTA without Redress: Bald-on- Record

	Well-ee well- ee o Well well... well well!"				
4.	"Well well... well well! Long time ago Long, long time ago Long time ago Long, long, long, long time ago African man we no dey carry shit We dey shit inside big big hole"	Assertive	Informing	Low	FTA without Redress: Bald-on- Record
5.	"For Yoruba- land na "Shalanga" For Igbo-land na "Onunu- insi" For Hausa- land na "Salga" For Gaa-land na "Tiafi" For Ashanti- land na "Yarni" For Ethiopia- land na "Sagara-be" For Kagyu- land na "Cho- Cho" For Bemba- land na "Chimbuzi" For Tunga- land na "Echibuzi"	Assertive	Informing	Low	FTA without Redress: Bald-on- Record

6.	<p>“Before them come force us away as slaves During the time them come force us away as slaves Na European man, na him dey carry shit Na for them culture to carry shit During the time them come colonize us Them come teach us to carry shit Long, long, long, long time ago African man we no dey carry shit Na European man teach us to carry shit”</p>	Assertive	Narrating	High	FTA without Redress: Bald-on- Record
7.	<p>“Many foreign companies dey Africa carry all our money go Many foreign companies dey Africa carry all our money go Them go write big English for newspaper, dabarun we Africans Them go write big English for newspaper,</p>	Assertive	Alleging	High	FTA without Redress: Bald-on- Record

	dabaru we Africans”				
8.	<p>“Them go dey cause confusion (Confusion!) Cause corruption (Corruption!) Cause oppression (Oppression!) Cause inflation (Inflation!) Oppression, oppression, inflation Corruption, oppression, inflation”</p>	Assertive	Alleging	High	FTA without Redress: Bald-on-Record
9.	<p>“Dem get one style weydemdey use Dem go pick one African man A man with low mentality Dem go give am million naira bread To become up high position here Im go bribe some thousand naira bread To become one useless chief Like rats dey do dem go dey do for corner corner</p>	Assertive/Expressive	Informing/Mocking	High	FTA without Redress: Bald-on-Record



	Pass pass, under under, side side, in in, out out, etc.”				
10.	<p>“Den gradually, gradually, gradually Dem go be friend friend to journalist to commissioner to permanent secretary to minister to head of state Den start start to steal money start startdem corruption inflation oppression confusion oppression to steal money Like Obasanjo and Abiola!— International thief thief! I.T.T.! International rogue— thief—“</p>	Assertive/Expressive	Narrating/Mocking	High	FTA without Redress: Bald-on- Record

Pragmatic Acts Analysis

The song starts with a prologue:

I.T.T

International thief

I.T.T

International rogue

This is done in order to highlight the song's topic and subject matter. But this prologue's fundamental pragmatic deed is an expressive pragmatic with a pragmatic power of smearing. This slander is intended against a specific someone, and in the stanzas that follow, we shall

learn who it is. Fela is using strong language and profanity. The next verbal act continues this smearing, but it takes the form of taunting:

“Well, well...
Ha!
Well, well...
Ha!
Motherfuckers, bastard motherfuckers
We yabdem, yeah
Hurry up there
Say “yeah”
Well well!
Well well, na true I want talk again o
Na true I want talk again o”

The deed described here is a concrete example of expressive pragmatic taunting. In this instance, Fela has not yet identified the referent who is the target of his slander and mockery. However, metapragmatic jests like "Motherfuckers" and "bastard motherfucker" have great invective value and should be avoided.

The third linguistic act:

“If I dey lie o
Make Osiris punish me
Make Ifadey punish me o
Make Edumare punish me o
Make the land dey punish me o
Make Edumare punish me o
I read dem for book ee-o
I see so myself ee-o
Well-ee well-ee o
Well well... well well!”

is an expressive pragmatic act with the pragmatic force of swearing. In an attempt to affirm his credibility, Fela swears that the gods should punish him if what he is about to reveal are lies. The aim of this act is to make believe that what he is about say are true and can be taken to the bank. There are no invective marker in this verse and as such, it is low on invectives. Linguistic acts 4 and 5 are assertive pragmatic acts with the pragmatic force of narrating. Fela tells the tale of how long time ago Africans used to live their lives as it pleases them, without the temptation to copy the Europeans.

Linguistic Act 4 “Well well... well well!
Long time ago
Long, long time ago
Long time ago
Long, long, long, long time ago
African man we no dey carry shit
We dey shit inside big big hole”

Linguistic Act 5 “For Yoruba-land na “Shalanga”
For Igbo-land na “Onunu-insi”
For Hausa-land na “Salga”
For Gaa-land na “Tiafi”
For Ashanti-land na “Yarni”
For Ethiopia-land na “Sagara-be”
For Kagyu-land na “Cho-Cho”
For Bemba-land na “Chimbuzi”
For Tunga-land na “Echibuzi”

Since they lack moral concepts, these two behaviours lack invectives. Fela's disclosure seemed shallow. at first. He says he studied the shit-carrying custom in various underprivileged sections of 1970s Lagos¹ and found it to be non-African. Africa "no dey carry shit" "long, long ago." Urinated in large dirt holes. (Linguistic Act 5). Students, dropouts, clerks, messengers, jobless and underemployed people, and the grouped proletariat benefit from his cultural nationalist teaching.

In linguistic act 6, Fela continues his narration:

“Before them come force us away as slaves
During the time them come force us away as slaves
Na European man, na him dey carry shit
Na for them culture to carry shit
During the time them come colonize us
Them come teach us to carry shit
Long, long, long, long time ago
African man we no dey carry shit
Na European man teach us to carry shit”

This is an instantiated assertive pragmatic act with the pragmatic force of narrating. Here, Fela alludes to the slave trade history. “Na European man dey carry shit / Na for dem culture to carry shit” (It is Europeans who carry shit). It is their culture to carry shit), he declares authoritatively, adding that it is Europeans who forced Africans to learn shit-carrying during colonial rule.

If “I.T.T.” had ended there, it would still have been an interesting song and very much in line with Fela’s vociferous nativism. But it turns out that Fela is aiming for something weightier. The weighty allegations start in linguistic act 7:

“Many foreign companies dey

Africa carry all our money go
Many foreign companies dey
Africa carry all our money go
Them go write big English for newspaper,
dabaru we Africans
Them go write big English for newspaper,
dabaru we Africans”

This assertive pragmatic act has the force of an allegation. Fela begins by describing how "many foreign companies dey Africa carry all our money go" (many foreign companies in Africa steal all our wealth) in what he apparently intends to be a lesson note. "Say am, say am!" the chorus exhorts the teacher in a joyful tone. Tell everything; reveal it. He starts by

saying that the corporations "write big English for newspapers dabaru we Africans" (The corporations deceive us with their big English in newspapers).

In linguistic 8 Fela pronounces judgement on this politicians and alleges that they cause confusion, corruption, oppression, inflation:

“Them go dey cause confusion (Confusion!)
Cause corruption (Corruption!)
Cause oppression (Oppression!)
Cause inflation (Inflation!)
Oppression, oppression, inflation
Corruption, oppression, inflation.”

This is an assertive pragmatic act with a pragmatic force of alleging. The allegation comes with a high invective due to the value-laden words such as confusion, corruption, oppression, inflation which are intended to smear the referents Fela is accusing. However, trying hard to be very meticulous as a teacher, he backtracks to systematically explain the companies' modus operandi:

Linguistic Act 9: “Dem get one style weydemdey use
Dem go pick one African man
A man with low mentality
Dem go give am million naira bread
To become up
high position here
Im go bribe some thousand naira bread
To become one useless chief
Like rats dey do dem go dey do for
corner corner
Pass pass, under under, side side, in in,
out out, etc.”

This linguistic act has two instantiated pragmatic acts and forces: assertive pragmatic with the pragmatic force of informing and expressive pragmatic act with the pragmatic force of mocking. Through these practs, Fela gives a detailed description of how corrupt practices that are rife in Nigeria are carried out. However, this comes with an undertone of mocking those involved in these graft practices. Value-laden words such as “low mentality” and “useless chief” are metapragmatic markers of high invectives. They are used to smear the ‘face’ of the referents.

4. CONCLUSION

The two songs' linguistic actions suggest that the lyrics are loosely structured since they are rife with awkward, incoherent, and non-sequitur statements. They do, however, have linguistic underpinnings. These linguistic implications are attempted to explain via analysis of the two songs used in this research. These are some of the implications highlighted:

Lyrics in music are examples of linguistic actions. With their intended pragmatic forces, these linguistic acts produce pragmatic actions. According to Searle's categorization of illocutionary actions, the pragmatic acts are assertive, directive, commissive, expressive, and declarative acts. However, in Fela's songs, the sorts of instantiated pragmatic actions that



were done are the forceful, expressive, and directing acts. This responds to one of our study queries, which was, "What Kinds of Pragmatic Acts Are in Fela's Music?"

Meanwhile, the propositional content of a few particular songs has a major impact on these actions. According to the research, Fela uses instantiated assertive pragmatic actions to narrate, accuse, inform, counsel, chastise, and imprecate. Fela uses expressive pragmatic actions while criticising, bemoaning, and pleading. Acts that are instantiated as directives are seldom utilised elsewhere.

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