

Examining Diglossic Status in Political Domain: A Case Study of Ekiti State 2014 Governorship Election Campaign

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Abstract

The traditional linguistic situation of a diglossic community posits by Ferguson (1959) is a stable one. However, several scholars have attempted to redefine and modify Ferguson's concept of diglossia by examining the linguistic status of the language varieties used within a speech community or a nation and their functionality. The aim of this study include, to establish the political domain classification for possible ascertaining of the variety mostly suitable for use; to investigate the stability of the diglossic status of the varieties in use in political domain, and to investigate if there is a common ground (a domain), in which both High (H) and Low (L) varieties can function simultaneously. The data for this study was collected through tape recording of the campaign rallies of the three leading political parties that participated in the 2014 Èkiti State governorship election and through participant observation. The political parties are All Progressives Congress (APC), Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), and Labour Party (LP). We found out in this study that Ferguson's functionality parameter for High and Low varieties in diglossic situation cannot be generalized in all sociolinguistic domains. For instance, in political domains especially, when it comes to language use in political campaigns; and as such, there is room for differentiating between formal and informal domains. Consequently, politicians result to the use of both the standard language (High variety) and its various dialect(s) (Low varieties) to communicate their intentions.

Keywords: *Language use, High, Low, Diglossia Campaign speech.*

Introduction

Diglossia is a sociolinguistic phenomenon common to multilingual societies. Going by Ferguson's literature in diglossia and other studies carried out by scholars who have either extended or redefined the term, it seems to us that the main thrust of this concept, which has widely gained attention of sociolinguists, is the functional distinction and distribution between the varieties employed in a given speech community. Ferguson (1959) distinguished between a language and what he called its primary dialects along the lines of High (H) and Low (L) varieties. The High variety is referred to as the superposed variety such that in the domain(s) where the High variety is employed (e.g. religion, education, literature and other domains of high culture), the Low varieties, which are meant to be used in home domain for everyday or ordinary conversation cannot function (Ferguson 1959:234). This study shall attempt to find a ground for the classification or placement of the political domain in relation to the variety or varieties employed in politics within multilingual speech communities. The unit of analysis of this study is limited to the Nigeria political domain and the varieties employed especially, during electioneering campaigns.

Nigeria is a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic and multi-lingual country made up of 36 states with estimated population of 178.52 million people in 2014 (www.tradingeconomics.com/nigeria/population and National Bureau of Statistics, Nigeria). The official language of Nigeria is English. It enhances the linguistic and cultural unity of the country. Apart from English, which serves as the official language of the country, Yoruba, Igbo, Hausa, Kanuri, Fulfulde and Ibibio are major languages spoken in Nigeria. Although, the first three indigenous languages enjoy prominence over others; and are spoken across the six geo-political regions of Nigeria. Yoruba, the language of our research, is one of the major indigenous languages of Nigeria officially recognized by the Federal Government of Nigeria (1979) as mediums for conduct of business in the National Assembly side by side with English language. From the data gathered during the Èkiti State (one of the six states that make up south western geo political zone of Nigeria) 2014 governorship election campaign rallies, we observe that Èkiti dialects were used alongside the standard Yoruba language by governorship candidates, as well as party supporters to canvass for vote and to persuade the electorate in order to gain their support. We shall also show in this study, other reasons why politicians code switch between standard Yorubá and its Èkiti dialects.

Literature Review

The Concept of Diglossia

The study of the sociolinguistic phenomenon called diglossia was advanced by Ferguson (1959). And "diglossia" according to him is defined as *a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the*

primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation (Ferguson 1959:244-245 italicized in the original work). The diglossic language situation advanced in Ferguson's original study was restricted to the existence of two language varieties (a standard or regional standards) with the language primary dialects. The varieties are said to maintain a relatively stable status throughout the speech community. Ferguson made functional distinction between the varieties by presenting nine diglossic characteristics which he used to classify the varieties concerned as either High (H) or Low (L). The diglossic characteristics utilized to distinguish the status of the High and Low varieties are function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardization, stability, grammar, lexicon, and phonology (Ferguson 1959: 235-44).

As an extension or continuation of Ferguson's study in diglossia, a number of scholars have carried out several studies. Notable among them is Fishman. In his study titled bilingualism with and without diglossia; diglossia with and without bilingualism, Fishman schematized the four possible diglossic situations obtainable within speech communities in relation to bilingualism and provided vivid explanation of the characteristics of such speech communities with possible factors that resulted in the language situations obtained in them (Fishman 1967). Fishman extended the definition of diglossia, which was limited to two language varieties by creating enabling situations which allow existence of more than two languages. His view point is that "the use of several separate codes within a single society (and their stable maintenance rather than the displacement of one by the other over time) was found to be dependent on each code's serving functions distinct from those considered appropriate for the other" (p.29). Fishman asserts that regardless of the separation that exists in the behaviours, attitudes, and values supported and expressed in the different codes, the sets of behaviours, attitudes, and values were fully accepted as culturally legitimate and complementary.

Similarly, Fishman noted that, the functional separation between the varieties was often defined along the lines of a High (H) variety, which on the one hand, is employed in formal domains such as religion, education and other aspects of high culture, and a Low (L) variety, on the other hand, used in connection with every day or ordinary conversation (as Ferguson put it) at home. The superposed variety in diglossia according to Ferguson was referred to as High (H), and the primary dialects were referred to as Low (L) varieties (Ferguson 1959:234). Fishman calls attention to the fact that the sociolinguistic phenomenon of diglossia does not only exist in multilingual societies which officially recognize several "languages" but, also, in societies which are multilingual in the sense that they employ separate dialects, registers or varieties of a language, which are functionally distinct or separate variety of any kind (Fishman 1967). Therefore, to Fishman, it does not matter whether the varieties exist within the same language or they belong to two separate languages; what matters is that functional distinction is maintained between them.

Diglossic Situations in Nigeria

Chukueggu (2010:142) outlines four distinct diglossic situations in Nigeria. They are: Code-switching from Standard English to non-standard English; Code-switching from English to Pidgin; Code-switching from English to a local language; and Code-switching from a local language to its varieties. In each of the diglossic situations outlined by Chukueggu, different social factors are responsible for the various code-switching that occurs. Some of these factors include level of education, setting or location (i.e. urban setting), and communicative situations (formal or informal). In each of these four diglossic situations, Chukueggu shows that a set of codes serves as high variety and enjoys greater prestige than its counterparts. For instance, Standard English to non-standard English; English to Pidgin; English to a local language; and a local language to its varieties. The first set assumes the status of High (H) variety in all the diglossic situations whereas, the second set is tagged low (L) varieties with each set having a well-defined role. It is only in the diglossic situation that involves code-switching from a local language to its varieties that Chukueggu reports that the functions of the two varieties (the Standard variety of the local language and its varieties) are not strictly defined (p.143)

Factors Affecting Code Choice in Bi/Multilingual Speech Communities

Chukueggu (2010), like other scholars who have extended or redefined diglossia, reports that function specialization of the two varieties remains the most important feature of diglossia. His view is found to be in

line with Ferguson's that each of these varieties is only appropriate in some communicative situations where the other is not. In his study when examining functional distribution between high and low varieties, Chukueggu classifies political speeches under high (H) variety (p.141). In other words, the variety suitable for use in political domain is high variety. Other domains specified by Chukueggu where the high variety is employed are: sermons in churches, formal letters, lectures and News broadcast. The low variety is used for informal conversation, instruction to servants, folk literature, buying and selling in the market and radio soap opera.

Furthermore, Chukueggu (2010:140) reports that the problem of choice of variety with which to communicate is a common feature of bi-multilingual societies, and that the choices made are based on or governed by some social and linguistic context factors which include the time and place of communication, the nature of the occasion (whether formal or informal), the topic being discussed, and the extent of familiarity that exists between interlocutors among others. As a follow up to his earlier assertion, Chukueggu opines that the social characteristics of a person equally determine the choice of the language he uses at any given time e.g. his social class, ethnic group, religious beliefs, values, age and sex. According to him, code switching is a common feature utilized by bi/multilingual societies consciously or unconsciously. In a general sense, Chukueggu claims that people code switch in response to 'social context factors, (see also Richard, 2012). In other words, the speaker's awareness or consciousness of his environment which includes the make-up of his audience, their level of education, and the choice of code he deems may be attractive to them, form part of the factors that inform his choice of code.

Classification and Placement of Political Domain in Diglossia

To a large extent, the placement of any sociolinguistic domain is dependent on the variety employed in such domain; whether such a domain classified as one of the high culture domains or a domain that allows for the type of variety employed in ordinary situations. The criteria used by Ferguson (1959) to distinguish and classify the domains of usage for high (H) and Low (L) varieties are: function, prestige, grammar, lexicon, phonology, literary heritage, standardization, acquisition, and stability. Should one go by Ferguson's diglossic characteristics for the classification of language varieties, and the possible domains where each is appropriate, the variety employed in politics could be said to be totally different from the code used for everyday or ordinary situations at home. The style of language used in political domain especially during election campaigns constitute special registers used by politicians in the conduct of political businesses to appeal to the public, or to persuade the electorate in order to gain support and win their vote during election. This register is what Agunbiade (2016:15) refers to as 'political jargons'. Agunbiade noted that "some of the political jargons are used internationally in politics while others are country specific". Despite the fact that these terminologies (registers) used by politicians are not supposed to be common terms found in everyday usage, Agunbiade claims that "the frequent and cyclical use of political jargons by (Nigerian) politicians have made the electorate to be so familiar with them that they quickly and easily decipher the meaning (they convey) whenever they come across them"(p.16). It therefore follows, based on the above argument, that the language of politics is not everyday language. Political domains could be classified as a high culture domain based on principle of prestige advanced by Ferguson.

Code-switching

A number of studies have been carried out on the sociolinguistic phenomenon called code switching (see Bhatt 1997; Trudgil, 2003 and Ardila, 2005). For example, Trudgil (2003) says that code-switching is the process in which the bilingual speakers shift back and forth between one language or a dialect and another language or dialect within the same conversation. According to Ardila (2005:70), code-switching occurs when the speaker switches between two languages at some point of the conversation and carries on with the use of the latter language. Although many linguists use the term code-switching and code-mixing interchangeably (see While Bhatt, 1997), others such as Sridhar and Sridhar (1980), Kachru (1983), Singh (1985) cited in Moazzam (nd) reserve the term code-switching for inter-sentential switching only. Greg and Davidson (nd) like some other researchers use code-switching to refer to both code-switching and code-mixing. However, they mention that some people have distinguished between the two terms based on the types of alternation in the use of the languages in question.

Similarly, some sociolinguists have attempted to differentiate between code-switching and code-mixing, such scholars associate code-switching with particular pragmatic effect, discourse functions, or with group identity. The free encyclopedia explains that multilinguals sometimes use elements of multiple

languages when conversing with each other. Based on this, it explains that code-switching involves the use of more than one linguistic variety in a manner consistent with the syntax and phonology of each variety. Peter Auer (1998) suggests that code-switching does not simply reflect social situations, but that it is a means to create social situations.

Furthermore, a lot of scholars have worked on factors they feel are responsible or motivate code-switching. Zuzana (2013) reports that, switches occur in everyday conversation especially, in informal situations. He further explains that though speakers may not be aware of their linguistic behaviour, code-switching is not perceived as neutral. Citing Gumperz (1982:62), Zuzana argues that switching from one language to another conveys a certain meaning or attitude of the speaker and it is this attitude Olúmúyiwá (2013) refers to as speakers' 'communicative intents'. Zuzana says that among the 'great variety of intentions that lead to code-switching...among bilinguals, the most significant intention is 'identifying with a community'.

Other motivations for code-switching identified in Zuzana's study are expressions of a sense of proximity to a common background, and an expression of distance from others. For example, a clergyman and his wife who reside in Oñdó state capital once travelled out of Nigeria to the United Kingdom. According to the report, they boarded a public bus to visit another part of the country. They observed that everyone in the bus spoke English in order to create awareness of their identity but the clergy man and his wife decided to switch their conversation to Yorubá to show that they came from another country and that they speak a language different from English. According to them, the moment they started speaking in Yorubá, there was total silence around them as co-passengers began to look at them as if to say "where are they from?" Obviously, the moment this couple switched from English to Yoruba, a distance was created. If any of the passengers in the bus had an intention to get close to them before they made the switch, his intention would have been truncated due to the feelings created by the switch that "we are different from you".

Some other motivations for code-switching identified by other scholars include solidarity, accommodation to listeners; choice of topic and perceived social and cultural distance; principle of economy, conscious display of the knowledge of English as a prestigious language; sub-conscious linguistic behaviour, cultural disloyalty (i.e. the desire for foreign things among Igbo) which is seen as "an indication of lack of love for one's language...". Also, lexical gap (i.e. concepts and expressions that do not have readily available equivalent in Igbo which could capture the speaker's intended meaning) and low level of competence in Igbo; it is important to state here, however, that the situation reported in Zuzana's study is not peculiar to Igbo speakers (see also Wright, 1997, 2008; Wardhaugh 1986:104; Zuzana 2013; Greg and Davidson (nd), Ahukanna, 1990). Wardhaugh emphasizes that the motivation of a speaker is an important factor or consideration in the choice of language he uses. According to him, a speaker may not be conscious of such motivation at all. The justification for Wardhaugh's stance on speaker's motivation in making use of a particular is based on the fact that many speakers are not even aware that they have used a particular variety of a language rather than another in a communication situation.

Research Methodology

The research method employed in this study for data collection involved tape-recording the political campaign speeches of the governorship candidates of the three leading political parties that were delivered in most of the towns and villages in Èkìtì in 2014 during the governorship political campaigns. Another method of data elicitation employed in this research was participant observation. Most times, in all the campaign sites or locations visited, the researcher was on ground moving around among the party members and supporters before the arrival of the party flag bearers to observe how events at the campaign rallies would unfold. Places visited in the course of Èkìtì state 2014 governorship campaign rallies for the purpose of data gathering for included locations in Adó-Èkìtì such as Fájuyì, Adébáyò Street and Old garage. The researcher was also in attendance in Ìkéré-Èkìtì, Ìsẹ̀-Èkìtì/ Emùrè-Èkìtì, Òmùò-Èkìtì and Ìkòlẹ̀-Èkìtì while campaigns were on. The recorded data were later transcribed for ease of analysis and for the verification of the proper pronunciation of certain words rendered in the Èkìtì dialects.

Presentation and Analysis of Data

The data below are excerpts from the political campaign messages of the three leading political parties that participated in the Èkìtì state 2014 governorship election, one that is enough to capture the subject of the current study. The parties are; All Progressives Congress (APC), People Democratic Party (PDP), and Labour Party (LP).

Àjànàkú kojá mori nkanfirí... Fáyemí í putú (extracted from data 12)

Fáyemí, oniuyì, oni èyè	Fáyemí a man of dignity and honour
JKF, dúó sóòkè	'JKF, remain (up) in power'
JKF, ró sọ sóòkè	'JKF, remain in power
Fáyemí í p'utu!	'Fáyemí is performing wonders
ègàn ni è.	There is no gainsaying'
Káyòdé ọmọ Fáyemí, ùwọ là wé ilé	'Káyòdé son of Fáyemí, we are solidly behind you'
Fáyòşe Youth Vanguard, Èkìtì State	
Victory at last	
Hìn mò şere ò, kete Èkìtì	'thank you, Èkìtì people
Fáyòşedé, Ibòòòòòò!	Fáyòşe has come, votes!'

- 1a. Àjànàkú¹ kojá mori n kan firí... 'The imposing size of an elephant cannot be described as insignificant when one sights it(the elephant); its memory lingers...
Fáyemí í p'utu! Fáyemí is performing wonders.
 Re-elect JKF 2014
 Ó wí bẹ̀ẹ̀ Ó şe bẹ̀ẹ̀ He speaks (promises), and performs accordingly'

The expression in data (1a, line 1) above is a Yorùbá proverb rendered partly at one of the All Progressives Congress political rallies to create assertion about Fáyemí's administration performance in the electorate on one hand, and to spite the opposition parties on the other hand. The complete version of the adage is as follows:

'Àjànàkú kojá mori n kanfirí, 'the sight of an elephant is beyond what one can spitefully describe as I saw a thing;
 'bí a bá rí erin ká pé a r'erin' if we see an elephant, let us call it an elephant'

Another version of the adage is as follows: *Èyàn tí yóò pègàn àjànàkú ni yóò sọ pé mo rí n kan firí* (It is spiteful for someone to see an elephant and describe it as 'a thing'). An elephant, fondly referred to as 'àjànàkú' by the Yorùbá people is an animal that is admired for its size and strength. Some other proverbs of Yorùbá attest to the people's opinion and belief about this animal. Examples of such proverbs are:

Ibi t'erin méjì bá ti jà, koríko ibè ló má a f'orí fà a 'Wherever two elephants fight, it is the grass that suffer the consequence(s)'

Another related proverb is as follows:

"Koríko t'erin bá ti tẹ, àtẹgbé ni" 'elephant can trample upon a grass unquestionably'

Dr. John Káyòdé Fáyemí, in the above proverb, whose government has carried out undeniable and life transforming projects in Èkìtì state is likened to an elephant. The opposition party's denial of the works and impact of Fáyemí's administration in Èkìtì State is considered an act of belittling just as the Yorùbá society considers it disdainful for an individual to see an elephant and say, 'I saw something', because even the blind can feel the vibrating effect of elephant's movement when it passes. This expression is perceived to be directed at the opposition party(ies) as a counter-criticism, especially, the party considered 'the chief opponent' to All Progressives Congress (the ruling party), which derogatorily criticizes the activities and the various projects purportedly being executed by the incumbent government.

The speaker of this political message, who is believed to be one of the supporters of All Progressives Congress Party governorship candidate, quickly switched to Èkìtì dialect in line 2 of the data '*Fáyemí í p'utu*' (not a proverb) to show affirmation for the work that Dr. Fáyemí is doing in the state, which the expression 'Ó wí bẹ̀ẹ̀, ó şe bẹ̀ẹ̀'(He Walks the Talk)in the full version of this campaign message corroborates. The totality

¹ Àjànàkú is the name given to elephants among the Yorùbá ethnic society in the South western Nigeria. When making reference to this creature in Yorùbá adages or proverbs, an alternative name given to it by the people is "àjànàkú".

of the expression is used to send a message to the Èkìtì people regarding the works done by Fáyẹmí's administration to better the lot of the masses. Furthermore, the entirety of the statement sends a message both to the opposition parties, as well as to electorate, that JKF² has undeniably delivered on his promises in Èkìtì State.

The phrase '*Fáyẹmí í p'utú*' rendered in Èkìtì dialect here is a campaign strategy. The expression was consciously and deliberately mixed to make it more catchy and appealing to the public and passersby who may want to know who and who are in the Èkìtì State 2014 governorship race through their campaign rallies and materials; thereby selling the party's candidate.

2a. Fáyẹmí, ọniuyi, ọni ẹye Fáyẹmí a man of dignity and honour

The data above was also rendered in Èkìtì dialect, in the people's everyday language basically, to praise the wisdom and personality of the incumbent governor and the governorship candidate of All Progressives Congress. The use of the dialect was also consciously employed to present the party candidate to Èkìtì people as a man of 'honour and dignity' who speaks and performs hence the adoption of the party's frequently used slogan (Ó wí bẹẹ Ó ẹ bẹẹ) during Èkìtì State 2014 Governorship election campaign. The expression was also used to commend his performance as the governor of the state.

Observation show that dialects of Èkìtì were utilized during Èkìtì State 2014 governorship election campaign, not only when politicians code-switch or code-mix; they sometimes resolved to pure use of Èkìtì dialect. This was mostly observed in the campaign speeches of Mr Peter Ayòdélé Fáyóşe. each time he switched to Èkìtì dialect, the electorate usually cheered him and expressed their happiness by shouting his nickname- Òşòkòmọlẹ.

3a. JKF² dúó sòòkè 'JKF, remain in power (governance)'

4a. JKF, ró sọ sòòkè 'JKF remain in power'

The political messages of the two data above are rendered in Èkìtì dialects and both carry the same message and meaning. A careful observation of the data reveals variance in the dialects of the two data. The literal meaning of data 3a and 4a above imply that John Káyòdẹ Fáyẹmí should remain on top, but the contextual meaning the utterances carry is that the incumbent governor should remain in power at least for another four years as the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria permits. However, to go on governing the state for another four years, the incumbent governor must of necessity secure the votes and support of the electorate in order to continue governing the state.

'Kó dúó sòòkè' or 'kó ró sọ sòòkè' is one of the slogans commonly used by the Èkìtì State All Progressives Congress Party during the 2014 governorship campaign, which if rendered in standard Yorùbá reads *Kó dúró sòkè*.

Research reveals that the slogan '*Kó dúró sòkè*' has its origin in the song of a popular Nigerian hip hop track sung by Olámídẹ, a.k.a. Badoo. Below is an excerpt from the song:

Lyrics: Olámídẹ- Dúró sòkè

Chorus: Şé kó wálẹ, Kó dúró sòkè (4*) Şé kó wálẹ ooo, Kó dúró sòkè ooo.....

Outro: Badoo, Badest Guy ever liveth, Badoo, Kó dúró sòkè, Kí ló n jẹ kó wálẹ...

(<http://www.freenaijalyrics.com-olamide-durosoke/>)

'Kó dúró sòkè' in Olámídẹ's song, according to the information gathered, is used by National Union of Road Transport Workers popularly called 'Agbèrò'³ when exchanging pleasantries among themselves, especially between a junior colleague and a superior or union executive of the National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW). They usually raise their two hands and a leg up as a sign of respect and solidarity. While maintaining the posture, they will jokingly ask the superior, 'şé kó dúró sòkè, tàbí kó wálẹ'? 'Should the hands and leg remain up or be lowered'? We found out, in the course of this research, that, a man from Ìlúpejú-Èkìtì, whose name has become a household name in APC caucus of Èkìtì during governor Fáyẹmí's second term campaign, imported the slogan to campaign for the re-election of Dr. John Káyòdẹ Fáyẹmí; and it means either of the following as far as Èkìtì politics is concerned:

1) To remain in power (as the governor of Èkìtì State) or

² JKF is the shortened form for the name of the All Progressives Congress party governorship candidate- Dr. John Káyòdẹ Fáyẹmí.

2) To remain in Òkè-Ayaba³.

The message sent out to the incumbent governor, who also was his party flag bearer by datum 3a and datum 4a, is that the incumbent governor should remain in power. The intention of these political messages is to let the electorate resign to fate, especially those who are not in support of the incumbent administration, that whether they like it or not, Fáyemí's administration continues. This message is capable of making oppositions' supporters to relax on their efforts at making sure that their candidates win during the polls.

The grammatical structure of data 3a and 4a shows that the political messages are spoken or written by some individuals whom Fáyemí's administration favours or who have some personal interests in Fáyemí's government.

5a. *Fáyemí í p'utu! ègàn ni è.* 'Fáyemí is performing wonders, there is no gainsaying'

The above datum was gathered from All Progressive Congress Party in one of its campaign rallies in Èkìtì State. It has been analyzed above. However, it is important to again reiterate the fact that the ruling party made use of the people's dialect to get into their hearts and to appeal to them. The campaign message is also used in response to the opposition parties' critics about the incumbent administration's performance in the state. It means that regardless of their derogatory comments; Fáyemí is performing (wonders).

6a. *Káyòdé ọmọ Fáyemí, ùwọ là wé ilé JKF, Kó dúró sókè. 4+4=8*
'Káyòdé son of Fáyemí, we are solidly behind you or in support of you. JKF, remain in power, 4+4=8'

Data 6a is an All Progressives Congress Party political message. It reads *Káyòdé ọmọ Fáyemí, ùwọ là wé ilé* 'Káyòdé son of Fáyemí, we are solidly behind you'. This was a political message inscribed on a hung banner on the highway of Ìkéré-Èkìtì when the campaign train of APC governorship candidate visited the town. We are only going to be concerned with the first part of the data rendered in Ìkéré dialect. The tone of line 1 of this political campaign message speaks of a promise of an unflinching support for the incumbent governor and the governorship candidate of APC party from the people of the town to ensure his re-election for another four years as the state governor. Contrariwise, the outcome of the election reveals that the voice heard in the data above is not of the masses, but of a few people who claim to represent the interests of Ìkéré-Èkìtì people to their own advantage as Mr Peter Ayòdélé Fáyóşé of Peoples Democratic Party eventually emerged the governor elect of the state.

Notwithstanding the outcome of the election, the use of dialect by the body or organization purportedly representing the interest of Ìkéré-Èkìtì people is a way of showing solidarity for the governorship candidate of All Progressives Congress Party.

7a. *Fáyóşé Youth Vanguard, Èkìtì State victory at last*
Hìn mò şere ò, kete Èkìtì Fáyóşé dé, Ìbòòòòòò! 'Thank you, Èkìtì people Fáyóşé has come, votes!'

Data 7a was gathered from Peoples Democratic Party political messages. Our focus in the datum is the aspect rendered in Èkìtì dialect which reads 'Hìn mò şere ò kete Èkìtì meaning 'Thank you Èkìtì people'... The speaker used the underlined political message rendered in Èkìtì to appreciate the party supporters and the governorship candidate's lovers, whose efforts and support made it possible for Dr. Ayòdélé Fáyóşé to be able to run for the state's governorship race again. The victory outcry proclaimed by the sponsor group here refers to Mr Ayòdélé Fáyóşé's victory at the primary election level which qualifies him to run for Èkìtì State 2014 governorship election. The Èkìtì youths' feeling of excitement reflected by the overall message of the datum is not unconnected with massive goodwill and wide acceptability that Fáyóşé enjoyed from the poor and the down trodden that he identified with throughout his first tenure before he was impeached by the House of Assembly on the 19th of October, 2006.

It is widely attested to by the people of Èkìtì State that Mr. Peter Ayòdélé Fáyóşé has been the closest governor to the masses (the young, as well as the old), in the history of governance in Èkìtì State. His re-emergence to run in the state's 2014 governorship election after much struggle, oppositions and accusations from the opposition parties and even some of his own party members to prevent him from participating in the election is undoubtedly viewed by the Èkìtì youth as 'victory at last' (for Fáyóşé and the Èkìtì people).

³Òkè-Ayaba (Queen's mountain) is the name given to the newly built government house as a result of the hilly site where it was erected. So, 'dúró sókè' is used to address Fáyemí, the incumbent governor to remain in Òkè-Ayaba (the seat of governance) as a continuity of his tenure (second term) or to remain in power.

Therefore, the announcement of his return is given a wide publicity by the youths and votes were massively solicited to welcome his arrival and to ensure his re-election.

Findings

The current study reveals that in the political domain especially, in Èkìtì State in South-western Nigeria, where this research was carried out to be precise, politicians as well as their supporters are fond of communicating in mixed codes and the reason for this is not far-fetched; politicians code-switched their campaign speeches at intervals to drive home their campaign message(s), and to carry their audience along. The admixture of English language, the mother tongue (Yorùbá), and the dialects of the immediate environment of their campaign location is usually done to show solidarity on the part of the party supporters, and as a reflection of ethnical bond between aspirants and the audience.

Politicians, during Èkìtì State 2014 governorship election campaign, also code switched between the standard Yorùbá (the high variety) and its variety as indication or proof of their indigeneship to show that they are bonafide sons of the soil. As a matter of fact, the 'political gimmicks' of switching between standard Yorùbá and its varieties engendered aspirants who employed the people's dialect to them more and earned such aspirants greater popularity than others.

We equally observe in this study that political domain, though classified as one of the domains of high culture, the social status of the primary interlocutor (i.e. governorship candidate) usually does not count. Or better still; aspirants often deliberately condescend to the status of their audience; discard formality to allow for free flow of communication and mutual understanding between the political office seeker and his supporters. This audience is believed to constitute the different classes of people in the society, from farmers to traders, artisans, literate and non-literate members of the society during campaign rallies in settings like village square, market places, town halls and other designated venues of campaign. The situation established by Forson (1979) while examining the code choice in Ghana in selected domains clearly corroborates this finding where he argues that mixing (of codes) occurs in all free discussions and other informal discourses, irrespective of the difference in social status of the interlocutors (see also Richard, 2012:1577).

We observed in this study that nexus exists between the concept of diglossia and code-switching mainly in oral communication. Though political domain is classified as one of the domains where only the high (H) variety is deemed appropriate, but because the larger percentage of communication activities involved in political campaigns are oral, code switching between a standard (local) language and its dialects is inevitable.

Finally and more importantly, we observed that in political domain, the ranking of language use in everyday domain is not applicable as the less prestigious language assumes higher status in terms of frequency of use. The higher patronage enjoyed by the supposedly less prestigious variety in election campaign is due to the fact that the larger percentage of political campaign audience is found or concentrated in the remote part of the state (at the grassroots) and not in the city.

Conclusion

This study establishes that Ferguson's functionality parameter for High and Low varieties in diglossic situations cannot be generalized in all sociolinguistic domains. For instance, in political domain especially, when it comes to language use in political campaigns, we found out that it is impossible to separate between literate and illiterate audience when politicians are addressing the electorate. This is so because domains such as village square, main streets, town halls, market places and other designated campaign sites where, campaigns are carried out, usually combine elite and non-elite members of the society that come together in support of their candidates. This, in most cases, does not give room to differentiating between formal and informal domains. Consequently, politicians result to the use of both the standard language (High variety) and its various dialect(s) (Low varieties) to communicate their intentions; since their ultimate target is to persuade, influence and woo the electorate to their side in order to win an election. To politicians, the variety employed is really not the issue but the outcome of their efforts through effective and efficient use of language.

The implication of the fourth type of diglossic situation found in Nigeria (i.e. Code-switching from a local language to its varieties) as purported by Chukueggu to a study such as this is that, there are domains (of high culture) where only high (H) variety is appropriate going by Ferguson's nine diglossic features that may allow for the use of both high and low varieties. The above situation can result since there are possible instances where the function of both high (H) and low (L) varieties are not clearly and strictly determined or

'defined' within a communicative context based on factors such as the nature of the speech community concerned (bi/multilingual community), the communicative situation, ethnicity, interrelation between interlocutors, and the nature of discourse being undertaken. Status and age are exempted from such factors in this study as they can constitute barrier or impede the essence of communication in political domain.

We can therefore come to a logical conclusion that the variety or varieties that would be employed during a given political activity or campaign rallies, is determined, to a large extent by the linguistic nature or setting of a speech community e.g. bi/multilingual speech community. In a nutshell, bilingualism is an interface between diglossia and code switching in a diglossic situation. Consequent upon the pivotal place that an election campaign occupies in the overall success of an election, and since language is crucial and central to communication, it is essential that politicians choose a variety which can best communicate their ideology, agenda, and manifesto to the people especially, at the state as well as at the grassroots level. To this end, as part of considerable parameters for determining what language variety is appropriate for use in a particular sociolinguistic domain in diglossic situations, this study proposes inclusion of 'audience and the environment of campaign' as parameters for the classification of political domain.

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