

CONTEXT OF USAGE OF SELECTED GURE (TUGBIRI) PROVERBS

ELSIE ABASHE TAMIDA

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH AND DRAMA,

KADUNA STATE UNIVERSITY, KADUNA.

Abstract

This research carries out a pragmatic analysis of Gure (Tugbiri) proverbs. Its aim is to explore and analyse the proverbs from the pragmatic point of view, placing emphasis on the pragmatic acts performed by the selected proverbs and the relevance of context and background information to the proper understanding and usage of theselected proverbs. Data for the study was sourced through oral interview with some competent speakers of the language. The study adopted the descriptive and historical research methods. In all, seven proverbs were analysed according to their functions using Searle's indirect speech acts theory as the analytical framework for analysis. The five classification of indirect speech acts provided by Searle such as: declaratives, commissives, expressive, assertive and directives makes it easier to understand the illocutionary acts performed by the selected proverbs and the relevance of context and background knowledge to the understanding and proper usage of the proverbs as evident in the data analysed. It was discovered that, proverbs in Gure (Tugbiri) language are not just used for their linguistic beauty but perform the functions of encouraging, advising, warning amongst others. Also, the proverbs are a window through which the Gure people's world view is revealed.

Introduction

Language and culture are like two sides of a coin that cannot be separated. A people's culture consists of the total way of life of such a people including their language. However, without a language, it will be almost impossible to know a people's culture because language serves as a vehicle through which culture is transmitted from one generation to another. Yule (2010, page number missing) provides an elaborate definition of culture by asserting that:

We use the term culture to refer to all the ideas and assumptions about the nature of things and people that we learn when we become members of social groups. It can be defined as 'socially acquired knowledge'. This is the kind of knowledge that, like or first language, we initially acquire without conscious awareness. We develop awareness of our knowledge, and hence of our culture, only after having developed language. The particular language we learn

through the process of cultural transmission provides us at least initially, with a ready-made system of categorizing the world around us and our experience of it.

From the explanation provided by Yule as to what culture means, one thing that strikes attention, is his claim that culture is only learned or acquired after one has acquired a language. This claim is hinged on the belief that; language shapes our thoughts, and helps us to define the world in which we live in. Thus, an individual who speaks Yoruba as a language and a person who speaks Tugbiri will have different belief systems, and their philosophies will most certainly be different because of differences in languages and cultures. Hudson (2005) also asserts that; culture is the kind of knowledge we learn or acquire from other people, either through direct instruction or through observation. It is true that in the transmission of cultural values, there are times when younger ones in a speech community are taught what and how to live and behave in the society. But in other times, they simply observe how the elderly live and relate with one another, and they grow up doing likewise. For instance, Among Agbiri people, a young male child is expected to go to the farm with his father always, and watch him work in the farm. The child learns through observation how his father handles the hoe, and when he is strong enough to handle one, he begins to cultivate his own farm without anyone telling him how to do it.

Sapir cited in (Wardhaugh,2007) argues that, our world as individuals and speech communities is built by the languages we speak. We think as individual, and behave in a certain way because our cultures have taught us to think and behave that way. He went further to posit that:

Humans do not live in the objective world alone in the world of special activity as ordinarily understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression from their society. It is quite an

illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality essentially without the use of language and that language is merely an incidental means of solving specific problems of communication or reflection. The fact of the matter is that, the 'real world' is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group...we see and hear and other experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretation. (Wardhaugh, .230)

Benjamin Lee Whorf also agrees with his teacher Sapir, that language shapes our world, and he goes further to assert that, we are only able to dissect nature through the lines that are laid down by our native language. This explains why people who speak different languages and have different cultures are likely to understand and explain the concepts differently.

This study is borne out of the fact that, language does not exist independent of the cultural, social and linguistic environment in which it is used, but relies heavily on context which could be physical, social or linguistic to make meaning. This is why structural linguists such as Noam Chomsky, Ferdinand De Saussure, among others, have been greatly criticized by Dell Hymes in his article *Ethnography of Speaking* (1972) of being deficient in their study of language, as they are only concerned with the analysis of the structures of language in isolation, without situating it within the context of use.

Hymes argues that, for one to carry out a wholistic study of human language, it must be studied not in isolation but within the context of its usage, and that is what Pragmatics as a subfield of Linguistics does. Cutting (2) while discussing the common features between Pragmatics and Discourse Analysis asserts that, "both pragmatics and discourse analysis study the meaning of words in context, analysing the parts of meaning that can be explained by

knowledge of the physical and social world”. Thus, the primary preoccupation of this study is the study the proverbs of Tugbiri language within their context of usage.

Brief History of Gure (Tugbiri)

A study of this type will be inconclusive if we do not know the history and the culture of the people whose language is under study. Gure (Tugbiri) is a language spoken by Agbiri people popularly known as “Gure” found in Lere Local Government Area of Kaduna State. These people had contact with the white missionaries who settled among them as early as the fourteenth century, as recorded by Aris (2006). This early contact with the whites made it possible for the Agbiri people to be exposed to western education earlier than the neighbouring villages such as Kono, Dingi, Kwassam etc. The presence of schools and a clinic also made this community a centre of education, where most of the prominent people in villages such as Kono, Dingi, Kwassam, Surubu, Rishiwa, Genshere etc attended the primary and secondary schools, respectively.

According to Aris (2006) and supported by oral history, the Gure people are of Fulani extraction that lost their cattle and language due to migration and inter-tribal wars. The name, Gure’ which refers to both the People and settlement is a name for “War Camp” in Fulfulde. He asserts that; “as they dwindled, another means of livelihood had to be found. The Gure moved westward in search of pasture, and in order to avoid tribal wars, to the present site”. The Fulani herdsmen who have their settlement close to Gure have attested that Agbiri people are of Fulani extraction.

When the Agbiri arrived at Gure, they settled on the hills for decades before they came down to live in the flat lands. This movement was motivated out of the fact that the farms

around the hills became insufficient for them as a result of population explosion. Arris asserts that:

The inhabitant of Gure consisted of two paralleled areas; one group lived in the northern part on top of the hills known as ‘Anazani’ or ‘Kakidari’ (upper people) and the other group had a larger population, dwelling in the valley known as ‘Anaghani’ (below people). There are Bororoji who remain nomads, but the ‘Gurawa’ (Agbiri) are sedentary. Both regions are mountainous and dry, but a few years ago the whole tribe began to move to a plain called ‘upah’. Evidently, the cause of this exodus was the need for more land for farming and better homes. (2)

A research carried out by Iliya (2015) on Tugbiri language reveals that, the language belongs to the Niger-Congo language family which is the largest language family in Africa. The language is further categorised under the atlantic-congo, kainji, and east kainji sub language family.

The Gure language has no standard orthography, thus words in Gure language in this research are spelled based on the researchers perception of pronunciation of words in the language and the researcher’s knowledge of phonetics and phonology of English language.

The aim of this work is to study the proverbs of Tugbiri language by looking at the place of context in understanding the proverbs and the pragmatic acts they perform. Thus at the end, we should be able to explain the following: how the selected proverbs perform the indirect act of directing, expressing, asserting; how Context helps in the correct interpretation and understanding of the selected Proverbs, how the selected proverbs help us understand the world view of Gure (Agbiri) people and finally,; how background knowledge is necessary in understanding and interpreting Tugbiri proverbs in discourse.

Proverbs as Cultural Phenomena

The study of proverbs has been receiving attention of recent, in the field of linguistics. Research works carried out by researchers such as (Nwala 2010, Olanrewaju 2013, Makamani n.d, Abaa 2013 & Butari 2007) to mention but a few attest to the claim above. So many definitions of proverbs have been advanced by different researchers, and as Fasiku(as cited in Olanrewaju, 2013) argues that;there is no universal definition of proverbs, but Rong (2013) defines proverb as a saying that expresses a common truth. He argues that, proverbs help us to understand a culture because the culture of a people is embedded in their language, and language is the medium through which the culture of a people is communicated. The proverbs of a people will tell us what kind of people the owners of the proverbs are, their belief system, their philosophy among other things. Rong's argument reinforces the claim that language and culture are inseparable. The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (Sapir, 1929) affirms that language and culture cannot be separated because they are intertwined. The language of a people influences the thought and world perception of that group of people and their total way of life. Thus, proverbs can be referred to as both linguistic and cultural phenomenon. Sotunde(cited in Olanrewaju, 2013) describes proverbs as “distinct linguistic heritage which reflect the spiritual and social life of the people”. It is almost impossible for one to know what a people's belief system is if these beliefs, philosophies are not communicated through language.

Nwala (2010) carried out a study on the meaning and stylistics of ECHE proverbs, and his study revealed that; there are different types of proverbs in ECHE language; such as the proverbs of mockery, blame, regret statement, praise etcetra. His study is relevant to this research work because the selected proverbs would also be analysed based on the functions they perform

in the language. We therefore believe that, just like in ECHE language, the proverbs of Tugbiri are also used to praise, congratulate, warn, express regret, and so forth.

Olanrewaju(2013) also undertook a pragmatic analysis of politeness in Yoruba language, and his study revealed that; proverbs are culturally owned, and they can be categorised under direct and indirect speech acts. His research is equally relevant to this work, even though he only looked at Yoruba proverbs. This research work equally borrows a leaf from him to study Tugbiri proverbs from the view point of indirect speech acts anchoring on Searle's theory.

Theoretical Framework

This study adopts the indirect speech act theory of Seale (1976). The theory is an offshoot of J.L Austin's speech Act theory which argues that; often times when people speak, what they mean is not actually found or seen in the words themselves but the meaning is usually implied. This theory is relevant to this study, and will serve as a model through which the proverbs of Tugbiri language will be analysed. This is because, this research work believes that; the meaning(s) of proverbs are implied and not direct. It is often impossible for one to arrive at the meaning of a proverb in Tugbiri language by interpreting it literally. Thus, often than not, when proverbs are used, it is the indirect speech act that is used.

According to Searle, quoted in Cutting (2003), someone using an indirect speech act wants to communicate a different meaning from the apparent surface meaning. He reiterates that there is always an underlying pragmatic meaning, and that one speech act is performed through another. Suggested some simple classes under which speech acts could be classified. Amongst these classes are Declaratives, Assertives, Expressives, _Commissives and Directives.

Declaratives are words and expressions that are capable of changing the world by their mere utterance. (Cutting16). This implies that, when these words are used in any conversation

they perform an act in and of themselves of changing status. Example of these words are; ‘I declare’, ‘I resign’, ‘I hereby pronounce’ et cetra. Below is a semantic graph of this speech act. The **Assertive** class commits the speaker to something's being the case, to the truth of the expressed proposition. Examples include assert, predict and insist. **Commissives** are acts that commit the speaker to some future course of action. Examples include commit, promise, assure, vow and so forth. In **Directives**, the verbs or expressions used are intended to spur the hearer into doing something. This class could be termed the same with what Austin refers to as Perlocutionary act. They could be ‘commanding’, ‘requesting’, ‘forbidding’, and so on. **Expressives** according to Searle’s classification are acts or words that express the speaker’s feeling or state such as ‘apologising’ ‘praising’, ‘congratulating’ ‘regretting’ etc.

Research Methodology

A larger number of data were sourced from informants in Gure community who have great knowledge of Tugbiri proverbs while others came from the researcher's knowledge as a native speaker of the language. However, all proverbs analysed in this paper had to pass through the process of authentication by some selected individuals in the language community to ensure their authenticity and originality.

Data Presentation and Analysis

The proverbs are analysed based on their context of usage and the pragmatic act they perform relying so much on the indirect speech act theory of Searle (1976). The data are also categorised based on types or functions they perform, as seen below:

Proverbs of Warning/ Cautioning

The proverbs under this section are used by Gure speakers to warn individuals from certain lines of action that may have detrimental effects on them and other speakers of the speech community.

1. Proverb: Za kesu nangui no mugme muzana da jik bu kakulum

Translation: Don't laugh at a brother because your sun has not set yet (What is happening to your brother may happen to you tomorrow)

Illocutionary act

Indirect: Directive (warning, cautioning)

The proverb above is a warning that is used by a speaker to a listener who may be laughing and making jest of his brother because a misfortune has befallen him. It is an indirect speech act because; the message or meaning of the proverb is not readily seen in the semantic composition of the proverb.

Possible context

The speaker of this proverb is probably speaking to someone who has heard or seen some misfortune befalling another brother and, instead of sympathising with him, is busy celebrating and making light the condition of his brother. The laughter may not just end at literal laughing, but going around telling people with the aim of mocking and celebrating the weaknesses of the victim. For instance, a young lady may see or hear that a friend of hers is pregnant out of wedlock, and instead of asking how it happened or sympathise with the victim, she may go around telling people of how foolish and wayward the friend is. This proverb can be used to warn her of the danger of doing so because she is also a lady who is not yet married. On the other hand, one may see a person with physical disability and instead of showing love to such a person; one may laugh at him instead. This proverb can also be used to warn on the danger of

that, because, one may be physically feet at a time but the end of one's life only God can tell. Thus, the way you treat someone in such condition today, so you will be treated tomorrow by another if you fall in the same shoes.

This proverbs brings to a limelight, the world view of Tugbiri people that, in as much as one lives, he is still undergoing the process of creation. This is base on the belief that, one can be born health and physically upright, but may end up a cripple or a blind man as God and circumstances may deem fit. This therefore, calls the attention of every speaker of the language to be careful as he treats others.

2. Proverb: Ajin tuga kachi ni shallu

Translation: You don't climb a tree from the leaves (Don't fight someone that is stronger and older than you)

Illocutionary act

Indirect: Expressive (cautioning, warning)

The leaves of a tree are the weakest part of every tree, and as a result of that, it is impossible for anyone who wants to get on top of a tree to start climbing from the leaves because he will definitely fall off. However, the meaning of the proverb is implied as it is not just giving an advice on how to climb a literal tree, but the message is that; one should never fight someone who is older and stronger than him because he will be beaten.

Possible context

The proverb could be used by parents to warn a young child from fighting his elder sibling who is by age older than him and also stronger than him. The reason is not far fetch. He

who is stronger and more experienced as a result of his age, will most likely beat up the younger one leaving him wounded and in great pains.

However, when we extend the context of this proverb, it could be used to also warn communities and countries from getting involved in a war with other countries that are more technologically advanced and have a more formidable army. For instance, it will be unreasonable for a country such as Nigeria to go to war with a country such as United State of America which have distinguished itself in Economic, political and Military prowess. There are weapons of warfare which have been developed by the united state of America which Nigeria as a country cannot boast to be in possession of such and the military intelligence of the USA is more advanced than that of Nigeria. Thus, getting involved in a physical war with them will only mean utter defeat.

Agbiri people believe so much on respect for elderly people. It is a virtue that every member of the language community is expected to have. Thus, the speakers of the language use this proverb in order to teach especially the younger ones, respect for those who are older than them. Apart from the fact that, culture teaches this, one could also get beaten when he disrespect those that are older and stronger than him.

3. Proverb: Kanin kala ka yinda uli kene uli un fir

Translation: A bird that calls for rain is the one to be wetted (Anyone that looks for trouble will bear the consequences)

Illocutionary act

Indirect: Directive (warning, cautioning)

The meaning of the proverb above is implied. The proverb is a warning to any child or individual who goes out looking for trouble believing that, any time he is caught, he will be bailed out by his family.

Possible context

The proverb, as said earlier, is a warning to any individual who thinks he can go and look for trouble or misbehave anywhere hoping that; his family will bail him out whenever he is caught. The speaker may use this proverb to warn such an individual that; whatever the consequences of his actions may be, he should be ready to face it without expecting help from anywhere. For instance, sometimes back in Nigeria, when a young man/lady commits an offense and is nowhere to be found, the parents were usually caught and detained until the child is found, but recently, there has been a change in such actions. The individual who commits an offense is the one to be caught and punished according to the law and no one else can pay for his actions.

It is expected that; the listener after listening to this proverb and weighing the consequences of his action would turn on a new leave, and do away with anything that will bring physical or emotional pains to him and the family. This proverb like others portrays the importance of moral uprightness, peaceful co-existence and good interpersonal relationship amongst Agbiri people. Fighting and quarrelling is a social vice that is discouraged and abhorred.

Proverbs of Advice/ Instruction

In Tugbiri culture, it is a primary role of the elderly in the community to give constructive pieces of advice to the younger ones. Thus, this section looks at some of the proverbs used to achieve this.

1. **Proverb:** A jin jima nu ten kwa hug

Translation: You don't defecate in a cave where you are hiding (you don't bit a finger that feeds you)

Illocutionary act

Indirect: Directive (Advice)

In primitive times, a cave was a place of hiding amongst Agbiri during rainy seasons or when there was war, they ran to the hills and mountains where they stayed in caves for protection. However, just like one's home, where one lives permanently, one is expected to keep the place clean and comfortable, not leaving any dirt that will tamper with the cleanliness of the place. So also, when you are hiding in a cave, you are not expected to pass feces there because the place will become smelling and you may not be able to live there again. This is just the superficial meaning of the proverb, but the message is implied. The proverb means that; one is not expected to maltreat people who provide all that one needs in life.

Possible context

Agbiri people use this proverb to advise an individual against displeasing people who have been kind to him, because if he does, he may not be able to seek their help again. For instance, an individual who lives with people other than his parents, and has been shown love by his foster parents is expected to do everything within his power to live at peace with them, and do things that will always make them happy. However, if such an individual decides to steal and become disrespectful to them, he may not enjoy his stay with them again, because they may not trust him again or even provide all the luxury he was enjoying previously.

On the other hand, the proverb could be used to advise a child who is about to leave his home for another one either for schooling or any other reason to live at peace with the people that will eventually become his foster parents, guardian or even roommate whom he may have to

depend on for one thing or the other. This will help him to retain the favour he is enjoying from them.

Age comes with responsibilities in Tugbiri culture. Elderly people in the community are expected to be watch dogs to the younger ones. They are expected to correct, discipline and guide the young in the conducts, so that they will grow up morally upright, exhibiting the cultural values of the society.

2. Proverb: Kagyara kala ka lishi ugyə kene kayin mana makata.

Translation: A hand that goes into a hole is the one which gets beaten (A child or a person who does not listen to advice will cry some day)

Illocutionary act:

Indirect: Directive (warning, cautioning)

The proverb above can be said to be performing an indirect speech act because, the meaning or message of the proverb is not expressed explicitly at the semantic composition of the proverb but it is implied. The proverb is a warning that could be given to anyone who disregards advice, and insists on his course of action.

Possible context

The proverb above could be used by a speaker to warn a listener who could be a child of his, or a relative who is younger than him. The speaker must have been aware of the life style of the listener, and is possible that he has been advising him to desist from a particular way of life, and the listener has been giving a deaf ear to all the pieces of advice given to him. The speaker, being tired of talking all the time without any change on the part of the listener, may decide not to talk again but let the listener know that; there is a repercussion to what he is doing, and when

he begins to face the consequences of actions, he will have to cry alone because he has been warned.

There are times parents have tried to raise children but the children turned to be the opposite of the people their parents have raised them to be. Parents could also use this proverb to warn the children that, whatever happens to them in the future as a result of their bad character and conduct, they will have to face and pay the price alone. For instance, there may be a young boy whose parents raised him up to be a good citizen. The child grew up and joined a bad gang and began to smoke and drink. The parents being tired of preaching and giving advice told the child that, any time he is caught and taken to the police station, no one will visit him or make any attempt to bail him out because he will just be paying for what he has done.

In Tugbiri culture, one of the major beliefs is that of **cause and effect**. Whatever one does in life, there is a penalty at the end, whether good or bad. Thus, anyone who wants to live peacefully and enjoy a good life, must exhibit positive attitudes towards others. Failure to do these, will result in receiving negative treatment from others.

3. Proverb: Kukelum kulenshene ku piri matu

Translation: Sweet talk is more than honey (peaceful coexistence is more than anything in the world)

Illocutionary act

Indirect: Directives (advising)

Honey amongst Agbiri people and perhaps most cultures of the world is considered the sweetest food article. The tongue on the other hand is a very important body organ which is capable of saving one's life or putting one's life in danger. Thus, Agbiri believe that, one can use one's tongue to ensure that one lives at peace with people and this based on the believe that most

quarrels and misunderstandings have their root on what people say. Thus, anyone that is able to tame his tongue will live at peace with people.

Possible context

The proverb could be used to advise young couples who are just starting their home on the importance of living in peace with each other. A home without peace is like a war ground and no matter the amount of wealth and material comfort in that home life will not be worth living. When the right words are communicated at the right time, the chances of misunderstanding and quarrels will be minimal and peace will dwell in that home. It is only when there is peace that there will be progress, achievements in a home.

Also, looking at the twenty first century and the conflicts and crises that have been recorded, if one traces the cause of these conflict and crises, one will arrive at the finding that, the crises started as a result of an utterance made by individuals or groups of individuals. As a result of these utterances, crises broke out which led to absence of peace. During times of crises, properties and lives are often destroyed which people and government may find it difficult and sometimes impossible to replace. Thus, it becomes true that, peaceful coexistence should be pursuits above anything riches in the world.

Tugbiri culture, just like other cultures of the world promotes peace and peaceful co-existence. A common belief amongst the people is that, conflict only destroys rather than builds. Thus, peace must be pursued at all cost.

4. Proverb: An gusku kake naship nituk ni kpeke

Translation: One should wash one's plate for the sake of tomorrow (create good impression when meeting people for the first time, because you may need their help tomorrow)

Illocutionary act

Indirect: Representative (advising)

The proverb above is an advice on the need to be good to people when meeting them for the first time. The proverbs express the speaker's belief that; the world is a turn-table, the people who may need your help today may turn out to be the same people you may also need their help in the future. Thus, it is advised that, one treat strangers with uttermost sense of kindness so that when there is a need to seek their help in the future, they will always remember the kindness you have shown.

Possible context

The proverb above could be used to advise an individual who is always rude to people especially strangers or who is always indifferent whenever there are strangers either in his home or the community at large. When one eats food in a plate, it becomes dirty, and without washing it, one may not be able to eat food with it again. Thus, if one mistreat people, when he has need of such people or need something from them, it be very hard or even impossible to ask them for such help because of the way one treated them earlier. It is common amongst human beings to be kind to people that have shown them kindness in the past and love those that have shown them love. That is why most often, before favour is shown to someone, the giver must have looked at the life and attitudes of the recipient toward him or people around him in the past to assess if he is worthy of receiving such as favour or not.

Life to Agbiri people is a cycle that goes around. What is up today may be down tomorrow. The people one meets and despise today may be the same people one may seek their

help tomorrow. Also, while Agbiri people relate on personal level, it is belief that, the way you treat an individual will affect other others. Thus, if one is kind to one individual in a family, you are indirectly been kind to the rest of his family members and winning their hearts.

Conclusion

Firstly, from the data analysed, the research has come to a conclusion that, Tugbiri proverbs can be used to advice, warn and give information. Also, the work affirms the place of context in the proper understanding and usage of Tugbiri proverbs. There are proverbs for different situations and context. Thus, it is important for a speaker to study and understand both situational and linguistic context before choosing and using any proverb in the language. For instance, if one visits a sick person to encourage him, it will be inappropriate to use a proverb that warns or praises instead of encourages.

In the same vein, the research concludes by stressing the importance of background knowledge in the proper usage and understanding of Tugbiri proverbs. Background Knowledge is the information interlocutors share about each other which helps them to understand each other when they communicate. For instance, when Mr. A. visits Mr. B who has just lost his family member to comfort him through the use of a proverb, he is only able to use the appropriate proverb because of the information he has about Mr. B. However, any other person that does not have the information Mr. A has about Mr. will not be able to understand why the selected proverb is used.

Finally, the proverbs in Gure (Tugbiri) reflect the world view of the speakers of the language. From most of the proverbs analysed in this research, it is clear that Gure people believe in hard work, team work, respect for elders, communal living, love and respect for one another amongst others.

Works Cited

- Bauman, R. & Sherzer J. *Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989. Print.
- Aremu, M. "A pragmatic Analysis of Nigerianisms in the English Usage in Soyinka' Death and the King's Horseman (DKH)." *Papers in English and Linguistics*. Vol.2
- Arris, D. *A Dauntless Journey*. Zaria: Shereef Salam Press, 2006. Print.
- Cutting, J. *Pragmatics and Discourse*. New York: Routledge, 2003. Print.
- Iliya, D.P. 'Towards the Preservation of the Gure Language'. *The Nigerian Linguist Festschrift Series*. 12:85-97, 2015. Print.
- Levinson, S.C. *Pragmatics*. Cambridge University Press, 1983. Print.
- Makami, R. 'African Proverbs and Conflict Management: A study of Selected Shona, Yoruba and Swahili Proverbial Expressions.' *African Journal of Rhetoric: Rhetoric Political Agency and Africa*. 4:122-149, 2012. Print.
- Meledo, E. A. A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Urhobo Proverbs. An Unpublished M.A Thesis submitted to the Department of English and Literary Studies, University of Nigeria, Nsuka, 2015. Print.
- Nwala, M.A. 'Meaning and Stylistics of ECHE Proverbs'. *Journal of Nigerian Languages and Culture*. 12(2), 253-262, 2010. Print.
- Olanrewaju, R.J. 'Pragmatic Analysis of Politeness in Yoruba Proverbs'. *Issues in Language and Linguistics, Perspectives from Nigeria*. Kaduna: Al-Uzzy White Ventures.
- Rong, H. 'Proverbs Reveal Culture Diversity'. *Cross-cultural Communication*. 9(2), 31-35. Doi:103968/j.cc.192370020130902.1346, 2013. Print.
- Upah, B. N. A pragmatic Study of Jukun Proverbs. An Unpublished M.A Thesis submitted to the Department of English, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 2006.
- Wardhaugh, R. *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. (6th ed.). United Kingdom: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2010. Print.
- Yule, G. *The Study of Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996. Print.