SEXUAL DISCOURSE AMONG STUDENTS IN SELECTED TERTIARY INSTITUTIONS IN LAGOS STATE, NIGERIA

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CERTIFICATION

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to God Almighty – the author and finisher of my faith.

And

To all those who believe that those who work hard must excel.

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girl in her nursery class and the best behaved girl in Primary Two – all to your credit! Surely, I cannot thank you enough. I also appreciate my wonderful dad for teaching Fayo the essentials of Yoruba language and culture while I was away studying English! Many thanks too for your prayers.

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ABBREVIATIONS

MR : Members resources

Mph: Metaphor

Rel: Relevance

Inf: Inference

TISSD: Tertiary institution sexual discourse

SCK: Shared cultural knowledge

SEK: Shared Experiential knowledge

SSK: Shared situation knowledge

SRA: Student research assistant

Ex. : Example

TRANSCRIPTION NOTATIONS

…   Indicating pause

@   Laughter

..   Collective laughter

/ or [   ]   Overlap / interruption

(   )   Translated version by the researcher

ANALYTICAL CONVENTION

⟶   Items being focused at particular points of the analysis

ABSTRACT

Sexual discourse refers to sex-related verbal activities that many Nigerian tertiary institution students engage in. Existing studies have addressed sexual discourse from socio-cultural, sociolinguistic and critical linguistic perspectives but have not adequately studied its pragmatic import, especially in relation to encounters centering on sexual intercourse. This study, therefore, investigates the discourse forms, contextual features, pragmatic functions, and attitudes to and perception of the language of sex among students of tertiary institutions in Lagos State, Nigeria. This is with a view to identifying the context-determined roles of language in and the impact of gender and religion on the students' sexual discourse.

The study adopted aspects of conceptual metaphor, together with pragmemic and contextual beliefs theories. Forty purposive tape recordings of students' conversations were made, and copies of a questionnaire were administered to 760 students in eight tertiary institutions in Lagos State, selected on stratified and purposive bases: two universities, three polytechnics and three colleges of education. Four hundred structured interviews were conducted with 50 students in each of the institutions, and eight focus-group discussions were held with six students each in the institutions. Participant observation was randomly undertaken on the students' interactions. While the qualitative data were subjected to content-analysis, Pearson and student t-test were used to test the hypotheses formulated at 0.01 and 0.05 levels of significance.

Two discourse forms characterise the encounters: plain euphemisms and metaphors. Plain euphemisms bifurcate into sound indicative and sense indicative euphemisms; metaphors trifurcate into euphemistic, dysphemistic and slangy metaphors. Euphemistic metaphors are derived from five source domains: food/fruit, security, mysticism, leisure/sport and everyday language; dysphemistic metaphors from the army, carpentry, food/meat and everyday language; and slangy metaphors from sports, music, Internet and Nigerian cultures. Three main contextual features are observed: Shared Cultural Knowledge (SCK), Shared Situational Knowledge (SSK) and Shared Experiential Knowledge (SEK). SCK and SSK are characterised by the use of slangy words, metaphors and indexicals, and SEK by attitudinal markers, and linguistic and cognitive mappings. There are three practs in the interactions: amusing, informing, and criticising. Six allopracts are identified: three for criticizing; two for informing; and one for amusing. The quantitative analysis indicates that there is a significant relationship between students' attitudes to and their perception of sexual discourse($r = .443$, P<.01); that a significant difference exists in the attitude of male and female students to sexual discourse ($t = 3.71$ P<0.5); and that male and female students' perception of sexual discourse differ ($t = 2.459$, P < .05). Although there is a significant difference in the attitude of Muslim and Christian students to sexual discourse ($t = 2.284$, P<.05), there is no significant difference in their perception of sexual discourse .

Lagos State tertiary institution students deploy creative linguistic forms with context-sensitive functions in their sexual discourse; attitude, perception, gender and religion play important roles in the discourse. Thus, understanding the language of sex and associated socio-emotional variables among the students requires background knowledge of the social, linguistic and interactional resources the students draw upon in their sexual discourse.

Key words: Lagos state tertiary institutions, Discourse forms, Pragmatic functions, Sexual discourse, Metaphors

Word count: 500

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL PRELIMINARIES

1.1. Preamble:

The linguistic forms deployed when talking about sexual actors, instruments and actions, are often charged with a high level of privacy in most societies of the world (cf. Jay, 2000). While these forms and their discourse properties have received much attention in the Western literature, research on it is relatively rare in Nigeria (details will be provided presently). But with the flooding of sex-related terms on the Nigerian communicative coast in recent times, due largely to the influence of Western-styled music and the Internet, it has become imperative to study the language of sex extensively, especially among the youth. Thus, this study investigates the linguistic tools that tertiary institution students use in their sexual discourse with a view to identifying the context-determined roles of language in and the impact of gender and religion on their sex-related interactions. In the present chapter, an insight is provided into the scope of the study in terms of discussion of the background to the study, some theoretical preliminaries and other research direction-indicative elements. These are taken in turn in the sections that follow.

1.2 Background to the study

Human beings communicate with language in its verbal and non-verbal linguistic forms. According to Svetanant (2009:225), "language serves as a vehicle whereby thoughts as well as feelings are conveyed and exchanged." Language, thus, mirrors reality. It is a powerful tool for human existence and survival, a means of talking about virtually all experiences. But in reality, this expressive power of language is limited to some extent, and there are restrictions to what can be said in given circumstances. In some cases, the restrictions on certain expressions might be due to considerations for politeness, courtesy, etiquette, etc. Hayakawa (1974) admits that there are certain "unmentionables" – words that cannot be used in "polite" discourse. He refers to these unmentionables as verbal taboos or linguistic taboos. Discussions surrounding sex and related phenomena are some of such topics that are tabooed in most cultures and this is what we shall look at in this study.

The word "taboo" was borrowed from Tongan, one of the many languages in the Polynesian branch of the Austronesian languages (Crystal 1987:8). *The Online Etymology Dictionary* explains that "taboo derives from the Tongan word "ta (mark) – bu (especially). "Tabu" denotes something holy or sacred with 'spiritual restriction' or 'implied prohibitions." Fromkin (1978) explains that in Tongan, "taboo refers to acts which are forbidden or which are to be avoided." The word was borrowed into the English language as a translated version by "Captain James cook who visited Tongan in 1777. Captain Cook was "a British explorer who was sent to Tahiti to observe the transit of the planet Venus across the sun" (Allan and Burridge 2006:3). Trudgill (2000:18) also defines taboo "as being concerned with behaviour which is believed to be supernaturally forbidden or regarded as immoral or improper." With respect to language use, taboo expressions relate to inhibitions regarding the use of certain items. Such things are not expected to be said. However, we do know that this is not the absolute reality in practice. It is important to note, as does Trudgill, that "if taboo words were not said at all they could hardly remain in the language" (Trudgill 2000:18). This submission means that things that are tabooed may still be said but their use in public discourse is often treated with repugnancy. In line with this, Crystal (2003:172) avers that "taboo language are items that

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people avoid using in polite society, either because they believe them harmful or feel them embarrassing or offensive." The emphasis here is on language use other than the acts that are tabooed. The *Encarta Dictionary* defines taboo "as a strong social, cultural or religious prohibition against words, objects, actions, or discussions that are considered undesirable." Wardhaugh (2010:249) explains that "taboo is the prohibition or avoidance in any society of behaviour believed to be harmful to its members in that it would cause them anxiety, embarrassment, or shame." So, not only do we have linguistic taboos but also acts that are tabooed. Crystal (1978:106) explains that "societies wish to avoid such relationships and acts that are tabooed." Examples of such taboo words include words relating to excretion, reactions of bodily functions (burping, flatulence, defecation, urination, masturbation), diseases (though not all),death and sex. Therefore, there is the need to tinker the language used to talk about these things that are tabooed.

Furthermore, on contextual consideration, Allan and Burridge (2006: 27) note that "there is no such thing as an absolute taboo that holds for all worlds, time and contexts." This means that different cultures will have different taboos, and these taboos may vary with time and even within specific cultures. Also, different contexts may invoke different taboos. For instance, in many cultures, it is part of a polite tact to present excretion acts in a pleasant or less abhorable manner. It is common for the English people to say: ''I want to use the bathroom or ladies'' when referring to excretion activities. As regards death, the Yoruba people believe that you do not speak ill of the dead, hence, euphemisms abound in death discourse. When it comes to sexual discourse, people use language carefully so as not to be tagged "dirty" or "ammoral". Mbaya (2002) reports that taboo in traditional African society include "words for sex and body parts, words for death, kinship relation etc." Kellig (1975:113) also notes that "there are words that are not used in polite company and which have rude and assertive connotations: fuck, hump, screw, ball, bang, etc." However, there are polite ways of talking about sexual intercourse amongst friends, couples and associates. According to Kellig (1975) some of the polite ways of talking about sexual intercourse include the use of euphemisms such as doing it, making love, going to bed, sleeping together, etc. Evidently, the import of the use of euphemism is brought to bear in relation to taboo words. Yusuf (2004:1) defines euphemism as "an

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expression which represents or attempts to represent an uncomfortable, undesirable or lowly situation in a mitigated, agreeable or elevated manner." The choice of the word "agreeable" implies that there is an unspoken accord to accept whatever euphemistic device is employed by interactants for the purpose of the talk exchange. Wardhaugh (2010:251) explains that "euphemism is endemic in our society: the glorification of the commonplace and the elevation of the trivial. We are constantly renaming things and repackaging them to make them sound "better." The reason things are renamed and repackaged can be tied to other variables other than making them sound better. In essence, there may be nothing wrong in the way some words are used but there may be other factors in operation or at times, there may be no reason at all for euphemising a particular concept. What is important is that the renaming and repackaging of words in relation to taboo expressions involves a lot of creativity. This creativity also varies in relation to "linguistic sub-communities" (Kellig (1975:95). For instance, in tertiary institutions students' sexual discourse (henceforth TISSD), linguistic expressions used often reflect the students' taboo-sensitivity. That is, they are aware of the constraints that the Nigerian culture places on explicit discussions of sex among youths in public discourse, and these restrictions are often challenged implicitly (sometimes explicitly) through their use of language. Kerry (2005:245) notes that "euphemism shows how people encode their ideals and beliefs within societal boundaries." Hence, the students devise creative strategies in their discussions on sex related issues among their friends, a practice which often reflects their attitude to the language of sex.

Apart from the polite forms of talking about sex through the use of euphemisms, there are other forms such as the deployment of slang words, and the use of clinical terms that are acceptable in public: "sexual intercourse, coitus, copulation, etc" (Kellig 1975:113). The essence of such creative forms is to reduce the tabooness of the words.

The point, therefore, is that verbal taboos are part of our experiences, and many students still find ways of talking about them. As mentioned earlier, the most common way through which language users cope with taboo words and notions is to develop creative strategies that make it possible for them to be able to talk about anything and everything. In essence, every sphere of human activity generates appropriate utterance

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types which constitute an activity, and each activity type needs to be approached with its peculiar characteristics or 'conditions of talk'. By 'conditions of talk', we mean rules and principles guiding different activity types. According to Levinson (1978:368), "an activity type refers to a fuzzy category whose focal members are goal defined, socially constituted, bounded events with constraints on participants, setting, and so on…." Levinson's (1978) notion of "activity type" throws more light on the fact that different conditions of talk need to be applied to different activity or "language –game" (cf Wittgenstein 1953).

In the light of the foregoing, we identify sexual discourse as an activity type that deserves scholarly attention. In line with Cameron and Kullick (2006:1), this study is "an inquiry into the role played by language in producing and organising "sex" as a meaning domain of human experience." To do this, we investigate the discourse forms, contextual features, pragmatic functions, together with the attitudes to and the perceptions of the language of sex among selected tertiary institution students in Lagos State, Nigeria.

1.3 Sex, Sexuality and Gender

Sex, gender and sexuality are sometimes used interchangeably, but they do not mean the same thing. Sex has two different meanings. One deals with the physical nature of being a man or woman and relates to the chromosomal differences in the identification of sexes. This is concerned with the biological differences between men and women. Another meaning of sex deals with the act of sex- often used to mean "Sexual activity/ sexual intercourse". The meaning of 'sex' that has to do with 'maleness' or 'femaleness' is that which people find difficult in delineating from gender.

Santrock (2002:381) defines "gender as the social and psychological dimensions of being female or male." That is, gender refers to ascribed roles for different sex category – male or female. Lorber (1994) maintains that gender is a more general term that separates people into differentiated gender statuses. In his opinion, "gender is a human invention just like language, kinship, religion, and technology; like them gender organises social life in culturally patterned ways." Crawford (2002:1414) refers to "gender as a system that influences access to power, status and material resources." When we deal with ideological issues, the appropriate term to use is gender. Eckert and McGinet (2003:10) assert that

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"gendered performances are available to everyone, but with them come constraints on who can perform which personae with impunity." Hence, gender and sex are not synonymous. Gender is a social construct while sex (being a male or female) automatically derives from differences in genitalia and the human reproductive organs. But gender thrives on sex category for the ascription of expected roles. However, due to misconceptions in the use of sex (as sexual intercourse and as maleness and femaleness) people generally prefer to use the term gender when referring to being a man or woman. The choice of the use of "sex" and not "gender" depends on the angle from which a scholar sets to write (cf Coates 1986).

Our concern in this study is with the meaning of sex that has to do with "sexual activity", which may or may not include sexual intercourse. It involves everything that one does in order to feel sexual. Fore play such as kissing, smooching, hugging, fingering, and so on. are other ways of feeling sexual. We shall return to this later.

On the other hand, sexuality includes the physical, physiological, social, emotional, cultural and ethical dimensions of sex and gender. The Ford Foundation (2006:18) explains that:

> sexuality encompasses the sexual knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, values and behaviours of individuals, …. Its various dimensions involve the anatomy, physiology and biochemistry of the sexual response system; identity, orientation, roles and personality; and thoughts, emotions and relationships.

All of these may be difficult to exhaust. Therefore, our use of the term "sexual", in this study, encompasses discussions in sexuality discourse that relate to sexual knowledge, sexual organs, sexual activities - having or involving sex, and sexual relationships. Our discussion of sexual relationships is restricted to heterosexual relationships; we shall not be concerned with issues relating to other sexual orientation and sexual identity in this study.

From the literature, it is interesting to note that, discussions around issues relating to sex and sexuality have not been static. A brief consideration of historical facts may suffice in this regard. Prior to the sexual revolution in Europe and America which

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occurred in the 19th century, there were prohibitions of all sorts in the public sphere. The sexual revolution was a social movement against censorship and prohibitions in the western world**.** This sexual transformation has since moved beyond the shores of the European countries to other parts of the world through the process of globalisation.

Globalisation is a process of interaction and integration among people, companies, and governments of different nations, a process driven by international trade and investment, and aided by information technology. Steger (2003) explains that globalisation suggests a sort of dynamism best captured by the notion of "development" or "unfolding" along discernible patterns. He refers to globalisation as a set of social processes, which involves the "creation of new and the multiplication of existing social networks and activities that are increasingly overcoming traditional, political, economic, cultural and geographical boundaries." Steger (2003:75) opines that "it appears the old structures of modernity are slowly giving way to new "postmodern" framework characterised by a less stable sense of identity and knowledge."

No doubt, globalisation has had a significant effect on all spheres of human life and its impact as it relates to sexuality cannot be overlooked. While lending credence to this, the Ford Foundation (2006) explains that "globalization has caused the disintegration of the traditional means by which children and adolescents learned about sexuality. Clearly, new ways of expressing different sexualities linguistically have come with these new ways of life." The Internet, with its pornographic sites and friendship zones, are contributing in no small way to the linguistic repertoire of the ever-adventurous young persons. Nowadays, young persons do not necessarily have to ask anyone about when and how to have sex. There is a lot of information that can be accessed in the cyberspace by anyone. Invariably, the computer language is vastly employed by young persons in their day-to-day interactions. For instance, the word "browse" which means to surf the net is often used by undergraduates in their sexual discourse. As explained by one of the focus group discussion participants for in study, the word – "browse"- means that "one has touched all the necessary parts of a lady's body." Other students are also expected to know what this word means since there is a presumption that the students are in tune with the new trend in technology and should be able to adapt the Internet lexicon to suit their

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linguistic needs. Moreover, the invention and transmission of such DSTV programmes as "Big brother Africa", and "Big brother Nigeria" that transcend the shores of Africa has brought a lot of openness into sexual discoveries. These television programmes show the height of postmodernism as they reveal various sex depicting scenes on the television screen. Hence, sex and other related issues now seem to be more explicit than they used to be on Nigerian television stations.

Also contributing to the linguistic choices of young people in Nigeria is the creativity with which language is employed in popular and contemporary music. As observed by Olusegun - Joseph (2006:260) "the urban Nigerian youth would find music a rich aesthetic and ideological repertoire to lodge his/her (counter) discursive designs." He explains further that Rap music is a post modern engagement whose speech pattern is predominantly colloquial, with dominant features of slang. The youth culture is always a global culture, and there must be that global dimension to it. This global dimension as hinted by Olusegun Joseph is evident in the music of Nigerian hip hop artistes, one of whom is Dapo Oyebanji (Dbanj) whose music is popular among tertiary institution students. He uses several sexual linguistic slangy terms in his songs. Popularly known as the "koko" master, Dbanj uses the terms "kokoless" to refer to female and "koko" to mean – a man or a penis. His slang words are used among undergraduates in their interactions on sexuality. Other popular artistes include 9ice, Konga, Wande Cole, Tony Tetuila, Terry G, Dagrin, and so on, all of whom deploy several sexual linguistic choices in their songs to the delight of most Nigerian youth. All these postmodern instrumentalities cannot be overlooked when assessing youth discourse on sexuality.

1.4   Language, interactional formats and sexual discourse

Martin and Rose (2007) acknowledge the social importance of language as reflected in Halliday's systemic functional linguistics. They align with the view that language has three general social function(s) which Halliday (1972) identifies as the three metafunctions of language: ideational, interpersonal and textual. The ideational / experiential function relates to the use of language in expressing content or ideas. Halliday (2003:16) explains that "language in this case, helps to build up, renovate and keep in

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good repair the semantic reality that provides the framework of day-to-day existence." This representational capacity of language features in the way that we express events and things happening around us. The implication of this is that every lived experience is capable of being talked about; this is why it is often believed that if one cannot feel or has not experienced something, one may not be able to adequately express such experiences in one's choice or use of language.

The interpersonal function of language serves in enacting personal rapport. It makes possible the existence of relationship between people. Halliday (2003:16) explains that "interpersonal function of language reveals expressions of attitudes, appraisal, pleasure and other emotional states." The interpersonal function of language helps in establishing and maintaining relationship with other people. It is also an avenue for indicating different speech role systems which are often indices of "social bond" and identity identification. This function of language is relevant to the present study as it reflects in the way that tertiary institution students associate with one another and maintain social affiliation in their sexual discourse. The function of interpersonal relationship in people's daily life cannot be overemphasised. Hence, there is need to further investigate how people of different ages and generations relate with one another with respect to different social activities that they engage in. For instance, communicating with other people in order to express ones emotions and things that are sexual in nature vary across different sociolinguistic groups of people. The way older people use language is expected to differ from the way younger ones do (cf Muhammal and Parvaiz, 2010).

The textual function of language is concerned with the creation of text to reflect the ideational and interpersonal information in a manner that can be shared by a speaker and a hearer. A text can either be written or spoken. In TISSD the text available for use as data are spoken instantiations of interactions which have been recorded and transcribed. The analysis of the text will reflect the ideational and interpersonal functions of language.

The analysis of the social structures of everyday activities has been of concern to scholars in linguistics and philosophy, some of whom are Paul Grice, John Searle, Jacob Mey, Stephen Levinson and Richard Watts. Each of these scholars approaches language functions differently. In this study, we shall adopt Mey's (2001) pragmeme which focuses

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on how the individual is able to use his/her linguistic resources to achieve his/her interactional goals. Mey (2001) explains that there is no limit to the number of pragmatic acts or situated language functions that can be achieved in different situations.

In this study, TISSD is seen as an activity type with its own language forms and usages. These forms and usages entail the making of choices that language already provides. Verschueren (1999:59) notes that "linguistic choice making varies according to three baselines: variability, negotiability and adaptability." Variability is the property of language which defines the range of possibilities from which choices can be made, while negotiability is the property of language responsible for the fact that choices are not made mechanically or according to strict rules or fixed form–function relationships, but rather on the basis of highly flexible principles and strategies. Adaptability, on the other hand, is the property of language that enables human beings to make negotiable linguistic choices from a variable range of possibilities in such a way as to approach points of satisfaction for communicative needs. Adaptability relates to what Mey (2001) refers to as "affordances." As such, because tertiary institution students are aware of societal constraints on public discussions of sex, they find means of inventing their own language in order to communicate things that are sexual without necessarily appearing or being adjudged as obscene. The present study sets to attest to the fact that there is such a thing as "youth language." That is, there are aspects of language use that characterise young people's use of language, which are somehow different from the way adults use language. Thus, by examining tertiary institution students' sexual discourse, we are able to explore how the students communicate with different linguistic choices within the affordances that the larger society allows them to operate in. According to Conrad (2002:473), "…just how we express our 'natural' sexual urges is a matter that culture and environment determine and limit." This means that culture is a relevant factor in TISSD. We shall return to this later.

Tertiary institution students are expected to be contemporary persons. 'Contemporary' is used here to mean 'modern in style' and being up to date on current developments/ trends in the social milieu. For instance, tertiary institution students usually know about the new fashion of the moment; the new hair style; the new music; the new

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film etc. Tertiary institution students learn both the institutions' normative behaviour and the language of the in-group community (campus students). The expected normative behaviours include learning the language of their course codes, and semester type (Rain or Harmattan). As a speech community, universities and colleges have departments, faculties, and staff from diverse regions of the country. Although English is the official medium of communication in Nigerian universities, students have the freedom to express themselves in any preferred code outside the classroom. As such, apart from the English language, students make use of the/ir indigenous languages and the Nigerian Pidgin to communicate outside the lecture rooms.

We have also observed that culture in a tertiary institution context is not homogenous and cannot be fixed within a specific cultural paradigm. The general overriding fact is that the university culture - and indeed the youth culture is contingent upon iconoclastic culture. An iconoclastic culture is characterised by attack on established beliefs or institutions in order to establish a counter- hegemonic culture. Hence, there is every tendency for university students to do things differently from what the general or the traditional belief systems advocate. For instance, in mainstream Nigerian culture, issues relating to sex are not expected to be discussed in public sphere by young persons – especially those who are not married. This is not to say that married people are exempted from the taboo but the degree of freedom varies. Looking at our focus in this study, the hitherto taboo language items as realised in tertiary institutions sexual discourse, provides insights into changes in the perception and the attitude towards sex and its related phenomena. This will be discussed in our detail in chapter six.

Also, in most tertiary institutions, interactions vary from strictly formal to informal levels. At the informal level, students have various ways in which they discuss lecturers, courses, events in the society and their escapades which often include "sexual explorations or adventures". No doubt, linguistic identification is paramount within tertiary institution student groups. Linguistic identification refers to the way one's language use reflects one's social affinity, sub group or speech community. In essence, there are basic linguistic codes that a tertiary institution student would have to learn in order to show social affiliation with other students. Auer (2007) explains the importance of selecting the

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appropriate linguistic choice within different social groups in order to show group affiliations. Auer (2007:6) explains that "a linguistic act of identity can be defined as the selection of a linguistic element which indexes some social group 'A' and which is chosen on a particular occasion (in a particular context) in order to affiliate oneself with or disaffiliate oneself from a social group 'B' ." We should however note that other sociolinguistic variables may constrain some students from using some of the students' codes. But the fact remains that most of the students in tertiary institutions in Lagos state, irrespective of their different preferences, are aware of these codes as used in TISSD. In essence, it is worthy to note that the choice of language the students use in their sexual discourse can give access to their worldview on sex related issues.

1.5   The concept of sexual discourse

Sex as a form of human activity can be understood through language (non – verbal and verbal) that people use to demonstrate their experiences, beliefs and practices of sex. Language thus becomes a medium of representation for people's lived experiences. Cameroon and Kullick (2006:5) explain that "it is in language (or more exactly discourse) that we organise our understandings of sex, what it means, elaborating and disseminating definitions, distinctions, classifications and value judgements of things being expressed." Closely related to the functionality of language is the use of discourse to reflect different instantiations of language use. Next, we discuss the term discourse in order to be able to define and characterise our choice of the use of the concept "sexual discourse".

Language shapes discourse. Discourse is used in different disciplinary contexts to mean different things. Mills (1997:1) explains that "the term discourse has become common currency in a variety of disciplines: critical theory, sociology, linguistics, philosophy, social psychology and many other fields." There are three perspectives on the concept "discourse": the formalist, functional and formalist-functional perspectives. The formalist perspective defines discourse as a segment of language above the sentence. This concentrates on the way units of structures function in relation to one another. The approach is structural; emphasis is on the way that the syntactic and morphological units of language are related to the meaning- related units. Discourse by this view is restrictive

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in its emphasises on well-formedness (cf Lyons 1977:307).The functionalist perspective focuses on language in use. It dwells on the functions that units of language perform in use. The approach sees any aspect of language that is being used in communication as discourse. The point therefore is that particular units of syntax, morphology, semantics, phonology, etc. of necessity are employed to achieve a certain end in any interaction. The formalist-functionalist perspective utilises the idea of both formal and functionalist perspective in the study of discourse. It emphasises contextualization in discourse and favours the definition of discourse as utterances.

Some linguists define discourse as utterances of a larger unit viz that of a text which has an internal organisation, coherence or cohesion (van Dijk, 1977; Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975). For these linguists, the bundle of utterances relate to particular human reality – genre/ register. These specific genres will determine the internal constituents of the text. As such, we can talk of medical discourse, religious discourse, media discourse etc.

From a pragmatic perspective, discourse does not only refer to 'genres'; it also comprises the hidden conditions that govern such situations of language use. It raises questions such as: how do people use language in their respective social contexts? What kind of freedom do they enjoy in their use of language, and how is that use constrained in the environment or context of use? (Mey 2001:190). Discourse as explained here aligns with Michel Foucault's idea of discourse. According to Foucault, discourse provides a way of making sense of the struggles within a social practise. Thus, the cultural mix of norms, disciplines and prohibitions that govern discursive formations are relevant in producing discourse. As a corollary, Mey (2001:191 [Mumby and Stohl 1991:315]) avers that "discourse is the ensemble of phenomena in and through which social production of meaning takes place, an ensemble which constitutes society as such." This idea of discourse is shared by other linguists in critical linguistics but with different approaches in their analytic framework (cf Fairclough, 1995; van Djik, 1997; Wodak, 2002).

Wodak's (2002) view is relevant for this study because of its sociological perspective. According to Wodak (2002:7) "discourse is a social practice." As a social practice, it implies a dialectal relationship between a particular discursive event and the

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situation(s), institutions(s) and social structure(s) that frame it. Discourse governs the way a topic can be meaningfully talked and reasoned about. He explains further that just as a discourse 'rules in' certain ways of talking about a topic, defining an acceptable and intelligible way to talk, write or conduct oneself, so also, by definition, it 'rules out', limits and restricts other ways of talking, of conducting ourselves in relation to the topic or constructing knowledge about it. As such, different discourses position us in different ways in relation to the world.

In this study, our concept of discourse is shaped by Mey and Wodak's views of discourse. Hence, we define sexual discourse as context-constrained sex-related verbal activities encountered in human interaction. As will be shown in this study, it is guided by certain norms and principles that are almost exclusively group and context-determined.

1.6   Sexual metaphors and assumptions

Haste (1994:26) opines that "metaphors once regarded merely as elegant literary devices which make speech more 'poetic', are now recognised as part of our process of understanding." This is because metaphors provide access to the human cognitive process. According to Odebunmi (2010: 272), metaphor "is a major means of connecting the impression of the individual with their beliefs and actions." This means that what individuals use in their conceptual mappings give access to their beliefs, and their attitude to the target domain is brought to bear in their sexual discourse. In Sontag's (2009) opinion, metaphor is "giving the thing a name that belongs to something else." As such, metaphors add particular (desired) connotations to any subject under discussion.

The current researcher observes that, in the Yoruba worldview, sex-based discussions are socially regarded as repugnant. Dare (2005:89) notes that "the Yoruba cultural conventions allow users of the language to mention sexual organs only of animals or in allegory with material things." Salami (2006:1) observes that "Yoruba speakers of English as a second language might tend to avoid the use of the sex-related taboo English words more than the swear words." This means that explicit discussions of sex are tabooed in the Yoruba culture.

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Different cultures have different preferred ways of speaking that exploit the overarching concept of sexual metaphor. We should, however, note that there is not simply a large "cultural context" but a much more specific culture. For instance, in both the Yoruba and English worldviews, the male sexual organ provides a way of talking and thinking about weaponry and war (Odebunmi, 2010; Cohn, 1987). In the English language, sex is linked to eating and heating. Michele(1995 [Eckert and McGinet(2003:222)]) informs that the English people talk of "steamy sex", lovers as "hot" for each other or "burning up." "Sexual hunger" is another metaphor with expressions such as "I'm starved of you", "I'll eat you up like never before" etc. In Nigeria, there is limited research on language related to sexual pleasure, sexual activities, sexual desires etc, but we do know that there exist a whole lot of utterances for expressing sex related issues. Part of what this study explores is, therefore, the process of producing or interpreting tertiary institution students' sexual metaphors and the discoursal uptakes that are involved in the discourse.

In sexual discourse, the process of producing or interpreting metaphors and the discoursal uptake they involve are all critical in communicating the worldviews of the people against various assumptions. An assumption in pragmatic terms is used to mean an interaction or action-based belief shared by discourse participants. Yule (1985:127) explains that "in order to recognise what is meant, even when it is not actually said (or written), the speaker(s) must be able to depend on a lot of shared assumptions and expectations. That is, what is said against a background of what is unsaid, but taken as given." Such unsaid things are foregrounded based on shared beliefs or mutual contextual beliefs (MCB). Blakemore (1992:18) lists such assumptions "as memories of particular occasions and about particular individuals, general cultural assumptions, religious beliefs, knowledge of scientific laws, etc". She also notes that irrespective of a groups' common framework of beliefs and assumptions "there are always differences which lead not only to difference in the events memorised, but also to different interpretation of the same events" (Blakemore, 1992:18).

In line with this, Grundy (2000:13) explains that "understanding an utterance involves the making of inferences that will connect what is said to what is mutually

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assumed or what has been said before." To Grundy, understanding an utterance depends so much on inference which is not a directly observable phenomenon. In understanding an utterance, the particular communicative contexts or situations are important (Adegbija, 1999). Knowledge of the assumptions in TISSD will yield answers to such questions as regards who produces what kinds of sexual metaphors and the reasons for doing so. These assumptions aid access to the metaphors that are used in TISSD because they reduce differences by assuming common ground amongst participants in the discourse encounter. Common ground amongst youths is indexed by selecting the appropriate linguistic codes that show group affiliation. Slang words in particular are used by youths for many reasons. According to Kovecses (2008: 8), "slang is typically rich in metaphor and may be characterised by metaphors not found in other varieties of language." The use of slang words is precipitated by the general belief that sex is a taboo concept in the Nigerian environment. This belief among other sociological variables provides background impetus for the use of sexual metaphors in TISSD. Sexual metaphors that are deployed by tertiary institution students will no doubt provide insights into their experience of the world around them by reflecting the cultural mores and the language specifics of the larger cultural frame. Hence, in the next section, we provide a discussion on the relationship between language and culture.

1.7   Relationship between language and culture

Scholars in different academic disciplines such as Anthropology, Cultural studies, Sociology, Literary studies and Linguistics have explained in various ways the interconnection between language and culture. Cooper (1973:98) asserts that "it is a truism that language is interwoven with culture." In this section, we shall provide a brief summary of the idea that this proposition entails.

Language – verbal and non verbal - reveals the culture of a people. Hall (1997:1) equates culture to "shared meanings." He explains further "that meaning can only be shared through our common access to language." In line with this direction, Kovecses (2006:135) writes that "culture can be thought of as a set of shared understandings of the

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world, where our understandings are mental representations structured by cultural models or frames."

Wardhaugh (2003:72) defines "culture as the totality of what one must know in order to function in a particular society." Wardhaugh further notes that "the culture of a people finds reflection in the language they employ: because they value certain things and do them in a certain way, they come to use their language in ways that reflect what they value and what they do." This cultural script/ awareness does not in totality determine the choice of language use but it certainly influences how language is used by the people. As a corollary, Weigand (2010:511) opines that "culture influences human behaviour as habits and values externally and internally."

The work of the anthropologist, Edward Sapir (1884-1939) and his student Benjamin Lee Whorf (1897-1941) is a significant work on the relationship between language systems and culture. Their work has come to be known as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. Lucy (1992:11) explains that it was Franz Boas (1858-1942) that first introduced the idea of linguistic relativity which was later developed by Sapir and Whorf. Edward Sapir was Boas' premier student in the area of linguistic studies. In his analysis of the nature of language, Lucy (1992) reports that Boas made three arguments: languages classify experience, different languages classify experiences differently and that linguistic phenomena are unconscious in character, apparently because of their highly automatic production.

According to Lucy (1992:13), Sapir asserts that "language is a guide to social reality."

> the worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same worlds with different labels attached… we see and hear and otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretation…from this standpoint we may think of language as the symbolic guide to culture.
>
> Lucy (1992) {Sapir 1949:162}.

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Whorf also considered large-scale linguistic patterns in particular languages and presented further information on how language and thought interact. The point of convergence is that there is an "indirect connection wherein language influences culture in some cases through its effect on the habitual thought world of speakers" (Lucy 1992:63).

This plausible idea is not without some criticisms. For instance, cognitive linguists have faulted this idea on the ground that it is not representative of some human realities. Levinson (2004: 19 [Whorf 1956:158]) explains that the understanding of "space is given in substantially the same form by experience irrespective of language… but the concept of space will vary from somewhat with language." Despite the area of dispute in the language and culture relationship, the idea of the interconnection is relevant for the present study in view of some culture specific use of metaphors in TISSD. Gibbs (2006:13) notes that studies on metaphor and embodiment cannot be totally "culture-free."

If language is a system of representation, then TISSD will reveal through its various significations the students' constructs of things that are sexual with some form of culture specific characteristics. The way individuals present their understanding of sex and its related phenomena can be made known implicitly or explicitly through their use of language.

While acknowledging the significance of the relationship between language and culture, Androutsopoulos and Georgakopoulou (2003: 2) aver that

> There is apparent need for further studies in as many cultural settings as possible that will broaden the scope of the inquiry into youth communication. Any worthwhile linguistic investigation must be done with an understanding of the peculiarities of the peoples' culture (macro and micro). The macro culture is the larger cultural framework with its own scripted norms , while the micro culture deals with group affiliations within the larger society.

In this study, the different ethnic groups which the students come from serve as the macro culture while the 'youth culture' is the micro culture. And because language develops over time with different generational influences, it is expedient to begin to look at generational shifts in language use; especially in relation to taboo concepts. Lucy

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(2007:65[Whorf 1956: 156]) also informs that "language is affected by inventions and innovations." Hence, as new inventions and innovations come up, language is set to do its work. All of these cultural orientations influence students' choice of language use in their sexual encounters as will be reflected in this study.

1.8   Statement of the problem

Existing studies have addressed sexual discourse from socio-cultural (for example Adegbola and Babalola, 1999; Oloruntoba-oju, 2007), sociolinguistic (for example Mbaya 2002; Dare 2005; Salami 2006;), and critical linguistic perspectives (for example Undie et al 2007; Odebunmi 2010). These studies have considered sexual discourse as an enterprise in marital sex engagements, linguistic descriptions of culture-based images and body parts, literary representation of sex, taboo discourse, social conception of sex and metaphorisation of body parts. Hardly any of these studies has utilised strictly pragmatic principles in analysing the language and discourse of sex focused. This is considered an important gap in the literature given the unrivalled role of pragmatics in unveiling context-determined meaning in interaction, sexual discourse being hinged almost entirely on contextual substructures, especially among tertiary institution students in Nigeria. This study, therefore, investigates the discourse forms, contextual features, pragmatic functions, and attitudes to and perception of the language of sex among students of tertiary institutions in Lagos State, Nigeria. This is with a view to identifying the context-determined roles of language in and the impact of gender and religion on the students' sexual discourse.

1.9   Research questions

The major question for this research is: how do undergraduates discuss sexual issues? Other questions which we attempt to provide answers to are:

1. What words and expressions are used by tertiary institution students in discussing sex and other phenomena related to it?

2. What informs the choice of these words and expressions in sexual discourse?

3. What practs are observable in tertiary institution students' sexual discourse?

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4. How do attitudes to and perceptions of sex influence their discourse on sex-related issues?

1.9.1 Research hypotheses

The research hypotheses relate only to the fourth objective. The hypotheses are listed below:

1. There is no significant relationship between the attitude to and the perception of tertiary institution students to the language of sex

2. There is no significant relationship between the attitude of male students and that of female students in tertiary institutions in Lagos State to the language of sex.

3. There is no significant difference in the perception of male and female students in tertiary institutions in Lagos State to the language of sex

4. There is no significant difference in the attitude of Christian and Muslim students to the language of sex.

5. There is no significant difference in the perception of Christian and Muslim students to sexual discourse.

1.10   Aim and objectives of the study

The aim of this study is to carry out a pragmatic investigation of how tertiary institution students in Lagos State discuss sex and related phenomena. The specific objectives are:

1. To investigate the form of language that is observable in tertiary institution students' sexual discourse;

2. To examine the contextual features that characterise tertiary institution students' sexual discourse;

3. To explore the pragmatic functions of the discourse; and

4. To identify the students' attitude to and perceptions of the language of sex.

1.11 Significance of the study

The rate at which Language changes with respect to transformation in the socio-cultural terrain is very significant. Language more than anything else is capable of revealing beliefs and attitudes that are consciously or unconsciously expressed by human beings with respect to changing socio-cultural phenomena. In view of this observation, this study sets out to investigate how tertiary institution students are reacting to the postmodern turn via their language use in sex related encounters. By so doing, we should be able to account for certain generational shifts in their beliefs and attitudes to the language of sexual discourse.

By identifying the linguistic choices that tertiary institution students deploy in their sexual discourse, we hope to identify linguistic representations of the undergraduates' sexual realities in this contemporary time through the choices of words and expressions that are used in their sex - related encounters. This is expected to provide a platform for understanding the students' patterns/ style of communicating sex-related issues.

Also, Capone (2001) using Jacob Mey's theory of the pragmeme, suggests that "Pragmeme has to be refined further, possibly in the light of more stimulating examples of language use." In line with this, our study is a modified version of Mey's Pragmeme along a sex-based discourse line. In our modified pragmemic version, Odebunmi's (2006) model of context is adapted while our treatment of metaphor derives from aspects of conceptual metaphor theory. This new model will no doubt add to the literature on the theory of pragmatic acts and cognition.

We believe that sex is an important natural and social act in human society. The way it is being talked about, perceived and carried out is not only changing, but the consequences of engaging in uncontrolled sexual practices are taking new dimensions. For instance, the increase in the spread of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) and HIV/AIDS calls for concern. A study of this nature, which looks at the form and function of the language of sexual discourse will be useful for sex education experts in order to educate tertiary institution students on what they actually do while discussing sex. Also, the students' style of language use can be used in communicating with them on sexuality issues.

Finally, while providing a linguistic space for sexuality interpretation, we hope to contribute to an understanding of human sexuality as a whole. It is interesting to note that discourse is an inescapably important concept for understanding society and human responses to it. As such, the present study hopes to bring to the fore the students' underlying cultural beliefs and worldviews in response to their counter hegemonic impression.

The significant changes in youth postmodern discourse as is explicated in this study will add to existing studies on youth postmodern discourse both locally and internationally. The study provides a platform for understanding one of the representations of youth discourse within the Nigerian context and this can be assessed at par with what goes on in other parts of the world.

1.12 Scope of the study

The study covers selected higher institutions of learning in Lagos State: University of Lagos, Akoka, Lagos State University, Ojo, Yaba College of Technology, Federal Technical College, Akoka, St Augustine College of Education, Adeniran Ogunsanya College of Education, Otto- Ijanikin, Lagos State Polytechnic and Lagos City Polytechnic, all of which serve as representative samples. We also limit our investigation to the school environment which extends to the student hostels that are within and outside the school premises. We did not have to visit the students in their permanent residences where they live with their families.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1   Introduction

This chapter is a review of relevant theories and concepts in pragmatics, which include the history and scope of pragmatics, implicature, common ground, presupposition, indexicality and models of context. Also reviewed are conceptual metaphor theory and aspects of conversational analysis. Moreover, previous studies on youth and sexual discourses in general   are   reviewed with a view to highlighting areas of scholarly attention that have been devoted to sex and sexuality discourse. The relevant areas reviewed include youth and socio-cultural space, postmodernism and the youth culture, studies on youth discourse, studies on linguistic taboos and studies on sexual discourse. These will be discussed in turn.

2.2   History and Scope of Pragmatics

The first use of the term pragmatics was credited to the philosopher Charles Morris. As noted by Levinson (1983), Morris was concerned with a general shape of science of signs, or semiotics. Morris, in his inquiry, distinguishes three distinct branches of semiotics: syntactic (or syntax), semantics and pragmatic. To Morris, pragmatics is defined as the study of the relation of signs for users.

Between 1950 and 1960, linguistic pragmatics emerged under the leadership of two Oxford professors of Philosophy in the Oxford University: J.L, Austin and H.P Grice. Other great thinkers of the school included: Peter Strawson, John Searle and Ludwig Wittgenstein (Huang 2007). In the 1960s and early 1970s, generative semanticists such as Jerry Katz, J.R. Ross and George Lakoff were attracted by the works of J.L Austin and others and so launched a campaign against Noam Chomsky's treatment of language as an

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abstract, mental device divorced from the uses and functions of language. As a result, a great deal of important research was done in the 1970s to bring some order into the content of pragmatics. Levinson's 1983   *Pragmatics* is one of the first major efforts at distinctly defining the field of pragmatics.

Kasher (1991:568) explains that "the scope of what is called "pragmatics" depends on one's view of the nature of pragmatics." No doubt, pragmatics as a distinct discipline now has several sub fields: discursive pragmatics, cognitive pragmatics, clinical pragmatics, intercultural pragmatics, multimodal pragmatics, etc. Commenting on the new developments in the field of pragmatics, Kecskes and Horn (2007:1) write:

> The development of new perspectives on pragmatics has been prompted by several factors. Recent theoretical work on the semantics/ pragmatics interface, serious applications of evolutionary biology to the study of language, and empirical work within cognitive and developmental psychology and intercultural communication has directed attention to issues that warrant re-examination and revision of some of the central tenets and claims of the field.

This assertion only attests to the growing development in pragmatics which makes it a viable discipline in the study of human communication in general.

2.3   Pragmatics

Allot (2010:1) notes that "Pragmatics is not the same for all its practitioners." Pragmatics as a distinct field of linguistic inquiry, just like any other academic discipline, is approached and defined differently by its many scholars. The varied definitions are predicated on the fact that the central focus of the subject, as the study of meaning, gives an impression that it cannot be adequately streamlined. But this presumption is misleading. A review of some definitions of pragmatics in the literature will suffice in throwing more light on the subject and also put in a proper perspective what a pragmatic study entails.

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Leech (1983:15) defines pragmatics as "the study of how utterances have meaning in situations." Leech sees communication as a problem solving task for both the speaker and the hearer. The speaker has to plan the best way to accomplish his conversational aim through his/her use of language. On the other hand, the hearer has to work out the most likely reason for the speaker's utterance. In this view, pragmatics is essentially goal-directed and evaluative. Leech's relevance to the situation of utterance seems appealing for the present study but it is just a part of a whole in a pragmatic inquiry.

Levinson (1983:21) also defines pragmatics as "the study of the relations between language and context that are basic to an account of language understanding." In the words of Levinson (1983:38) "Pragmatics provides spaces to account for hints, implicit purposes, assumptions, social attitudes and so on that are effectively communicated by the use of language." This definition hints on the importance of context to meaning negotiation which will be discussed later in this study. While explaining further, Levinson says that understanding an utterance involves making inferences that will connect what is said to what is mutually assumed or what has been said before. He reiterates the importance of inference as one of the key elements in utterance interpretation. and the importance of inference idea is shown better in Grice's conversational implicature, which will be discussed in section 2.6.

In line with Levinson, Yule (1985:127) holds that "pragmatics is the study of invisible meaning or how we recognise what is meant even when it is not actually said (or written)." This means that for meaning to be derived from an utterance, the speaker and the hearer must be able to depend on a lot of shared assumptions and expectations. Yule's definition combines Leech's idea with Levinson's, in his submission that communication is drived towards achieving interactants' communicative goals with recourse to shared assumptions. Yule's idea is a further development of Grice's concept of implicature. In Gricean's framework (particularly with respect to the cooperative principle), participants must of necessity operate on several shared assumptions.

Kempson (1986:561) defines pragmatics as "the study of the general cognitive principles involved in the retrieval of information from an utterance." This definition considers the abstract and psychological features as important in utterance interpretation to

the neglect of other contextual features. This view is, therefore, highly restrictive and does not justify the main concern of pragmatics. This, however, does not mean that cognitive principles are not important (as will be explicated later under our discussion on conceptual metaphor theory) in a pragmatic inquiry, but it will be tantamount to equating pragmatics with cognitive linguistics rather than seeing their relationship.

Davis (1991:11), while trying to delimit pragmatics, says that "pragmatics has as its own domain, speakers' communicative intentions, the uses of language that require such intentions, and the strategies that hearers employ to determine what those intentions and acts are…." Davis' (1991:11) emphasis on intentions without a proper way to identify how such intentions can be realised empirically fails to capture the essence of any pragmatic study. Moreover, intention is not the only aspect that is studied in pragmatics. Intention - based enquiry to pragmatic study has been criticised. Kecskes and Mey (2008:1) write that "there is substantial recent evidence that militates against the continued placement of Gricean intentions at the heart of pragmatic theories." This is not to reject the "speaker-intentions' " view but to introduce new dimensions to the study of human communication. In essence, this difference represents two views of pragmatics research: the cognitive-philosophical and the socio-cultural interactional view.

Schifrin (1992:191) explains that "pragmatics studies how interpreters engage in the taking account of designate (the construction of interpretants) of sign vehicles as used in the discourses." Invariably, this definition restricts pragmatics to the linguistic codes in accessing the meaning of language use by interactants without taking cognisance of other contextual features.

Thomas (1995:22) aligns with Leech and others before him by defining pragmatics as 'meaning in interaction'. She explains that "making meaning is a dynamic process, involving the negotiation of meaning between speaker and hearer, the context of utterance (physical, social, and Linguistic) and the meaning potential of an utterance." This definition identifies speakers, context and interpretation as key elements in a pragmatic analysis. The idea of the dynamic nature of meaning making and its negotiation between speaker and hearer is in line with the socio-cultural interactional view of research into pragmatics. Thomas' idea is also reiterated by Haugh (2008) who observes that

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meaning making is achieved jointly through the dynamic emergence of meaning in conversation."

To Verschueren (1999) linguistic pragmatics is the study of people's use of language. He emphasizes the multi-disciplinary approach of pragmatics by defining pragmatics as "a general cognitive, social, and cultural perspective on linguistic phenomena in relation to their usage in forms of behaviour."According to him, the function of pragmatics is to provide information on how language functions in the lives of human beings. Although this definition captures the relevance of pragmatics to all human activities, it is too general in scope and may be difficult in delimiting the scope of pragmatics from other linguistic studies.

Grundy (2000:13) defines pragmatics as "the study of the relations between language and context that are basic to an account of language understanding." He explains that understanding an utterance involves making inferences that will connect what is said to what is mutually assumed or what has been said before. To him, pragmatic meaning depends so much on inference, which is not a directly observable phenomenon. The importance of deriving inference from the propositions used by speakers and hearers is also brought to bear in Grundy's definition.

While supporting this, Mey (2007) says "pragmatics studies the use of language in human communication as determined by the conditions of society." The problem with this definition, as highlighted in Ariel (2010:11), is that, it is too general. The definition makes it hard for one to know what is excluded from a pragmatic study.

Ariel (2010:249) explains that "pragmatics is responsible for inferences which are based on the linguistic strings expressed when contextual assumptions are taken into account." Such interpretations are guided by pragmatic theory. A theory of pragmatics, according to Ariel (2010), is a theory about pragmatic inferencing in the service of linguistic communication. Some of these pragmatic theories are Grice' pragmatics (1975), Neo- Gricean pragmatics (Horn, 1984; Levinson, 2004), Relevance theory (Speber and Wilson, 1986/1995), Speech Act (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969); Pragmatic Act theory (Mey 2001), Activity type (Levinson 1979), Contextual beliefs model (Odebunmi 2006), etc.

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As reflected in the foregoing paragraphs, the areas of interest of a pragmatic analysis are as diverse as its practitioners. In this study, we will like to align with Mey's (2001) definition of pragmatics as that which studies users, their use of language, conditions for communication and the ability of language users to use the language in such a way that will allow them to achieve their conversational goals.

2.4   Implicature

The notion of implicature is a key concept in pragmatics. It is central to this study because it is the backdrop to most human communication. It provides insights into how much gets communicated in tertiary institutions students' sexual discourse even when the propositions expressed do not explicitly reveal 'surface' meanings. By 'surface meaning' we mean utterance interpretations that rely only on the semantics of the language as used by the speaker. Mey (2001: 45) asserts that "implicature is a regularity that cannot be captured in a simple syntactic or semantic 'rule'." According to this position, implicature goes beyond what is on the surface or deep level syntactic analysis of language study to what is not explicitly expressed but implied via the choice of lexical choices and/ or other contextual variables that participants employ in their propositions. The concept of implicature was originated by the philosopher H.P. Grice. The whole essence of the concept is to explain how meaning can be derived from an utterance even when it is not explicitly stated. Moeschler (2007:84) explains that "Gricean and neo-Gricean pragmatics defined inferred meaning as conversational implicatures, either generalized or particularized." In Moeschler's opinion there seems to be an agreement among Pragmaticians on the importance of conversational implicature, although their approach to the idea of generalised and particularised implicatures vary.

Implicature helps in getting out facts or meaning from utterances. Thus, implicatures bifurcate into conventional and conversational implicatures. Conventional implicatures are derived based on the semantics of the words and expressions used in an utterance. Grice (1991:307) explains that "conventional implicatures are derived based on "the conventional meaning" of the words (the sentences) as uttered."

Papi (2009:152) defines conventional implicatures "as non- truth conditional aspects of meaning which differ radically from conversational implicature because their meanings depend on the lexical items used in an utterance and not on the context of use." Conversational implicatures on the other hand are not directly related to the conventional meaning of the words or expressions used in an utterance. Griffiths (2006:134) defines conversational implicatures as inferences that depend on the existence of certain norms for the use of language. Part of the communicational norms as proposed by Grice (1975) is the cooperative principle (CP). Grice also divided conventional implicatures into two: generalized and particularized implicatures. Generalised implicatures are also conventional meanings that are attached to utterances based on the knowledge of the lexical items used. Harnish (1991:334) explains that generalized implicature appear similar to a conventional implicature since the "saying of *P* would normally carry such and such an implicature." Particularized implicatures are dependent on the content of utterance, the co-operative principle and the context of utterance. In essence, particularised implicatures are also conversational implicatures which can be derived with recourse to Grice's co-operative principle (CP). Conversational implicatures are also essentially connected with certain general features of discourse. As such, in this study, we shall be concerned with particularized conversational implicature. Grice uses the co-operative maxims to explain the workings of conversational implicature. The maxims are quantity, quality, relation and manner maxims (Grice 1975:47) and we shall discuss them in turn:

Quantity Maxim: This relates to the amount of information given or provided. Under this are two maxims:

a. Make your contribution as informative as is required(for the current purposes of the exchange)

b. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

The interaction below explains the quantity maxim:

A – where are you going?

B – I'm going to school

In this exchange, the interlocutors obey the maxim of quantity. B responded to A's question by providing only the information requested by A and no other information is included in A's response. This is an ideal instance of the workings of the quantity maxim.

Quality Maxim : This maxim emphasises that the contribution or information given should be true. Two maxims are distinguished under this category:

  a. Try to make your contribution one that is true
  b. Do not say that for which you lack adequate knowledge/ evidence

For example:

A – Wale is dating that girl we saw at the party

B- That guy too like anything in skirt!

A's utterance is expected to be true; otherwise, he/she is not expected to provide the information. The quality maxim is expected to be upheld by participants in their interactions. Except in instances where the ideal practice is not in place, one will not expect that one's interlocutor is lying with his/her utterance.

Relation Maxim:

  a. Be relevant

Contributions to conversation should be connected to the on-going discourse. Except in instances where other abnormal human conditions set in, one is expected to be in tune with the line of thought or subject matter of the on-going discourse.

For instance:

A – Can I get a bus to Bodija from U.I ?

B – Yes, you can

B's utterance observes both the maxim of quantity and that of quality and it is also connected to the request by A.

Manner Maxim : Be perspicuous

  a. Avoid obscurity of expression
  b. Avoid ambiguity
  c. Be brief
  d. Be orderly

The maxim of manner deals with clarity of purpose as it is reflected in the expressions used in any conversational context. One is expected to avoid misconceptions by the choice of words that is deployed in any conversational encounter. It is ideal to express propositions in a manner that can be comprehended by one's interlocutor.

Human beings are not 'robots' and cannot be restricted (and are not in the real sense) with the maxims. As such, participants in an interaction may fail to obey the maxims for different reasons which may be social, personal, moral, cultural, and so forth. Grice (1991:310) explains that a participant in a talk exchange may fail to fulfil the maxims in various ways which include the following:

1. He may quietly and unostentatiously violate a maxim;
2. He may opt out from the operation of the maxim
3. He may be faced by a clash
4. He may flout a maxim

How then do participants get the implicated meaning in instances where the maxims are not adhered to? The flouting of these maxims makes it possible for discourse participants to rely on shared assumptions in understanding utterances. Thus, the working of implicature gives a presumption of common ground and shared assumptions by discourse participants. Grice (1991:310) explains that conversational implicature relies on the following data in order for it to be worked out.

1. The conventional meaning of the words used, together with the identity of any references that may be involved
2. The cooperative principle(CP) and its maxims
3. The context, linguistic or otherwise, of the utterance
4. Other elements of background knowledge; and
5. The fact (or supposed fact) that all relevant items falling under the previous headings are available to both participants and both participants know or assume this to be the case.

Basically, implicatures rely much on inferences. Papi (2009:172) explains that "inferences operate on information unit of various types and formats: shared knowledge, private knowledge, stereotyped knowledge in the form of frames, scripts and schemas."

All of these information units are what constitute the basis for meaningful communication amongst different participants in any talk –exchange. The important point here is that background knowledge plays a significant role in the process of working out conversational implicatures. Shared knowledge is also referred to as common ground, mutual contextual beliefs, and shared background knowledge. This is discussed in the next section.

2.5   Common ground

Common ground relates to "sharedness" which should usually exist between interlocutors for them to operate on the same wavelength. Participants in any conversational encounter operate on the assumption that there are certain aspects in their encyclopaedic knowledge that should be a common denominator in assessing understanding and interpretation of ongoing subject. Next, we provide a review of relevant definitions of the concept of common ground and the sources of common ground. All these will be useful in our categorisation of shared knowledge in chapter 4.

Irene (1990) defines common ground (roughly) of a context of utterance "as the conjunction of all those propositions that the interlocutors take for granted in that context (either because they are permanently shared beliefs in their community, or because they have been established in the course of the preceding conversation)." According to this definition, common ground may be incremented within a given discourse encounter so far participants are in-group members. Hence, the interactants are expected to be able to work out areas of convergence in the choice of words and expressions that are deployed for the on-going discourse.

Clark (1998:118) defines "common ground as the sum of the information that people assume they share." Jaszczolt (2008:16) defines shared beliefs as "the set of cultural, social, and other assumptions taken by the interlocutors to be shared information." Clark and Carlson (1991) opine that for "communication to be successful, speakers must share certain knowledge, beliefs, and assumptions with the people they are talking to." The issue of how to access others' knowledge has generated a rethink of the concept of common ground. It has been argued that there cannot be "full" mutual

knowledge in practice. But this is not to say that speakers do not operate on any "ground" in their conversational context.

Another view of common ground is the use-view. By this, it is meant that common ground is 'co-constituted by the participants in any given instance of language use. In essence, participants need the right kind of evidence to believe in their sharedness of certain elements in the discourse.

Now how do people access beliefs and knowledge that are shared by their interlocutors? Marshall (1998)[H&C 1991] opine that there are three grounds for mutual believe: physical co-presence, linguistic co-presence and community membership. Physical co-presence entails the availability or the presence of an object that interlocutors can both attend to. This is called 'joint attention' by Enfield (2008:224). In this case, the speakers are both aware of the presence of the object in the discourse space and can make appropriate reference to it. This situation is called "triple co-presence". With linguistic co-presence, what is of mutual belief between A and B in their physical co-presence can be referred to and attested to by both parties. In essence, physical and linguistic co-presence are a sine qua non for in-group membership; that is, when discourse participants belong to the same speech community/group, they are bound to share certain background knowledge. For instance, being a youth and a member of the university institution are part of the auxiliary grounds for inferring common ground in TISSD.

Enfield (2008) also identifies three sources of common ground: joint attention, shared experiential knowledge and shared cultural knowledge. Joint attention refers to physical co-presence as explained earlier. Shared experiential knowledge relates to experiences that interactants know (and remember!) that is shared. At the cultural level, common ground "may be indexed by signs of ethnic identity, and the common cultural background such signs may entail" (Enfield 2008:224). As noted by Enfield (2008:237), there are four ways that common ground can be indexed in normal everyday conversation:

- " inquiring about tracked events and providing more details on one's own activities": reporting and updating on events and activities mentioned in previous conversations; eliciting detailed accounts, demonstrating special interest in the details; attending to each other's schedules and plans; and so forth.

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- " discussing one's own problems and displaying interest in the other's problems": claiming the right to (and being obliged to ask to) ask and display interest in each other's personal problems; showing receptivity to such discussion; and so forth.

- "making oblique references to shared experiences and forwarding the talk about shared experiences": one party makes minimal reference to past shared experiences (e.g john says Remember Mary's brother?), and the other displays their recognition of it, takes it up and forwards it in the conversation (Fred responds oh God, he's so strange, what about when he …), thereby demonstrating the common ground.

- "using improprieties and taking up the other's improprieties by using additional improprieties and/or laughter": cursing and other obscenities; laughter in response to such improprieties; shared suspension of constraints usually suppressed by politeness.

Culled from Enfield (2008:237).

From the above discussion, it is important to note that common ground is an essential   resource for social affiliation. This means that in order to belong to a particular social group and be able to communicate appropriately, certain ideas, information and experiences need to be shared among group members either a priori, incremented or factoid in relation to any conversational encounter.

2.6   Presupposition

Presupposition is a concept that has generated arguments in current debate in its explanations. Some scholars treat it as conventional implicature but this is not a valid assumption. Other scholars have concluded that it should be seen as common ground or common knowledge. Again, this is misleading. The third assumption is to separate some features of language a priori as semantic or pragmatic. This separation has been condemned by scholars (Simons 2006). In this section, we explain what presupposition means as different from conventional implicature, entailments and common ground.

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Stalnaker (1991) explains that some presuppositions are semantic while some are pragmatic. Semantic presupposition is defined as propositions which are necessitated by the truth and by the falsity of the proposition; when any presupposition is false, the assertion lacks truth–value (Stalnaker 1991:42). Stalnaker (2002) explains that "to presuppose something is to take it for granted, or at least to act as if one takes it for granted, as background information." This means that presupposition should be part of the common ground in order for the proposition to be felicitous. But often times, some presuppositions may not be part of the speakers' common ground but is treated as such. The concept of accommodation is brought to use in such instances. Ash (2008) explains that "in certain cases a presupposition can be backgrounded or accommodated i.e. added to the common ground, even if it is a new information", when this happens, the backgrounded information enables participants to add the new information and increase their common ground. Stoke (2010) describes accommodation as a mechanism by which a missing presupposition is supplied by the hearer in order to avoid infelicity. Hence, accommodation is the hallmark of pragmatic presupposition; it is a repair strategy in communication.

Jayez (2004:95) asserts that "most theories of presupposition agree on the pretheoretical intuition that to be presupposed is to be 'already there, in some relevant belief state" (Stanalker, 1973, 1974, Geurts, 1995, 1999 and Beaver, 2001, Ash 2008, Zeevat 2012, Simons 2010). The importance of the concept of presupposition lies in the fact that no human being is a blank slate. There are things that are already expected to be in the encyclopaedic knowledge of ones interlocutors on which interactions can be built .

As observed from the discussions above, presupposition is more of backgrounded information. But this does not mean that it is the same as conventional implicature. The difference between presupposition and conventional implicature is that presuppositions affect truth value of utterances but conventional implicatures do not.

Presupposition is not synonymous with common ground but is a part of it. Mey (2001:187) explains that "a serious theory of pragmatic presupposition inquires metapragmatically into the ways an utterance is understood in the context of language users' common ground."

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Stoke (2010) defines semantic presupposition as a proposition which is true or false if and only if the utterance is true in the given situation. Pragmatic presupposition on the other hand holds for a proposition in the context that the proposition fulfils felicity condition and if it is commonly accepted among the participants. Hence, semantic presuppositions are required to be in fact true, while pragmatic presuppositions are merely required to be accepted in the common ground. By accepting presupposing propositions, hearers confirm their validity (Ahmed 2011). This means that all semantic presuppositions are also pragmatic but the converse is not true (Simons 2006). The implication is that we do not need a semantic and pragmatic divide in explaining how meaning is generated in context. We need to complement semantic presupposition with the inferable speaker assumptions to be able to make out meaning from the propositions used in different contexts.

2.7   Indexicality

Indexicality constitutes a major component of pragmatics (cf Ariel 2010). Hence, the task of a pragmatician in unpacking human interaction may not be complete without a review of this notion. Reviewing it becomes more relevant in a study such as this which analyses interactions where much ostentation is deployed. Hence, we review briefly the notion of "indexicality" below.

Indexicals are words or phrases that act as place holders for information in a given text. Indexicality is a linguistic expression whose meaning remains stable while their reference shifts from utterance to utterance (Nunberg 1993, Cappelen and Lepore 2002). Silverstein (2003) explains that indexicals help in understanding reference as it is often egocentric- it relies on knowledge of speaker, time and place. Murphy and Koskela (2010) define indexicals as "expressions whose reference depends on the context of use." Indexicality as a pragmatic phenomenon helps to understand how our use of referring expressions, demonstratives and deixis adapts to changes in different conversational context. Three types of indexicals are identified in the literatures on indexicals: Reference (referring expressions), some deixis and demonstratives. Referring expressions include: proper names, definite noun phrases, indefinite noun phrases, pronouns and anaphora

(anaphoric, homophoric and cataphoric). Deixis are of three types: person deixis, spatial deixis and temporal deixis. Other kinds of deixis include: discourse and social deixis (T-V distinction and honorifics). Perry (2003) explains that "the key function of indexicals is to help the audience – that is the hearers or readers of the utterance with whom the speaker intends to be communicating… to find supplementary channels of information about the object to which the indexical refers." This definition highlights the importance of a ratified participant, that is, the intended hearer in order for the use of indexical to be appropriately picked. Secondly, there are supplementary channels about the object that needs to be taken into consideration for appropriate assignment of an indexical.

According to Charles Peirce's triadic explanation of sign, icon and symbol, indexicality is a feature of the index. Fontdevila (2010) explains that linguistic indexes in contrast to referential symbols are signs or aspects of signs that do not represent but point to the world in order to create or reproduce the social contexts in which they are uttered.

Levinson (2003) points out that indexicals are usually associated with the linguistic expressions, context of use, mutual attention of the interlocutors and their ability to reconstruct the speaker's referential intentions when relevant clues are given in the environment. Indexicality exceeds the bounds of mapping of semantic content. They depend for success on states of mutual knowledge holding between participants in the discourse. This is why indexical as a pragmatic phenomenon is useful in understanding human communication and thus relevant for the present study.

2.8   Context

D'hont (2009:4) observes that "as far as the context issue is concerned, there only exists agreement on the various interpretations of the concept that are to be rejected as inadequate." In the paragraphs that follow, we shall highlight the views on context that will provide insight for this study

Karttunen (1991:406) defines "context as a set of logical forms that describe the set of background assumptions." These assumptions are whatever the speaker chooses to regard as being shared by him and his intended audience.

Thomas (1995:190) explains that "a pragmatic inquiry into context explores how individuals, given the situation in which they find themselves and the linguistic resources at their disposal, use their linguistic resources to try to achieve their goals." This view of context takes into consideration the fluidity in contextual exploration but emphasises the ability of speakers to exploit the context to their own advantage with recourse to their linguistic competence and creativity.

Yule (1996:129) accounts for two types of context: linguistic context (co-text) and physical context. "The co-text of a word is the set of other words used in the same phrase or sentence." This implies that the surrounding words of a word give a clue to how the intended meaning of the word should be taken. While, the physical context is particularly tied to time and place in which we encounter linguistic expressions. It also relates to how linguistic choices are made to reflect time and space.

Verschueren (1999:76) explains that "context consists of physical world, social world and mental world viz a viz linguistic context." The physical context has to do with anchoring language choices to reflect space: temporal, spatial, appearance and physical conditions, while the social world relates to social settings or institutions. Culture is an important variable of the social world; its norms and values inform the linguistic choices that are deployed in discourses. The mental world deals with how aspects of personality, emotions, beliefs and wishes influence the choice of linguistic expressions.

Saeed (2006:181) identifies linguistic and non- linguistic knowledge as context. He identifies three types of non-linguistic knowledge: knowledge as context, discourse as context and background knowledge as context. The knowledge of discourse entails one's personal orientations and experiences that help to shape one's contribution in an interaction. Discourse as context refers to how the rules governing the discourse help in shaping one's contribution in an interaction while background knowledge as context relates to how previous knowledge held before an interaction helps in understanding the progression of the discourse.

Huang (2007:13) identifies three sources of context: physical, linguistic and general knowledge contexts. The central idea is that context involves an assumption of common ground that is shared by discourse participants. Dash (2008:21) asserts that "a

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word, when used in a piece of text, usually denotes one meaning out of multiple meanings it inherently carries." He classifies context into four broad types: local, sentential, topical and global. The importance of the layering out of context in this manner is to account for interpretation of propositions in a systematic way. Although the identified contexts are useful, they do not capture the specific instances for doing a contextual analysis of text.

In this direction, Mey (2001:39) asserts that "context is dynamic and not a static concept: it should be understood as the continually changing surroundings, in the widest sense, that enable the participants in the communication process to interact and in which the linguistic expressions of their interaction become intelligible." It is evident that an analysis of language use needs all types of contextual consideration: physical, linguistic, social, cultural etc in order to generate meaning.

Hence, there are different contextual models and theories for doing contextual analysis: Dell Hymes's (1972) Ethnography of SPEAKING, Stephen Levinson's (1979) notion of activity type, Jacob Mey's (2001) Pragmeme theory and Odebunmi (2006) contextual beliefs model.

Hymes ethnography of SPEAKING is used to explain how human communication is dependent on a set of framed cultural scripts. In Hymes (1972:32), ethnography includes "the culturally significant arrangement of productive statements about the relevant relationships obtaining among locally defined categories and contexts (of objects and events) within a given social matrix". The mnemonic SPEAKING means setting, participants, ends, act, key, instrument, norm and genre. These variables are what shape individuals' choice of language in any discourse encounter. Hence, Hymes in SPEAKING sees context as constraining the way individuals speak. Although the theory can be used to analyse different discourses, it cannot fit in a pragmatic research. Odebunmi (2006) asserts that Hymes model is too broad-based and its use in the analysis of language use will only lead to generalisations – (these generalisations are *vague since they are not attached to specific elements of the discourse context – my addition)*. Hymes model is also not capable of explaining how individuals by their use of language can exploit the environment. Hence, Thomas (1995:189) advocates for Levinson's (1979) notion of activity type for a pragmatic analysis of context.

Thomas (1995:190) explains that Levinson examines "how individuals given the situation in which they find themselves and the linguistic means at their disposal, use their linguistic resources to try to achieve their goals." There are six parts to Levinson's notion of activity type: the goal of the participants, allowable contributions, the degree to which Gricean maxims are adhered to or suspended, the degree to which interpersonal maxims are adhered to or suspended, turn taking and topic control. This theory is very adequate in investigating pragmatic strategies in any discourse; but since we are not dealing with pragmatic strategies in this study, we cannot adopt the theory.

Hence, from a more pragmatic perspective, we shall consider two models that capture the pragmatic kind of context that we have adopted in this study: Mey's (2001) Pragmeme, and Odebunmi (2006) Contextual beliefs model. In the next section, we review each of these models in turn.

2.8.1 Mey's (2001) theory of pragmeme

Mey's main criticism of the speech act theory is the basis for his development of the theory of the Pragmeme. According to Mey (2001:218), "speech acts, to be effective, must be situated, that is, they both rely on, and actively create, the situation in which they are realised." Unlike speech acts conditions and rules for individual acts, pragmatic acts entail a characterising of a general situational prototype, capable of being executed in the situation- this is what Mey calls a "pragmeme".

Mey's pragmatic act theory involves a total user involvement and has two things that are involved in his explanation of context:

   i.   the user involves the situation, by being an active (co) participant and language user;

   ii.   the situation involves the user by defining what he or she can say in the situation.

Most importantly, Mey is not only concerned about users but also about how the users within the confines of their environment are able to utilise their language resources to communicate, that is, 'what the empowerment of the participant is grounded in'. In essence, Mey (2001: 226(Mey1985:336) observes that whenever people communicate,

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society is the 'silent', but by no means 'sleeping' partner. In other words, the social construction is subject to societal constraints but the way individuals find their way around such constraints is of importance in Mey's pragmatic theory – pragmatic acting/ pragmeme. Pragmatic acting is defined basically as "using language on common ground", involving the other participants of the situation as well as the material and other conditions determining the "ground".

Pragmatic act takes care of the question: given a situation and social conditions of the speaker and hearers, what can be said and done? As such, constraints provide creative linguistic impetus for the individuals in their social interactions. This is explicated in the theory of pragmeme discussed below.

Mey (2001) explains that a typical pragmatic outlook of human communication involves the "language users" as performing pragmatic acts. For any situation to 'count as' a particular pragmatic act, these three criteria are expected:

1.   The circumstance (the setting up) must be right

2.   Context determines the nature of the pragmatic act and not any speech act

3.   Uptake needs to be secured. Without uptake, there cannot be a pragmatic act. (by uptake we mean an understanding or comprehension of what is said)

We present below our interpretation of Mey's pragmatic acts in the diagram below:
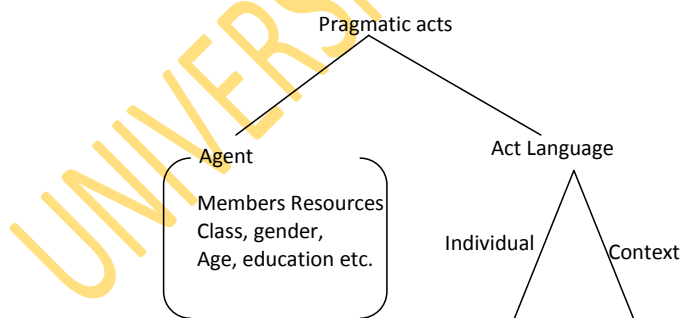
Fig 2. 1: A schematic representation of Pragmatic acts

The diagram shows that individuals in any communicative encounter consider the members resources (MR) as it influences their choice of language use and try as much as possible to adapt their language use for the on –going interaction. In essence, pragmatic acting is about adapting oneself linguistically and otherwise, to one's world. Mey (2001:221) explains that

> conversations seen as a pragmatic interaction (pragmatic act) and as a form of social behaviour emphasizes user' possibilities in a given situation. In pragmatic acts, focus is on the environment in which both speaker and hearer find their affordances, such that the entire situation is brought to bear on what can be said in the situation, as well as what is actually said ..

Pragmatic acts consist of ipras or practs, both of which can be allopracts of the same pragmatic act. Below is a graphic representation of the connection between the three terms:
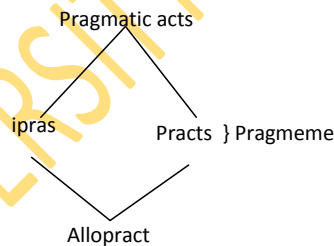
Fig 2:2. Graphic representation of practs, ipras and allopract.

Mey (2001:221) defines a pragmeme as "a general situation prototype, capable of being executed in any situation". Also, a pragmeme is described as an n-tuple, one of whose members is a speech act. Kecskes (2001: 187) [Mey 2001]) defines as "n- tuple as an ordered set of n element p1, p2,p3…pn of which each member picks out an element of some original sets."

Capone (2005) explicitly defined pragmeme "as a situated speech act in which the rules of language and society combine in determining meaning, intended as a socially recognised object sensitive to social expectations about the situation in which the utterance to be interpreted is embedded." The implication of this is that features of the situation are utilised to produce pragmatic inferences.

A well outlined structure of how the Pragmeme works is represented schematically as follows:

PRAGMEME

Activity part
(interactants)

Speech act
Indirect speech act
Conversational (dialogue) acts
Psychological acts (emotions)
Prosody (intonations, stress, etc)
Physical Acts:
Body moves (incl gestures)
Physiognomy (facial expressions

(bodily expression of) Emotional..

O(NULL)

Textual part
(Context)
Inf ref rel vce ssk Mph'M'

Pract
Allopract
Pragmeme, Pract, Allopract
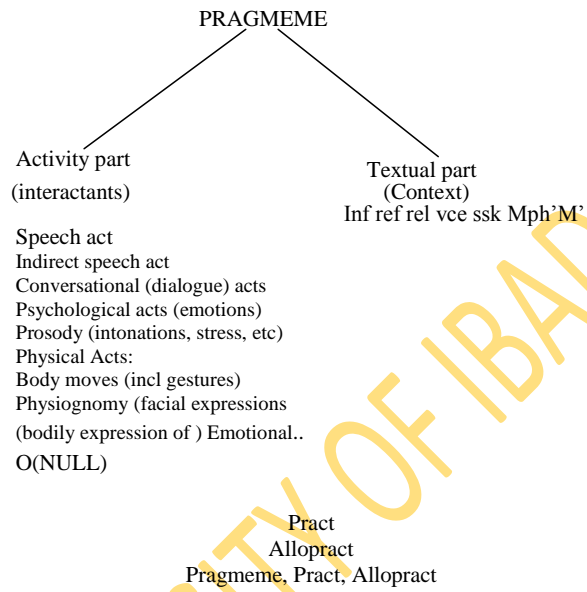
Fig. 2.3 Mey's (2001) Pragmeme

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The diagram shows that there are two broad categories in analysing a Pragmeme: activity part and textual part. The activity type encompasses possible acts: speech acts, indirect speech acts, conversational acts, and so on, that can be performed by interactants. However, not all the types of acts will be used in any given communicative event. As such, an analyst needs to decide which acts are relevant for his/her own research foci. The right side indicates the textual part which covers both textual and contextual considerations. These are captured in the features: INF (inferencing), REF (reference), REL (relevance), VCE (voice), SSK (shared situational knowledge) and MPH (metaphor). M refers to any "metapragmatic" element that surfaces on the text and that directs our attention to something beyond the text – something on the "metapragmatic plane" (Mey 2001:221).

Mey's theory has been criticised by Kesckes (2010). Kecskes is of the opinion that because Mey's emphasis is on the environment, the individual's initiative is limited. He explains that "in Mey's opinion, human activity is not the privilege of the individual. Rather the individual is situated in a social context, which means that s/he is empowered as well as limited by the conditions of his/her social life. This is quite a deterministic view that gives limited space for individuals' initiatives" (Kecskes 2010:1).

Contrary to Kecskes view, we believe that it is this same consideration for societal perspective and its influence on language use that serves as impetus for individuals' creative use of language strategies. But we agree with the fact presented by Kecskes (2010) that the situations are also important in utterance meaning. Mey (2001) and Kecskes (2010) positions on human communication are right in their own ways. According to Mey:

> The theory of pragmatic acts does not try to explain language use from the inside out, from words having their origin in a sovereign speaker and going out to an equally sovereign hearer(…). Rather, its explanatory movement is from the outside in: the focus is on the environment in which both speaker and hearer find their affordances, such that the entire situation is brought to bear on what can be said on the situation, as well as on what is actually being said.
>
> (Mey 2001:219)

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Considering the merit of pragmeme, Seymour (2010:1) asserts that "pragmemes play a major role in the pragmatics of language." In the same vein, Lepore and Cappelen 2005 admit that pragmemes act like speech act pluralism in the sense that the same pract may be used differently in different contexts.

Tseng (2010) explains that "the notion of pragmatic acts is more useful and applicable than speech act theory especially when a stringing together of utterances longer than a sentence is under scrutiny." Because of its adaptability to different contexts, pragmemes offer a more explanatory capacity than the speech act theory. Tseng (2010:1984) asserts that "the pragmatic act theory points to the subtlety and covert action implicit in much communication, which the theory of speech act has not fully considered or cannot explain."

In this study, we shall adopt for use Mey's idea of co(n) text as it reflects in features such as inf, ref, rel and SSK. We shall also adopt the theory of the pragmatic act to determine the functions of utterances in TISSD. But as encompassing and fascinating as the theory of pragmeme is, it cannot adequately account for other features of contextual beliefs which characterize sex - based discussions. As such, we look next at Odebunmi (2006) contextual beliefs model.

2.8.2 Odebunmi's (2006) contextual beliefs model

Odebunmi's (2006) model of contextual beliefs keys into the notion of common ground and further establishes the concerted role of language and situation in accessing meaning in interaction. Odebunmi (2006) explains that "beliefs or assumptions held prior to or during occasions of interaction come into and facilitate the communicative process." This is what he calls 'contextual beliefs'. Basically, there are two levels of beliefs: language level and situation level. The language level is characterised by access to the same language of communication by interactants; this is what Clark and Carlson (1991) refers to as "linguistic co-presence". The situation level involves shared code (linguistic or non linguistic) and experience. Also, there are three important features attached to the situation level belief: shared knowledge of subject or topic, shared knowledge of word choices, referent and references and shared socio cultural experiences, previous or

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immediate. All of these shared contextual beliefs are used to increment common ground. Odebunmi's idea of contextual beliefs is presented in the diagram below:
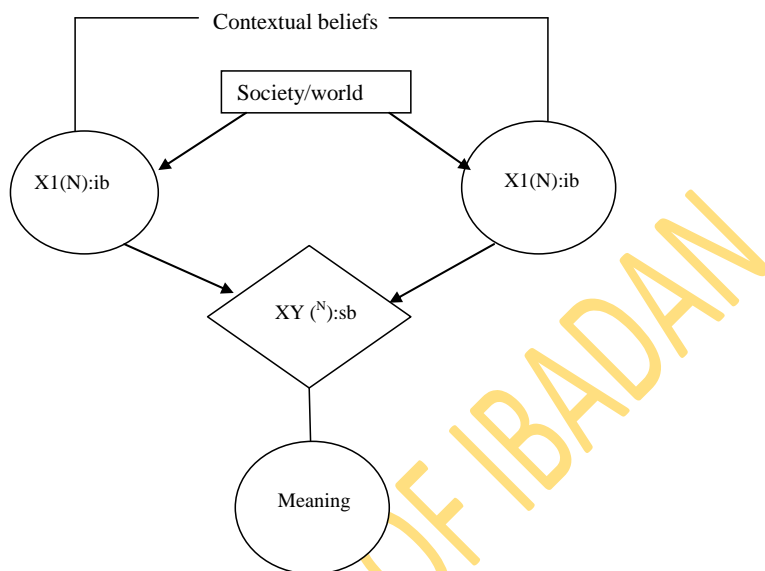
Fig 2.4: Odebunmi's contextual beliefs model

Key:

N = Many interactants (speakers or hearers)

X^1 = One speaker

Y^1 = One hearer

XY = Speaker and hearer

Ib = independent belief

Sb = Shared belief

The diagram shows that contextual beliefs ride on interactants independent beliefs. When in a communicative event each of the interactants brings in his/her independent belief and because they are operating within the same worldview, meaning becomes possible. In other words, meaning is made possible since their beliefs are shared (Odebunmi 2006:26-27). This does not mean that mutual contextual belief is always absolute. It has been argued that it is not possible to access what is known by one's interlocutor a priori or in a pro forma way. What is important is for interactants to operate on the same wavelength and update their beliefs during interactions.

Shared contextual beliefs as highlighted by Odebunmi include shared knowledge of topic, shared knowledge of word choices, referents, and references, and shared socio-cultural experiences, previous or immediate. Shared knowledge of the discourse topic or subject of interaction enables participants to contribute to the on-going discourse and "gain a good knowledge of the linguistic items engaged in discourse. It is this reason that makes it difficult to understand utterances picked in transit" (Odebunmi 2006:32). For instance, it is impossible to understand a simple expression such as *"Gbenga uses 45 minutes!"* if one is not aware of the subject of discourse. Shared knowledge of word choices, referents and references apply to an understanding of the lexical choices that are deployed in a discourse. This includes assignment of referents to names and indexicals. Indexicals pose a lot of challenges in meaning disambiguation because they also require the shared knowledge of the topic of discourse. For example, in a conversation between students who are friends, the use of the expression *Maga* is not expected to be strange to either of them judging from their shared socio- cultural experiences. Shared knowledge of socio- cultural experiences, previous or immediate, relate to the knowledge of the culture of interactants. Culture in this sense includes the totality of the life of a people: their values, food, clothing, etc. Odebunmi and Alo (2010:470) believe that "interactants need to be familiar with what referring expressions point to in the real world as this would smooth the interaction."

These identified sharedness are important in understanding tertiary institution students' sexual discourse. These beliefs aid access to the language used in TISSD and we shall adopt Odebunmi's idea of shared cultural knowledge (SCK) in addition to Mey's shared situation knowledge (SSK) in this study.

2.9   Conceptual metaphor theory

Conceptual metaphor theory is one of the contemporary metaphor theories; others include mental space theory, frame semantics, cognitive blending theory, metaphor power theory, space discourse theory and Lexical concept of cognitive metaphor. There are two views of metaphor: the classical and the contemporary view. The classical view sees metaphor as a matter of language. In other words, metaphoric expressions abound in novel poetic language and not in everyday language. Lakoff (1992: 202) explains that the classical theorists see metaphor as "a novel or poetic linguistic expression where one or more words for a concept are used outside of its normal conventional meaning to express a similar concept." However, the surface realisation of cross domain mapping with respect to this restrictive view as proclaimed by the classical theorists is not just a language issue. Hence, the contemporary theorists within cognitive linguistics explain that metaphoric expressions exist in thought and therefore metaphors abound in everyday language. Lakoff (1992) avers that 'the locus of metaphor is not in language at all, but in the way we conceptualise one mental domain in terms of another. Cienki (2005:2) explains that "cognitive linguistic approach to metaphor lies in explaining how language works from psychological realistic principles". In line with this thought, Hamdi (2010:8) explains that "conceptual metaphors refer to a mental representation that describes how words or expressions from apparently different domains may be associated at the underlying level."

In a similar vein, Tuan (2010:80) defines metaphor as" the mappings of the abstract world into the concrete world through human senses or experiences." This definition restricts the conceptualisation of metaphors generally. It should be noted that it is not only abstract things that are mapped into concrete domain. There are instances where concrete things are mapped onto concrete objects that can be easily gained access

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to. Invariably, what is important in the conceptual metaphor theory is the "mappings" across domains.

In explaining conceptual metaphor, Lakoff describes a love relationship thus: *our relationship has hit a dead- end street.* In this proposition, love is conceptualised as a journey. Other examples about love in the English language are: *look how far we've gone; our relationship is off the track, the marriage is on rocks.* These are everyday English expressions and they are neither poetic nor are they used for any special rhetorical effect. The expressions simply involve matching the experience from one source domain of journey to a target domain of love. In cognitive mapping, correspondences are made between domains in terms of structural, ontological and orientation mappings.

Understanding metaphor entails reasoning and imagination. Reasoning involves being able to categorise the characteristics of the source that will match the target domain and figuring out the entailments that arise from the use of the metaphor. Moreover, ontological correspondences are needed to match the source domain to the target domain. It should be noted that the mappings occur at the super ordinate. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) write that "metaphors as a linguistic expression are possible because there are metaphors in a person's conceptual system."

Johnson (2007:34) explains that metaphorical images are effective because of the natural contexts in which we acquire and learn their meanings. The notion of conceptual embodiment is used to describe thought as inherently imaginative. Conceptual metaphors allow a concrete source domain to be mapped onto an abstract target domain in order to provide a cognitive image. Domain is used to refer to the ontological traits associated with a specific idea or entity. According to Lakoff (1993:245) the mappings from a source domain to a target domain "are not arbitrary but grounded in the body and in everyday experience and knowledge." This provides a way of defining metaphor as a "process in which the source domain transfers its ontological meaning onto the target domain resulting in a stream of entailments that guide our understanding of the overall concept." Glusberg (2001:50[Max black 1962]) asserts that "it would be more illuminating …to say that metaphor creates the similarity antecedently existing." Hence similarity is created by recalling class-inclusion statements of the vehicle onto the target domain.

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Lakoff explains further that our cognitive orientation is formed through our lived experiences and "these experiences will definitely have their cultural bearing" (Maaleej (2004:50). In discussing an issue such as sex, the choice of words used in metphorising sex and other related phenomena will reflect interactants' socio-cultural experience. Also, we must note, according to Cazal and Inns (1998:184) that metaphorisation is possible because "meaning does not reside firmly in a concept or word." This fact enables words and concepts to be carried from one domain to another via link of association and similarity.

Kovecses (2006) explains that it is not only the similarity between two frames that counts but there can be motivations in terms of some embodied experience. As such, variation in the use of metaphors can occur along a number of dimensions including social, regional, ethnic, style, sub-cultural, diachronic and individual dimensions. In essence, understanding metaphoric language use entails taking all of these dimensions into perspective.

In line with Kovecses, the style dimension is determined by a number of factors, such as audience, topic, setting, and medium. In tertiary institution students' sexual discourse all of these variables are important since different (sub) cultures have different ways of speaking that reveal their reactions to the use of (sexual) metaphor. As such, slang use is sometimes within the metaphoric frame. In line with this, Crespo (2008:97) opines that our conception of the target domain as expressed in a source – domain pairing is grounded in our knowledge and experience of how the reality expressed by the source domain is culturally understood. This is what is meant by embodiments. Evans (2012) explains that in relation to embodiment, language functions to index simulations. That is, language is used as a "reactivation of body –based state stored in cortical and sub-cortical brain regions." This means that language is brought to recall ideas already experienced and stored in the encyclopaedic knowledge of the individual but this is not the whole story. Evans (2012) further points out that apart from recalling previous experience via simulations, ideas not previously experienced can be conceptualised. The point to note is that the choice of embodiments will have their socio- cultural experiences in the choice of words that students use in metaphorising sex and other related phenomena.

The idea of the topic of discourse also aids understanding of the choice of metaphor used in communication. Glusberg (2001) explains that metaphor "work via an interaction between the metaphor vehicle and the metaphor topic." His example is repeated here:

Her letter was a dagger in his heart

In this example, "the vehicle of dagger such as piercing, wounding, perhaps even killing, are attributed to the topic, her letter" (Glusberg 2001). He explains further that understanding a metaphor requires two kinds of knowledge of semantic world: knowledge about the topic in order to appreciate the kinds of characteristics that are relevant and meaningful to use in explicating or concretising the topic, and knowledge about the metaphor vehicle in order to know what kinds of things they can epitomise.

All of the metaphoric ideas discussed above help to reiterate that there is a connect between the human bodily experiences and "the specifics of our physical and cultural environment" (Maalej and Yu, 20011:6). The conceptual bearings of embodied experiences via shared socio and socio - cultural cognition by tertiary institution students, as will be explicated in the study, emphasises "the role of metaphorisation in conceptualisation and communication" (Szwedek 2011:343).

2.10 Conversation analysis

In this section, we attempt a review of conversation analysis briefly and discuss terminologies from its framework which we shall be adopting for use in this study. This is relevant because our data consist of recorded conversations which we have transcribed for analysis. As such, features of conversation under CA will be useful.

Conversation is the crux of interpersonal relationship. Researchers in different fields have paid particular attention to people's use of language in different conversational enterprise. Godwin and Heritage (1990:283) explains that "conversational analysis seeks to describe underlying social organisation –conceived as an institutionalised substratum of interactional rules, procedures, and conventions- through which orderly and intelligible social interaction is made possible". In this definition, Godwin and Heritage highlight the rule-governed patterns of CA. Conversation analysis has come to be the recognised term

for what is in fact the study of talk-in-interaction (Drew and Hutchby, 2009:41). Basically, conversational analysis has its emphasis on the structure of conversation. In Liddicoat (2011)'s opinion, CA orient towards the organisation of talk."

Next we discuss complementary terminologies from the framework of CA we shall be adopting for use in this study. They   include floor taking, turn taking, overlaps and interruption, back channel, and preference structure.

2.10.1 Floor and Turn taking

Floor in CA means the right to speak such that the person who speaks at a particular moment may be said to hold or have the floor. This right to hold the floor is such that the speaker is expected to have control of the talk. Turn taking, on the other hand, relates to how talk is distributed among participants in a conversational context. Jackson & Stockwell (2011:87) explain that "in a conversation, each participant takes turn at being speaker and hearer and sometimes more than one person speaks at the same time. The interchange is known as turn-taking." Onadeko (1997) emphasises that "turn taking is the totality of what a participant says when he holds the discourse floor that constitutes his/her turn."

2.10.2 Overlaps

Often times, speakers do not wait for one person to exhaust his/her turn before they begin to speak. This abrupt change of turn is termed an overlap or interruption. Coates (1996:99) define overlaps as "instances of slight over-anticipation by the next speaker: instead of beginning to speak immediately following current speaker's turn, next speaker begins to speak at the very end of current speaker's turn, overlapping the word(or part of it)."
Consider the example below:

A- Do you know that my baby, the kakaye/

B- [Is very big!]

In the example B anticipates the next likely word by A and overlaps A's turn. In this cash the symbol "/" slash is used to represent the beginning of overlap while the square bracket"[   ]" is used to indicate overlap as indicated in the example.

Here we observe that "A" has not finished her utterance before "B" interrupts, involuntarily selecting the floor. There are various approaches to turn taking. Here we use the terms overlaps and interruptions synonymously, but they differ in CA's approach.

2.10.3 Back channels

Backchannel is a way of indicating attentiveness; speakers look out for clues to check whether their hearers are committed to the on-going discourse. Basically, there are two types of backchannels: non-linguistic and linguistic. Non- linguistic backchannels include all non-verbal communication types: nodding, smiling, gestures and other facial expressions that are used to signal attention in any conversational context. Linguistic backchannels are also called backchannel signals which are basically any type of vocal indications that can be used to signal attentiveness.

Discourse particles are a good example of backchannel signal. Examples of discourse particles include: yeah, you know, oh, wow, etc. In face to face interaction, the absence of a backchannel indicates that the hearer is either not interested in the on-going discourse or that s/he does not want the speaker to continue holding the floor.

2.11 Review of related literature

This section attempts a review of relevant literature on the study and a review of previous related studies.

2.11.1 The youth socio-cultural space

Fornas (1995:1) opines that "youth is what is young and what belongs to the future and young people have repeatedly been associated with what is new in culture." Hence, young people always want to find a space for themselves within the larger socio-cultural space whereby they can exercise their counter hegemonic tendencies. The youth socio-cultural space is a place where acts of identity are often essential for social bonding.

In the words of Auer and Dirim (2003:224) acts of identity are identified through a common history of interaction, in which trans-situational-intertextual cross-referencing and tracking are routinely done. This means that participants are able to "bond" because they share a set or bundles of symbolic means of expression in different communicative

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events. Space is a social construct. Barker (2008: 379) explains that "space is a construction and material manifestation of social relations which reveal cultural assumptions and practices." Socio-cultural space therefore affords particular members the opportunity of having some particular socio-cultural meaning, and being opposed to other social styles (Irvine 2001). This positioning or distinct social style is what we have termed as the youth socio-cultural space. Moreover, youth identities cannot be understood outside their particular social- cultural context.

The undergraduates have been identified as a particular sub-group of youth culture in view of their speech style and non-verbal symbolic style. These things can be referred to as semantic markers or contextualization cue (in the sense of John Gumperz) which adds some kind of metapragmatic comment to what is said or done.

The study of youth cultures is well entrenched in cultural studies. The idea of a sub-culture is used with identification groups. Dodd (1989:100[Rodger 1978]) explains that "sub-culture is any collectivity of persons who posses conscious membership in identifiable units of an encompassing cultural unit as well as the larger cultural unit itself." A key ingredient in defining sub-cultures is shared self-image, the emergence and proliferation of distinct musical forms, fashion style, leisure activities, dances and language associated with young persons are factors to consider in an evaluation of the youth (sub) culture. Cultural studies writers agree that the concept of youth has no universal meaning to it. Here, we do not intend to enter into the descriptive problems associated with classifications of persons referred to as youth, therefore, for the purpose of this study, we classify as youths those subjects who are between ages 15-35 years and that are still in tertiary institutions. The concept of subculture refers to a "whole way of life" or "map of meaning" which makes the world intelligible to its members. The "sub" connotes the notion of distinctiveness and difference, distinguishing a sub-culture from the dominant or main stream society. Subculture enjoys a consciousness of otherness.

All over the world, young persons create a "world" of their own in order to be able to express their individual and group identity. There are, however, various forms of affiliation and we can talk of different youth sub-cultures. Youth culture is enacted in clubs, pubs, schools and parks which gives rise to a range of meanings and behaviours.

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For instance, in Nigeria, we can clasify the undergraduates as a youth sub group and the bus conductors (Agbero) as another youth sub group, within their different spaces where they behave differently. There are levels of expected style: forms of behaviour, speaking, and dressing. This is not to say that there is no trans-generational mixing or crossing; but the fact is that there exists a difference between the two groups and research might be needed in this area. This explains why we have specifically taken tertiary institution students as a group for this study.

2.11.2 Postmodernism and the youth (sub) culture

The addition of the prefix -'post' to modernism entails that some changes have occurred after the modern era. According to Barker (2008:200) "there have been significant cultural changes in contemporary life that have been described in the language of the "post modern" Consequently, people refer to living in a postmodern era to mean that there are noticeable changes beyond modernity (historic era). Modernism and postmodernism are cultural and epistemological concepts (Barker 2008: 177). With regard to cultural formations and cultural experience, modernism is concerned with cultural experience of modernity (the historic period) and postmodernism as cultural sensibility associated with post –modernity (the historic era). In the sphere of philosophy and epistemological concerns, modernism is associated with the enlightenment philosophy while postmodernism is represented by diverse philosophies (truth).

There are many forms of postmodernism and they all express the sense that inherited forms of knowledge and representation are undergoing some fundamental shift (Andrew and Browitt, 2000). Postmodernism is indexed by various changes in architecture, literature, painting, film, video, linguistics, philosophy, dance etc. Reimer (1995) explains that "on different occasions and in different arenas, the postmodern has included everything from architecture and aesthetic forms of expression to the spirit of the times and new social phases." Hutcheon (2000:4) explains that postmodernism marks the site of the struggle of the emergence of something new."

Barker (2008: 200) opines that core to the postmodern 'structure of feeling' are:

- a sense of the fragmentary, ambiguous and uncertain nature of living;

- an awareness of the centrality of contingency;
- a recognition of cultural difference;
- an acceleration in the pace of living

What is important for us in this study is the fact that ideas about values and new lifestyles are central in postmodern discourse. Moreso, the experience of postmodern culture cannot be assumed to be the same for all people regardless of class, ethnicity, gender, nationality, etc. Therefore, studying TISSD as a form of postmodern youth (sub) culture is a bid to identify one of the discourses of representation in a postmodern era. The concept of youth sub-culture is a classificatory term that attempts to map the social world in an act of representation. It also refers to 'maps of meaning' which make the world intelligible to its members.

Definitely, the experience of postmodern culture cannot be assumed to be the same for all people regardless of class, ethnical affiliations, gender, and nationality. For postmodernism, no universalizing epistemology is possible because all truth claims are formed within discourse. "There are no universal philosophical foundations for human thoughts or action. All truth is culture – bound" (Barker 2008:196). As such, this study takes a look at the youth (sub) culture and the effect of postmodernism on their linguistic style/lifestyle. In line with Brian (2000:14) "one way that language change is manifested clearly is through changes in the behaviour of speakers" as explicated by the significance of postmodern era. Thus, this study is one of the discourses that explicate the changing patterns in sexuality discourse of the postmodern era.

2.11.3 Previous studies on youth discourse

There are different perspectives on the category "youth". Khan and Vinod (2008 [WHO 1989]) define "youth" as those aged between 15- 24. Odebunmi (2012:2) explains that in the Nigerian cultures, the ages 18 and above forty are generally not regarded as the youth range." In this study, we define "youth" as those within the age range of 16-45, which adequately covers the range of our sampled population in this research.

"Youths" have been known to be responsive to changes. Jackson and Stockwell (2010:58) assert that "the openness and instability of language are most obviously seen in the expansion of the vocabulary, as the language coins new words to deal with changes in culture and society…such as in respect of the environment or in youth culture". Various research efforts on youth discourse abound in the literature (Androutsopoulos and Georgakopolou, 2003; Selikow, 2004; Adeoye, 2004; Khan 2006; Arua and Alimi , 2006).

Androutsopoulos and Georgakopolou (2003) devote a complete volume of a book to writings on discourse constructions of youth identities. Following a review of some works on youth studies, Androutsopoulos and Georgakopolou reasoned that "a common denominator of such approaches (in the book) is the assumption that youth identities cannot be understood outside their particular socio-cultural context". In essence, there is the need for a detailed contextualisation of youth interaction, which involves paying attention to the situated use of these resources.

Selikow (2004) explores youth sexuality in Urban Township South Africa with a view to focusing on how language influences sexuality. He discovers that youths have truly developed a specialised language to talk about sex and sexuality. He explains further that this specialized language has become part of daily discourse. But he was quick to emphasise that 'while discourse analysis is imperative, such analysis must be rooted in the real material context in which youth live'. This corroborates the gap in youth studies as earlier stated by A&G. Context – material or immaterial is important, but the point of divergence is that 'context' is a fluid concept. In the conclusion to his paper, Selikow writes that "together with the youth, we can develop a new specialized language that encourages a safe and healthy sexuality for all". This submission is not realistic because the so-called specialized language cannot be developed with the youths. Youth language develops over time and changes with time for different reasons. This study therefore differs in its approach to the study of youth sexual discourse. We investigate and document the words and expressions that tertiary institution students deploy in their sexual discourse with a view to bringing to bear the contextual features that are foregrounded in the discourses, and highlight implicit beliefs through the identified word choices.

In a similar vein, Adeoye (2004) examines the relationship between sex and language in order to find out how students' sexual identity is linguistically expressed. The study adopts two major gender theories in explaining the differences in the linguistic styles of male and female students. Adeoye's study differs from this study in the sense that his study is devoid of the contextual import of the linguistic expressions that are identified in his study. Contextual features in the conversational context of students sexual discourse is an important consideration in the present study.

Khan (2006) from a critical discourse analysis perspective examines how the Malay youth construct their identity through the means of discourse. His findings reveal that it is difficult to produce a homogenous identity in all contexts. The concept of identity is the central focus of the study. The study only focuses on the construction of identity and not on sexual discourse as we have done in this study.

Arua and Alimi (2006) investigate the creation of students' academic slang expression at the University of Botswana. The study identifies five morphological processes in the formation of the students academic slang words. As shown in their findings, their study only relates to basic academic slang words. This study therefore differs from the present study that looks at sex related issues in TISSD.

2.11.4 Previous studies on Linguistic taboos

Several studies have been undertaken on linguistic taboos, some of which include Mbaya 2002, Mouat 2004, Salami 2006, Ekstrom 2008, Affidah et al 2009, Pang 2009, Kham and Parvaiz 2010, Quanbar 2011 etc. we discuss each of these in turn:

Mbaya (2002) examines linguistic taboo in the African marriage context. The study focuses on how the Oromo people create or substitute names of persons who are related to them by marriage. She / he posit that the Oromo people avoid the taboo that is associated with the naming of the proper names of their in-laws, husband, wife and in-laws through the use of euphemisms, most of which are coinings.

Mouat (2004) carries out a sociolinguistic analysis of the acquisition of taboo language of swearing among L2 learners of English. The study indicates that L2 learners of English have difficulties in their social interactions with L1 speakers due to their

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limited knowledge of swearing. He therefore recommends the acquisition of metapragmatic knowledge about swearing practices for L2 learners of English so that they may have some level of competence in handling taboo words related to swearing and also be free to affiliate with the L1 speakers.

Salami (2006) examines the use and attitude towards English taboo words among young adults at the University of Ife. Six taboo words were investigated: shit, fuck, bastard, dick, bitch and cunt. The study reveals that there are gender differences in the use of these taboo words with the male students using more of the taboo words than the female students. Also, religion has no significant influence on the students' use of the taboo words.

Ekstrom (2008) examines the use of taboo language in *sex and the city-* An American comic drama in order to find out gender differences in the use of taboo words. The study shows that both male and female characters in the drama use taboo related words including verbal taboo, euphemism and neutral terms in different ways. More importantly, social context is identified as a determinant factor for the use of taboo words.

Affidah et al (2009) examines the linguistic taboo between Malays and Ibans of Sarawak with a view to determining the Malays and Ibans perceptions on the use of linguistic taboo in their culture with focus on different domains. The study shows that many of the subjects believe that taboo should not be spoken openly or openly, especially as related to sex, body parts, bodily functions, death and dying. Also, religion and cultural norms restrict the use of taboos linguistically or behaviourally. The use of taboo words can be acceptable depending on the domain and contexts.

Pang (2009) examines the perception of the youthful use of linguistic taboos in Hong Kong. The study reveals that while there were quantitative difference in the literature, the qualitative analysis reveal a difference in the perception of both male and female young persons to the use of taboo words, especially in relation to the use of sex related words. Pang (2009:40) asserts that "the use of linguistic taboo should not be viewed as a yes or no effect, but should be considered as acceptable in various degrees on a continuum." Moreover, contexts and participant variables are important in the use of

linguistic taboo. Pang claims that general difference between participants is important than gender difference in discourse on linguistic taboo.

Kham and Parvaiz (2010) offer a descriptive analysis of diminishing linguistic taboos in Pakistan with a view to determining the changing nature of the linguistic taboos of Pakistani Society as reflected in their attitudes to taboo words. From a sociolinguistic perspective, two groups of people were used as subjects – older group 50-60, younger group 20-35.The study reveals that almost all types of linguistic taboos in Pakistan is changing, more importantly those connected with customary laws are diminishing more than those based on religious laws.

Qanbar (2011) adopts politeness approach in investigating the linguistic taboos in the Yemeni Society with a view to identifying the relationship between the social context in which the taboos are used and the socio-cultural factors affecting their use. He identifies the use of Jargon terms, constructs of euphemisms, creating antonyms, metaphoric expression, circumlocution, and the use of standard Arabic terms as a replacement strategy adopted by people in order to avoid the use of taboo words.

The studies reviewed in this section have only looked at different areas where taboo feature in the language of different regions and not on taboo related to sex and its related phenomena. Next, we look at studies on sexual discourse.

2.11.5 Previous studies on sexual discourse

Sex as a meaningful domain of human experience has been variously researched by scholars in Nigeria and outside Nigeria. Examples Ikpe (2004), Izugbara (2004), Dare (2005), Ogechi (2005), Cameron (2006), Oloruntoba-oju (2007), Fakoya (2007),Undie et al (2007), Crespo (2008), and Odebunmi (2010). These studies are reviewed in turn:

Ikpe (2004) observes that in Nigeria, there is a problem on written records as regards sexuality. According to Ikpe (2004:4) "people seem reluctant to discuss sexuality as if they do not want to give up something dear to them." From an historical perspective, he highlights the impact of social, political and religious practices on sexuality. He notes that, there is an obvious generational shift in the sexual discourse. This is in line with the

orientation of the present study but our approach in this study differs both in terms of methodology and analysis.

Also, Izugbara (2004) attempts a discussion of how prevailing codes of sexuality and sexual conduct in contemporary Nigeria are socially produced and fed by patriarchy subjectivities and ideology. Using post structuralism as his theoretical device, he tries to deconstruct the dominant discourse in Nigeria. In his own opinion, words commonly used to depict sexual desires, parts of the body, sex, masturbation and menstruation in many Nigerian cultures are often ambiguous and indirect, reflecting the cultural quietude associated with discourse on sexual matters. We will like to comment that such use of ambiguities and indirectness reveals linguistic creativity of the language users. In line with this, Izugbara opines that sexuality remains a key issue commonly and publicly commented upon through a variety of discursive activities. However, this is different from the present study as it neglects the actual representations of the linguistic codes that are deployed in sexual discourse.

From a sociolinguistic perspective, Dare (2005) studies the use of the language of sex by Niyi Osundare. He explains that "Osundare's use of periphrastic statements end up to be more repugnant than the exact unmentionable terms." In his own opinion, as in the case of Osundare's poetry, lack of euphemisms with which sexual linguistic expressions are used makes the sexual images more explicit than the offending words. According to him, the principal strategy that shields Osundare's poetry from the charge of containing instances of pornography is his masterly use of ambiguities and ambivalences. This study only focuses on the use of language of sex by a single individual and this immediately sets it apart from the present study.

Ogechi (2005) unravels the lexicon and expressions used by University students in Kenya in talking about sex and HIV/AIDS. According to Ogechi (2005:124) "young people all over the world have a unique language that they use when talking among peers." The study sets to look at how expressions used by the undergraduates are coined, sustained and spread from a systemic functional perspective and the concept of lexicalisation as proposed by Lipka (1990), Waithira (2001) and Ogechi (2004). The study reveals that there are indeed unique words and expressions that undergraduates use in

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talking about sex organs, erection, sex in general, sex partner, homosexuality, anti-HIV/AIDS protection, HIV/AIDS virus, status of a person with the virus and anti-HIV/AIDS warnings. She identifies seven possible ways by which the lexemes are created: taking advantage of domain context, imitation of the sex act, influence of popular music, euphemism, impact of the internet and impact of adverts in the media. Although Ogechi (2005) points out that the existence of such a unique youth code shows the creativity of language as it changes and adjusts in order to meet the emerging linguistic needs of its users, there are no references made to how other contextual factors may have contributed to the formation and use of the lexemes and expressions that were discovered.

Cameron (2006) attempts a listing of names for the penis and explains from a sociolinguistic perspective the reason for gender differentiation in the naming of parts. The study reveals that metaphors abound in naming the penis. According to her, the terms used for naming the penis, show the linguistic creativity of the students and also reveals the stereotypical nature of the terms. The list explicates masculinity dominance, feminist passivity and sex as conquest. The present study goes beyond mere listing of names for sexual organs to incorporating contextual features that are foregrounded in the use of word choices and expressions in the discourses.

Undie et al (2007), from a critical discourse analytic perspective, examine the structure of transcribed narrative of young people in Malawi aged between 14 and 19yrs. Participants used for the study were asked to describe behaviours, attitudes and motivations to reduce unplanned pregnancies and the spread of HIV/AIDS, with appropriate probes to illuminate their sexual world-views. The findings of the study reveal that three conceptualisations characterize the subjects' sexual discourse: sex is utilitarian, sex as pleasurable and sex as passion. The study suggests that the young people conceive of sex as a natural routine activity. Although this study is a commendable effort, it does not accommodate metaphors used in referring to taboo aspects of sexuality and the reasons for such uses.

Olorutoba-oju (2007) is an attempt at explicating how language is used in portraying body images, beauty and culture in the African context. He notes that phrases regarding appearances, body parts in relation to beauty and aspects of sexuality are enormous in the

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Yoruba culture, which point to primordial usage. This notwithstanding, there are significant changes in body images and beauty. This idea corroborates the intent of this study. Olorutoba-oju (2007) reiterates that contemporary body and beauty images are a continued contest of cultures. This, according to him, is made manifest in:

- Hybrid configurations
- Dual images of beauty and sexuality
- Regional, gender, class and generational gaps in perception/expression of body images, beauty, and sexuality
- Transformation of traditional views and expressiveness
- Enhanced expressions of sexuality
- Accentuated risks, especially health related risks
- Tentative, albeit sanctioned, gestures towards alternative expressions of beauty and sexuality. (Oloruntoba-oju 2007: 17).

Oloruntoba-oju acknowledges the fact that there is a form of openness about sexuality and sexuality discourses in the media and in academic fora in which the body, beauty and sexuality issues are discussed with candour.

Fakoya (2007) investigating sexually grounded proverbs and their discourse relevance, observes that the Yoruba people frown at anyone who talks about sexual organs without some moderation. He opines that such people who engage in explicit sex discussions are referred to as 'Onisokuso" – vulgar people. According to him, such people's linguistic performance would be adjudged obscene and consequently *fail to achieve conversational success*. While we agree with some parts of this proposition, we would like to disagree with the italicised part because we are of the opinion that obscenity does not create conversational failure. Once an utterance has been made, the pragmatic force depends on a lot of contextual factors which can be handled in pragmatic terms.

Crespo (2008:108), using conceptual metaphor theory, explains how conceptualization plays a crucial role in both the use and interpretation of sexual metaphoric euphemism and dysphemism. He notes that the kind of source domain determines the euphemistic or dysphemistic nature of the resulting conceptual metaphor. The study concludes that, cognitive conceptualisations can effectively contribute to

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clarifying the intended meaning of metaphorical language in sexual discourse. Crespo's use of conceptual metaphor is relevant to the present study which makes use of this theory in its analysis of the sexual metaphors that feature in TISSD.

Odebunmi (2010) from a critical discourse analytic point of view looks at metaphors that relate only to sexual organs as used by Nigerian University undergraduates. He identifies fourteen sexual organ metaphors which relate to two major ideological issues: the institutionalisation of gender issues and religious, social and cultural allegiances. According to Odebunmi (2010:295) metaphors used in naming sexual organs by the university students serve as a "cognitive key to communicating both in a society that legislates (albeit implicitly) against the use of the original names of sexual organs and in micro-groups where identities are marked with the ability to use and understand the euphemistic expressions." This study is relevant for the present study in providing insights into how embodiment via body parts can be applied to university students' naming of sexual organs only. This is part of the present study but we further expand the frontiers to cover sexual activities.

Overall, the studies which have been reviewed in this chapter have made use of socio-cultural, sociolinguistic and critical linguistic perspectives in studying sex related issues. These studies have not adequately studied the pragmatic import of sex related encounters of tertiary institution students. None of these studies has used the pragmatic act theory along sex based line with an incorporation of insights from embodiment via metaphorisation. The present study therefore investigates the discourse forms, contextual features, pragmatic functions, and attitudes to and perception of the language of sex among students of tertiary institutions in Lagos State, Nigeria. This is with a view to identifying the context-determined roles of language in and the impact of gender and religion on the students' sexual discourse.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

Sex and its related phenomena are generally regarded as private, and it is often a taboo to speak about them explicitly in public discourse. So, studying the way language is used in talking about sex and its discourse associations is quite challenging. Oftentimes, people castigate those who venture into a study of this nature because they see it as a study in 'immorality'; most times, people are generally afraid of being labeled as 'amoral'. Apart from this fact, the researcher is dealing with an 'unfamiliar zone'. That is, not being a member of the in-group makes getting information a little difficult at first.

As such, considering the sensitive nature of our study, there was the need to vary our method of collecting data in order to gather enough data for the study. First, we had to carry out a pilot study to test different forms of data collection tools. Based on this, we discovered that we could not solely rely on tape recordings and questionnaires in collecting the data. For instance, most of the participants were skeptical about the recordings, even when they had been told that the recordings were meant for research purposes only. For the questionnaire, our pilot study showed that respondents were not patient enough to write out their expressions and the context of use for the required expressions. Based on these observations, we discuss our methodology in the sections below:

3.2 RESERARCH DESIGN

The descriptive research design is used in this study. It is a research design that allows the researcher to present a phenomenon in a way that can be easily understood. In this study our aim is to understand how tertiary institution students in Lagos state discuss

sex related issues. The descriptive research design used in this study comprises the following descriptive methods:

3.2.1 Instrumentation:

The instrument used in this study comprised questionnaire, focused group discussions, structured interviews, participant observation, and recorded conversations.

3.2.2 Data collection techniques

3.2.2.1 Questionnaire

The questionnaire was divided into two sections: section 1 and 2. We discuss them in turns:

Section 1

This section deals with personal information of the subjects. It involves the subjects providing information on age, sex, religion, place of residence on campus, year of study, and state of origin. All these social variables give certain background information about our subjects.

Section 2

The subjects were required to pick the best option that captures their opinion on a set of research questions. This closed- ended format makes it easier to correlate the set of answers provided with the same measure. The questions were basically used to gather information on one of our objectives which has to do with the students' attitudes to and perception of language of sex. The questions were designed to reflect five hypotheses, the hypotheses are (as already mentioned in Chapter One):

1. There is no significant relationship between the attitude and the perception of tertiary institution students to the language of sex

2. There is no significant relationship between the attitude of male students and that of female students in tertiary institutions in Lagos State to the language of sex.

3. There is no significant difference in the perception of male and female students in tertiary institutions in Lagos State to the language of sex

4. There is no significant difference in the attitude of Christian and Muslim students to the language of sex.

5. There is no significant difference in the perception of Christian and Muslim students to sexual discourse.

Research assistants were used to distribute the questionnaires to students in eight tertiary institutions in Lagos, Nigeria. To ensure that the questionnaires were actually distributed and filled, we dealt with one institution at a time. The five Research assistants went to each school with only 50 questionnaires at a time. They were told to distribute only a sizeable number of questionnaires that they can get back the same day from the respondents. Most times, they do not come with all the 50 questionnaires as some students deliberately went away with them. By the end of December 2011, we were able to gather only 760 questionnaires.

3.2.2.2 Participant observation

It is important to point out that before embarking on this study, the researcher had noted with keen interest how students in various places discuss sex related issues. As such, when this study began, the researcher simply had to revisit the students' cafeteria, campus shuttles and sitting areas to listen for more information. Information were gathered from observations that were accessed unconsciously in the student campus shuttles, cafeteria and "sitting" areas. As such, there was no structured time frame for this technique. The observations started in 2007 and ran through the earlier part of 2012.The benefit of this technique is that the data were being accessed without the students being aware of it or trying to withhold some information.

3.2.2.3 Focus group discussion

Eight focus group discussions (FGDs) were conducted with six students each in each of the institutions. Participants were engaged in discussions with appropriate cues in order to elicit discussions surrounding sex and other related phenomena. This was done to cross check the language forms in the earlier recorded conversations and notes from the

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researcher's personal observations. The FGDs were also tape recorded and transcribed. Before embarking on the discussions, the students were told that the purpose of the discussion was for research purpose only and they were also informed that the discussion was being recorded.

We had the single sex and mixed sex groups in all the schools. The following questions were asked:

1. I have heard that undergraduates have names for sexual partners, such as "Maga", "Aristo", do you know of these? Are there other ones?
2. What aspects of sex- related issues have you heard your friends talk about the most?
3. What words/ expressions have you heard your friends use in talking about the following:
   - sexual intercourse
   - breast
   - penis
   - vagina
   - buttocks

3.2.2.4 Structured interviews

A list of sexual slang words that feature in the recorded conversations and the ones heard during our observations was listed in a table and the students were asked to list the meanings of the slang words. This was done in order to test the popularity of the slang words amongst the students. In all 400 students were sampled across the eight tertiary institutions.

3.2.2.5 Recorded conversations

A Sony digital IC voice recorder was given to some students in the different campuses for them to record conversations with their friends that are centred on sexual issues. But because that sort of conversation does not happen every day, they were instructed to generate topics or issues that would trigger the discussions. Each student had the recorder for two weeks. In some cases, the student research assistants were asked to

use their cell phones to record some conversations that occurred naturally without the research assistants being the ones who initiated the talk. Before each interactional encounter, the student research assistants were instructed to inform the students of the purpose for which the conversations were being undertaken and the need to record it. They were specifically told that their names would be omitted from the transcribed versions of the conversations which would be used for analysis in the research. By December 2011, some conversations were sent to me by some students who were aware of my research foci through the Blackberry internet service. In all, 60 conversations were recorded but only 40 of the recorded conversations were useful as we had technical issues with 20: some were not audible and others could not be retrieved by the student research assistants who used their phones to record some naturally occurring conversions. The recorded conversations comprise of same sex groups, single sex groups and mixed sex groups. The chart and table below show the make-up of the recorded conversations.
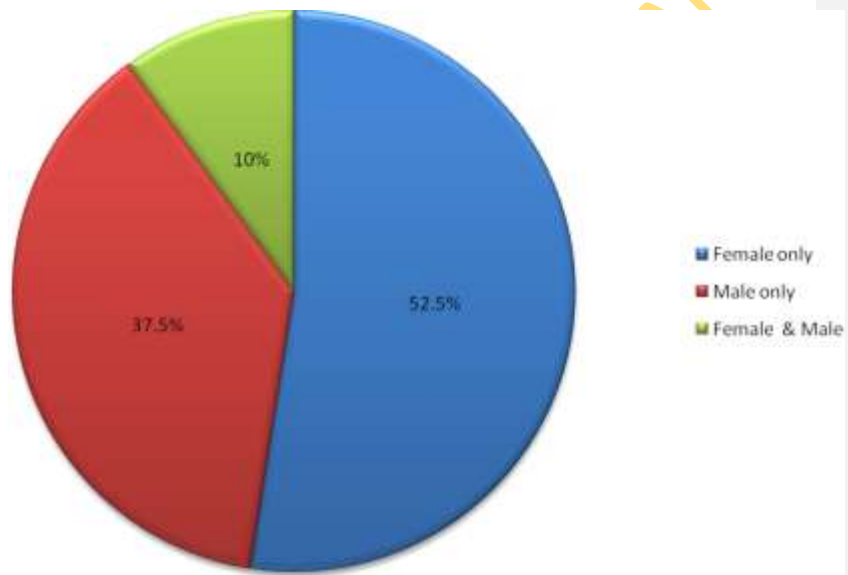
Fig 3.1 Composition of both sexes in the recorded conversations

Table 3.1 Composition and percentage of the recorded conversations

	Types	Frequency	Percentage	Text
Same - Sex	Female only	21	52.5	3,4,6,7,8,9,10,13,14,18 49,20,23,25,29,30,33 34,35,37,38
	Male only	15	37.5	1,11,12,15,17,22, 24,26,27,28,31 32,36,39,40
Mixed group	Female Male	4	10	Text 2.5, 16.21

3.2.2.6 Sampling procedure

For the questionnaire, the random sampling method was used in selecting the subjects from the various institutions on stratified and purposive bases. We distributed one thousand copies of the questionnaire to students in the following institutions in Lagos State: University of Lagos, Akoka, Lagos State University, Adeniran Ogunsanya College of Education, Federal Technical College, Akoka, St Augustine College of Education, Akoka, Yaba College of Technology, Lagos State Polytechnic, and Lagos City Polytechnic

3.3 Data analysis

The data analysis is in two parts: qualitative and quantitative. The qualitative analysis involved doing a content and pragmatic analysis of the recorded conversations. The recorded conversations were transcribed using only the standard orthography form and the conversations were analysed using our proposed analytical framework for sexual discourse which comprises aspects of pragmemic, contextual beliefs theories and aspects of conceptual metaphor theory.

The quantitative analysis involves the use of information gathered from the questionnaire. The first section of the questionnaire was analysed using frequency graphs in order to group the percentages of the subjects against the responses received. The second section of questionnaire was analysed using PPMC, while we used the percentage distribution for the written interview.

3.4 Validity and reliability

The design integrity of the study rests on the recordings of naturally occurring and, sometimes, induced conversations among the tertiary institutions students in Lagos state, Nigeria. The recordings were also validated by complementing it with the focus group discussions, which reflected instances of similarities in the use of coded language forms. The ethics of research were also observed as the students were informed of the purpose for which the study is before the recordings were made. The names of those who participated in the recordings have also been changed for the sake of confidentiality.

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The reliability analysis was conducted on the questionnaire before it was used for the study. The result shows that the Alpha value is satisfactory (.7061). This indicates that the alpha value is bigger than 0.600 which attests to the validity of the instrument.

Table 3.2: Reliability Analysis

Reliability analysis – Scale (Alpha)

Reliability coefficients

N of cases = 20   N of items = 27

Apha = .7061

3.5 Analytical model

The model below is derived from a modified version of Mey's (2001) Pragmeme, Odebunmi's (2006) contextual beliefs model and insights from conceptual metaphor theories. This is the tool with which the data are analysed. Some concepts such as indexicality, presupposition, common ground, implicature and conversation analysis, which are not overtly represented in the model, are taken to be subsumed under the main theoretical anchorage of the research.

SEXUAL DISCOURSE

H
OUTSIDERS

INSIDERS

SEXUAL ACT

S   H

Mph, Rel
Ref

INF, REL

COMMON
GROUND, SCK,
SSK, SEK

PRACT

INFORMING
CRITICISNG
AMUSING

INFORMING
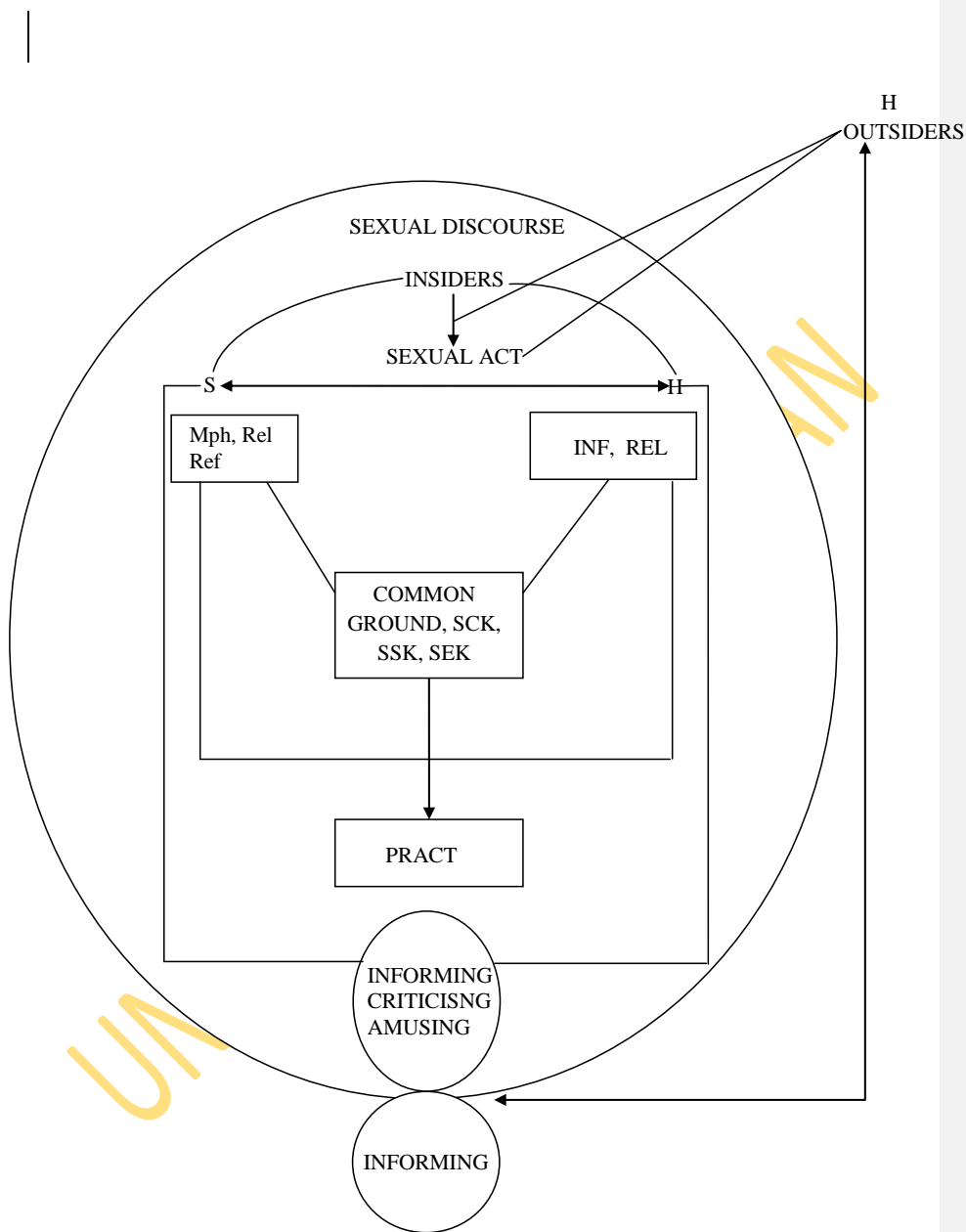
Fig 3.2 A model for the analysis of tertiary institution students sexual discourse

The model indicates that in undergraduates' sexual discourse, there are two levels of participants – the insiders and the outsiders. By insiders, we mean the undergraduates who willingly participate in discussions on sex and its related phenomena. Outsiders are those undergraduates who do not take part in the communicative event. Most times, the outsiders are aware of the subject of discourse but may not be willing to contribute to the ongoing discourse for various reasons.

The discourse participants-Speakers and hearers, are represented as 'S' and 'H' respectively. Each of them enters into the discourse encounter with his/her linguistic resources for negotiating talk. Such linguistic resources include metaphor (mph), Relevance (Rel) and Reference (Ref) while the hearer has inference (Inf), and Relevance (Rel). Since communication is a continuous process, the speaker and hearer's positions are interchangeable in the course of interaction. We explain these linguistic resources in turn:

Metaphor

Our use of metaphor is situated within cognitive linguistics and it relates to how embodied experiences are expressed by tertiary institution students with the use of cross domain mappings. In this case, such metaphors have to be shared for the metaphors to make meaning.

Relevance

Relevance is understood here as a collaborative effort. It entails an understanding of the Grice CP and the flouting of the maxims in respect of the ongoing-discourse. Hence, it involves the concept of presupposition, common ground and implicature.

Reference

Reference deals with the way listeners assign names to the objects being discussed. In line with Yule (1996:22) "reference is not simply a relationship between a word or phrase and an object or person in the world. It is a social act, in which the speaker assumes that the word or phrase chosen to identify an object or person will be interpreted as what the speaker intended." Hence, reference assignment may include (but not limited to) the use of personal names, address terms, the use of deictic expressions, slang words and, particularly, the use of indexicals.

With recourse to the model, participants get their referents from the society which is usually within the scope of the youth micro- culture. When we talk of the youth micro-culture, we identify such things as: the Internet, hip hop music, films and so on, that have significant influence in the life of today's youth. The speaker(S) uses the referents that Y can appropriately infer; Y also tries as much as possible to be relevant in return. Each of X and Y makes his/her linguistic choices based on several shared beliefs: SEK, SSK, SCK. These shared beliefs aid access to the meaning of the metaphors that are used in the discourse. Invariably, a lot of assumptions are taken as given and there is economy in the use of expressions/words that relates to their subject of discourse.

Finally, there are two levels of practing: to the insiders and to the outsiders. To the insiders, there are various reasons for engaging in discussions on sex which are not explicitly stated. Such reasons are discoverable from an understanding of the linguistic as well as the contextual features that are deployed to pract. Such practs or ipras include that of informing, amusing and criticizing. For the outsiders the pract of informing appear to be the predominant feature in most of the students' sexual discourse.

Consider the example in text 1 below:

Ex. 1

Background: This text (part of the conversation taken) has to do with discussions on sex act. Participants were talking about their different escapades and of others'. There are three male students in this discourse encounter.

A1: There's a girl in my hostel and she dey collabo well well…..

. .

A2: She's in part time at the Agege campus. She has several affairs, so whenever they want to start that thing…I mean collabo

B: The sexual intercourse

A3: Iwo lo sobe(It is you that said so o!)…. the collabo

C: Yes now, collabo is the sexual intercourse.

A: …(silence

A's first utterance and his use of the expression 'she dey collabo well well' triggers laughter from the participants. The laughter serves as a pragmatic particle, usually

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called a backchannel or feedback. "A" went on with his narration because he understands the laughter as a cue that his friends understand him and still gives him the floor. He uses 'that thing' to refer cataphorically to 'collabo' and obviously mentions 'collabo' again.

'B' was carried away by the discussion or the pract of amusing that is embedded in A's proposition and therefore breaks the convention that 'A' sought to uphold by interjecting 'A'(involuntarily selecting the floor). This act by B serves as a positive face threatening act for 'A'. 'A' therefore responded 'It is you who has said so', to show that being bald on record and mentioning the verbal taboo is not appropriate. This is why he had to reiterate the polite strategy of naming sex as 'collabo'. However, 'C' tries to corroborate what 'B' said and explains that 'collabo is the sexual intercourse'. Obviously, both 'B' and 'C' do not share in 'A's values and, thus, see nothing wrong in being explicit.

This text reveals some interesting uses of language. First, is the use of indexicals as a mental space builder. By using 'that thing', 'A' hints at the idea of something exophoric and encourages his participants to figure it out but quickly changes his mind in order to obey the importance of being coherent in the discourse by using 'collabo' in the second instance. The appropriate reference of 'that thing' can only be understood by the participants with recourse to shared knowledge of the subject and SCk.

Also, as would be observed, the participants' laughter after the mention of 'collabo well well' serves two pragmatic functions: it serves to re-assure 'A' that the insiders understand his choice of the use of 'collabo' and that he should continue with the narration.

With recourse to SCk, the discourse participants understood what 'collabo' means. The discourse source is credited to the hip hop artiste Dee Bee who uses the word in his popular song – Collabo. The word is used thus:

Ex.2

Baby duro je ka collabo (Baby wait let us collabo)

Wa n bi (come here)

You know I get the dough

Baby duro jeka collabo (Baby wait let us collabo)

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...

No network failure, till you go surrender

One can derive an implicature from the use of "collabo" in the song. The song entails that a particular lady should come to bed with the artiste because he has money (dough). It explains further with a combination of the global system network register and army, the true meaning of "collabo"- "no network failure, till you go surrender". As such, in using the word "collabo" participants who engage in sexual discourse get their referent from their SCk (micro) and can infer that sex is the subject of discourse. SCk gives access to this meaning judging from the co-text/ lyrics of the popular artiste.

Also, the outsiders in this encounter who are undergraduates but who did not contribute to the discussion explained that their religion does not encourage such discussions. When asked what the discussion was, they hedged the question, but explained that 'what' is being discussed can only be discussed by married people. This means that they also know what 'collabo' means.

The text serves as a pract of amusing in this context. The undergraduates explain that it is always funny to talk about these things amongst themselves. They laugh about other people's affairs and use that as a way of assessing their own 'escapades'. It is interesting to note that the male students offer to talk about their own 'runs' too as against the females who would rather talk of their friends'.

The word "collabo", is clipped from the English verb form, collaborate, which means to work with another person or a group of people to produce something. The word – "collaborate" has thus undergone a word formation process called clipping. The word 'collabo' is thus the base form in the undergraduates' sexual discourse with the word collabo-ring as another variant. Also, the word 'collabo' has two meanings: it may mean, in its original sense, to work with someone and it may mean to 'have sex with someone. Thus, contextual variables may be needed in deciphering the meaning of 'collabo' in undergraduates' discourse generally.

This example shows how we operationalise the model. Using the model, we have grouped our discussions of findings into two parts: discourse forms and contextual features in TISSD and pragmatic functions of TISSD.

CHAPTER FOUR

DISCOURSE FORMS AND CONTEXTUAL ELEMENTS IN TISSD

4.1   Introduction

In this chapter, we look at different linguistic forms as used in tertiary institution students' sex related encounters. The identified linguistic forms have a significant impact on how utterances are framed in relation to the topic of discourse as will be shown later. Also, we examine the contextual features that are foregrounded in the discourses. Contextual features here refer to assumptions and shared beliefs that play significant roles in the interpretation of utterance among a group of people. Our analysis is thus in two parts: discourse forms in TISSD and contextual features in TISSD. We shall discuss them in turn:

4.2   Discourse forms in TISSD

Discourse forms in TISSD are informed by participants' ability to infer and derive appropriate pragmatic meanings of linguistic items as used in context. On several occasions, interactants in the sexual conversational enterprise prefer coded forms. According to the interviewees, the use of coded forms in their sexual discourse is to prevent being perceived as amoral by adults or the older generation. Such coded forms manifest as plain euphemisms and metaphors in TISSD. Each one is discussed below:

4.2.1   Plain euphemisms

Plain euphemisms in TISSD are words, phrases or sounds used literally to shield the obscene tendencies of the expressions. They are used to soften the offensiveness of the taboo concept in a way which is often vague and that may require disambiguation. The fact that the words and sounds can be used in different settings to mean different things

serves as a good strategy for its use in TISSD. Often times, the goal of the interaction, the participants' discourse history and status (insider or outsider) help in the choice of language use. We have classified the plain euphemisms used in discussions relating to sexual act and sexual organs into two: sound-indicative euphemisms and sense-indicative euphemisms. We discuss them in turn:

4.2.1.1 Sound indicative euphemisms

Sound indicative euphemisms are expressions whose sounds or sounding in the context of use suggest their taboo sense. They are inserted into TISSD in order to avoid mentioning the taboo concepts. When used, sound indicative euphemisms represent or signify certain actions that are related to a description of a sexual act and sexual organ. There are several sound -indicative euphemisms but three featured prominently in the data. They are: "Gen, gen", "O le le" and "lalakibo". From the interviews, the students explained that sound euphemisms are tactically deployed by discussants in relation to the ongoing topic at different 'strategic points' in the discourse. Strategic points are those aspects in their propositions on the discourse subject that may sound offensive or embarrassing to outsiders. The fact that sound-indicative euphemisms are used instead of mentioning taboo concepts showed that the students still exercise some restraint in their bid to discuss sex related issues. We discuss the use of the three identified sound-indicative euphemisms in turns:

"Gen gen" is a sound-indicative euphemism that is derived from the Yoruba language. It is phonologically realised in the Yoruba pronunciation as "/gen/ (high tone) /gen/ (low tone)." It has no meaning attached to it out of context. The expression is often used to describe the sound that is introduced in some Nigerian home videos to signal the beginning of the action part of a movie. In TISSD, the sound is used to fill the gap in the students' narration of sexual acts. In such instances, explicit details are deliberately omitted since there is always a presupposition that the hearer should know what the sound deployed signifies. Let us consider an interaction example:

Ex. 3

A1: When we finally got home, we talked, we were talking…

B1: On that particular day!

A2: On that particular day, we were talking about experiences, you know, me I like playing o

C1: Iro lo n pa! (she's lying!)

A3: I'm not lying! I'll tell you, I like playing, *Ere ipa* (Rough play), *Ma fun e lese*(I'll give you a blow)

B2: So you were doing that too?

A4: Seriously, so from there before you know it, eye contact and all, then 'gen gen!'

C2: Gen gen! gen gen!

..

A 5– gen gen, that very thing!

C: You start from touching?

A: Yes from there, pulling off clothes- the guy pulls off your clothes, you help to lose his belts…it starts and after some minutes, the play ends.

In this discourse encounter, a female student offers to narrate one of her sexual experiences to the insiders - her friend and the student research assistant (henceforth SRA). In A1, the use of the adverbial "finally" semantically presupposes that the lovers were somewhere other than their house. A's first utterance pause is perceived as a hesitation to speak, which prompts 'B' to interrupt A's narration. In this instance, B involuntarily selects the floor in order to give 'A' the much needed group support. 'B's utterance (B1) is an anticipated utterance clue which is used to urge 'A' to continue her narration with the utterance provided. Anticipated utterance clues are words or expressions that are produced by one's interlocutor in a bid to suggest to the speaker what he/she may say next in his/her talk. It is a supportive strategy that may or may not be adopted for use by the speaker. We come to this later in section 4.3.3.1.2. 'A' understands the function of the anticipated utterance clue and she actually chooses to use the anticipated utterance clue as provided by 'B'. 'A2' continued her narration while using the supportive expression provided by 'B'. C1 seems not to be comfortable with A's decision to talk about such a private matter in the presence of the SRA. Although the SRA is a

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popular class representative and known by the two friends, 'C' still feels that it is absurd to talk about such private matters with him. She interrupts the talk, involuntarily selecting the floor. C1's interruption is implicitly used as a way of cautioning 'A' not to talk, but this is not a successful strategy as 'A' continues with her narration. In A4, the use of the deixis 'there' refers anaphorically to the foreplay earlier mentioned in A3. It is interesting to note how the narration went from outside of the house, to the house, the talks, the foreplay and then the use of the sound -indicative euphemism 'gen gen' to indicate the sex act. C also shows that there is a shared understanding of the meaning of 'gen gen' as used by 'A4' by repeating the sound-indicative word as seen in C2. A5 reiterates the sound-indicative euphemism and confirms that it stands for 'that very thing'. By using the intensifier 'very', 'A' intends to boast of the fact that they truly did the expected act.

It is usually believed that there is always an introduction of a specific sound element to signal the action part of any movie; that sound is represented with the sound "Gen gen". So, in this interaction, the sexual act which is the action part is substituted with the sound-indicative word – "/gen/ (high tone) /gen/ (low tone)". The use of the sound /gen gen/ as a euphemism is to avoid mentioning the sexual act which is what the sound stands for. It is a way of informing the discourse participants that the sexual encounter has taken place during the "action" part that is deliberately omitted. A's choice of '/gen gen/' is shared by the discourse participants as reflected by the laughter and even the reiteration of the sound by 'C' . 'A' also confirms that her choice of the sound indicative-euphemism stands for the sex act which is what "that very thing" refers to in 'A5' "/gen gen/, that very thing!" Apart from using "gen gen" to signal the action part of a movie, it is also often used to signal that something spectacular is about to happen in a movie. So, when used in the context of sexual discourse, it means that the action part of the sexual encounter had occurred and it is spectacular.

Another sound-indicative euphemism is the exclamatory expression 'O le le' whose relevance and meaning are strictly defined by the sounds produced within the context of interaction. The phrase is a quasi adoption from the Yoruba words "o", "le" and "le", which individually means 'it', 'hard', 'can' respectively. So when combined together, it literarily means 'it hard can/it can be hard', which at best provides an

ambiguous rendition and partially aligns with the action of the man in sexual encounters. This means that the phrasing is not semantically motivated. The motivation for the expression as a euphemism best explains its contextual sense. Phonologically, it is realised in the Yoruba pronunciation as /o/ (high tone), /le/ (middle tone) and /le/ (low tone), which ultimately suggests a play on melodious sounds to give expression to an unspeakable word. Its use is therefore strongly dependent on shared knowledge (as will be discussed later), discourse topic, co-text and social script. Let us consider the use of the sound indicative phrase 'o le le' in example 2:

Ex. 4

A1 – Do you know that my baby, the kakaye is very/

All - Very big!

→B1 – Alhaji! *O le le!*

A2– You know all these our men that they are small but mighty

B2– Yes o! Just like my husband, Mr short, very mighty.

The participants in this interaction are all female students who stay in the same hostel, belong to the same department and are friends. One of them serves as a SRA and had already informed me that they had discussed sexual issues prior to this recorded interaction. As such, there was no outsider amongst them and they were comfortable in discussing the different topics that the SRA introduced. With respect to the conversation in example 2, 'A' uses the demonstrative pronoun -'that' non-deictically. 'That' as used here is an indexical which signals shared recognition of the referent. 'That' refers exophorically to a particular person that all the participants in this interaction are expected to know, and this appears to be the case. Otherwise, they would have asked who the referent of 'that my baby' was used for. In the course of 'A's narration, we find the substitution of the logical anaphoric reference 'his'- a pronoun , with the definite article 'the' – which we refer to as an 'oblique reference' (Pomenrantz and Mandelbaum, 2005) . Oblique reference refers to a referent that is deliberately made ambiguous and which does not have a direct link with its antecedent subject. In this discourse encounter, 'A' refers to his boyfriend's penis as "kakaye" and describes it as very big. The other students provided

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the much needed group support by aligning with 'A's view. B1 qualifies the penis as 'Alhaji' that is truly 'lele', meaning that the penis must be really big! The word "Alhaji" in this context refers to the "penis" and the use of 'o lele' here is to corroborate her friend's judgment of the size of the man's penis without having to say so in plain words. 'B' uses the sound-indicative euphemism "O lele" to further describe the size of the penis. Unlike 'gen gen' that is strictly used in sexual act discussions, 'O lele' can be used in discussing both the sexual activity and in describing sexual organs. We can rightly say that 'gen gen' is an action indicative sound euphemism while 'o le le' is just a descriptive sound-indicative euphemism.

Another sound-indicative euphemism that some of the students identified for describing sexual acts is "La la kibo" . The sound euphemism was coined by the Fuji musician- Abass Akanni Obesere (popularly known as Omo Rapala – Oba Asakasa (king of lewd talks). Obesere uses 'la la kibo' in his song in the early 90s to refer to sexual acts. " La la kibo" is from the Yoruba words "la", "la" , "ki" and "bo" which individually means 'lick', 'lick', 'put(it)' ,'in' respectively. So when combined together, it literarily means 'lick lick and put it in ', which at best provides an insight into the action of a man in a sexual encounter.

Phonologically, "la la kibo" is realised in the Yoruba pronunciation as /la/ (high tone), /la/ (high tone) and /ki'bo/ (high+low tone), which suggests a play on the sounds to give an expression to an unspeakable act. Its use is, therefore, strongly dependent on shared knowledge (as will be discussed later), discourse topic, co-text and social script. Let us consider the use of the sound indicative phrase 'la la kibo' in the interaction below, as used in TISSD:

Ex. 5

A-   Took out in what sense?

A-   You took her out!

C –   You mean lalakibo?

A-   What do you mean by lalakibo?

All – ahhhhhhh!

B-   They are collaboring!

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The insiders in this discourse encounter refer to the sexual act using the sound-indicative euphemism- 'la la kibo'. A (the SRA) queries C1's use of the sound-indicative euphemism in other to get him to explain further. The participants express their surprise at A's question, because there is a general presupposition that "A" should know what the expression is used for. But since this is not the case, 'B' explains that 'la la kibo' means 'collaboring'. 'Collaborring' is a common slang among tertiary institution students; we shall come to the use of slang words later. 'La la kibo' as used here refers to the process involved in the sexual act. It actually describes the activity that is expected from a man in a sexual encounter. In this instance, the man is expected to probably combine "licking" with actual penetration in a sequential manner. "Licking" in sexual discourse involves using the tongue across the surface of the vagina in such a romantic way as to stimulate the sexual urge of the woman. During this sexual arousal stage, the vagina gets deepened even more and the woman becomes wet (Garry 2004:47) . It is after this that the man is expected to "put in" (Ki bo) the penis. Hence, the words are joined together in a sing-song manner to mean- "lick and put it in". In essence, the man is expected to do the "licking" before putting his penis into the vagina. 'La la kibo' is thus used to describe the process involved in the sex act.

Some of the students interviewed hinted that the meaning of "la la kibo" is fixed; it always refers to the sexual act as coined by the Fuji musician – Abass Akanni Obesere and the word is mostly used by the "area boys". In Lagos state, the area boys (Agbero) are those youths who work at motor parks. They are also the ones who collect money from bus drivers and most of them are not educated. Area boys are often the fans of Fuji musicians such as Obesere, Pasuma, Saheed Osupa, and so on. They are usually equipped with different slang words as coined by these musicians. Apart from that, the researcher observes that area boys' sexual discourse within the car parks is often full of explicit lewd talks. So, students sometimes avoid using slang words that have been stigmatised as belonging to the area boys in their own discourse.

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4.2.1.2 Sense - indicative euphemism

Sense- indicative euphemisms are words or phrases - with generalised, almost meaningless structures and with no lexical clues relative to expected choices - expressing sex-related experiences whose meanings have to be inferred strictly from the context in which they have been used. The use of these words or phrases allows the hearers to conjure up from the speaker's perspective what is meant or next to what has been said before. It usually involves logical reasoning, whereby one can deduce the logical conclusion on the premise of a given information. It allows the speaker the economy of words; the speaker does not have to say everything in detail because the hearer can deduce the remaining information from what has been said before, with recourse to other referential cues. Two of such sense-indicative euphemisms that feature in TISSD are "like that like that" and "and all". We discuss each example with two interactions below:

Ex. 6

A1- We really had a swell time! From Mr Biggs,

    to the club and later to the house at about 12pm

B1- So nothing happened?

A2- Well, I took my bath and changed

    into my nightie and you know, like that like that! It was all fun.

B2- I trust you! No dull moment!

In this exchange, B1 asked her friend to give her the details of her outing with her boyfriend. Naturally, since they are friends, A2 gave the preliminaries of her adventure and used 'like that like that' as a way of allowing her friend to figure out the logical turn of events from the clues provided by the preliminary part of her narration. Not only that, she provided the last cue with the utterance –'it was all fun '. Judging from the co-text, 'like that like that' refers to whatever could be "fun" in the context of use. The use of this sense-indicative euphemism is meant to put the hearer into the right frame or perspective which follows from the narration. 'A' believes that her friend should know that after taking her bath and changing to a nightie, the next thing should be the sexual encounter

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which she does not have to say explicitly. B understands perfectly what would have transpired and did not have to ask. This can be inferred from her utterance – "I trust you! No dull moment!"

Apart from 'like that like that' in TISSD, we also find the use of 'and all' which is commonly used in undergraduates' everyday conversation. Let us consider an example:

Ex. 7

    A- Omo! E don click.

    B- You try same chikala?

    A- I told you now! It clicked.

    B- Dbanj

→   A- Men, na everything and all

    B- I feel you my guy…/

    A- No dey try me o

In this interaction, there is a deliberate omission of the referent, and B is able to figure out and cross check the particular subject of discourse. It is obvious that B is able to connect to the same subject with recourse to their discourse history; 'B' is able to infer what could be the topic or subject of the proposition. To be sure that he gets the appropriate inference; 'B' asked if it was the same 'chikala', that is, the particular girl that they had talked about in relation to the new information. 'A' referred to his friend as Dbanj – the koko master to salute his courage and praise him for getting the girl. A2 provided more information about what has transpired between him and the girl – 'it was everything and all'. Although the semantics of the word 'everything' entails 'all', A2 deliberately used the tautology to emphasise that he had had sex with the girl in question – "the chikala". This seems to be an accepted belief by 'B' and he asserted that he understood perfectly what "A" meant and also hinted that he would have done the same thing. The sense-indicative expression "it was everything and all" can only be worked out from the understanding of the preceding co-text.

4.2.2 Metaphor in TISSD

The fact that a metaphor links something to another thing in a way that it can be easily or better understood is strategically deployed by tertiary institution students in their sexual discourse. These mappings across domains have their sources from things in the larger culture of the participants. They are mainly things that are available in the Nigerian environment and which participants can identify with. This means that culture has a significant influence on the choice of metaphors that tertiary institution students use in their sexual discourse.

The use of metaphor is predominant in TISSD. We have grouped the metaphors in TISSD into three: euphemistic metaphors, dysphemistic metaphors and slangy metaphors. We present below the chart and table showing the percentage of the three metaphors in TISSD:
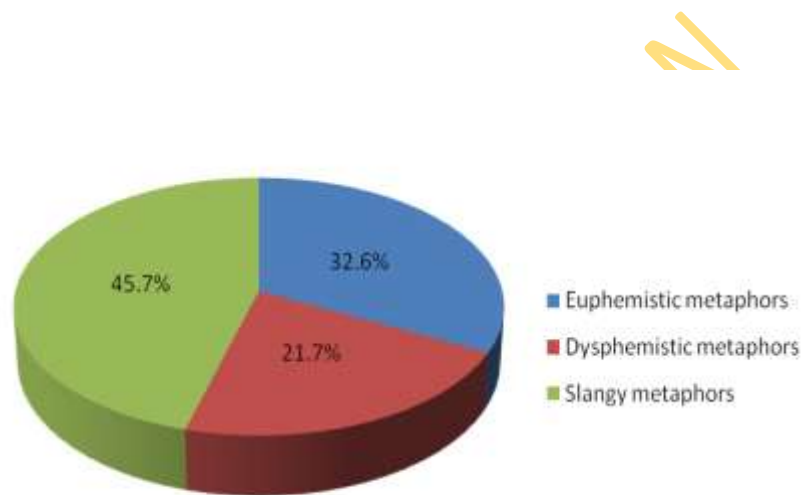
Fig 4.1 – Types of metaphors in TISSD

Table 4.1: Percentage of types of metaphors in TISSD

Metaphor type	frequency	percentage
Euphemistic metaphors	15	32.6
Dysphemistic metaphors	10	21.7
Slangy metaphors	21	45.7
	46	100

As reflected in the table, slangy metaphors account for 45.7% of the total number of metaphors in TISSD. This means that there is preference for slangy metaphors over euphemistic and dysphemistic metaphors. The creative lexicalisation involved in the metaphoricity of the slang words used tend to align with the things available in the youth sub-culture. Euphemistic metaphors account for a total of 32.6% of the type of metaphors used. This means that tertiary institution students still exercise restraints in their sexual discourse. Moreover, it is part of polite tact to be discreet in sexual issues in public discourse. Dysphemistic metaphors account for 21.7% of the total metaphor used. The implication of this is that despite the cautions exercised in sexual discourse, there are still instances where the choice of the coded forms used may be dysphemistic. The use of a dysphemistic metaphor as against a euphemistic one may be arbitrary but it reveals the students conceptualisations of things being talked about. We discuss the use of euphemistic, slangy and dysphemistic metaphors in turn starting with euphemistic metaphor.

4.2.2.1 Euphemistic metaphors in TISSD

Crespo (2008:96) defines euphemism as "the semantic or formal process by which a taboo is stripped of its most explicit or obscene overtones." Euphemistic metaphors utilise the pleasant part from a source domain to soften the pejorative effect of the taboo concept in the target domain. In the data, euphemistic metaphors are used in discussions on sexual organs and sexual acts. Specifically, euphemistic metaphors in the data are sourced from five domains: food, security, mysticism, leisure activities/sports and journey. We present the findings in table 4.2:

Table 4.2: Euphemistic metaphors in TISSD

Source domain	Euphemistic metaphor	Meaning
A. Food/fruits	Pounding stick	Penis
	Sugar(cane) stick	Penis
	Honey pot	Vagina
	Oranges	Breast
	Apple	Breast
	Banana	Penis/ breast
B. Security	Gate of life	Vagina
	Iron gate	Vagina
	Door	Vagina
C. Mysticism	Magic stick	Penis
D. Leisure activity/ sport	Play, match, score	Sexual act
E. Journey	Go, come.	Sexual act

4.2.2.1.1.1Food / fruit as a source domain for sexual organs

Food and fruit provide a good platform for discussing sex. Analogy is made from the taste, shape and other characteristic features of the fruit and food that is used. The source domain of food/fruit provides a way for discussing different aspects of sex. From the data, we observed that the food and fruit domain are used in discussing features of sex organs and the sex act. We can categorise their uses into three: fruits as source domain for sex organs, fruits as source domain for sexual act and food as source domain for sexual organ. We discuss them in turn:

4.2.2.1.1.2 Fruits as source domain for sexual organs

Different fruits abound in the Nigerian environment. But in TISSD, the ones that are frequently used include: oranges, banana, apple and sugar (cane) stick. "Sugar stick" is derived from 'sugar cane'. Sugarcane is a fruit that is usually long in size. This structural frame of the sugar cane provides simulations for describing the penis. "Sugar stick" is just a way of naming the penis while "oranges", "apples" and "banana" allude to the shape of the breast. We should note that the use of "banana" is for both the female breast and the male penis. It is the context of use and the topic of discourse that determine the meaning of the use of "banana". In essence, when banana is used for the female breast, it is the shape that is in perspective; but, when the penis is referred to as "banana", it refers to the shape of the penis (cf Odebunmi 2010).

4.2.2.1.1.3 Fruits as source domain for sexual act

Banana is the only fruit in this category. There are also different types of bananas to refer to different sizes of penis. There is one called 'Ogede Agbagba' (plantain). According to my informant, this type of banana is usually very ripe, big (mature) and long. While 'Ogede paranta' refers to the normal regular banana and there is nothing spectacular about it. Whatever type of banana that is used in TISSD, the referent is the shape of the penis and the fact that it can be eaten, in this case by a female. In heterosexual discourse and in the context of the TISSD, it is only a woman that can be given bananas 'to eat'. As such, a man gives banana (penis) to the woman while a man can only see and

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touch the woman's "bananas" (breasts). From the structured interview, 63% of the subjects refer to the penis as "sweet banana" while only about 33% indicate that the female breast can also be referred to as "sweet banana". Hence, the use of the word depends on the context of use.

4.2.2.1.1.4 Food as source domain for sexual organ

"Honey pot" is the only item that is sourced from the food domain. It is a compound word with two independent words. The denotative meaning of "honey pot" can be worked out from our understanding of the two independent words. Honey has about six meanings (cf *Encarta Dictionary* 2008) and we can classify the meaning into two: as a sweetener and as an affectionate term. The word "pot" is a container for cooking. In the context of TISSD, "honey pot" refers to the female vagina. "Pot" is placed in the food category because it is used for cooking. But beyond that, the emphasis is on the sweetness of the substance that comes from the pot. This sweetness makes the pot to be qualified as a "honey pot". Its sweetness can be enjoyed by any 'ingredient' that goes into it. This invariably means that there is a general belief that whatever 'penis' goes into the 'vagina' is in for a sweet experience. As such, "honey pot" provides a way of naming the female vagina – the depth and the sweetness.

4.2.2.1.2 Security as a source domain for sexual organs

The *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* defines a gate as a "movable barrier, usually on hinges, that closes a gap in a fence or a wall. In the Nigerian context, a gate is used as a form of extra security for a house. It helps to monitor or check entrance into the house. In TISSD, only the vagina is involved in this category. The two euphemistic metaphors used to refer to the vagina in TISSD are "gate of life" and "iron gate". The two metaphors invoke different meanings. As a gate of life, reference is made to the function of the vagina in procreation. It is the opening that gives access to the sperm which proceeds into the woman's womb for a new life to be prepared, and it is also the gate that allows the life to come out. Also, it can mean a gate that opens up enjoyment opportunities for whoever is allowed in. It is believed that the vagina is meant to be pleasurable for the 'penis', and once it is allowed through the 'gate' there is 'life' to be enjoyed.

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As an iron gate, the emphasis is on the strength of the gate. Because it is an "iron gate", it is expected to give a form of stronger security. Hence, the owner of the gate (vagina), may be said to be very particular about the quality of the gate. She has a deliberate control over who goes in through the gate and who does not. The significance of the "gate" metaphor lies in its opening and closing property which symbolizes the way the vagina ought to function. It gives the vagina the status of prestige, such that it is not just an opening but one with a security (gate) that can censor those who can go in and come out of it.

4.2.2.1.3   **Mysticism as a source domain for sexual organ**

Only the penis is used in this group. The reference to mysticism comes from the function and shape of the penis. The shape of the penis as a "magic stick" signifies the appearance of the penis when there is a sexual urge which may or may not result in a sexual intercourse. The penis becomes elongated and stronger, but soon after the sexual act or when the man calms down his nerves, it is expected that the penis will go back to its original shape. This transition from hardness to softness makes it possible to refer to the penis as magical; hence, it is referred to as a 'magic stick'. The female students are the ones who usually refer to the penis as a 'magic stick'.

4.2.2.1.4 Leisure activity as a source domain for sexual act

The use of the word "play" for "sexual act" provides a way of talking about sex that 'favours an unbiased reinterpretation of a sexual encounter as an innocent pastime' (Crespo, 2008:107). In the data, we found the use of 'play', 'match', and 'score' as examples of lexemes sourced from the sport domain. Sex as play entails that it is devoid of any serious atmosphere. It is meant to be enjoyed by the participants who have chosen to engage in the sexual act. The playful part is emphasised in tertiary institution students' sexual discourse. An example is seen in extract 8:

Ex.8

     A-   Umugi is when uncle head me badly!

     B-   Yeah, when he nods you.

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A - …and that bros is wicked

B – He is good

A- He is wicked…

You see, when he heads you like this and he knows

that you're enjoying it and you really want him to enter you…

B – He will not answer you!

A - They will now be using their thing to play around the house like this!

@

..

B – please put **this thing** in!

A – you will now be saying please put **this thing** in!

B – please score o, please play match.

In this interaction, 'A' informed the insiders about a sexual experience she had with her boyfriend. 'B's use of score, play and match are significantly deployed to show that the sexual experience is like a game and should be enjoyed by the people in the act. One of the dictionary meanings of the word "score" is "to earn a point" (*Microsoft Encarta Dictionary,* 2008), but in this interaction it is used to mean something else. It means that the man is expected to penetrate into the lady so that they can enjoy the sexual encounter which is referred to as "play match". To play match means to engage in the sexual act where both parties are the players. It should however be noted that the word 'score' may be used in another context to mean that a male student had got a female student pregnant.

There are different games that the words 'score' and 'match' can refer to. According to the students, football and snookers provide linguistic resources for talking about sex. The game of snooker is particularly interesting because of the way it is played. The joystick represents the penis, the balls represent the 'sperm' and the holes that are used to 'pot' the balls represent the female vagina. In the football analogy, the players are the lovers, the ball is the penis and the net (goal post) stands for the female vagina. Some of the students explained that in sexual discourse, you can refer to anyone who knows how to make love as a "good player". Examples of expressions used in TISSD as cited by the

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students include 'let's play', 'that girl/boy knows how to play', 'that girl/boy likes rough play', etc. Knowing how to play means that the person knows how to make love.

4.2.2.1.5 Journey as a source domain for sexual act

In sexual domains, motion verbs such as "go" and "come" are treated as static forms. First, we have to understand that the idea of journey entails movement from one point/place to another. But in discussions surrounding sex, the journey motif is used to capture the experience in realistic terms. As such, participants in the discourse rely on a lot of inference to be able to comprehend the use of "go and come" in sexual discourse. Some interaction examples are discussed below:

Ex.9

A1- You know, sometimes when they want to **come**, that is when you will be enjoying it

All- You know!

B2: Some men, you will not know when they're coming…

All- hen!(yes)

B3: They'll just say sweet heart I have come!

A4:You know, the one I hate most, when I'm almost coming, he will now just come!

C5: See my boyfriend that normally uses like 20 mins to 15mins, he will come….omo!

30 minutes we still they go o.

A – ha! Gbenga uses 1 hour!

A6:En Hen? (Really?)

C7: Forty five mins we still dey go!

All: Eh! Haa!

B8: I go stand up!

A- Me, I go dey rest for road o! I cannot come and die!

@

Participants in this discourse encounter can infer that the movement being referred to, with the use of "go and come" in the text does not entail leaving the physical spot but a signification of the experience in love making, where the activity involves movement

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(though on the spot) and the end of the journey is orgasm/ejaculation. This can be inferred with recourse to the co-text and knowledge of the discourse topic. For instance in "A1 - You know, sometimes when they want to **come**, that is when you will be enjoying it", the use of the word "enjoy" means that a personal involvement is included in the ongoing activity. "To come" in this context refers to the point of orgasm. "Coming" as used in A4 is also used to indicate a point at which both parties are almost at the climax in the sexual activity. Participants in this conversation are insiders and they all understand the use of "go" in this interaction. This is indexed by their response to the expression. They all responded in line 4 with "you know!". "You know" as a discourse particle serves to position the addressees as sharing the speaker's point of view from an experiential point of view. "You know" as a discourse particle (broadly speaking) is used to support or encourage the speaker in the act being discussed and for the speaker to know that she is not alone in the experience of the sexual ecstasy being discussed. Also in line 5, C's contribution is relevant by suggesting that when the journey (love making) is taking too long, it is better to rest sometimes. All the participants contributed in different ways to show their understanding of the use of "go for 45mins!". In the metaphor 'sex is a journey', the sexual activity involves both parties. Using Lakoff and Johnson's idea of love is a journey, we can equate sex as a journey metaphor thus:

The sexual partners correspond to travellers

The sexual intercourse corresponds to the vehicle (go)

Orgasm corresponds to the destination (come)

We find another instance of the use of the word 'go' to depict the sexual act in the interaction below:

Ex. 10

A: As a Law student, there's something we call the term of the contract. Say,

we want to be going out. Why do we want to go out…

B: Do we want to be helping ourselves?

A: See, in this part of the world, there's no more girlfriends and boyfriends…

what we have are sex partners or bed mates!

B: Hmmmnn.

A: When I'm in the mood, I'll just flash her and she has to come. She doesn't need to talk

..

B: No question!

A: She just comes, lie on the bed and we go!

The use of 'go' here can be understood as 'sex' with recourse to the co-text. The male student explained that when the particular girl comes to his room, she has to lie on the bed and they just have to engage in the sexual act. The speaker here shows his emotional detachment from his sexual engagement. He reveals the fact that he is only interested in the sexual intercourse other than any other romantic experience.

4.2.2.2 Dysphemistic metaphors in TISSD

Dysphemistic metaphor, in this research, refers to any figurative or symbolic expression bearing sex-related messages expressed in an unshielded, yet coded language. In TISSD, dysphemistic metaphors are sourced from four domains: military, carpentry, food/meat and everyday language. Below is a table showing the source and examples of dysphemistic metaphors in the study:

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Table 4.3: Dysphemistic metaphors in TISSD

Source domain	Dysphemistic metaphor	Meaning
A. Military	Kondo(olopa)	Penis
	Koboko(whip)	Penis
	Gun	Penis
	Fire	Sexual act
B. Carpentry	Hammer	Sexual act
	Nail	penis
C. Food/ meat	Ponmo	Vagina
D. Everyday language use	Flog	Sexual act
	Beat	Sexual act
		Vagina

4.2.2.2.1 Military weapons as a source domain for sex organs

'Kondo' (police baton) and 'koboko' (whip) allude to the shape of the objects which provide a cognitive matching for the male penis. Both "kondo" and "koboko" are used by the Nigerian police to inflict pains on offenders and criminals. So, referring to the penis as kondo or koboko with its painful experience is dysphemistic. Let us consider one interaction example:

Ex. 11

A: This guy, they've been going out, and he finally gave her kondo
  (olopa). So she started crying because she has lost it.
B: Why was she crying?
A: Not crying like uh uh uh, but she felt somehow sha…
B: Okay,
A: And I told her that in a relationship,
  something like that was bound to happen, if not now maybe later.

Here, A1 - a female student- narrates her friend's ordeal to a male student about how a certain boy gave her friend 'kondo olopa'. B's question presupposes that he is surprised at the information. The implicature is that the experience of the 'kondo olopa' is not supposed to make the girl cry. "A" thus explained that "B" is right about his presupposition by informing him that the 'kondo olopa' is not the cause of her friend's weeping but the loss of her virginity which she referred exophorically to as 'it'. Although the foregrounding of the use of 'kondo olopa' is shared by the interactants, most of the students are familiar with the use of "kondo olopa" as used in the music of popular artistes such as Dbang, Dagrin and Kelly Handsome, the conceptual mapping rests in the structural orientation of the source domain and the target domain. Beyond that, the metapragmatic of the force of the use of 'kondo olopa' is significant. There seems to be no pleasure attached to the activity that is involved, it is just something that is bound to happen and there may not be more to it than just the loss of virginity. Some of the male students also reserve the use of such dysphemistic metaphor as- *na legba* (beat with a

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whip), *Fun ni kondo* (give her police baton) to talk about female students who deserve to be cautioned for their wayward behaviours.

Another instance of the use of dysphemistic metaphor in TISSD is picked by the use of koboko in the extract given below:

Ex. 12

A - There is nothing between me and that babe anymore but 'mo ti na'legba' – (I have used my whip on her).

Here, the boy explained that he had used his whip on a certain lady, meaning that he had had sex with her and that there was nothing between them anymore. For the male students, it seems that the sexual act is a sort of competition among them and it reflects their victories. There seems to be no emotional attachment to any girl that is beaten with the "whip" or "kondo olopa". From some interviews carried out, the male students explained that they usually use the expression 'beat with a whip' for ladies who are wayward and often flaunt themselves about. So, in order to teach such girls some lessons, they have to be "beaten". The dysphemistic word 'kondo olopa' is also made popular by the hip hop artiste Sheyman in his song 'hotter than fire', an extract of the song is presented below:

Ex. 13

Intro- I'm hotter than fire , this girl dey make me dey stagger,
Give it to me now 3ce whine your body now2ce
I'm hotter than fire,Give me some water
This girl dey make me dey tire
I no fit retire, I'll make sure I give you some Kondo,
 Kondo, kondo3ce olopa, Kondo olopa,
Make sure you give me some Rondo3ce alata2ce
Baby girl I need your water, to quench my fire

In the song, the artiste expressed his sexual desire by saying that he is hotter than fire. Being hot like fire is triggered by the irresistible feeling roused in the artiste by a certain

extremely beautiful lady, exophorically located, and the only way to derive his pleasure is to give the said lady "kondo olopa". He explained further that, what he actually needed is the girl's water to quench his fire! As such, in using the word- 'kondo olopa', participants understand that what is being referred to is the service that can be provided by a man's – 'kondo olopa' (penis). In relation to the interaction, "kondo" means sexual intercourse.

Also, the use of "koboko"' is made popular by the famous hip hop artiste – Dbanj. In his song, he used the slang word "koboko" to refer to the male penis and that the ladies in Nigeria, South Africa and London enjoy the whip (gbadun koboko). Below is an excerpt from the song:

Ex. 14

Shey you like koboko(do you like the whip?)

I know you like koboko (I know you like the whip)

Nigerian girls gbadun koboko (Nigerian girls enjoy the whip)

I know them gbadun koboko (I know they enjoy the whip)

South African girls need koboko (South African girls need the whip)

I know them need koboko (I know they need the whip)

London girls them like koboko

I know them gbadun koboko (I know they enjoy the whip)

The lyrics of the song literarily imply that the girls love the whip. The whip refers to the penis. The enjoyment of the whip alludes to the sexual act that the penis is used for. To enjoy the whip means that the girls enjoy having sex with a man. The conceptual mapping is dysphemistic in the sense that it alludes to the experience of the use of 'whip' other than the structural comparison. There may be nothing exactly to compare between the whip and the penis, except if we take in 'long thing' as a synonym for 'the whip' as used by Dbanj. Hence, the shape of the "koboko" –the penis, can be seen as a "long thing". Quite a number of the students referred to the penis as "long thing" and 300 students out of the 410 students sampled also know that "long thing" refers to a man's penis in TISSD.

Another military weapon that is used as a dysphemistic metaphor for the penis is the gun. Gun is defined by the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* as a weapon that is

used for firing bullets or shells. In TISSD, the male penis is described as a gun obviously because of the similarity between the way the gun and the penis function. One wonders why the 'penis' is referred to as a gun. But the logic in this analogy is ontological; it involves a cognitive conceptualisation of the way that both the gun and the penis function. The gun when corked releases bullets while the penis releases sperm in the same manner. As such, the penis is said to be a gun for having the capacity to release "something" at least. When the penis gets erected (corked, in the sense of the gun) it is expected to release the sperm (bullets in the sense of the gun). The difference is that the gun is fired with the primary intention of killing a target but the penis' shooting is not to kill. It is therefore surprising that the gun is listed as another word for the penis in the structured written interview.

The word "fire" is another word that suggests military connotation in TISSD and it is used to conceptualise the sexual act. The word fire is in the same semantic field with the word "shoot". In the military parlance, when you say 'fire' it means "shoot". For example, the term firing squad is used instead of shooting squad. Hence, in sexual discourse, 'fire' derives its semantic logic from the reference of penis to the "gun". "Fire" is used to refer to the sexual encounter. For instance:

Ex. 15

A - The guy dey fire the babe everyday.

In this utterance, the male student explains to his friend how a certain boy has been having sex constantly with one of their classmates. The use of the word 'fire' often explains the reason for the use of the words "kill" and "wound" in describing sexual encounters. Some of the students interviewed explained that the word "fire" is used to refer to indiscriminate sexual acts. Sometimes, the students use expressions such as "Dem don wound am" – to refer to any female student that a male student is having indiscriminate sex with. But "kill" is used to relate the degree of enjoyment in any sexual encounter with such expressions as - "the girl wan kill me/ the guy can kill o", in different sex related encounters. Both the male and female students use both words to mean

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different things in their description of sexual activity. The concept of fire evokes the thought that something is being aimed at for killing, hence the use of 'kill and wound' in relation to sexual intercourse. In another instance a student explained to the SRA that "fire" can only be used to refer to the ability of the man. The interaction is presented below:

Ex.16

A: So what is "fire" in sexual discourse?

B: I wan do be that o!

A: Can a female say that?

B: No o!

A: What if someone says "I wan fire fire"

B: Haa! (What!)Dem wan wound themselves be that!

   (that means they want to do)

In this conversation, the student explained that 'fire' means 'do' and expected the SRA to understand what he means by 'do' since they both have the required shared knowledge of the subject of discourse. From the respondent's perspective, the word 'fire' derives ontologically from the penis. It is therefore impossible for a lady to say she wants to 'fire' because she does not have the required weapon (penis) to do so. On the other hand, B explained that anybody can use 'fire fire' to refer to the sexual act.

4.2.2.2.2 Carpentry tool as a dysphemistic metaphor for the penis and sexual act

Carpentry tools provide different simulations for the metaphoric expressions in TISSD. Two of such carpentry tools that are used in TISSD are "hammer" and "nail". We discuss them in turn:

Hammer is a pounding tool consisting of a shaft with a metal head at right angles to it, used mainly for driving nails and beating metal *(The Encarta Dictionary, 2008)*. It is

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used to fix/ fit a nail into a wood or any other thing. In TISSD, the word 'hammer' is used to refer to the penis and sexual act. In the structured interviews conducted, the word "sledge hammer" was used as another word by the students to refer to the penis. The sledge hammer is a kind of hammer that is bigger in size than the regular hammers. The kind of experience that the use of the carpentry tool "hammer" brings forth is that of force. In TISSD, the word "hammer" which is a noun is used as a verb in such instances that relate to sex. The present form of the verb is "hammer" while the past is "hammered". So, we can have expressions like " she just dey hammer the babe", "I have just hammered the chikala", " the guy too dey hammer" etc. It should be noted that these expressions need appropriate contextual information for their understanding in interactions. Although there were no interaction examples of the use of the word "hammer", the undergraduates interviewed used it in their discussions with the researcher.

Another carpentry tool that is used a dysphemistic metaphor for the penis and sexual act is the nail. The nail is a strong metal pin with a flat round head and a pointed end (*Encarta Dictionary, 2008).* This structural description of the nail gives the simulations for the students' use of the nail as penis. When the word "nail" is used in TISSD, it alludes to the shape of the penis. Also, in their sexual discourse, students refer to sex as 'jokoleso' (sit on a nail). This indicates a particular posture/style used in the sexual act. Literally, it is the female students who sit on the nail. So, anyone who sits on the nail is engaged in a sexual encounter. Some students interviewed cited different ways by which the expressions could be used: *"I did 'jokolese' for the girl"*, "*that babe has gone to sit on the nail"*, *"I enjoy sitting on a nail"*, *"I do not like 'jokoleso'"*, *"me, I don not like the missionary, I prefer to 'jokoleso'" e*tc. Of course, the experience that the expression "sit on the nail" evokes is not something pleasurable.

4.2.2.2.3 Food/meat as dysphemistic metaphor for sexual organ

In TISSD, the source domain of food/meat provides a way of conceptualising the female vagina. In the Nigerian society, animal skins, such as goat, sheep and cow are usually eaten as meat. The smoked ones are the most common; they are usually black and brownish. The vagina is referred to as 'Ponmo'. By referring to the vagina as "ponmo",

the students make an analogy to the ugliness of the ponmo's appearance but it is always good to eat when washed thoroughly and properly. Thus, contrasting the female vagina to the unpleasant sight of the meat is dysphemistic. It means that the male students in this study see the vagina as a dirty thing which can only be tolerated because he is pressured for sex. The popularity of this use dates back to the early 1990s when the Nigerian Fuji music artiste Abbas Obesere sang a song in which he used "ponmo" to refer to the vagina. This example was discovered during the interview sessions with some selected undergraduates. The students attest to understanding the meaning of "ponmo" and they also report that they have heard other students used the word 'igin master' (master of snail), with 'igbin referring to the female vagina. Hence, the analogically mapping relates to the structural and ontological mappings of the source domain (ponmo or igbin) to the target domain (vagina).

4.2.2.2.4 Everyday language as dysphemistic metaphor for sexual act and sexual
   organ

Simple everyday language such as "beat and flog" (Nigerian pidgin) are arbitrary choices made to objectivise sexual activity and the vagina (cf Odebunmi, 2010). These are linguistic realisations of the metaphoric conceptualisation of the penis as human. In this instance, the penis has the capacity to punish anyone who according to its dictates deserves punishment. The dysphemistic tone of the items occur in respect of the victimisation of the woman (the person to be beaten or flogged), who becomes the punished rather than the co-enjoying party. Let us consider an interaction example:

Ex.17

A-   How far with that next street runs?

B-   <u>Ko sure</u>. Kunle don flog am tire?

A-   You too dey "lee", na you waste time now../

B-   I know but I don comot my eye for there. We still dey go?

A-   Yes now, but make we eat.

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In this interaction, A asked B about a particular issue that is coded with "runs". Judging from the co-text " Kunle don flog am tire", we are able to infer that "runs" refer to a female student and A's intention to have a sexual relationship with her. But according to "A", he is no longer interested because someone else has really "flogged" (had sex with) the girl excessively. Invariably, there is no point in establishing a sexual relationship with the girl since she has been sexually overused. Some of the male students interviewed explained that when you "flog" a girl there is no emotional attachment to the sexual activity; it is just the sexual act that is in contention. This further strengthens the dysphemistic intent associated with the words, thus confirming the interpretation of some of our subjects' use of the words beat and flog as "a painful punitive sexual intercourse in which the woman groans under the pressuring banging of a man."

4.2.2.3 Slangy metaphors in TISSD

Slangy metaphors are group-exclusive figurative or symbolic expressions whose senses show mappings between different experiences of the undergraduate students. Slangy metaphors are metaphors that are time-bound. The metaphorical conception of slangy metaphors has to do with what obtains or what is made popular by the youth culture. These slangy metaphors may cease to be slangy. Slangy metaphors used in TISSD are sourced from four domains: sport, music, the Internet and culture. Slangy metaphors are picked out by loan words, coinages and ordinary/common slangy words.

4.2.2.3.1 Loan words

Loan words in TISSD are words or expressions borrowed into the English discourses of Nigerian undergraduate students from Yoruba, Hausa and largely non-lexicographed English onomastic labels. Loans words are available for sexual organs, sexual partners and sexual act.

4.2.2.3.1.1 Loan words for sexual organs

Loan words in this category are used in relation to female sexual organs. They are words sourced from names of European football clubs. Such words include: "Arsenal", "Barca", "Chelsea" and "Manchester". The table below shows the clubs and the sexual organs that they refer to:

Table 4.4: Football clubs and sexual organs they refer to in TISSD

Names of clubs	Female sexual organs
Arsenal	Ass
Barcelona (popularly called Barca)	Buttocks
Chelsea	Breast
Manchester	Breast

The logic behind the use of the names of the football clubs were explained by some of the students. Although not all of them are aware of this linguistic strategy, most of them know what the football clubs refer to. For Arsenal the reference is the female buttock (ass). In this case, the 'arse' in Arsenal sounds like 'ass', so the students attach its meaning to 'ass'. 'Ass' is synonymous with buttocks. Also, Barcelona which is usually pronounced as 'Barca' has a linguistic resemblance to the word 'Back' from the compound word 'back + side'. The word "Backside" is used to refer to the female buttocks. Manchester is decomposed into three syllables: Man + chest +er . So, the 'chest' is picked out to refer to the female chest (breast). Also, in one of the hip hop songs, the artiste used the expression "Omoge Manchester" to refer to a lady with big breast. An extract from the song is presented below:

Ex. 18

Omoge Manchester
S'ale wa United,
Eru to gbe yen lo je kin wa delighted,
Bo se n shake……
Ko le make e….
Original ni (omo) ko si fake e ... etc

The lyric of the song is highly coded and it simply makes reference to a lady's breast. Unlike the word "Manchester" that is morphologically decomposed in order to get the word "chest", the word "Chelsea" is arbitrarily used for sounding like "chest' at the beginning of the word.

4.2.2.3.1.2 Loan word for sexual act

The word "browse" is the only word that features in TISSD from the Internet lexicon. In the Internet vocabulary "browse" means to surf the net. This meaning does not capture the idea of the use of browse in TISSD. The *Oxford Advanced Dictionary* (2005:182) gives about four definitions of the word "browse" : "to look at a lot of things

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in a shop/store rather than looking for one particular thing; to look through the pages of a book; to look for information on a computer, especially on the Internet; to eat leaves that are going high up."

In TISSD, the word is used to refer to the sexual act. As explained by some of the students, browsing involves touching all the various parts of your partner's body. In the Nigerian context, operators of 'cybercafes' provide opportunities for two types of browsing in order to encourage patronage: day and overnight browsing. Day browsing is usually more expensive than overnight browsing. This idea is also used in TISSD with a different perception; it is used to signify the time that a sexual encounter occurred. Day browsing is when you engage in any sexual activity during the day while overnight browsing relate to sexual activity that happens all through the night.

4.2.2.3.1.3 Loan word for sexual partners

"Maga" is a loan word from Hausa to the Yoruba language as 'mugun'. A "mugun" in Yoruba language refers to a foolish or stupid person who can be easily deceived by anyone. As such, "maga" refers to any foolish person who spends money for someone else with or without having sex with the person. A "maga' could be a male or female regardless of the person's age. Kelly Handsome, in his song "maga don pay" made the concept more explicit. An extract of the chorus is presented below:

Ex. 19

Chrs: Maga don pay
        Shout Halleluyah!
        Ooooooooooooooo
        Mugun don pay
        Shout halleluyah
        Eeeeeeeeeeeeeeee

The song explains that "mugun' and "maga" are synonymous and they mean the same thing. The two words refer to people who can be generous enough to part with their money in order for the boys to enjoy themselves. From some of the interview sessions, the

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students explained that a "maga" is anyone who pays your bill on gratis, in such instances, it could be someone who is just asking you out or who is out to impress you before asking for anything in return. Let us consider this interaction example:

Ex 20

A-   The first one is a maga, as in Aristo girl. She goes to party and if the guy can buy her phone or digital camera or something like that, fine. And she still maintains a boyfriend but the guy is not in Nigeria; the guy is abroad.

Being co-fans of the hip hop artist, the SRA did not ask the female student to explain what she meant by the use of the word "maga". The undergraduates in the extracted interaction have no problem accessing the meaning of the slang word used.

4.2.2.3.2   Coinage:

Coinage has to do with the creation of a newly invented word or phrase. The coinages in TISSD are of three types: existing words used differently (semantic shift), blending and analogical mappings. We shall discuss these in turn:

4.2.2.3.2. 1 Existing words used differently

In TISSD, already existing kinship address terms such as brother, uncle and sister, are used differently in talking about sexual partners. The female students use the words 'brother' and 'uncle' to refer to their boyfriends while the male students refer to their girlfriends as 'sister'. The reason for using these existing kinship address terms is to veil the subjects of discourse in the conversations. Unless one takes cognisance of the co-text, it will be difficult to pick out the appropriate referent. Let us consider this extract:

Ex. 21

A1- later, uncle grabbed me and gave me a good heading.

In this text, the address term 'uncle' semantically presupposes that the referent is the speaker's family relation: either the brother of her mother or father. But with recourse to the co-text and the topic of discourse, we can derive an implicature. From our world knowledge, we know it is not possible in the Nigerian context for an uncle to have sex

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with his own sister. If this happens, it will be regarded as incest – this is also a forbidden act in the Nigerian culture. Also, an understanding of the slang word 'heading' helps to place the kind of activity that the 'uncle' in question has performed. So, for the referent to give the speaker 'a good heading' presupposes that they are not related by blood. Otherwise, such an act is not something to boast about among her friends. Also, the word 'brother' with 'bros' as its shortened form is used to refer to the male sexual partners. But sometimes the word 'bros' is used to refer to the male penis. It is only the co-text that can appropriately depict which referent is picked. In the interaction example below, 'bros' refers to the student's sexual partner.

Ex. 22

A1- you know that our bros, the kakaye is very big!

Unless one understands the meaning of the slang word 'kakaye', it is difficult to know who 'Bros' refers to in this conversation. In this context, the word 'Bros' judging from the co-text refers to the speaker's boyfriend whose 'kakaye' (penis) is very big. Consider the use of the expression "that our bros', the utterance pragmatically presupposes that the 'bros' in question is the same person that the hearers know and not that they are related as the utterance semantically presupposes.

Another address term that is used differently is the word -"sister". Sister is used in a way that is different from one's blood relation. It is sometimes used by male students to refer comically to female sexual partners. It is only the co-text and other contextual features that can indicate the use and meaning of the word 'sister'. What is important about the use of these address terms in TISSD is that the names of persons being talked about is deliberately omitted and coded in such a way that only the discourse participants (insiders) can gain access to the referent.

4.2.2.3.2.2 Analogical mapping

An analogical mapping refers to a comparison between two entities that share a similarity. This similarity may be in the form of part or whole relationships. We discuss

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the use of Aristo as an analogical mapping. "Aristo" is derived from the word Aristocratic. An aristocrat is a "member of a ruling class or of nobility" (Wikipedia). The word "Aristo" is clipped from the word Aristocrat and in TISSD "aristo" is used to refer to older men who date younger persons. Sometimes, the female students who engage in different relationships with older men are called "Aristo babes". Before now, such older men were referred to as "sugar daddies". But now, students prefer to use "Aristo" instead of "sugar daddy" to refer to their sexual partners. The main intention of female students on campus who date older men is to get money from them. This act of dating older men is a glorified form of prostitution amongst tertiary institution students. Let us consider an example:

Ex 23 (background- in this interaction, a female student tells the SRA about a girl who has several sexual partners)

B- The first one is a maga, as in Aristo girl.

She goes to party and if the guy can buy her

phone or digital camera or something like that, fine.

And she still maintains a boyfriend but the guy is not in Nigeria;

the guy is abroad.

In this extract, A refers to the girl in question as an "Aristo girl", meaning that she deals with "Aristos". She explains that the reason for dating the "Aristos" is to get things she wants from them. Some of the students interviewed explained that the word "Aristo" is now commonly used and known by different people - even older adults, and so most times "runs girl" is substituted for the word "Aristo girl" in different context of language use. Although the words are synonymous, there is every likelihood that the use of the word "Aristo" may cease to exist in TISSD – of course only time will tell. But the reason for the students' preference for the use of the new word 'runs girl' instead of "Aristo girl" is a bid to further conceal the act.

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4.2.2.3.3 Blending

Blending as a word formation process is "a lexical blend that takes two lexemes which overlap in form and welds them together to make one word" (Crystal 2010:130). Blending in TISSD involves the combination of parts of two or more existing words in a way that will make it appear as a word. Three words that are predominant in TISSD refer to the sexual act and the female sexual partner: "panachuka, chikito and chikala. We discuss them in turn:

Panachuka is a blend of two different clipped words. The first is clipped from the word 'panadol'. Panadol is a brand of paracetamol- a drug that is used to relief headache and pains. The word has undergone several semantic extension with the blended forms: panasharp and panachuka. Panasharp is used to refer to anyone who is very smart. In the word panasharp, it is only the word 'panadol' that is clipped to 'pana' while the word 'sharp' retains its original form. Although there are no interaction examples of the use of 'panasharp', some of the students explained that they use it to refer to 'smart people generally and sometimes in sexual discourse to refer to any of the sexual partner that is smarter in taking advantage of the other person. Our focus here is on the words panachuku/panachuka, which is also a blend of 'pana' and 'chuk' . "Chuk" in Nigerian pidgin means pierce. In TISSD, panachuka means that a male student had had a 'quick sex' with another female student. Generally, Panachuka/Panachuku is used to refer to the sexual act. Let us consider one interaction example:

Ex. 24

A – Do you know that wale is very sharp?

B – Yes now, he has panachuku that babe)

A – That babe is slow! She just dey allow the guy browse her on top nothing(Sic)

B – Na she sabi (she knows better)

In this interaction, "A" in a bid to inform her friend of what a male student had done, started by asking if she knew about the information she was about to give. B

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responded in the affirmative. Although she breaks the maxim of quantity we can infer that she intends to show that she truly knows the reason why her friend referred to Wale as being sharp.

In A's next turn, there is an implicit agreement to confirm that B's contribution is appropriate. A2 also provided more information as to the fact that the male student is just having sex with the female student without any benefit to the lady.

Another example of the use of panachuka in TISSD is discussed in the example below:

Ex. 25

A – As in, the guy don panachukwu the girl tire

This extract shows how the word panachuku is used in TISSD. Both male and female students use the word to refer to sexual intercourse as performed by the man. Hence panachuku/panachuka is just a way of saying a male student or any male had had sex with a female student.

Another example of blending occurs in the formation of the slang words " chikala and chikito". The two words are derived from the base word – chick. The word chick is synonymous with the word "babe" in TISSD. The word chick has now been given a local flavour with the affixation of the suffixes 'ito' and 'ala'. The purpose is to make the word sound differently from its original pronunciation but the meaning remains the same. Chikala/Chikito is used to refer to any girl on campus and to any female sexual partner.

Let us consider two examples:

Ex. 26

A – I saw Tayo yesterday with that chikala.

B – I trust the guy, he go don browse am die!

In this interaction, "A" informed "B" that he saw one of their friends with a certain lady who he referred to as –"that chikala". B's contribution does not in any way relate to

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the information provided by "A", but its relation can be worked out by implicature. He knows the intention of A's utterance and connects the proposition with the fact that their friend would have had sex with the particular chikala. The friend in question is a male student and in this context he would have browsed the "chikala" and not any other person.

 Another example of the instance of the use of chikala is presented in Ex 26:

Ex. 27

    A- Omo! E don click

    B- You try. Same chikala?

In this example, the word 'chikala' refers to a female student. "A" only informed "B" that something had happened and B was able to infer that it must be about the same girl whom they had previously talked about. Hence, the use of chikala and chikito varies; it is only the discourse context that can help in placing the appropriate meaning.

Table 4.5 Coinages in TISSD

Coinages	Meaning
Brother,	Male sexual partner
bros,	Boy friend/penis
uncle,	Boy friend
sister	Girl friend
Collabo,	Sexual act
boobie	Breast
Boobs	Breast
Panachuka	Sexual act
Heading	Sexual act
kerewa	Sexual act
apako	Sexual act
booty	Buttocks/ vagina

At this point, rounding off this section, it is necessary to briefly discuss the level of the subjects' awareness of the metaphors and slang used in TISSD.

The percentage of awareness of the metaphors and slang words identified and discussed above are given in table 4.6. The summary of our discussion is also presented in Fig 4.2.

Table 4.6: Percentage of awareness of the metaphors and slang words in TISSD

Slang	A	No	%	B	No	%	NK	%	Total
Boobie	Breast	370	90.2	-	-	-	40	9.8	100
Manchester	Breast	390	95	-	-	-	20	5	100
Oranges	Breast	410	100%						
Sweet banana	Penis	260	63%	Breast	135	33%	15	4%	100%
Apple juice	Breast	300	73	Breast Milk	100	24%	10	2%	
Chelsea	Breast	320	78%	-	-	-	90	22%	
Kondo	Penis	350	85%	Prick	60	15%	-	-	100%
Bakassi	Buttocks	320	78%	Back Side	40	10%	50	12%	100%
Kaka	Buttocks	390	96%	Back Side	10	2%	10	2%	100%
Honey pot	Vagina	380	93%	Pussy	20	5%	10	2%	100%
Moses rod	Penis	400	98%	-	-	-	10	2%	100%
Long thing	Penis	300	73%	Dick	100	24%	10	2%	100%
Kakaye	Penis	210	51%	Buttocks	100	24%	100	24%	100%
Chikala	Girlfriend	260	63%	Fine girl	150	37%	-	-	100%
Chikito	Girlfriend	310	76%	Girl	100	24%	-	-	100%
Aristo	Old foolish man lover	350	85%	Prostitute	50	12%	-	-	100%
Maga	Mumu fool	400	98	Atm	10	2%			100%
Ponmo	Vagina	350	85%	-	-	-	60	15%	100%
Collabo	Sexual intercourse	410	100%	-	-	-	-	-	100%
Fire fire	Sexual intercourse	400	98%	-	-	-	10	2%	100%
Bang	Sexual intercourse	410	100%						

Not listed but added by the students

Gen gen	Sex
Koko	Penis
Magic stick	Penis
Barca	Buttocks
Koboko	Penis
Anaconda	Penis
Apako	Sex

The figure below is a summary of the discourse forms observed in TISSD.

Discourse forms in TISSD

Plain Euphenism | Metaphor

Sound Indicative | Sense Indicative | Euphemistic | Dysphemistic | Slangy

Food/Fruit | Security | Mysticism | Leisure | Journey | Military | Carpentry | Food/Meat | Everyday Language | Loan Words | Coinage | Blending
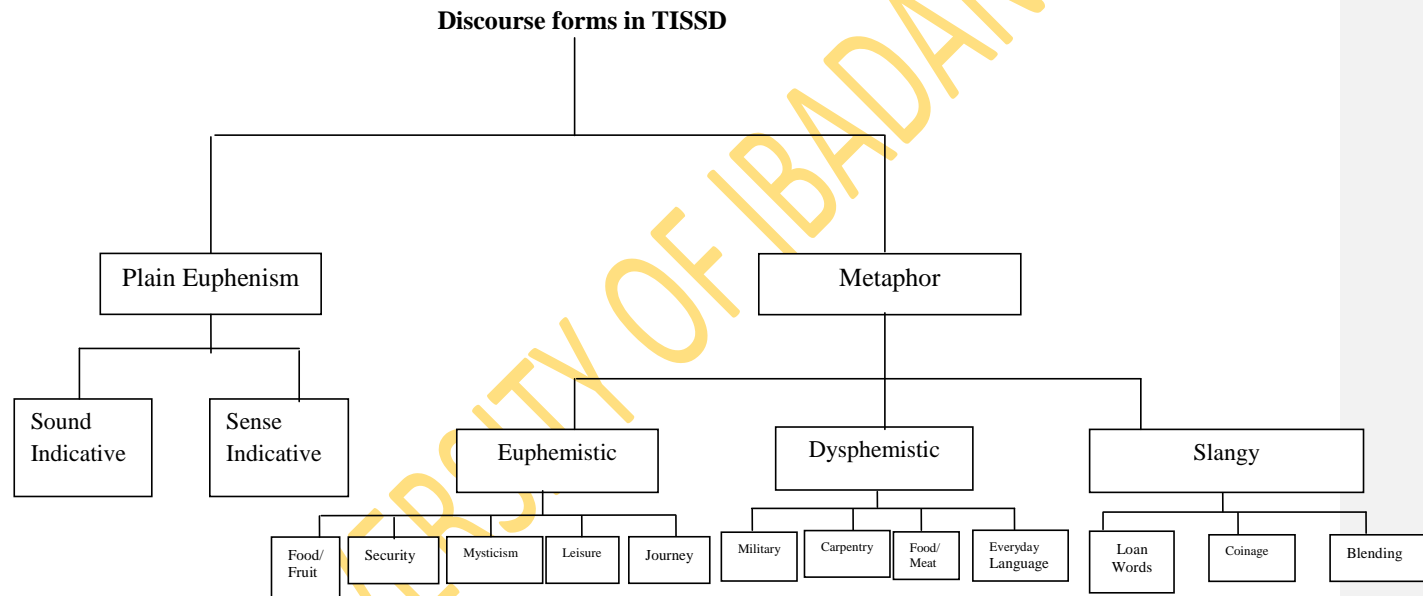
Fig. 4.2:   Discourse forms in TISSD

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4.3   Contextual features of TISSD

Contextual features are those elements of sharedness that signify common ground in TISSD. There are three main contextual features in TISSD: shared cultural knowledge (SCK), shared situational knowledge (SSK) and shared experiential knowledge (SEK). The roles of contextual features in the overall interpretation of TISSD will be discussed in the analysis that follows:

4.3.1   Shared cultural knowledge

The importance of the appreciation of cultural mores of the Nigerian society is an essential factor for communicative competence. In Nigeria, as well as some other parts of the world, explicit discussion of sex is a taboo. But the fact that the taboo is undergoing significant changes in terms of language use is another paramount issue of cultural concerns. Hence, the way participants deploy language with the knowledge of their cultural scripts is the main focus of this section. In this section, we discuss features of language use by tertiary institution students that reflect an implicit understanding of the cultural mores of the Nigerian society and how the students have creatively deployed language that is concomitant with the youth post modern culture. Language choices that are used by tertiary institution students to index common ground based on SCK are characterised by the use of slang words, metaphor, and indexicals. We shall discuss these in turn:

4.3.1 .1 Shared Knowledge of culture-tainted slang:

The Encarta dictionary (2008) offers two definitions of slang: "words, expressions, and usages that are very casual, vivid…and are often considered unsuitable for formal contexts"; slang is a form of language used by a particular group of people, often deliberately created and used to exclude people outside the group." Slang is used in TISSD on the basis of shared belief that explicit mention of taboo concepts is regarded as immoral in the mainstream Nigerian culture. Slang words (coinages) are available for sex, sexual act and sexual partners. We have discussed the use of slangs and their meaning in section 4.1.1. In this section, the culture-indexed slant of the words will be analysed. The

slang words, in this regard are of two types: universal and local. These are discussed in turn:

4.3.1.1.1 Shared Knowledge of macro-culture related slang

Universal slangs are those that are generally known as established slang words and are used by people of different regions (e.g. heading, blow-job, missionary style, doggy, massage, fingering, bang, screw, etc). These are slang words that any youth is expected to have heard of in films or seen in some books or on the Internet. These slang words can also be found in the *Online dictionary of sex*. Let us consider one example:

Ex. 28

      A- E get wetin, maybe something wey I wan collect,

      B-   Enh enh

      C- You will first give him blow job make him head first scatter

      A – The first thing wey I go do from I no go even dey waste time , you understand I go begin dey form good girl. Just , and such days you go prepare well, you understand now?

      B – Yes now

      A – The sexiest pant wey you get n aim go wear/

      B – Na im you go wear! **Wear g-string**

      A – When I enter, I go first do some massaging

      B – Hmmn hmnn

      A – Then I go go bathe

      C – See how Kenny dey look am!

      A- When I go bathe come back../

      B- Una , you get mouth o!

      C- You go put I'm kakaye for mouth. /

In this interaction, "A" informs the insiders – her friends, about how she acts in order to get something from her boyfriend. "B" interjects, involuntarily selecting the floor by suggesting that in order to get something from a man, 'you will first give him blow job

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make im head scatter'. The implicature derived from 'B's utterance is that a blow job is capable of making a man lose his senses, hence the knowledge of the universal slang is evoked. None of the insiders queried B's use of "blow job". "A" works on the presupposition that there is a common belief that whenever girls want to get something from men, they have to do something really tempting to entice the men. This is an accepted belief as 'C' offers one of the presuppositions available in their common knowledge. The use of 'blow job' is shared by the interlocutors. 'A' checks the insiders 'sharedness' by asking and at the same time confirming that they should understand what she means by the utterance –" and such days, you go prepare well, you understand now? "A" also informs the addressees that instead of giving her man a blow job, she would rather do some massaging. B also understands the use of massaging and replies with a discourse particle indicating support. Consider another instance of shared understanding of the use of universal slang words with respect to sex style.

Ex. 29

A- The ones that when they give you doggy you will vomit. It will get up to here../

A – it will get to the mouth

B – when I told my friends I did one doggy that I started to vomit, they abused me that I'm too promiscuous

All laugh

A- You're not, its all fun!

B- Uncle is tough

A – He should be!

B – He should not do more than 3, you will be tired

A – I can't do doggy, I will throw up!

In this interaction, 'A' refers to the 'dog style' of sexual intercourse as 'doggy'. She explains that when one engages in the dog style with a man who has a long penis, it can cause discomfort. 'B' accepts this belief and states that she had done it before. The point we make here is that the use of 'doggy' to refer to 'the dog style' is shared by the participants.

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Below is a table showing the slang words, meaning and examples of expressions as used by the students.

Table 4.7 - Slang words and their meaning in TISSD

Slang words	Meaning
Bang	To cupulate with
Head	To practice fellatio
Head job	From the head, glands of the penis
	i. Also used for mouth licking of the vagina
Blow-job	To Lick, blow and suck on a man's dick
	http//www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term
Message	Masturbation; often as the provision of Extras
Screw	To copulate with (of a male, from the entry into a fitting aperture)
Missionary style	A position for copulation in which the male lies on top of the female
Doggy style	A man position himself behind his partner and insert his dick into his woman's vagina
Dick	Penis; probably rhyming slang for prick
John Thomas	Common male names as willy

Adapted from Holder (1995) *The Oxford Dictionary of Euphemisms*

4.3.1.1.2 Shared knowledge of micro- culture slang:

Local slang words are those coinages that are formed using indigenous language words. Local slang words are formed through creative lexicalisation, through the blending of an indigenous language word with a foreign language word and through using a foreign language word differently. We discuss them in turn:

4.3.1.1.2.1 Indigenous language expressions

There are different expressions in the different indigenous languages that are coined for usage by tertiary institution students in their sexual discourse. Oftentimes, the adopted indigenous expressions are used in a way that is different from the way the words are used in other contexts. The fact that one understands the expression used in the indigenous language does not mean that one can get the appropriate inference in the context of use. Examples of indigenous expressions are "kerewa" and "apako". We shall explain them in turn:

"Kerewa" and "apako" are shared with recourse to shared youths socio –cultural worldview. "Kerewa" was used by the hip hop artistes – Zulezoo from Benue state in their song " kerewa". According to my informant from the Tiv culture, the concept of the song is derived from the sexual history of the Tiv people. The informant explained that in the Tiv culture, there was a particular period in the 70s when there was a high level of promiscuity in Tiv land and children sang songs in Tiv language to talk about such infidelity practices. The artistes use the English version of the song and resort to the use of an arbitrary Tiv coinage 'kerewa' to refer to the sexual act in the song. This is done in order to avoid the explicit mention of the taboo concept in the English language. In TISSD, "kerewa" is used to also mean sexual intercourse in expressions such as - *"I gbadun the kerewa (I enjoy the kerewa)", " the girl/ boy likes kerewa", "some people cannot do without kerewa"* etc.

The word "apako" on the other is arbitrarily used by the hip hop artiste Terry G in his popular song titled *Apako master*. There is no particular meaning that can be attached

to the word except that it is used to refer to the sexual act in the song as "*make I nack you apako*" and the expression is used as such in TISSD to refer to sexual act.

4.3.1.1.2.2   Blending of foreign and indigenous language

This involves the formation of words by either adding an indigenous prefix or suffice to an already existing English word. Sometimes the meaning of the base words does not change and the addition of the prefix or the suffix is to change the way the original English word is pronounced or the sound. Oni (2010) refers to this sound change as a version of 'phonoaesthetic' (Palmer 1985). Examples of the addition of suffix to English words feature in two instances: Chickala, chickito

Chick + ala ('Ala' is a Yoruba suffix used to denote ownership/possession)

Chick + ito (ito ?   )

Another example is discussed below:

Ex. 30

→ **A** – I saw Tayo yesterday with that Chikala.

B – I trust the guy, he go don browse am die!

A- Wouldn't you have done the same? The babe na FOC any time.

B- You know she is not my type,

A- I trust you!

B- Sure, she is not my type. I prefer them very slim!

→ A- So, when is that your new Chikala coming?

B- She is still forming, but I'm sure she'll connect soon

→ A- And after that, no network failure!

B- Till she surrender….

A1 initiated the talk in line 1 with the utterance 'I saw Tayo yesterday with that chikala'. The use of the cataphoric reference – that chikala- presupposes that the referent is not within the discourse space and it is used indexically to signal 'joint recognition' of the referent from the participants' previous discourse history. Hence, the knowledge of the particular referent is shared by both participants. Because the meaning of the slang word

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'chikala' is known by the discourse participants, B1 responded with another slang word to show that he understands not only the use of 'chikala' but the implied meaning of the information that A1 provided.

Ex. 31

B1- I trust the guy, he go don browse am die

As can be observed from the utterance, there is a deliberate omission of the girl's name and the sexual act that is implied by B1. It is part of polite tact not to mention the names of the girls who they have had sex with in public, not to talk of mentioning the taboo word – sex. According to one of my interviewee "you do not kiss and tell" – this is an accepted belief among the male students. Their shared socio-cultural knowledge is also expressed in A 9 and B 10. Here, they employ the use of the lyrics of the song 'collabo' to talk about sex. Chikala and chikito is used to refer to a fine girl.

4.3.1.1.2.3 Foreign language words used differently

The word, "collabo", is clipped from the English word "collaboration". According to the *Oxford learners' dictionary*, the word –collaborate- means to work with another person or a group of people to produce something. The word – "collaboration" has thus undergone a word formation process called clipping. There is however a slant of meaning that seems to suggest that sexual intercourse is implied. The hip hop artiste –Dee bee is credited with this creative lexicalisation. In his song- *Collabo*, the expression is used thus:

Ex. 32

Baby duro je ka collabo (Baby wait let us collabo)

Wa n bi (come here)

You know I get the dough

Baby duro jeka collabo" (Baby wait let us collabo)

…

No network failure, till you go surrender

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One can derive an implicature from the use of "collabo" in the song. The song suggests that the job to be done entails that the said lady come to bed with the artiste because he has money (dough). It explains further with a combination of the global system network register and army, the true meaning of "collabo"- no network failure, till you go surrender".

Let us consider some exchanges:

Ex. 33

A1: There's a girl in my hostel and she dey collabo well well…..

     All laughed

A2: She's in part time at the Agege campus. She has several affairs, so whenever

     they want to start that thing…I mean collabo

B: The sexual intercourse

A3: Iwo lo sobe (It is you that said so o!)…. the collabo

C: Yes now, collabo is the sexual intercourse.

A: …(silence)

In this conversation, 'A' uses "that thing" as an indexical item to refer anaphorically to "collabo". Seeing that there will be no harm in his use of the word, at least with an understanding that he is with his friends who are insiders and there is a certain level of implicit agreement as regards talking about sex, he proceeded with his narration. But B's interjection into A's speech, and calling "collabo" - sexual intercourse breaks the convention of SCK that A sought to uphold. One is able to reason this out because of A's response in A3. C's response also showed a break in the supposed tacit agreement of SCK. This precipitated silence by A. Although, one can infer through C's response that he is just reiterating the fact that they all share the idea of the discourse source with recourse to SCK. First, A says ' she dey collabo well well, and 'whenever they want to collabo', we can infer that, though collabo means sex, it can be used to refer to the sexual act and to the action that it involves. As explained by one of the participants in the discourse encounter, 'it takes two to collabo'. Nigerian University students, use such expressions as- "won ma n collabo gan-(they love to collabo a lot)", "too much collabo". These expressions suggest

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that those being talked about are already engaging in sexual activity. The use of "collabo" also presupposes a mutual agreement between those involved in the sexual activity. For instance, some of the students explained that when lovers collabo, they are "helping each other".

4.3.1.1.2.4 Shared knowledge of indexicals

In discussing sex related issues, sexual relationships or sexual partners, tertiary institution students use a lot of indexicals to indicate mutual contextual belief. They deliberately omit the actual referents in their interactions. Such expressions include: there's this girl (in my hostel), (there's) this guy, the guy, that uncle, that my baby, that chikala etc. By so doing, outsiders lack the initial reference and also lack the grounding for inferring. Let us consider one interaction:

Ex. 34

- A- You no see funmi yesterday in class?
- B- *Omo yen dun*! (That babe is sweet!)
- C- Na wale dey there o! (it is Y that is there)
- A- So?
- B- Don't mind kola, as if we don't know?
- C- Wale wont take it easy if you trespass!
- A- Abeg leave story, Wale sef dey do runs.
- B- I like the way the Chelsea stood out!
- A- The barca sef dey well well!
- C – You guys!

A1 initiated the talk about a particular female student and B1's response flouts the maxim of relevance. But we can derive an implicature from B1's utterance. He knows that 'A's utterance is not meant to be taken as a direct question. It presupposes that there is something peculiar about the referent that is mentioned by 'A'. B1 was strategic in his substitution of the proper name of the subject with an indexical expression – 'that babe'. Since 'A' did not question 'B's reply, it means that 'B's inference is right. As such, the

knowledge of the referent is shared and there is pragmatic presupposition. C1 also shares this presupposition by offering unsolicited information:

C1- It is Wale that is there!

C1's use of the deixis 'there' is used non-deictically. It is thus an indexical reference, it points to the fact that somebody is already having an intimate relationship with the girl in question. A3 had to change the topic again to his initial aim of the discussion by telling C2 to drop his supposed information because according to him, the friend that C is protecting is not a 'saint'. This confirms the proposition by C1.

A3- Abeg, leave story, Wale sef dey do runs.

'Runs' as explained by the undergraduates has to do with shady deals, it refers to any opaque activity that one engages in. That settled, B4 continued with his assessment of the girl that is being talked about without having to mention her name again. Consider the substitution of the logical anaphora 'her' with the definite article 'the' in both 'A' and 'B's utterances.

> A4- I like the way the Chelsea stood out!
>
> B4- The barca sef dey well well

In line with discourse analysts such as Halliday and Hassan (1991), the choice of an appropriate pronoun would have been the best in achieving cohesion and coherence. But in this instance, we can safely say that the discourse participants understand themselves and follow the same choice of coded language; hence obeying the rule of the activity they are engaged in, the participants strategically avoided the names of the people being talked about in the conversation since they do not want other people around them to know the person being talked about.

Consider the use of indexicals in the interaction below:

Ex. 35

A – I saw Tayo yesterday with that chikala.

B – I trust the guy, he go don browse am die!

A- Wouldn't you have done the same? The babe na FOC any time.

B-   You know she is not my type,

A-   I trust you!

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B - Sure, she is not my type. I prefer them very slim!

A - So, when is that your new chikala coming?

A - She is still forming, but I'm sure she'll connect soon

and after that, no network failure!

A- Till she surrender….

••

In A's utterance, 'that chikala' refers to a particular girl who is not within the spatial zone of the discourse encounter. But because there is a shared knowledge of who the chikala is, the next utterance is a relevant contribution. Also, notice the use of the definite article 'the guy' to refer anaphorically to the person who had been mentioned before and 'the babe' whose name was never mentioned in the conversation. The conversational implicature of such utterances is to veil the real names of the person being talked about. In most cultures in Nigeria, it is believed that the 'walls have ears and one should be careful when talking about other people. So, it is part of the shared beliefs that one does not mention the direct names of people one wants to gossip about. Such is the sharedness that transpired in this text with recourse to the choice of indexicals used.

4.3.2 Shared situational knowledge

Depending on the discourse space, participants take cognisance of other people around them before choosing the appropriate code to use. This is in line with Goffman's (1959:15) assertion that "people's rational objectives regarding the actions or feelings of other people are pursued by influencing their definition of the situation". But whether the people present are insiders or not does not debar undergraduates from discussing sex related issues. By so doing, they make use of slang words, indexicals and ellipsis. We discuss these in turn:

4.3.2.1 Coinages and slang as situation-bound interactional indices

Most slang words are shared by tertiary institution students irrespective of sociolinguistic variables of sex, age, and religion. But not all of them are disposed to the use of the sexual slang words. At times, slang words are used when an 'outsider' is

within the discourse space. Take for instance an interaction encounter where I happen to be an outsider or passive listener in the discourse encounter. Obviously, because I was there the participants had to choose their words carefully**.** The interaction is presented below**:**

Ex.36

    A- How the show go be this weekend?

    B- (silence)

    A- Omo yen o ni lo o! (that babe will not go)

    B- Hmmm!

    A- All the socks wey I don pile up…..

       I go wear am this weekend.

   Me: whatz socks?

    A- Ha, se e fe gbo? (Ha! You want to hear it?)

   Me: han han, tell me now…

    A- Condoms.

   Me: O yeah!

In this discourse encounter, I had the opportunity of hanging around the students whom I have known for a while. So, they started their discussion about a party they were to go over the weekend. In the course of their interaction, my attention was drawn to the second utterance A2. I waited patiently and asked what he meant by 'socks'. His response showed that his choice of socks in the first instance had to do with the fact that I was present. This implicature was derived from his choice of a discourse particle –Ha! at the initial position of his response. The point is that he was not comfortable with the idea that I wanted to know the meaning of 'socks'. So, I had to encourage him to tell me what 'socks' meant which he did reluctantly. Of course, I had to use a supportive strategy or in – group particle to show that I was not embarrassed by the discussion. There were several instances of queries whenever I had to seek clarifications on certain things I overheard the students say. Obviously, B's silence was deliberate. He was conscious of the fact that I was there. But 'A' had the impression that since they would code their expressions it did not matter if an outsider was there or not. Usually, A's question should have been

followed by an answer – the preferred adjacency pair – but observing that this was not the case, A continued the interaction.

Another instance of ratifying participant occurred in several focus group discussions that we had with the students. For some, they felt one was trying to uncover their 'coded language' as an outsider. Hence, they mentioned the words used but were reluctant to explain the meaning of the words. It is noteworthy, to state that the students who participated in the focus group discussions were already informed that the purpose of the discussion was for research purposes only and that their privacy would be protected, yet they had their doubts.

4.3.2.2 Contextual ellipsis

Clark (1991:227[Hankamer & Sag 1976]) explains that there are two kinds of ellipsis: linguistic and contextual. Linguistic ellipsis is reconstructable from the linguistic context. For instance in this sentence:

Bola got a scholarship and I did too.

In this example, the omitted verb phrase (VP) can be worked out from the linguistic context. While contextual ellipsis requires that the meaning of the omitted part of an utterance must be reconstructable from the linguistic as well as non-linguistic contexts. By contextual ellipsis in TISSD, we mean instances where the omission of part of an utterance can only be accessed with recourse to participants' knowledge of the subject of discourse and their discourse history. In TISSD, some or parts of the utterances are deliberately omitted once they have been mentioned by one of the participants. This does not lead to any communication breakdown as the participants are already aware of the preceding mention of the omitted words. Brown and Levinson (1987 :111) explain that "because of the reliance on shared mutual knowledge to make ellipsis comprehensible, there is an inevitable association between the use of ellipsis and the existence of in-group shared knowledge." We discuss some examples of the use of ellipsis below:

Ex. 37

    A- Those Jambites are fresh fishes O!

    B- Hmmmn, you're at it again!

C- There is no crime in sampling a few.

B- I trust you!

C- So, you want to tell us you have not tried your hands on any?←

B – why should I?

A- Abeg! Leave story, me sef be saint.

C – I be bishop O!

All laugh

The participants are discussing having sex with the new university intakes. In line 5 C2, we find the use of ellipsis in order to avoid mentioning the Jambites again.

C2 – So, you want to tell us you have not tried your hands on any?

An outsider or passerby cannot understand the appropriate use of 'any' in the utterance. Apart from this, the co-text does not point to the real subject of discourse because from our world knowledge, we know that one can only try one's hands on things and not on human beings as presupposed by the interaction. In line 6 B3, we find the use of another instance of ellipsis:

B – Why should I?

This is a contextual ellipsis. In order to understand this utterance, one has to be able to track it to what has been said before. In this instance, the utterance connects to lines 1 and 5.

4.3.2.3 Indexicals

The use of deixis does not in any way correspond to the logic of deictic origo from which the speaker is speaking from. The participant shares in this idea and so understands when deixis are not followed by gestural signs. Often times, the narration is followed by non verbal cues:

Ex. 38

A: I'm not lying! I'll tell you, I like playing, Ere ipa (Rough play), Ma fun e lese(I'll give you blow..

B: So you were doing that too?

A: Seriously, so from there before you know it, eye contact and all, then 'gen gen!'

C: Gen gen! gen gen!

    @

⟶ A – gen gen, **that very thing**!

C: You start from touching?

⟶ A: Yes from there, pulling off clothes- the guy pulls off your clothes, you help to lose his belts…**it** starts and after some minutes the play ends.

In this interaction, the indexicals "that", "there", and "it" are tactically deployed in order to restrict access to the subject of discourse. The indexicals in this instance do not point to any thing in particular in the discourse space and it will be impossible for an outsider to locate the referent. "A" used the expression "that very thing" to refer to the sexual act that was substituted with the sound –indicative euphemism "gen-gen". "C" understood the choice of the expression and asked if they usually start with touching before the sexual act and "A" affirmed that they do start from touching before the sexual act.

4.3.3 Shared Experiential knowledge

SEK is conditioned by personal and extra personal influences. Personal influences are those experiences that are encountered by the participants themselves, while extra personal influences are those experiences that are received from things read or seen that are inside or outside the country. SEK (personal) features in their use of discourse particles, anticipatory completion while SEK (extrapersonal) features in their use of linguistic and cognitive mapping. We discuss these in turn:

4.3.3.1 Shared personal co-experiential knowledge

In discourse encounters where there is a presupposed sharedness of the experience being talked about, participants are always eager to offer supportive strategies: use of attitudinal markers, anticipatory completion and anticipated utterance clue because as far as the narration is concerned they can also be 'potential tellers' (Liddicoat 2011). According to Liddicoat (2011:337) stories of shared experience are problematic because there are two (or more) participants who are qualified to tell the story …" but this is not a problem at all as it is this feature that makes TISSD interesting. This element of shared

experiential knowledge (internal) by the insiders helps in forwarding the talk. We discuss use of attitudinal markers, anticipatory completion and anticipated utterance clue in turn:

4.3.3.1.1 Use of discourse particles

Discourse particles are words that are uttered not because of their propositional content but because they contribute in a pragmatic sense to the ongoing discourse. Allwood et al (1992) identified three types of discourse types: uptake particles, repair particles and attitudinal particles. Although all of these particles are significant in any conversational enterprise, we discuss only the attitudinal markers because of its relevance to our subject of discourse. Attitudinal markers reveal the feeling or attitude of a hearer to utterances in an ongoing discourse (cf Fisher 1998). They are used to show that the hearer believes and supports the proposition expressed by the speaker. In the interaction examples, the participants' use the attitudinal markers to show that the experience is shared. This is because, oftentimes, they also offer further illustrations or exemplary instances in order to show support for the details. The attitudinal markers that are identified in TISSD include "you know", "yeah/yes." They are used to show support and identify with the propositions expressed by their interlocutors. Let us consider two examples:

Ex. 39

    A- Umugi is when uncle head me badly!

    B- Yeah, when he nods you.

Ex. 40

    A 1 You know, sometimes when they want to come, that is when you will be enjoying it

All- You know!

B2: Some men, you will not know when they're coming…

All- hen!(yes)

It is important to stress that the intonation is what differentiate 'you know' used as an uptake particle from its use as an attitudinal marker. Sometimes when attitudinal markers are used, participants usually forward the talk by citing other examples to buttress what has been said earlier in the conversation.

4.3.3.1.2 Anticipatory completion

In informal conversations, it is common for interactants to suggest possible completions to the speaker's contribution or utterance. This suggestion may or may not be used by the speaker. Anticipatory completion in TISSD is used as a supportive strategy in order to assist the speaker in forwarding the talk. Instances of anticipatory completion feature in TISSD. Let us consider two examples:

Ex 41

A: when we finally got home, we talked, we were talking

B: On that particular day!

A: On that particular day, we were talking about experiences, you know, me I like playing o

In this interaction, 'B' suggests an addition to A's utterance in order to urge her to continue with the line of narration. 'B' noticed that A exhibited some hesitation to speak, as reflected in the brief pause in A's turn. As it turned out, B's anticipated utterance completion was used by B.

Let us consider another interaction example:

Ex. 42

A- He is wicked…

You see, when he heads you like this and he knows that you're enjoying it and you really want him to enter you…

B – **He will not answer you!**

A - They will now be using their thing to play around the house like this!

Laughs

All laugh

B – **Please put this thing in!**

A – You will now be saying please put this thing in!

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In this interaction, B interrupts A's turn by anticipating what A is likely to conclude her narration with. Though B's attempt breaks the turn taking rule, we observed that the interruption has the illocutionary force of showing support and also demonstrates a relative understanding of the experience being shared. Hence, by B's second interruption, A uses the anticipatory completion as provided by B. this means that A was not annoyed with the overlaps and interruptions in her turns.

Consider the anticipatory completion used by B in this encounter. B involuntarily selects the floor by providing AC in order to show that she knows what A is talking about.

Ex 43

A- E get wetin, maybe something wey I wan collect,

B- Enh enh

C- You will first give him blow job make him head first scatter

A – The first thing wey I go do be say… I no go even dey waste time , you understand? I go begin dey form good girl. Just …..and such days you go prepare well, you understand now?

In this interaction, the anticipatory completion though relevant to what A was saying, does not synchronise with the direction that A wants to take in her narration and so she did not make use of the anticipatory completion. So still holding the floor, A explains that contrary to the utterance completion offered by C, she will narrate her story telling differently.

4.3.3.2 Shared extrapersonal co-experiential knowledge

Hornsby (2006) defines experience as the knowledge and skill that one has gained through doing something for a period. In TISSD, we define SEK as knowledge gained through what has been seen, done or encountered previously by the students. SEK manifests in the students use of linguistic and cognitive mapping. We discuss them in turn:

4.3.3.2. 1 SEK in the use of linguistic and cognitive mapping

Linguistic and cognitive mapping involves using words and experiences of one source domain to relate experiences in another domain. Linguistic mapping involves using words arbitrarily to match any aspect of sexual discourse just because the words have some sort of resemblance or sound with the source domain. While cognitive mapping only use the experience from one domain to match another in order to understand the experience to be vividly. Examples of such linguistic mappings are discussed below:

Ex. 44

    C- Umugi is when uncle head me badly!

    D- Yeah, when he nods you.

    A - …and that bros is wicked

    B – He is good

    B- He is wicked…

    You see, when he heads you like this and he knows that you're enjoying it and you really want him to enter you…

B – He will not answer you!

A - They will now be using their thing to play around the house like this!

    @

    ..

B – Please put this thing in!

A – You will now be saying please put this thing in!

B – Please score o, please play match.

A - You know its that yesterday's style that is sweet! Let me tell you

B – Tell me.

A – that uncle sat down like this and and I sat down and stretched my leg like this.

B – yeah! You have killed him!

A – and I was going up and down like this…

B – and you start to turn "Amala" (yam flour) – (cognitive mapping)

    . .

First, the vagina is conceptualised as a house. It has the feature of a door. We shall come to this shortly. Here, our concentration is on the cognitive mapping as expressed by A and B's last proposition. In this discourse encounter, B tries to show that she understands the concept of the sex style that her friend is describing by offering an apt completion of A's utterance in bringing in the concept of preparing the local yam flour. In the process of preparing the local yam flour, the pestle is used in turning the 'yam flour' in a systemic manner. In this context, the pestle is the penis and the pot is the female vagina while the turning refers to the sexual act. The utterance- 'you start to turn Amala', has the implication that 'A' dictates the direction in the sex encounter. All the girls express their understanding of the concept of the cognitive mapping that 'B' invokes by the cross domain mapping and burst into laughter. Laughter as a feedback strategy is used to index SEK. Also, in this discourse presented below, the vagina is conceptualised as a house while the penis is conceptualised as a person.

Ex. 45

A- Those mallams at Alaba are so useless!

B- I don't do Mallams

A- I don't do it too, but when we are going
   home, around that Alaba, when they
   want to pee and they are not ashame.
   They bring it out on the road .

B- Haaa! You have not heard of small but mighty!
   You have not seen some that when you are wet and
   they stand like this… you will just go dry and say ' ha uncle!
   This kin thin no fit **enter** me o!
   All laugh

B- The ones that you will cry when you see them and plead that
    you cant do it

C- The ones that when they give you doggy you will vomit.
    It will get up to here../

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A – It will get to the mouth

B – when I told my friends I did one doggy that I started to vomit,

 they abused me that I'm too promiscuous

All laugh

In this interaction, the penis is given the feature of a person that has the ability to stand and 'enter' the vagina. The vagina thus has the feature of a house with a door that can allow an authorised person to enter or not. The fact that the sight of the size of the penis can discourage the female students from engaging in the sexual act shows that the students have their preferences in matters of sexual intercourse and can decide whether or not to have sex with a man. SEK is indexed by the fact that each of the students offers different contributions to the ongoing topic.

The diagram below summarizes our discussion on contextual features in TISSD
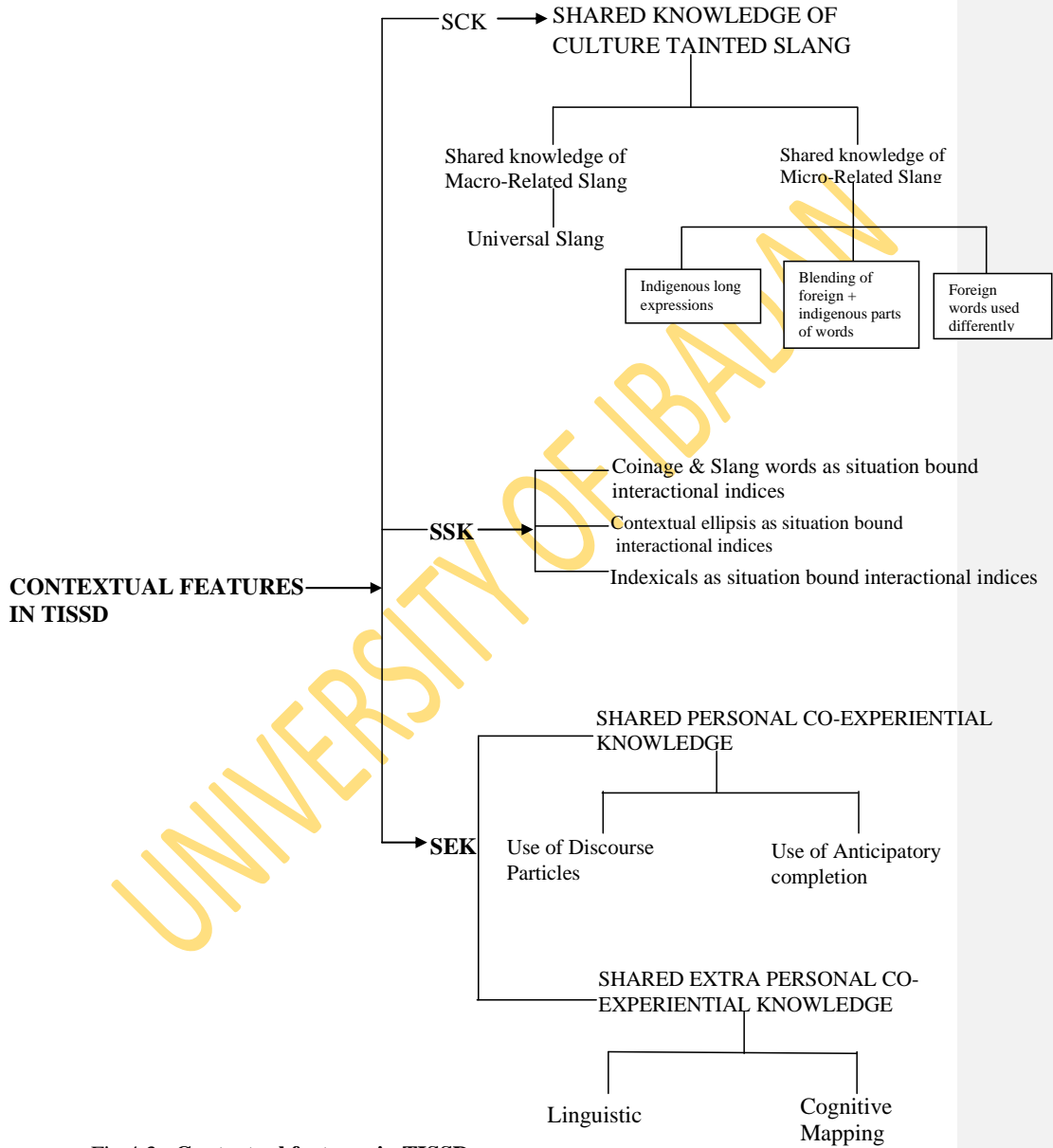
Fig.4.3 **Contextual features in TISSD**

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CHAPTER FIVE

PRAGMATIC FUNCTIONS IN TISSD DISCOURSE

5.1 Introduction

Undergraduates do not just discuss sex related issues; their use of language in the analysed conversations shows that there are practs in their discourses. The pragmatic functions or practs observable are those of informing, amusing, and criticising. The chart and table below show the frequency and percentage of the practs in the interactions.

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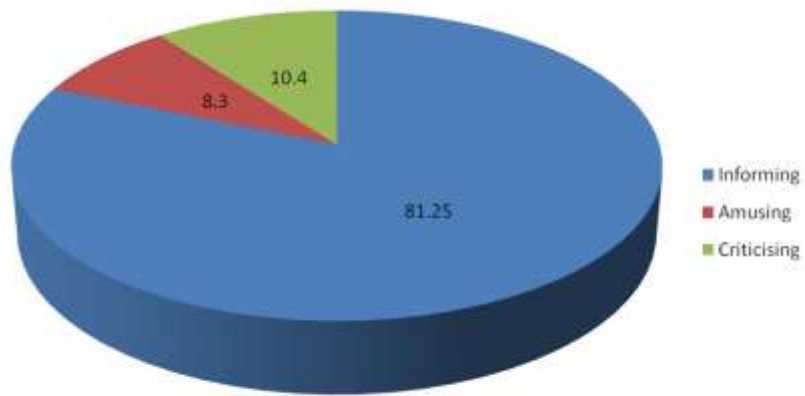
Fig. 5.1 Practs observable in TISSD

Table 5.1 Table showing the percentage of practs observable in TISSD

Practs	Frequency	Percentage
Informing	39	81.25
Amusing	4	8.3
Criticising	5	10.4

The table shows that informing practs account for 81.25% of the practs, practs of criticising feature with about 10.4%, and pract of amusing is just about 8.3% of the interactions. The large percentage of informing pract may be due to the fact that, in most of the encounters used in this study, the interactional goal is to talk about individual experiences and most often not actual instances of conversations among friends. We discuss the practs in turn:

5.2 Pract of informing in TISSD

Often times, tertiary institution students give information to their friends who are insiders in order to relate, share or express their experiences. They discuss sexual activity, sexual relationships/sexual partners and sexual organs. We discuss the pract of informing based on the different aspects of sexuality identified:

5.2.1 Pract of informing on sexual activity

Tertiary institution students discuss sexual activity. The aspect of sexual activity discussed includes sharing experiences relating to sex style and sexual intercourse. Participants deploy the use of slangy words and slangy metaphors in talking about sex style.Also, information that involves sharing their experiences with insiders on sexual intercourse is rich in lexical creativity. Such lexical creativity includes the use of popular slang words, indexicals and shared metaphors. We discuss the process of giving information on sex style and sexual intercourse below:

5.2.2   Sharing experiences on Sex style

Information relating to sex style is usually done among friends. Sometimes, the information may be to express their satisfaction or aversion for a sexual style. In other words, their friends might take a cue from the information and either do likewise or otherwise. Let us consider an example:

Ex. 46

C- Umugi is when uncle head me badly!

D- Yeah, when he nods you.

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A - …and that bros is wicked

B – He is good

B- He is wicked…

    You see, when he heads you like this and he knows that you're enjoying it and you really want him to enter you…

B – He will not answer you!

A - They they will now be using their thing to play around the house like this!

    @

    ..

B – Please put this thing in!

A – You will now be saying please put this thing in!

B – Please score o, please play match.

A -You know, its that yesterday's style that is sweet! Let me tell you

B – Tell me.

A – That uncle sat down like this and and I sat on down and stretched my leg like this.

B – Yeah! You have killed him!

A – And I was going up and down like this…

B – And you start to turn "Amala"(yam flour)

    @

In this discourse encounter, one of the friends used an unpopular slang word that even the friends did not know to describe a sexual style. So, she had to explain what she meant by 'Umugi" to her friends in order to increase their common ground. 'Umugi' is thus another word that the girl used for the slang word 'heading'. 'B' understands what 'A' meant by using the word 'nod' as another synonym for 'heading'. The discourse particle 'yeah' is used to index common ground. The heading is done in order to stimulate the sexual urge of the female after which it is expected that the man will penetrate. Aside from heading, 'A' explains that she also likes when she is on top of the man in the sexual encounter. The friends understand the sex style and, in order to show their understanding, 'B' interpreted it metaphorically as turning 'Amala'. All of them laughed at the idea of

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matching the sex style with the concept of turning 'Amala'. The laughter is used to index shared understanding of the information on the sex style that allows the woman to be on top and in control of the sex encounter.

The expression –"let me tell you"- serves as a pract of informing. She however implicitly asked for permission to still hold the floor. The utterance could also be a way of seeking to know if the insiders would be interested in the sex style that she intends to share. 'B's affirmed that they are interested and so urges her to continue her story.

In another instance, a discussion on sex style was sprouted by the description of the male sexual organ. The excerpt is presented below:

Ex. 47

    C- Those mallams at Alaba are so useless!

    D- I don't do Mallams

    C- I don't do it too, but when we are going home, around that
        Alaba, when they want to pee and they are not ashamed.
        They bring it out on the road .

    D- Haa! You have not heard of small but mighty!
        You have not seen some that when you are wet and they stand like this… you will
        just go dry and say 'haa uncle! This kin thin no fit enter me o!
        …

    D- The ones that you will cry when you see them and plead that you cant do it

    E- **The ones that when they give you doggy** you will vomit. It will get up to here../

    A – it will get to the mouth

    B – when I told my friends I did one doggy that I started to vomit,
        they abused me that I'm   too promiscuous

        …

    C- You're not, it's all fun!

    D- Uncle is tough!

    A – he should be!

    B – he should not do more than 3, you will be tired

A – I cant do doggy, I will throw up!

B – or if you do missionary that they will raise your legs like this!

When they raise your legs up, it will look as if its touching your brains.

This place will contrast with this place…/

A – its not easy!

This interaction started by the mere information of how 'Mallams' bring out their penis out in an uncivil manner when they want to urinate. 'Mallams' is used to refer to Hausa men. The thought of the sight of a big penis is linked to the sex style that one of them had experienced. 'B' explained that the doggy style made her to vomit. Her friend align with her thought by confirming that she will also vomit if she were to do the "doggy style". The doggy style, as defined by the *Urban Online Dictionary*, is that sex style that the man positions himself behind his partner and inserts his dick into his woman's vagina from behind. In the doggy style, the woman is usually bending over something or on her hands and knees. Apart from the doggy style, the unconventional missionary style also gives a different kind of experience that can be likened to the doggy style. The conventional missionary style, as explained by some of the students, is for daddies and mummies. In the conventional missionary style,the man is usually at the top and the woman only opens up her vagina for the man to penetrate. But the unconventional missionary's style is like the doggy style, the man helps to raise the lady's leg in a way that allows the penis to penetrate deeply in such a way that the penis will touch the brains! This interaction shows that the friends are sharing their sexual experiences without, in any way, using any explicit verb to indicate that they are doing any 'telling-tale'.

5.2.3   Sharing experiences on sexual intercourse

Most times, slang words are used in talking about sexual intercourse. They also make use of culture induced metaphors to explain the sexual experience/ encounter. A male student explained that when you have sex with your girl friend, it is not good to say so in public. According to the male student 'you don't kiss and tell'. Let us consider one interaction example:

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Ex. 48

A-   Guys how far now?

All – we dey!

B-   If you or your friend took a girl out, how would you narrate the experience
      to someone else?

C-   Took out in what sense?

B-   You took her out!

C –   you mean lalakibo

C-   What do u mean by lalakibo?

All – ahhhhhhh!

D-   They are collaboring!

E-   They are helping each other

F-   They are putting a pestle in the mortal
      @

O ko ibasun fun.

This interaction is among male students. The SRA asked the students to narrate
their experience about any outing they have had. This simple question generated a lot of
insinuations and they all concluded that to take a girl out could mean different things.
They made fun of the SRA's use of the expression 'take out' and concluded that it could
be used for sexual intercourse. The metaphorical expression of putting a pestle in the
mortal is particularly innovative as all of them were thrilled by the concept. The act of sex
is linked to the process of pounding yam in the mortal. The structure of the pestle is
likened to the penis and the mortal refers to the vagina. The conceptualisation of pounding
yam is significant. The man has the control and he puts his pestle in the mortal in
whatever way he deems fit. So, the act of sex is synonymous with 'putting the pestle in the
mortal'. Their laughter shows an understanding of the metaphor used and, in order to drive
home the point, the last speaker reiterates the fact that the idea of putting pestle in the
mortal means that in the sexual act, it is the man who sleeps with the woman. 'ko ba sun
fun' literally means 'give her sleep'. In essence, the man has control over the sexual
activity. If we contrast the idea of 'ba sun' (sleeps with her) and "ko basun fun", one can

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derive an implicature in the different use of the two expressions. The former just makes reference to the sexual act while the latter emphasises the extent of the sexual act that is involved. The sharing act is achieved through each participant's contribution to the on-going discourse.

5.2.4 Describing sexual organs

Discussion on sexual organs is done with so much enthusiasm. It involves describing the features of both male and female sexual organs: the penis, the breast, buttocks and vagina. Often times, the female students talk about the male penis in line with the physical stature of the male students. It is worthy to note that giving information on features of sexual organs is done among insiders and there are no restrictions in talking about them. Both sexes talk about their sexual organs and of others – the female students talk about their breast, buttocks. They also talk about the male students' penis –shape and size. The male students talk about the female students' breast, buttocks and vagina. Let us consider two examples:

Ex. 49

A-   Those slim guys, their dick is usually very big

B -   The fat ones have 'ikeregbe'

In this conversation, 'A' gives an information that slim guys usually have big(dick) penis, while B' acknowledges the fact as expressed by 'A' and forwards the talk by showing that she also has information on fat men. According to 'B', a contrast can be drawn between slim guys and fat guys. 'B' informs that 'fat guys' usually have 'ikeregbe'(short) penis. 'Ikeregbe' is a Yoruba word that is used to refer to short people, but not dwarfs. The conceptualisation of penis as 'ikeregbe' alludes to the size of the penis in connection with the size of the people referred to as 'ikeregbes'. Anyone who does not understand the Yoruba language and does not know the people referred to as 'ikeregbe' will find it difficult comprehending the choice of this particular metaphor in the description of the male penis. Apart from slim and fat guys, information is also given on short men having big penis. Let us consider another interaction :

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Ex. 50

B – You know all these our men that they are small but mighty

A – Yes o! just like my husband, Mr short, very mighty.

There seems to be a stereotypical belief that tall men have long penis, the fat ones have short penis while short men have big penis. In this interaction, 'A' informs that short men usually have big penis while 'B' confirms the information by explicitly stating that her boyfriend (husband) who happens to be a short man has a 'very mighty' penis. There is a contextual ellipsis in this interaction and the information on the size of the penis can only be worked out with recourse to the preceding discourse topic. It is difficult for outsiders to understand the detail or the precise goal of this interaction even with the understanding of the semantics of the expressed proposition and the linguistic context. Only insiders can understand the choice of language as used by the discourse participants. The extract in this interaction only describes the size of the male penis.

Also, the students have names to describe their sexual organs: the female breast, buttocks and vagina. The vagina is characterised by its structure and orientation. It is a pit/ opening (door, house, boot, mortal, pussy, ponmo, etc.) Let us consider one example:

Ex. 51

   A- So what does he call you?

   B- My pp!

   C- What is that?

   B- Pretty Pussy!

 C – PP, take me to paradise!

In this interaction, 'A' asked her friend what her boyfriend calls her. She responded in a preferred manner but flouts the maxim of manner and quantity. Her use of 'PP' is not in the commonground of both participants and so 'A' had to ask for clarifications. Common ground in this case is incremented by B's explanation that "PP' means –pretty pussy. The idea is to show that her boyfriend values her vagina and thus qualifies it as a pretty one.

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In other interview sessions, the students explain that they often make a distinction between a small breast and a big one. A small breast is called oranges while the big ones are called cowbell (Maami Cowbell)

5.2.5 Describing sexual act

Sometimes, insiders describe their sexual partners sexual act practices. Let us consider an example:

Ex. 52

A- You know, guy man now with his **butter** love making

B- Which guy man

A- That's my baby o! he will be doing slowly slowly

Here 'A' describes her boyfriend's sexual performance as butter love making. Among tertiary institution students and students generally, people who are from rich homes are often described as gentle people. The attitude of 'the butters' to different things are usually different. For instance, they are not very 'sharp' on playgrounds, they do not engage in challenging activities. These kind of people are referred to as 'omo butter' – that is, they are fed with bread and butter. Children from average or poor families are referred to as 'ajepaki'- they eat more of 'paki' (cassava) food like garri. So in this context, 'A' invokes the sense of the characteristic features associated with "butter people" to describe the type of sexual act that is performed by her sexual partner. She explains that during love making, her boyfriend is always doing slowly like a 'butter person'. This kind of slow love-making is termed 'butter-love making'. All the participants understand the concept of butter love making. This is indexed by the laughter and no request for clarification is required as against the choice of 'guy man' which they initially were not aware of.

Another ipra of the informing pract is that of describing outsiders' sexual practices. Discussions relating to sexual practices are done by insiders with regards to outsiders' sexual behaviours. Let us consider an example:

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Ex. 53

Is like the guy don rough handle am!

Here, insiders talk about a particular female student who came rushing to the hostel to drink water after her visit to her boyfriend. So the students concluded that the boy whom the girl in question went to meet would have "rough handled her." We can infer from this extract that they are not happy about the relationship that exists between the particular girl and her sexual partner. If the relationship were to be emotionally charged, there would not have been any case of having to be rough handled by her lover. Some of the students interviewed explained that the choice of the expression "rough handle" to describe a sexual encounter instead of other terms such as "had a nice time", "went to cloud nine", "experience paradise", and so on. implies that the experience was not a pleasurable one.

5.3   Pract of Amusing

In TISSD, participants make fun of sex related issues and consequently amuse each other. They jokingly tease each other about their sexual partners and outsiders', and about insiders and outsider's sexual organs and the sexual act performed by the two groups. The teasing act is thus an allopract of the pract of amusing. We discuss the teasing acts observed in turns:

5.3.1   Teasing related to sexual partners

Among tertiary institution students, insiders discuss sexual partners in order to amuse themselves with each others' sexual partners. They talk about what their partners do for them, what pet names they call themselves and about the type of sexual partners they have . Let us consider one interaction:

Ex. 54

A: As a Law student, there's something we call the term of the contract. Say, we want to
    be going out. Why do we want to go out?

B: Do we want to be helping ourselves?

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A: See, in this part of the world, there's no more girlfriends and boyfriends… what
   we have are sexual partners or bed mates!

B: Hmmmnn.

A: when I'm in the mood, I'll just flash her and she has to come. She doesn't need to talk

   ..

B: No question!

A: she just comes, lie on the bed and we go!

In this example, 'A' made fun of girls who they refer to as sexual partners. Sex in this context is seen as "helping ourselves". In fact, some of the students explained to me that the idea of "helping" as a word in sexual discourse is to show that there is no serious emotional attachment in a "helping situation". The aim is for a mutual benefit which is based on the concept of "exchange". The sex partners in a "helping situation" know that the relationship is basically temporary and each one has his/her regular girl/boy friend.

This type of sexual relationship is what is depicted in this interaction. As explained by the students, a sexual partner's only mission is to warm the bed of his partner. There is no need for romantic talks and foreplays. She does not have the right to even talk; she just has to do what she is there to do. According to 'A', he does not even need to call her; all she needs to do is to come. In Nigeria, the concept of 'flashing',as used in the interaction, involves calling somebody's line without the intention of allowing the person to pick the call. Often times, the person whose number has been 'flashed' is expected to call back the person who has 'flashed'. The implicature of the use of the word- 'flash' by 'A2' in this interaction is to give an impression that he does not need to spend money in calling his sexual partner. The insiders laughed at the idea that it is only flashing that is required to get sexual partners to visit themselves.

Another example is discussed below:

Ex. 55

A- He too will now be doing huh u huh u!
 Laughter

B- He will now be sweating like Christmas goat… baby push me away 3ce

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The girls mock the way that the sexual partner makes so much noise whenever they are making love. Apart from making such funny noise, the boy sweats like a Christmas goat. A Christmas goat is presumed to sweat because of the imminent death that awaits it. While in sexual discourse, it is the tension that is the underlying reference. The teasing act is realised by imitating the sound of the sexual partner and also comparing him to a Christmas goat.

5.3.2 Teasing related to sexual act

Insiders make fun of their sexual partner's attitudes during the sexual act; they also make fun of insiders who pretend they have had no sexual experience. Let us consider two examples:

Ex. 56

A- Anytime that we're making love like this. When the thing is not touching me there and its not hitting me there and maybe guy man now/ it will be that time he will be doing jelenke jelenke/

B- He wants to come/

A- Ha! Sometimes now, me I don't like /

C- what is guy man?

A- That is my baby o! I don't like jelenke thing o
   I just say baby harder

C- Yeeeh, faster

B – deeper

A- I will now be pese for him, when he wants to come/

B- Like a police officer

→ C- He too will now be doing huh u huh u!

Laughter

→ D-   He will now be sweating like xmas goat… baby push me away 3ce

A- He will now be telling me..” hold something, hold something

B- Hold burglary

A hold burglary, hold the bed, hold anything….Ha!

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@

A- One day, I hold the burglary and our neighbours were hearing me

B- Ha! You and your husband are mad o!

…

In this interaction encounter, A narrates the funny way that she and her partner make love. The funny aspect is the fact that she has to hold something whenever they are making love. Her friends support the narration by providing examples of the things that may be available for her to hold at such instances. The climax of the story was a particular instance where she held their burglary and the neighbours heard them. Of course, the sound of the banging on the bed with the shaking of burglary will attract the attention of the neighbours. The friends laughed at the entire incident and 'B' concludes amidst laughter that the girl and her husband act like mad people. The narration is funny because only someone who is not in his/her right senses will go all the way to let people know that they are making love at one point or the other without being bothered. The teasing act is indexed by the insiders' collective laughter.

Let us consider another example of the teasing act in the interaction below:

Ex 57

A-You cant say you're a virgin/

B – Ok

A – And you dey collabo well well

B – How are you sure /

..

B – How are you sure I'm not a virgin?

C – Me, I can say I'm a virgin

A – You're a "clean yansh" you're not a virgin

In this discourse encounter, 'A' asserts that 'B' is not a virgin and that he cannot deny that he engages in sexual intercourse too. 'B' happens to be the student research assistant who was asking them questions relating to sex. A simply wanted the students to share their experience with him. Instead of answering the question, 'A' challenged 'B' that

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he should also be able to tell them one or two things about his own affairs. B tried to discountenance the assertion, by asking why 'A' would think that he is not a virgin. 'C' to interrupts and says that if 'B' can say he is a virgin, then he is also a virgin. 'A' insists that 'B' is not a virgin but a 'clean yansh'. As explained by the students, a clean yansh is someone who engages in sexual intercourse discreetly and pretends that he/she has not had any sexual experience before. The teasing act is realised by making a mockery of the whole scenario with the idea of 'clean yansh'.

Another instance of teasing related to sexual act is discussed below:

Ex. 58

A-   Abeg! Leave story, me sef be saint.

C -   I be bishop O!

       @

       In the interaction, the male students asked an insider if he had tried his hands on the fresh female students. They were disappointed by his answer. This response prompted his friends to say that if that is possible, then they are also saints and bishops.

       The teasing act is realised by the act of naming; the names are also ironical. They only called themselves 'bishops and saints' in order to ridicule their friend who was feigning ignorance of any sexual encounter with the fresh female students. They believe that it is not normal to say that one has not tried or attempted to have an affair with the fresh female students (the newly admitted students).

Let us consider another example of the teasing act in the interaction below:

Ex. 59

A-   Guys how far now?

      All – we dey!

B-   If you or your friend took a girl out,

      how would you narrate the experience someone else?

C -   Took out in what sense?

A-   You took her out!

C –   You mean lalakibo

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A-   What do u mean by lalakibo?

All-   ahhhhhhh!

B-   They are collaboring!

C-   They are helping each other

B-   They are putting a pestle in the mortal

@

O ko ibasun fun.

In this discourse encounter, 'A' only sought out to know how the insiders would narrate their experience if they took a girl out. The insiders termed the word 'take out' to mean sexual intercourse. 'B' insinuates that 'take out' could mean the sound indicative lexeme 'lalakibo'. They were all surprised that 'A' asked for clarification as regards the meaning of 'lalakibo' with the expression – 'ahhhhhhh!'. In order to explicate what 'B' meant, 'C' used the slang word 'collaboring', while 'D' also refers to the sexual act as 'helping each other'. B was more creative in his deployment of the metaphorical expression 'putting a pestle in the mortal'. 'C' finally says the sexual act literally means 'ko basun fun'. The teasing act is achieved with the different naming for referring to the sexual act which the insiders use to make fun of the simple expression 'take out'.

5.3.3 Teasing related to sexual organs

Insiders amuse themselves with the shape of their sexual organs. They also make fun of the sexual organs of outsiders. In doing the teasing act, they make use of slang words and slangy metaphors. Let us consider some examples:

Ex. 60

A- What are you covering? That small thing!

B- Boobie na boobie!

C- Don't mind her, maami cowbell!

A- Thanks, cowbell our milk! (touching her breast)

All laughs

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In this discourse encounter, 'B' understands that her friend's utterance was just meant to tease her. The three friends understand with recourse to Ssck the meaning of boobie and so contrast it with 'maami cowbell'. Maami cowbell refers to the cowbell advert on Nigerian Television where a big woman was used to advertise the milk. In the advert, the woman's breast was deliberately enlarged to draw attention to it. As such, undergraduates now use the advert to refer to ladies with big breasts as 'maami cowbell'.

'A1' deliberately asked a rhetorical question and immediately provides an answer to the question. This is just to show that her intention was not to get 'B' to answer a direct question. Responding, 'B' seems to understand the implicature of 'A's' utterance and thus continues to be cooperative without being offended by 'A's' reference to her breasts as a small thing. This text reveals that the friends are discussing the size of their breasts. The intention of 'A' was achieved because 'B' gave the appropriate answer. In essence, there is conversational success as the friends laughed at 'A's' reference to the advert's slogan.

Another example where the teasing act is realised by reference to outsider's sexual organ is discussed below:

Ex. 61

 A - Someone told me sometime that they gave this girl some hot drinks
   and she really became hot
 B - I'm hotter than fire
   O gbono felili
 A - That is, when dey do am come down she will ask dem to climb up.
   They were just jankrower this girl. She did not know when seven guy jankrower
   O gbono felili. She landed in the hospital, She has to even stitch
 C- Of course, they will now!
   Seven guys, its not easy
 A- Seven guys! I'm not even talking of one each
 B- You can imagine one of them having **that kin of size** that X talked about
   ..

Here, 'A' narrates the experience of a girl that was raped by seven men under the influence of alcohol. The girl is an outsider and she was dealt with by the rapists because of her pompous attitude on campus. The sexual act was done by seven different men and according to 'B', one of them might have the size of penis that they had already talked about. The idea of 'that kin size' that B mentioned caused the students to laugh. Thus, the teasing act is realised by a cross transfer of an earlier subject from the participants discourse history.

5.4   Pract of criticising

Tertiary institution students often find faults with some forms of sexual behaviour and attitude. They condemn some form of sexual relationships and they express their aversion for some sex styles. We discuss these in turn:

5.4.1   Disapproval of sexual attitude and behaviour

Tertiary institution students criticise other students who claim they have never had any sexual experience. Let us consider two interactions:

Ex 62

A – Do you know that Wale is very sharp?

B – Yes now, he has panachuka that babe

A – That babe is slow! She just dey allow the guy browse her on top nothing

B – Na she sabi (she knows better)

In this exchange, 'A' and 'B' express their disappointment at the sexual attitude of one of their friends who, according to them, is 'slow' and allows a certain boy to take advantage of her. As hinted by 'A2', the expression- 'browse her on top nothing'   means that the guy has touched all the necessary parts of the girl's body without any feeling for her. We are able to work out this implicature because of the choice of the expression – 'on top nothing'. This is often used to refer to an unbeneficial enterprise, something that

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nothing good can come out of. As used by the interactants, the words 'panachuka' and 'browse' are synonymous. The two slang words are used to refer to the sexual act.

Below is another example of the disapproval of a sexual attitude:

Ex. 63

A – Did you see X that day?

B – I saw him now

A –You saw how Y was following him?

B – Yes now

A – They went home together

B –That Bobo (that guy) would have really used her

A – Are u telling me?

That girl talks too much!

B – And she doesn't talk of anything other than men…she'll say that man did this and that.. especially if she likes the guy

A – She will talk die!

A – Remember that day we were coming from Z?

B – Ok. That she meet one kin guy like that! That kin parole!

A – She talked till we got home

B – Na love(its Love)

→ A-   What sort of love is that?

B -Love on top of tree!

→ A – Just one of those runs! Nothing much.

In this exchange, the two friends talked about a particular girl whose attitude they disapprove of. According to them, the girl likes to flirt around with men.

In line 6, 'B2' utterance- "that guy would have really used her" indicates 'B2's' disdain for the kind of sexual relationship that the girl is having with the boy in question. Her choice of the verb 'used' as against any other word implies that there is no mutual benefit in the sexual encounter that the girl is having with the particular sexual partner..

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Moreover, the girl is rebuked for engaging in all kinds of relationships with different men. In line 11 'B' cites another instance of the girl's illicit affair to show that she does not approve of the sexual partner. Her utterance- "One kin guy like that! That kin parole!" - shows that the girls do not approve of the girl's sexual lifestyle which they refer to as 'parole' and 'runs'.

5.4.2   Condemning sexual relationships

There are different kinds of sexual relationships. Some relationships are symbiotic while others are parasitic. The symbiotic ones have benefits attached to the relationships. For instance, in a relationship with an Aristo, the Aristo is meant to provide money and other material things while the "Aristo girl" has to satisfy the Aristo's sexual urge. But in a parasitic relationship, it is only one of the "lovers" who benefit from the relationship. When a relationship is perceived as parasitic, there is every tendency for criticism to arise.

Let us consider an example of the pract of criticism:

Ex. 64

A – I saw Tayo yesterday with that chikala.

B – I trust the guy, he go don browse am die!

C- Wouldn't you have done the same? **The babe na FOC** any time.

D- You know she is not my type,

    A- I trust you!

    B- Sure, she is not my type. I prefer them very slim!

    C- So, when is that your new chikala coming?

    D- She is still forming, but I'm sure she'll connect soon

    C- And after that, no network failure!

    D- Till she surrender….

    ..

'A' informs 'B' that he saw one of their friends with a particular girl. There is a presupposition that the girl is known by the two discussants through the use of the deictic demonstrative -that. 'B' index shared knowledge of the particular girl by forwarding the

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talk. According to 'B', their friend would have had sex with the girl. 'A' retorts that any of them could have done the same thing to the girl since the girl is an FOC. FOC is an acronym for 'free of charge'. This means that the girl is available at no cost to the boy. The boy does not have to spend money on her before she consents to have any sexual relationship with him. Apart from that, the girl is available at anytime for the boy. The criticising act is achieved by the name given to the girl for the kind of service she renders in the sexual relationship.

5.4.3   Expressing dislike for sex styles

Insiders talk about the sex styles that they dislike by describing how the sex style is being done or what makes it disgusting for them. They also talk about the performance of their partners with respect to the kind of sex style that they engage in. An illustration is given below:

Text 65

A- Anytime that we're making love like this. When the thing is not touching me there and its not hitting me there and maybe guy man now/ it will be that time he will be doing jelenke jelenke/

B -He wants to come/

A- Ha! Sometimes now, me I don't like /

C- What is guy man?

A- That is my baby o! I don't like Jelenke thing o

I just say baby harder

'A' describes how she and her boyfriend make love. She hinted that sometimes her sexual partner likes to do it gently and, by doing it gently, she does not feel him where it matters to her. The indexical 'there' is used to refer to a particular spot inside the vagina. When the penis touches this spot, it will give the woman the required satisfaction. This spot is generally known as the 'G" spot. In essence, it is not just penetrating the woman that matters but getting to the 'G' spot. In this discourse encounter, the criticising act is

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realised explicitly by 'A's' assertion that she does not like 'jelenke thing'. The insiders understand that 'jelenke thing' refers to the gentle love making that the girl had mentioned in the course of her narration. This aversion for the 'jelenke thing' makes her to utter commands to her sexual partner so that he can hit her harder in order to touch her 'G' spot.

In another interaction, the pragmatic act of criticising is achieved through the pract of expressing dislike for the sexual attitude of sexual partners. This is discussed below:

Ex 66

A1 You know, sometimes when they want to come, that is when you will be enjoying it

All- You know!

B2: Some men, you will not know when they're coming…

All- hen!(yes)

B3: They'll just say sweet heart I have come!

A4: You know, the one I hate most, when I'm almost coming, he will now just come!

Also in this encounter, the female students talk about orgasm. 'A' informs the insiders that some men are inconsiderate during the sexual encounter. They are only concerned about their own orgasm and not their partner's. "A" states explicitly that she is not allowed to reach orgasm before her man ejaculates - A4: You know, the one I hate most, when I'm almost coming, he will now just come! The criticising act is realised by the use of the verb 'hate'. The verb 'hate' means to dislike somebody or something intensely, often in a way that invokes feelings or anger, hostility or animosity (*Microsoft Encarta Dictionary* 2008). With respect to the utterance as expressed by 'A4', it means that the girl emotionally dislikes the sexual act of selfishness that is exhibited by some men in reaching orgasm.

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The diagram below captures our discussion of practs in TISSD.
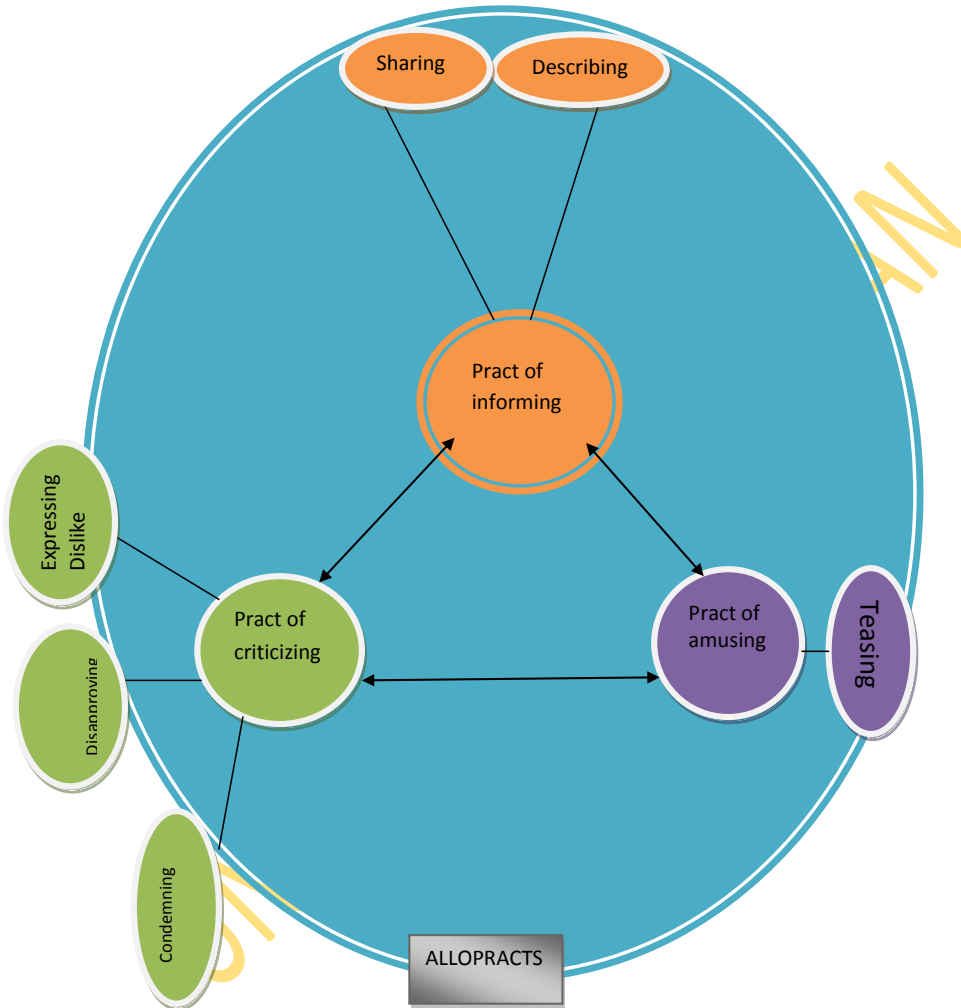
Fig. 5.2 - Practs and allopracts in TISSD

The chart shows that the practs are interwoven, sometimes informing may include description or criticism or both. The allopracts are context sensitive; Seymour (2010) in a related study explains that "the very same pragmeme of teasing act could be associated with criticising act. So pragmemes sometimes behave like conversational implicatures."

CHAPTER SIX

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF RESPONSES ON SUBJECT OF DISCOURSE, ATTITUDE AND PERCEPTION

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we describe and summarise the responses of our informants to the questionnaire. Five null hypotheses were subjected to Pearson product moment correlation (PPMC). PPMC was used because of the correlations we have to make with attitude and perception as the constant variables and other social variables such as gender and religion as the dependent variables. First, we present the demographic information and discuss the result of the questionnaire.

6.2 Demographic information of subjects

The table below shows the demographic information of the subjects used for this research.

Table 6.1 : Demographic information of subjects

Gender:	Frequency	percentage
Male	304	40
Female	456	60
Ages:		
16-20	268	35.3
20-25	355	46.7
25-30	112	14.7
30-35	23	3.0
40-45	2	3
Marital status:		
Single	709	93.3
Married	51	6.7
Religion:		
Christian	560	73.7
Muslim	200	26.3
Languages spoken:		
Yoruba	585	77
English	22	2.9
Igbo	98	12.9
Hausa	20	2.6
French	25	3.3
Pidgin	6	.8
Isoko	2	.3

The demographic information shows that the population of the female students is 456 which account for a total of 60% of the total number of population used for the study. The total number of male students is 304 with a percentage of 40%. The age variable reveals that majority of the respondents are between ages 20-25 which account for 46.7% of the total number of the subjects used for the study. This is followed by students between ages 16-20(35.3%), and students between ages 25-30(14.7%). The students between ages 30-35 and 40-45 are only 23 and 2 respectively. The age variable accounts for a representative distribution across all levels of students expected in a tertiary institution. The marital status shows that 93.3% of the respondents are not married. The remaining 6.7% are married students. A total number of 560 subjects are Christians while 200 are Muslims. The predominant language used by the students is Yoruba with a total of 77% while Igbo is 12.9% and Hausa accounts for just 2.6%. Other languages spoken by the students include: French, pidgin and Isoko which account for 3.3%, .8% and .3% respectively.

6.3   Discussion of findings

As a starting point, we present below the hypotheses that were used in eliciting the information on the relationship between attitudes and perceptions:

1. There is no significant relationship between the attitude and the perception of tertiary institution students to the language of sex
2. There is no significant relationship between the attitude of male students and that of female students in tertiary institutions in Lagos State to the language of sex.
3. There is no significant difference in the perception of male and female students in tertiary institutions in Lagos State to the language of sex
4. There is no significant difference in the attitude of Christian and Muslim students to the language of sex.
5. There is no significant difference in the perception of Christian and Muslim students to sexual discourse.

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Our discussion of findings is done in the sections that follow:

6.3.1 Influence of the attitude to and the perception of tertiary institution students to sexual discourse

Attitude and perception are relevant factors that affect one's disposition to something. According to the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (2005:81), "attitude is the way that you think and feel about somebody or something." Attitude shows one's general feeling about something or somebody. Irvine (2001:24) notes that "attitudes include participants' basic understandings of what the sociolinguistic systems consists of, not just emotional dispositions." On the other hand, perception has to do with one's understanding of something after a careful observation. In modern social psychology, perception is an important theme in understanding certain human behaviours. Edwards (2006) defines perception as "the filter through which sensory data are strained, and the establishment and maintenance of this filtering is culturally specific and- within social groups- individualised to a greater or lesser extent." What this means is that out of all the experiences and beliefs that an individual grows up with, the individual is expected to sieve out those beliefs that showcase his/her understandings of his/her beliefs. There are individual beliefs, group beliefs and cultural beliefs. In this section, our focus is on group beliefs as they relate to the students attitude to and perception of sexual discourse. The importance of group level beliefs in relation to sexual discourse is indexed by basic foregrounding in the words and expressions that are used in the students' sex related encounters. Pang (2009:9) observes that "linguistic items can gain or lose their tabooness depending on the perception of the general public in society." But we would like to deviate a bit from this view and assert that sometimes the perception of the general public may not be in contention but a speech group may feel the need to challenge existing norms – this is the case with the youth culture as is explicated in the present study.

Salami (2006) notes that " with the Nigerian society becoming more and more assimilated into the global village, college and university students are increasingly influenced both by the cultural values from the west and the middle east, including movies(on videos, satellite and the Internet)…". No doubt, the global influence on the

youth sub culture is an important factor to consider in issues relating to discussions on their attitude to and perception of sexual discourse.

Next, we present the result of all the hypotheses based on Pearson product moment correlation and this will be followed by a discussion of the findings.

H01: There is no significant relationship between attitude to and perception of tertiary Institution students to the language of sex

Table 6.2: Result of hypothesis 1 on the relationship between the attitude to and the perception of tertiary institution students to sexual discourse.

Variable	Mean	Std dev	N	R	P	Remark
Attitude to sexual discourse	16.3353	3.7269				
			760	.443	.000	Sig
Perception to sexual discourse	22.2684	5.0878				

Sig. at .01 level

It is shown in the above table that, there is a significant relationship between attitude to and perception of the language of sex among the students(r = .443**, N = 760, P<.01). This indicates that tertiary institutions students' perception had a significant influence on their attitude to sexual discourse. Hence, the null hypothesis is rejected. As a result of this outcome, we discuss prevailing attitudes (beliefs) in section 6.2.3.

6.3.2 Gender and TISSD

Various researches on language and gender have examined the differences in the language of men and women. (cf Lakoff, 1992; Cameron, 2006; Coates, 1998; Tannen, 2005; Edwards, 2006; Salami,2006 etc). Although Lakoff and others have seen gender as influencing language use in profanity, we believe that the actual use of language in different interactional settings position selves differently (cf Eckert and McGinet, 1999).

We found out that among tertiary institution students, the concept of insiders and outsiders is a relevant factor in choosing whether to speak or not. Linguistic adaptability is invoked in interactions where the need for communication is established. Coded forms of language are the preferred choice by both male and female students. The point therefore is that both male and female students discuss sexual issues to reflect social bonding and group affiliation other than gender styling. By gender styling, we mean performing the normative gender stereotyping or playing out the dictates of 'gender order' (Eckert and McGinet, 2003). In line with this thought, Irvine (2001[Eckert and McGinet]) explains that "how people talk express their affiliations with some and distancing from others".

Commenting also on the influence of sex and gender on interaction, Burnette (2006:198) opines that "overall, men and women have more similarities than differences in how they behave, especially with respect to interpersonal and sexual relationships." In line with this direction, the present study points to the fluidity in gender roles as it relates to sexual discourse. In this study, we observe that gendered sexual scripts are not operative in tertiary institution students' sexual discourse. Lorber (1994:46) defines "gendered scripts as the normative patterns of sexual desire and sexual behaviour, as prescribed for the different gender statuses". Sexual discussions as engaged in by tertiary institution students show that both the male and female students use coded linguistic forms in talking about sex related issues. Although interactional styles vary across the groups, there is considerable evidence that both male and female students are not constrained by their gender statuses in sex related discussions.

With respect to language and gender research, we believe that it is no longer fashionable to look at the relationship between language and gender strictly on the basis of the dominance and difference approach to gender studies. Our use of the term fashionable is in tandem with the postmodern view. Paltridge (2006:33[Cameron 1998:451]) reports that "expressions of gender and power are always context-specific and need to be understood in relation to who the person is speaking to, from what position and for what purpose." A cursory look at the make-up of the recorded conversations reveals that both female and male students in this study discuss sex-related issues among themselves. The discourse topics range from sexual intercourse to sexual partners and sexual organs.

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The observation discussed above is contrary to the result obtained from the questionnaire. This is presented below:

H02: There is no significant relationship between attitude of male and female students in tertiary institutions in Lagos State to the language of sex.

Table 6.3: Relationship between attitude of male and female students in tertiary institutions in Lagos State to the language of sex.

Attitude to Sexual Discourse	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Crit. T	Cal. T	DF	P
Male	304	16.9638	3.5286	1.96	3.706	75.8	.000
Female	456	15.9496	3.8034				

The above table shows that there is a significant difference in the attitude of male and female students to sexual discourse. (Crit.t =1.96, Cal.t=3.706, df=758, p<.05 level of significance). The null hypothesis is rejected.

H03: There is no significant difference in the perception of male and female students to sexual discourse.

Table 6.4 – Result on the perception of male and female students to the language of sex.

Perception on sexual discourse	N	Mean	Std. Dev	Crit-t	Cal-t	DF	P
Male	304	22.8224	4.t7507	1.96	2.459	758	.014
Female	456	21.8991	5.2735				

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The above table shows that there is a significant difference in the perception of male and female students to sexual discourse (Crit.t=1.96, Cal.t = 2.459, df=758, p<.05 level of significance). The null hypothesis is rejected.

The results presented above contradict the evidence derived from their language use in the recorded conversations. This points to the fact that real interactional instances of language use may reflect other views as against what is reported by language users.

Below is the composition of the instances of sexual discourse as reflected in the recorded conversations

Table 6.5: Composition of the instances of sex discourse in TISSD

Sex talk	Frequency	%	Examples of some expressions used
Sexual intercourse			
Male only	11	38	there's a girl in my hostel and she dey collabo well well
Female only	16	55	this guy, they've been going out and he finally gave her kondo olopa
Male and female	2	7	yes now, he has panachukwu that babe
Sexual organs			
Male only	2	20	I like the way the Chelsea stood out
Female only	2	8	a girl brings out her boobie na boobie those slim guys, their dick is usually big, the fat ones have 'ikeregbe'
Female and male	NONE	NONE	NONE
Sexual relationships			
Male only	2	33.3	There is no crime in sampling a few
Female only	2	33.3	Umugi is when uncle head me badly
Male and female	2	33.3	I like playing , ere ipa(rough play)

6.3.3   Religion and TISSD

There are three main religious groups in Nigeria: Christianity, Islam, and African Traditional religion. From the researcher's personal observation, there are more Christians and Muslims than the traditional believers. This is evident from the number of churches and mosques and their patrons than we have for ATR.

No religion tolerates lewd talk. Believers are expected to be righteous in deeds. In the Christian religion, there are both positive and negative attitudes towards sex. The positive attitude is that sex is pleasurable in marriage because it was created by God. Negative attitude to sex in the Christian faith is marked by sexual deviations that are condemned in the Holy Bible and at different teachings in the churches. Such deviations include: "homosexuality (Leviticus 18:22, Romans 1: 26-27 and 1 Corinthians 6: 9-10), adultery (Exodus 20:4; Deuteronomy 22: 22), prostitution (Proverbs 7:1-27, Proverbs 29:3 and fornication (1 Corinthians 6: 9-10)" Green field (1991). The fact about sexuality in Christianity is that it is only in marriage that sex should be experienced.

Also in Islam, sex is largely reserved for marriage. All forms of sexual deviations are strictly forbidden in Islam: "adultery (Qur'an 17:32), fornication (Qur'an 24:2), homosexuality(qur'an 7:80-84; 11:69-83, 29:28-35) and prostitution (Sahih al-Bukhari 3:34:439)" (Wikipedia).   In Islamic law, it is only marriage that legalises sexual intercourse between husband and wife.

With respect to this background information on religion in the Nigerian society, we discuss the students' religious inclinations with their attitude to and perception of sexual discourse. The result is presented below:

Ho4: there will be no significant difference in the attitude of Christian and Muslim students to sexual discourse.

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Table 6.6: Result on the difference in the attitude of Christian and Muslim students to the language of sex

Perception on sexual discourse	N	Mean	Std. Dev	Crit-t	Cal-t	DF	P
Xtian	560	16.5393	3.6895	1.96	2.284	758	.023
Muslim	200	15.8400	3.7916				

The above shows that there is a significant difference in the attitude of Christian and Muslim students to Sexual Discourse. (Crit-t=1.96, Cal-t=2.284, df=758, p<.05 level of significance). The null hypothesis is rejected.

Ho 5: There is no significant difference in the perception of Christian and Muslims students to sexual discourse

Table 6.7: Result on the perception of Christian and Muslims students to the language of sex

Perception on sexual discourse	N	Mean	Std. Dev	Crit-t	Cal-t	DF	P
Xtian	560	22.0875	5.0392	1.96	1.642	758	.101
Muslim	200	22.7750	5.2009				

The above table shows that there is no significant difference in the perception of Christian and Muslim students to Sexual Discourse. (Crit-t=1.96, Cal.t=1.642, df=758, p<.05 level of significance). The null hypothesis is accepted.

The result shows that both Christians and Muslims have different perceptions to sex and its related phenomena but their attitude to it seem to be the same. Izugbara (2004:19) observes that "sexual fore-play is frowned upon as un-Islamic and intercourse

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usually occurs in the dark or semi-dark', but now 'things seem to be a bit different with changing perception and attitudes of young ones to sexual discourse."

Based on the quantitative and qualitative data analysis, we discuss in the next section the prevailing beliefs in TISSD.

6.4   Beliefs in TISDD

Beliefs could be accessed individually and collectively through attitude towards something or somebody. With respect to tertiary institution students in this study, in terms of beliefs relating to attitude to sexual discourse, we made the deductions below from the interviews and focus group discussions, buttressed with some of the recorded conversations:

6.4.1. Positive attitude towards pre-marital sex

Contrary to the teachings in both Islam and Christianity, tertiary institution students do not see anything wrong in having pre-marital sex in a heterosexual relationship. The prevailing idea is that it is simply impossible to have a relationship without sexual relationship. Consider the result of Ho4 and Ho5. We illustrate with two examples from the recorded conversations:

Ex. 67

A: This guy, they've been going out, and he finally gave her kondo olopa. So she
   started crying because she has lost it.

B: Why was she crying?

A: Not crying like uh uh uh, but she felt somehow sha…

B: Okay,

A: And I told her that in a relationship, something like that was bound to happen, if not now maybe later.

The female students in this encounter express the belief that sex before marriage is something that is bound to happen in a relationship and it only depends on the time that both sexual partners decide to engage in such act. Invariably, she does not see anything

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wrong in the girl engaging in pre-marital sex. The phrase, "something like that" when taken with the co-text, "was bound to happen", instantiate sense indicative euphemisms. In this context, the expressions indicate the speaker's positive attitude to pre-marital sex. Another interaction example that reveals students' belief on pre-marital sex is discussed below:

Ex. 68

A: See, in this part of the world, there's no more girlfriends and boyfriends… what we have are sexual partners or bed mates!

B: Hmmmnn.

A: when I'm in the mood, I'll just flash her and she has to come. She doesn't need to talk

All laughed

B: No question!

A: she just comes, lie on the bed and we go!

The male students in this interaction were fascinated by the narrator's bravery and confidence over the way he handles issues relating to sexual relationships, particularly because he does not even have to spend any money on his 'bed mate'; none of the interactants see anything wrong in his sexual attitude. The utterance, "she just comes, lie on the bed and we go" when taken with the co-text, "sexual partners or bed mates", instantiate metaphorical conceptualisation of sex as journey. In this context, the expressions indicate the speaker's positive attitude to pre-marital sex without any emotional attachment to the sexual partner in question. B's response reflects his support or agreement with what 'A' has said. The expression "No question" is an anticipatory utterance completion offered by B to summarise A's narration. Tannen (1990) explains that by agreeing about other people's evaluation of someone else, people reinforce their shared values and beliefs.

6.4.2 The students favour multiple sexual partners

Despite the risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases, some of the students still keep multiple sexual partners. There is thus every tendency for individuals to be encouraged in continuing with such illicit acts. Below are two interaction examples of non-denial of practices involving multiple sexual partnerships.

Ex. 69

A-Wale wont take it easy if you trespass!

→ B -Abeg leave story, Wale sef dey do runs. [wale too do runs]

In this extract, B's utterance features a presupposition trigger – *too*. In this context, "too" behaves more like a discourse marker (DMs) presupposition trigger (cf Jayez, 2004). Jayez (2004: 89) explains that "Dms presuppose the existence of a proposition *P* and presuppose that it is connected to the current proposition U through a certain consequence discourse relation."   In relation to the above interaction, we can infer that "B" agrees and confirms that he is involved in pre- marital affair which is indexed by the use of the slangy word "runs". The use of "too" connects the two people to the same act of indulging in pre-marital affairs with different female students.

Another instance where the belief relating to students positive attitude to multiple partners feature is the distinction that is often made between the type of sexual partner that is being talked about. An interaction example is given below:

Ex. 70

A- The first one is a maga, as in Aristo girl. She goes to party and if the guy can buy her phone or digital camera or something like that, fine. And she still maintains a boyfriend but the guy is not in Nigeria; the guy is abroad.

In this female student narration, as it also reflected in the female students' discussions, there is a difference between a boyfriend and an 'Aristo'. The male students also make a distinction between a girl friend and a bed mate. This practice of having

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multiple sexual partners necessitates the various names that the students coin in discussing their sexual partners.

6.4.3 Sexual intercourse is essentially pleasurable

Salawu (2006:147) notes that "right now, the society has been so much sexualised that people, especially those at the impressionable age want to see sex as the most important thing to life." The students in this study talk about the way they enjoy sex and the different styles they engage in. They also make reference to dispreferred sexual styles. They have different words and expressions for referring to people who know how to make love and those who do not know how to make love. Let us consider an interaction example:

Ex. 71

> A- Anytime that we're making love like this.
> → When the thing is not touching me there and
>   It's not hitting me there and maybe guy man now/
>   it will be that time he will be doing jelenke jelenke/
> D-   [He wants to come] /
> B-   Ha! Sometimes now, me I don't like /
> C-   what is guy man?
> B-   That is my baby o! I don't like jelenke thing o
> → I just say baby harder
> E-   Yeeeh, faster
> B-   deeper

In this interaction, buttressing information from interviews and focus group discussions, A uses euphemisms and indexicals to express her disposition to sexual intercourse. By the expressions, "when the thing is not touching me there", "it's not hitting me there" and "I just say baby harder", the female student expresses her sexual expectations and sensations. The positivity of her disposition is indexed by "not touching

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me there" (not fucking hard enough), co-texted by lexemes, deployed both by A and other interactants, indicating sexual hedonistic desires on the part of the female speaker: "Anytime that we're making love like this", "it's not hitting me there", "he will be doing jelenke jelenke", "I don't like jelenke thing o", "I just say baby harder" and "Yeeeh, faster"

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6.5   Concealment in TISSD

Liadi and Omobowale (2011[Male 2010]) state that "in terms of sex, hip hop music has made youths to be more liberal". Their data show that the contemporary Nigerian music is music of sexual orientation which has in one way or the other affected the attitudes of today's youth to sex. Although tertiary institution students want to be liberal in issues relating to sex, their use of language has been found to reveal concealment strategies. Odebunmi (2011) while investigating concealment strategies in consultative encounters in Nigerian hospitals observes that "when the need for concealment is established, the referential elements have to interact with both the context and the goals of users to be realised as concealment items" (Odebunmi, 2010:626). In this study, we define concealment as a deliberate act of communicating sex related issues in an unclear or obscure manner, such that only insiders can have access to issues being discussed. Concealment strategies in TISSD include: Use of indexicals, Abbreviation, Name calling, Irony, and Double speak. We present below a table showing the concealment strategies and the expressions used.

Table 6.8: Concealment strategies in TISSD

Concealment strategy	expressions used	Meaning
Use of non-deictic demonstratives	This guy, that my baby, something like that, that chikala,	Sexual partners
Use of address terms	Baby Uncle Sister	Girlfriend or boy friend boy friend girl friend
Abbreviations	FOC TDB	Free sex All night sex
Name calling	Fresh fishes	Potential sexual partner
	Chop and clean mouth	One who engages in sexual activity and pretends he/she has not done so.
	Clean yansh	Someone who has regular sex but who pretends not have had any sexual experience.
Double speak	Uncle is tough	A man who is good at sex
	The guy is wicked	Meaning that the boy/man knows how to make love

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CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

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7.1   Introduction

This chapter discusses the summary of the findings of this study, the conclusion drawn from the findings and recommendation for further studies. These are discussed in turn:

7.2   Summary of findings

In this study, sexual discourse among tertiary institution students in Lagos State has been studied. The findings have been presented and discussed under the following headings:

(a) Discourse forms in TISSD

(b) Contextual features in TISSD

(c) Pragmatic functions in TISSD

(d) Quantitative analysis of responses on subject of discourse, attitude and perception

7.2.1   Discourse forms in TISSD

The forms of language that are observable in TISSD are plain euphemisms and metaphors. Plain euphemisms are used in discussions surrounding sexual act and sexual organs. There are mainly two types of these: sound-indicative and sense –indicative euphemisms. The sounds used in TISSD as euphemisms have fixed and non-fixed meanings attached to them but the non-fixed ones were more popular with the tertiary institution students in Lagos in their sexual discourse.

Metaphors are of three types: euphemistic, dysphemistic and slangy metaphors. Slangy metaphors had the highest percentage distribution in terms of use. The

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preponderance of slangy metaphors is concomitant with the youth subculture. Euphemistic metaphors in the data are sourced from five domains: food/fruit, security, mysticism, leisure activity and everyday language. In the fruit and food category, banana is one fruit that cuts across different boundaries. It is used structurally to refer to the female breast and penis and ontologically to refer to sexual act. Names for sexual organs are sourced from food, security and mysticism while names for sexual act are sourced from food, leisure and journey.

Dysphemistic metaphors are sourced from four domains: Army, carpentry, food/meat and everyday language. The dysphemistic metaphors are used in talking about sexual organs and sexual acts.

Slangy metaphors are sourced from four domains: sport, music, Internet and culture. Slangy metaphors that are sourced from sport domain are names of European football clubs which are used to refer to the female students' sexual organs. Those from the Internet relate to sexual act while names for sexual partners are derived from popular hip hop music and kinship terms.

7.2.2 Contextual features in TISSD

Shared beliefs were of three types: shared cultural knowledge (SCK), shared situational knowledge (SSK) and shared experiential knowledge (SEK). SCK is characterised by the use of culture-tainted slang words which bifurcates into shared knowledge of the macro-culture and micro-culture. Macro-culture tainted slang words reflect in the shared knowledge of universal slang words by most of the students. Micro-culture tainted slang words reflect in the students' use of language in three ways: creative lexicalisation of indigenous languages, blending of foreign and indigenous languages and through semantic shift (foreign language used differently). SSK is characterized into two: shared personal co-experiential knowledge and shared extrapersonal co-experiential knowledge. Shared personal co-experiential knowledge is indexed by the students' use of attitudinal markers and anticipatory completion while shared extrapersonal co-experiential knowledge features in their use of linguistic and cognitive mappings.

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7.2.3 Practs in TISSD

The practs observable are those of amusing, informing and criticising. Pract of informing has two allopract: sharing and describing. The sharing allopracts are two: sharing experiences on sex style and sharing experiences on sexual intercourse. The describing allopract are also two: describing sexual organs and describing the sexual act. The amusing act has only the teasing act which comprises of the following ipras: teasing related to sexual partners, teasing related to sexual act and teasing related to sexual organs. The criticising pract has three allopracts disapproving act, condemning act and **dislike expressing act.**

7.2.4 Attitudes to and perception of tertiary institution students to sexual discourse

The result of the quantitative analysis indicates that there is a significant relationship between students' attitude and their perception to sexual discourse(r = .443, N = 760, P<.01), and there is a significant difference in the attitude and perception of male and female students to sexual discourse (P<0.5). Although there is a significant difference in the attitude of Muslim and Christian students to sexual discourse (P<.05), there is no significant difference in their perception to sexual discourse (P>.05).

7.2.5 Beliefs in TISSD

As reflected in our data for this study, TISSD exhibits three main beliefs about sex : positive attitude towards pre-marital sex, group favour multiple sexual partners and sex is essentially pleasurable. These beliefs reflect the youths' counter-hegemonic attitude to and perception of sex. Gender and religion do not have any significant influence on the attitude to and perception of sexual discourse among the students. (cf Table 6:3 & 6.4 pg 178)

7.2.6 Concealment strategies in TISSD

Although tertiary institution students want to be liberal in issues relating to sex, their use of language has been found to reveal concealment strategies. These are tactically deployed in order to restrict access to the information being shared to in-group members

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only. Concealment strategies in TISSD include the use of indexicals, abbreviations, name calling, irony and double speak.

7.3   Conclusion

7.3.1   Contributions of the study

This study has investigated the pragmatic tools undergraduates used when engaged in sexual discourse in Nigeria, using a modified version of the Mey's (2001) theory of Pragmeme, Odebunmi's (2006) contextual beliefs model and insights from conceptual metaphor theory. While we centrally followed the principles prescribed by the models and theories, we introduced a few new concepts strictly applicable to sexual discourse among tertiary institution students in Nigeria as our contribution to pragmatics literature. These include: shared experiential knowledge (SEK) (which bifurcates into shared personal co-experiential knowledge and shared extra personal co-experiential knowledge) and a data-suited development and extension of the concept of metaphor in Mey's theory.

The work has also taken sexual discourse a few steps farther than the limits of existing literature. While major linguistic studies of sex-related language such as Crespo (2008) and Odebunmi (2010) have considered sexual discourse within (critical) discourse analytic parameters, the present study has undertaken an extensive, almost pioneering pragmatic study on sexual discourse, using a mix of pragmatic act theory, contextual beliefs models and metaphor theoretical elements.

This work has made an inventory of sex-related terms used by Nigerian higher institution students. This, we believe, will be useful in a lexicographic compilation of taboos and other related concepts in Nigeria, an effort that is yet to be made in the Nigerian linguistic scholarship.

The research has contributed to youth discourse as a whole by exploring pragmatic functions in TISSD, thus making available some sort of heuristic to understanding the youth psychology and discourse tendencies. It has shown that there are two levels of practing: to the insiders and to the outsiders. Unlike earlier studies on sexual discourse, this study has demonstrated that interactants in TISSD act on certain shared contextual beliefs which depend on the shared knowledge of the cultural, situational and experiential

mores of the culture of the people. It has also shown how contextual features play important roles in the production and interpretation of utterances by speakers and hearers. Thus, understanding the language of sex and associated socio-emotional variables among the students requires background knowledge of the social, linguistic and interactional resources the students draw upon in their sexual discourse.

7.3.2 Applications of the study

This work has offered, among other things, a pragmatic model for analysing the language of sex among Nigerian higher institution students. This model, apart from being used for this purpose, can be applied wholesale or modified to related discourses such as the discourse of police and accused in Nigeria, commercial sex discourse and intelligence and crime discourse.

Also, the terms compiled and their pragmatic functions could be applied to and integrated with educative programmes geared towards creating awareness about and controlling HIV/AIDS and other STDs. Given that discourses related to these diseases are steeped in secrecy, some of the terms that are very private could be adopted for concealment-targeted and in-group communication among people living with HIV/AIDS; and some of the practs identified in this study could be exploited in concert with the terms for the design of effective control programmes.

7.3.3 Suggestions for further studies

In our study, we have sampled only the institutions based in Lagos State. It will be interesting to have our findings compared with those based on samples from other states in Nigeria or states of the federation that are not as heterogeneous as Lagos State. This will both further validate our findings and provide wider grounds for more reliable generalisations on sexual discourse in Nigeria
Also, some other studies could be conducted on how the language of sex is used and negotiated among both the adult and non-literate groups. While a study on the former will provide information on generational confluences or separations with the present study, the one on the latter will show social-class distinctions relative to the present study.

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QUESTIONNAIRE

This study aims at investigating pragmatic strategies used by undergraduates in sexual discourse. We implore you to fill in the questionnaire honestly and patiently. Information provided will be treated with utmost confidentiality. Thank you.

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Tick the appropriate box

SEX   Male   ☐   Female   ☐

Age: 16 – 20   ☐   20 – 25   ☐

                25 -30   ☐   30 - 35   ☐

                40 -45   ☐

Marital Status: Single   ☐   Married   ☐

Institution: …………………………………………………………………………...

Course of Study/ Faculty: …………………………………………………………..

Level of Study   : ------------------------------

Religion: Christianity ☐   Islam ☐

                African Traditional Religion ☐

Place of Residence:

On Campus: School   Hostel   ☐

                Off Campus   ☐   Place _____

 Language(s) spoken other than English ……………………………….

State of origin …………………………………..

Ethnic group …………………………….

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Choose the option that best describes your response: SA- Strongly Agree, A- Agree, SD- Strongly Disagree, D- disagree.

	SA	A	SD	D
ASPECT OF SEX RELATED DISCOURSE AND STUDENTS' ATTITUDE				
1. I feel free talking about sexual intercourse with friends.				
2. I am not comfortable talking about sex related diseases with my friends				
3. I find it interesting talking about features of sexual organs with friends.				
4. I encourage discussion on sexual relationships amongst my friends				
5. Because of my religious beliefs, I walk away from my friends who discuss sex related issues openly				
6. In line with my religion, I dislike anyone who makes direct reference to sex related issue				
7. I do not like to discuss sex issues in the public because my religion does not permit such discussions.				
8. Members of my religious affiliation will castigate me if they see me discussing sex related issues, so I do not want them to know I do.				
9. I cannot discuss sex related issues freely because it is debasing for me				
10. I feel freer to discuss sex related issues than a member of the opposite sex				
11. I feel it is dignifying for me to talk about sex related issues with someone of the opposite sex				
12. I know my culture restrains me about sex and morality. As such, I do not engage in explicit discussions of sex, even with my friends				
13. I do not believe it is right for my culture to place constraints on sex related discussions				
14. I believe it is good to encourage discussions relating to sex				

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SEX

	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent	Cumulative percent
Valid				
Male	304	40.0	40.0	40.0
Female	456	60.0	60.0	60.0
Total	760	100.0	100.0	100.0

AGE

	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent	Cumulative percent
Valid 16 – 20	268	35.3	35.3	35.3
20 – 25	355	46.7	46.7	46.7
25 – 30	112	14.7	14.7	14.7
30 – 35	23	3.0	3.0	3.0
40 - 45	2	.3	.3	.3
Total	760	100.0	100.0	100.0

MARITAL STATUS

	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent	Cumulative percent
Valid Single	709	93.3	93.3	93.3
Married	51	6.7	6.7	6.7
Total	760	100.0	100.0	100.0

RELIGION

	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent	Cumulative percent
Valid XTIAN	560	73.7	73.7	73.7
ISLAM	200	26.3	26.3	26.3
Total	760	100.0	100.0	100.0

LANGUAGES

	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent	Cumulative percent
Valid				
Hausa	20	2.6	2.6	2.6
Igbo	98	12.9	12.9	12.9
Yoruba	585	77.0	77.0	77.0
English	22	2.9	2.9	2.9
Egun	2	.3	.3	.3
French	25	3.3	3.3	3.3
Isoko	2	.3	.3	.3
Pidgin	6	.8	.8	.8
Total	760	100.0	100.0	100.0

Group Statistics

SEX	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
ATTITUDE MALE	304	16.9638	3.5286	.2024
FEMALE	456	15.9496	3.8034	.1781
PERCEPTION MALE	304	22.82224	4.7507	.2725
FEMALE	456	21.8991	5.2735	.2470

Independent Samples test

	Levene's Test for Equality Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
	F	Sig	T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference		Lower	Upper
ATTITUDE Equal variances assumed	3.789	.052	3.706	758	.000	1.0143	.2737		.4770	1.5515
Equal Variances not assumed			3.762	681.776	000	1.0143	.2696		.4849	1.5436
PERCEPTION Equal variances assumed	3.880	.049	2.459	758	.014	.9232	.3755		.1862	1.6603
			2.511	693.592	.012	.9232	.3677		.2012	1.6452
Equal Variances not assumed										

Group Statistics

RELIGION	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
ATTITUDE XTIAN	560	16.5393	3.6895	.1559
ISLAM	200	15.8400	3.7916	.2681
PERCEPTION XTIAN	506	22.0875	5.0392	.2129
ISLAM	200	22.7750	5.2009	.3678

Independent Samples Test

	Levene's Test for Equality Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
	F	Sig	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference		Lower	Upper
ATTITUDE Equal variances assumed	.190	.663	2.284	758	.023	.6993	.3062		9.828E-02	1.3003
Equal Variances not assumed			2.255	342.404	.025	.6993	.3101		8.926E-02	1.3093
ATTITUDE Equal variances assumed	1.013	.315	-1.642	758	.101	-.6875	.4186		-1.5093	.1343
Equal Variances not assumed			-1.618	341.155	.107	-.6875	.4250		-1.5234	.1484

Text 1

A1: There's a girl in my hostel and she dey collabo well well….

..

A2: She's in part time at the Agege campus. Actually, when I entered 100L, I met her in the

hostel. When they want to start that thing…I mean collabo../

B: Yes! the sexual intercourse/

A3: [Iwo lo sobe] …. The collabo

  (It is you that said so o!)

C: Yes now, collabo is the sexual intercourse.

A: …(silence)

Text 2

A: This guy, they've been going out, and he finally gave her kondo olopa… So she

started crying because she has lost it.

B: Why was she crying?

A: Not crying like uh uh uh, but she felt somehow sha…

B: Okay,

A: And I told her that in a relationship, something like that was bound to happen, if not now

maybe later.

Text 3{090324_002(3)}

A1You know, sometimes when they want to come, that is when you will be enjoying it

All- You know!

B2: Some men, you will not know when they're coming…

All- hen!(yes)

B3: They'll just say sweet heart I have come!

A4:You know, the one I hate most, when I'm almost coming, he will now just come!/

C5: See my boyfriend that normally uses like 20 mins to 15mins, he will come….omo! 30

minutes we still they go o.

A – [ha! Gbenga uses 1 hour!]

A6:En Hen?

 (Really?)

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C7: Forty five mins we still dey go!

All: <u>Eh! Haa</u>!

B8: I go stand up!

A-   Me,, I go dey rest for road o! I cannot come and die! (Yoruba transliteration – mi o le wa ku)

..

Text 4

A – On Saturday, when we left, do you know that when me and Funke

got to the hostel it was like haa! why did we leave ! that we

would have stayed, I now told funke that today, before it will be 10 o clock,

Laitan will feel like **dying**. <u>Eyah, pele jare</u> !(sorry!)

B-   You know what I did?, I just use excuse, use style, use scope,

I just ran away from home…

A-   I said it that Laitan will not stay in the house! I told you now!

B-   <u>Ha</u>! I ran away…because he has already been calling me

that he cant stay alone, he cant sleep alone

..

A- Can you imagine?

C-   <u>Iro lo n pa</u>, just because he wan do something!

(he is lying)

Text 5

A: When we finally got home, we talked, we were talking

B: On that particular day!

A: On that particular day, we were talking about experiences, you know, me I like playing o/

C:[<u>Iro lo n pa!</u>]

 (she's lying!)

A: I'm not lying! I'll tell you, I like playing, <u>Ere ipa</u> (Rough play),

<u>Ma fun e lese</u>(I'll give you blow..

B: So you were doing that too?

A: Seriously, so from there before you know it, eye contact and all, then 'gen gen!'

C: Gen gen! gen gen!

..

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A – gen gen, that very thing!

C: You start from touching?

A: Yes from there, pulling off clothes- the guy pulls off your clothes, you help to lose his belts…it starts and after some minutes the play ends.

Text 6

A-   Umugi is when uncle head me badly!

B-   Yeah, when he nods you.

A - …And that bros is wicked

B –   He is good

A-   He is wicked…

   You see, when he heads you like this and he knows that you're enjoying it and you

   really want him to enter you…/

B –[he will not answer you!]

A - They they will now be using their thing to play around the house like this!

@

..

B – /Please put this thing in!

A – You will now be saying please put this thing in!

B – [please score o, please play match.]

A -You know, its that yesterday's style that is sweet! Let me tell you

B – Tell me.

A – That uncle sat down like this and and I sat on down and stretched my leg like this.

B – Yeah! You have killed him!

A – And I was going up and down like this…

B – And you start to turn "Amala"(yam flour)

..

Text 7

A – Do you know that wale is very sharp?

B – Yes now, he has panachukwu that babe

 A – That babe is slow! She just dey allow the guy browse her on top nothing

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B – Na she sabi

(she knows better)

Text 8

A – Did you see X that day?

B – I saw him now

A –You saw how Y was following him?

B – Yes now

A – They went home together

B –That Bobo (that guy) would have really used her

A – Are u telling me?

      That girl talks too much!

B – and she doesn't talk of anything other than men…

      she'll say that man did this and that.. especially if she likes the guy

A – She will talk die!

A – Remember that day we were coming from Z?

B – Ok. That she meet one kin guy like that! That kin parole!

A – She talked till we got home

B – Na love(its Love)

A - What sort of love is that?

B -Love on top of tree!

A – Just one of those runs! Nothing much.

Text 9

A-   How was yesterday?

B-   Nothing much!

A-   You mean uncle did nothing?

B-   You don spoil!

A-   Gist me now! How did it go?

B-   Well, we talked and you know….like that , like that…

A-   So?

B-   So what?

A-   Haa haan! Which one be dat now?

B-   Hmmmn, I know what you want to hear but seriously nothing happened.

A- Tell that to the birds!

B- Really, we just kissed and that was all!

A- So, uncle didn't get down?

B- Na wa o! how many times do you want me to say that?

A- Just want to be sure!

B- Well, maybe another time.

Text 10

A – Do you know that my baby, the kakaye is/

All - [very big!]

A – Alhaji! O le le!

B – You know all these our men that they are small but mighty

A – Yes o! just like my husband, Mr short, very mighty.

Text 11

A- You no see funmi yesterday in class?

B- Omo yen dun! That child is sweet!

C- Na wale dey there o! (it is Y that is there)

A- So?

B- Don't mind kola, as if we don't know?

C- Wale wont take it easy if you trespass!

A- Abeg leave story, Wale sef dey do runs.

B- I like the way the Chelsea stood out!

A- The barca sef dey well well!

C – you guys!

Text 12

A- Those jambites are fresh fishes O!

B- Hmmmn, you're at it again!

C- There is no crime in sampling a few.

B- I trust you!

C- So, you want to tell us you have not tried your hands on any?

B – Why should I?

A-   Abeg! Leave story, me sef be saint.

C – I be bishop O!

..

Text 13

A-   Those mallams at Alaba are so useless!

B-   I don't do Mallams

A-   I don't do it too, but when we are going home, around that Alaba, when they want to pee and they are not ashame.They bring it out on the road .

B-   Haaa! You have not heard of small but mighty!

You have not seen some that when you are wet and they stand like this… you will just go dry and say ' ha uncle! This kin thin no fit enter me o!

..

A-   The ones that you will cry when you see them and plead that you cant do it/

B-   The ones that when they give you doggy you will vomit. It will get up to here../

A –[it will get to the mouth!]

B – When I told my friends I did one doggy that I started to vomit, they abused me that I'm too promiscuous

..

A-   Youre not, its all fun!

B-   Uncle is tough!

A – He should be!

B – He should not do more than 3, you will be tired

A – I cant do doggy, I will throw up!

B – Or if you do missionary that they will raise your legs like this!

       When they raise your legs up, it will look as if its touching your brains. This place will contrast with this place…/

A – Its not easy!

Text 14

A-   What are you covering? That small thing!

B-   Boobie na boobie!

C-   Don't mind her, maami cowbell!

A-   Thanks, cowbell our milk! (touching her breast)

Text 15

A-   You cant believe that mata don fall for me!

B-   I told you! Ladies and gifts… so?

A-   Really, I'm not interested in the mata

B-   So , what's the waste for?

A – It's not like that, I just like the mata

B-Yes now, its starts from likeness…but if you think you cant cope with her…

A-   No, that's not it…

B-   So what?

A-   Really, I don't know..

B-   Then leave her alone! Na by force?

Text 16

A-   It's like your friend has seen a brother that is taking care of her now

B-   How do you mean?

A-   Cant you see the sister has changed…the way she dresses

B-   Hmmm! You people of the world!

A-   Abeg, we know how these sisters and brothers do on campus…

 na so so chop and clean mouth.

B-   May God forgive you!

A-   Amen and you too!

Text 17

A – I saw Tayo yesterday with that chikala.

B – I trust the guy, he go don browse am die!

A-   Wouldn't you have done the same? The babe na FOC any time.

B-   You know she is not my type,

A-   I trust you!

B-   Sure, she is not my type. I prefer them very slim!

A-   So, when is that your new chikala coming?

B-   She is still forming, but I'm sure she'll connect soon

A-   And after that, no network failure!

B-   Till she surrender….

          ..

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Text 18

A-   You guys need to see me that morning! I really tried waking **Bros** up early…

B-   As in WAKE?

All- yes O!

A-   Your minds are dirty! Which one be that?

B-   Seriously, I was trying to catch up for the early morning lecture

C-   And…

A-   I had to wake him

Text 19

A – That party was something else

B – What?...you went for weekend! I just wonder how that weekend would have been?

A – You know, I don't usually go for weekends but this one was something else

B – Hmmn!

A – It was interesting and WAOW! It was TDB

B – Till day break!

A – My sister, you know, that kind of feeling that you will feel tired but very satisfied!

B –Hmmmn! You did it from all angles

A-   Not missionary O! you know, missionary is old school.

But if you want to feel good its better to allow the bobo to come from behind! Try it…

B – Chineeeke! I just hope you wont get pregnant!

A- Where Postinor dey, postinor 1 and 11.

B- What will that one do?

A- You better come for tutorials! Later..

B – Gist me now!

A- Later, Abeg, Later!

Text 20

A – Femi told Wale that it is high time he left that babe…

B – Why?

A – As in, the guy don panachukwu the girl tire

B – Guys!

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A – Do you know femi does not like playing with ladies panties?

B- How do you mean?

A- As in, if you want to scare him, just tell him you're holding a pant! He will run.

B - So, does it mean he doesn't pull off girls pants or has never done it before?

A – He will tell you that is different!

B- Don't mind him, he may just be one those guys that tell ladies to pull off their panties by themselves…

　　Like pull off your pant and let me get down

A – like open the place and like me come in!

Text 21

A-   The first one is a maga, as in Aristo girl. She goes to party and if the guy can buy her phone or digital camera or something like that, fine. And she still maintains a boyfriend but the guy is not in Nigeria; the guy is abroad.

Text 22

A-You cant say you're a virgin/

B – Ok

A – And you dey collabo well well

B –How are you sure /

..

B – How are you sure I'm not a virgin?

C – Me , I can say I'm a virgin

A – You're a "clean yansh" you're not a virgin

Text 23

A-   E get wetin, maybe something wey I wan collect,

B-   Enh enh

C-   You will first give him blow job make him head first scatter

A – The first thing wey I go be say…I no go even dey waste time , you understand

I go begin dey form good girl. Just , and such days you go prepare well, you understand now

B – yes now

A – The sexiest pant wey you get n aim go wear/

B – Na im you go wear! Wear g - string

A – When I enter, I go first do some massaging

B – Hmmn hmnn

A – Then I go go bathe

C – See how Kenny dey look am!

A-   When I go bathe come back../

B-   Una , you get mouth o!

C-   You go put im kakaye for mouth./

Text 24

A-   How the show go be this weekend?

B-   (silence)

A-   <u>Omo yen o ni lo o!</u>

B-   Hmmm!

A-   All the socks wey I don pile up…..

I go wear am this weekend.

   Me: whatz socks?

A-   <u>Ha, se e fe gbo?(do you want to hear it?)</u>

Me: <u>Han han</u>, tell me now…

A-   Condoms.

Me: O yeah!

Text 25

A-   VP<u> to lenu!</u> How you dey?

B-   Whatz up?

A-   You still dey Akure <u>ni</u>?

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B-   Yes o

A-   You wan use yourself <u>daku ni?</u>

B-   Abeg leave story……mo ti di Mario

A-   You get mouth! Try come this week sha!

Text 26

A-   How far with that next street runs?

B-   <u>Ko sure</u>. Kunle don flog am tire?

A-   You too dey lee, na you waste time now../

B-   I know but I don comot my eye for there. We still dey go?

A-   Yes now, but make we eat .

Text 27

A-   Do you know that X <u>ti jai se yen</u>?

B-   How?

A – He go tell the babe say I dey follow the other babe of that day/

B – Wetin concern the babe with that one? If she wan do make she do and if she no wan do another person go do now. But X too dey talk!

A-   No mind am, <u>emi naa ma jase e</u> for that street.

B-   Leave that one. You no need am.

A-   No o! we go dey do am dey go like that

B-   Na u know….wetin dey ground?

Text 28

A-   That babe is not serious at all

She was like…I should let her know where she dey?

And me, I don't even have that her time/

B-   As she dey believe say she get chance….

A-   <u>Ko</u> serious… that our sec no send…

B-   <u>Iyen damo</u>! Upon the fire fire… she still dey pay!

A-   <u>Iwo lo mo!</u>

Text 29

A – Do you know that my baby, the kakaye is/

All - Very big!

A – Alhaji! O le le!

B – You know all these our men that they are small but mighty

A – Yes o! just like my husband, Mr short, **very mighty.**

Text 30

A1- We really had a swell time! From Mr biggs, to the club and later to the house at about 12pm

B1- So nothing happened?

A2- Well, I took my bath and changed into my nightie and you know, like that like that! It
         was all fun for me.

B2- I trust you! No dull moment with you.

Text 31

A: As a Law student, there's something we call the term of the contract. Say, we want to

        be going out. Why do we want to go out…

B: Do we want to be helping ourselves?

A: See, in this part of the world , there's no more girlfriends and boyfriends… what

        we have are sex partners or bed mates!

B: Hmmmnn.

A: When I'm in the mood, I'll just flash her and she has to come. She doesn't need to talk

        ..

B: No question!

A: she just comes, lie on the bed and we go!

Text 32

A- <u>Omo!</u> E don click

B- You try. Same chikala?

A- I told you now! It clicked

B- Dbanj!

A- Men, na everything and all

B-   I feel you my guy…/

A- No dey try me o

Text 33

A - Someone told me sometime
    They gave this girl some hot drinks
    And she really became hot
B- I'm hotter than fire/

C- [<u>O gbono felili</u>]

A – That is when dey do am come down she will ask dem
        To climb up.
        They were just jankrower this girl. She did not know when seven guy jankrower
        <u>O gbono felili</u> !
She landed in the hospital
She has to even stitch
C- Of course, they will now!

Seven guys, its not easy
A- Seven guys! I'm not even talking of one each

B- You can imagine one of them having that kin of size that X talked about

..

Text 34
A- You know, its like a year

Now by May 1st and its not like we don't do other things <u>O</u>
But that very thing – no o
B- But some girls will tell you are you sure that guy is alrigt?

A- That's another thing o!

        But, its not that he doesn't ask "let's do"
        But I just don't want to

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Text 35

Inaudible sounds

A-   Hot sun!

B-   She's a horrow girl/ go there in the night/ u will be hearing haush, hee, hush/ I never knew it was some bloody scream

C-   They don't just kiss, they do the in thing

A-   A girl brings out her…/hmmm!/ boobie na boobie

B-   That place, they will be having casualities

A-   Whatz that?

B-   People that want to…./ you know

C-   Those slim guys, their dick is usually very big

A-   The fat ones have 'ikeregbe'

B-   That night, it was like the guy rough-handled her

C-   He over-did it!

Text 36

A-   Guys how far now?

All – we dey!

A-   If you or your friend took a girl out, how would you narrate the experience

      to someone else?

B-   Took out in what sense?

A-   You took her out!

C-   You mean lalakibo

A-   What do u mean by lalakibo?

All-   ahhhhhhh!

B-   They are collaboring!

C-   They are helping each other

D-   They are putting a pestal in the mortal

      ..

O ko ibasun fun.

Text 37

A-   Anytime that we're making love like this. When the thing is not touching me there and its not hitting me there and maybe guy man now/ it will be that time he will be doing <u>jelenke jelenke</u>/

B-   [He wants to come] **/**

A-   <u>Ha</u>! Sometimes now, me I don't like /

C-   What is guy man?

A-   That is my baby o! I don't like <u>jelenke</u> thing o

I just say baby harder

C-   <u>Yeeeh</u>, faster

B – Deeper

A-   I will now be <u>pese</u> for him, when he wants to come/

B-   Like a police officer

A-   He too will now be doing <u>huh u huh u</u>!

      ..

B-   He will now be sweating like xmas goat… baby push me away 3ce

A-   He will now be telling me.." hold something, hold something

B-   Hold burglary

A hold burglary, hold the bed, hold anything….Ha!
@

A-   One day, I hold the burglary and our neighbours were hearing me

B-   <u>Ha</u>! You and your husband are mad o!

..

Text 38

A-   So what does he call you?

B-   My pp!

C-   What is that?

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B- Pretty Pussy!

C – PP, take me to paradise!

@

Text 39

A – <u>Omo,</u> wetin happen? I heard you people shouting!

B – Don't mind that babe……she said I should give her some money before I do!

So when she came, I told her I will. We come play finish and I gave her 2k

A-   You try! Wetin come happen?

B-   She took the remaining 3k before I got back from the bathroom.

A-   <u>Omo!</u> That's stealing o

B-   Trust me, I made sure I took it back from her o

A-   You try sef, on top wetin now? No be help una dey help each other?

..

B – I tire o!

Text 40

A – what did kay tell you about that babe?

B – As e dey go now

A-   She be fuck up!

B-   Make she just go do the right thing cuz no be only you do am!

A-   Me sef fuck up! Didn't know what I was thinking/

B-   Forget, we'll sort it out!

Are you aware of these words and what they mean in sexual conversations? List other expressions that you know and their meanings.

WORD	MEANING
Boobie/boobs	
Manchester	
Oranges	
Sweet banana	
Apple juice	
Chelsea	
Kondo (olopa)	
Bakassi	
kaka	
Honey pot	
Moses pot	
Long thing	
Kakaye	
Chikala	
Chikito	
Aristo	
Maga	
Ponmo	
Collabo	
Fire fire	
Bang	