

ETHNOGRAPHY OF SPEAKING IN PAYING OF BRIDE PRICE IN NKPORO DIALECT OF THE IGBO LANGUAGE

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Abstract

Language is a means through which people express their social groups and culture. Hence, there is hardly any conceivable human activity or function where language is not required. In other words, the primacy of language cuts across all facets of human life. Ethnography of speaking is the study of the place of language in culture and society. This research examines the ethnography of speaking as it concerns the paying of bride price in Nkporo dialect of the Igbo language, with the sole aim of investigating language use from the angle of paying bride price to ascertain how language is structured or organized, reflecting the culture of Nkporo town and that of the Igbo people in general. The methodology is simply descriptive. The data for the research were collected through audio-recording of event. The researchers adopt Hymes (1962) SPEAKING model in analyzing the data. The study discovers that the language use in paying of dowry in Nkporo dialect is rich in proverbs and figurative expressions like *ónwó úkòm ànyí fhù-rù íbe à ànyí chò-rò kà ànyí gbù-rù kà ó yé-é ànyí hòò ànyí* This expression means that there is a beautiful girl whose behavior impresses them that they would want her to be part and parcel of the family; while the word *úkòm* here refers to the beautiful and well behaved girl that is marriageable. Also, another figurative expression observed during the paying of bride price in Nkporo speech community is *igbù éwú mmà na nkólo* which means to hit the nail at the head. Furthermore, the proverb *izù gbáárá ndí mmànwú, à káálá ónyé ágbààrà* emphasizes the act of making private discussions or decisions public. Conclusively, these proverbs and idioms beautify and enrich the language use in paying of bride price in Nkporo dialect.

Keywords: Language, ethnography, ethnography of speaking

Introduction

Ethnography is the systematic study of people and culture. It is a branch of anthropology that describes human culture. The area of concentration of ethnography of speaking is the speech community. It studies the way language is used in social situation. Traditional marriage in Igbo tradition has three main stages. The first one is 'ìkù aka n'uzò' which is the introduction. The second one is 'ime ego' meaning paying of bride price and the final one is 'ìgba nkwi' which is the main traditional marriage. For the purpose of this research work, the focus is to examine language use from the angle of paying bride price in Nkporo dialect of Igbo to see how language is structured or organized, reflecting the culture of Nkporo town and the Igbo people in general. Bride price is a payment made by the groom or his family to the bride's parents. The data for the research were gathered through elicitation method whereby the events were audio recorded and the data collected and were analysed using Hymes (1962) SPEAKING model. It also involves the use of oral interviews, textbooks and the internet.

Nkporo also known as Okwe ancient kingdom is an Igbo speaking town in south eastern Nigeria. It is in Ohafia Local Government Area of Abia state. It is made up of eight original communities or villages

recently grouped as large, medium and small. These villages are Agbaja, Amurie, Elughu, Etitama, Ndi-Nko, Obofia, Okwoko and Ukwa. Its neighbours are Abiriba, Item, Akaeze, Oso-Edda, Edda and Ohafia and Arochukwu. Traditional marriage constitutes an important aspect of the customs of the Igbo people, as a result of this, it is very important to document the language use in the stage of paying bride price in Nkporo traditional marriage.

Bride wealth or dowry settlement according to Iroegbu (2012), is the third stage in the Igbo traditional marriage. Ogbalu (2006:14) defines dowry as the bulk sum of money paid by the husband to the girl's parents (or his brother or nearest male relative if the parents are not alive) and it is refundable at whatever stage the marriage fails and the woman has another husband. This can be done as part of *Igba nkwu*. At the start of the dowry or bride wealth negotiations, the bride's family will extol her virtues and accomplishments. Usually, broom sticks are used to represent money, the bride's family will present a huge bundle of broom sticks which is what they believe their daughter is worth. The groom's party will go out and consult with themselves "ije n'izu" and come back with a counter offer which is in the form of a much reduced bundle of broom sticks. The bride's family will again go to their meeting and agree on a slightly reduced amount. This back and forth session will continue until a final count (amount) is agreed on.

The rest of this research paper is organized as follows, section two reviews some related literature, section three presents the data collection method, section four presents the data analysis. Finally, section five summarizes and concludes the study.

Literature Review

This section reviews the treatment of language and ethnography in the literature and also presents the explanation of ethnography of speaking that will be adopted for this work.

Language

Language, according to Sapir (1921), is a method that is not instinctive, but precisely human, and human beings make use of it to share ideas, emotions and desires through the process of communication and use of symbols produced intentionally by the same human beings.

Related to this definition is that of Trager (1949) that sees language as a non-concrete system of symbols generated vocally by means of which societal members interact in accordance with their whole culture.

Okwudishu, in Okolo (2010) describes language as something that is as important as the soul of a people; a system of communication which the people of a specific community, region or country employ through its symbols in their speech and writing. Supporting the view, Maduagwu (2008) emphasizes that a people's history is kept alive through language, even as it is a means of transmitting a people's culture. In fact, once language is affected in any way, the owners of such a language will also be affected in one way or the other.

From the definitions of language by Sapir (1921), Trager (1949), Okolo (2010) and Maduagwu (2008), it is easy to point out some areas of ameness and divergencies. For instance, Sapir (1921) and Trager (1949) agree that language functions as a system. In this system, both of them particularize the use of symbols. And they agree that the use of these systematic human vocal symbols is for the purpose of interaction or communicating ideas, emotions or desires. Where both of them differ is that Trager (1949) specifies that it is the members of a common society that use language.

Okolo's (2010) concern is on the importance of language to human beings, an idea which Maduagwu (2008) shares with him. They agree that language is mainly for the purpose of communication in a community or a region, and that symbols are used systematically.

Following this analysis, language is obviously a means through which people express their social groups and culture. Hence, there is hardly any conceivable human activity or function where language is not required. In other words, the primacy of language cuts across all facets of human life in which

ethnography of speaking which is the study of the place of language in culture and society is one of them.

Ethnography

Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) explain ethnography as a research methodology that is concerned with describing people and how their behavior, either as an individual or as part of a group, is influenced by the culture in which they live. The word 'ethnography' is derived from the Greek *ethnos* meaning people, race or cultural group and *graphe* means writing. Therefore, ethnography literally means writing culture. According to Hammersley and Atkinson, the term ethnography dates back to the 19th and 20th century western Anthropology and it refers to a descriptive account of culture or community. The task of ethnographers is to document culture, the perspectives and practices of the people in a setting. Denzin and Lincoln (2011) on the other hand, see ethnography as the study of the beliefs, social interactions and behaviours of small societies, involving participation and observation over a period of time, and the interpretation of the data collected. Scott and Ayelet (2008:1) define ethnography as the study of social interactions, behaviours and perceptions that occur within groups, teams, organizations and communities. Striking a similar note, Brewer (2000:11) emphasizes that ethnography studies people in natural settings through methods that would reflect their social meanings and ordinary activities.

From the above definitions of ethnography, it could be said that ethnography generally refers to a research methodology that describes beliefs, culture, behaviours and social interactions of a group of people over a period of time in a natural setting. It also involves participation, observation over a period of time and interpretation of data collected.

How to collect data in Ethnography

Angrosino (2007) explains the three modes of data collection in ethnography which are: observation, interviewing and archival research.

- i. **Observation:** This is the act of perceiving the activities and interrelationships of people in the field setting.
- ii. **Interviewing:** It is the process of directing a conversation to collect information.
- iii. **Archival Research:** It has to do with the analysis of existing materials stored for research service or other purposes, which can be officially and unofficially.

Ethnography of Speaking

Holmes (2008) sees ethnography of speaking as an approach to analyzing language which has been designed to elevate awareness of culture-bound assumptions. David (2008:174) supports this by saying that the phrase *ethnography of speaking* or *ethnography of communication* has been applied by sociolinguists to the study of language in relation to the entire range of extra-linguistic variables which identify the social basis of communication and the emphasis being on the description of linguistic interaction. Cameron (2001) defines ethnography of speaking as the analysis of communication within the wider context of the social and cultural practices and beliefs of the members of a particular culture or speech community. From the views of the scholars, ethnography of speaking deals with how language is used in any social setting. Ethnography of communication or speaking looks at the analysis of language use as it has to do with its socio-cultural setting.

Theoretical Framework

Dell Hymes' *Ethnography of Speaking* is the theory behind this research work. It was coined in 1962 as Ethnography of speaking which is a way to study how people talk and was later reformed to the Ethnography of Communication in the year 1964 to include other symbolic means of expression. One of his goals was to create a theory that helped researchers study language use in specific contexts. This is because, at that time, some researchers in the field of Linguistics were trying to study language by itself, removed from the times and places people talked. Hymes thought that by looking at how people actually use language, patterns could be discovered that otherwise would not be by just looking at the words themselves. Hymes (1974) in his "Ethnography of Speaking" has provided us with a framework which we can use when matters involving speaking are concerned. The researchers will rely on this

framework to describe all the relevant elements in understanding the language use in paying of dowry in Nkporo.

According to Dell Hymes (1964), all forms of communication require a shared code and as a result, he propounded the SPEAKING acronym. The individual letters that render the word SPEAKING, as an acronym are what Hymes has adapted to account for the various factors that have to do with speaking. According to Wardhough (2006), the eight factors are as follows: 'S' is for setting, 'P' is for participant, 'E' is for ends, 'A' is for act sequence, 'K' is for key, 'T' is for instrumentalities, 'N' is for norm of interaction and finally, 'G' is for genre.

- **Setting** refers to the scene of the event, that is, where the speech event is located in time and space. In other words, where the activities are taking place.
- **Participants** include the people present in the speech event and the roles they play as well as the relationship they have with other participants.
- **Ends** have to do with the purpose of the speech event, for example, the goal of a seller is to maximize the price whereas the buyer wants to minimize it.
- **Act sequence** refers to the message form (how something is said) and content (what is said). Both message form and message content vary from one culture to another.
- **Key** is the tone or manner in which the speech is delivered. It may be serious, unserious, formal or informal, ironic or sarcastic, mock, melancholic e.t.c.
- **Instrumentalities** look at the channel through which communication flows can be examined, for instance, spoken or written, telephone or email, fax or text message e.t.c.
- **Norm of interaction** is the rule guiding talk, for instance, Americans typically follow the conversational turn-taking norm. It captures the speech behaviour which could be linguistic or non-linguistic, universal or cultural, general or specific.
- **Genre** focuses on the linguistic form employed like proverbs, prayers, lectures, poems, commercial messages e.t.c.

Empirical Review

Umeodinka and Okoye (2006) carried out a study on the ethnography of communication in the Igbo traditional marriage perspective in Umuchu town. The paper relies on Hymes (1962) proposal of ethnography of speaking as it reflects in the case of Igbo traditional marriage to establish to what degree the application of Hymes' paradigm is workable in the Igbo traditional marriage. The result showed that Hymes' proposal has some flaws. The Igbo traditional marriage communicative event analysis with Hymes' formula disorganizes the connected procedural flow of the events. That is, it lacks chronological flow, for example, because of the rigidity of the proposal, one is no longer able to see very clearly how the inquiry for a wife is followed by knocking on the door and the other events before the conclusion of the process of the traditional marriage.

Another study carried out by Umeodinka (2012) focuses on the ethnography of communication: a case study of kola nut breaking in Umuchu town general meeting. Hymes' ethnography of speaking proposal guides this investigation. The researcher found out that Hymes' paradigm lacks the ability to present process of the event in a chronological order. What it does is to pick summarized aspects of the cultural event of which a person who does not know the Igbo kola nut breaking culture will be at loss using Hymes' proposal for the presentation. Again, the paper establishes that the breaking of kola nut is the commonest chance for prayers in most sociocultural setting and that age, sex and title are key factors that determines who breaks the kola nut in Igbo communities.

Odebode and Eze-Opara (2015), investigated on the ethnography of communication in Ola Rotimi's *The Gods Are Not To Blame*. Dell Hymes' Ethnography of communication was used in analyzing the text and it is the gap that the research intends to fill. The study reveals that the dominant setting in the play is the king's palace. The key in the text is the melancholic mood that is, great sadness and depression. The act with the greatest number of manifestation is the informative act, that is, the text is not only dramatic but also informative. The research study demonstrates that the ethnography of

communication is a theory essential for removal of secrets or some things that are unexplainable surrounding utterances particularly in literary text.

Data Presentation and Analysis

This section presents and analyzes the result of my fieldwork in Nkporo community with regard to the paying of bride-price using Hymes' SPEAKING model. The researchers use the Leipzig morpheme-by-morpheme glossing rule for the presentation of the data and the data are also tone marked. The data are presented in form of a dialogue and the people involved include: spokesman from the groom's side, spokesman from the bride's side, the groom and the elders.

Spokesman from the groom's side:

E-è bikõ, ó nwè-rè ífhé ànyí kwo biá-wá ihé áhú
Yes please 3SG have- rVPast something 1PL bring come- INCEP something that

wú erá úkòm ànyí fhù-rù íbe à ànyí chò-rò kà ànyí
is breast plantain 1PL see-rV-Past here 3PL want- rV-Past COMP 1PL
gbù-rù kà ó yé -é ànyí hòó ànyí.
cutout-rV past CONJ 3SG resemble-SUFF 3PL behave like 3PL

'Please, we are here for a purpose, we saw a beautiful girl here and it is our desire that she becomes a part and parcel of our family'

Spokesman from the bride's side:

Úkòm ànyí nwò-rò íbe à di ntùtù, ndà
Plantain 1PL have- rV-Past here this is many which

ónyé nkè únù chò-rò?
person COMP 3PL want- rV-Past

'We have many beautiful ladies here, which of them are you interested in?'

Spokesman from the groom's side:

O nwò-rò íwá únù íwámi òmùmé yá màsi-ri ànyí,
3SG have- rV-Past child 3PL girl character 2SG like-rV-Past 1PL,

ànyí chò-rò kà nwá ànyí nwókò lú-wá yà, wú-ghí ényí
3PL want-rV-Past CONJ child 1PL male marry-INCEP 2SG is-NEG friend

'There is a lady here whose behaviour so impress us that we would love our son to take her as a wife.'

Spokesman from the bride's side:

Úmu ànyí ndi íwámi di ntùtù, gíni wú éfhà
Children 1PL people girl is many, what is name

ónyé nkè únù chòsà-rà?
person COMP 3PL find-rV-Past

'We have many ladies here, let us know the name of the one whom you are interested in?'

Spokesman from the groom's side: Éfhà yà bù Nkechi.

name 3SG is Nkechi.

'Her name is Nkechi'.

Spokesman from the bride's side:

E-héè, ó úgbù à kà únù gbù-rù yá wū éwú mmà na nkólo.
Yes is now COMP 3PL cut-rV-Past 3PL is goat knife PREP throat.

A gà-àkpó-nú Nkechi kà á júó ya mà o
3SG AUX-PROG.call-INCEP Nkechi CONJ 3SG ask 3SG if 3SG

mà ndi bíá-rá.
know people come-rV-Past

'Yes, it is now that you hit the nail at the head'. 'Nkechi should be invited to tell u if she knows the people in our midst'.

Nkechi (the bride): Ndéèwó nù.

Good afternoon all.

' Good afternoon everyone'.

Spokesman from the bride's side:

Nkechi, i mà ndi à? i mà ihé hà ji bíá?

Nkechi, 2SG know people this, 2SG know something 3PL bring come
 ‘Nkechi, do you know this people? Do you know the purpose of their coming?’

Chioma (the bride): Ee.
 Yes.
 ‘yes’

Spokesman from the bride's side:

A nà-ànúchísá-rá dífóchi nkwú mà à-nághi
 3SG AUX-PROG. drink for- rV-Past winetapper wine CONJ 3SG to be-NEG
 ádàchísá-ra ya élū. Nèé mmányí wá búsá-ra dówá ébé à
 PROG-fall- rV-Past 3SG up. See wine 3PL carry- rV-Past keep place DEM
 wéé sí nà phá cho-ro na gu na phá jè-èbí
 CONJ say CONJ 3PL want-rV-Past CONJ 2SG CONJ 3PL FUT-PROG.live
 di kà dí na nwúnyè, ànyí wéé ná- àjú gi,
 like husband CONJ wife 1PL CONJ AUX-PROG.ask 2SG
 i ma ónyé wú ónyé à?, i nábàsà-rà yá? Iphé a
 2SG know person is person DEM? 2SG accept-rV-Past 3SG something DEM
 phá ji-li biá ébé à, o-o anyi ri-wé?
 3PL bring-rV-Past come place DEM to be 1PL eat-INCEP?

‘There is limitation to what we can assist you in deciding’. ‘They brought wine and express their desire that they would like to have you as their son’s wife and we are asking if you know him, accept what they came with?, let us know, are we to go ahead and enjoy the things presented to us?’

Nkechi (the bride): Ée
 yes.
 ‘yes’

Spokesman from the groom's side:

Ehéè, Ifeanyi, í dùù-rù ànyi biá ibe à, wéé sí nà
 Yes, Ifeanyi, 2SG accompany-rV-Past 1PL come place this CONJ say CONJ
 o nwe-rè íhé í fhu-ru ibe à di mmāT, nà o wu-ghi
 3SG have- rV-Past something 2SG see-rV-Past here be good CONJ 3PL be-NEG
 ényi nó-o òlúlú. Kedu ónyé áhù?
 friend that-be marry. who person DEM?

‘Yes, Ifeanyi, you brought us here and told us that you saw somebody good here that you would like to take as a wife and no as a friend’. Who is the person?’

Ifeanyi (the groom): O-o ya kwù m n’áká nr̄.
 3SG-be 3SG stand 1SG PREP-hand right
 ‘She is beside me’

Elder: Aàà, ókpúkpú yà.
 INTJ, bone 3SG
 ‘Yes, the bone of his bone’.

Spokesman from the bride's side: Yàà, ífhé è nyè-rè ànyi, ànyi ri we?
 That is something 3SG give-rVpast 1PL 1PL eat-INCEP?

‘So, we should go ahead and enjoy the presentations before us?’

Ifeanyi (the groom): Íhé obúlà ànyí nyè-rè únù, rié nù bíko.
 Something all 1PL give-rV-Past 3PL, eat you please
 ‘Please, enjoy whatever is offered to you’.

Spokesman from the bride's side:

Bikō n’ágbànyè-ghì n’èfhó ádi-ghi íké, únú àbíá
 Please minding-NEG PREP-stomach PROG.be-NEG strong, 2PL PROG.come
 èfhiā, ògili na mmány, í hughì nà wá dum n’ itè ófho?
 market castor bean CONJ oil 2SG see-NEG that 3PL all PREP-pot soup?
 Wá jèwé-zíé. Unu má- rá – zhíkwé ífhé únù ji, únù ewesa.
 3PL go-INCEP. 2PL know-rV-PAST-also something 2PL hold, 2PL bring

'Now that the bride and the groom have given their consent, we can go ahead and enjoy the presentations before us without fear'. 'They can go'. 'The time is now ripe for you to present the bride price'.

Spokesman from the groom's side:

E-ee ébé ó sá n'ónú, gí pụ-sá, kà
Yes place 3SG from PREP-mouth 2SG come.out-rV-PAST COMP

ànyí nà ónyé éká ébē kpá-gódú.

1PL CONJ person intermediary discuss-COMPL

Bíko, íwé únú ádí-nā ókú, kà ànyí jé n' izù.

Please, anger 2PL PROG.be-NEG hot, COMP 1PL go PREP-negotiation.

'Okay, since you have consented, we need to discuss with your middleman. Please, you people should exercise patience while we go and deliberate further'.

Spokesman from the bride's side: Nsògbú á- dí - ghí.

Problem oV-Prefix - be-NEG.

'No problem'

Spokesman from the groom's side:

A sí na izù gbáá-rá

3SG say CONJ intimate discussion relay-rV-PAST

ndí mmànwú, à káá - lá ónyé á gbàà -rà.

people spirit, 3SG reveal- rV-Past person 3SG relay- rV-PAST.

'We have put our heads together in secret and we now want to disclose our decisions'

Spokesman from the bride's side:

E-eē ndí bé ànyí, ànyí kèlè-rè únú nà nke únu mē-rè,

Yes, people place 1PL, 1PL greet-rV-Past 3PL CONJ COMP 2PL do- rV-Past

'Our people, we thank you for what you have presented

wēé sí kà únú kpácháyí- kwú-ó, íphé nà yà. E-ee, á

CONJ say COMP 2PL put little-again-SUFF something CONJ 3SG. Yes, 3SG

but we shall be pleased if you can add something to it'.

si-kwá m kwù-ó, o wú-ghi égó isī wù ókwú, ífhé dú

say-also 1SG say-SUFF, 3SG be-NEG money head is issue, something is

Yes, money is not our priority in this matter,

mkpà wù ébí-wé, kà ébí n'üdó. Bikö,

important is PROG.live-INCEP COMP PROG.live PREP-peace. Please

our concern is that the couple should live peacefully'.

'Please

dàálú nù ò! ndí bé ànyí, há nyè-kwù-lù ànyí púkú naira isé,

thank you all EXCL, person family 1PL 1PL give-also-rV-Past 1PL thousand naira five

thank you all my people, they have added five thousand naira

o bú-rú-zíé púkú nàirà ìrì nà isé.

3SG be- rV-Past-COMPL thousand naira ten and five.

to make it one thousand five hundred naira'.

Ndí ógò m ànyí kèlè-rè únú, únú zò-rò úkwú dímkpà.

People in-law 1SG 1PL thank- rV-Past 3PL, 3PL match-rV-Past leg man.

'My inlaws we greet you all, you did marvelously well'.

Spokesman from the groom's side:

A gà-àkpó íné òmùmù kà á chọ́-ró ya égó

3SG AUX-PROG.call mother of the bride COMP 3SG look-rV-Past 3SG money

ùkpághā.

locust bean.

'The mother of the bride should be invited so that the in-law will appreciate her for her effort in training the bride'

Bride's Mother:

Nnòò nù, ónyé òwúlà zè-ré n'ébé ó chi-ri.

Welcome all person every dodge-rV-Past Aux-place 3SG crown-rV-Past.

'Welcome everybody, all protocols duly observed'.

Spokesman from the groom's side: Nké à bù égó ùkpághā.

this DEM is money locust bean.
 'This money; it is for your efforts in bringing up the bride'.

Bride's Mother: Ndèwó nù, ó gà-àdí-rí ónyé òbùlà mmā.
 thank all 3PS AUX-PROG.be person every good.
 'Thank you all, it shall be well with everybody'.

Spokesman from the bride's side: b̄usa-zíé-nù ifhé orírí
 bring-COMPL all something eat
 'You can now bring the food'.

Cháá! cháá! cháá!, Elughu-Nkporo kwé nù, yá! kwé nù, yáà!
 EXCL EXCL EXCL, Elughu-Nkporo agree all, IDEO agree all, IDEO
 'Exclamating, all the people of Elughu-Nkporo agree'.

kwé-zùó nù o, yóó.
 agree-complete all IDEO IDEO.

This marks agreement and end of the paying of bride price.

Using Dell Hymes' SPEAKING model to analyze the communicative event of paying of bride price in Nkporo dialect, we have:

1. Setting and scene (S): It refers to the time and place where the speech event occurs. The event took place in Ogba's family in Elughu village of Nkporo, in Ohafia LGA of Abia State at about 3p.m.

2. The participant (P): This involves the people that took part in the event, that is, the speaker and listeners that have some roles to play. The paying of bride price 'ime ego' in Nkporo dialect involves few experienced male adults from the side of the bride and the groom.

3. Ends (E): refers to the purposes, goals and outcomes of the events. The purpose of paying bride price is to ensure that no other man marries the lady.

4. Act Sequence (A): This refers to the form and order of the event, that is, the exact words used in the occasion. In the event of paying of bride price in Nkporo dialect, the groom's spokesman explains their purpose of coming using the figure of speech: *ónwó úkòm ànyí fhù-rù íbe à ànyí chò-rò kà ànyí gbù-rù kà ó yé-é ànyí hòò ànyí*. This means that there is a beautiful girl whose behavior impresses them that they would want her to be part and parcel of the family. Here, *úkòm* refers to the beautiful and well behaved lady. Also, another figurative expression used in the paying of bride price is *n'ágbànyè-ghì n'èfhó ádi-ghì iké, únú ábiá èfhiā, ògìli na mmánu, í hū-ghì nà wá dum n'itè ófho*. In the expression, *únú* salt, *ògìli* castor oil spice and *mmánu* oil, coming to the market is used to express agreement between the bride and the groom, which means that despite all odds success has finally been achieved. Furthermore, we also have the figurative expression of *ìgbù éwú mmà na nkólo* which means to hit the nail at the head. Moreover, the expression of *izò úkwù dimkpà* used in the paying of bride price signifies the act of doing something marvelously well.

5. Key (K): This refers to the tone and manner in which the message is rendered. The tone used in the paying of bride price is informal and friendly that is, there is no official protocols involved. Everything in paying of dowry is not based on command, rather, it is full of fun, jokes, and things that make people to laugh like, in the data we have *àrà úkòm* which is used to refer to a beautiful young lady.

6. Instrumentalities (I): It focuses on the channel and forms of speech. Channel means the way a message travels from one person to another. Paying of bride price in Nkporo dialect is carried out orally. Again, in the olden days in Nkporo dialect, the money paid on a lady's head is not mentioned. There exists the use of the instrument called broomsticks which is used for negotiations and it is referred to as *ika akirika*. This is a situation whereby the amount to be paid by the groom is subjected to bargaining by both parties.

7. Norms (N): Communication involves norms of interaction. It refers to the rules guiding talks. One of the norms in paying of bride price in Nkporo dialect is that it is the sole responsibility of the

intermediary *ónyé ákà ébē* during the paying of bride price is to direct the affairs of both parties in the marriage. This is evident in one of the paragraphs in the data above which states *E-ee ébé ó sá n'ónú, gi pü-sá, kà ànyí nà ónyé éká ébē kpágódú* meaning that now that they have come up with the idea, let them discuss first with the intermediary.

8. Genre (G): refers to clearly demarcated types of utterances used such as proverbs, prayers, riddles, jokes, lectures e.t.c. The genre of paying of bride price in Nkporo dialect is in the form of a dialogue, that is, conversation or discussion between the spokesmen from the two parties and other participants as can be seen in the data above. The paying of bride price also involve the use of prayers, for instance, when the bride's mother was given money for her efforts in bringing up the bride, she prayed for them saying *ó gá-àdí-rí ónyé ówúlà mmā* meaning that it shall be well with everyone, Paying of bride price also falls into jokes genre like in the data where one of the elders mentioned *Aàà, ókpúkpú yà* which means *Yes, the bone of his bone*. The elder made the expression in that context so as to make the people there to laugh. In paying of bride price the genre also involves the use of proverbs like: *izù gbáá-rá ndí mmànwú, à káálá ónyé ágbààlà*, this statement was made by the spokesman from the groom's side and it means that even though they have discussed privately, that they are obliged to make their decisions known. Again, the proverb, *anà-ànúchísá-rá díòchi nkwú mà à-nághi ádàchísá-ra ya élū* can be used in the context of paying of bride price means that in an affair of marriage, the consent of the groom and the bride must be sought first before arriving at any conclusion.

From the different works that have been done in ethnography of speaking using Hymes' SPEAKING model, the researchers observed that the SPEAKING paradigm was able to account for the all the speech events present in the ceremony.

Summary and Conclusion

This study focuses on the ethnography of speaking in the paying of bride price in Nkporo dialect which is one of the stages in traditional marriage. The data for the research were gathered through elicitation method that is, the event was audio-recorded. Also, the researcher adopted Hymes' (1962) SPEAKING model in analyzing the data.

It is observed that the language use in paying of bride price in Nkporo dialect involves the use of some figurative expressions like *ónwó úkò m ànyí fhù-rù íbe à ànyí chò-rò kà ànyí gbù-rù kà ó yé-é ànyí hòó ànyí*. This expression is used to refer to a beautiful and well behaved girl that is marriageable. Again, the expression *n'ágbànyè-ghì n'èfhó ádi-ghi iké, únú àbíá èfhiā, ògili na mmānu, í hū-ghi nà wá dum n'itè ófho* means that despite all odds, success has finally been achieved, can also be used. Similarly, we can have *igbù éwú ñmà na nkólo* which means to hit the nail at the head and *izò úkwù dimkpà* signifies the act of doing something marvelously well. On the other hand, proverbs are also employed in the paying of bride price like *izù gbáárá ndí mmànwú, à káálá ónyé ágbààrà*. This statement lays emphasis on the act of making private discussions or decisions public. Again, the proverb *anà-ànúchísá-rá díòchi nkwú mà à-nághi ádàchísá-ra ya élū* can be used in the context of paying of bride price to mean that the affair of marriage requires the consent of the groom and the bride before arriving at any conclusion. From these observations, we conclude that the language use in paying of bride price in Nkporo dialect is rich in figurative expressions and proverbs. All these enrich and add beauty to the language use in paying of bride price in Nkporo dialect.

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