Music & Social Criticism in Nigeria

Thompson Olusegun Ewata
Federal University of Technology, Akure, Ondo State, Nigeria

Abstract

Fela Anikulapo-Kuti used Yabis, his style of music and the Pidgin English to address the political, economic, and social conditions of the common man, the black race and the world. To him, music serves the multidimensional purposes of entertaining as well as educating the masses on the shortcomings in society; and healing the state – ultimately, the world. The song, Beast of no nation (Anikulapo-Kuti, 1989), analysed in the paper, describes a state of betrayal of innocent citizens by officers of the state and government of the day. It also takes a swipe at the United Nations. As a social commentator, Fela employed the medium of satire through the means of parody to ridicule the Nigerian judicial system; the government and comment on the vanity of the United Nations. Using the discourse analytical tool of conversation analysis, the paper adopted the concepts of adjacency pairs, turn-taking and turn the switch in analysing the sequencing of turns in the Beast of no nation as an interaction and as a real language element that communicates meaning to the intended audience. The paper discovered the song used different interaction devices, among which are: discourse markers (46, of 5 types, 2 universal and 3 localised), silence or short pauses (10), turns (150), adjacency pairs (54) as well as turn switches other transitional devices. The most significant finding of the paper is the extent to which Fela has used Pidgin English to effectively communicate his message to his audience using the discourse elements of the pidgin.

Keywords: conversation analysis, Fela Anikulapo, yabis, Pidgin, social commentary.

1. Introduction

Nigerian Pidgin English (henceforth pidgin) plays a prominent role in communication in Nigeria, at the level of interpersonal, intrapersonal, formal, informal, social, intimacy, events and programmes on radio, television, adverts, entertainment, social media, etc. as everyone, in every socioeconomic group within the country understands and/or communicates in pidgin (Akande, 2008; Faraclas, 1996; Osoba, 2015). Pidgin is spoken by every Nigerian, and some non-Nigerians. Apart from pidgin being a lingua franca and/or a home language, in homes where the parents are from different ethnic groups or where parents live in a multi-ethnic group environment (Balogun, 2013), in Nigeria, it has now become the language of solidarity as exemplified by the Afrobeat legend, Fela Anikulapo (1938–1997) in his lifetime. Take any two Nigerians from different socio-cultural backgrounds, or any two Nigerian students (undergraduates or postgraduates), pidgin is their language of communication. Any two Nigerians from different regions or states, outside the shores of the country communicate in pidgin than any other language (Onyeche, 2004). The prevalence of different local languages that would not yield their pride of places to other languages; the historical antecedent of pidgin in the country and a Nigerian government that was not ready to bear "unwarranted financial and material cost" (Awung, 2013) on any indigenous language has made the pidgin a popular language in the country. Thus, among Nigerians – within and without, pidgin is the mark of their "Nigerianess" (Onyeche, 2004) compared to Tolais who addressed strangers in pidgin and see it as an offense to address fellow Tolais in pidgin (Mosel, 1979, p. 163). Even among educated Nigerians, when they speak the English language among themselves, they create a distance between them; to bridge this gap, pidgin comes to the rescue (Osa, 1986; Osoba, 2015). To modern Nigerians too, Pidgin is the language of oneness, equality and comradeship. It is not a surprise therefore that the late Afrobeat legend, Fela Anikulapo used pidgin as the medium of expression of his music as it reflects "productivity, simplicity, acceptability and understanding" (Balogun, 2013) above all, creativity. The language has since graduated from the incidental contact language situation in a multilingual setting (Bellama, Nkele & Yudom, 2006, p. 6; Edwards, 1994; Mosel, 1979) brought about by the English imperialists' commercial, bureaucratic, and missionary activities (Edwards, 2013) in the Nigerian territory to a mother tongue/home language, second language and a lingua franca in the multilingual Nigerian society. Pidgin has since become not only a means of communication for Nigerians, it now provides psychological, sociological, social and political relief to them (Edwards, 2013).

It might be difficult to give a definite timeframe of the origin of the pidgin in Nigeria, as there is no fossilized evidence to tell us this. However, one form of pidgin or the other has always been in the Nigerian environment because of the nation's multilingual characteristics – "In fact, pidginized Hausa is still spoken by non-native speakers of Hausa in the markets around Lake Chad while a pidginized form of Igbo is used at present in some Niger Delta markets" (Faraclas, 1996, p. 2). The English-lexifier Pidgin version arose in the Nigerian context (as in other parts of the world, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Gambia, Cameroon etc.) because the British colonialists needed catechists to teach the converted southern natives Christianity tenets as well as clerks, messengers, cooks, and stewards to help the colonialists with domestic and administrative duties (Osa, 1986). At the same time, the different nationalities that

made up the Nigerian nation have no shared language among them but need to communicate regularly, at least for the purpose of trade and they do not want to learn each other's' languages (Thomason, 2008, p. 243). Most importantly, the colonialists – Portuguese and British did not want to learn the language(s) of the natives (Faraclas, 1996). The different nationalities that came together did not require fluent speakers of the different languages, but a passable language to transact their business (Thomason, 2001, p. 1). The lexicon of the pidgin is drawn from the diverse indigenous languages and English (cf Versteegh, 1984, p. 1). In terms of structure – grammar, morphology and phonology, pidgin combines the elements of English and the indigenous languages and "is typically simpler than those native languages in so far as it has fewer words, less morphology, and a more restricted range of phonological and syntactic options" (Rickford, 1978). With time, pidgin has developed its own structures and is the most widely used language in Nigeria. There are more speakers of pidgin than the official (English) language and the other indigenous languages put together (Osoba, 2015) and it is gradually becoming, that is, if it has become, the most widely spoken language on the African continent (Faraclas, 1996, p. 1).

Pidgin in Nigeria, like in other parts of the world is a rarely written, but widely spoken medium of communication (Holm, 2004, p. 4; Swaan, 2010, p. 72) as there was no need to write it down because it was a language of necessity. It was not taught in any school and was not used till now in any formal or official form of communication. However, that has changed as the Nigerian pidgin is now written though the standard orthography has not yet been agreed on. This may be because no recognised authority is responsible for its orthography. At the same time, the orthography would hardly be uniform because of the multilingual nature of Nigeria. Take for example, the Yoruba pidgin speaker says "pele" to mean sorry or take care while the Igbo speaker says the same thing, but spells it differently "kpele". More so, it is still not in the curriculum of the educational system of the country. However, the language is enjoying a lot of academic activities in the country's intellectual circle as it is now studied in its various forms or uses which will help in the standardisation process. Already, studies have been conducted in the various forms and uses of the language. This includes: Onyeche, 2004 - that studies its role in the Nigerian community in Sweden, Aziza, 2015 studies aspects of its syntax, Mowarin, 2014 - its bilingual verbs, Balogun, 2013 - its defence, Faraclas, 1996 - its existence, Zabus, 2006, its use in poetry, Osoba, 2014 & 2015 – its use in in media adverts & analysis of its discourse, Mensah & Ndimele, 2014 - its linguistic creativity in advertising, among others.

The specific objective of this study, therefore, is to show that pidgin like any other language is a language that is used in communicating meaning, exhibiting the users' worldview and that it can function in any human activity

2.   Methodology

Because a song is a speech (talk or interaction), it is apt to say conversational interactions happen in it. A song is taken as a speech before consideration is given to its written form, which happens in the course of its composition. The lyrics of *Beast of no nation* (Anikulapo-Kuti, 1989) was copied from the online edition, which is similar to the one on the sleeve of the album, from:

http://www.nitrolyrics.com/fela-kuti_beast-of-no-nation-lyrics.html. The lyrics transcripts formed the core data of the analysis for this paper. The transcript of the song was taken as a discourse element as it is seen as a text. It was then subjected to textual analysis taken as a dialogue between two interlocutors: Fela, the speaker, and his band members, his audience or his receiver in line with the theory of conversation analysis.

3.   Theoretical Framework: Conversation Analysis as a Tool in Social Interaction

Everything humans do starts with language. It is language that separates us from other animals on the planet. Our language is what we use with ourselves and others in talking about our fears, aspirations, frustrations, joys etc. Therefore to understand humans, it is important to understand the minute details of their being – which could best be done when we analyse their use of language from the basic level, the talk– social interaction, with fellow men, "to explicate processes of inference upon which the everyday social order is based" (Peräkylä, Antaki, Vehviläinen & Leudar, 2008, p. 12) "in constructing shared and specific understandings of 'where they are' within a social interaction" (Heritage, 1998, p. 3).

Conversation analysis (hence CA), a distinctively sociological discourse analytical tool is related to ethnomethodology in its concern for details (Heritage; Peräkylä, Antaki, Vehviläinen & Leudar). CA is the systematic analysis of real-life 'recorded, naturally occurring talk-in-interaction' as a social activity so as to understand how human produce and interpret their tightly organised and coherent interactions in actual contexts. Like other discourse analytical tools, CA focuses on understanding how conversation is organized and structured (Person, 1996, p. 16).

Human conversation or talk is a collaborative effort that each participant works towards making a successful venture out of. CA is therefore concerned with understating the constituent and organizing features – "characterised as locally mangled, party-administered, interactionally controlled, and sensitive to recipient design – of these collaborative efforts (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974). This is working on the assumption that every human interaction is a very ordered, structurally organised activity in which (i) the goals of the participants are more limited and institution-specific, (ii) restrictions on the nature of interactional contributions are often in force, and (iii) institution- and activity-specific inferential frameworks are common (Drew & Heritage, 1992 cited in Heritage, 1998; Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998; Thornbury & Slade, 2006). CA relies on real-life (naturally occurring data) rather than the 1) interview-data as expressions of opinions and attitudes or descriptions of scenes not witnessed by the researcher, 2) observational studies relying on field notes or coding procedures, 3) idealized or invented examples based on the researcher's own native intuitions, and 4) experimental methodologies… All of these kinds of data are seen as too much a product of the researcher's or informant's manipulation, selection, or reconstruction, based on preconceived notions of what is probable or important (Heritage & Atkinson, 1984: 2-3, cited in (Have, 1986)

The rejection of these data sources by CA makes it unique as the end product it produces with the original naturally occurring data makes its findings the most sophisticated and robust

account of language in action (Wooffitt, 2005, p. 10) as such findings could not have been produced by any researcher's imagination. The cohesive relation that exists in the conversation/text is what is important to the analysts in the study of human conversations (Thornbury & Slade, p. 108). Cohesion in conversation is achieved through grammatical and lexical cohesive devices (partly through the grammar and partly through the vocabulary (Halliday & Hasan, 1976, p. 6). The cohesion is brought about by the sequences of the actions. According to Heritage, the underlining theory of CA is that whatever meaning that is derived from any action is as a result of the preceding actions and that sequences of action are pivotal social context of any human action.

The CA theory encompasses three interrelated claims:

(1)   In constructing their talk, participants normally address themselves to preceding talk and, most commonly, the immediately preceding talk (Sacks 1987 [1973], 1992 [1964-72]; Schegloff and Sacks 1973; Schegloff 1984). In this simple and direct sense, their talk is context-shaped.

(2)   In doing some current action, participants normally project (empirically) and require (normatively) that some 'next action' (or one of a range of possible 'next actions') should be done by a subsequent participant (Schegloff 1972). They thus create (or maintain or renew) a context for the next person's talk.

(3)   By producing their next actions, participants show an understanding of a prior action and do so at a multiplicity of levels - for example, by an 'acceptance', someone can show an understanding that the prior turn was complete, it was addressed to them, it was an action of a particular type (e.g., an invitation), and so on. These understandings are (tacitly) confirmed or can become the objects of repair at any third turn in an on-going sequence (Schegloff 1992). Through this process they become 'mutual understandings' created through a sequential 'architecture of intersubjectivity' (Heritage, 1984 cited in Heritage, 1998).

Categorising *Beast of no nation* as a conversation/dialogue

Because the song, *Beast of no nation,* and in fact most Fela's songs have interactional elements (dialogue), we shall view it as a conversation or talk-in-interaction. Using the parameters of Thornbury & Slade, the song may be considered a conversation because:

  i.   Conversation is spoken
 ii.   Conversation happens in real time
iii.   Conversation takes place in a shared context
 iv.   Conversation is interactive
  v.   Conversation is interpersonal
 vi.   Conversation is informal
vii.   Conversation is expressive of identity
viii.   Conversation in other modes – conversation could come in different modes apart from the face to face usual person to person interaction we know. A typical case in point is the dramatic conversation where characters address other characters not present if they were present, for dramatic effect created by the dramatist or the case of Fela's music, where he talks to members of the group as if talking to the audiences. This is a common literary device in African story telling as

the audience is expected to partake in the plot development of the story as they are expect to act as backup singers to the story teller(s) (Thornbury & Slade, 2006, p. 8 – 23)

Characteristics of different communicative events

	spoken	unscripted, spontaneous	dialogic / multilogic	synchronous	interpersonal (vs transactional) function	symmetrical relationship
email exchange	✗	✓	✓	✗	✗	✓?
news broadcast	✓	✗	✗	✓	✗	✗
interview	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗
service encounter	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗
classroom talk	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗
chat room exchange	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
conversation	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Song?	✓	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓

(Thornbury & Slade, 2006, p. 26)

The last element (song), carries a question mark because if we are to add it to this table, since it is the focus of this paper what would it yield in the categorisation of Thornbury & Slade. For the purpose of this study it will yield the marked fields. A song is spoken, it is scripted (before been spontaneous), it is dialogic, synchronous, it performs interpesonal function and its symmetrical.

4. The Concept of Adjacency Pairs and Turn Taking

As mentioned earlier, sequencing plays a prominent role in meaning making of human actions, as exemplified through human interaction. Humans depend on the sequence of preceding actions, which in turn becomes a norm, in making meaning. We shall apply the concept of adjacency pairs to our understanding of conversation analysis so to have a clearer picture of the organisation of turn-taking in conversation.

According to Schegloff & Sacks (1973, cited in (Tsui, 1989), a class of sequences which they called adjacency pairs exists in conversation which is widely operative. Adjacency pairs are sequences of moves in turn-taking in interaction in which the second part of which is functionally dependent on the first (Thornbury & Slade, p. 29). They are pairs of ordered utterances with identifiable difference between the first and the second parts of the pairs; it also requires that once the first part is given, the particular second or range of second parts is required. For example, a greeting in the first part, will require another form of greeting as the reply, an invitation will require a response (acceptance or declination)**,** a question will produce an answer or a clarifying question (Hutchby & Wooffitt, p. 39) –to the question and clarification sequence, this caveat is added:

The simple production of the first part of an adjacency pair does not necessarily legislate that the second part will follow immediately. Before the provision of the expected second part there may be insertion sequences … often composed of embedded and nested question–answer adjacency pairs, during which matters relevant to the first part are addressed before the second part is produced.

Gene: Is Maggie there.   Q1
Lana: ·hh Uh who is calling,   Q2
Gene: Uh, this's Gene:. Novaki.   A2
Lana: Uh just a mom'nt   A1

(Taken from Sacks, 1992, Vol II: 546–7; start of telephone conversation, cited in (Wooffitt, p. 175)) We see in question 1 that **Gene** (the caller) wanted to know if Maggie was there but **Lana** did not answer right. He asked another question, seeking clarification to know who the caller was In turn 4 when **Gene** identified who the caller was and **Lana** was ready to divulge the whereabouts of Maggie. This is the "embedded and nested question" that is been talked about above. This tells us the whole concept of adjacency pairs does not mean that it should be strictly adhere to. It only shows that there are some utterances that conventionally paired such that "on the production of a first pair part, the second part becomes relevant and remains so even if it is not produced in the next serial turn. The concept of adjacency pairs show that interlocutors and the analysts their "ongoing understanding and sense-making of one another's talk" (Hutchby & Wooffitt, p. 40 - 1).

Turns-Taking: This is the ordering of the right to speak in interactions. Interlocutors do not jump into conversation without giving room for the other(s) to talk. Human conversation is orderly and systematically arraigned such that the one talking gives room for the other to finish speaking before the other takes over so that "no one participant holding the floor for more time than it is considered appropriate" (Thornbury & Slade, p. 15). If there is need to cut in by another person, there are mechanisms for doing that, such that the person talking does not feel insulted or the one intending to cut in does not appear uncultured. This is the concept of face. There two types of face, positive and negative face. The positive face is "the positive consistent self-image or 'personality' (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants" (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 61). According to Sacks, Schegloff& Jefferson (p. 696), turn presupposes economy which in turn affects how they are been distributed the relative value associated with it. It is this orderly manner that the "turns" shifts from one person to another it is this order form that is of importance to use in the analysis of this paper.

5. The use of pidgin in Nigeria

For wider coverage, accessibility and acceptability of programmes and policies, that affect or pertain to the masses, in the country, the language of expression is pidgin. In Nigeria, when the governments (local, state or federal), organisation (either for profit or non-profit) or world agencies want their policies or the impact of the efforts taken to the grassroots, they resolved to the use of pidgin. In Nigeria, and other West African countries where pidgin is used, important information now comes in Pidgin English. It is not surprising to see in pidgin, the United Nations "The Millennium Development Goals Reports 2005" (https://unic.un.org/aroundworld/unics/common/documents/publications/mdg/lagos_mdg_pidgin_e nglish.pdf); the United nations' "Universal Declaration of Human Rights"

(http://www.ohchr.org/EN/UDHR/Pages/Language.aspx?LangID=pcm),   recently, a Christian organisation has an ongoing project of translating the bible into pidgin. To this, the organisation adds: "Praise the Lord! God is finally using Nigerian Pidgin Language Bible to bring His Word to the level and language which ordinary Nigerians can understand clearly!" – (http://www.mercy-christian-ministry.org/nigerian-pidgin-language-bible.html).   Before the current attention on the language, it has played a significant role in the shaping of Nigerian literary works. Literary icons like Ken Saro Wiwa, Wole Soyinka, Chinua Achebe, Festus Iyayi, Buchi Emechita, Ben Okri, and the other Nigerian writers have all used pidgin one time or the other in their works to show the social class or educational status, relation of the characters (tenor of discourse) or for comic effects, in contributing to the overall 'meaning' of the communication (Osoba, 2015, p. 139) and as representations of speeches of real Nigerian people (Kersten, 2006). Apart from literary usages, pidgin has been used in other field in Nigeria. As mentioned earlier, it used in advertisements and other jingles on radio, television, billboard, newspapers and on the internet. It is even the main medium of expression in a radio station, Radio Nigeria 3 (Osoba, 2014). Other stations in most, if not all the states, in the country have air time dedicated to the use of pidgin in their programming slots. In the entertainment industry it is the language of choice of the Nigerian stand-up comedy, internet chatrooms, discussion boards and SMS exchanges (Mensah & Ndimele, 2013) it is used in films and television soaps, in music by no less a musical icons than Fela Anikulapo, Lugbaja, Femi Kuti, Tufac and the rest of them. It is used in some churches particularly in the south-south geopolitical zone of the country. Though not an official language, it is used in the propagation of government policies and programmes. Particularly in states like Edo, Delta, Rivers, Bayelsa and Cross River (Ugot & Ogundipe, 2011).   It is the lingua franca of the military (army, navy and the air force) the paramilitary (police, customs, immigration etc.) barracks. In fact, it is the unofficial "official" language of the police stations (force) in the country. We have mention from inception of the paper that the pidgin is the language of communication for mutual intelligibility among Nigerians irrespective of age, creed, gender or status. It is the language of commerce which was the main reason that resulted in its existence in the first place. These and several other functions are performed by the pidgin in Nigeria.

6. Fela Anikulapo Kuti and Yabis Music

Born Olufela Olusegun Oludotun Ransome-Kuti (1938-97). Fela was the most popular, most controversial and the most followed African musician outside the shores of Africa (Olaniyan, 2001). His followership include: "the radical Nigerian intelligentsia, the street-smart youths of Lagos, members of the urban working class, and, in Europe and the U.S., a concatenation of black nationalists and white college students …" He was not only a musician, but a composer, and bandleader, ideological bricoleur, political gadfly, child of colonialism and father of Afro-beat (syncopated fusion of jazz, funk, and African beats (Shonekan, 2009); a mixture of American jazz and Yoruba folk music (Olatunji, 2009)), a trenchant social critic among others. Throughout his life time, "he spent a good deal of his creative energy mocking the elite African culture that birthed him and, in some important respects, laid the foundations for his art" (Waterman, 1998). Apart from being an accomplished musician, he was synonymous with protest. Though there are claims and counter-claims that his music not his pan-Africanist beliefs gave Fela fame (Osha, 2013). This

paper does not side any of the views, but dwells on the language of both Fela passions (music and pan-Africanist beliefs). Fela switched from English and Yoruba languages to Pidgin English, so as to reach a wider audience in Nigeria and abroad (Waterman, 1998). The choice of pidgin as the language of his political consciousness and music was borne out of consciousness and creativity (Labinjoh, 1982). Consciousness because he saw the happenings in his society and realised that the people of his newly independent nation have not woken up to the stark reality of being blacks, but see themselves as whites – "the African colonial mentality whereby alien cultural products and artefacts are uncritically acquired, becoming dominant over locally produced ones" (Labinjoh, p. 124) and thus took it upon himself to free the black man of his nation and the African continent of this mentality so that they can be proud of being blacks and their cultural heritage. The messages he needed to send in his music was meant for the ordinary Nigerians and Africans who he intended to awaken to the stark reality on the ground. Deviating from singing, the mundane issues of love, men, women, money and life in a music that is a fusion of different genres and cultures he needed to break it down to the people to make it understandable to them. Thus, pidgin came to the rescue. Pidgin therefore helped him sell his message and music to Nigerians who are multicultural and multilingual. With pidgin, his music is not domiciled in any region or tribe and this would make it appealing to the ordinary man on the street. At the same time, it will transcend national frontiers as pidgin is present in most (West) African countries. Through pidgin, Fela introduces a measure of freshness, originality and liveliness (Jesse, 2001) to his music (afrobeat - yabis) and the message of pan-Africanism he needed to propagate in it. The pidgin he used was not, under academic constraint, but out of choice (Ezenwa–Ohaeto cited in (Zabus, 2006)); it goes well with everyone (as the spoken to and the spoken about all) amuses themselves in the simplicity of the language (Jesse, 2001). The use of pidgin by Fela also brings up a very important function of the language as it has from the eve of independence been conceived as a language of defiance of the literary establishment. At the same time, pidgin is seen as a language of stage performance or entertainment (Zabus, p, 119). Thus, through Afrobeat - the music and the message and yabis, his style of music narrative: … the songs do not exist only for their entertainment value, but develop story, mood, theme, communicating arts through music (Oikelome, 2013). Fela invented yabis (idiomatically, "abuse," but more appropriately, "roasting" (Olaniyan, 2004, p. 51) taking from the verb form of the pidgin word yab – which literally means to make fun of or ridicule someone). Yabis is a style of dialogic communication done virtually in pidgin that served dual purposes for Fela as it afforded him the opportunity to air his criticism of the status quo in terms of the Nigerian government and its officials, African society and the world and for him to get feedbacks where he gauged the reactions of his audience (Oikelome, 2010). Yabis became Fela's satiric tool. As a tool, it gave him the chance to criticise the corruption in the nation, an individual or the world. On yabis nights, Fela sang satirical songs "deliberately composed with the aim of correcting an atrocity, a misdemeanour or sacrilege committed by either an individual or a corporate body within a particular society" (Olatunji, 2009) in the process making his audience, listeners or fans generate towards his objects of criticism "attitudes of amusement, contempt, scorn, or indignation" (Abrams, 1999, p. 275). Without being serious, Fela uses the medium of yabis to x-ray the Nigerian political, social and economy scenes for his audience. Fela's objects of criticism are germane to the very existence of the country people and the black race. To get the message across to them, he required a medium that would not be too serious and that would require the least effort. He must have known that if he did

this through literary creativity of writing, like his cousin, Wole Soyinka, the audience he would reach would be limited and the effort be wasted as most Nigerians have no time or desire to read because of their economic situation. It is also important to state here that Soyinka used pidgin to pass his message to the Nigerian populace in his record, "etikarevolution"? If he used theatrical means of drama cum comedy too it would not have the desired effect he wanted "in that comedy evokes laughter mainly as an end in itself" thus satire suited his purpose in that "it uses laughter as a weapon, and against a butt that exists outside the work itself (Abrams, 1999). At the same time, the language of choice must not be too serious or difficult to understand in a multilingual and multicultural setting like Nigeria. In this regard, pidgin suits the situation perfectly as it understood by every Nigerian and (West) African, irrespective of class or status most importantly the masses – the oppressed and underprivileged – who are Fela's main target.

This effort by Fela made his music become more acceptable by the masses and, eventually, by the children of the elite in Nigeria, who could not help but sing along with him at his concerts; in Pidgin English. So, unconsciously, pidgin crept in and maneuverer its way into the domains of the elite (Olatunji, 2009).

Since the introduction of the pidgin through yabis into Fela's music, Olatunji claims it stimulates or motivates the people (the masses and down trodden – this includes the labour force, artisans, students and most times too, even professionals) to action against oppression and bad governance. Thus, through yabis music, Fela informed his audience who could be the students, professions, artisans, market men and women, members of the intelligential and all others of their roles as members of the vanguard against oppression and tyranny, reminding them of their cultural heritage and dignity of human existence, among other things.

7. Presentation of Data

Having thoroughly considered the data, the following findings were discovered, as making the song *Beast of no nation* as an interaction:
  i.   Discourse or interactional markers 46 (made up of 2 universal and 3 localised)
 ii.   Turns used in the song 150
iii.   Adjacency pair 55
iv.   Silence or pause for yield of turn or topic 10
 v.   Stylistic device: repetition, duplication, reduplication, elongation, gap fillers

8. Data Analysis

Music may be synonymous to drama in the sense that the interactions between the singers – the lead singer and chorus, accounts for how the plot unfolds just as the interactions of the characters helps in unravelling the plots in drama. In music, like in drama, the singer could sing alone without a backup or chorus as in the characters in drama talking to themselves (monologue) or they could talk to other characters (dialogue). In the *Beast of no nation*, Fela created a dramatic dialogue in which the lead singer talks to the chorus, invariably, the audience. He raises a

proposition which is replied to by the chorus. So in looking at the sequences of talks (interactions) in the song, we shall begin by paying attention to the notion of dramatic dialogue. Dialogic interaction does only involve characters using language to portray their world(views), it also encompasses extra-linguistics co-ordinates such as the spatio-temporal setting, the different roles and status of participants, the norms for speaking and the multi-layered speech itself (Ekram, n.d.). The dramatic dialogue in the song brings to light the issue of oral poetry or narration in the Nigerian (African) context as their thoughts, the actions and deeds are orally captured, in their poetry. Fela recreates this mode of discourse in his music by bring dialogue into the music thus involving the audience, and it became one of his selling points. The presence of dialogue in Fela's music entails that there is turns and turn switches.

1.   Ah- Let's get now into another, underground spiritual game
2.   Just go to help me the answer, go to say, "Aiya-kata"- Oh ya
3.   O'feshe-Lu
4.   AIYA-KATA *(after each line)
5.   O'feshe- g'Ba

In the first two turns, Fela, as the lead singer, prepares the ground for the tone of the whole song. He starts by making the audience realise it is a joint effort or something that does not revolve around him alone. The conversational nature of the first turn sets the whole game rolling as he begins with a discourse marker or what conversation analysts refer to as "interactional signal". They elements are "are used to mark shifts in the direction of the talk, and to manage the interaction". They are elements like *yes*, *yeah*, *yes all right*, *no*, *oh*, *well*, *so*, *but*, etc. (Thornbury & Slade,p. 16; Schiffrin, 2001, p. 54). The interactional signal of the turn 1, "Ah" tells us the song is a spoken discourse. "ah" is a discourse signal of preparedness. it is replicated at the end of turn 2, with "oh ya" which is also a discourse transitional device that indicates to the pidgin discourse marker. The "Oh ya" in turn 2 is a transitional device indicating to the next speaker that the initial speaker has yielded the floor to them. Turn-yielding in human interactions may be done through "syntax, acoustics and prosody" (Gravano & Hirschberg, 2011). Here, Fela first uses an interactional device to take turn at speaking and uses another interactional device to yield the floor to the next speaker. While the first interactional device is universal in nature, the second is localised as it is a pidgin interactional device with Yoruba substrate. This confirm the notion that pidgin combines the elements of English and the indigenous languages (Rickford, 1978). This further supports the view that pidgin is a language on its own rights that is used for communication by a group of people and this is what the users use in portraying their worldviews. Having prepared the ground in turns 1, 2 & 3 that the others are expected to participate in the whole scenario of the song, we see this displayed in turn 4 when they replied to the proposition of turn 3 - "O'feshe-Lu". "AIYA-KATA" becomes their reply to turn 3. The interjection of the chorus helps in no small ways in the plot development of the story of the song. This continues till Fela interjected with another interactional signal in turn 16.

At the same time, the first part of a functionally dependent second part has been set in motion in turn 2. Fela tells the chorus the format of the reply to his call. This is in conformity to the concept of the adjacency pairs in which the first part requires a complementary second part that is

functionally dependent on the first part. Thus in 3 when Fela says "O'feshe-Lu" turn 4 produces the "functionally dependent second part" – "AIYA-KATA" of the call which is the answer to it. Here again, the song answers to been an interaction that interlocutors have to give corresponding second parts to an initial second parts. This is part of what makes the discourse (song) coherent as a unified whole not something that analysts created or imaged and concocted together.

In the song, there are 54 adjacency pairs usage. This further qualifies the song in the realm of interactional/spoken discourse.

16.   Oh…

This another universal interactional signal to signal that the floor about to yield or be taken by another speaker. In all 46 (made up of: "ah" 1, "ee-oh" 18, "oh" 25, "oh ya" 1, "eh ji keke 1) interactional/discourse markers are used in the song. Of the 5 markers used 46 instances in the song, 2 are universal (ah, oh) while the rest 3 (ee-oh, oh-ya and eh ji keke) are localised.

17.   Basket mouth wan start to leak again, oh-
18.   BASKET MOUTH WAN OPEN MOUTH AGAIN, OH
19.   Abi** you don forget I say I sing, ee-oh **(is it not)
20.   BASKET MOUTH WAN OPEN MOUTH AGAIN, OH
21.   Oh, I sing, I say, I go my mouth like basket, ee-oh, Malanu Bia-gbe-re
(2x)

        Having indicated the turn-taking signal in 16, Fela continues in 17 and the chorus replies in 18. This is done till 21. Both Fela and the chorus play with discourse marker "oh" as they turned it into a structural component of the song. However, in turn 21, to 23, another interactional signal into the structure of the song "ee-oh" then he code mixes pidgin and Yoruba which is the interpretation of "I go my mouth like basket". On the literary level too, this utterance, which is a simile, means he (Fela) will say everything without necessarily covering or without holding anything. In the African worldview, the basket has no cover, it cannot hide anything - whatever is in it is for public consumption. The adjacency pairs concept continues in this discourse as "BASKET MOUTH WAN OPEN MOUTH AGAIN, OH" is the complementary functional part of the first part in 17.   The last element in 23 apart from it being a structural part of the song, is also an interactional (transitional) device signifying a turn switch.

24.   Fela, wetin you go sing about?
25.   DEM GO WORRY ME... *(after each line) (3x)
26.   Dem go worry me, worry me-- worry, worry, worry, worry
27.   DEM GO WORRY ME *(After each line)
28.   Dey wan to make us sing about prison
29.   Dem go worry me, worry me-- worry, worry all over da town
30.   Dey wan to know about prison life
31.   Dem go worry me, worry me-- worry, worry all over da town *(repeat stanza)
32.   Fela, wetin you go sing about?
33.   DEM GO WORRY ME
34.   Dem go worry me, worry me-- worry, worry, worry, worry
35.   The time weh I dey, for prison, I call am "inside world"
36.   The time weh I dey outside prison, I call am "outside world"

37.   Na craze world, na be outside world
38.   CRAZE** WORLD *(after each line) / **(crazy)
39.   Na be outside- da police-i dey
40.   Na be outside- da soldier dey …

In 24, he begins another discourse – that of people asking him what he was going to sing about after his release from prison. In 25, the chorus echoes the argument that people wanted to know his next line of action. This continues from 24 to 67, then he introduces the message he has to pass to his audience – the difference between the prison yard and the free world.

Also, in turn switch, apart from the syntax, acoustics and prosody, interactant also signify turn switch through silence. When the person speaking keeps quiet – waiting for a silence longer than a pre-specified threshold, typically ranging from 0.5 to 1s (Ferrer et al), it signifies the current speaker has yielded the floor. If however, the next speaker does not take over and the current speaker still has something to say or has not finished the thought they were pursing, the speaker can resume speaking because there is something to be said to complete the thought process. This is what happens in 16, 23, 67, 85, 90,105, 111, 134, 140 & 146. It is this usage that accounts for the 10 instances the interaction transitional device was used. In 67, after the initial silence, Fela resumes his argument about the madness outside the prison yard which is supposed to be the sane world. He calls everyone's attention to the stance of the regime that sent him to prison how they have no value of respect for the people or country they govern. This argument is not out of place here because the regime of General Muhamadu Buhari and his second in command, major General Tunde Idiagbon came to power through a coup d'état as such do not hold the governed any apologies for their statement of derogating the entire people of the country.

72.   "My people are us-e-less, My people are sens-i-less, My people are indiscipline"

 We still notice the use of discourse interactional markers "ee-oh and oh"too as they appear prominently in 68,70,71,73,76,77, 79,81 - 84 & 88. The turn switch mechanism of a momentary pause was employed in this aspect of the song as there was a momentary pause indicating turn switch as Fela paused and the chorus takes over. The pause switch/yield device is applied again as Fela takes over the floor to make his next statements as he transits from commenting on the Nigerian government to the world stage. Fela then takes a swap at the world organisation, United Nations to comment on the abnormality of the organisation. In doing this, he moved away from his local, Nigerian and African audience to talk to the world.

Apart from the above devices, Fela also employed duplication of words to drive home his point. We see this prominently used in the song. For example: 3, - 15 and the rest of the places. At the same time, the song contains repetition. This is a musical and discourse device that creates musicality for the discourse being pursed and for emphasis. This is used in 4, 7, 14, 21, 25, 31, 90, 92, 104, 105, 111, 124, 131, 133, 140, 146, & 149 (*17 instances*) in the song. The song also employed elongation, reduplication and gap filler. All this interactional devices further drive home the point that *Beast of no nation* is an interactional piece and should be considered a discourse or text.

9. Conclusions

From the analysis of the song, *Beast of no nation*, we may conclude based on the discourse pattern, the concept of adjacency pairs, the interaction(al) devices of turn taking and switch, tone and tenor of discourse and other discourse and conversational devices in the song that it conforms to the conversational or interactional convention and as such can be classed as a conversation/interaction as the song is interactive – there is active turn taking and turn switch between the characters (Fela and the chorus) of the song "in that it is jointly constructed and multi-authored". More so, the song is interpersonal in that it is done through the medium of speech (spoken), the tenor is informal that is, interaction between familiars. Above all, the song is informative as it calls the attention of the audience to the happening in the society (Nigeria), the continent of Africa and the world in general. It is expressive of the identity of the participants and the audience. The use of pidgin put them in one frame, the oppressed of the world – Fela was sent to prison by a judge who is supposed to unbiasedly interpret and uphold the law, the government of the country has no regard for the dignity of the governed and the world state is no better as the leaders do their own things without consideration for the rest of the world – the head of the apartheid regime in South Africa, Botha is friend to the supposed defenders of the world, Reagan and Thatcher, Iran fight Iraq, Britain went to war with Argentina, there is polarisation of the world in West bloc and East bloc etc. The use of the pidgin socially places Fela and the rest of his audience in the same social class – the oppressed of the world. The song also uses several instances of transitional devices to show it conversational nature, that the *Beast of no nation* is a song qualifies and that it is conversation in other mode.

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Appendix

Anikulapo-Kuti, F. (1989). *Beast of no nation*. On Beast of no nation [LP]. Eurobond Records: France. Retrieved July 12, 2015 from
http://www.nitrolyrics.com/fela-kuti_beast-of-no-nation-lyrics.html

1. Ah- Let's get now into another, underground spiritual game
2. Just go to help me the answer, go to say, "Aiya-kata"- Oh ya
3. O'feshe-Lu
4. AIYA-KATA *(after each line)
5. O'feshe- g'Ba
6. O'feshe-Woh3
7. AIYA-KATA *(after each line)
8. O'feshe-Weng
9. Aiya kata
10. Aiya Koto
11. Aiya Kiti
12. Aiya Kutu
13. O'feshe-Lu
14. AIYA-KATA *(after each line)
15. O'feshe- g'Ba

16. Oh-----....... (transitional device)

17. Basket mouth wan start to leak again, oh-
18. BASKET MOUTH WAN OPEN MOUTH AGAIN, OH
19. Abi** you don forget I say I sing, ee-oh **(is it not)
20. BASKET MOUTH WAN OPEN MOUTH AGAIN, OH
21. Oh, I sing, I say, I go my mouth like basket, ee-oh, Malan Bia-gbe-re13 (2x)

22. Basket mouth wan start to leak again, oh-14
23. BASKET MOUTH WAN OPEN MOUTH AGAIN, OH
24. Fela, wetin you go sing about?15

25. DEM GO WORRY ME... *(after each line)
(3x)

26. Dem go worry me, worry me-- worry, worry, worry, worry
27. DEM GO WORRY ME *(After each line)
28. Dey wan to make us sing about prison
29. Dem go worry me, worry me-- worry, worry all over da town
30. Dey wan to know about prison life
31. Dem go worry me, worry me-- worry, worry all over da town
*(repeat stanza)

32. Fela, wetin you go sing about?
33. DEM GO WORRY ME
34. Dem go worry me, worry me-- worry, worry, worry, worry

35. The time weh I dey, for prison, I call am "inside world"
36. The time weh I dey outside prison, I call am "outside world"
37. Na craze world, na be outside world

38. CRAZE** WORLD *(after each line) / **(crazy)
39. Na be outside- da police-i dey
40. Na be outside- da soldier dey
41. Na be outside- da court dem dey
42. Na be outside- da magistrate dey
43. Na be outside- da judge dem dey
44. Na craze world be dat
45. Na be outside- Buhari dey
46. Na craze man be dat
47. Animal in craze-man skin-I

48. Na craze world be dat
49. Na be outside- Idia-gbon dey
50. Na craze man be dat- oh
51. Animal in craze-man skin-i
52. Na craze world be dat
53. Na be outside- dem find me guilty
54. Na be outside- dem jail me five years
55. ------------------I no do nothing
56. Na be outside-dem judge dey beg ee-o
57. Na craze world be dat, Na craze world be dat
58. Na be outside- dem kill dem students
59. Soweto, Zaria, and Ife
60. Na craze world be dat, ee-oh
61. Na craze world be dat,
62. Na be outside- all dis dey happen
63. Na craze world be dat, ee-oh
64. Na craze world be dat, ee-oh
65. Na craze world be dat, ee-oh
66. Na craze world be dat, ee-oh
67. Na craze world be dat, ee-oh.....

68. Make you hear this one
69. War against indiscipline, ee-oh
70. Na Nigerian government, ee-oh
71. Dem dey talk ee-oh
72. "My people are us-e-less, My people are sens-i-less, My people are indiscipline"
73. Na Nigerian government, ee-oh
74. Dem dey talk be dat
75. "My people are us-e-less, My people are sens-i-less, My people are indiscipline"
76. I never hear dat before- oh
77. Make Government talk, ee-oh
78. "My people are us-e-less, My people are sens-i-less, My people are indiscipline"
79. Na Nigerian government, ee-oh
80. Dem dey talk be dat
81. Which kind talk be dat- oh?
82. Craze talk be dat ee-oh
83. Na animal talk be dat – oh
84. Na animal talk be dat – oh

85. MANY LEADERS AS YOU SEE DEM

86. NA DIFFERENT DISGUISE DEM DEY-OH
87. ANIMALS IN HUMAN SKIN
88. ANIMAL-I PUT-U TIE-OH
89. ANIMAL-I WEAR AGBADA
90. ANIMAL-I PUT-U SUIT-U
*(2x- 2nd time with lead voc)

91. These disguising leaders ee-oh, na wah for dem [sax responses after each]
92. Dem-o hold meeting everywhere, dem reach America (2x stanza)
93. Dem call the place, the "United Nations" [sax responses after each]
94. Hear-oh another animal talk
95. Wetin united inside "United Nations"?
96. Who & who unite, for "United Nations"?
97. No be there Thatcher & Argentina dey
98. No be there Reagan & Libya dey
99. Is-i-rael versus Lebanon
100. Iran-i-oh versus Iraq-i
101. East West Block versus West Block East
102. No be there dem dey oh- United Nations
103. Dis "united" United Nations
104. One veto vote is equal to 92 [...OR MORE, OR MORE]
105. What kind sense be dat, na animal sense (2x)
106. MANY LEADERS AS YOU SEE DEM
107. NA DIFFERENT DISGUISE DEM DEY-OH
108. ANIMALS IN HUMAN SKIN
109. ANIMAL-I PUT-U TIE-OH
110. ANIMAL-I WEAR AGBADA
111. ANIMAL-I PUT-U SUIT-U
*(2x- 2nd time with lead voc)
112. Dem go hold meeting, oh, Dem go start yab human beings
113. Animal talk don start again
114. Dash dem, human rights
115. Dem go hold meeting, oh, Dem go start yab human beings

116.   Animal talk don start again
117.   Dash dem human rights
*(repeat stanza)
118.   How animal go know-say dem no born me as slave?
119.   How animal go know say slave trade don pass?
120.   And, dey wan dash us human rights
121.   Animal must talk to human beings
122.   Give dem human rights
123.   I beg-I, oh, make you hear me well-u well
124.   I beg-I, oh, make you hear me very well
125.   Human rights na my property
126.   So therefore, you can't dash me my property
127.   Human rights na my property
128.   Dey wan dash us human rights
129.   Some people say, "Why I dey talk like dis,
130.   No be talk like dis, dem take to carry me go prision ee-oh"
131.   No be me dey talk, na Prime Minister Botha dey talk, ee-oh (2x)
132.   Him say, "this uprising will bring out the beast in us"
133.   THIS UPRISING WILL BRING OUT THE BEAST IN US

(repeat stanza 3x)
134.   Eh Ji Keke- my argument
135.   Botha na friend to Thatcher & Reagan
136.   Botha na friend to some other leaders too
137.   And together dem wan dash us human rights
138.   Animals wan dash us human rights
139.   Animal can't dash me human rights
140.   Animal can't dash us human rights
141.   MANY LEADERS AS YOU SEE DEM
142.   NA DIFFERENT DISGUISE DEM DEY-OH
143.   ANIMALS IN HUMAN SKIN
144.   ANIMAL-I PUT-U TIE-OH
145.   ANIMAL-I WEAR AGBADA
146.   ANIMAL-I PUT-U SUIT-U
*(2x- 2nd time with lead voc)
147.   Beasts of no nation- Egbe Ke Gbe na bad society

148.   BEASTS OF NO NATION, EGBE KE GBE
149.   BEASTS OF NO NATION, OTURU GBE KE
(repeat stanza many x, lead vamp)
150.   Easy... easy