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A stylistic analysis of corruption-induced idioms and idiomatic expressions in Yorùbá literary and routine communication

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Dayò Àkànmú & Francis Yedé

#### **1** Introduction

Corruption as a phenomenon, it is said, is as old as humanity itself. Corrupt practices cut across all areas of human endeavors. Today in Nigeria, corruption has permeated virtually all sectors of government and social domains. Due to its long existence, its incursion is always linked to human vaulting ambition and unbridled aspiration to achieve the inconceivable within a short period of time. The history of corrupt practices in Nigeria goes back in time even before the corrupt laden second Republic and the subsequent military regimes which succeeded it. For instance, one of the hallmarks of corruption was noticed in the 40's, during colonial era, when Aníkúra, a notorious armed robber tormented Lagos and its environs unchecked. The impunity with which Aníkúra' operated was uncanny and its successes were undoubtedly linked to complicity of the then Royal Police Force. Aníkúra's robbery prowess, wanton gratification and connivance with the Nigeria police were vividly captured in the notable *Oríkì* (panegyric) to eulogise him thus:

Aníkúrá Ògbójú olè tí ń dàboro Àgbà olè abàsùnwòn gbòòrò Jàgùdà kéékèèké l'olópàá Èkó ń mú Aníkúrá mbẹ níbẹ wọn ò lè mú u Bí wón bá m'Áníkúrá Owó ńlá Aşo ńlá Níí fí dí baba wọn lệnu Àyìnlá baálẹ jìbìtì Àyìnlá baálẹ wàyo Ó gbowó Ìjẹ̀bú Ó fi dệwú ẹtù sílé (Olájubù 1977: 10) quoted in Olátúnjí, 1984)

#### 'Aníkúrá

The great robber that shows off in fez cape The celebrated robber of a bottomless pouch Lagos police can only meddle with petty thieves

Nobody dares arrest Aníkúrá of the untouchable mien

If they arrest Aníkúrá

Big sums of money, big garments

He deploys to seal their father's mouth

Àyìnlá, the enigmatic trail blazer in fraud

Àyìnlá, the taskmaster of dishonesty

He filches Ìję̀bú's money

To acquire an expensive *etù* garment.'

As noted in Olatunji (1984), Aníkúrá must have been delighted by the recognition of his dexterity in professional armed robbery then. This is due to the fact that there was no evidence of him taking the *Rárà* artist who composed the song to court. The song, nonetheless, became an instant hit and popular all over Yorùbá land. The colonial government also did not ban the playing of the record though; it was capable of corrupting moral and destabilizing social order.

This recourse to history establishes that corruption-induced expressions like  $w \partial y \delta'$  dishonesty' and  $j \partial b \partial t'$  'fraud' in the excerpt above are age-long internalized social issues which are common in a society where corruption is endemic. It is against this background that this paper sets to examine and analyze corruption-induced expressions and its effects on the communicative performance of the Yorùbá language speakers.

#### 2 Corruption and its expressions

Corruption has multi-faceted meanings and can be viewed through different lenses. Its meaning is viewed from personal or consequential perceptive. Chen (2020) describes corruption as a dishonest behavior by those in position of power, such as managers or government officials. To him, corruption is the means of giving or accepting bribes or inappropriate gifts, double-dealing, under-the-table transactions, manipulating elections, diverting funds, laundering money and defrauding investors.

Geddes and Grosser's (2010) *Webster Universal Dictionary and Thesaurus* gives the concept of corruption as the synonyms of putrescence, rottenness, adulteration, contamination, debasement, sinfulness, wickedness, bribery and dishonesty. All these manifest in human trait and in his daily activities. Ekso (2006) is of the view that corruption is an embodiment of fraud, embezzlement, falsification and perversion designed to gain some benefits for self or one's favorites.

The Yorùbá language like other world languages possesses a standard variety used in every formal conversation situation while it also retains the non-standard variety for phatic communion and other day-to-day interactions among the users. There are other forms of expressions, however, which include jargons of various trades, sports and occupations. There are also the rich vocabularies of slang of imprecation, of ribaldry as well as the corruption-induced expressions derived from new Yorùbá idioms.

New Yorùbá idioms and idiomatic expressions are contemporaneous and are part of modern communication employed to instruct, persuade, exhort, abuse, extol and entertain in all areas of life. For instance, they are used by radio and television presenters who anchor different Yorùbá programs on radio and television. They are also employed by Yorùbá newspapers journalists, musicians, politicians, commercial bus conductors, film producers, artisans, students and literary artistes (Akanmu 2014). The expressive power of the new idioms makes them eligible to be accommodated into the lexicon of the Yorùbá language. Unlike the traditional idioms, many of the new Yorùbá idioms and idiomatic expressions originated from the youths, artisans, musicians, politicians and other users of the language who are versatile and conversant with the latest developments in technology, science, engineering, politics, trade and commerce (Akanmu 2019).

As reiterated earlier, corruption-induced expressions derived from the new Yorùbá idioms and idiomatic expressions are new expressions brought about by the endemic corruption in the contemporary Yorùbá society and by extension, Nigeria. Corruption is an age long phenomenon which has assumed hydra-headed dimensions in a pervasive manner and has permeated all aspects of the people's lives. It is notable and natural then that corruption-induced expressions are bound to emerge from this type of society.

#### 3 Method of data collection

Data for this paper were drawn from routine communications in Yorùbá and four literary texts from Adébowálé's play, O Şèyí Tán (1995); Lérè Adéyemí's novel, Akùko Gàgàrà (2001); Adédoyin Abégúndé's drama text, Ìgbéyàwó ku Óla Ígbéyàwó ku Óla (2004) and Dayò Ákànmú's anthology, Jongbo Orò (2002) with sufficient examples of usages of corruption-induced expressions derived from the new Yorùbá idioms and idiomatic expressions. Linguistic metaphorization strategy derived from nominalization, composition and phonaesthetic coinages was employed for data selection. Data analysis, which was done mainly at stylistic and pragmatic levels, illustrated the issue of corruption expressed and contextualized in bribery, internet fraud, politics, looting and contract splitting.

### 4 Everyday language practice vs. literary language

In order to understand the linguistic processes and creative strategies at work in the practices and expressions of corruption, we draw a line between everyday language and literary language. The former is considered here the sum of practices that provide common ground for all participants, whereas the latter requires particular knowledge in order to be deciphered. This is what Jan Mukarovsky (1970), whose work we consider as the theoretical framework for this paper, has observed early in the discussion of such phenomena. Our consideration of his model is hence based on the fact that it can be used to clarify the 'differential specifica' between the language of everyday usage and literary expressions. This will be gleaned from the explication and interpretation of the ingenious nature of corruption-induced expressions derived from the new idioms and idiomatic expressions.

Mukarovsky refers to language practices that provide common ground as "standard language," which is the language of ordinary conversation. Its main concern is to forge understanding between the speaker and the audience in order to strengthen effective communication (Crystal 1997: 68). In Yorùbá, language of everyday discourse can be informal and devoid of embellishment. It does not draw attention to itself neither is it open to provocative questions of its actual meaning. It is used on radio, during political debate, for campaigns and used in preaching in the church and mosque. Its aim is efficient communication that utilizes employment of words and phrases that can be easily comprehended. Therefore, to complement undistorted communication in standard language, language use must conform to the principles guiding appropriateness and acceptability. Hypotheses crucial to standard language are 'backgrounding' and 'automatization' illustrated by the example below:

Òkè pòpó! Òkè pòpó ló ń lọ! Òkè pòpó nì yí!

'Òkè pòpó! It is going to Òkè pòpó! Here is Òkè pòpó bus!' The content of the above example is derived from the activities of the bus conductors in one of the popular bus stops – Òkè pópó – on Lagos Island. It is obvious that no single element needs further explanation as regards the intended meaning. In contrast, the language of literature, also referred to as poetic language because of the application of embellished language and its unique nature, is exceptionally different from such everyday language practices. It varies in the lexicon, syntax and all forms of the given language, and has been described as 'a stylistic variation of the standard language' by Olátéjú (1998). In literary language, the intentional violation of the norms of the standard language is what makes possible the poetic language. The hallmarks of literary language are foregrounding and de-automatization, which are illustrated in the examples below:

*Òkè pòpó* ę méjeejì kó máa jó *Òkè pòpó* ę méjeejì kó má sòrò K'ókè pòpó ę méjeejì kó ma dansia

'Let your two *Òkè pòpó* continue to dance. Let them initiate communication Let your two *Òkè pòpó* dance provocatively'

Unlike the previous example of everyday language practice, here  $\hat{O}k\hat{e} p\hat{o}p\hat{o}$  has been de-automatized or foregrounded to have a new meaning – 'delightful or provocative breasts' which is different from its original meaning in the earlier example that refers to 'a popular location' or 'a bus stop' on Lagos Island. Without the earlier example, there can never be this present one, because  $\hat{O}k\hat{e} p\hat{o}p\hat{o}$  in the earlier example serves as the background to understanding the present one. Although,

foregrounding is logically prohibited in the standard language, this is not to say that it is not possible in standard language. The above therefore serves as background for the explanation of the new idioms and idiomatic expressions that are foregrounded in the selected corruption-induced expressions analyzed in this paper.

## 5 Linguistic strategies for the formation of new idioms and idiomatic expressions

According to Bámgbósé (1975), word formation is a universal linguistic concept, which is studied by paying attention to the patterns in which a language forms new lexical items. Formations of corruption-induced expressions in this paper are noted through the following linguistic strategies:

#### 5.1 Nominalization

Ruvet (1973: 172) views nominalization as the derivation of a noun phrase from an underlying clause or sentence or the process of forming a noun from other word classes. Below are some examples of new idioms and idiomatic expressions created from the linguistic process of nominalization.

Idioms	Formation	Literal meaning	Idiomatic meaning
Aláşàkaşà	Oní+àsà+kí+àṣà	Aláșàkașà	Onísokúso
	Pre+n+neg.mrk+n	Owner of bad culture	(User of bawdry expression)
	(owner-of-bad-culture)		
Elébòlò	Oní+ebòlò	Elébòlò	A prostitute
	Pre+n	Seller of Ebòlò vegetable	
<b>Olósekóse</b>	Oní+ose+kí+ose	Ólósekóse	Olóríburúkú
	Pre+n+neg.mrk+n	Possession of bad soap	(An unfortunate person)

#### 5.2 Phonaesthetic coinage

According to Olátéjú (1989: 132), idioms in this category are called phonaesthetic idioms because they evolve from phonaesthetic coinages. Idioms of this nature refer to words or expressions which by the virtue of their sound composition imitate or suggest their meaning. Naturally, they are idiophonic or onomatopoeic and they exhibit close relationship with the sound component of the word and its meaning. They are mostly made up of one word. The following are examples of such coinages:

Idioms	Formation	Literal meaning	Idiomatic meaning
Gòòbe	Phonaesthetic	A Hausa expression for tomorrow	Confusion/chaos
Ór <b>ó</b> bó	Phonaesthetic	Coined from its big/heavy sound	Big/obese/large size

#### 5.3 Composition

Composition is another word-formation strategy in Yorùbá. According to Bámgbósé (1994), composition is primarily the forming of a single word from an entire phrase. The native speaker can capture the importance of the original phrase and thus derive a concept of the meaning of the word. For instance,  $\hat{A}fúnnup\hat{e}$  'constricting the mouth in order to pronounce' is created from A máa ń fún enu pè é 'we habitually constrict our mouth to pronounce it' and is used in line with the linguistic term 'fricative'. Awóbùlúyì (1992) on the other hand, sees composition as a technique in which new terms are created in the language by combining some of its morphemes: mostly derivational types. From the explanation above, it can be deduced that composition is a process that assigns an already existing word to a new word class or syntactic category through the linguistic process of affixation and reduplication. Examples of composition abound in new idioms and idiomatic expressions. Consider the following:

Idioms	Formation	Literal meaning	Idiomatic meaning
Ólóyún ó pọn- mọ	Ó+ńi+oyún+ó+pọn+ọmọ She+is+pregnant+and+still backs+a+child	She is pregnant and still backs a child	Obese/passenger with load
Mámugàrí	Má+mu+gàrí+ Do+not+drink+cassava+flakes	Don't drink gari	Hand-cuff
Abómáfòó	A+bó+má+fòó That+which+fell+but+did+not+break	Unbreakable	An overcomer

The foregoings are created from sentences such as:

- Ó lóyún ó pọnmọ (she is pregnant and backs a child)
- Má mu gàrí (don't drink cassava flakes)
- Ó bộ sùgbộn kò fộ (it/he/she fell but did not break)

All the above sentences can be defined idiomatically as 'obese/overload passenger', 'hand-cuff' and 'to overcome disastrous experience/trouble' respectively.

#### 6 Analysis of corruption-induced expressions

Apart from the routine conversion, the four selected texts from which corruption-induced expressions were extracted are Ó *Şèyí tán!* by Olúyémisí Adébòwálé *Ìgbéyàwó ku Òla*, by Abéégúndé Adédoyin, *Àkùko Gàgàrà* by Lérè Adéyemí and Jongbo Òrò by Dayò Àkànmú.

#### 6.1 Ègúnję

In *O şèyí Tán!*, a play written by Olúyémisí Adébòwálé, the word *egúnje*, a corruption-induced expression derived from the new Yorùbá idioms and idiomatic expression is used as allusion to the corrupt nature of the Nigerian system and her people. For instance; in Àjàyí's office, Fálànà derisively accused Àjàyí for supplying sub-standard furniture and refused to sit down even when he politely offers him a seat. In the end, Àjàyí remarked thus:

- Àjàyí: Şé nítorí pé mo ní mo gba contract furniture yẹn lẹ fi wá ń complain? Quality tí owó tó kù gbé ni mo bẹ àwọn carpenters láti bá mi ṣe é, kì í ṣe favourite mi rárá. Ègúnjẹ tó ba country jệ ló jệ ki quality ệ low.
- 'Àjàyí: Are you complaining because I got the contract to supply the set of furniture? I prevailed upon the carpenters to produce the furniture quality that is commensurate with the amount made available. I'm constrained. Egúnje (bribery), the bane in the country, is the cause.'

In the above, the use of *ègúnje*, a corruption-induced expression is a phonaesthetic coinage from an existing Yorùbá word àgúnmu 'traditional herbal powder' used to derive the new Yorùbá idiom for 'bribery, inducement or palmgreasing'. Its use is to make the readers situate the source of the low quality of the products in the country to corruption. Going by Ajàyí's defense, he was incapacitated to supply sets of high-quality furniture because of insufficient fund due to the bribe given to those who facilitated the contract. If he failed to offer *ègúnje*, he would not get another contract offer. *Ègúnje*, a corruption-induced expression has become a household expression and has functionally been incorporated into the lexicon of the language and it features in people's daily conversation.

In *Ìgbéyàwó ku Òla*, a play by Abéégúndé Adédoyin, there is also the use of a corruption-induced expression e g unj e where a character called Owóníyì enters a particular office to see Gbádébò's boss and was told to offer bribe (e g unj e) before he could be allowed to see the person:

Owóníyì: E má bínú àwọn ògá ni mi fệ rí.

- Gbádébo: Mo ti gbó, se èyin náà mọ ìlú tí a wà yìí, ẹnu òfìfo kìí dún nàmùnàmù, *ègúnję* ló layé.
- 'Owóníyì: Don't be angry, I came to see your boss.
- Gbádébò: I have heard. I am sure you are aware that in this country, nothing goes for nothing, *ègúnję* is the order of the day.'

 $\dot{E}g\acute{u}nje$ , in its literal sense means something that is pounded and eaten. It is a phonaesthetic coinage or corrupt coinage of  $\grave{a}g\acute{u}nmu$  which is a traditional herbal powder. Unlike  $\grave{a}g\acute{u}nmu$  which in the standard language,  $\grave{e}g\acute{u}nje$  is otherwise creatively coined and used to exhibit the corrupt tendency of some Nigerians who smartly used the expression in their various offices or business for self-gratification. The act of living beyond one's income has brought about the expression  $\grave{e}g\acute{u}nje$  in the above excerpt.  $\grave{E}g\acute{u}nje$  can be idiomatically or connotatively labelled as bribery and corruption.

#### 6.2 Gbájúẹ

*Gbájúệ* is another corruption-induced expression. It is used in Lérè Adéyemí's *Àkùkọ Gàgàrà* to illustrate fraudulent and corrupt tendency of a town called Ètànlókù. In the text, Àlàó brusquely refused efforts and attempts of suitors from Etànlóku` who propose to Fadékémi's, his daughter, based on the fact that majority of the young men from the town are fraudulent and corrupt. He breaks the silence on the issues when Fadékémi's mother, who is also from Ètànlókù, continues to disturb him and seeks to know why he does not want to allow Fadékémi to get betrothed to men from Ètànlókù:

... Igbó mímu àti *gbájúệ* tí wón ń pè ní 419 ti jàrába àwon ará ìlú Ètànlókù

'... marijuana and fraud otherwise called 419 have become a way of life of the people of Ètànlókù'

*Gbájúệ* is a verbal expression which literally means 'slap him/slap his face'. Gbájúè could have been connected with an old expression gbájú ìgan used around 1960 and 1970 to refer to magicians who deceptively robbed people of their belongings at motor parks and other locations. They later observe the shocking effects and the excruciating pains suffered by the ones whose faces were slapped. It is akin to the same feeling felt by a defrauded person. Obviously, gbájúè 'fraudster' is someone who inflicts pains on another person through fraudulent acts. Today, apart from its use in the text and reflected in the excerpt above, gbájúệ has become a household expression among the Yorùbá because of the pervasive influence of corruption in Nigeria. It is now an appellation used for people who are involved in criminal acts such as fraud, embezzlement and misappropriation of public funds.

#### 6.3 Ójèlú

The use of the corruption-induced expression  $\dot{Q}_{j}\dot{e}l\dot{u}$  as word that describe corruption in political arena is captured in Àkànmú's *Jongbo*  $\dot{Q}r\dot{q}$  in the extract below:

... Òsèlú niwợn ni àb'ợjệlú? Nítorí olè tí wọn ó jàlú, Wón fi Bíbélì búra èké lásán Káyé le rò pé wón dàtúnbí, Wón lo Àlùkùráánì, nígbàagba Iró funfun báláú ni wọn ń pa kiri

'... Are they politicians or fraudsters? Because of their plan to loot the country's treasury They falsely swore with the Bible For people to think they are born-again They take oaths on Quran on several occasions.

It is blatant lies that they peddle around'

In the above excerpt, the corruption-induced expression – *Òjèlú* – has literal and idiomatic interpretations. Its literal meaning refers to politician while its idiomatic meaning is used pejoratively to point to corrupt politicians as 'looters'. *Òjèlú* (*Ò-jè-ìlú* 'one who swindles the populace'), juxtaposes with Osèlú sèlú onewho-rules or administers the town - politician'. The words shared derivational similarities and at the same time, they are semantically different and opposite. Before now, in the socio-political history of Nigeria, Òsèlú was the accurate expression used for the political leaders or politicians who are selfless and who abide by the normal democratic tenets that brought about meaningful development and dividends of democracy to the country and the citizens. Today, as reflected in the above text,  $\dot{Q}j\dot{e}l\dot{u}$  which can be defined as corrupt or fraudulent politicians, is coined and used to depict fraudulent politicians who have derailed from the political principle of services to the people and have instead resulted to looting the country's treasury for their selfish agenda.

#### 6.4 Ètùtù

Apart from the corruption-induced expressions in the selected texts, there are also others that are utilized in routine communication and day to day conversation of people on radio, musical rendition and other areas of human endeavour. For instance,  $\dot{e}t\dot{u}t\dot{u}$ , a corruption-induced expression is frequently used between public bus drivers, bus conductors and policemen. The excerpt below is a reply from a bus driver to the police man who asked the driver to produce his vehicle particulars:

Ògá, mo ti *sètùtù* láàárộ 'Sir, I had made atonement in the morning'

 $\dot{E}t\dot{u}t\dot{u}$  is a Yorùbá word for 'sacrifice' or 'atonement.' In its original sense,  $\dot{e}t\dot{u}t\dot{u}$ 'atonement' is used by someone instructed by Ifá oracle to appease the gods with certain sacrificial items in order to overcome a particular or general misfortune.  $\dot{E}t\dot{u}t\dot{u}$ , as used in the above metaphorically connotes bribery, though not in the real cultural sense of the word. But there is similarity of purpose here. The traditional  $\dot{e}t\dot{u}t\dot{u}$  is offered in return for the grace granted by the gods or to avert misfortune, while the  $\dot{e}t\dot{u}t\dot{u}$  'bribery' in the context above is used as inducement offered to avoid being delayed unnecessarily by the police man on duty and thus avert the day's misfortune or loss of income. The users took advantage of the state of lawlessness in the country and quickly coined a term that could be easily decoded. After all, the policeman is very much aware that most of the commercial drivers do not have adequate particulars. Eventually, bus drivers provided ètùtù 'bribe' instead of the vehicle particulars. It should be stressed here that, the term *ètùtù* 'atonement' as used in this context calls attention to itself and also produces effects which ordinary language cannot produce. The effects are what Mukarovsky (1970) calls 'defamiliarization' or 'enstrangement'. One does not expect the use of the term *ètùtu*'atonement' in the context shown above because the policeman on duty is not a deity and the object of atonement (money) is not the usual objects for offering penance to the gods either. It takes someone who is well versed in the Yorùbá culture to comprehend the expression in the context such as the one above.

#### 6.5 Yàúyàúù

 $Y\dot{a}\dot{u}\dot{y}\dot{a}u\dot{u}$  is another corruption-induced expression that is very common in the language of everyday usage. For instance, a presenter, Oláwálé Babaloláof 107.5 FM (Radio Lagos) on a programme called *Qmo Ilé Olórin* narrated the experience of his encounter with some 'area boys' (social miscreants) who pleaded for money at a wedding reception thus:

Èyin yàtò s'áwọn ọmọ *yàúyàúù* Tó ń ya bébà lóní yanya 'You are different from the Yahoo boys (Internet fraudsters) who spend extravagantly'

In the above, *yàúyàuù* is a loan-word taken from internet related activities which are

provided by 'yahoo', a site for sending and retrieving information on the internet. It is derived from the new idioms and recreated through full reduplication-'yahoo' (yàúyàuù) to mean 'an Internet fraudster'. The word yàúù is similar in sound with its English equivalent 'yahoo'. 'Yahoo', to Yorùbá perception, sounds very cacophonic. Hence, its pejorative uses to refer to Internet fraudsters as persons of rough, noisy and rude personalities. Yauu or Internet fraud which is akin to fraudulent life or doubtful personality is antithetical to omoluabi personality held in high esteem in Yorùbá or other cultures across the world. In the above, the expression, yàúyàuù was coined to show that some expressions can be adaptable to things or inventions that are alien to Yorùbá culture. Today, the expression 'Internet fraud' has no other name in Yorùbá society than yàúyàuù. This assertion is corroborated by the researcher's experience in a conversation between a taxi driver and a passenger at Agbowó in Ìbàdàn, where the taxi driver exhibited his knowledge of the term 'internet fraud' thus:

... gbogbo títì ló ti bàjé tán, àwọn ọmọ tó jáde Unifásitì kò rísé se. Gbogbo wọn ló ti di yàúyàúù. Kín ló ń jé yàúyàúù gan-an? Ònà ìjanilólè lórí kòmpútà...

'...all the roads are in bad state, the University graduates are unemployed. They have all become *Internet fraudsters*. What is the exact meaning of internet fraud? An act of defrauding on the computer...'

The use of the expression *yàúyàuù* in contexts above makes interpretations very easy. This is because it is through the context that we are able to comprehend the meaning as a condemnable corrupt act in a society which many of the unemployed graduates see as the shortcut to livelihood.

#### 6.6 Géranmáwó

*Àgémáwo* is another example of corruption-induced expressions used in routine communication, especially by those who eat at road-side or make shift restaurants. It is always common in those places to hear customers making such request in the excerpt below:

*Àgémáwo* ni mo fę́ 'I prefer the meat cut with the main skin.'

The use of *àgémáwo* which literally means 'the meat cut with the main skin' in the context above, can be interpreted connotatively as a preferred or choice meat. Whenever such a request is made, the food vendor knows she has to supply the combination of meat and skin. In another context, *àgémáwoó* is used by Adébáyò Fálékè, a news-caster on 105.5 FM radio stations, Ibadan, to admonish the entire civil servants in Oyo State thus:

Ejòwó gbogbo èyin òsìsé ìjoba tó fé rinrin àjò lójó Jímò tòní, e má *géranmáwo*' fún 'joba, e dúró kí àkókò àtilo sílé tó kí e tó gbéra so

'We advise all government workers planning to embark on a journey this Friday, not to act in way akin to cutting meat with the skin in various government offices. Please ensure normal closing schedule before going away.' Unlike the previous examples, the expression *géranmáwo* 'cut meat with its skin' as used in the above context has nothing to do with the issue of 'preferred choice meat'. Here, it can be identified to mean corruption/cheating/deceit/ insincerity on the part of those workers who are of the habit of leaving their offices before the closing time.

#### 6.7 Jeun sápò

*Jeun sápò* 'eat into the pocket' is another corruption-induced expression used in *Qmo Gómìnà* 'Governor's Child,' a film produced and directed by Anta Láníyan. In the film, a character called Oşùolálé uses the expression, in a discussion with his friend Akínbò, to portray fraudulent and corrupt lifestyle of the Nigerian politicians thus:

- Akínbộ: Oşùọlálé, n jệ o rántí san owó egbệ tìrẹ fún akộwé egbệ kí o tó kúrò nínú ìpàdé?
- Oşùolálé: Kí ni ò ń sọ nígboro ẹnu yìí? Níbo ni o ti fệ kí n rówó? Àfi bí ẹni pé àwọn olósèlú ti kó gbogbo owó ìlú nílệ tán, wọn kàn ń *jẹun sápò* ni.
- 'Akínbộ: Oşùọlálé, did you remember to pay dues to the secretary before you left the meeting?
- Oșùolálé: What exactly are you saying? Where do you expect me to get money? It is like the politicians have packed all the money in circulation. They are just enriching their pockets.'

In the above, *Jeun sápò* which literally means 'eat into the pocket' can be interpreted as self-gratification. This interpretation is arrived at because of the penchant for diverting public funds for personal use by political office holders in Nigeria. Expressions of this nature are fore-grounded and their meanings cannot be derived from each of their lexical components. They are also not allowed in standard Yorùbá because they are semantically deviant except those that have been exhaustively used and gradually found their ways into the lexicon of the language.

#### 6.8 Gbémóra/Gbémimóra

*Gbémimóra/gbémóra* is another corruption-induced expression that can be seen in day to day conversation of the Yorùbá people. In 2007, Músíliyù Qbaníkòró a gubernatorial candidate for people Democratic Party (PDP) used the expression in Lagos Island during his campaign:

È yin ọmọ bíbí ìlú Èkó àti è yin olùgbé Ìpínlệ Èkó, ẹ má jệ kí àwọn ará ibí gbé e yín mộra bíi ti àtijó... ẹlétàn ni wón, òrò ệtàn ló wà ní ẹnu wọn. (Ray power, March 2007)

'I appeal to the indigenes of Lagos State and the entire Lagosians. Don't allow those people to swindle you like they did in the past... They beguile; the words of their mouth are treachery.'

In the above, *gbé e yín mó ra* used in this context is an existing word which literally means 'to cuddle you' or 'to embrace you'. Now, it has acquired new meaning. Its idiomatic meaning is 'to swindle or to deceive someone.' Linguistically, its coinage is through composition or sentence reduction. Obaníkòró exposed his fellow contestants from the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) as beguilers and serial liars and he wanted the good people of Lagos State not to cast their votes for them. This gives vent to the expression *e má jé kí wón gbé e yín móra* 'don't allow them to deceive you.' The new meaning given to this expression is suggestive of its intention; to patronize. The expression itself has been elevated to become poetic language.

#### **6.9 Inferences**

It can be inferred from the data analyzed so far, that corruption-induced expressions derived from the new Yorùbá idioms and idiomatic expression have been and continued to be used to express different views, opinions and ideas to capture different areas of human endeavors. It is obvious that issues of corruption are addressed generally in all the analyzed data and contextualized in contract splitting, looting, bribery, internet fraud and discordant politics. It is also established that corruption-induced expressions are used to engender desirable communication.

#### 7 Conclusion

This paper has investigated corruption-induced expressions with a view to establishing their communicative and stylistic effects in Yorùbá literary and routine communication. The paper discussed issues expressed through corruption-induced expressions, their structures and formations. Mukarovsky's standard language model was adopted because of its capacity to explain deviant and ingenious nature of corruption-induced expressions. The concept of 'differential specifica' between the language of everyday usage and literary language was also discussed. It was clearly revealed in the paper that Yorùbá language has adequate mechanism and resources, like every other language of the world, to borrow from and nativize the components of the contact language as well as realign and stretch the structures of the original language to extend its frontier of usage. These coping strategies were found to be deposited in the existing word-formation structures of the Yorùbá language through which the corruption-induced expressions emanated. The uniqueness of these new idioms reflects ingenious lexical formation and semantic expansion to highlight the new normal in language use and, to foreground fraudulent practices and disorientation in the Nigeria socio-political milieu.

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