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Paralinguistic and Non-Verbal Props in Second-Language Use: A Study of *Icheoku* and *Masquerade* in Nigeria

Diri I. Teilanyo, Ph.D.

Abstract

This paper discusses the use of ideophones, gestures and dramatic physical demonstrations in complementing speech by incompetent users of a second language, namely English. The paper demonstrates that while similar instruments are also used by native speakers of a language for emphasis and rhetoric, they are employed by linguistically handicapped users of a target nonnative language more often to prop their speech in order to achieve communication since their knowledge of the resources of the target language are insufficient to attain the purpose. Illustrations are drawn from two Nigerian mass media comedies, **Icheoku** and **Masquerade**, which are parodies of the challenges posed by the use of English in societies where it is a foreign or second language.

Keywords: paralanguage, non-verbal language, ideophones, props, gestures, dramatic demonstrations

1. Introduction

A little learning is a dangerous thing. (Alexander Pope 1973: 1863).

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This paper studies the role of paralinguistic and non-vocalic devices in the speech of individuals who are incompetent users of their target second or foreign language, where the devices serve the purpose of propping their impaired communication skills in order to attain intelligibility. Illustrations are drawn from two Nigerian electronic mass media comedies, **Icheoku** and **Masquerade.** These are radio and television series which are designed largely to parody the manifestations of these features and other non-standard elements in the use of English by real-life subordinate bilinguals. The characters whose language use is focused upon are the main heroes of the two series, the Court Clerk in **Icheoku** and Chief Zebrudaya Okoroigwe Nwogbo, alias 4.30 of **Masquerade**.

The study of second-language acquisition and learning has been characterized largely by the discussion of sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic issues as well as the identification, description and correction of errors. Not enough attention seems to have been paid to the paralinguistic and non-vocalic aids in attaining communicative competence by non-proficient users of the foreign or second language.

It has been argued that full grammatical competence may not be necessary to achieve communicative competence (Canale and Swain 1979: 11-12). Thus, where users of a language do not have sufficient mastery of the resources of a target language -- and this may apply as much to a first, native language as to a second, non-native language - they often apply paralinguistic and non-verbal aids to complement their speech. For example, a major stage in a child's development, prior to the acquisition of the vocabulary of even a native language is the use of non-verbal cues (such as producing some sounds that are unrecognizable in any language) or some non-vocalic apparatus (such as pointing to objects and persons).

The devices referred to here are different from those employed by competent native or non-native speakers of a language for emphasis or rhetorical effect. Prosodic devices like pitch, intonation, tone, etc. as well as non-verbal cues like dressing, gesture, facial expression, gesticulation, etc. may all be employed by both native and non-native users of a language for reasons other than incompetence in the use of the language in question. In our case, the devices are employed as aids not only to supplement (as with competent speakers) but to complement language in order to achieve intelligibility at all, or because the user is ignorant of the appropriate words to express the relevant concepts.

In his effort to identify and define a standard for spoken English in Nigeria, Ayo Banjo (1969) identified four varieties of the language. The variety we discuss here would be the first which is a basilectal variety, so distant from internationally standard English that its speakers, to whom English is largely a foreign language (especially in **Icheoku**), often have to resort to these non-verbal aids to express themselves.

The terms 'paralanguage' (with its study 'paralinguistics') and 'non-verbal communication' are used in different ways in linguistics, often with significant overlap in range of reference between them.

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Thus, Katie Wales says 'definitions of paralanguage vary considerably, according to what is included or excluded' (1985: 334). She regards paralanguage as 'a non-verbal, but vocalic system, along with prosodic features such as pitch and loudness,' its characteristic features being 'noises that do not function as phonemes (i.e. in building words), but nonetheless do communicate a "meaning" or attitude in speech: e.g. giggles, snorts, exclamations of disgust, disapproval, boredom, etc' (Wales 1989: 334). She notes, however, that 'other definitions include prosodic features also...and still others non-vocal signs like facial expressions and gestures, hence virtually synonymous with non-verbal communication' (Wales 1989: 334).

Hadumod Bussmann is more specific in his characterization of paralanguage. From his definition of paralinguistics, we observe that he conceives it in broader terms than Wales does. He considers paralanguage as denoting 'phonetic signals of non-verbal character (i.e. signals that cannot be linguistically segmented)' such as 'particular types of articulation and phonation (breathing, murmuring, whispering, or clearing one's throat, crying and coughing), individual types of language (pitch, timbre, rhythm of speech) and intonation' (Bussmann 1996: 347). Like Wales, he admits: 'many researchers include... non-vocal, non-verbal actions (kinesics)' (Bussmann 1996: 347).

Both writers also explain 'non-verbal communication' in a manner that suggests an overlap with paralanguage. Both divide it into vocal and non-vocalic dimensions: i.e. 'those means of communication which depend on the voice of utterance...; and those which depend on other parts of the body (facial expression, gestures, kinetic movements, etc.)' (Wales 1989: 322-323). She adds, however, that 'non-verbal' is very frequently used in the sense of 'non-vocalic' (Wales 1989: 323).

For the purpose of this paper, we use the term 'paralinguistic' in the strict sense to mean those vocalic devices besides 'words' that are used to aid verbal communication. The main paralinguistic tool discussed here is the ideophone. On the other hand, we use 'non-verbal communication' in the sense of 'non-vocalic' means such as kinesics, body motion or action behaviour (Okolo and Ezikeojiaku 1999: 53), that is, human communication that excludes the use of the vocal apparatus. Physical gestures and dramatizations belong here.

The use of non-standard language for creative or artistic purposes in second-language contexts has, until recently, suffered significant neglect among sociolinguists and stylisticians. Thus, Braj B. Kachru, while discussing four functional aspects of non-native 'Englishes', has lamented the lack of research into the 'imaginative / innovative' function of the 'pidginized or "broken" variety' (Kachru 1983a: 41). He adds:

The creative processes displayed in the literatures have been ignored in the linguistic studies, to the detriment of studies on stylistics, contrastive discourse, and language acculturation. This neglect reflects the dichotomy of theories and

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methodologies which has traditionally existed between linguists and literary critics. (1983b: 9)

He observes further that 'this [creative] aspect of non-native English has unfortunately not attracted much attention from linguists, but has now been taken seriously by literary scholars' (Kachru 1983a: 41).

With specific reference to the language of Chief Zebrudaya in **Masquerade**, Ayo Banjo has suggested that this neglect (or oversight) is probably because some regard this variety as 'aesthetically inferior' to World Standard English (Banjo 1979: 11), especially in the face of much concern with 'literary language.' Thus, the use of non-standard language in **Icheoku** and **Masquerade** has received little critical attention.

Little is found on the use of language in **Icheoku**. Nengi Ilagha (!995) mentions it in relation to **Masquerade** and other Nigerian soap operas. Banjo has specifically called attention to the English spoken by Zebrudaya, especially in terms of 'aesthetic considerations' (Banjo 1979: 11). David Jowitt (1991: 37) has also made reference to the language of Chief Zebrudaya in his discussion of varieties of 'Nigerian English,' noting it as 'severely sub-standard English' (1991: 51). Elugbe (1995: 297) has also discussed it, especially citing it as an instance of 'deliberately and exaggeratedly incorrect English' as distinguished from 'Broken English.'

Ben Ohi Elugbe and Augusta Phil. Omamor (1991:. 61-66) have treated it, comparing its structure to those of standard English and Nigerian Pidgin, concluding that 'Zebrudaya's speech is in fact characteristic of the substandard attempts of a large proportion of ill-equipped, illiterate Nigerians to manipulate the English language...obviously deliberately exaggerated for comic effect' (66). While they cite a few utterances from the texts, they stop short of engaging in any exercise that could be considered analytical, rigorous or systematic.

Ilagha (1985) suggests a nationalistic impetus for Zebrudaya's variety: 'Zebrudayans may merely be twisting the poor language so grotesquely so as to make us feel ashamed of it. Just so that in the end, we might decide to vote for an indigenous national language, possibly by the year 2000.' Ilagha also associates 'the falling standard of education' in Nigeria with Zebrudaism which 'does violence to English grammar.' He observes that 'a terrible Zebrudaya plague has been footloose on the country.'

While the language used by these two speakers may appear idiolectal (even idiosyncratic – for Zebrudaya), it must be emphasized that they are sociolinguistic 'types'; hence 'the variety of English which is being parodied does exist outside the NTV studios, and in many cases is the only variety its speakers are capable of' (Banjo 1979: 11). Elugbe and Omamor (1991: 66) also say it is 'in fact characteristic' of a significant section of Nigerians.

These works have, however, received, quite some more serious academic attention of recent (Teilanyo 2003a, 2003b).

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2. Texts and Methods

The primary texts are randomly selected episodes of the two electronic media comedy series **Icheoku** and **Masquerade**. Neither series is in print (in their published forms), but only available in electronic forms. **Icheoku** is a television series produced by the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA), most of the episodes by the Lagos national headquarters and a few by the Enugu national station. Therefore, the texts are in an audio-visual medium, videotapes. Copies of these videotapes have been secured from the relevant authorities in Lagos, Enugu and Abuja for this research. **Masquerade** is available in both the audio-visual and the audio media (as videotapes and as long-playing records/audiocassettes). These are commercially available.

For the study of **Masquerade**, we have chosen the episodes in the audio medium because this medium presents to us certain linguistic and paralinguistic features which are not as conspicuous or significant in the audio-visual medium where pictorial props tend to reduce their prominence through visual compensation. The combination of the purely oral-aural in **Masquerade** with the visual in **Icheoku** brings a fuller picture of the patterns and issues in second-language use. Fifteen episodes have been randomly chosen from each series (video episodes and LPs/audiocassettes) and faithfully transcribed for the analysis of the different of non-standardness in the language.

The choice of the two series is also significant from the point of their cultural and temporal setting. The main characters in both comedies are subordinate Igbo-English bilinguals, Igbo being their mother tongue. This gives ground for the identification and analysis of similar features in their language use, particularly from the angle of language transfer. But there is also a historical angle in the choice. **Icheoku** is set in the early and middle stages of British colonialism in Nigeria.

Thus, we have an advantage of having a feel of the dynamics of the English language at that time when it was essentially a **foreign** language, serving an instrumental function between a few native bilinguals and an external audience (the British nationals in Nigeria).

The show captures the entire gamut of communication -- speaking, comprehending, reading, writing and translating -- in a foreign language. Hence the name **Icheoku**, meaning 'Parrot,' the bird that is best associated with verbatim, stereotyped reproduction of speech, which is what the Court Clerk does in parroting, that is relating, the utterances of the District Commissioner (Nwa Dishi) or District Officer (henceforth 'D.O') and the local Igbo community, one to another.

Masquerade is set in contemporary Nigeria where English is a **second** language serving an integrative function in a multilingual setting, but it casts a shadow back on the colonial period. Chief Zebrudaya, the hero and main user of the language variety under study, had been to the world wars and had worked as a security guard in a colonial hospital. Thus the combination of the two gives us both diachronic and synchronic dimensions of the dialectics and fortunes of the

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English language, as it developed from the status of a foreign language to that of a second language in Nigeria.

A word also needs to be said about the authorship of these texts. Although the scripts of episodes produced as films and radio-television drama are written by individuals, their authorship would best be ascribed to the body producing and presenting them, since the text as produced normally involves much more than what is found in the written script. Accordingly, it is the producing and presenting body that owns the copyright.

Out of the fifteen episodes of **Icheoku** that are studied, all eleven produced by the NTA Headquarters, Lagos were written by Peter Eneh. Two of the four produced by the NTA Enugu were written by Emeka Nwagwu and one by Sarah Ezeudoye, while one has no script writer identified. Therefore, authorship is ascribed to NTA Lagos and NTA Enugu respectively.

Secondly, while all the episodes produced by the Lagos headquarters have titles, those produced by Enugu NTA have no titles. We cite the titles of those produced by the Lagos NTA. For ease of reference to those by the Enugu NTA, we suggest our own titles for them (enclosed in square brackets in the Works Cited) based on the issues dealt with in them.

For **Masquerade** all the texts are named. The LPs and audiocassettes are produced under two troupe names, to which their authorship is ascribed, namely, 'James Iroha and the Masquerades' (henceforth 'Iroha') and 'Zebrudaya and His Concert Party' ('Zebrudaya' henceforth).

The specific episodes cited in this paper, in alphabetical order, are as follows:

Icheoku

- 'Bride of War'
- 'Bush Burning'
- 'The Missing Entrail'
- 'Sisi Agee'

Masquerade

- 'Death for Jegede'
- 'Governor for Sale'
- 'Senior Sinner'
- 'Stop the Wedding'
- 'The Teeth of a Goat'
- 'Unholy Baptism'
- 'The Visit of Mr. Bewitch Bankrovitch'
- 'Woman Contractor'

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For **Icheoku** the analysis is aided on some occasions by the English sub-titles provided in the videotapes for utterances rendered in Igbo by the Court Clerk, other court officials (the Court Messenger, CM, and the Police Sergeant), parties in disputes and members of the audience. In a few cases, the English sub-titles have been edited, mainly correcting spelling errors. Where an utterance was produced in Igbo and an English sub-title is supplied, the English sub-title is cited. These sub-title renderings are enclosed in square brackets, to indicate that the original utterance had not been in English. [While stage descriptions are also in square brackets, these are italicized, as is the convention with most drama in print] Giving only the English version serves economy and the interest of the non-Igbo reader, who may find the Igbo unduly distracting. The analysis also benefits from three bilingual dictionaries — Kay Williamson's Igbo-English Dictionary (1972), H. I. Nnaji's Modern Igbo-English Dictionary (1995) and Michael Echeruo's Igbo-English Dictionary (2001).

In addition, Igbo native speakers have also been consulted as informants and resource persons about the meanings and stylistic nuances of unfamiliar lexical items or expressions, including those that involve a fusion of English and non-English items.

In the primary texts, the main characters involved in the dislocations of language are the two principal characters in the two comedies – Chief Zebrudaya Okoroigwe Nwogbo, alias 4.30 ('Zebi' hereafter) in **Masquerade** and the Court Clerk ('the CC' hereafter) in **Icheoku**.² These two characters are significant in the character of English in their societies. The CC is the only individual in the fictional pre-independent Igbo (Nigerian) society who has any knowledge of English. He is the interpreter to the colonial District Officer (D.O) who acts as a judge among the native population. Similarly, Zebi is one of the few who have been to Europe, during the Second World War, and acquired some English from native speakers. Both claim much knowledge of English, although the dislocations in their use and interpretation of literary usage as well as the general ungrammaticality in their English proclaim their deficiency in the language.³

3. Ideophones

Ideophones, according the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) (1989), are 'particular classes of onomatopoeia and sound symbolic words found in [Bantu] languages.' Ideophones obtain predominantly, although probably not exclusively, in African languages. They feature prominently in discourse and are part of the identity of African orature. In addition to sound, different senses are mimicked by ideophones, such as 'an idea in sound' (from the etymology ideo – 'idea' and 'phone' – 'sound'), 'colour, smell, action, state or intensity' (OED) as well as texture, silence, condition, gait and posture (Finnegan 1970: 64). Essentially ideophones constitute a paralinguistic device. Ideophones are known to be efficient in heightening the narrative in addition to being an element of drama, giving a lively style or vivid description and

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achieving overall rhetorical effect. Finnegan (1970: 64, 66) also quotes Fortune and Junod as having given the following similar reports:

They are used by accomplished speakers with an artistic sense for the right word for the complete situation, or its important aspects, at the right pitch of vividness. To be used skillfully, I have been told, they must correspond to one's inner feeling. Their use indicates a high degree of sensitive impressionability. (Fortune)

[It] expresses a little word, a movement, a sound, an impression of fear, joy or amazement. Sensation is immediate and is immediately translated into a word or a sound, a sound which is so appropriate, so fitting, that one sees the animal moving, hears the sound produced, or feels oneself the very sensation expressed. (Junod)

In structure, ideophones act in different grammatical slots; hence the literature labels them variously as nouns ('mimic noun,' 'intensive noun' – Finnegan 64), adjectives and adverbs ('descriptive or adverb' – OED, 1989), particle ('descriptive or indeclinable verb particle' – Finnegan 1970: 61) or interjection in sometimes expressing some forceful or strong emotion or action and ending in the exclamation mark (Finnegan 1970: 65). Indeed, ideophones function in all these capacities and more. Other structural tendencies of ideophones are reduplication, the occurrence of the same vowel (often phonetically long) in each ideophone to constitute vowel harmony, their clustering in groups and their frequent beginning in initial kp. More properties of African ideophones and the challenge of translating them, particularly into non-African languages, have been discussed elsewhere (Teilanyo 2001).

Ideophones are carried over by Africans into their L_2 . Among speakers of non-standard English, they are very prominent and serve two main purposes: that of intensification of an idea already expressed, and that of substitution for lexical items that are unavailable to the incompetent speaker of English as a second language.

In **Masquerade**, where they are most prevalent, most of the ideophones serve the first function of adding descriptive detail and vivid imagery:

- 1. ...you will be took band to be knack it in the town '**Gbom-gbom**, money have come; **gbom-gbom**, money have come.' (Zebrudaya n.d)
- 2. ...so that any money they are charge you, you will be run **kati-kati**, **kati-kati**, **kati** to be broughted it. (Iroha 1987)
- 3. Look at osorji which even small childrens are chop without even one chuhai!; ol' man like you was chop it to be cry **chuhai! chuhai!** (Iroha n.d,a)

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- 4. (a) Even the bucket one woman was took to carry water from the well of Mgboko; before she are carry the water to reach the market, the bucket was kpaf bottom, and the water -- iwo-o-o-o on the ground.
 - (b) But to my greatest surprisation, you was carry me, the whole me, Chief the Honourable Zebrudaya Okoroigwe Nwogbo, alias 4.30 **iwo-o-o-o!** into the inside of the river. (Iroha n.d,b)
- 5. She will be talk parrot **kirikiri-kirikiri-kirikiri-kirikiri!** (Iroha n.d,b)
- 6. Stood back to be open your mouth of talkative **choin-choin-choin-choin-choin-choin!** (Iroha n.d,b; also Iroha 1986)
- 7. **Gbagam, gbagam!** 'Fear the Lord!' (Iroha n.d,b)
- 8. Adamu, Adamu, put your mouth in the permanent condition of **phum!** (Iroha n.d,c; Iroha n.d,d)
- 9. The other day, Governor was pass to open hotel **igbua, igbua, igbua!** (Iroha n.d,c)
- 10. Then why are you shout **cheihun, cheihun!** this morning? [sighing] (Iroha n.d,d)

The ideophones in 7-10 go beyond intensification of sense. The actually perform a lexical function. **Gbagam**, **gbagam** does the function of 'They ring their big bells loudly and proclaim...' **Phum** in 8 stands for 'silence' or 'muteness.' **Igbua**, **igbua**, **igbua** communicates the idea of 'briskly,' 'swiftly.' But in each case, even if the speaker had access to the English lexical item suggested, it would hardly be able to embody and express the iconicity captured by the ideophones.

In **Icheoku**, and sometimes in **Masquerade**, the ideophone is employed for the second purpose -- to compensate for a lexical item that is beyond the reach of the speakers. We cite two vivid examples:

- 11. C.C. Day before yesterday in my afsent, my wife kill fowl and eat his, eh, his **belly**...
 - D. O. Oh this is -- I have a lot of problem here. First of all, I don't know what you mean by this belly of a fowl.
 - C.C. Is the thing wey dey, wey dey fowl for the bele. When you jus cut-am dey chop am, e dey make **kpri-kpri** for the mouth.
 - D. O. I see. I think it's the **gizzard**. (NTA 1988a)
- 12. The right leg are long pass the left leg, which are make her to be wakaring in the **ringom**, **ringom**, **ringom**. (Iroha n.d,e)

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In 11 the CC lacks the word "gizzard" to convey the idea to the English District Officer; so he resorts to the ideophone **kpri-kpri** mimicking the sound that is produced when one chews this poultry internal organ. In 12, which describes a gait in walking ('wakaring'), the lexical item 'limp' would convey the idea, but only roughly: it cannot ape the sense of it in its full iconic vividness as much as the ideophone has done.

4. Non-Verbal Communication

The two related elements of non-verbal communication considered here are gestures and dramatic demonstrations. These are used to complement or replace verbal communication. Gestures and demonstrations obtain predominantly in **Icheoku**, largely because of its audio-visual nature. The CC often falls back on them to express a meaning for which he lacks the appropriate English word.

4.1 Gestures

In **Icheoku** the C.C, when confronted with concepts for whose correct English equivalents he has no access to, resorts to different physical gestures and gesticulations with different parts of his body, especially his arms.

- 13. C.C. When he jus **boilding**, take spoon **boild** at the soup... [gesturing the turning of something with a spoon with his hand]
 - D.O. 'Stir.' That's 'stir.' (NTA 1988a)
- 14. C.C. I saw Ochudo with his handbag like a hunter. He put it in his **pushack**... [gesturing with both hands on his shoulder]
 - D.O. You mean 'shoulder.'
 - C.C. For the shoulder. Thank you, sir, For Your Worship. (NTA 1992)
- 15. C.C. E say the first woman, in the morning we want to **pursue** water.
 - D.O. Pursue water?
 - C.C. Pursue water.
 - D.O. What is it?
 - C.C. [Gesturing the use of a bucket to draw water out from a well] Like going bring water.
 - D.O. To **fetch** water; to fetch water.
 - C.C. Yes, sa. (NTA 1988b)
- 16. C.C. The woman say im no want them to carry their, their, their... [demonstrating the act of pounding with his hands] their, their, em, I mean ikwe.
 - D.O. What's ikwe? What is it?
 - C.C. Calculating by, **mortar** [demonstrating pounding]. Mortar. (NTA 1989)

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In all but the last instance, the C.C does not have the appropriate English words for the concepts. He rambles with un-English words (**boild(ing)** and **pushack**) or uses the wrong word (**pursue**). In 16 the C.C uses the Igbo word, lacking its English equivalent, but in this case, after demonstrating the pounding act, he finally redeems himself by remembering the word "mortar." It is only with the gesticulations that the District Officer deduces the sense and supplies the right words, to the interpreter's relief.

4.2 Demonstrations

Sometimes in **Icheoku**, simple gestures are insufficient to communicate the desired sense by the C.C to the District Officer, necessitating more elaborate demonstrations, bordering on drama sketches:

- 17. C.C. He put it for his shoulder, begin to felling all the four corner of the... [gesturing]
 - D. O. You mean he staggered.
 - C.C. Ehn, when he standing. [Kotuma, come and demonstrate to D.O]
 - C.M. Chuoi!
 - [C.M. staggers in demonstration.]
 - C.C. Ehen, for your eye witness.
 - D.O. [As the C.M continues staggering in a frenzied manner] OK. OK. Stop him. What's wrong with you?
 - C.C. Yes, sir. Ochudo begin do as the Court Messenger show you now. All the corner. When e go bush, e come out, e fall down. (NTA 1992)
- 18. C.C. The traditionary: the two men will **rasle**. Anybody who carry the each the other man down, na im go, e don win the **rasle**, sir.
 - D.O. Eh. You say rasle, rasle.
 - CC. Rasle, sir...
 - D.O. What's **rasle**? Let me understand you very well. Just get it gradually. What is **rasle**?
 - C.C. The **rasle**. [To CM] [Show him how to wrestle]
 - D.O. What is it?
- C.C. They want to show you, what is call **rastle**. [The CM and one other man come out and wrestle briefly]
 - Is OK. Is OK. Is OK.
 - D.O. Oh, 'wrestling' you mean!...[Both the D.O and the CC laugh hysterically] (NTA 1988c)

Observe that in 17, the C.C is not able to catch the right word 'stagger' even when the D.O uses it; at least he needed to get it acted out to be sure the D.O's word is the one appropriate for the sense intended. In 18, the acting out is necessitated not so much by lack of the right word as by the defective pronunciation of this word 'wrestle.'

5. Conclusion

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In the above sections it has been demonstrated that in addition to the several non-standard features at the different levels of linguistic organization, the use of language in non-native settings is also often marked by paralinguistic and non-verbal aids, all in an attempt to achieve communication in the target language of which the speaker has inadequate mastery. The specific aids discussed here are ideophones, gestures and drama sketches. It is argued that **Icheoku** and **Masquerade** from which illustrations have been drawn are fictional illustrations of real-life practices. In **Icheoku** communication of the total sense is important in order to ensure justice since the aim of the language is to interpret testimonies to the English District Officer. In quite some cases, however, even these props fail; communication fails and justice is consequently impaired or denied.

The discussion here contributes to understanding more fully the elements that are involved in achieving intelligibility by non-proficient users of foreign or second languages.

Notes

- 1. These abbreviations feature in the works themselves. 'C.C' is used in the list of cast and dramatis personae in **Icheoku**. 'Zebi' is the pet form that Ovuleria, the chief's wife, uses to call, and refer to, her husband. A graphological variant of it is 'Zebby' (Ikhazuagbe).
- 2. As will be seen in the excerpts to follow, there are several aspects of 'non-standardness' in the English studied here phonological, grammatical, lexico-semantic and stylistic. Only the use of paralinguistic and non-vocalic elements are treated here, other aspects having been treated or to be treated elsewhere.
- 3. In the excerpts below, ideophones as well as the words and expressions resulting in paralanguage, gestures and dramatization are in bold print, in order to mark them off from the rest of the utterances in which they feature.

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