

A Text Documentation and Socio-Pragmatic Analysis of Ibibio Women's Satirical Folksongs

Eshiet Udosen, University of Uyo, Nigeria
Ogbonna Anyanwu, University of Uyo, Nigeria

1 Introduction

The use of songs is a characteristic feature of most human speech communities, and humans use songs for a variety of social functions which include: to accompany a dance, for entertainment, for healing, to communicate ideas/emotions and to ridicule or to even express mockery, etc. Within speech communities, two major types of songs can be identified: folksongs and non-folksongs. Folksongs are songs of unknown composer or authorship preserved and transmitted from one generation to another by oral tradition, while non-folksongs have authorship and they are creative works of musical artists who use language to create memorable and harmonious lyrics and rhythm in order to capture and captivate their target audience. This paper focuses on folksongs. Cross-culturally as noted by Anyanwu and Udosen (2020: 75-94), folksongs:

- (i) are an integral part of daily life and are performed mainly for entertainment to accompany particular activities associated with work, religious celebration, initiation rites, or other social occasions;
- (ii) help to connect one generation to the next;
- (iii) play an important role in expressing and conserving cultural heritage;
- (iv) have been influenced by historic events and are being influenced by ever-changing communication systems (commercial recording, radio, television and the internet);
- (v) tell stories through songs, historical and cultural events;
- (vi) also represent the culture of contemporary society and influence contemporary songs since both have same themes dealing with real issues in real societies;
- (vii) are most often composed to tell stories about the human conditions and many of these stories are about finding or losing love, deceit, war and natural disasters;
- (viii) record history, the human condition, and language;
- (ix) provide insights about past beliefs and superstitions of a people in comparison with the contemporary ones;
- (x) reflect cultural change, and also reflect unchanging aspects of the human condition in an evolving context.

Some folksongs can be satirical, exposing human vices, abuses, short comings and follies to ridicule/scorn or expressing a trenchant wit, irony, or sarcasm used to expose and discredit vice or folly. Satire blends a critical attitude with humour and wit for the purpose of improving human institutions or humanity, and as noted by Abrams (1998: 275), satire is the art of diminishing or derogating a subject by making it ridiculous and evoking toward it attitudes of amusement, contempt, scorn or indignation. A satire differs from a comedy, which evokes laughter mainly as an end in itself, while a satire can use laughter as a weapon to deride

individual or institutional behaviour. A satirical piece can be direct or indirect; with a direct satire, the narrator speaks directly to their listeners while with indirect satire, it is the intent of the creator of the satire that is realized within their satirical narrative or story. Satirical narratives are of three main types: the Horatian satire, named after the Roman satirist Horace (65–8 BCE) which playfully and through ridiculous exaggerations criticizes some social vices through gentle, mild, and light-hearted humour, direct wit, exaggeration, and self-deprecating humour toward what it identifies as folly, rather than evil. There is the Juvenalian type of satire, named after the Roman satirist Juvenal. This is a kind of formal satire in which the satirist attacks harshly perceived societal vices with strong contempt and indignation. The Menippean satire, named after the Greek satirist Menippus (third century BC), is another form of satire, usually in prose, which has a length and structure similar to a novel and is characterized by attacking mental attitudes rather than specific individuals or entities. The present paper focuses on the Ibibio satirical women's folksongs, specifically providing a descriptive linguistic documentation of some of the folksongs as well as highlighting the socio-pragmatic imports of the satirical songs. The Ibibio women's satirical folksongs are indirect satires and also fall within the Horatian categorization of satires.

The Ibibio people constitute the fourth largest ethnic group in Nigeria, after the three major groups: Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba. They speak the Ibibio language and they total about two million according to the 2006 Nigerian last national census (Anyanwu & Udosen 2020). Ibibio is spoken in about fourteen Local Government Areas of Akwa Ibom State with variations which are attitudinally regarded as different lects (Anyanwu 2016). This study in addition to providing an initial documentation of some of the satirical songs also highlights the socio-pragmatic imports of the songs. The inter-generational transfer of the songs is getting weak and may no longer be robust and virile in the near future given that at present the folksongs are mostly used by the elderly women of sixty years and above. This means that both the domains of use and users are shrinking slowly and steadily. This study therefore, creates the necessary awareness on the potential dangers of losing such an aspect of the Ibibio language and culture. By creating and raising awareness, this study has contributed towards the revitalization and preservation of efforts of this aspect of the Ibibio language and culture. Thus, a study such as this would provide an opportunity for sensitization that this aspect of the language use could become extinct if the speakers do not continuously and vibrantly use it.

The study area for this research consisted of selected villages in the fourteen Local Government Areas of Akwa Ibom State, where the Ibibio language is largely and indigenously spoken. The inhabitants of the study area were mostly civil servants, business men and business women, students, and people from all walks of life. All the respondents speak Ibibio as their first language. Data were collected mainly through oral interviews from adult women native speakers of Ibibio speech community who still have the songs in their repertoire. The text data elicited were translated into the English language and comments on their pragmatic usage are further examined within the framework of speech act theory. Speech act theory analyzes the roles of utterances in relation to the behavior of the speaker and hearer in interpersonal communication (Yule 1996). It is a communicative process (a locutionary act) defined with reference to the intentions of speakers (the illocutionary force of their utterances) and their effects on listeners (the perlocutionary effect of their utterances). The categories of speech act include *directives* (by which speakers get their listeners to do something by, for instance, begging, commanding, requesting them), *commissives* (by which speakers commit themselves to a future course of action, by, for instance promising, guaranteeing), *expressives* (by which speakers express their

feelings, by, for instance apologizing, welcoming, sympathizing), *declaratives* (by which the speaker's utterance can bring about a sudden change, by, for instance, christening, marrying, resigning) and *representatives* (by which the speakers convey their belief about the truth of a proposition, by, for instance, asserting, hypothesizing).

The organization of this paper is as follows. Section 1 is the introduction while section 2 provides a background overview on the Ibibio satirical songs. The data on the Ibibio women's satirical songs are presented at the end of this paper as an appendix while in section 3 we discuss the data presented in the appendix, highlighting the findings. This section also discusses the risks of losing the songs and how the songs can be sustained and saved from extinction. Section 4 is the conclusion.

2 Ibibio satirical women's folksongs: A background overview

Like in most societies, songs are an integral part of the Ibibio culture, and they play a very significant role in every aspect of the traditional lives of the Ibibio people, ranging from birth to death. The Ibibio speaking communities have a large corpus of folksongs which permeate all aspects of the lives of the Ibibio people and relate to their traditional and cultural values. Some of the folksongs are forms of expressing emotional and psychological feelings while others are forms of social entertainments. Some of the folksongs relate to the traditional and cultural beliefs of the Ibibio people, while some relate generally to everyone in the society, and yet some others revolve around the experiences and activities of women members of the society, especially satirical songs which express the vices, abuses, foibles and other problems experienced by the Ibibio women who were forbidden to hold certain traditional posts and openly criticize the men.

2.1 Why did the Ibibio women in traditional Ibibio society sing satirical songs?

In the traditional Ibibio society, as noted by Anyanwu & Udosen (2020: 75-94), in general, women do not confront men face to face to express their anger over any perceived maltreatment by the men because it is culturally a taboo for women to do so. The women, though not as vocal as their male counterparts, were also actively involved in communal affairs. The women decried their subjugation to various forms of individual and collective abuses covertly with the use of satirical folksongs as a means to express their feelings, communicate and seek redress on diverse emotional, cultural and personal/communal issues. Such issues range from co-wives' rivalries in polygamous marriages, male chauvinism, husbands' deceitful attitude towards their wives, teenage unwanted pregnancies, indolence and gossiping among women, induced suffering of the womenfolk, infidelity in marriages, etc. It is from these issues that the satirical songs evolved, and as we shall see in the data discussion section, the same issues form the socio-cultural themes/functions of the satirical folksongs in the Ibibio contemporary society.

The Ibibio women went further to form various socio-cultural women's groups such as the *Ébrè* society, *Ibaan Ison*, and *Ibaan#Ison-Esit* that were vocal in their condemnation of maltreatment of women. They taught women home keeping strategies and discouraged vices like stealing, gossiping, indolence and acts of wickedness. Thus, although the women were actively involved in the communal life of their communities, but because of the fact that they were expected to be totally tolerant and submissive to their husbands, they could not directly confront their husbands about perceived maltreatment but use satirical songs to express their feelings. In fact, the satirical songs served several purposes: to ridicule, cajole, threaten, advise, and to

correct societal flaws/shortcomings, especially those concerning women. Thus, Ibibio women's satirical songs were mainly sung to ridicule, expose, or correct individual or societal maltreatment of the womenfolk. In the Ibibio contemporary society, satirical folksongs still serve as a veritable and prominent tool for the expression of women's protests. The songs may be accompanied with clapping, facial expressions that show pain and disgust, shouting and sometimes weeping in cases where the singer is deeply hurt. The Ibibio women's satirical folksongs, like other kinds of folksongs, as noted by (Anyanwu & Udosen 2020: 75-94), were and are still:

- (i) an integral part of the daily life of Ibibio women and are sung to express their displeasure about actions and events aimed at maltreating individuals, especially women within the Ibibio communities;
- (ii) the songs that help the women to release or ease the emotional pains they feel so as to have hope or respite;
- (iii) the songs that play an important role in expressing and conserving the Ibibio cultural heritage;
- (iv) songs that ridicule male chauvinism, women suppression within and outside marriage;
- (v) songs that reflect the desires and needs of the women to be loved, appreciated and the need to assist in the women's emotional, psychological and material growth and
- (vi) songs that reflect the unchanging inherent male chauvinistic attitude towards the womenfolk and a strong advocacy for a change in the status quo.

2.2 Why are Ibibio women's satirical folksongs gradually disappearing?

Regrettably, the Ibibio women satirical songs, Indigenously referred to as *ekpokkwo* in the Ibibio language, are fast disappearing in usage, and so many of them have already gone into extinction as we were told by the respondents who could no longer recollect some of the songs. Even the remaining ones are not robustly transferred inter-generationally. Several factors are contributing to the disappearance of the satirical songs. Many Ibibio women are embracing Western education and thus are having access to more profitable job opportunities with financial empowerment and independence, especially in the cities outside their local communities. Such women are very much aware of their fundamental human rights as human beings and would resist what they perceived as unfair treatment meted out to them. It was the perceived unfair treatment of women which they could not express overtly against the men that made the women resort to the use of satirical songs to covertly express their grievances.

With some of the women living in the cities outside their traditional home setting, there is no more common communal forum where Indigenous women's satirical folksongs can thrive in their repertoire. In the present Ibibio contemporary society, unlike in the traditional one, as women are much more aware of their rights as humans, many more men are also educated, and such men are having a different and non-abusive view towards women in marriages and to a large extent assisting their spouses in diverse ways. These changing social dynamics in favour of the women in the Ibibio contemporary society are contributing to the attrition of the satirical songs. Also, as highlighted and discussed by Anyanwu & Udosen (2020: 75-94) other factors contributing to the gradual disappearance of the songs include changes in attitudes of the speakers of the Ibibio language, migration to urban areas, changes in lifestyle, access to white

collar jobs, influence of Christianity on both men and women and no clear cut government policy on the teaching of Ibibio cultural practices.

2.3 Previous studies on Ibibio women's satirical songs

The very few works on Ibibio women's satirical folksongs include Okon (2003) and Ukpanah (2013). Okon (2003: 265-277) examines some Ibibio women's satirical songs from a sociolinguistic perspective. She notes that the satirical songs fall within the class of folksongs which form part of recreational activities and are used to communicate diverse messages. Okon further notes that in pre-colonial Ibibio society, women were forbidden from taking part in certain activities, including performing certain ritualistic functions. She notes, however, that the women were vocal, active and made their impact felt in the society in various ways. They belonged to well-organized, powerful women's cultural societies that dealt with matters concerning women. As noted by Okon, the women made use of satirical songs to discuss the happenings within their society, teach how to maintain good and moral conduct and how to protect the women against maltreatment by the men folk. Okon, in her study, documented and analyzed eight Ibibio women's satirical folksongs with themes ranging from husband maltreatment, husband 'snatching,' unappreciative wives and bad wives.

Ukpanah (2013: 34-53.) discusses women's use of music for protest and search for identity among the Anaan and Ibibio of Akwa Ibom State, Nigeria, categorizing women's music into music for individual entertainment and music of organized women's societies. The music for individual entertainment, according to Ukpanah, is used to express protests (such as complaints about loneliness by women, a husband's selfishness, maltreatment), and a wide range of other ideas (such as good expectation, ridicule, unacceptable situation, assertion of authority and showering of praises for husbands).

Women's organized music societies are groups that use music as a substantial part of their activities and sing songs to express group solidarity, condemn social ills, decry male chauvinism, help educate women on their roles as mothers, inspire women to be self-reliant/courageous, register their impressions on topical issues and sing praises of heroes and exemplary personalities. Ukpanah identifies *Ebre* society as the source of a great number of protest songs. He identifies other women's societies in Ibibio to include: (i) Ndok Ufok Ebe, 'The woes of marital home' (ii) Etok Udok Anam Utom Mkpa Akan, 'The weeding hoe that works but will die of famine' and (iii) Iban Isong, 'Indigenous Ladies'. Ukpanah's (2013) study also documents and provides contextual analyses of eight women's folksongs for individual entertainment and five songs for music of organized women's society, with each song addressing a specific need of the women folk. This present study adds to Okon (2003) and Ukpanah (2013) in documenting and analyzing twenty additional Ibibio women's satirical songs, which are socio-pragmatically analyzed. Given the fact that the satirical songs under study here are disappearing and going into extinction, the paper goes further to suggest ways of stemming the tide of endangerment. The data on Ibibio women's satirical songs are organized according to their themes and presented in Tables 1 to 20 and kept at the end of the paper as an appendix.

3 Discussion of data and findings

In this section, we shall provide a discussion of the data presented as mentioned in the preceding section. This we shall do socio-pragmatically. First, we shall highlight and discuss the socio-

cultural themes/functions of the satirical women's folksongs, and secondly, we shall situate the Ibibio satirical women's folksongs within the speech act categories of pragmatics.

3.1 The socio-cultural themes/functions of the Ibibio satirical women's folksongs

One of the pervasive socio-cultural themes across all the Ibibio satirical women's folksongs is the theme of women solidarity. The women's satirical folksongs are composed and sung by individual women or organised women's groups based on the particular experiences of the composers. Thus, the satirical songs are generally about women's welfare and solidarity in the face of unpleasant circumstances suffered and experienced within their communities. All the satirical folksongs presented in Tables 1-20 as an appendix have embedded in them issues related to womenfolk. Male chauvinism is also a very prevalent theme in the Ibibio women's satirical folksongs.

Many of the women who are wives and particularly those in polygamous families or polygamous relationships use the satirical songs to express abandonment, neglect, maltreatment and threats to their lives which are meted out to them by their male counterparts. In fact, most of the songs evolved from male chauvinistic tendencies that lead to lack of care and concern for the women folk, as can be observed from song numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, etc. In these songs, the women are neglected and not cared for. Their husbands refuse deliberately, as captured by the songs, to provide their families with food or give money for food. In some instances, the husbands do not come home, and even when they do, they sleep like logs of wood, refusing to carry out their marital conjugal duties. This scenario is vividly captured by song 8 in Table 8, as the following excerpt from the song shows, where the song ridicules a husband who refuses to carry out his conjugal duties at his home but goes out to have sexual affairs with other women during the day and yet sleeps all through the night without having sex with his wife.

ebe-oh, obo nnam die mmañayin 'husband oh! how do you expect me to procreate?'
 ebe-oh, obo nnam die mmañayin? 'husband oh! how do you expect me to procreate?'
 uwemeyoafu, asana isañ nte ewa 'in the afternoon, you move around like a dog'
 okoneyo, afo awAnneana nte etim 'in the night, you squeeze yourself like a millipede and go to sleep'

The other socio-cultural themes/functions specifically captured and conveyed by the satirical songs include maltreatment, deception, discrimination, abandonment, lack of sense of responsibility, unnecessary complaint, advice, condemnation of bad behaviour/abuse/unnecessary complaint and disapproval of stealing. Satirical songs numbers 1 to 4 expose and ridicule maltreatment of married women by their husbands. In song 1, the woman mocks her stingy husband who fails to provide for her and thinks she will starve to death, but is shocked to find out that she is still able to survive. The woman in song 2, raises alarm about her husband's plan to send her out of her marital home after she has contributed in building up the man's wealth. Song 3 mocks a husband who feels that he has conjugal rights over his wife even when he does not provide food and care to his wife. In song 4, the woman ridicules and mocks men who habitually beat their wives. Songs 5 and 6 focus on discrimination against women. In 5, the woman exposes the wicked tendencies some men exhibit to the point of deliberately giving their despised wives infertile farmland to cultivate so that such wives will not have bounteous harvests. In song 6 the woman decries the discrimination from men faced by women who have

given birth only to female children. Song 7 focuses on deception. It is a complaint from a wife about deception on the part of her husband who deceives her by making unfulfilled promises in order to get sexual gratification from her.

Satirical songs 8 and 9 are examples of ridicule for emotional abandonment of women. In 8, the woman sings on how she is expected to be pregnant when her husband engages in extra marital sex with other women and comes home to sleep at night without having sex with her. Song 9 expresses a similar situation where the woman ridicules her husband over the lack of a marital bond that will make them have more children as they may wish. Songs 10, 11 and 12 highlight ridicule regarding a lack of sense of a responsibility which husbands exhibit in their marital relationship. The songs characterize husbands who do not provide for the welfare of their families as having no sense of responsibility. Satirical song 13 is a ridicule regarding unnecessary complaints of men who are always in the habit of selecting the kind of food they want prepared for them. In the song, the woman complains that her husband only likes the 'afang' soup which requires laborious preparations. Satirical songs 14 to 16 ridicule married women's tendencies towards waywardness, arrogance and gossiping respectively. The songs further advise women in such acts to desist from them. Songs 17 to 19 are satires which condemn unwanted pregnancies, unnecessary complaints and abuses respectively. In 17, for instance, the song highlights the untold hardship experienced by young mothers who have babies outside marriage settings while 18 satirizes a man whose wife threatens to throw him into the bush if he continues to complain unnecessarily. In 19, co-wives' abuse which is very pervasive in polygamous marriages is condemned. Song 20 ridicules and disapproves of the act of stealing.

3.2 Ibibio satirical women's folksongs and the speech act categories

The pragmatic contexts under which the satirical songs are rendered have been provided in the tables in the data presentation section. The contexts generally reveal the socio-cultural setting of both traditional and communal living of the interlocutors. The interlocutors here constitute the women or women's groups and the passive addressees/hearers (the men who are culturally not confronted but get the message of the women through the songs). The songs constitute speech acts in themselves because they provide a communication channel for the expression of speech act categories.

The satirical songs are always situated within the context of the roles they play in the speaker and hearer's interpersonal communication. As communication routes, the songs constitute locutionary acts since the semantic import of each song is a derivative of the meaning of the individual words (lyrics) that make up the songs and is understood to be so by the addressee. The songs express the intentions of the women that sing them and thus have illocutionary force because they have the communicative value of expressing the feelings and attitude of the womenfolk which leads to uptake on the part of the men being addressed. The satirical songs are also expected to bring about a change in the attitude of those being ridiculed, and the effects of the songs on those being ridiculed constitute the perlocutionary acts of the songs. The ultimate aim of the songs is to bring about a resolution of the perceived societal ill, especially those perpetuated against women by men. The songs thus produce a persuasive effect on those being ridiculed for a positive change.

The satirical songs in our data set generally have embedded in them the expressive type of speech act category in addition to two of the songs that are directive. In the expressive type of speech act, a speaker expresses their attitude/feeling towards a situation or state of affairs. The

Ibibio satirical songs 1 to 14 and 17 to 20 are expressive speech acts since the songs express attitudes and feelings of the womenfolk towards real life situations. Songs 15 and 16 are directive types of speech acts where women use the songs to direct their fellow women to the path of responsible behaviour.

3.3 Allowing the Ibibio women's satirical folksongs to go extinct: Is it a risk worth taking?

The extinction of the Ibibio women's satirical folksongs means the disappearance of an important aspect of the Ibibio culture, which is an alternative way of peaceful complaints, dispute resolution and women's solidarity. Through the satirical songs, societal ills in the forms of abuse, maltreatment and abandonment are brought to the fore and the culprits' consciences are appealed to, which makes way for quick and subtle resolutions. The extinction of a peace resolution mechanism such as the satirical folksongs will lead to the abused women continuing to bottle up their wounded emotions to the detriment of their marriages and their health, especially in the traditional Ibibio setting where women culturally cannot confront their male counterparts head on.

The satirical songs are embedded with experiences and moral lessons which will be lost if the songs go extinct. This means that such experiences and moral lessons will not be inter-generationally transferred, thereby creating a gap in intergenerational knowledge. The songs portray the interdependence of care in the traditional Ibibio system, where husbands care for their wives and in turn receive care from their wives. The songs serve as a reminder to families of the importance of the cultural heritage of reciprocal family care which should be passed on to the upcoming generations. Allowing the songs to go extinct will lead to the loss of an important aspect of the Ibibio interdependent care system.

The Ibibio traditional communities were largely agrarian. The satirical songs, for instance song 5, have embedded in them the fact that cultivating a fertile land enhances crop productivity and that with good yield, the family can be better fed. The extinction of the songs with such useful information will be a loss of an irreplaceable part of agrarian culture. The satirical songs generally are a veritable means of exposing all forms of societal vices, especially those meted out to women, with the ultimate aim of drawing the attention of the men to them in order for them to strive towards a positive change. The songs contain essential traits and cultural heritage of the Ibibio traditional system such as polygamy. In the contemporary Ibibio society, due to the influence of Christianity and Western life style, the practice of polygamy is shrinking. The satirical songs constitute a reservoir as well the oral repository of this and other aspects of the Ibibio life which will be lost when the songs go extinct. The extinction of the folksongs will be a disappearance of valuable sources and important links for linguistic, historical, anthropological and social reconstruction and interpretation (Udoh & Anyanwu 2015). Allowing the Ibibio women's folksongs to disappear is not a risk worth taking. It will lead to the loss of self identity, loss of culture, loss of linguistic vitality, lack of historical reconstruction, anthropological links and loss of Indigenous social values of the Ibibio people (Anyanwu & Udoson 2020).

3.4 Stemming the tide of endangerment of the Ibibio women's satirical songs: The way forward

One of the surest ways to ensure that a language or any aspect of a language does not go extinct is for the language users to speak the language and use all aspects of the language in their

appropriate domains of language use. Thus, making use of the satirical folksongs will ensure their continuous survival. The importance of documenting the folksongs in any form, digital or text documentation in the form we have done here, cannot be overemphasized. In this era of pervasive social media, several social media outlets become handy in the documentation efforts towards preservation of the folksongs. YouTube can be used to share the lyrics of the songs, and karaoke versions of the songs with printed lyrics can be recorded. In fact, any form of preservable record of the songs in the form of audio, video, and text will be priceless. Thus, creating recorded and printable resources of songs will preserve this aspect of Ibibio culture for generations yet unborn.

Oral transmission of the folksongs is also important. This will ensure sustainable and robust intergenerational transfer. This can be done through conscious, oral interactive activities which the womenfolk can be sponsored to organize as part of larger cultural festivals in the Ibibio communities where people of all age groups will be entertained with them. Inclusion of the songs in the form of dramatization activities within the curriculum of both primary pupils and secondary students will be a revitalization effort worth pursuing. Conscious efforts by the governments and language enthusiasts within the Ibibio speech communities in reviving interest in the folksongs will go a long way in stemming the tide of endangerment of the songs. This can be in the form of sensitizations of the Ibibio speakers on the dangers of losing aspects of their culture, which include the satirical folksongs. In fact, during the collection of the data for the songs, the respondents were shocked that the women's satirical folksongs were of interest to language researchers, a situation that sensitized them more to the fact they might completely lose this aspect of their cultural heritage if they do not hold it dear to them.

4 Conclusion

As noted by Anyanwu and Udosen (2020), the traditional Ibibio society was not a very literate one. The Ibibio women derived entertainment not from books but through oral narratives, including traditional women's folksongs mainly composed and sung by the women. The themes of the songs range from maltreatment to discrimination, deception, emotional abandonment, lack of a sense of responsibility, deterrent, advice, condemnation of unwanted pregnancy, condemnation of unnecessary compliant, condemnation of abuse and disapproval of stealing. With respect to the pragmatic implication of the songs, we have noted that the songs are locutionary acts with illocutionary force and perlocutionary functions. As speech acts, the Ibibio women's satirical songs are generally expressive, portraying feelings in verbalized lyrics. Though the satirical songs are a great source of entertainment, embedded within them are important messages that can bring about a positive harmonious change within the Ibibio speech communities. The songs as linguistic activities also embed important socio-cultural heritage of the Ibibio people. The socio-cultural heritage embedded in the satirical songs can only survive if the songs are sustained by active and robust usage. One sure way of sustaining the songs is to speak the language from where the songs originate from and to also pass them to the next generation.

References¹

- Abrams, Meyer. 1998. *A glossary of literary terms*. 7th edition. New York. Harcourt Brace College Publishers.
- Anyanwu, Ogonna. 2016. How endangered are Igbo vocabulary items compared with Ibibio. *Journal of West African Languages* 43(2). 26-40.
- Anyanwu, Ogonna and Udosen Eshiet. 2020. A documentation and socio-pragmatic analysis of Indigenous Ibibio women folksongs". In Udoh, Ememobong & Ekpo, Ekpo (eds.), *Language documentation and description in Nigeria: A festschrift in honour of Imelda Icheji Lawrence Udoh at 60*.75-94. Uyo: Mida Communications Technologies.
- Holman, Hugh. 1980. *A handbook to literature*. 4th edition. Indianapolis. Bobbs-Merill Educational Publishing.
- Udoh, Imelda & Anyanwu Ogonna. 2015. Protection and promotion of Indigenous Nigerian languages as utility vessels of Indigenous knowledge systems. *Awka Journal of Linguistics and Languages* 9. 1-18.
- Okon, Margaret. 2003. Ibibio women's satirical songs: A sociolinguistic perspective. In Okon, Essien and Okon, Margaret (eds.), *Topical issues in sociolinguistics: The Nigerian perspective*. 265-277. Aba: National Institute for Nigerian Languages.
- Sampson-Akpan, Sunny.1991. Ibibio folktales: Structure and functions. In Abasiatai, Monday (ed.), *The Ibibio: An introduction to the land, the people and their culture*. 542- 550. Calabar: A. Akpan.
- Ukpanah, Ime. 2013. Women's use of music for protest and search for identity among the Annang and Ibibio of Akwa Ibom State of Nigeria. In Johnson, Effiong (ed.), *Ibom cultural offerings, arts, crafts and performances*. 34-53. Ghana: University of Cape Coast.
- Yule, George. 1996. *Pragmatics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

¹ Acknowledgements

Eshiet Udosen expresses gratitude to the Tertiary Education Trust Fund (TETFund), Nigeria for the financial support provided to her to attend the 2019 International Year of Indigenous Languages Conference at the Purdue University, Fort Wayne, Indiana, USA from October 30 – November 2, 2019 where this paper was presented.